

**FEMINIZATION AND GENDER ASYMMETRIES IN JOURNALISM: A
LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE TRAJECTORY OF BRAZILIAN
PROFESSIONALS IN CRISIS CONTEXTS**

**FEMINIZAÇÃO E ASSIMETRIAS DE GÊNERO NO JORNALISMO: UM ESTUDO
LONGITUDINAL DA TRAJETÓRIA DE PROFISSIONAIS BRASILEIRAS EM
CONTEXTOS DE CRISE**

**FEMINIZACIÓN Y ASIMETRÍAS DE GÉNERO EN EL PERIODISMO: UN
ESTUDIO LONGITUDINAL DE LAS TRAYECTORIAS DE PROFESIONALES
BRASILEÑAS EN CONTEXTOS DE CRISIS**



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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses gender asymmetries in journalism regarding morphology and sexual division of labor in professions that have recorded a sharp increase in the female workforce in contemporary capitalist processes. The empirical analysis covers a longitudinal study with 1,233 Brazilian journalists that replied to two online surveys carried out in 2012 and 2017. It presents two portraits of those journalists' careers in the context of political and economic crises in the country, along with the transformations seen in the journalistic activity. Our objective is to highlight gender inequalities that have an effect on their work conditions and the way the crises impacted those professionals' career choices and their abandonment of journalism. The theoretical background includes professional culture, the world of work and gender studies. Our results reinforce data already published about journalism in other countries in the last 20 years regarding unemployment of men and women; a greater exodus of women from the career when compared to their male peers; female migration to press consultancy and other occupations.

Keywords: Journalists. Sexual Division of Labor. Professional Trajectories. Gender Inequality. Brazil.

RESUMO

Este artigo discute as assimetrias de gênero no jornalismo em relação à morfologia e à divisão sexual do trabalho em profissões que registraram um aumento acentuado da força de trabalho feminina nos processos capitalistas contemporâneos. A análise empírica abrange um estudo longitudinal com 1.233 jornalistas brasileiros que responderam a duas pesquisas online realizadas em 2012 e 2017. Apresenta dois retratos da carreira dessas jornalistas no contexto das crises política e econômica do país, juntamente com as

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transformações observadas na atividade jornalística. Nosso objetivo é destacar as desigualdades de gênero que afetam suas condições de trabalho e a forma como as crises impactaram as escolhas de carreira dessas profissionais e seu abandono do jornalismo. O referencial teórico inclui cultura profissional, mundo do trabalho e estudos de gênero. Nossos resultados reforçam dados já publicados sobre o jornalismo em outros países nos últimos 20 anos sobre desemprego de homens e mulheres; maior êxodo de mulheres da carreira em comparação com seus pares masculinos; migração feminina para assessoria de imprensa e outras ocupações.

Palavras-chave: Jornalistas. Divisão Sexual do Trabalho. Trajetórias Profissionais. Desigualdades de Gênero. Brasil.

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza las asimetrías de género en el periodismo, en relación con la morfología y la división sexual del trabajo, en profesiones que han experimentado un marcado aumento de la fuerza laboral femenina en el contexto del capitalismo contemporáneo. El análisis empírico abarca un estudio longitudinal con 1233 periodistas brasileños que respondieron a dos encuestas en línea realizadas en 2012 y 2017. Presenta dos retratos de las carreras de estos periodistas en el contexto de las crisis políticas y económicas del país, junto con las transformaciones observadas en la actividad periodística. Nuestro objetivo es destacar las desigualdades de género que afectan sus condiciones laborales y cómo las crisis impactaron en las decisiones profesionales de estos profesionales y su abandono del periodismo. El marco teórico abarca la cultura profesional, el mundo laboral y los estudios de género. Nuestros resultados refuerzan los datos ya publicados sobre periodismo en otros países durante los últimos 20 años en relación con el desempleo masculino y femenino; un mayor éxodo de mujeres de la profesión en comparación con sus homólogos masculinos; y la migración femenina hacia las relaciones con la prensa y otras ocupaciones.

Palabras clave: Periodistas. División Sexual del Trabajo. Trayectorias Profesionales. Desigualdades de Gênero. Brasil.

1 INTRODUCTION

Permeated by the contradictions of contemporary capitalist processes (Yannoulas, 2011), an increase in the number of female workers in the journalism area has been noticed in the last 30 years in Brazil and practically all over the world (Neveu, 2000; Damian-Gaillard, Frisque and Saitta, 2009; 2016; Rocha, Souza, 2011; Pontes 2017; Lelo, 2019). The increase in the proportion of women in paid jobs became an important social change in the late XX century, with repercussions in society, however, it did not reduce the disparity between male and female jobs (Maruani, 2008). Such growth occurred “in both formal and informal areas of the economic life, as well as in the service sector”, mostly in “precarious and vulnerable jobs” in Asian, European and Latin American countries (HIRATA, 2001, p.143).

The same phenomenon occurred in the Brazilian journalism that has more women, but is still masculine (Silva, 2014; Figaro, 2018). The advance of studies on this profession in the last 40 years and, more specifically, on the feminization of this category, confirms that there was an increase in the proportion of women in all modalities of the journalistic activity (Rocha, 2004; Leite, 2015; Rocha, 2019). On the other hand, gender inequalities in the profession remain both vertically – better salaries and higher positions for men, and horizontally – editorial, gendered themes and market segments (Lelo, 2019; Author 2, 2019).

