RESHAPING THE WORK AND IDENTITY OF JOURNALISTS: research reflections on the Covid-19 pandemic

RECONFIGURAÇÕES DO TRABALHO E DA IDENTIDADE DE JORNALISTAS: reflexões com base em pesquisa no período de pandemia de Covid-19
RECONFIGURACIONES DEL TRABAJO Y DE LA IDENTIDAD DE PERIODISTAS: reflexiones en base de la investigación en el período de pandemia de Covid-19

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Introduction

In April 2020, when the first study "How do communicators work in the Covid-19 pandemic?" (FIGARO, et.al., 2020) was conducted, the country had 87,000 cases of Covid and 6,000 covid-related deaths. One year later, in April 2021, there were more than 400,000 covid-related deaths. The aforementioned study was then conducted for a second time under the title “How have communicators worked over the past year during the Covid-19 pandemic?”

The objective of this research was to monitor the lifestyles and work of professionals from different fields of communication. Our research was conducted using a questionnaire containing multiple choice and open-ended questions. This questionnaire was created on the Google platform and contained 49 questions. The non-
probabilistic sample was built from a set of voluntary respondents who accessed the form on the website and social networks for the Center for Research in Communication and Work (CPCT-ECA-USP), including the social networks of the institutions that supported the research. This was accomplished by partnering with 26 academic institutions in different states throughout Brazil which disseminated the questionnaire to their members in their courses, faculties, research groups, associations, professional entities, unions and specific associations. Information gathering was performed on the respondents using demographic data related to the professions and activities they perform. We also investigated the working conditions of these professionals in the pandemic, asking respondents to assess and give their general feelings about these conditions, thus giving the workers a voice.

The final corpus was composed of responses from professionals in all states, including the Federal District, who work in journalism, in organizational communication, in public and private institutions, in communication and advertising agencies, or even in agencies that provide services to personalities, authorities and media companies. Their answers provide information about the work routines, work conditions, difficulties, challenges and fears of these professionals (FIGARO, et al., 2021).

Our analysis focuses on the aspects that refer to the professional identity of journalists. One of the reasons for this is that more than half of the respondents (53.3%) identified themselves as journalists. This information was based on the respondents’ own descriptions of the roles and activities they perform as journalists. This gives us one more reason to reflect on what professional identity ultimately means in this context.

In many ways, the pandemic accelerated what journalists were already experiencing in their daily activities: structural changes in the area of communication and, ultimately, in journalism. This restructuring comes on the heels of technological advances and financialization brought on by platform capitalism and its use and appropriation of knowledge and science (MOROZOV, 2020; SRNICEK, 2018; ANTUNES, 2020; GROHMANN, 2020). We observed significant changes to the work activities of these professionals in this scenario. While these changes have not altered these professionals’ perception of identity, as they still identify as journalists, they have effectively modified significant elements of that identity.  

1 Many respondents based their answers on their educational backgrounds (investigative journalist; organizational journalist; journalist, reporter) or indicated more than one professional identification (journalist/professor, journalist/translator, or journalist/storyteller). Some even indicated a segment of journalism as professional identification (editor, reporter, or photojournalist). These options were filtered and grouped into a category we labelled "journalism professionals".
Thus, our objective in this article, based on the profiles of the survey respondents, is to reflect on the professional identities of these professionals and what it means to “be a journalist” today. To accomplish this, we present the general framework of the organizations where the respondents work and the overlapping of professions and activities in the area of communication. We then provide data on the training, function and activities of the journalists who responded to the survey. We then discuss what is meant by professional identity linked to values. Lastly, we make some final considerations in our conclusion.

**Journalist workplaces**

The questionnaire had 18 options for respondents/communicators to indicate which type of organization they worked for. 11 main categories were established from these 18 options, as shown in Table 1. The majority of professionals claimed that they worked for communication agencies and the public sector.

However, what we can see in Table 1 is a large variety of environments and the different profiles of communicators that work in them. Of note here is the fact that the mentions of workplaces exceeded the number of valid responses because many respondents responded with two or more options. This shows that many professionals need to work double or triple shifts in order to earn a decent salary. This is in line with what we have seen in recent years with the increasing flexibility of work activities and the precariousness of work environments.

