Abstract

Recent changes in the economic, social, and technological environment have impacted the careers of information professionals. On one hand, new jobs and opportunities have appeared, and on the other hand, layoffs in mainstream media companies indicate that the net impact has been negative. This article attempts to analyze the most important changes in the media environment, the main forces affecting supply and demand, and the impact of changes on the careers of information professionals. Finally, we propose that some of the new radical paradigms in the world of information professionals are not conceptually new.

Keywords

Media; Cultural industries; Crisis; Employment; Technology; Content; Creativity; Labor; Jobs.
Resumen

Los recientes cambios en el entorno económico, social y tecnológico han supuesto un fuerte impacto en la carrera de los profesionales de la información. Mientras que por un lado aparecían oportunidades y nuevos puestos de trabajo, por otro lado los despidos en los principales medios hacían pensar que el resultado neto era negativo. Este artículo analiza los principales cambios en el entorno, las fuerzas más relevantes que afectan a oferta y demanda, así como su impacto en los profesionales de la información. Finalmente se plantea que algunos de los supuestos cambios de paradigma radicales en el mundo de los profesionales de la información no son conceptualmente tales.

Palabras clave

Medios de comunicación; Industrias culturales; Crisis; Empleo; Tecnología; Contenidos; Creatividad; Trabajo; Empleos.


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1. Something new under the sun

In 2008 the Lehman Brothers collapse marked the beginning of the so-called “great recession”, a crisis that affected the labor market worldwide. The financial crisis accelerated the negative impact of technologies, like the Internet and mobile communication, on media practices.

Similar to the way the industrial revolution changed the labor market by making it necessary to have qualified personnel to operate machines for manufacture, today technology and the economy demand a new type of personnel. The current changes are in many cases common to all sectors and affect virtually every industry, including information professionals working in media.

Finally, perfect competitive markets, more efficient but with zero benefits by definition, are based on the existence of full information transparency or perfect and free information in any market. Perfect markets are the best outcome of competitive situations because the Internet is putting pressure on information industries to operate more efficiently with lower costs, causing a similar effect and thus reducing margins. This trend is putting intense pressure on the most information-rich industries, such as the media.

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Like any disruptive technology, the Internet has displaced many employees over the past two decades, mainly from traditional and cultural industries (media, music, film, television, games, etc.). Initially this trend went unnoticed because consumption dramatically increased parallel to sustained economic growth. However, the eventual economic crisis accelerated the evolution of the Internet. As a result, digital content was left in the hands of advertising. In other words, income from sales decreased for all traditional industries, and revenues from advertising sales in the new digital market was insignificant. In the case of print media, advertising accounts for only 3.4% of total advertising investment, despite the fact that revenues have grown consistently worldwide in recent years. In Spain the fall in advertising investments in conventional media has not been offset by growth in advertising in digital media (Infoadex, 2014). The music and media industries have been impacted significantly by this situation.

The fall in advertising investments in conventional media has not been offset by growth in advertising in digital media

The impact of the Internet on the job market has been seen as a decoupling of productivity and technology, accentuated after the bubble crisis of technological companies in the early twenty-first century (Brynjolfsson, McAfee, 2011). Quoting Marc Andreessen, Netscape founder and investor in technology, the spreading of computers and the Internet will put jobs in two categories: People who tell computers what to do, and people who are told by computers what to do. This shift to a “digital economy” has caused changes in information and communication technologies (Tapscott, 1995) and has impacted all industries, especially companies within the cultural and media industries, as we said previously.

Commentators (Dutton; Imlah, 2013) have extended the concept of “information economy” (Bell, 1974), including Manuel Castells who introduced the idea of the “connected society”, described as a society that combines networks, information, and infrastructure in such a way that impacts people. Other writers have (Messenbourg, 2001) described the defining elements of the digital economy as infrastructure (hardware, software, networks, etc.), e-business (how companies are organized through computer networks), and e-commerce (selling products, physical or not, and services through networks). And others (Barbrook, 1997) describe the information economy as new technologies (computer networks) and new workers—the “digital craftsman” who molds a commodity: information.

Tapscott believes the digital economy solves the problem of the class struggle by transforming workers into knowledge-
ge workers, as Drucker had declared decades earlier and reaffirmed later (Drucker, 1959; 1999),

“The most valuable asset of a 21st-century institution (whether business or nonbusiness) will be its knowledge workers and their productivity”.

