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Endure, Invest, Ignore: How French and American Journalists React to Economic Constraints and Technological Transformations

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This paper explores journalists' reactions to economic constraints and technological transformations in two cities: Toulouse, France, and Seattle, United States. Through semi-structured interviews, we show that journalists in both places either endure these conditions, invest in them as professional opportunities, or ignore them altogether. Drawing on Bourdieu, we argue that these distinct responses are shaped in part by a journalist's position in the field: those in low positions tend to endure; those in intermediate positions generally invest; and those in high positions are likely to ignore. We also suggest that the meanings of these responses vary according to the distinctive fields in which journalists are embedded, with the reactions of Toulouse journalists generally less market-oriented than their Seattle counterparts. These findings, and the theoretical perspective that enables them, are positioned in relation to case studies that analyze journalists' reactions and comparative survey research that explores similarities and differences in such reactions.

Keywords: Bourdieu, Comparative Research, Digital Journalism, In-Depth Interviews, Journalism.

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Across Western Europe and North America, journalists confront a set of well-known, inter-related, economic and technological challenges. Economically, funding for journalists' work—whether in terms of jobs or newsroom resources—has been reduced due to their employers' financial difficulties (Nielsen, 2016). Technologically, digital tools provide journalists with potentially novel ways of producing and distributing their work, as well as interacting with audiences (Russell, 2011; Usher, 2016). Together, these developments shape a question that scholars have sought for several

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decades to answer: how do journalists react to these economic constraints and technological transformations?

Two lines of scholarship provide important but incomplete answers to this question. A first, which is case-based and utilizes qualitative data, shows how organizational dynamics, everyday practices, and professional norms interact with economic constraints and technological transformations (Anderson, 2013; Boczkowski, 2004; Ryfe, 2017; Usher, 2014). Yet these analyses are largely silent on the ways that individual attributes (e.g., professional trajectories, social backgrounds) shape these reactions. A second—typically survey-based comparative research—explores cross-national similarities and differences in journalists' reactions (Albæk, Van Dalen, Jebril, & de Vreese, 2014; Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Örnebring, 2016). While this research gathers important data on individual attributes, it is sometimes criticized for failing to understand the specific contexts in which journalists react (Hallin & Mancini, 2012).

This paper deploys Bourdieu's (1996, 1998) concepts of position and field to address these gaps in the literature. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of journalists in two cities—Toulouse, France and Seattle, United States—we show that reactions to economic constraints and technological transformations are shaped in important ways by a journalist's position. Those who occupy lower positions in the journalistic hierarchy (i.e., freelancers and general assignment reporters, who are often women with limited professional experience) tend to endure the challenges that confront them. By contrast, those in intermediate positions (i.e., several years' professional experience, holding degrees from graduate programs or prestigious universities) are more likely to invest in those challenges as opportunities. Finally, those in higher positions (i.e., beat reporters and editors, often men with many years' professional experience and working for legacy news media) tend to ignore these transformations.

We also show that what it means to endure, invest, or ignore varies according to the journalistic field in which one is embedded. In Toulouse, labor regulations make it difficult for journalists to lose their jobs, and powerful, incumbent organizations minimize the emergence of new actors. Therefore, journalists who endure devalue their profession to a mere job; those who invest tie themselves to technological skill only when seeking to enhance their employability in dominant news organizations; and those that ignore largely tune out management concerns. By contrast, in Seattle, weak labor protections make job loss an important concern for journalists, and legacy media's heavy market exposure creates opportunities for some but risks for all. Journalists who endure, therefore, work longer hours and perform more tasks; journalists who invest use technology to reduce costs and bring in new revenues; those that ignore produce costly reporting (e.g., investigative) whose financial future is itself uncertain.

These findings, and the theoretical perspective that enables them, extend scholarship on journalists' reactions in several ways. Our emphasis on position links up with calls to analyze the way individual attributes—rather than just motivations and

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choices—shape responses to economic and technological transformations. Moreover, our comparative use of field provides an analytical tool for making sense of the discrepant contexts in which journalists react to similar transformations. Finally, our results identify a set of responses that can guide scholars studying how other occupational groups react to shifting economic and technological conditions.

Two views on journalists' reactions

Studies of journalists' reactions to economic constraints and technological transformations proliferate. One recent review documented a "remarkable growth in the volume of activity, the diversity of the topics examined, and the array of conceptual and methodological resources utilized" (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2017, p. 15). Within this scholarship, two areas—operating largely independent of each other—have been and continue to be especially important. Each captures key aspects of journalists' reactions; each also has limitations that make it difficult to see how individual positions and social contexts, respectively, shape such reactions.

A first stream of research utilizes qualitative data to provide in-depth accounts of journalists' reactions. These accounts depict journalists reacting in a range of ways: sometimes struggling to adapt (Ryfe, 2017) and other times finding ways to innovate (Usher, 2014). Scholars highlight a number of variables that help explain these reactions: professional norms (Anderson, 2013; Revers, 2017; Usher, 2014), organizational dynamics (Boczkowski, 2004; Bousquet, Smyrnaios, & Bertelli, 2014; Tandoc & Vos, 2016), and daily routines and practices (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006; Ryfe, 2017). These variables complicate popular and scholarly beliefs that journalists respond to economic and technological transformations by becoming interactive, participatory, and "networked" participants in the public sphere (Jenkins, 2006).

This literature is less interested in accounting for the documented diversity of journalists' reactions. Usher (2014), for instance, notes variation in the extent of journalists' digital media use. Where some view such tools as "an intrusion of workflow … and a task to be done by *someone else*" (p. 153, emphasis in the original), others see "a tremendous opportunity … to experiment with new forms of storytelling and embrace the potential of online journalism" (p. 153). She takes this as evidence illustrating her claim that online norms are "contested" among journalists in legacy newsrooms. While this argument is made convincingly, it also pushes the observed variation in journalists' reactions to the background of her analysis. Readers are left wondering what—other than individual motivations—might explain these different reactions.