**Table 1** Organization where communicators are employed

| Type of Organization                              | Mentions |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Agency                                           | 275      |
| Public Sector                                    | 204      |
| Communication department/area of private company | 121      |

2 Respondents were allowed to choose more than one of the 18 options listed in the questionnaire. The last option was titled “Others” and allowed respondents to include an option that was not on the list. Adding this last option made counting the items difficult as the researchers had to carefully examine all the answers in the questionnaire. We listed some extra classifications based on these responses.

3 In the “Agencies” category, we include the alternatives “Communications agency”, “Events agency”, “Digital marketing agency”, “Advertising agency” and “Press relations”, including workplaces of different professional profiles. The same occurred in the “public sector”, options such as “communication department/area of a public company”, “Parastatal” or “public university TV”. We would also like to clarify that the items “private school in the communication department/area” and “financial sector company with a news area” were added to the “private company” category, while “FM Radio” and “commercial radio” were added to “Mainstream Media”.

The respondents who described themselves as "journalism professionals" work in all types of organizations. Out of the 486 total respondents, 48% work in agencies, press offices, public organizations and communication departments/areas of private companies. About 25% of journalists work in media outlets (hegemonic or alternative) and 21% work in the public sector, which includes political offices, the third party sector, or unions. The remaining respondents listed other organizations such as universities (where they work as professors), unions, publishers, etc.

Note that the "journalist" label does not link these professionals to any specific workplace. There is a wide range of professionals who call themselves journalists and work in organizations that do not produce journalism or do not train or educate journalists. This category defines their professional identity and the historical stabilization of this function.

**Diversity Competence**

In order to better understand the issue of journalists' identities (apart from their university education) we asked the following three questions: a) what is your degree?; b) what is your current position/function? and c) what are the main activities you carry out at work? We filtered and separated those with higher education into tables to observe the positions/functions they held during the survey period and what their work responsibilities were.

We observed that new pandemic-related responsibilities are added to communication professionals' traditional activities. We also observed some overlapping between the professions, such as public relations workers who do the work of editing, reporting, video production, and graphic and audiovisual creation, or journalists who also work as content producers or storytellers. These professionals carry out their
activities by blending the established knowledge (SCHWARTZ; DURRIVE, 2007) from their educational backgrounds with new knowledge from a polyvalent workplace. Many respondents in our survey held degrees in administration, letters, marketing or history, yet worked in the productive field of communication. This scenario is an example of how the productive forces are undergoing changes due to the new technology being used and the competencies required to work with them.

To provide a broader picture of the issue, Table 2 summarizes the new functions (and multifunctionality) of traditional professions in the field of communication. What happens here is that the expressive forms of the genres and formats of journalism (news, information, reports, etc.), advertising and marketing (ads, publicity reports, campaigns etc.) or public relations (house-organ, newsletter, etc.) are being replaced by the generic term, content production.

| Graduation                  | Position/ Function              | Main Responsibilities                                                                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Public Relations            | Communication Coordinator       | Social Media, External Communication Plan, Digital Marketing, Internal Communication.  |
| Marketing and Advertising   | Social Media                    | Create and publish posts for clients on social networks, create ads for clients and generate reports to assess results. |
| Social Communication/Journalism | Digital Media Manager           | Digital communication and digital marketing.                                             |
| Journalism                  | Social Media, Communication Coordinator | Social network administration, produce agendas, content production.                     |
| Marketing                   | Communication Analyst, Professor | Create content for social networks and communicate with other communication sectors.     |
| Social Service              | Responsible for day-to-day posting of content on social networks | Feeding social networks, writing texts for social networks.                             |

Source: CPCT Study, 2021, How have communicators worked over the past year during the Covid-19 pandemic?

This description of the communicators’ responsibilities (identified here as content producers) shows how the work associated with their educational backgrounds (Public Relations, Marketing and Advertising, Journalism or Social Service) now overlaps with the demands of communicating on social networks. Thus, these professionals need to invest in acquiring new knowledge to carry out their activities and remain in the professional
market. What we can see happening here is a kind of despecialization where the professionals’ responsibilities transcend the previous limits of their respective professions.

