Laid Off

What do UK journalists do next?

An exploratory study by François Nel, Director of the Journalism Leaders Programme at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK, in collaboration with Journalism.co.uk
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Chapter 1: Why conduct the Laid Off study?

These have been bruising times for those who work in the newspaper industry – and, more specifically, for those who have been forced out.

And there are many of them.

This study’s principal author François Nel of the University of Central Lancashire estimates that the UK’s mainstream journalism corps has shrunk between a quarter and a third over the past decade (and 30% to 40% on the 2001 estimates widely used by the industry).

Here we highlight the experiences of a fraction of those – 144 – who responded to an online questionnaire conducted in collaboration with Journalism.co.uk.

The stories are sobering. “I worry about money and I worry about direction – where I’m going, what I’m doing, who I am now,” wrote a 46-year-old former section editor who was chosen to take a redundancy package in April 2009 along with “a third of the staff” in her office. Her concerns about finding, not only a new income, but also a new identity, echo those of many respondents. Asked what it is like knowing that their careers in traditional newspaper journalism might be finished, many respondents found it difficult to maintain a characteristic stiff upper lip.

“Gutted,” said a 46-year-old male photographer who has a GCSE qualification, 19 years of experience in regional papers and dependent children living at home.

“I feel sh** after reading that question,” said a 28-year-old former assistant magazine editor with a postgraduate degree. “And wish I had never even tried to get into this bloody profession.”

Some respondents saw it as an opportunity. “I know I could go back. But I don’t want to,” said a 32-old-old former sub-editor for a national weekly newspaper. “I want to find a way of earning money for myself with my talents so I can leave London and start a family with my husband. My priorities have changed.”

Whatever their experiences, whatever their prospects, most agreed on this: it had been a road worth travelling. When asked if they would do it all again, nearly 70% said they would still have chosen journalism as a career - even if they had known what would happen to the industry.

While the findings cannot be generalised, we believe they should not be ignored.

These voices can help inform media managers, union officials, policy makers, training bodies, educators, would-be journalists, those still working and, perhaps most importantly, the thousands of other journalists who have left - or have been forced out - of the profession.
We welcome your comments, questions and suggestions on this exploratory study. And, in particular, your views on what we should learn from – and do with – this information.

Please post your thoughts on Journalism.co.uk, or send them directly to the study author François Nel at FPNel@uclan.ac.uk, or on Twitter to @francoisnel using the hashtag #laidoff.
Chapter 2: Notes on method

Changes in technologies, consumer preferences and demographics, along with dire economic conditions, continue to squeeze the media industry, putting news workers - journalists, sub-editors, designers and photographers, even editors and management - out of jobs.

To find out more about the experiences of the people behind headlines, researchers at the University of Central Lancashire (UCLAN) faced two key challenges: How many were there? And how do we reach them?

To address the first question, we analysed the annual reports from the Newspaper Society, records kept online by the National Union of Journalists and we also analysed reports on job cuts and layoffs published between 2007 and June 2010 on three UK trade news sites: Journalism.co.uk, PaidContent:UK and Press Gazette. We compared the figures with those of the Labour Force Survey 2001¹. This exercise, once again, highlights the shortage of reliable, comprehensive tracking data about the industry².

To address the second question – how do we reach journalists forced out of their jobs – we also took a multi-dimensional approach for, as far as we could determine, there is no single database of those who have been pushed out of the industry - and those who have jumped. Teaming up with the trade news site, Journalism.co.uk, has therefore been key to the success of this study. As the site has more than 150,000 unique users per month³, it was an ideal place to host the survey. Notices about the study were also posted on the study leader’s blog and Twitter sites and also appeared on other blogs and trade news sites, including Fleetstreetblues.blogspot.com, HoldtheFrontPage.co.uk, and How-Do.co.uk.

¹ Quoted in quoted Spilbury, Mark (2002) Journalists at Work - Their view of training recruitment and conditions; an independent study by the Journalism Training Forum. London: National Training Organisation/ Skillset
² An appeal: The author of this study, who also initiated the World Newspaper Future and Change Study published annually in collaboration with the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), and Where Else is the Money? Study, which has since 2008 tracked the online activities of online news publishers in all of the UK’s 66 cities, would welcome discussions with those public and private sector bodies who would help fund a centre for industry intelligence, perhaps along the lines of the Pew Project for Excellence in the UK.
³ Source: http://www.journalism.co.uk/media.pdf
Obviously, the respondents were all self-selecting, having made three positive choices: to surf the sites, pay attention to the notices and to act on the invitation to take the survey. The 32-item questionnaire, which was informed by an online survey to participants in an unpublished study by US scholar Scott Reynardy, included both open and closed-ended questions. Valid responses were obtained from 144 respondents over the three month period from November 2009 to January 2010; a further respondent was a Brazilian journalist based in London.

Confidentiality was promised to the respondents, in line with the university’s human subjects research policies, and no names or other identifying information is used here.