Usher and others focus primarily on complicating claims of technologically driven progress, and in this they are undoubtedly successful. Yet, relative inattention to individual variation as a conceptual matter means this scholarship says little about a topic receiving greater attention: the way individual attributes shape capacities for action (Damian, Frisque, & Saitta, 2010; Nettleton, 2015; Robinson, 2018). A basic premise of these calls is that an individual's reaction is neither entirely random

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nor based on equal opportunities among persons. Instead, professional trajectories (job titles, employment histories) and social backgrounds (educational attainment, demographic characteristics) provide individuals with different capacities for responding to economic and technological transformations. Such insights offer a starting point for analyzing observed variation, while moving beyond voluntarist accounts that see reactions in terms of individual motivations (e.g., Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2011). Absent a framework for documenting and analyzing this variation, in-depth accounts struggle to meet this challenge.

A second stream of research is found in comparative journalism scholarship. Scholars seek to document and analyze how distinct contexts lead journalists to react to economic constraints and technological transformations in similar or different ways (Aalberg, Van Aelst, & Curran, 2010; Humprecht & Esser, 2018; Örnebring, 2016). Within this area, an important subset of scholarship uses survey data to document journalists' perceptions of change (Albæk et al., 2014; Hanitzsch et al., 2011). These surveys collect important data about individual attributes that are assumed to influence individual journalists' views. These include an individual's professional position (e.g., current job, employment status, past work experiences) and social background (e.g., educational attainment and demographic variables, like gender). In principle, this seems well situated to identify relationships between individual attributes and journalists' reactions and, thus, address a shortcoming associated with the studies discussed above.

In practice, these studies report descriptive findings based on national averages of standardized questions. Readers are informed of mean scores of journalists' responses to these questions, but these are not linked to the individual attributes that are assumed to shape journalists' perceptions, nor do they explore what these perceptions mean in their specific contexts. For example, Hanitzsch et al. (2011, p. 278) reported a far higher percentage of female journalists in Romania (65% of the sample) than in Germany (25%), but did not explain what this says about journalism in either country, as gender is not a variable used to analyze perceptions of change. Relatedly, Albæk and colleagues (2014, p. 42) reported the national averages of journalists' perceptions of commercial pressures. But what it means to perceive a commercial pressure—and which journalists are most likely to perceive it—are not questions they explored. This tendency to report national averages to standardized questions has the paradoxical effect of de-contextualizing the findings, as readers struggle to understand what they mean in the various contexts studied.

As with qualitative studies, comparative scholarship provides important insights into how journalists react to economic constraints and technological transformations. Most importantly, it shows that journalists cannot be assumed to react in similar ways, even when facing similar pressures. Given long-standing and enduring assumptions about journalism that primarily reflect American understandings of the profession, this scholarship helps de-naturalize expectations regarding journalists' reactions. Yet the tendency to report national averages on standardized questions makes it difficult to fulfill this aim more completely and explain the specific

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contexts in which journalists react. Taken together, the two streams of scholarship thus suggest the need for an approach that examines individual attributes while taking distinct contexts into account.

A Bourdieusian approach to journalists' reactions

The work of Pierre Bourdieu—specifically, his concepts of position and field—provides a useful approach for considering precisely these issues. For Bourdieu (1985), individual reactions are shaped by one's position, which refers to the location one occupies in a hierarchically ordered social space. This position constrains and enables the way an individual perceives and, therefore, reacts to social transformations. Crucially, one's position is neither random nor the mere reflection of an individual's will or motivation. Instead, it is shaped by a range of dynamic individual attributes that include one's professional trajectory and social background. Individuals thus respond to transformations partly on the basis of capacities acquired elsewhere; the researcher's task is to explore how these attributes shape individual reactions.

Decades of journalism research identify several attributes that help comprise a journalist's position. The news outlets at which journalists work are divided between dominant, legacy media (e.g., print, daily newspapers and broadcast television) and alternative information sources (e.g., community weeklies, online news sites; Singer, 2004). Occupational titles confer varying forms of job security (e.g., newsroom employee versus freelancer) as well as prestige (e.g., general assignment versus beat reporters; Christin, 2018). Years of professional experience and educational attainment (e.g., highest degree attained, the prestige of one's university) perform similar functions (Marchetti & Ruellan, 2001). Research also suggests that journalists are divided—though not always in predictable ways—according to gender (Leteinturier & Frisque, 2015). The concept of position invites researchers to explore how and in what ways such attributes help explain journalists' reactions to economic and technological transformations.

The concept of field helps specify how attributes assume their meanings in specific contexts. For Bourdieu (1996), fields are the social spaces in which individuals compete for recognition and prestige according to the "rules of the game." These rules are themselves the product of historical struggles. In capitalist democracies like France and the United States, these struggles revolve in part around the degree to which individuals within a field are insulated from market demands. State laws and policies, for example, shape whether individuals are protected from market demands (via labor regulations); they also shape, explicitly or implicitly, which individuals receive such protections. Thus, even if two individuals possess similar attributes (e.g., gender, professional experience), what these attributes enable might vary due to the specific configuration of the field in which they are embedded.

Comparatively-minded journalism scholars have found the concept of field useful for interpreting observed cross-national differences. For example, Christin's

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(2018) ethnographic research documents a tendency among Parisian reporters to obsess over audience metrics, while reporters in New York tend to discount them. She draws on extant scholarship to interpret her findings in light of the two nation's journalistic fields. Because U.S. journalism tends to be more market-oriented, a division of labor emerged between editors (deemed responsible for attending to commercial concerns) and reporters (who focused on their professional craft). By contrast, French journalism tends to be less market-oriented and, thus, not characterized by a similar division of labor. This leaves French reporters, in Christin's (2018, p. 1385) view, "ill prepared to handle growing economic pressure in the form of [audience] clicks." By interpreting her findings in light of distinctive field histories, Christin was, thus, able to place the findings in their appropriate contexts and help make sense of the observed actions in the two settings.