Professionals define themselves by the professional identity they have acquired, particularly by the university degree they hold. There is a lack of specialization in deontological terms and also a technical re-specialization when it comes to learning new practices; it is a new set of knowledge that does not have a professional label. There is no room for creating a new identity in a scenario that is being constantly reorganized by technology. The expectation is that these workers must be flexible in order to adapt. These new activities are based on the needs of capital. In this sense, skills are not important, what is important is one's ability to understand and work with the technologies.

We must, however, be aware of the contradictions that getting rid of professional boundaries raises. After all, the deontology of each profession has different work objectives which are also supported by diverse social values that carry their own ethos and ethics with them. In other words, it seems that such the deontology of each profession is pushed aside and replaced by the regulations and requirements of digital platforms, thus causing pre-established identities to change and new ethical issues difficult to understand.

As a result, the respondents' answers about their activities show how producing and circulating information is regulated by other norms. This standardization may (or may not) coincide with the values of digital platforms as they are not just communication supports. Platform companies constitute themselves as agents of new economic geopolitics (SRNICEK, 2018).

Beyond Educational Background

526 of the total number of respondents said they graduated in journalism, and 478 of them answered the questions about job position and responsibilities when describing their work activities. Most of professionals who worked in mainstream media (116) held positions as reporters or editors. The activities developed around the agenda still lay out responsibilities and tasks traditionally performed by journalism professionals such as investigation, content curation, production and reporting. Some journalism professionals perform these tasks while also taking on new ones, such as managing social networks (managing the newsroom’s WhatsApp channel) or feeding social networks and circulating news content, as shown in Table 3. In this case, there seems to be an increase in the number of activities. Being a journalist is not only about fulfilling traditional roles,
it also requires one to work with social networks. Up until now, the scenario seems to be one of despecialization (or re-specialization in terms of technology) and increased workloads for those respondents who identify themselves as “journalists”.

### Table 3 Journalism in Mainstream Media

| Graduation | Position/ Function | Main Responsibilities |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Journalism | Social Network Analyst | Social media editing, planning, review and content creation. |
| Journalism | Presenter | News presenter, reporting, editing. |
| Journalism | Digital Content Coordinator | Conduct interviews, reports, update sites and social networks. |
| Journalism | Editor | Content Curation, editing texts, planning and managing. |
| Journalism | Reporter | Produce articles for all print and digital platforms and create content for social networks. |
| Journalism | Freelance Reporter | Content production for various editorials, in order of demand: technology, sports, cities and social issues. |
| Journalism | Reporter, Presenter, Journalism Coordinator | Prepare radio reports, present radio news, record short video reports for communication group TV, write articles for communication group’s print newspaper. |
| Journalism | Editor, Reporter | Editing, investigating, reporting, radio traffic reports, managing newsroom’s Whatsapp channel, editing website landing page. |

Source: CPCT Study, 2021, How have communicators worked over the past year during the Covid-19 pandemic?

It is important to note that even within the scope of traditional journalism activities (investigating, producing, reporting, editing, etc.), a single function or position ends up performing more than one activity. This leads to an accumulation of functions and tasks, which is commonplace in the world of journalism. The same thing occurs with multimediality, which is the production of news or news content for more than one media form (radio, TV, internet, print, social networks and websites). Performing this requires one to be media polyvalent, which nowadays is considered a mandatory skill for the job. Assuming the identity of a journalist can thus skew one’s understanding of journalistic work. There are deontological aspects that are missing and an increased workload that reshapes practices.

If all this is considered part of the journalist's daily life, we need to look at how these activities are named, that is, we are reporting on content production. The content production in Table 3 characterizes the blurring between professionals in favor of some
type of symbolic production for social networks and the logic of commercial circulation on platforms. How does one identify this “content” that no longer carries with it the title of reporting, news, column, note, etc.? What is the genre that describes the journalist’s activity? Or conversely, how does this genre understate or transform journalism?

There are still other areas where journalists have more responsibilities than they do in traditional newsrooms. Communication agencies, marketing agencies and advertising agencies, or press offices and communication departments, organize their work under different logics (FIGARO, 2020). Reporters who work in these places not only develop reports, but they also organize events and build relationships with the media and other audiences. As shown in Table 4 (with more open terminology such as “360° production” or “analyst” or “press or communication consultant”) there are different activities that range from the production of texts, videos or posts for social networks to crisis management strategies, management strategies for the staff itself, or even the establishment of relationships with customers and other strategic audiences. Once again, the hybridization and overlapping of functions are evident, and end up mischaracterizing the deontological content of journalistic practice.