The closed-ended questions were analysed using simple descriptive statistics; as the respondent pool was small and the sample was not random, more sophisticated statistical measurements were not viable here. In addition to calculating overall percentages, responses from those in senior positions were calculated separately in order to highlight the perceptions of managers tasked with supervising change in the very smallest news organizations.

Textual analysis was used to analyse responses to the open-ended questions; one of the researchers and a research assistant carefully reviewed the responses and identified key themes relevant to the literature and research questions. Individual responses can, and frequently did, reference multiple themes. The findings indicate the number of times a particular theme was cited as a means of suggesting its relative importance to respondents, but a more formal quantitative assessment would be inappropriate. Therefore, percentages are provided with numbers of respondents but not with themes identified in their responses.

Typographical errors in responses have been corrected in order to make them easier to read. Colloquialisms have been retained.
Chapter 3: How many UK journalists have been laid off?

A straightforward question, yes. But, unfortunately, there is no straightforward answer.

The most widely quoted figures on the size of the industry come from the *Journals at Work* study published in 2002 by the Journalism Training Forum, which was set up in 2001 to advise the Publishing National Training Organisation and Skillset:

Based on a self-completion survey completed by 1,238 journalists “and other data”, Spilsbury (2002) estimates that there are approximately 70,000 journalists in the UK. Of these, roughly 60,000 journalists work in publishing and 10,000 in broadcasting.

The study’s author is upfront about the difficulty of coming to that conclusion: “Estimating the number of journalists in the UK using national data sources is problematic, as these are very limited and subject to a wide margin of error” (Spillsbury 2002: 17). The main data source of occupational employment is the Labour Force Survey, which was last conducted in 2004. Even then, that study grouped together people who stated they worked as “authors, writers and journalists,” which is not the most useful for the purposes of industry-specific studies like these.

While Spilsbury attempts to be conservative in his estimates, saying “it would be better to work with a ‘safe’ estimate that may under-estimate the total number rather than make exaggerated claims that cannot later be substantiated,” there is some evidence that suggests the figures might still be exceedingly generous.

Consider, for example, this examination of the editorial employment figures in the local and regional newspapers. The *Journals at Work* (JAW) study says that the local and regional press comprise 30% of the estimated

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4 Note that a breakdown of these figures is described as: “Newspaper publishing accounts for largest proportion of journalists with 30 per cent working for regional / local newspapers and 11 percent for national newspapers. A quarter work for magazines, with business sector” magazine providing the largest sub sector (15 per cent of journalists). Just over a fifth (21 per cent) work in broadcasting with 11 per cent in radio and 10 per cent in television. Although there are many journalists and ex-journalists working in the area of public relations, our survey has not sought to identify these” (Spillbury, p.7). The sum of these comes to 87 per cent, indicating an oversight.
60,000 print journalists, which would be around 18,000 journalists. The following year, the body representing that sector, the Newspaper Society (NS), started issuing reports based on an annual survey of their members and put the total number of editorial staff in 2002 at 13,020, which is almost 28% less than the JAW study. Even if all the other estimates were accurate, it would still bring the total number of journalists down by 5,000, or almost 10% of the lowest range of the estimated number of print journalists.

It is not only the baseline figures from that study that should be re-examined, but also some of its key conclusions: “Whatever the current number of journalists, it seems clear that the numbers will continue to grow in the future” (Spilsbury, p. 17). Drawing on general employment forecasts that put UK employment growth at 2.5%, the authors conclude that “by 2010, industry forecasts suggest that there will be an additional 20,000 journalists” and then add “pointing to significant demand upon the industry’s training, education and recruitment infrastructure” (p. 7).

What a difference a decade makes. With the benefit of hindsight, we can point to the structural changes in the industry that have seen changes in consumer behaviour, consolidation of enterprises and the convergence of job
roles. Cyclical changes in the economy have further driven down the number of people employed across the mainstream media.

A review of all the NS employment figures from 2002 to 2007 (the latest available), show a decline of about 30% across all divisions. In general, editorial workers were less affected. Full-time editorial staff declined by 14%, while part-time staff declined by 9.6%. The total editorial workforce in the local and regional press shrank by 13.75% over the period – which was before the global economic meltdown that started at the end of 2007.

A review of reports on job losses published in Journalism.co.uk and the Guardian Media sections between January 2007 and June 2010 indicates the number of jobs has continued to decline at even greater speed since the start of what is often called the “Great Recession”.

There is some evidence to suggest that the cuts in the regional press have been deeper than in the national press. At the Daily Mail and General Trust, for example, losses at its regional division, Northcliffe Media, over the past few years have typically been more than double those at Associated Newspapers, the national division, and this is reflected in the redundancy plans.

In 2008, DMGT announced 500 regional job cuts, which was then revised to 1,000 in March 2009 and climbed to 1,500 “across the company” in a statement made in May 2009.