Data and methods

This paper is part of a larger project examining transformations in French and American journalism (Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2016, 2018). Journalists in both countries confront similar economic constraints and technological transformations. The business models of their employers are uncertain, and circulation and advertising revenues continue to decline (Nielsen, 2016). In both places, too, digital technologies present journalists with potentially novel ways to do their work (Christin, 2018). At the same time, the two countries' journalistic fields differ substantially in their market orientation, as American journalists are generally more exposed to market pressures than their French counterparts (Benson, 2013).[1] By selecting cases where similar challenges are present across different contexts, we sought to identify how positions shape reactions across distinct journalistic fields.

Within these two countries, we conducted interviews in two interestingly similar cities: Toulouse and Seattle. These are comparably-sized and located on the geographic periphery of their respective countries (southwestern France, northwestern United States). Economically, they are home to large aeronautics and information technology sectors that drive sustained periods of growth (Toulouse is home to Airbus and Seattle to Boeing). Partly as a result, populations have grown substantially in both over the past several decades, and people tend to have levels of education, technology use, and civic participation that are comparable to each other and slightly higher than their respective national averages (Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2016). While no city fully represents a nation's journalistic field, these journalists' experiences help illuminate journalists' reactions outside the well-studied media capitals of Paris and New York (Benson, 2013; Christin, 2018).[2]

In keeping with other comparative journalism research, we defined a journalist as a person who earns "at least 50% of his or her income from paid labor for news media and is involved in producing and editing journalistic content, as well as in editorial supervision and coordination" (Worlds of Journalism Study, 2012, p. 1). Prior to our interviews, we developed a list of journalists working in the two cities.

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These were created by looking at the newsroom contacts of news organizations in the two cities.[3] Given our theoretical interest in the way position shapes reaction, we "sampled for range" (Weiss, 1994) by contacting a cross-section of journalists (e.g., male and female general assignment and beat reporters, and editors) with varying degrees of professional experience working for a range of news media (i.e., print, audiovisual, online) for interviews. However, these lists are not exhaustive, and systematically overlook other forms of journalistic labor, like freelancing. We corrected for this by deliberately seeking out such journalists to include in our sample.[4] Between January 2015 and July 2018, we conducted a total of 66 interviews (36 in Seattle, 30 in Toulouse). Respondents agreed to speak on the condition that they would be identified by the medium for which they work (e.g., print, radio, online).

We used a semi-structured interview format to elicit journalists' responses to economic constraints and technological changes (see the Supporting Information Appendix, Section II, for the interview protocol).[5] This format allows researchers to identify a set of theoretically relevant topics to explore in advance, while remaining open to the potential for interviewees to introduce new ideas. Our approach to developing the protocol followed the Bourdieusian premises described above. Rather than see interviews as the mere exchange of information, which raises questions about the extent to which discourses reflect practices, we assumed that statements made in interviews are linked to the actions one can take in practice (Mauger, 1991). We therefore began each interview by eliciting information about the interviewee's personal trajectory, which helped comprise their positions (e.g., where they went to school, when and why they got into journalism, how they came into their current employment). We then asked about their daily routines, professional ideals, constraints, and perceptions of change over time. Together, these responses provided data on how journalists occupying distinct positions in their field's respective hierarchies orient themselves vis-à-vis similar technological and economic challenges.

The specific research question examined here originated in data analysis for a prior paper, in which we examined cross-national similarities and differences in journalists' use of social media (Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2018). While analyzing our interview data for that study, we observed that within-nation responses to social media were not uniform: some journalists reported using social media little or not at all; others claimed they had no choice but to use such technologies; still others described social media as an opportunity to do better and different forms of journalism. These observations informed the initial idea for the present paper: to explore individual variations in journalists' use of social media in the two countries.

Given our Bourdieusian perspective, we began with the assumption that journalists' uses of social media would be shaped by their positions. Therefore, we created a spreadsheet with indicators—taken from the interview data—of each journalist's position; these indicators correspond to individual attributes that prior research has found important in shaping professional hierarchies. These are an individual's employment medium (dominant, legacy media versus alternative information

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sources)[6]; occupational title (freelancer, general assignment reporter, beat reporter, editor); years of professional experience; gender; and educational attainment (highest degree attained, the prestige of one's university).[7] By collecting these indicators, we aimed to help put the concept of position on the research agenda for scholars studying journalists' (or any other occupational groups') reactions to economic and technological transformations. Of course, these hardly exhaust the range of potential indicators that scholars might draw on moving forward (e.g., place of birth, parents' occupations, religious beliefs), nor do they prove the centrality of position vis-à-vis other potential influences (e.g., organizational dynamics).

With this spreadsheet created, we returned to our interview data and looked at the clearest cases of within-nation differences in social media use.[8] Reading those interview transcripts in their entirety, we noted that journalists' use of social media —and of technology more broadly (e.g., for research and story ideas, interacting with audiences, analyzing data, creating multimedia content)—was often linked to the economic conditions in which they worked. Journalists who felt forced to use technology also often talked in their interviews about working longer hours and doing more tasks or about devaluing their profession. Journalists who linked themselves to technological skills often discussed it as part of a broader attempt to advance their careers. Journalists who reported using social media little or not at all often talked about doing reporting according to extant criteria and methods.

This observation led us to make two decisions. First, we refined our research question. Rather than narrowly exploring different journalists' responses to social media, we decided to examine responses to technological and economic transformations more broadly. Our definition of both terms was drawn from extant literature. Technological transformation is understood as the proliferation of digital tools that provide journalists with potentially novel ways of producing and distributing their work, as well as interacting with audiences (Russell, 2011). Economic transformations refer to financial difficulties faced by journalists' employers, which result in diminished resources and jobs, as well as searches for new revenue streams (Nielsen, 2016). Specific interview questions were designed to elicit answers about these issues; however, these issues also surfaced throughout the interview data (e.g., with journalists talking about technological or economic transformations in response to questions about their everyday routines). By focusing on these broader transformations, we are able to empirically examine how journalists react when their field's "rules of the game" (i.e., definitions of what journalism is and should be) are placed under pressure.