**Table 4** Journalism in a communication agency, digital marketing agency, advertising agency, and press office

| Graduation         | Position/ Function              | Main Responsibilities                                                                 |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Journalism         | Communication Analyst           | Produce press releases and notes, monitor interviews, manage customer agendas with media outlets, crisis management, write speeches for events, produce texts for the website, announcements and newsletters. |
| Journalism         | Communication Analyst II        | Press office, data consolidation for reports, regional partner team coordination and planning and development analysis for 360° media. |
| Journalism         | Communication Analyst, Senior Marketing Position | Public Relations, Social Media, Customer Service, Project Management. |
| Journalism         | Communication Consultant       | Communication consultant, conflict management, communicational advisor, planner, strategist, teacher and missionary. |
| Journalism         | Communication Consultant       | Communication consultant, writing, proofreading, social media management, website updating, video editing, Consulting via WhatsApp, photography, image editing, master of ceremonies. |
By adapting to the contemporary neoliberal scenario, communication agencies have become a kind of consortium of entrepreneurs. However, the configuration of these “entrepreneurs”, orphans of a labor system that gave them rights and a closer relationship with workers' rights organizations, is very close to “(...) a mixture of bourgeois and proletarian”, according to Antunes (2018, p. 34).

50 journalism graduates stated that they work in a department or area of private communication. The functions of reporter, communication analyst, communication advisor, and communication coordinator are the same as other organizations, however the responsibilities assigned to each of these positions differ.

Table 5 Journalism in the communication department/area of a private company

| Graduation | Position/function                  | Main Responsibilities                                                                 |
|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Journalism | Communication Analyst and Content Analyst | **Investment content, social media, UX writing (user experience), target communication, MKT email, blog content.** |
| Journalism | Communication Analyst            | **Content planning for company’s social networks, customer service on social networks, writing texts for social networks and blog.** |
| Journalism | Press Advisor and Journalist      | **Prepare institutional materials, organize and prepare seminars, monitor meetings between directors and partners, prepare and publish cards on social networks (Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp), update social networks and virtual platforms, aid the preparation of online union voting forms, release and monitor polls and votes, organize and maintain broadcast lists on WhatsApp, customer relations via WhatsApp, email, and chats, maintain contact with media vehicles.** |
Journalism | Reporter, Producer, Editor, social media, Designer | Select agendas, develop agendas, investigate, edit texts, edit texts written by others, post, post on Instagram, conduct interviews, take photographs...

Source: CPCT Study, 2021, How have communicators worked over the past year during the Covid-19 pandemic?

In Table 5, we can see the regularity with which content production for social networks overlaps with activities that are more associated to marketing and advertising. In this case, journalists use their educational background, particularly narration (TRAQUINA, 2005) and the production of knowledge about everyday life (GENRO FILHO; 2012), to carry out new work activities in communication. In deontological terms these activities differ from traditional journalistic work, although they often use common discursive techniques, such as those used in sponsored content to compete with other media outlets for space, attention and meaning in the news.

We observed how job responsibilities get switched about, especially with positions such as advisor, analyst or customer service; behind these nomenclatures is a wide range of activities. Professionals sometimes take on responsibilities that they were not even trained for. Professionals, when assigned to work in areas that they were not trained for, can sometimes be given a new title, thus disguising the number of activities they really perform.

As long as the label of journalistic activity remains, there is a gap between deontology and the knowledge of everyday practice. Thus, this mobility allows to quickly rearrange the functions according to market practices. In this case, the identity is diluted in the activities and is not even needed to characterize the functions being performed, mainly because they no longer depend on the deontological aspects that previously defined them.

Other Areas of Activity

The journalists in the survey who claimed to work in a public company, in the public sector, for a government agency or a state-owned company stated that they hold positions as analysts, advisors, reporters, journalists, editors and communication coordinators. They also combine traditional journalism activities with new activities, especially disseminating content on social media platforms. This aggregation of new functions is common for those who work for unions or third sector organizations, with little variation between job descriptions and job titles. However, the social constitution of these organizations reveals a different logic and conditions for producing this work in
journalism, often associated to accountability and preparing specific content for the
cause they defend or even those that refer to public and private issues.