The feminization phenomenon has occurred transversally to a process of changes in the work conditions, which started in the Brazilian journalism in the 1980s (Oliveira, 2013), characterized by fast and systemic technological restructuring, flexibilization of formal labor relationships (increased number of freelancers and enterprising persons), increase in the technical/university qualification, qualification of a “reserve army” with constant juvenilization and the subjective/cognitive rationalization for the management of competences and responsibilities. Feminization in the world of work occurs associated to the precarization of the productive relations (Standing, 2017), in which the strict emancipation of the sexual division of labor and the restrictions to white and qualified women to the private sphere (Rubin, 2017; Pateman, 1988) are subverted to a sexually powered surplus value and exploitation – as has always occurred with black, poor women with low qualification to the job market (Davis, 2016) -, under the auspices of capitalism and its technological and cognitive aspects (Garcia, 2009; Huws, 2012).

Quantitative and qualitative studies on Brazilian journalists focusing on gender confirm such considerations. Research has indicated a growing participation of women in the journalistic job market: they are the majority in university courses, they are younger, with

higher qualification, lower salaries, more precarious work conditions, they face hierarchical differences and of the type of work they do, in addition to facing more situations of moral and sexual harassment (Herscovitz, 2000; Rocha, 2004; Sato, 2005; Mick and Lima, 2013; Silva, 2014; Leite, 2015; Pontes, 2017; Mazotte and Toste, 2018; Figaro, 2018; Lelo, 2019).

These characteristics are also reported in political and journalistic contexts different from those found in Brazil such as Argentina (Amado, 2017), Portugal (Subtil, 2009; Miranda, 2015; Lobo et al, 2015; Subtil and Silverinha, 2017), France (Neveu, 2000; Leteinturier, 2003), United Kingdom (Ross, 2001), Belgium (De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers, 2019), Spain (De Miguel et al, 2017), Austria (Hummel, Kirchhoff and Prandner, 2013), Sweden (Örnebring and Möller, 2018), Canada (Freeman, 2016), Egypt (Kaye-Essien and Ismail, 2018), Lebanon and other Arabic countries (Melki and Hitti, 2020), Hong Kong (Tsui and Lee, 2012), India and South Africa (Rao and Rodny-Gumede, 2020) and also in studies developed in the United States and other countries worldwide (Weaver and Wilnat, 2012).

This study contributes to gender and sociology of the journalistic job studies. It presents an analysis of quantitative data of two online surveys replied by 1,233 Brazilian journalists in 2012 and 2017. The research “Professional Trajectories of Brazilian Journalists (2012-2017)” is longitudinal, and intends to qualify data related to the career of journalists in a period of political and economic crises in Brazil (Mick and Pontes, 2023), allowing us to understand professional movements based on two moments, on two photographs. The survey questions cover sociodemographic characteristics and working conditions.

The first online survey was carried out from September to November 2012, some months before the start of the demonstrations of June 2013 in Brazilian municipalities, which advanced into a social and political crisis that peaked with the removal followed by the impeachment of the president Dilma Rousseff in August 2016. At the same time the political unrest grew, and an economic and fiscal crisis started in 2014 and contributed to the enactment of reforms that changed the labor law and the State responsibilities (Labor Reform and Public Spending Limitation Law, both approved in 2017). The second online survey occurred in November and December 2017, enabling a diagnosis of how journalists adapted their careers during that period.

The complexity of the report resides in the interface between the gender structuring inequalities that permeate labor relations in Brazil and in journalism, with the impacts of the crises that occurred in that period. To reach such objective, after describing the theoretical background and the methodological aspects of this proposal, the text presents results and

discussions on the sociodemographic characteristics and the work in journalism in 2012, the professionals' trajectories of those who left the journalistic activity in 2017, and also indicates possible impacts of the crises on their careers. This data is handled to compare the trajectory of men and women in journalism, exposing gender asymmetries in the light of the theoretical background proposed.

2 FEMINIZATION AND SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

The XXI century has developed into a structural precarization of work, characterized by the corrosion of the workers' social rights, loss of historical achievements and increase in the service workforce (Antunes, 2018). However, the flexibilization and precarization of work have affected unequally male and female jobs (Hirata, 2001/02). The new morphology of work has not overcome the labor sociosexual asymmetries (Antunes, 2018), since the logics of gender in the world of work appear in both the structural changes produced in the active population and in the social logics that support the (re)compositions in the world of work. Researching female work involves the understanding of the women's place in contemporary society as well as the social, political, economic and legal practices and the job market transformations, not limited only to the women's work, but also men's and society in general (Maruani, 2008), in this work materialized in the journalistic activity.

Hirata and Kergoat (2008) distinguished two organizing principles of the sexual division of labor and modalities found in distinct societies, namely: i) separation of women's work from men's work; ii) hierarchization, in which the work carried out by men has more prestige and recognition than that developed by women. These principles of the sexual division of labor are not unchangeable, there is certain elasticity in them, in both reproduction and commercial work, which might vary in time and space. However, the distance between sex groups remains.