Second, we created labels to describe the types of responses we observed in the clearest cases of within-nation differences. These labels are our analytical effort to parsimoniously characterize journalists' reactions to economic and technological transformations.[9] By beginning with the most divergent reactions, we were able to create labels that could span the full range of observed reactions. The endure label refers to a journalist whose overall response to economic and technological transformations is to complete rather than challenge the tasks she or he is assigned. The

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invest label involves efforts by journalists to benefit from these same transformations. Finally, the ignore label refers to a journalist who claims not to alter her or his work on account of these transformations.

Having created these three labels, we sought to assign one to each journalist in the sample. This decision derived from our theoretical perspective. For Bourdieu, individuals occupy a single position at any point in time, and how they react tends to be linked to this position. Assigning each journalist one label thus enabled us to explore our theoretical interest in the link between a journalist's position and her or his reaction to economic and technological transformations. To be sure, an individual can be more or less investing (or enduring or ignoring); their reactions might also change over time. The data reported in the findings thus reflects each journalists' dominant reaction, as discerned by our close readings of interview transcripts, in which some journalists expressed multi-faceted perspectives. This enabled us to explore how specific responses pattern with specific indicators, while also attending to the heterogeneity in the sample. In doing so, we offer a theoretical explanation for observed reactions, rather than a model that predicts the relationship between specific variables and specific responses.

Because Bourdieu sees individuals as embedded in specific contexts, and because discussions of technology and economics surfaced throughout the interviews, we assigned each individual journalist a response label based on our reading of the overall transcript (rather than just their response to a specific question, or by counting for key words or phrases; see Buton, Lehingue, Mariot, & Rozier, 2016, for a similar methodological approach). For each journalist, we input in the spreadsheet two quotations per journalist that illustrate our reason for assigning her or him a given reaction label. All coding decisions were discussed among the co-authors to ensure agreement.

In our discussion of coding decisions, we realized that while the labels of endure, invest, and ignore accurately describe the responses from journalists in both countries, the ways they endured, invested, and ignored varied across the two countries. Looking at our illustrative quotes (see the Supporting Information Appendix, Section III), we sought to describe these differences in ways that reflected the specific contexts in which journalists work. These differences are described qualitatively below, and are a key part of our effort to use comparative inquiry as a way to point to common patterns without sacrificing the contextual specificity in terms of how such patterns play out.

To aid in our interpretation of cross-national differences, we turned to prior research on the French and American journalistic fields (Benson, 2013; Christin, 2018; Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2016). This specifies two differences—linked to a field's overall market orientation—that are important for understanding the different ways journalists react. First, the nature of legal protections and job contracts differ markedly, with French labor laws making it comparatively difficult and expensive for news organizations to lay off journalists, while U.S. labor protections are devolved to relations between employer and employee. These differences help

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explain the distinct ways journalists endure and ignore in the two countries. Second, the roles of incumbent news organizations differ. In Toulouse, such organizations continue to control the lion's share of the market and are thus able to impose their rules on the field. Journalists can challenge these rules only by seeking out niches (e.g., a print magazine) not occupied by these actors. By contrast, hierarchies exist in Seattle, but the distribution of power is more dispersed. Therefore, journalists working inside and outside of legacy media compete over similar niches (e.g., online news). We suggest these differences help shape what it means to invest in the two countries.

Findings

Table 1 shows the distribution of individual attributes across the three types of reactions. Among those interviewed in both countries, freelancers and general assignment reporters were more likely to endure, as were women and those with less professional experience. Two-thirds (18 of 27) of freelancers and general assignment reporters endured; slightly less than a third (8) of them invested; and just one ignored. Of the 30 women interviewed, 14 endured, 10 invested, and 6 ignored. Similarly, we interviewed 27 journalists with 10 years or less of professional experience: 13 of them endured, 11 invested, and 3 ignored. Journalists who work for non-dominant news outlets were also more likely to endure or invest (20 and 18, respectively, of 43) than to ignore (just 5).

Table 1 Distribution of Individual Attributes Across Reaction Types

	Endure			Invest			Ignore		
	US	FR	Total	US	FR	Total	US	FR	Total
Job Title									
Freelancers or GA reporters ($n = 27$)	7	11	**18**	4	4	**8**	0	1	**1**
Beat reporters or editors ($n = 39$)	4	1	**5**	16	0	**16**	5	13	**18**
Employer									
Major news organization ($n = 23$)	2	1	**3**	4	2	**6**	5	9	**14**
Non-major news organization ($n = 43$)	9	11	**20**	16	2	**18**	0	5	**5**
Experience									
≤10 years ($n = 27$)	5	8	**13**	9	2	**11**	1	2	**3**
11–19 years ($n = 20$)	3	4	**7**	7	0	**7**	0	6	**6**
≥20 years ($n = 19$)	3	0	**3**	4	2	**6**	4	6	**10**
Gender									
Female ($n = 30$)	8	6	**14**	9	1	**10**	2	4	**6**
Male ($n = 36$)	3	6	**9**	11	3	**14**	3	10	**13**
Education									
Advanced degree ($n = 21$)	1	6	**7**	7	2	**9**	0	5	**5**
Prestigious university ($n = 19$)	1	4	**5**	8	2	**10**	0	4	**4**

Note: FR = France; GA = general assignment; US = United States.

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This contrasts sharply with the attributes associated with those who ignored economic constraints and technological transformations. Nearly half of all beat reporters and editors (18 of 39) in the two country samples ignored these developments; most of the rest (16) invested in them; just 5 endured. Of the 23 journalists working in dominant legacy news newsrooms, 14 ignored, 6 invested, and 3 endured. The reactions of journalists with ample professional experience (20 or more years) likewise trended towards ignoring (10 of 19); a smaller number invested (6) and only 3 endured.

Those who were distinguished by their education appeared to invest. Almost half of those with advanced degrees (9 of 21) invested; 7 endured and 5 ignored. More than half of all interviewees with a degree from a prestigious university (10 of 19) invested; just 5 endured and 4 ignored. Beyond education, those who invested tended to occupy intermediate positions in the field. Across all attributes, the lowest distribution of journalists for any attribute who invested was 26.1% (major, legacy news employees) and the highest was 52.6% (individuals with degrees from prestigious universities; percentages not shown in table). This is restricted in comparison to those who endured (where the highest distribution of an individual characteristic was 66.7% for freelancers/general assignment reporters and the lowest was 12.8% for beat reporters/editors) and ignored (where the highest was 60.9% for major, legacy news employees and 3.7% for freelancers/general assignment reporters).