It is interesting to note that these professionals have attributes that could be
applied to more than one profession, e.g., a communication advisor who manages and
produces texts but works as a designer. Other research participants point to levels of job
precariousness, such as the advisor who said he does “everything” and the
communication supervisor who does not have any support staff and thus has to monitor
her own work as she is “responsible for all organizational communication”. The
participants’ statements support the fact that work overload is a sign of precariousness.
Abandoning deontological aspects blurs the boundaries between professions. In this
case, not constituting a new identity is a way of avoiding any discussion about rules or
obligations that should be enforced.

Most of the 26 professionals who work in “the journalism/communications
department of a faculty or university” claimed that they also work as professors, while
others claimed they worked as journalists, press officers and communication and
marketing analysts. There are even some professionals who work two different shifts in
separate educational institutions (working as a journalist in one institution and a teacher
in another), which is an example of not only their versatility in terms of the media they
can work with, but an example of their professional versatility.

Professional Identity: approach and perspectives

The responses given by the professionals in the survey draw attention to a break
in the deontological principles that govern the journalistic activities. Working according
to the needs of companies and capital determines these values which, under the current
context, reduce decision-making in the public space based on information of common
interest.

In this sense, it is worth revisiting some authors and their theories about identity
in the working world in order to reassert the relevance and contribution of the data
discussed in this paper.

Adghirni and Ribeiro (2001) discuss the problem of producing content for the
internet and anticipate the clash between journalism/content production. There was a
time when the market had not yet taken over the internet and we never imagined that
data would be the most valuable currency for monetizing companies. Authors were
concerned with the identity of journalists in the context of blogs, chats and newspaper
portals that migrated to the networks. Regardless, the lucidity of these researchers is
key in pointing out the central issue between journalism and content production, both
of which emphasize journalistic values and are a category that differentiates journalism from posting content.

Other important works on this topic can be seen by Virginia Pradelina da Fonseca, published in 2008 and 2009. She addresses the identity of journalists by discussing the changes that the rise of the internet brought to the media sector and its repercussions on their professional activity. Fonseca talks about the traditional dichotomy between public interest journalism and journalism that addresses the public's preferences. This is what balances journalism on the tightrope between democracy/citizenship and/or profitability/power.

We speak of classic values of journalistic deontology that label the professional as a mediator/reporter and journalistic discourse as clarification for the public and a potential for citizenship. Perhaps these values are the ones that guided the study by Travancas (1993 apud Fonseca, 2009) when they concluded that journalists are passionate about and dedicated to their craft. On the other hand, Fonseca (2008, 2009) also takes from Pereira's (2005) study about addressing identity from the point of view of expert journalists. This identity is built on the idea of the successful career of expert journalists who had worked exclusively for major media outlets.

In 2013, the SBPJor magazine, BJR, published a dossier called "Journalism and Professional Identity (Vol 9, N° 2., 2013). This publication included eight articles with a wide range of discussions about professional identity. One particular article in this publication, written by Barbosa et al. (2013), concludes that mobile devices and internet connection allow for news to be spread to different devices in a continuum that requires a new profile for journalists, one that includes the new skills needed to work with formats and languages. In between profile and identity lie competences and skills that do not meet the values of citizenship, public interest and democracy. Expertise and not point of view or social commitment is part of said identity.

In a way, the authors agree on the issue of professional identity; however, we lack sufficient data to analyze this further. Studying the working world and the activities and functions performed in it can have more effective contributions. This perspective is supported by the approach to technological changes (working tools, languages and formats) accompanied by the study of macrostructural aspects that shape not only the news market, but its implications in terms of the interests and disinterests of capital.

Even though there is still much to discuss about this, we need to turn back to our empirical data. The core of the issue lies in the disruption of a professional culture; there is a paradigm shift in how the media functions and in changes of the notions of time and space which are so valuable to journalism. In broader terms, the notions of democracy
and the nation state are at risk due to the capitalist platform model used by all types of businesses and organizations.