A “Redundancy Round-up” in Journalism.co.uk further points to possible differences between the levels of staff cuts in the regional and national newspapers. In reference to 78 job losses at Trinity Mirror Regionals, it is noted that the Press Gazette had reported, “The bulk of the job losses will come in Liverpool, where the 175-strong editorial team will be cut to 132 and the Liverpool Daily Post will scrap its Saturday edition.” The loss of 43 jobs represents a reduction of about 25%. Other reports detailed additional cuts at the same offices.

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The summary of activities in the national press includes this note: “Fifty editorial staff are to lose their jobs at Telegraph Media Group, management told staff today. ‘It is understood the cuts represent a 13-14% saving to the editorial budget and will be brought into effect by Christmas at the latest,’ reports MediaGuardian” (Townend 2009).

However, national newspaper staffing levels continue to be under threat as audiences continue to decline. According to the latest ABC reports, circulation of every national newspaper suffered a year-on-year decline in July 2010, with quality titles faring worse than tabloid and mid-markets papers⁷.

While the print news sector may be the hardest hit, the reports suggest that no media sector has emerged unscathed, including television. In September 2008, for example, ITV announced 1,000 jobs cuts, including 430 newsroom positions, accounting for almost 20% of its total workforce⁸.

And jobs cuts have not only been ordered at advertising-supported media companies. For example, in October 2007 the BBC announced that 2,500 jobs would be axed as part of wide-ranging reforms driven, in part, by budget shortfalls⁹.

A tally of the numbers reported in the survey of the trade sites shows that there have been reports of more than 9,500 journalism job cuts between January 2007 and June 2010. This is in line with that of the National Union of Journalists¹⁰ estimate that in the newspaper sector alone there have been at least 8,800 jobs lost and 54 local offices closed since December 2008.

Based on a revised 2001 baseline estimate of 55,000 to 60,000 jobs in the mainstream media, which would suggest that, as a result of structural and economic changes in the sector, the UK’s mainstream journalism corps has shrunk by between a quarter and third (27%-33%) to around 40,000¹¹, which is between 30% and 40% less than the JAW estimates.

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⁹ Oliver, Laura (2007) “BBC to axe staff from online and news operations as part of 2,500 job cuts”, Journalism.co.uk, 18 August 2007: http://www.journalism.co.uk/2/articles/530851.php [Accessed: 12/08/2010]

¹⁰ See the National Union of Journalists’ campaign mashup at: http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?hl=en safe=off&ie=UTF8&msa=0&msid=116069118730922972880.00045d5e442b3823ae651&ll=54.316523,-3.55957&spn=8.980297,18.676758&z=5&source=embed

¹¹ That figure echoes those of the Meltwater Press, who provide a directory of journalists that is typically used by public relations people.
Chapter 4: Who responded to the study?

Researchers weren’t just concerned about the number of people being laid off. They were also interested in knowing more about who they are – and what that tells us about the gaps left in newsrooms.

Most of the respondents to this study had significant experience (only 26% according to graph had been working in the sector for five years or less). Most held senior positions. Senior managers accounted for 27% of the respondents and production editors for 36%, while 38% could be seen as content makers (reporters, photographers, cartoonists).

While the last authoritative study to profile the industry, the Labour Force Survey of 2001, showed that most journalists are young (two thirds were under 40), most of the respondents to this study were older. Less than half were under 40 and more than a quarter (27%) were 50 to 66 years old.

The survey included detailed demographic questions from the UK census, including those about sexuality and social class. While one respondent felt that was “unnecessary and slightly offensive”, we hope the findings help inform those who advocate and support greater diversity in the sector.

The majority of the respondents were well-educated (78% had a university degree and 57% had an NCTJ qualification), had significant experience (74% had more than five years experience and 59% had more than 10) and were in senior positions (27% were managers, while 36% were production editors). Most were middle or upper-middle class (67%) men (54%) who were married or in a long term partnership (58%).

The majority (87%) of respondents to the questionnaire were white, while 5.7% (8) defined themselves as “mixed race”. Three respondents defined themselves as “black African or Caribbean. Almost a fifth of respondents (19%) were born outside the UK. Only one (0.007%) indicated that she had a disability.
Of the 134 responses to the question about sexuality, 93% described themselves as straight, 4% gay, 2% lesbian and 0.7% bisexual (1 person); one person ticked all the boxes and nine skipped the question.

This compares to respondents to the 2001 Labour Force Study of whom 96% were white, 51% men and 3% had a disability. That study did not explore class or sexuality. Neither of the studies investigated religion.

Other findings include:

- Most of the respondents were from the local and regional press. The largest group (50%) were working on regional daily papers when they were laid off. The second biggest group had worked on regional weeklies (28%), with national weeklies and dailies each coming in at 18%.