While the data suggest that individual attributes do shape journalists' reactions, they also indicate that the relationship between attributes and reactions is not mechanical. It is possible for a freelancer or general assignment reporter to ignore contemporary economic and technological transformations (1 did). Moreover, some attributes tend to be distributed fairly evenly over multiple categories. Across the whole sample, for example, the number of men who invested (14) and ignored (13) was nearly equal. Relatedly, journalists with between 10 and 19 years of professional experience were distributed almost evenly across the three reaction types (7, 7, and 6).

Cross-nationally, the most salient difference pertains to the overall distribution of responses. A greater number of the Seattle journalists we interviewed invested (20 of 36, compared to 4 of 30 in the French sample). By contrast, almost half of all the Toulouse journalists we interviewed ignored (14), compared to just 5 in the United States. These differences, in turn, appear related to the degree to which specific attributes correspond to particular responses. For example, whereas nearly all beat reporters and editors in Toulouse ignored (13 of 14), in Seattle 16 of 25 invested. Thus, while all the people in Seattle who ignored were beat reporters or editors, this particular attribute on its own does not seem to enable one to ignore.

Having described patterns between individual attributes and journalists' reactions, we turn now to examine what it means to endure, invest, and ignore in these two distinct contexts.

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Endure

Journalists who endure fulfill—rather than challenge—their assigned tasks. As noted above, these journalists typically occupy lower positions in the field. Yet how they endure varies cross-nationally, as journalists hold different perceptions of the labor protections afforded to them. In Seattle, journalists felt limited job stability and, therefore, described enduring longer work hours and performing more tasks to mitigate against the possibility of job loss. In Toulouse, journalists felt legal protections made job loss difficult. Therefore, they did more work but only during the hours assigned to them, and did not ask for better wages. What they endured was a shift from viewing journalism as a "vocation" to a mere "job."

In Seattle, a common theme among many freelancers and general assignment reporters was the lengthening of the work day, and this change was generally described as a fact to be accepted. For example, one general assignment reporter who had worked in Seattle journalism for over 40 years discussed changes to his work day over time. In the past, he said, reporters came in during the mornings, "spent all day on the phone, or reading stuff … and then getting an idea …[about] how it all comes together. And you would write your story at 4 o'clock and go [home] in the evening." Now, he says, it's not always easy to leave work behind when going home in the evening. "You're taking the bus home. That should be the time you decompress and walk in the door with a … clear head. But it's not always that easy to do—because you have access, you're still checking things." When asked how he felt about that change, he responded: "It's just a different world. *And you have to accept that's going to happen*" (Seattle print journalist, 7 December 2015, our emphasis).

In addition to working longer hours, many described being asked to perform a growing number of tasks. A television reporter explained there is "a lot more work for a workday." She reported receiving "a lot of pressure" from management to "put up your posts on Facebook, tweet on Twitter, contribute to the website, [and] read all the newscasts" (Seattle television journalist, 1 October 2015). A radio reporter explained that her "list of deliverables" had expanded. "Five years ago … I would have expected to file a single news feature of about 6-minute length." When interviewed, in addition to a single feature, she was required to provide a "promotional item" about the feature and a write-up for the station's website, often including photographs that she had taken (Seattle radio journalist, 26 October 2015).

The willingness to endure longer work hours stemmed from the perception among journalists of job instability. This perception has a basis in reality, given that in the prior decade, the number of paid journalism jobs in the city had been cut by more than half (Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2016). That perception led some journalists to accept rather than challenge their employers. As one person put it: "If you ever see layoffs at a newsroom … it typically [happens to] the people who did not want to change" (Seattle print journalist, 10 December 2015). Others did not describe layoffs directly. Instead, when asked what they would like to see change in

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their work conditions, they simply expressed a desire to return to prior work conditions (i.e., before enduring these changes). As one person put it: "I guess if we can get back to where we were. We call that the Golden Age of the 1980s and 1990s, where [newsrooms had] lots of staff, good pay, lots of opportunities, travel … That would be nice to have" (Seattle print journalist, 7 December 2015).

In Toulouse, journalists described being assigned tasks that were devalued because their association with journalism was perceived as attenuated or absent. A journalist at a local radio station said she was given an iPhone and told to do some video and photography for the station's website. By her own account, she was not especially skilled with these tools, and producing video and images for the station's site was not valued by newsroom staff. Management, moreover, offered no training in using these tools. Nonetheless, they perceived her as being capable of learning, partly due to her relative youth as compared to many of her colleagues. "In the newsroom, some established journalists were in disagreement [with doing these tasks], or didn't accept because they didn't know how to use technology … I did" (Toulouse radio journalist, 23 October 2015). In other newsrooms, journalists with limited professional experience described even more devalued tasks, like being asked to manage the social media websites of their more established colleagues, which in their view had a closer relationship to marketing than to professional journalism (Toulouse television journalist, 4 November 2015).

Relative to Seattle, and with the exception of freelancers, Toulouse journalists reported feeling stable in their jobs, due largely to labor regulations that limit the number of hours worked and make firing employees difficult. In this context, getting a job is difficult—as the number of positions remain limited—but keeping one is not. Those who were asked to do different—or even more—tasks were, therefore, less concerned about losing their jobs or extending their work day. Instead, what concerned them was the transformation of their work life to the status of a mere job rather than a vocation. As one person put it: "My work is not very satisfying, but I work 35 hours per week. It's not what you would call … thrilling but I do 7 hours per day and then leave. It is [a] great comfort to know the time you finish" (Toulouse radio journalist, 23 October 2015). Another journalist contrasted herself with colleagues in their forties "who would not have accepted these conditions 10 years ago" (Toulouse radio journalist, 6 October 2015). In years past, she claimed: "We used to have great reporters [in Toulouse] with true living conditions, labor conditions, payment … They used to work as Parisians." By contrast, "we ended up accepting almost anything." When asked why, she replied: "There are no jobs … and the idea is to have a job. If you want to stay in Toulouse, you need to tune yourself in 'humility mode.'"