However, the reality is

“The provision of free labor is a fundamental moment in the creation of value in the digital economies” (Terranova, 2000, p. 36).

The “gift economy” (Cheal, 1988) appears as a midpoint between culture DIY (do-it-yourself) and left-side free-market neoliberalism.

The problem of quantifying the value of knowledge makes it difficult to solve the dilemma of whether the Internet has created or destroyed the labor market. Terranova proposes the concept of immaterial labor (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 133; Gill, Pratt, 2008), which does not separate labor classes by activities in a post-industrial society. The immaterial labor concept is associated with a collective economy based on a collective intelligence (Levy, 1997) where the work is created and managed by a community of followers or readers. It is not necessarily free, but the return occurs in the form of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Another result of Internet connectivity has been the convergence of isolated sectors. For example, in the past the music industry was separate from the computer industry; however, after Apple released iPods with iTunes the music and computer industries collapsed while Apple grew to become the largest company in the world. Later more companies entered the recording industry, historically a market with high entry barriers, ultimately eroding margins and pressuring incumbents. One consequence of convergence of isolated sectors is the creation of value in the digital economies (Anderson, 2008). A specific impact is the “media convergence” (Dwyer, 2010) according to Meikle and Young (2011, p. 4) “converging media means to us media digitally interconnected.” For these authors convergence means that the same content can circulate on radio, TV, press, social networks, etc.

The impact of the economic crisis, digital economy, convergence, and other factors on the information professional is difficult to quantify. No specific data are available and convergence of industries complicates the analysis. Nonetheless, Díaz-Nosty (2011, p. 62) created an estimate of employment among journalists in 2010 and found a marked tendency to

“substitute experienced journalists with other temporary, inexpensive, younger employees.”

Loss of experience in a knowledge economy is a negative. And, sadly, the concept of a lifelong professional career, associated with a permanent contract, is in decline. In the future “self-programmable labor” will be in demand (Castells, 1996; 2000). Employees will not have defined jobs, but will be involved in multiple projects. Informal employment will be the norm with more and more employees accessing the labor market, or remaining in it, through personal projects or as freelancers (Beck, 2000). This is already a reality, for example in the US more than a third of the workforce is freelance and is estimated to reach 40% by 2020 (Horowitz; Rosati, 2014). The report begins saying:

“Gone are the days of the traditional 9-to-5. We’re entering a new era of work — project-based, independent, exciting, potentially risky, and rich with opportunities”.

Adapting business models is necessary for the continued survival of journalism (Marcos-Recio; García-Alonso; Parra-Valcarce, 2014). However, Infoadex shows a drop in advertising spending, from Euro 14,915 million in 2008 to Euro 10,461 in 2013 (2014 data, published in 2015). Newspapers have fallen from Euro 1,508 million to 663 in the same period.

The previously cited authors mention business models that use subscriptions and paywalls, but these revenue applications have to be considered carefully, taking into account that subscriptions and paywalls reduce visits, the ever-reducing revenue from advertising.

“Nobody is able to predict which and how many are the right models for newspapers in the future. More people say they do not want to disappear” (Marcos-Recio; García-Alonso; Parra-Valcarce, 2014).

The emergence of new competitors fighting for the attention of information consumers, such as social networks, makes clear the growing magnitude of the problem.

Internationalization could be key in the transition to digital European newspapers because traffic from consumers in other countries could increase by up to 20% in some cases (Peña-Fernández; Lazcano-Arrillaga; García-González, 2015). However, the revenue impact may be less than expected as advertising in newspapers has a strong local component.

A radical change in content and creation valuation has happened with web analytics (Schlesinger; Doyle, 2014). Today it is possible to know in real time who reads what news and to have a low-cost bidirectional channel for comments and reviews, which is much more efficient than letters to the editor. The speed of creation and consumption of content in the digital environment is causing rapid change. Schumpeter describes today’s newspaper market as creative destruction, opening the doors to the concept of creator as entrepreneur (Siles, Boczkowski, 2014).