- Overall, three out of five respondents were managers and production staff (senior managers, editors, deputy and assistant editors, section editors, sub-editors), rather than content makers (reporters, columnists, photographers, cartoonists). However, more than half of those respondents who lost their jobs at regional daily papers were reporters (31%), with sub-editors the next biggest category at just under 23%. The third largest category of journalist to lose their jobs – at 17% – was editors or management. Of the remainder, 9% of respondents were deputies or assistant editors and 6% were news editors.

- 64% of respondents were made redundant during 2009 (82 people), with 29% leaving their roles in 2008 (37 people). There was little differentiation between the months in which they were laid off.

- Of those surveyed, 55% had an undergraduate degree and 23% had a post-graduate degree. 57% had an NCTJ certificate.
- The majority of respondents (58%) were living with a long-term partner. Of these, 66% had spouses who worked full-time. 27% had children living at home.

- The majority of respondents, 59%, saw themselves as middle class, 34% as working class, and 8% as upper-middle class.

The results show that our respondents have mostly been laid off in the past two years. The highest peak of layoffs (15 people) was in the latter half of 2009. Another, smaller peak (11 layoffs) occurred in the first half of 2008.
Survey respondents were from a wide variety of journalism-related sectors. The most significant is regional news, in which 70 respondents (50%) were working at the time of their redundancy. Second most significant is the cohort of 42 national news workers, 30% of the total participants.
Almost two thirds of the respondents (63%) could be described as those who process content and manage resources, rather than direct content providers.

Twenty four individuals (17%) were senior editors and managers, while 10% were deputy or assistant editors and another 10% were section editors (e.g. news, features, sports or business editors). Sub-editors comprised almost a quarter (23%) of the respondents. Although online is widely considered to be a growth sector, 5 of the respondents (3%) lost their jobs as online editors.

Content providers, such as columnists, reporters, designers and photographers, made up 38% of the sample (55 people).

Five respondents were laid off before they finished their first (usually a probationary) year, but the largest spike is seen amongst those who have been employed between 2 and 5 years – 31 people (22%). A third (33%) of the respondents had been journalists for more than 20 years.
The majority of the respondents (141 or 99%) completed this question. The youngest group of respondents was 23 (4 people, 3%). The oldest was 66. More than half (51%) were 40 and older, compared to a third (33%) of respondents to the Labour Force Survey of 2001.

The vast majority of respondents (78%) have a university degree and more than half (57%) have NCTJ certification. All of those who only had a high school diploma also had an NCTJ qualification.
58% of the 143 respondents are married or with a long-term partner, 42% are not.

Only 65% of the total respondents answered this question. Of those, 61% have a spouse who works full-time, 32% do not.
27% of respondents have children living at home, 73% do not.

The majority - 87% - self-describe themselves as white. There are representatives from a wide variety of ethnic origins, but low numbers in each of the non-white categories. Four groups have only one member (0.7%), including Black Caribbean and Other Asian. Three groups have 2 members (1%) – Black African, Indian and Chinese. The largest of the non-whites groups is “mixed race” at 8 members (6%).
There were participants from 19 countries in the study. Almost 1 in 5 of the respondents was from outside Britain. The majority were born in the UK (81% (including Scotland). The second largest group was from the United States with 7 people (5%). 15 countries had only 1 member (0.7%).

The respondents were gendered in approximately equal proportions – 76 (or 54%) were male and 65 (46%) female.
Of the 138 valid responses to this question, 93% (128) described themselves as straight, 4% (6) gay, 2% lesbian (3) and 1% bisexual (1 person).

The largest group (67%) said the words that best described them were Middle Class or Upper-Middle Class, while 34% said they were Working Class. Three respondents (2%) identified themselves as Upper Class. Two other respondents indicated that they did not know.
Chapter 5: What are their attitudes towards the profession?

Journalists - even those forced from their jobs – remain deeply committed to their profession.

Despite the difficulties they had experienced and their general pessimism about the future of the industry and their own prospects to continue to participate in it, participants in this survey still had very strong allegiances to the profession.

We asked them to tell us how they felt about journalism by ranking eight statements on a seven-point scale where one equalled “Not at all” and seven equalled “Definitely” (See above). Few felt that journalism was simply a job (Mean = 2.63) which was no different from other professions (2.52).

Most considered journalism a noble endeavour (4.75), even a “calling” (4.91), which defined who they were (4.89).

And, while many made reference to the difficulty of coping with all the changes in the industry, the overwhelming majority retained a passion for journalism (5.63), felt satisfied by their work (5.13) and were proud to be called a journalist (5.66).
The majority of respondents felt strongly that journalism was a vocation. On the seven-point scale, only 7% of respondents gave the statement, “I consider journalism a calling,” the lowest score, while almost a quarter of respondents (23%) gave it the highest score, with another fifth (18%) rating it 6 out of 7. The mean was 4.91, indicating a strong positive bias.