Everything is complex, paradoxical, contradictory: there are more active and well-educated women, in paid jobs, but also more unemployed, badly-paid and underemployed women. The behavior of male and female activities is similar, but the professional and family inequalities are rooted. (MARUANI, 2008, p.36).

In the Brazilian journalism job market, the entrance of women occurred gradually, from the feminine and feminist press, and with lower recognition in "conventional" information vehicles. The occupation by male and female professionals is not symmetric and neither is the sexual division of labor in the newsrooms of this sector inside the media. The entrance of

women in the profession grew with the professionalization process, mainly from the implementation of journalism undergraduate courses all over the country after 1947, boosted by the Decree 972 of 17th October 1969, regulating the profession and requiring journalism higher education for the work in this activity⁴ (Rocha, 2019). In the XXI century, women already outnumbered men in the Brazilian journalism (Mick and Lima, 2013). Such quantitative increase generated gendered dislocations in the professional structure.

According to Yannoulas (2011), there is an intrinsic relation between predominance of women and the feminization of certain profession or occupation, the former is characterized by a quantitative increase, while the latter is based on qualitative internal movements, to the extent that the work organization and relationships absorb gender traditional marks. There are longitudinal asymmetries in which the strata are occupied by unequal proportions of men and women workers in hierarchical occupations of positions, functions and leadership, which are considered the glass ceiling imposed to women as gendered barriers. There are also horizontal barriers in the women's trajectories regarding the division and attribution of work, salary recognition and requirement of higher qualification to take over activities similar to those exercise by their male peers, creating gendered access doors that are also invisible. There are battles and conflicts faced inside and outside the work environment headed by women in defense of their rights and the equality between peers of different sexes.

In journalism, the asymmetries occur in the distribution by the job market segments (newspapers, magazines, radio stations and television channels, press consultancy, digital media and the academy), in the press coverage and editorial themes, in the hiring models and even the professional culture. However, the profession is also affected by the transformations that occur in society as a whole, at the same time it stimulates internal organization of defense and protection of workers of both sexes in their professional activity.

This paper proposes an analysis of the displacements in careers of male and female journalists in a period of five years marked by political, social and economic crises, with a simultaneous crisis in the journalistic activity, from the results of two online surveys based on the sexual division of labor. Our purpose is to identify characteristics of feminization of the work organization in the Brazilian journalism.

⁴ The mandatory requirement of a journalism higher education certificate was suspended in June 2009 in a vote by the Federal Supreme Court.

3 METHODS

From September to November 2012, Brazilian journalists were invited to take part in a census of that professional category, the “Brazilian Journalist Profile” promoted by the Federal University of Santa Catarina and supported by the National Federation of Professional Journalists, the Brazilian Association of Journalism Researchers and the National Forum of Journalism Professors. The research was developed through online survey, with the use of the data collection software called Survey Monkey, and made available via email, social networks, and the research specific webpage (Mick and Lima, 2013). Since in Brazil there is no law establishing who can be a journalist and there is no agency of professionals’ register joining all the information about the professional category, the research was directed to all those who self-identified as professional journalists.

To reduce the risks of the online survey method, the research Brazilian Journalist Profile pre-tested the questionnaire with 30 Brazilian journalists, and at the same time carried out interviews on the phone to test the instrument, thus eliminating over 800 questionnaires that either were incomplete or raised some suspicion. As part of the reliability test, the research required the register of a valid email from all respondents, and the addresses were checked by a message sent by the research team (Mick, 2013). The result was the creation of a data base with 4,216 responses provided by journalists. From that data base, a sampling plan with 2,731 replies was devised, which made it possible to generalize the results to all journalists distributed all over the Brazilian territory (Mick and Lima, 2013).

The research “Brazilian Journalists Professional Trajectories” is the result of a new online survey, promoted by the State University of Ponta Grossa and the Federal University of Santa Catarina, carried out from 16th November to 14th December 2017, which also employed the software Survey Monkey as data manager, however, this survey was only sent to the emails of the 4,216 journalists that had taken part in the 2012 survey. Each questionnaire was validated by the contact email through which the respondents received the research link⁵. After clearance, the responses by 1,233 journalists were obtained, which allowed us to notice the professionals’ situation in 2012 (Journalists’ Profile) and in 2017 (Professional Trajectories). In the research on their trajectories, it was not our objective and

⁵ In the cases in which the subject accessed the questionnaire with another email, the base clearance process confronted data from both surveys to confirm whether it was the same respondent. When the association could not be confirmed with certainty, the response was deleted from the base.

it is not even possible to generalize the information to all professionals in Brazil, but rather to observe the movements in the career of those men and women that took part in the research.