Finally, many of these factors are driven by digital natives (Prensky, 2001, p. 1) who demand random content, con-
sume quickly, multitask, prefer work in an interconnected environment, and are driven by instant gratification. The millennial generation (Strauss; Howe, 1991, p. 377) also pursues “an excess of academic offerings that increases job insecurity” (Díaz-Nosty, 2011, p. 54). Because the continual driving Internet technology in Spain has been ADSL, we can define 2000 as a differential year. The first web server operated in 1993, therefore, digital born young adults (Spear, 2007) are now entering the workplace.

2. All content (worth publishing)

Through time there have been three main production systems: the plow, assembly chain, and computer (Toffler, 2006, p. 56). Historically, new jobs replace old jobs. Do these new jobs create or destroy employment? This question remains unanswered, but we do know that new job creation is linked to new and evolving abilities and professional skills. And, according to Toffler, more people are working, but remain unemployed. At first it appears to be a paradox, yet today journalism is without journalists, filmmakers are without producers, and musicians without record labels (Adecco, 2012).

With social networking people’s leisure time has become interactive and companies have altered their ways of working, selling, and innovating. There are new methods for generating income in the field of information and communication including co-creation, collaboration, participation, innovation, decentralization, outsourcing, and networking. These are not entirely new concepts, but the Internet has accelerated their use through digitalization. In this new environment, businesses today face a new era of social business. With social networking people’s leisure time has become interactive and companies have altered their ways of working, selling, and innovating. It is the social business that is based on sharing information and knowledge. Everything is less vertical and the world becomes flatter.

“Hierarchies are being flattened and value is being created less and less within vertical silos and more and more through horizontal collaboration within companies, between companies, and among individuals.” (Friedman, 2005).

As the Internet has changed the market forever, integration of social computing into the enterprise represents another change of enormous importance. Organizations that are successful in transforming themselves into a social business can potentially reap significant benefits: the ability to deepen relationships with customers, to boost operational efficiency and to optimize the workforce. Three general trends make possible this transformation: 1) all is becoming instrumental with sensors and computing power; 2) the world is increasingly interconnected through vast ubiquitous networks; and 3) the application of analytical tools for an intelligent exploitation of the immense amount of data that can be collected.

During the era of Fordism, technology transformed the nature of work in order to increase productivity. For example, the use of robotics and intelligent devices allowed businesses to reduce routine processes in the assembly chain. A second wave of work redesign over the past two decades has affected the work involved in processing information and routine transactions (e.g., logistics). Now a third wave of change is coming to jobs, that involve complex interactions, deep knowledge, independence of judgment and experience. These are the jobs of the knowledge economy. A new stage with “many murky corners of a vast constellation of interconnected issues: the power of distributed knowledge and open platforms, the profound transformations that they are bringing to market structures and business organizations, the necessary shifts in business strategy and worker skills in the new environment, and the barely recognized challenges facing governments in adapting to the new environment” (Bollier, 2011, p. 44).

It is therefore important to understand how this affects businesses and how they organize the work of their employees or collaborators. If it is true that this is the third industrial revolution, as proposed by Jeremy Rifkin (Rifkin, 2011), work organization and careers must change. The concept of creative industries was introduced by the government of Tony Blair as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 1998, p. 8).

The concept was drifting towards the creative economy, and the class and the creative cities of Richard Florida, but has been criticized (Miller, 2004; 2012).

When new job fields are affected by the following processes / phenomena and trends:

- More “free luncheons” questioning private property and breaking with the idea that creativity and talent are individual:

  “The definition stresses that creative activities have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent. [...] the individual aspect represents a romantic, rather than realistic view. Artistic creation and knowledge development are supported by collective processes” (Smiers; Van Schijndel, 2008, p. 74).

All this theory must be understood in the logic of the hacker ethics.

- The development and cheapening of digital technologies has enabled the existence of the “weekend artist” that Negroponte named in the eighties. Many viewers also want to create content (movies, series, short films, documentaries, news, travel guides, gastronomy magazines, file sharing networks, voting systems vindicating a new political governance or representation, thousands of applications (apps) for smartphones, tablets, consoles...).

- More social and labor mobility in a new environment with new lifestyles that generate new social cleavages (silverpreneurs, for whom bringing their
experience and professional knowledge to new projects is important; and the like).

- Prototyping is “an approach to developing testing and improving ideas at an early stage before large-scale resources are committed to implementation” (Nesta, 2013).