For most of the respondents, their identities were very closely tied to their professional roles. On the seven-point scale, only 6% of respondents, gave the statement, “Journalism defines who I am,” the lowest score, while more than one in five respondents (21%) gave it the highest score, with another quarter (25%) rating it 6 out of 7. The mean was 4.89, indicating a considerable positive bias.
Journalism was much more than just a job to most of the respondents. On the seven-point scale, only 6% of respondents gave the statement, “journalism is just a job to me,” the highest score, while almost two thirds of all respondents strongly disagreed with the statement, rating it 1<sup>st</sup> (38%) or 2<sup>nd</sup> (22%). The mean was 2.63, indicating a very strong negative bias.

The overwhelming majority were proud to tell people they were journalists; only 5 of the 143 respondents to this question told us that was not at all the case.
Despite vast changes and the considerable difficulties they had experienced, most of the respondents still considered journalism a very satisfying profession. On the seven-point scale, only 3% of respondents gave the statement, “Journalism is a satisfying profession,” the lowest score, while more than a quarter of all respondents (27%) gave it the highest score with another quarter (25%) rating it 6th out of 7. The mean was 5.13, indicating a very strong positive bias.

Journalists participating in this study considered their profession to have a special status. A very small minority of the 142 respondents considered that being a journalist is no different from other professions. On the seven-point scale where the lowest rating indicate total disagreement with the statement “Being a journalist is no different from other professions”, the mean score was 2.52, while 36% chose the “not at all” option.
The vast majority of respondents were very passionate about the profession. On the seven-point scale, only 1% of respondents gave the statement, “I have a passion for journalism,” the lowest score, while more than a third of all respondents (34%) gave it the highest score, with close to another third (32%) rating it 6 out of 7. The mean was 5.63, indicating a very strong positive bias.

Most respondents held their profession in very high regard. On the seven-point scale, only 6% of respondents gave the statement, “Being a journalist is a noble profession,” the lowest score, while almost four times as many (22%) gave it the highest score. The mean was 4.75, indicating a strong positive bias.
Chapter 7: What were their experiences of being laid off?

“There’s no future in general reporting, and most jobs are now either shallow processing jobs or much closer to punditry” - Respondent 30, a 51-year-old woman reporter on a national weekly newspaper

“I’m young enough to know that change is everything...” - Respondent 1, a 20-year-old reporter for a national daily newspaper

Key findings

- The majority of respondents did not agree that management treated them with respect when decisions about job losses were being made. A total of 28% disagreed with the idea they were treated with kindness and 26% disagreed strongly with the statement. Only 20% agreed they had been treated with kindness and respect.

- When asked if employee concerns over job losses were listened to by management, a clear majority of 42% disagreed strongly, with a further 36% disagreeing. Only 10% of respondents agreed their concerns had been listened to, while 9% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement.

- Again, a majority of respondents disagreed with the statement that management explained clearly restructuring decisions, with 23% disagreeing strongly and 36% disagreeing. However, 23% did agree explanations had been given.

- When asked whether they had been treated with dignity and respect in talks about job losses, a majority of 34% agreed they had. However, a total of 23% disagreed and 16% disagreed strongly with the statement.
• 75% did not think there was anything they could have done to keep their job.

Very few felt able to strongly agree that they were treated with kindness and respect, although the rest of the replies were relatively evenly split between the other four choices. Removing the 32 (24%) who felt they neither agreed nor disagreed reveals the strength of feeling against the proposition. 28 journalists (22%) thought they had been treated well, but over twice that number, 71 (54%) did not.

This question found much greater consensus than the previous question. 108 of the 138 respondents (78%) thought that management did not hear all employee concerns, with 42% of that number (58 participants) feeling strongly that this was the case.
Again the majority disagree with the statement, but by a closer margin than the last question. 59% disagree to some extent with the statement, but 27% agree or strongly agree.

For the first time, the numbers of respondents answering affirmatively matches the number replying negatively. There were 50 in each group, both 39% of the total sample. The question is almost exactly the same as 5a), except for “dignity” in place of respect and a greater emphasis on the respondent’s own manager, with whom they would have a personal relationship, than management as a faceless generality.
Chapter 7: What do UK journalists do next?

This much is clear: life after being laid off is tough.

When asked if they had found other work after being laid off, only 23% of the 134 respondents indicated that they had found a full-time job (See Q8). A further 20% had found part-time work, while 42% were still looking. A minority (almost 15%) said they were doing something else.

Responses to the open-ended follow-up question indicate that very few were able to secure similar work elsewhere (See Q9)

When those who had found work were asked where they were working and what they were doing, only 14 (18%) of the 79 respondents said they had found full-time work in journalism. Of those, almost a quarter had left the country to do so, securing jobs in the Middle East and Europe. A further 9% said they had part-time work in journalism, while 30% had at least some freelance work.