While journalists in Toulouse expressed concern about the devaluation of their professional lives, their ability to expect stable work hours enabled them to protect their lives outside of work in ways that journalists in Seattle often could not. Several female journalists in Toulouse explained that stable hours ensured they have time for family life. Indeed, multiple journalists, nearly all women, talked about their

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"job," rather than "vocation," as enabling them to spend more time with their families. This differed from Seattle, where female journalists who endured had delayed decisions about parenthood to pursue their careers or had already raised children.[10]

Invest

Journalists who invested perceived (and believed in) their potential to move upward in the field. This perception was linked partly to the specific skills and knowledge they possessed. In both cities, how journalists invested was linked to economic logics: the specific challenge they posed to extant ways of doing things were possible largely because of economic difficulties. But only in Seattle was investment linked strongly to digital technology. There, a subset of journalists sought to advance their careers by cultivating technical skills. By contrast, in Toulouse only some journalists —those looking to enhance their employability with dominant, legacy news media —invested in technology, while those uninterested in employment with such outlets did not.

For some in Seattle, investing entailed having a skill that differentiated them from competitors. Several television journalists described the rise of multimedia journalists, who shoot, edit, and produce their own video rather than relying on the traditional, two-person team of cameraperson and reporter (Seattle television journalist, 7 October 2015). Several newspaper journalists described online positions as tasked with taking "the lead in looking for new story forms" (Seattle newspaper journalist, 2 October 2015). For others, this meant using digital technologies to start their own ventures, of which there have been many in Seattle (Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2016). The degree to which individuals forming these start-ups relied on technological skills varied; however, everyone involved in forming a start-up described digital technology as an opportunity to do reporting that they could not have done otherwise (Seattle online journalist, 22 October 2015).

In each of these cases, the investment in technology was linked to economic logics. Sometimes these were specifically about cost-cutting. One solo video journalist, for example, explained that while staffing had decreased, programming demands had risen, due to the need to provide online content and the cancellation of syndicated programs by television stations. As she put it: "If you are not going to hire more people then that's where that solo video journalism thing came from. You can hire more people by splitting crews, essentially. It gets cheaper if you pay for one" (Seattle television journalist, 7 October 2015). Other times, these investments were linked to the prospects of future revenues. One radio reporter given her own podcast explained it was part of an experiment by her station to "build listenership instead of losing younger audiences" (Seattle radio journalist, 16 October 2015). Still other times, these investments were seen as ways to enable journalists—especially those forming their own start-ups—to make a living. One founder of an online start-up explained that he and his colleagues wanted the site to raise money so that they could travel for their reporting. "It didn't work terribly well, but we scraped enough money to do it" (Seattle online journalist, 22 October 2015).

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In contrast to those who endured economic and technological transformations, journalists who invested often had resources that made it possible to perceive an opportunity. Several journalists, for example, graduated from prestigious journalism programs; others had completed graduate degree work. In addition to the specific skills they learned, these experiences provided access to internships and social networks, which exposed them to the types of careers they might pursue. Most crucially, these skills and experiences led many to believe that their investments were not only economic, but were also linked to the practice of "good" journalism. A multimedia journalist who graduated from a prestigious journalism program made this point explicitly.

> I made a decision … that I was going to become a really good MMJ [multimedia journalist], and make that my career and enjoy doing it by myself, and become good at it and prove that it can be done. You can tell great stories by yourself, better than a lot of two-person crews can.… I wanted to prove that because I know that it is true. (Seattle television journalist, 21 October 2015)

In Toulouse, two different sets of individuals invested in economic and technological constraints. A first paralleled the investments seen in Seattle, with individuals orienting themselves to technology as an opportunity for job advancement. One woman moved from being a relatively low rank reporter to holding the title of "community manager" at the major newspaper. She described seeking a master's degree because after "making a diagnosis of my possible evolutions in the profession," she realized that she was "heading for a disaster and I needed some training courses about something that would go along with the evolutions of the profession." This degree equipped her with the technical skills that made it possible to get the new position (Toulouse print journalist, 6 May 2015). Another person possessed a range of technical skills that enabled him to get a job at the same newspaper during a period when otherwise very few people were hired.

> They hired me under permanent contract precisely because I had web skills, which many people in the newsroom didn't. As they didn't hire at all, there was a huge gap. It is not in terms of age, although I'm 33 and their average is 48. It was in terms of functioning. The main difference was that I knew how to use the public databases and produce information, I knew how to film, how to edit, take pictures and do interactive maps. (Toulouse print journalist, 14 May 2016)

A second type of individual invested outside of technology. The main example pertains to journalists who decided to open a magazine with no corresponding website. Three journalists collaborated in this endeavor; all had more than 10 years of professional experience, and were highly regarded as professionals. One was a television journalist who previously worked in Paris, and moved to Toulouse after "burning out" from his work there. The others were former journalists at *La Depeche*, one of whom worked in the magazine division. These journalists saw an opportunity for a new magazine to do "good journalism" rather than "immediate"

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or breaking news. Their magazine, therefore, focused on providing human interest reporting aimed at appealing to young, urban readers (Toulouse magazine journalist, 5 November 2015).

What differentiates these different strategies of investment is each's relationship to the dominant, commercial outlet, *La Depeche*, and the rules of the field it enforced. Those who invested in technology highlighted skills that the dominant employer viewed as potentially useful as it transitioned to online platforms. Those who did not invest in technology might have developed a product—a print magazine, in this case—in which the newspaper was uninterested; the dominant outlet, therefore, would not be a competitor. In this regard, it is significant that *La Depeche* had a print magazine but discontinued it to free up resources for digital productions. One of the journalists involved in forming a start-up magazine stressed that they knew *La Depeche* would not seek to compete with them for magazine audiences (Toulouse magazine journalist, 5 November 2015).