- A misinterpretation of the prosumers concept created in the eighties that has moved to the Internet. Although most of consumption is massive and most consumers express their disinterest in product customization, the term prosumers in the network refers to users that create, comment, collaborate, and distribute. Individualism in cultural consumption, especially in the audiovisual sector, and increasing choices, i.e., the ability to configure one’s leisure and media diet.

- Thanks to the Internet, employers can make “virtual work” a reality. Therefore, where and when work is carried out changes in order to meet the needs of both employers and employees. Ubiquitous broadband connections and other technologies allow many jobs to be carried out online. This not only helps employees to choose working routines to suit their lifestyle preferences, but also gives employers unprecedented flexibility in how they use staff (McKinsey, 2012). Employers have access to employees who could not otherwise collaborate.

- This is the first time in history that technologies allow us to enjoy the benefits of large organizations (economies of scale or of knowledge) without having to forego the benefits of smaller companies (freedom, creativity, motivation, and flexibility) (Malone, 2004).

- Networking as a way to build social communities around work. Thanks to the Internet one can create virtual networks, especially social media, impossible in the physical world.

- Information is a product of the digital era and the Internet that has been used to describe this effect. Wurman goes further and considers that the information age is actually the age of data and non-information.

- “To deal with the increasing onslaught of data, it is imperative to distinguish between the two; information is that which leads to understanding.” Moreover, following the reasoning, he presents a personal view about what each consumer considers data or information (Wurman, 2001, p. 19)

- “It’s an industry where the marginal cost of distributing, sharing, storing, or transforming information tends to zero (Fournier, 2014).

- “It’s an age where credibility is the scarcest resource, the best propaganda is not propaganda” (Nye, 2012).

- We cannot meet these challenges without a change in the way we work within cultural industries and information. We have to see this production differently from the traditional perspective: “If the industrial era highlighted the values of discipline and hard work (in addition to the downward vertical flow of authority, the importance of financial capital, market functioning and relationships based on private property), the collaborative era is more related to creative play, P2P interactivity, social capital, participation in open commons and access to global networks” (Rifkin, 2011, p. 351).

- The motivation and unpaid participation as mere pleasure is connected with the new social aspirations, personal fulfillment, and social influence (work / participation) in cultural production.

Meanwhile, the crisis and cannibalization of conventional media continues because of the Internet, creating a...
low-cost labor pool in a productive and shared leisure environment. This new “task” in the media and creative / cultural industries requires companies to be more open to collaboration and cooperation, and even to outsource innovation. These industries can combine the advantages of both small and large businesses, promote virtual work, and address a customer who decides for themselves the composition of their of leisure and information consumption, and thinking about the business in terms of “free” versus “pay” (Anderson, 2009). Social networks have caused a change:

“Peer to peer learning shifts the focus from the solitary self to the group. The learning is no longer an isolated experience between an authority figure and a student, and becomes a community experience” (Rifkin, 2011, p. 336).

It is one of the keys to competitiveness, but we must not fall into the innocence of forgetting the traditional ingredients of competitiveness. Almost all new learning skills are aimed at something trite enough and more fashionable than in the past: teamwork.

The new tools allow knowledge and innovation transfer among users and consumers. This flow also creates new problems. If in the past the high production costs fomented oligopolies of companies, it may be true that currently the reduction of production costs allows us to talk about the full control of the value chain. The degradation of power, including that of the press, involves five tasks: disorder, loss of talent and knowledge, trivialization of social movements, impatience shortening attention spans, and alienation (Naim, 2013, pp. 332-338).

Another aspect associated with the Web is a certain goodness and righteousness, obtained from the supposed democratization of the medium, egalitarian, non-hierarchical, and the cool image (Gill, 2002). In this environment, work dynamics and informality are the main reasons of the medium’s appeal (Gill; Dodd, 2000). But there also appear new forms of gender inequality framed in traditional existing patterns: in education, access to employment, and wages. Gill is also related to the main aspects valued by the media as ‘informality, autonomy, flexibility,” among others. Generally, the same technology provokes contrary feelings and effects. On the one hand, there is an isolation resulting from their use (for instance, a mobile phone makes us forget the people around us); on the other hand the same device allows “new forms of interactivity and participation” not only with other information consumers but also with the original producers of that information (Tyron, 2013).