Alternative work choices varied, but the most common option was public relations or marketing, a sector in which nearly one in five (18%) had found full-time or part-time work (the same number had found full-time work in journalism). A small group – 6 (8%) – had work in education. Two were full-time university lecturers; three were part-time at a university or further education college and one had returned to secondary school teaching. A few (6%) had also returned to studying.

Nearly a quarter (23%) of the respondents were engaged in completely different sectors, including working as a shop sales assistant, a dentist’s receptionist, a council administrator, a market trader, running a coffee shop and volunteering at a charity.

- When looking for a new job, 53% focus the majority of their time and energy on finding another position and many (32%) focus on applying their skills and qualifications on gaining a new job.
While finances were a key concern, the majority of respondents – 42% - would not ask family or friends to help with money matters.

In terms of career plans, the largest (19%) were intent on freelance journalism, with 16% wanting to carry on working in newspapers. The most popular career choice after journalism was public relations or copywriting, at 17%. A similar percentage planned to move into online writing or social media. 12% of respondents were planning to start their own business and 6% were looking to move into university lecturing.

A clear majority of journalists – 59% - had thought they would stay in newspapers until retirement. Only 13% of the respondents thought that would still be the case.

Knowing what they know now, would they do it again? The vast majority – 68% of all respondents and 71% of editors --- said they would still have chosen journalism as a career even if they had known what would happen to the industry.

Only 23% of the 134 respondents indicated that they had found full-time work in any sector, while a further 20% had found part-time work. The largest group - 42% - are still looking for work, while almost 15% said they were doing something else. Comments reveal that this includes studying, volunteering, writing books and retiring from work.
There were 83 responses of which one was a hoax, one stated that he was unemployed, one said he was doing “nothing”, and another said he was retired. Seventy nine responses were considered valid and coded into 8 categories: freelance journalism, part-time journalism, full-time journalism, public relations and marketing communication, teaching, studying and volunteering and other. Responses from nine (or 11%) of the participants fell into more than one category (e.g. studying and freelance journalism).

Only 14 (18%) of the respondents to this question had found full-time employment in journalism, with three of those working abroad (2 in the Middle East, one elsewhere in Europe); the same number were had full-time or part-time work in public relations or marketing. Of the 6 (8%) who had turned to teaching, two were full-time university lecturers and three had worked part-time posts, while one had returned to high school teaching. Two respondents (3%) were volunteering.

One fifth (20%) of the respondents were engaged in completely different sectors, including working as a shop sales assistant, a dentist’s receptionist, a council administrator, a market trader, and running a coffee shop.
A small number of respondents (7%) selected more than one answer. The three most popular choices are going freelance (19%), working in copywriting, PR and the like (17%) and remain in newspapers (16%). The least common is making a move into TV, which only 1 person has done (0.8%). The categories “high school teacher” and “university journalism lecturer” could be combined into “education”, comprising an 8% share.
Responses to this question show that more than one in five (22%) of all the participants in this study (144) intended to engage in further education or training; 7 of the 38 responses to this open-ended question (or 18%) chose to explicitly state they would not be studying further.

Education (secondary or tertiary) was the most popular study choice for participants (7 or 18%), followed by Law (16%).

59% had believed that they would retire as journalists before they were laid off; 41% did not.
Of those who had previously believed they would retire as journalists, 59% no longer believe this will be the case. Only 13% (8 respondents) still believe they will, while a further 10% hoped that would still be the case.

Nearly all respondents (141 of a possible 144) answered this question. Despite their experiences, which the vast majority said came at personal and financial cost (cf Q17 and Q20), 68% would still have become a journalist. Less than a third (32%) would not have become journalists knowing what they know now.
Figure 1 This Wordle graphic was built using responses to the open-ended Question 17: What does it feel like knowing that your career in journalism might be over?

For the vast majority of respondents (62%) being pushed, or jumping, from the industry has been a very negative experience. Responses include:

- I have been left feeling hurt by the whole experience, not because I lost my job, but knowing that people with a passion for making a difference are not being treated seriously because management just want to replace these people with press releases.
- Depressing
- **Breaks my heart.** Yes that's a cliché but I can't believe the product I grew up with has been ruined and that the job I loved is no more. I tried to get other jobs but there were too many other journalists with the same idea. I never wanted to be a broadcast journalist so I had no option but to leave. I worked as a multimedia editor too which I did not enjoy. It wasn't challenging enough so there is no point sticking around.
- **Sad.**
- **Depressing, frightening as far as future of news goes**
- **Soul destroying**
- **Harrowing**
- **Miserable. I was only just getting started.**

On the other hand, almost a quarter (24%) of the respondents felt positive about moving out of the industry. Responses include:

- **Satisfying**
- **Traditional newspaper journalism has been dying by degrees over so long a period that I was relieved to move on from the poor remains and start afresh. Grieving was long over.**
- **Delighted to be out of it. The job is not the one I had 30 years ago. Now it is a hard slog - mountains of work for poor reward. No time to do the job properly and to derive satisfaction from that.**
- **Papers have changed beyond all recognition. They are run by editors who haven't a clue, who treat the readers like they are stupid and then blame everyone else when readership declines. I'm glad I've left the industry now, it was becoming soul destroying.**
- **A relief. And an opportunity to try an alternative career, even at the age of 50.**
- **Liberating!**
- **It's OK. The industry isn't what it used to be. I'm not interested in churning out tripe.**
- **Other professions can gain a lot by hiring journalists because of their work ethic and integrity, and employers seem to be responding positively.**
- Bittersweet, but not unexpected
- I am content because I know I have enjoyed the best period for national newspapers.
- Given the state of the newspaper industry at present, bloody great!
- Good - change is always good. People adapt.

Three-quarters of the respondents (75%) believe there was nothing they could do to save their job, while 25% felt they could have done something to save their job. Having said that, many of the answers were joking, bitter, or ironic rather than straight-forward “yes” or “no” answers. For example, Respondent 10’s “no” reply was, “Taken a cut in pay and become a collegiate player in an exciting era of new technology and new working patterns (ie, journalism’s hell on earth),” while Respondent 16’s “yes” answer was, “Accepted redeployment”.

Q19 Looking back, is there anything you could have done to keep your job?
(n=142)

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The 135 responses to this question can be described as falling into seven broad categories. Some responses fit into more than one category. The top most concern was financial, which was mentioned by 50% of respondents (“Being unemployed and broke,” – Respondent 112; “Losing my house because I cannot afford to pay my bills,” - Respondent 101).

Finding satisfying work was a concern for 16% (“Finding a job I enjoy as much as the one I just lost!” - Respondent 104).

Ageism (“My age - I am 49 and although highly skilled and experienced there is no doubt age is now a media barrier.” - Respondent 78) and lack of security (“Uncertainty, lack of stability, no long term strategy at present” – Respondent 109) were each mentioned by 6% of respondents. Concerns about personal abilities or self-esteem issues were explicitly noted by 4% of the respondents (“My self-esteem. I feel scrapped” – Respondent 112).

Concerns about the general state of the industry were mentioned by 7% of the respondents (“That journalists of the future will lack the knowledge and drive to challenge abuses of power” – Respondent 2). 10% of respondents said they had few or no real worries. (“I'm not really worried about work: something always comes up” - Respondent 57; “Now I am out of newspapers my worries about my future are significantly less.” – Respondent 80)
Chapter 8: What are some of the lessons we can learn from the layoffs?

This much is clear: the layoffs aren’t over.

According to the 2010 World Newspaper Future & Change Study, conducted by researchers from the University of Central Lancashire, Norwegian School of Management and the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA)’s Shaping the Future of the Newspaper Project, saving money on staff is amongst the top tactics publishers plan to use to cut costs in the next 12 months.

According to around 500 publishers and top executive respondents from 84 countries surveyed in April and May 2010, materials such as paper (48%), printing (45%), administration (42%) distribution (33%) and content generation, the key deliverable of journalists, (29%) ranked as the top five priorities for cuts in the 12 months.

Of course, companies have always cut back on workers during economic downturns. However, as the experiences of the respondents in this study confirm, layoffs in the media sector are also driven by the need for the traditional media companies to restructure and reinvent themselves in this Digital Age.

Yes, most newsrooms have changed dramatically over the past five years, but there is no indication that the transformations are complete.

What does this mean for the key industry stakeholders? What about media companies, educators, working journalists – are they the ones who are likely to be forced out of the industry in the coming years?

Here we draw out some of our thoughts and invite you to participate in the discussion further at: http://www.journalism.co.uk.
What lessons can Media companies learn from the layoffs?

Media companies would do well to ask themselves these three questions:

1. Are your managers up to the task – and equipped to carry on afterwards?

Firing staff is difficult. For everyone. But managers charged with bearing bad tidings can expect little sympathy. As Jill Geisler of the Poynter Institute has pointed out, “An executioner's arms may ache after a long day of beheadings, but folks just aren't that focused on his pain.” What pain management strategy does your company have in place for those charged with making good on decisions made in boardrooms?

Geisler believes that conventional wisdom for managing after a downsizing isn’t sufficient for today's newsrooms: “I can't tell you how many books and articles I've scanned to find the best advice for managers who have had to cut staff. While many have valuable tips designed to rebuild trust and productivity, they focus on ‘a’ downsizing, not multiple purges over months and years.

“Today's newsroom managers aren't dealing with just morale and motivation. They're in charge of workplaces infused with grief, fear, anger and stress. Management training, for those who may have had some, seldom included trauma counselling.”

And the show must go on. Productivity goes down after layoffs, so managers have an uphill battle. They must do more with less, often with people who, at least for a while, aren't fully up to the task. It makes the manager's work of motivating the troops, managing resources and delivering quality to customers - readers, users, viewers, advertisers and sources - all the more challenging.