Both questionnaires had two filter questions that revealed the characteristics of the journalist profession conformation in Brazil. The first, appeared after the sociodemographic data and asked whether the person was working as a journalist or as a professor in a journalism course. Those who provided any negative option, followed to the final part of the questionnaire. The second filter question asked the respondents to define whether they worked as media journalists (similar to the professional conformation in most countries in the world), outside the media as professors, or outside the media as press consultants and similar activities⁶. It seems relevant to emphasize that in Brazil, since the 1980s, there has been an effort by the National Federation of Journalists and the unions connected to it, to define press consultancy as a function exclusively performed by journalists – in some dispute with public relations and other professional segments of the social communication area. The struggle for professional space ended up conforming this activity as belonging to journalists (Fenaj, 2007). The Brazilian Journalist Profile research revealed that three out of ten journalists in the country worked as press consultants in 2012 (Mick and Lima, 2013).

The empirical object is the information given by women and men working as journalists in 2012 and that had left the career in 2017. Another methodological aspect is the variation in the number of respondents in each moment of the analysis. First, data from the universe of 1,233 interviewees was compared. Next, information was presented regarding the 517 interviewees that stated that they worked as journalists in 2012. Later on, the trajectories of those 517 journalists were analyzed in 2017, focusing on the 261 participants that were no longer working as journalists in 2017. Finally, we analyzed how the 517 journalists understood their trajectories in relation to the crises, we also identified situations of harassment and illnesses.

The SPSS 23.0 version was used with analysis of all data upon the division of results into male and female. The study of variables carried out included: age range, ethnic origin, marital status, education, workload, income, position, keeping the journalist job (or not), crisis impacts noticed, illnesses, the occurrence of moral and sexual harassment and whether the

⁶ In this report, “journalists that work in the media” are only referred to as “journalists”; while “journalists that work in consultancy and similar activities” are referred to as “press consultants”; and those working as professors are referred to as “journalism professors”.

person was dismissed in the period. This information was compared to that in the Brazilian and foreign literature for contextualization and debate of results.

4 GENDER ASYMMETRIES IN THE BRAZILIAN JOURNALISM

4.1 GENERAL DATA: WOMEN AND MEN (2012-2017)

Out of the 1,233 people who took part in the research Professional Trajectories of Brazilian Journalists and self-declared journalists, 754 were women (61.2%), mostly white (74.4%) and 23.8% were black; and in 2017 almost 60% were 34 years old or under. The general characteristics of male journalists evidence the differences. They were 38.8% of the respondents, also mainly white (70.1%), but with greater presence of more advanced age groups: 45.1% were 34 years old. The beginning of the analysis already clearly pointed out the need for understanding how the growing process of feminization of the profession that started in the mid-2000s has occurred (Rocha, 2004; Leite, 2015). Special attention should be drawn to whether the opportunities of maintenance and progression in the career as well general contextual situations tend to favor the permanence of men rather than that of women in journalism.

Another difference in the sexual division of labor is in the occupation chosen by each of the gender among the options presented by the Brazilian job market. In 2012, 37.1% of the interviewed women worked in the media, in jobs that are internationally recognized as journalistic. However, 36.1% worked in press consultancy and 3.7% were professors in journalism undergraduate courses. Out of the 479 men who took part in the research, 49.5% worked as journalists, 24% were press consultants, and 6.3% were journalism professors. There was a proportional balance between those that were outside any journalistic activity in 2012, since 23.1% women and 20.3% men experienced unemployment, were only students or worked in other occupations. Thus, it seems relevant to point out that the interviewed men worked proportionally more as journalists and journalism professors, while women were in press consultancy jobs.

In 2017, some change was seen in this composition, since only 22.7% of the interviewed women worked as journalists, 32% as press consultants, 5.4% as professors and 39.9% were outside the Brazilian journalistic field (they worked in other occupations, were unemployed or were only students). Regarding men, 35.9% worked as journalists in 2017, 22.3% as press consultants, 7.9% as professors, and 33.1% were not in journalistic jobs.

Therefore, strong reduction in the number of women working in journalism was observed, with an increase in the number of those completely outside the journalistic activity in 2017.

This paper addresses the inequalities present in the journalism typical activities, separating the corpus of studies from other ways of participating in the field. Likewise, no information is included about the respondents that were completely out of the Brazilian journalistic field in 2012, that is, those that were only students, the unemployed, and those that were in other professional occupations (even keeping their journalistic identity). Therefore, the following data includes the 517 professionals that stated that they worked as journalists in 2012. This cut is already conditioned to the gender asymmetries in the conditions of access to the journalistic job expressed by the 1,233 interviewees.

4.2 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC AND JOURNALISTS' WORK IN 2012 DATA

The data of the interviewees that worked as journalists in 2012 allowed us to establish comparisons with quantitative and qualitative studies carried out in other countries. Moreover, they guided our looking into the segment that defines the field codes. In 2012, out of the 517 participant journalists, 280 were women (54.2%). If we consider the total number of women, 754, we could observe that only 37.1% developed activities that were traditionally considered journalistic. As for the 237 men working in journalism, they represent 49.5% of the 479 men that took part in the research.

When describing the information related to 280 women, we identified that 77.9% were self-declared white, while 20.7% were self-declared black. They were mainly single (68.6%), while 26.1% were married or in a stable union. The proportion of white men was 72.2%, while 24.5% were black. Race inequalities are structural in Brazil and are intertwined with gender inequalities: black women, for example, are the most excluded from the professional field, followed by their male black peers. Men were mostly married or in a stable union (40.9%), with a lower proportion of single male journalists when compared to their female peers (55.7%).