In both cities, investments were made by individuals. These individuals typically articulated a discourse about investing in new forms or practices that enabled them to do "good journalism." Accompanying this discourse around journalism quality was a shared desire to get and keep good jobs. In no case did we find evidence of people investing in anything more than individual job protection. For instance, in Toulouse, no effort was made by journalists to save a television station that was going out of business. In Seattle, there were efforts to unionize, but these typically focused on job security. In this sense, what those individuals invested in, ultimately, was themselves.

Ignore

Journalists who ignored acknowledged that economic and technological transformations created pressure for their employers. Yet, they experienced their work as exceptions from these pressures. In Toulouse, many long-time beat reporters and editors working at dominant news outlets delegated technological tasks to others, and focused on reporting according to extant criteria and methods. In Seattle, some journalists were able to ignore the everyday demands of productivity and instead focus on enterprise and investigative reporting. What enabled journalists to ignore differed, with Toulouse journalists' ability linked to job contracts that made it difficult and costly for news organizations to lay off older journalists, whereas in Seattle job security—and the related capacity to ignore economic logics—came from symbolic prestige, as journalists with prestigious beats or positions were more likely to ignore economic and technological constraints.

In Toulouse, some journalists ignored the economic and technological changes by acting as if the problems did not exist. They were aware such transformations were happening, but tended to see them as the problems of others. For many, this also meant that they did not utilize digital technologies. One journalist, for example, explained that he did not have a mobile phone and instead used a land line. When asked whether he had a social media account, he responded: "Who needs [digital]

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social media when you have human social media relations?" (Toulouse television journalist, 5 October 2015). Others utilized technology in a limited fashion (e.g., using the Internet rather than the library to research stories); they reported that this effectively diminished their work loads. As one person put it: "The digital has helped us a lot.… We lose less time [producing news].… It has actually diminished the workload, if we're being honest" (Toulouse print journalist, 29 May 2015).

In Toulouse, a journalist's capacity to ignore was linked to labor regulations that protect people with more years in a company (Powers & Vera-Zambrano, 2016). In effect, the longer you work for a news organization, the more expensive it becomes for the company to fire you. Indeed, many established journalists recognized that journalists with less professional experience "struggle more than us" (Toulouse television journalist, 30 October 2015). Just as importantly, they recognized that management was unlikely to tell them what to do. One long-time journalist described himself as a "free electron" that did whatever he liked, saying: "Nobody imposes anything on me. If necessary, they propose, they suggest," but he ultimately decided whether to go along (interview with print journalist, 5 October 2015). Such job protections create a situation in which some journalists had little incentive to alter their everyday practices.

In Seattle, few journalists were able to ignore demands of everyday productivity and technological innovation, while instead focusing on investigative or enterprise reporting. These journalists were aware of economic and technological constraints, but they did not impact their everyday practices. As one long-time reporter on a prestigious beat put it: "I don't think it [economics and technology] changed a lot of what I have done. I still produce the same things. I still look for the big stories.…In my mind I'm thinking Sunday front page" (Seattle newspaper journalist, 26 October 2015). He acknowledged that editors "want to get away from thinking about the print thing because it is going to be presented online." Yet he remarked that "it doesn't really matter to me whatever you want to call it. Sunday front-page to me means a big long feature piece with information you can't get elsewhere." Where that information appears "doesn't matter. It is the same work to me."

Seattle journalists' capacity to ignore came from their symbolic prestige, rather than labor regulations and contracts. The journalists who ignored economic and technological constraints often worked on prestigious beats (e.g., enterprise or investigative reporting) that news managers saw as crucial for their organizational brands. This was something that these journalists typically recognized. For example, when asked about her workday, a senior investigative reporter with multiple regional prizes replied that hers was "more typical" than a "general assignment reporter" because "they never know what kind of breaking news is going to happen." As she put it, "I'm not quite as much at the end of the tiger's tail as those folks tend to be" (Seattle television journalist, 28 October 2015). She continued:

> I have to say, I'm pretty lucky where I am at.…We don't have a leash on us. We're pretty well able to go and do what we need to do.… We don't have to do pre-

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> slotted time.… It's just, you … put it on the air when it's ready and we do, you know. When it's soup, you eat it. (Seattle television journalist, 28 October 2015)

Discussion and conclusion

Both within and across countries, journalists face similar economic constraints and technological transformations. Yet their reactions are hardly uniform. Within countries, some journalists react by enduring these conditions; others invest in them as career opportunities; still others ignore them. We argue that these different reactions are shaped by one's position, which we analyzed here with data about journalists' professional trajectories and social backgrounds. Across countries, we also found that what it means to endure, invest, and ignore varied considerably. Our interview data provide an opportunity to see these different meanings, and our use of the concept of field offers a lens for making sense of the different contexts examined.

These findings, and the Bourdieusian perspective that enables them, add to and extend several bodies of scholarship. In-depth qualitative studies highlight a number of organizational and professional variables that shape journalists' reactions. Our emphasis on individual positions highlights an additional variable. This variable is especially important, given growing calls for scholars to identify the ways individual attributes shape social actions more generally. Moreover, by analyzing individual attributes through the concept of position, we offer a theoretical framework for making sense of the diverse reactions that prior scholarship observes. This framework can be extended within and beyond the settings explored here, and applied to related phenomena (e.g., how position shapes whether journalists remain or exit the field; how other occupational groups react to economic constraints and technological transformations).

Comparative scholarship has long sought to denaturalize assumptions about how journalism works around the world. Survey-based comparative studies offer specific evidence that journalists cannot be assumed to react to similar transformations in similar ways. Our interview data and field approach provide one way for scholars to make sense of the distinctive contexts in which journalists react. Moreover, our specific case aids in the comparative ambition to denaturalize assumptions. While scholars often speak of journalism innovation in relation to technology, we show that the degree to which the two are linked depends on the specific configuration of a given field. In Toulouse, where powerful, legacy news media crowd out online newcomers, innovative journalists responded by investing in a print-only magazine that targeted an unfilled market niche.