There is an important digital divide based on knowledge and / or technological ignorance. Copyright or aspects such as security and privacy become vital but unknown in many cases. Sampredo suggests that “it is unclear whether future relations between hackers and media will be symbiotic or parasitic” (Sampredo, 2014, p. 188). Wikileaks put this debate on the table, which resulted in the purchase of raw data by the traditional media.

The production in cultural media, when viewed from the worker’s perspective, is not free from external pressures and limitations (Deuze, 2007), but even so can be seen as a standardized work environment, controlled by a structure or organization of industrial type. Deuze insists that such activity should not be affected by the growing impact of producers and media users. He did not obviate the complexity and importance of the relations between agents (mediating payment or not), but considers these relationships “liquid”, temporary, random, and unpredictable in what Lev Manovich defined as “remix culture” (Manovich, 2005) or the “lack of protection for authors” (Díaz-Noci; Tous, 2012). That is, the user-generated content exists within and outside commercial

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contexts, and both supports and attacks corporate control. However, this user battalion produces content for organizations that do not realize the true potential of their staff and their peripheral environment.

“In the old model intelligence and creativity are not important, and management style of command and control has been very effective. But as organizations have decentralized, knowledge dominates markets and innovation becomes more important. To take advantage of people’s intelligence and creativity has become an imperative for success” (Malone, 2004, p. 45).

“Command and control managers, with their rigid and strict rules give way to flexibility, collaboration and teamwork” (Toffler, 2006, p. 345).

Now managers are expected to be open, accessible, warm, convincing, and kind. This is why some authors say that there is a management “feminization”, resulting in the need for skills like “soft power” to persuade with a “non-coercive” approach (Nye, 2004).

Terranova’s statement that “working in the digital media industry is not as much fun as it is made out to be” (Terranova, 2000, p. 33), is based on examples of “volunteers” who used to work long hours and love it; now they are starting to feel the pain of being burned by digital media.”

He points to the concept of “free labor” as a feature of the digital and cultural economy. This Marxist view of labor exploitation of content creators enthroned with key authors of the school of political economy in communication such as Mosco, Miège, Garnham, Murdock, Golding, etc. (Hesmondhalgh, Baker, 2013 and 2014). In general, it is confirmed that the creative work is a “nebulous concept” (Sanson, 2008).

4. Conclusions

Various factors alter the market for media. On the one hand there are changes in demand, both social and demographic, generational and cultural. On the other hand, technological changes based mostly on interactivity, customization, and low cost of the Internet along with the ubiquity of mobile devices and social media. Finally changes in markets, both in their basic mechanisms (information, access, legislation, etc.) and business models.

Changes in workplace processes and systems have always existed, but it is clear that the Internet has accelerated and changed the value chain of cultural and knowledge industries. The Internet has affected not only production (demonetizing access to it), but also distribution and consumption. With the advent of the Internet, the dreamed interactivity between sender and receiver met some demands and enabled one to one marketing, and timidly increased market minorities or the long tail. This aspect of the network is crucial to understand the change that faces new information professionals, along with the importance of measuring the audience (quantitative) and even the sentiment (qualitative).

However, the process has the opposite effect. Many of the companies producing content see how their products are mixed with biased information, as it is the case of news and its influence on net neutrality. Today they compete with sources of information in real time like so-called “citizen journalism” and news agencies with channels like Twitter. The data are a commodity increasingly easy to obtain, so their processing is becoming essential. This causes the content providers to increasingly compete under the (subjective) opinion or analysis frameworks.

Finally, there is a lot of myth in relation to new processes and ways of working. In a time of radical change, like the current one, still we do not have enough perspective. We can guess that the new professional profiles will be related to the management of IT environments, knowledge of transmedia languages, and the ability to perform the entire process of collection, processing, and drafting of information.

We may be at an age where journalism gradually loses weight to give prominence to the information sciences. Yet always it will be necessary to have someone with credibility to process the data and deliver the news. It may be too early to assess the real extent of the processes and trends that are affecting new labor fields. Future discussions should include cultural factors of socio-cultural change, and to what extent technological transformations are only changes in demand without actually affecting content production. Also it might be interesting to discuss possible knowledge and digital gaps that are appearing in these new environments.

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