The female participants were more qualified than their male peers. Women were also studying more than men while developing their professional activity, since 31.4% of them were doing some course, while only 25.7% of men were in the same situation. Women worked longer hours, but earned less than their male colleagues. Only 10.8% worked up to 5 hours a day (which is determined by the regulation of the journalism work in Brazil) and 40.4% over 8 hours a day. Among men, 8.4% worked 5 hours a day or less and 35.9% worked over 8

hours a day. On the other hand, longer work hours did not mean higher salaries. Table 1 shows differences between men's and women's salaries. Women are proportionally in larger numbers in the group below five minimum wages, while men outnumber women proportionally in the group over five minimum wages. In the group over 10 minimum wages, there are over twice as many men than women. This data is in accordance with studies on the sexual division of labor in other professions and countries in which the female workforce is exploited when compared to their male peers (Hirata, 2001/02).

Table 1

White and Black men's and women's salary range in 2012

Salary ⁷	2012					
	Women n=280			Men n=237		
	White n=218	Black n=58	All n=280	White n=171	Black n=58	All n=237
Up to 2 minimum wages	36 16.5%	15 25.9%	51 – 18.2%	20 11.7%	10 17.2%	30 12.7%
From 2 to 5 minimum wages	120 55.0%	31 53.4%	152 – 54.3%	73 42.7%	33 56.9%	109 46.0%
From 5 to 10 minimum wages	43 19.7%	7 12.1%	53 – 18.9%	40 23.4%	9 15.5%	51 21.5%
Over 10 minimum wages	15 - 6.9%	4 - 6.9%	19 – 6.8%	34 19.9%	6 10.3%	43 18.1%

Source: Professional Trajectories of Brazilian Journalists.

Org: the authors

When the factor color/race is added to understand salary rates, we confirm data already reported by Pontes (2017) that proportionally white men earn more than black men, who, in turn, have better salaries than white women, whose salaries are higher than those of black women. This implies that in addition to the reduced access that male and female black have to journalism undergraduate courses and the Brazilian journalistic market (considering that over half of the Brazilian population is black).

Women and men presented similar data referring to the type of employment relationship they had, since 62.9% women and 61.2% men were in formal jobs. However, women appeared in higher proportion as freelance journalists (11.4% of the female respondents were in this situation, while 6.8% were men) and men were in higher proportion among those who provided service as a company (Corporate Entity) – 6.1% women and 7.2% men -, as entrepreneurs (2.5% women and 4.2% men) and as civil servants (2.5% women

⁷ A minimum wage in 2012 was the equivalent to BRL 622.00, that is, a US\$ 319.00 mean value.

and 5.9% men). A proportional balance is observed between those providing services (8.9% and 8.4%) and commissioned ones (2.9% and 2.5%, respectively). It seems relevant to emphasize that around 25% of the interviewees working in newsrooms in 2012 were considered in a precarious situation (freelancers, corporate entities and service providers) – 26.4% women and 22.4% men.

Women's time in the profession in 2012 was shorter than that of men, since 83.9% of the interviewees had been for less than 6 years in the same job, a proportion that fell to 66.6% among men. With a longer time in the job, older and earning higher salaries, men also occupied positions of greater importance in the professional hierarchy. They were in higher number among editors (26.6% men and 23.6% women) and directors/ managers (3.4% and 0.7%, respectively). While 47.5% of the reporters were women, 41.4% were men. The positions of producer and coordinator were proportional between both genders.

When analyzing the media in which female journalists worked (multiple-choice questions), we could observe that Brazilian newsrooms were still in a process of transformation in 2012. Only 42.9% of the women declared that their job was developed on the internet (55.3% of men). Newspapers were the media of work for 43.9% women and 45.1% men, as well as magazines for 22.9% women and 18.6% men – which also revealed a significant presence of the printed media. In electronic media, 18.2% of the female journalists developed their activities on TV (21.5% men) and 8.9% on the radio (14.8% men). Again, we could notice that the male participants reported working for more than one media more frequently than women. The female professionals showed greater presence in the printed media, while male journalists were found more in the electronic and digital media – these characteristics of Brazilian journalists had already been reported by Herscovitz (2000) and Rocha (2004).

4.3 JOURNALISTS THAT HAD LEFT JOURNALISM IN 2017

According to Pontes and Mick (2023), when analyzing the data from the research Professional Trajectory of Brazilian Journalists, they found that the female journalists were more affected by the negative impacts of the crises occurred in the period from 2012 to 2017. A large number of professionals that were in the journalistic job in 2012 were observed to be completely out of the Brazilian journalistic field in 2017 – even if a significant group migrated to press consultancy jobs.

The data indicated that out of 517 journalists that were in the media in 2012, only 256 (49.5%) remained in the same sector. Over half of the journalists – 261- were in consultancy, teaching, only studying, unemployed or in other occupations. Out of those, 10 had retired (four women and six men). When comparing the information in the two surveys, we found out that 57.9% of the women that were in journalism in 2012, had left this activity in 2017. That occurred to 41.8% of the participating men. Both proportions are high for an interval of five years only. But the women's situation is worse than that of the men's that were the majority before, in 2017 they became 46.1% of the 256 that remained in the journalistic job.