Our analysis also informs and extends Bourdieusian approaches to journalism and cultural production more broadly. Such approaches often highlight the way individuals' pursuits of their own ends tend to reproduce patterns they do not necessarily choose. Journalists who endure might be seen as one example of such a

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trend. By working longer hours, doing more tasks, or devaluing their professional lives, they sought to accomplish tasks assigned to them or achieve a balance between their work and personal lives. Yet this also made it difficult for them to produce the sort of quality journalism (e.g., in-depth, investigative reporting) that is most highly valued in the field. Indeed, several journalists told us they would like to do such work, but feel unable to in their current position. These journalists thus affirm—and reproduce—standards of professional excellence that are difficult for them to achieve in their current positions.

At the same time, our findings also highlight the dynamism of fields, a sometimes underemphasized aspect of Bourdieu's work. Those who invested, for example, sought for their modes of production (e.g., multimedia journalism) and storytelling (e.g., interactive reports) to be recognized alongside the long-established norms of quality journalism that were most clearly articulated by those who ignore economic and technological transformations. The reproduction of extant norms is not automatic. Through Bourdieusian lenses, these different responses can be seen, in part, as conflicts over who define the rules of the field. Whose rules become dominant is, thus, an important empirical question for scholars.

Our analysis could be expanded in several ways. Attributes not examined—for example, social origins, as defined in part by one's place of birth and parents' occupations—could deepen our understanding of the relationship between a journalist's position and reaction. Indicators like educational attainment could also be further analyzed to more fully grasp what such experiences afford (e.g., training in specific skills, dispositional flexibility towards change). Our focus on two relatively homogeneous cities likely minimized other important attributes: analyses of larger spaces, including at the national level, require careful attention to issues of race. Furthermore, our emphasis on journalistic fields could also be linked with broader cultural repertoires that influence distinct, cross-national attitudes towards work. Finally, different methodological techniques could capture other dimensions of journalists' reactions not examined here: fieldwork observations could explore potential gaps between perceptions and practices, and survey data could test the degree to which the patterns observed in our sample exist elsewhere.

The link between position and reaction is a tendency, not a law. We emphasize the extent to which individual attributes shape journalist's reactions; we do not claim that attributes determine these positions. More broadly, our findings provide a snapshot of journalists' reactions in two places at a particular period of time. Where journalism is heading, and how journalists will respond, remain unknown. Our analysis suggests that whatever those responses are, they are likely to remain patterned in ways that reflect the different positions that journalists occupy, and their meaning is likely to vary across the distinctive contexts in which they operate. In a field long seduced by the dual temptations of meritocracy (seen in the empirical emphasis on individual motivations) and universal laws (seen in arguments, implicit or explicit, that observations in one setting apply elsewhere), such an analysis

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reminds scholars that the opportunities to react to transformations are not equally distributed, nor do they mean the same thing everywhere they occur.

Supporting Information

Additional Supporting Information may be found in the online version of this article.

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Both authors contributed equally to this manuscript; author names are listed alphabetically.

Footnotes

1 State aid accounts for 10–15% of press revenues in France; no direct aid is given in the United States. Advertising accounts for nearly three-quarters of American newspaper revenues and less than half of their French counterparts' (Benson, 2013). Per capita funding of public media is $101.79 in France and $8.85 in the United States (Benson, Powers, & Neff, 2017).

2 Important for our purposes is the comparability of the two cities, rather than the degree to which they approximate other cities. In the past decade, newsroom employment declined by nearly half in Seattle—double the national rate (Grieco, 2018)—largely due to the ending of a Joint Operating Agreement and the discontinuation of one of the city's daily print newspapers. For details regarding the two cities, see Powers, Vera-Zambrano, and Baisnée (2015).

3 We defined a news outlet as any self-identified, professional news organization in the two cities. In both, we aimed to include the entire universe of news outlets: daily and weekly newspapers, television and radio stations, and purely online players. In Seattle, a survey conducted by the now-defunct Washington News Council provided an initial overview of outlets in the region, and we drew on expert local informants (journalism faculty, professional journalists) for help identifying news organizations omitted from the survey.

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We similarly relied on the expertise of local informants in Toulouse to help identify news organizations.

4 We also sought to correct for non-responses by multiplying our points of entry into each city's journalistic field. In Toulouse, for example, many established journalists initially did not reply to email or telephone requests for interviews. Therefore, we approached a university colleague whose mother was an established journalist and asked to be put in touch with her. This was successful, and helped garner additional interviews with well-established journalists.

5 Powers conducted the Seattle interviews; Vera-Zambrano conducted the Toulouse interviews. All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed into their respective languages. For a sample recruitment letter, see the Supporting Information Appendix, Section I. For a reflection on some of the strategies underpinning our qualitative comparison, see Vera-Zambrano & Powers (2017).

6 We defined a dominant, legacy outlet as capturing the majority of the audience and employing the majority of journalists. In Toulouse, these are *La Dépêche du Midi* and France 3; in Seattle, they are the *Seattle Times* and the local television news providers (KOMO, KING, and KIRO).

7 In France, prestigious universities are operationalized as the Grande Ecoles, within and beyond Paris. In the United States, we used the U.S. News rankings (https://www.usnews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities) and categorized the top 100 universities as prestigious.

8 In Seattle, the clearest cases are journalists 6, 13, and 34 and in Toulouse, the clearest cases are 42, 51, and 56. Case information can be found in the Supporting Information Appendix, Section III.

9 Our decision to provide labels for empirical findings drew from Bourdieu, Boltanski, Castel, Chambordeon, and Schnapper (1990), whose work was based on interviews with amateur photographers from different social backgrounds. It labeled as "popular aesthetics" one set of interviewees who discussed images as useful ways to preserve the present (e.g., birthdays, holidays) and contrasted it with the "scholarly aesthetics" expressed by those who emphasized technical skill and considered photographs as works of art. The concept of position was utilized to help explain these different empirical findings.

10 Women in Seattle who left journalism—whom we interviewed for our larger project—attributed the difficulty of combining parenthood with journalism as a reason for leaving. As one person said: "I would have liked to stay in journalism. But … having become a parent, I had to be thinking about what kind of job could offer some … stability in the coming decade. And it definitely didn't look like a journalism job in Seattle" (former Seattle journalist, 10 July 2018).

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