Fragmentation and despecialization are forefront in the current journalistic production process. Being multimedia and multitasking becomes a problem in terms of the quality of the product as it is produced by professionals working long hours, their rights are de-regulated as well as the profession itself, they work in micro teams (teams of one person) and have increasing pressure placed on them by the public. These are the logics of algorithmic management (GROHMANN, 2020) on platforms which everyone uses: websites, social networks, etc.

Even in this dramatic scenario there are those who confuse technological advancement and improving the profession with technological fascination and a prescriptive naturalization. In other words, “this is how it is and we can do nothing about it”. This naturalization that capital makes of technologies is reactionary and limits the advance of knowledge for the benefit of humanity.

**Final Considerations**

Even today we use a system for defining professions that is based on Taylorism from the beginning of the 20th century, assigning the workers to specific activities. This characterization no longer corresponds to the flexibilization of professional activities in the working world. There are no profiles for new professions, the scenario is still mixed up, and many believe a decline is coming due to programming languages, but this is not yet clear and does not have a defined profile either. Even the data analysts, content writers, and data assistants consolidate a field of de-specialization.

Coupled with this is an extensive restructuring of companies, functions and professions. It seems to us that the fragmentation of functions and the broad spectrum of activities connected to them require these workers to be trained both professionally and intellectually. They need to expand on and develop new competences and abilities and further develop specializations in order to achieve these competences and abilities. On the other hand, we recognize that traditional descriptions of professional communicator profiles do not account for the roles and activities they perform today. Looking at functions in this context helps us to see how they add to the versatility and flexibility in activities. They are characterized as generic functions. The professional does everything, which ends up devaluing specific knowledge and deontological values.

The rearrangement of activities, the additional functions, and the de-specialization and re-specialization are all observable phenomena which certainly reshape the identity of journalists and communication professionals. The dynamism observed in the capital-
labor relationship reasserts that working is one of the aspects involved in this identity change. However, the deontological aspects that define the principles and values of journalistic activity lack reflection and redefinition in the current context. The rupture between practice and deontology reshapes this identity but does not produce new identifiables for these workers.

We uphold the need to protect the social roles of professions in terms of the services they provide to society. We have to pay attention to the changes that lessen the regulation of rights and duties in favor of a purely mercantile logic.

We found that despite the wide range of journalists who adopt different professional practices (some even use the same techniques), they all still strongly identify with journalism, mainly due to their university education (MICK; LIMA, 2013), in addition to their previous desire to be a part of this professional group. In a very contradictory and problematic way, “being a journalist” can be separated from “doing journalism” when considering the traditional deontological values of the profession.

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RESUMO:
Este artigo traz uma reflexão acerca do que se delineia como identidade profissional dos jornalistas. A análise parte de uma pesquisa realizada pelo CPCT-ECA/USP em 2021, e cujo corpus é composto por respostas dos profissionais de todos os Estados, que trabalham no jornalismo e em áreas correlatas. A relação das respostas válidas apontou que mais da metade dos respondentes declarou se identificar como jornalista; informação que vem acompanhada, ao longo da pesquisa, pela declaração da função e da atividade que realizam como jornalistas, razão que nos levou a essa reflexão. Para tanto, apresentamos os dados da pesquisa, discutimos o que se entende por identidade profissional vinculada a valores e, por fim, fazemos algumas ponderações à título de conclusão.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Identidade profissional de jornalistas; Pandemia de Covid-19; Jornalistas; Trabalho jornalístico; Comunicadores.

RESUMEN:
Este artículo trae una reflexión referente lo que se delinea como identidad profesional de los periodistas. El análisis se ha ido de una investigación llevada a través para el CPCT-ECA/USP en 2021, y que recopilación se compone para las respuestas de los profesionales de todos los estados, que trabajan en el periodismo y los correlatas de las áreas. La relación de las respuestas válidas señaló que más que la mitad de los respondedores declararon si para identificar como periodista; la información que viene folleó, a través de la investigación, para el declaración de la función y de la actividad que llevan a través como periodistas, razona eso adentro los llevó a esta reflexión. Para de tal manera, presentamos los datos de la investigación, discutimos lo que entiende uno para profesional, identidad exigida los valores y, finalmente, nosotros hacemos algunos equilibrios por una razón o un propósito la conclusión.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Identidad profesional de periodistas; Pandemic de Covid-19; periodistas; Trabajo periodístico; Comunicadores.