Table 2

Occupation in 2017 of those that were in the journalistic job in 2012 per gender and color

Occupation 2017	General n=517	Women n=280			Men n= 237		
		White n=218	Black n=58	All n=280	White n=171	Black n=58	All n=237
Media	256 49.5%	92 42.2%	24 41.4%	118 42.1%	98 57.3%	35 60.3%	138 58.2%
Consultancy	92 – 17.8%	49 22.5%	12 20.7%	63 22.5%	19 11.1%	8 – 13.8%	29 12.2%
Teaching	18 – 3.5%	7 – 3.2%	1 – 1.7%	8 – 2.9%	10 – 5.8%	0 – 0.0%	10 – 4.2%
Outside Journalism	151 29.2%	70 32.1%	21 36.2%	91 32.5%	44 25.7%	15 25.9%	60 25.3%
Studying	20 – 3.9%	12 – 5.5%	4 – 6.9%	16 – 5.7%	3 – 1.8%	1 – 1.7%	4 – 1.7%
Unemployed	35 – 6.4%	10 – 4.6%	6 – 10.3%	16 – 5.7%	13 – 7.6%	4 – 6.9%	17 – 7.1%
Other occupations	88 – 17%	45 20.6%	10 17.2%	55 19.6%	23 13.5%	9 – 15.5%	33 13.9%
Retired and others	10 – 1.9%	3 – 1.4%	1 – 1.7%	4 – 1.5%	5 – 2.9%	1 – 1.7%	6 – 2.5%

Source: Professional Trajectories of Brazilian Journalists.
Org: the authors

Table 2 presents two sets of information. First, gender inequalities are exposed. Out of the 280 women that were in journalistic activities in 2012, 22.5% migrated to consultancy activities, 2.9% to teaching jobs, 5.7% became students only, 5.7% were unemployed, 1.5% retired, and 19.6% were in other occupations. Men were found to be proportionally in lower numbers in consultancy jobs (12.2%), studying (1.7%) and in other occupations (13.9%), but

they outnumbered women in teaching jobs (4.2%), unemployment condition (7.1%) and retirement (2.5%). No significant inequalities were found between male and female white and black participants. When comparing the information regarding age, gender and abandonment of the journalistic career of the female respondents, we found out that gender and young age were determining factors. The age groups were classified as follows: newly-graduated in 2012 (below 25 years old), young professionals (below 30 years old) and mature journalists (30 years old or over). The mean number of female journalists up to 25 years old and those up to 30 years old practically did not present differences (59.8 and 60.1%, respectively). The number of journalists that were 30 years old or over and that left the journalistic job was not as high (53.9%). We could observe that the number of women migrating to consultancy or teaching increased according to the increase in the age of the female journalists. On the other hand, the number of female journalists that became students only, unemployed or in other occupations increased among the younger professionals (below 30 years old). As for the male journalists, a similar phenomenon was observed since those that were 25 years old and under and 30 years old and under presented the same numbers regarding the abandonment of the journalistic job: 45.8% and a smaller proportion that was found in consultancy or teaching activities in 2017. When they were 30 years old or over, the proportion of abandonment of the journalistic activity was lower, 37.8%.

This implies that for those male and female journalists up to 30 years old that took part in the research there was a strong pressure to leave journalism. The second and main factor, as seen in the data above, was gender: women left journalism more often than men in all age groups (female professionals were always over 50%, while male journalists were always below it).

Bearing in mind that the mean number of women that left journalism was 57.9% against 41.8% men, single professionals in 2012 and 2017 appeared more outside the journalistic activity than those that were married or in a stable union. This occurred because the highest indices of abandonment of journalism were observed among those men and women that were single in 2012 and got married up to 2017: 65.7% women and 53.7% men. Regarding marital status observed in 2012 and 2017, we noticed that more women than men left the journalistic activity, and that the permanence in the activity was higher among those that had a partner. Moreover, a higher number of female professionals that were single in 2012 and married or started a stable union up to 2017 left journalism.

When comparing the journalists' workload in 2012 and abandonment of the profession, we found that those that worked up to 5 hours a day were the ones that proportionally most left the activity (66.7% women and 55% men). The lowest number of those that left the journalistic activity, proportionally, worked over 8 hours a day (56.6% women and 35.3% men). This situation might result from two phenomena: the professionals' hierarchical growth, which also increases workload; and the precarization of the employment contracts, with greater disrespect to the legal limit of 5 hours a day for the journalistic activity in Brazil. It seems relevant to emphasize that the increase in the workload tends to harm more women than men, since they are more susceptible to double or triple work routines.

The abandonment of the journalistic activity by female journalists was mostly observed in magazines, 62.5% women and 50% men. Greater inequality between genders occurred on the radio: 64% of the women employed in 2012 were out in 2017, this proportion was 28.6% among male professionals. However, those working on television were in equal number in 2012 and showed the same proportion of abandonment of that activity: 47.1%. The data found about newspapers and the internet were very similar, since in both, 55% women left journalism – while among men, 44.3% left the activity on the internet and 46.9% in newspapers. Moreover, the mean proportion of abandonment by journalists corresponds to that of the reporters (59.4% women and 41.8% men). The number of female producers decreased by 64.3%, unlike the number of male producers that reduced by one third only. Among editors in 2012, 48.5% women and 31.7% men abandoned the activity.

Summarizing, we found that 57.9% female journalists had left the activity up to 2017, that his proportion was higher among women up to 30 yeas old and was more noticeable among those who were single in 2012 and married or were in a stable union up to 2017. The female journalists that worked less than five hours a day, proportionally, left journalism more often. Likewise, earning up to two minimum wages and being for less than a year in the job also increased the percentage of abandonment. Freelance female journalists in 2012 tended to be outside the journalistic activity in 2017. The media in which women mostly stopped working, proportionally, was the radio and the magazines. Producers and reporters were the ones that mostly abandoned the activity. In practically all the variables analyzed, gender asymmetries were seen as a rule rather than an exception.

4.4 DISEASES, DISMISSALS AND THE BRAZILIAN CRISIS

In Brazil, the journalism crisis discourse is also permanent (Russi, Moser and Oliveira, 2015), but from 2013 onwards, the increased economic crisis that started in western countries in 2008 along with the political/institutional crisis that resulted in the impeachment of the president Dilma Rousseff in 2016 reinforced it. Traditional communication means in Brazil also closed in that period, with growing numbers of professionals being dismissed (Pithan, Vaclavich and Oltramari, 2020). In certain ways and in many cases, the journalism presented by the traditional media (national, regional and local) announced and helped the development of the Brazilian political and institutional crisis (Sousa, 2016). On the other hand, journalists felt the impact of the simultaneous occurrence of the country and journalism economic crises, as well as the political and technological transformations that occupied the newsrooms. The interviewees were invited to evaluate the impacts of the Brazilian crisis on eight dimensions of the journalistic work, and from their responses, we could notice how women and men evaluated these processes (Table 3).

Table 3

Negative impact of the crisis on the career of those working in journalism in 2012

	Crisis affecting career dimensions negatively									
	Women n=280					Men n=237				
	No impac t	Little impac t	Impac t	Great impac t	Not answere d	No impac t	Little impac t	Impac t	Great impac t	Not answere d
Professional autonomy	20.4 %	26.4 %	23.9 %	20.0 %	9.3%	29.1 %	22.8 %	27.4 %	14.3 %	6.3%
Salary	17.1 %	16.8 %	27.5 %	30.0 %	8.6%	17.7 %	21.9 %	28.7 %	24.9 %	6.8%
Other benefits	22.9 %	16.4 %	25.0 %	26.4 %	9.3%	26.2 %	16.9 %	25.3 %	25.3 %	6.3%
Job stability	21.1 %	16.4 %	26.8 %	26.8 %	8.9%	19.4 %	22.8 %	25.3 %	25.3 %	7.2%
Career progression	16.4 %	14.6 %	29.3 %	31.1 %	8.6%	21.5 %	14.3 %	30.0 %	27.4 %	6.8%
Work hours	27.9 %	21.1 %	23.9 %	17.9 %	9.3%	31.2 %	24.1 %	24.1 %	13.9 %	6.8%

Multifunctionality	14.6 %	20.7 %	27.1 %	28.2 %	9.3%	22.8 %	20.7 %	26.6 %	23.2 %	6.8%
Team size	13.9 %	14.6 %	25.4 %	37.1 %	8.9%	13.1 %	13.9 %	29.5 %	33.3 %	7.2%

Source: Professional Trajectory of Brazilian Journalists.

Org: the author

Women felt more intensely (great impact) the impacts of the crisis in all work dimensions. When the columns 'impact' and 'large impact' are summed, the only dimension in which men overcame women is the negative impact on the 'team size'. When observing only the column 'no impact', there are two dimensions that were more indicated by women than men: "job stability" and "team size". The data also showed that the crisis did not impact 'work hours' or 'professional autonomy' much, however, its impact was felt more heavily on the 'team size' and 'career progression' dimensions. These results might partly express that both aspects editorial and long work hours were already in this situation in 2012. However, professional autonomy is still a valued element in the profession ideology and one of the last strongholds of the journalists' identity. Melado et al (2014) demonstrated, for example, how journalists (including Brazilian professionals) still advocate the professional values even if they do not exercise them in their work. Figaro (2019) evidenced how Brazilian journalists in independent initiatives did not abandon professional values even if they were working in a precarious situation. On the other hand, the high impact of the crisis on team size is directly related to the policy of dismissal recorded in the Brazilian media companies since 2012.

According to Pithan, Vaclavich and Oltramari (2020), individual dismissals that occurred in the Brazilian journalism from 2012 onwards were turning points in those individuals' journalistic careers. From 2012 onwards, layoffs occurred in the newsrooms, according to the survey organized by the Volt Data Lab called *A Conta dos Passaralhos* (The Layoff account), reporting the collective dismissals of over 2.3 thousand journalists. This reality was also seen in other countries, as reported in the study carried out by Sherwood and O'Donnell (2016) in Australia.

The research on Professional Trajectories indicated that one out of each three journalists were dismissed at least once from 2012 to 2017. Men (37.5%) were made redundant more often than women (30.4%). Among the dismissed professionals, 13.5% men reported collective dismissal (32 journalists) along with 11.1% women (31 journalists). It seems relevant to emphasize that more men interviewed in that research were in a situation of unemployment than women (7.1% male professionals, 5.7% female professionals). A

similar phenomenon was analyzed in the layoffs of companies in the United States during the 2008 / 2009 crisis and the increase in unemployment among men, called Mancession (Standing, 2017, p. 102).

Among the men that were made redundant (89 individuals), 48.3 started new jobs in the media after dismissal, while only 25.9% of the dismissed women (85 professionals) got jobs in journalism again. Moreover, 58.5% of the dismissed men, at some point in that period were out of journalism at the moment of the interview in 2017. This percentage increased to 74.1% when female journalists were interviewed. Women, therefore, looked for alternatives to the journalism work more often than men. This might have occurred, partly, because men had more time of work in journalism, since there is a market trend to recruit more men that are in a situation of unemployment, or even because the newsroom conditions motivated more women to look for other alternatives than men. Responses regarding these issues require further studies both quantitative and qualitative.

Part of the women's motivation to abandon the activity might be inferred from the work conditions, for example, which resulted in situations of diseases that more often affected women. Pontes and Lima (2019) confirmed that among the 1,233 interviewees in that interview, women reported suffering more with stress, mental diseases, RSI (repetitive strain lesion)/WRMD (work-related musculoskeletal disorders) and using more antidepressants than men. When the analysis focused on those that were working in journalism in 2012, this information was confirmed. In addition to the diseases already mentioned, Lelo (2019) presented a qualitative study highlighting that journalists experienced an "ethical dilemma" – that is, situations of strong emotional load resulting from experiences that were against their professional and humanitarian beliefs.

Even facing a general scenario of the journalists' trajectories that tended to demonstrate considerable asymmetries of gender, 40.4% of the journalists stated that their efforts at work are rewarded, this index is slightly higher than that reported by men (37.1%). These results require further investigation to understand how women understand compensation and reward processes in journalism, and how they develop a critical or more resilient or resigned view of the existing contradictions in their work environment.

5 CONSIDERATIONS

The research about "Trajectories of Brazilian Journalists (2012-2017)" reinforces evidence already worked on in other research that there are differences between men and

women in Brazilian journalism, which is demonstrated by the occupation of command positions (editors, directors and managers). Better salaries are also more attributed to men. Male journalists tend to be older and have been in the same job for longer periods. Male journalists surveyed are also less adaptable, as after dismissal they tend to be more unemployed, invest less in independent journalism initiatives and to seek jobs in the media to the detriment of other sectors that employ journalists. This characteristic can be understood in light of the symbolic construction that men would need to receive salaries to support a family, unlike that the ideologies attributed to women, who are more susceptible to precarious conditions and lower disabilities (Standing, 2017).

In turn, the number of female journalists researched on the margins of journalism, in precarious jobs, in initiatives outside traditional newsrooms, as a “reserve army of labor” that is not in formal employment and never reach higher positions in journalism. Female journalism are younger, have only been working for a few years and find it more difficult to stay in work. Journalism with a regulatory workload of five hours, or freelance work, is indicative of women working double or triple shifts - as occurs in other professional activities (Hirata, 2001/02). On the other hand, the salary aimed exclusively at self-support - and therefore lower - tends to reduce the prospects of the women interviewed to form a stable union or marriage. And, when starting a family, they tend not to see space in the best-paid hierarchies of journalism – symbolically and materially dominated by men.

Some elements from Standing’s analysis (2017) regarding the characteristics of feminization of jobs might be associated to understand the studied trajectories. Such features include increase in the number of women, job precarization, flexibility, professionals’ lower age and increase in qualification. These are all characteristics of the neoliberal model associated to the new employment regime in the so-called information society.

Crises tend to accelerate these processes. The literature on the journalism crisis evidences that these professionals are politically, economically and technologically harassed (Curran, 2018). These crisis dimensions are cyclic and historical (Breeze, 2016) and in the Brazilian case, also recurrent (Russi, Moser and Oliveira, 2015). Moreover, the great national media is characterized by its involvement in political situations of crisis, which was not different in the period under analysis (Souza, 2016; Pontes and Mick (2023).

The second aspect of the journalism crisis is economic. In the Brazilian journalism industry, many collective dismissals occurred – or layoffs – which reached great part of this work category.

The economic and political dimensions are linked to the technological transformations that destabilized the journalism statutes (Garcia, 2009; Garcia, Marmeleira, Matos, 2014). Technological changes enabled the industry to increase the journalists' production, merge some functions, reduce team size and increase competition. This also enabled the access of a larger number of agents to the media and, consequently, hyper competition in the production area and also in the quest for the attention of the target audience. This triple pressure created by the journalism crisis (Curran, 2018; Tavares, Xavier e Pontes, 2021), along with the worsening factors brought about by the Brazilian crisis, and the male and female characteristics of the Brazilian journalism raised a variety of tensions that appeared in the trajectory of female journalists and the differences found in relation to their male colleagues.

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