Company executives would do well to ask themselves the question being posed to military chiefs: are your forces - and those who lead them - adequately equipped for the battle you’re sending them to fight?

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2. Is this really the best option for my business?

“Layoffs are bad for business.” That was the headline of a Newsweek cover story in February. There are downsides to downsizing and, as Jeffrey Pfeffer points out, and despite what many executives might believe, research paints a fairly consistent picture: layoffs don’t work. Amongst the myths that Pfeffer, a Stanford University professor, points to are:

a. Companies that announce layoffs don’t enjoy higher stock prices than their peers – either immediately or over time. As Deutsche Bank analyst Paul Ginocchio pointed out publishers make a mistake by thinking that the market cares more about margins than profit growth. "I think the market knows now that you can’t cut your way to profitability…It’s not a cost issue, it’s a revenue issue. Growth takes investment." Strategic investment, as I’ve argued before, should prioritise building the knowledge required to make better, faster decisions, along with the skills & technologies to do things better, faster.

b. Layoffs don’t even reliably cut costs. That is because when a layoff is announced several things happen. First, people head for the door – and it’s often the best people. Second, it’s often the people the companies don’t want to lose. “I had to persuade them to let me go,” reported one of our study respondents, who had taken a job with a charity. The round of voluntary redundancies at the Guardian early in 2010, which coincided with the departures of key innovators in their growing digital division including Simon Waldman, Emily Bell and Kevin Anderson, further illustrates the point. One survey by the American Management Association showed that about a third of the companies that had laid people off subsequently rehired some of them as contractors because they still needed the skills. According to the report of Bell’s departure on guardian.co.uk, she will continue to work and write for the title as a consultant.

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14 http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2010/apr/21/emily-bell-to-leave-guardian
c. Managers often underestimate the extent to which layoffs reduce morale and increase fear in the workplace. That, Pfeffer points out, carries costs now and in the future. “When the current recession ends, the first thing that lots of employees are going to do is to look for another job,” he says. For media companies that is likely to lead to a further exodus of some of the most talented staff.

Additionally, layoffs are also likely to contribute to increased competition. Some journalists will take up positions with existing competitors. Others will start competing businesses, which was the intention of more than one in 10 (12.2%) of the respondents to this survey. Amongst the examples of those businesses are the BusinessDesk.co.uk, which is staffed by former editors from the Yorkshire Evening Post, the Manchester Evening News and the Birmingham Post. And yet others will be employed by sources and advertisers - often with the brief to help them find more innovative ways to work around traditional news gatekeepers.

3. Am I investing enough resources – bandwidth, creativity and cash – in innovations that will grow my business?

A look at the findings from the 2010 World Newspaper Future & Change Study, which I conduct annually in collaboration with colleagues at the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) and the Norwegian School of Management, would suggest there is work to be done.

Executives were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement, “Our company’s culture encourages everyone to be innovative”. The rating scale for this question is from -3 “totally disagree” to +3 “totally agree”.

While the average rating amongst the more than 500 executives was a low 0.73; British participants in the study were even less optimistic with an average of 0.42.

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What lessons can educators learn from the layoffs?

While no authoritative figures are available, the medium-term prognosis for the mainstream journalism jobs market is grim. Leading UK industry analyst Clare Enders told a parliamentary select committee investigation into the future of local radio and newspapers that she expected that as many as one in every two regional papers, traditionally the largest employer of journalists, may fold by 201416.

Meanwhile enrolment in journalism courses remains much stronger than the businesses that have traditionally supported journalism.

Reviewing figures from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) and UCAS, the organisation responsible for managing applications to higher education courses in the UK, shows that the popularity of undergraduate programmes in journalism in Britain has continued to rise among young people hoping for a media career, and among university administrators seeking to maximise income from students.

In 2010, UCAS had 43 undergraduate and 352 postgraduate journalism courses listed. Meanwhile, Higher Education Statistic Agency recorded the equivalent of 3,010 full-time UK-domiciled undergraduates in 2008/9, the latest figures available, up 190% from 1035 in 2001/2. In addition, HESA recorded the equivalent of 1650 full-time students on postgraduate programmes, up from 870 (or 90%) in 2001/2.

These HESA records show an increase of 190% and 90%, respectively, in undergraduate and postgraduate students over the last decade when the Journalism at Work study had falsely predicted a 20% rise in journalism jobs – which have, in fact, shrunk by more than a third (See Chapter 3).

But those numbers only tell a part of the story. The actual number of university students is significantly higher because HESA records full-time equivalency, i.e. HESA counts students on a full-person equivalency basis - a person solely studying journalism is 'one' person, and someone who might be studying half journalism, half geography, is counted as half a student (Jones

2010). The total figures HESA provides are that of the sums of the journalism student components, which accounts for combination courses.

In addition, a survey of the accredited body websites in June 2010 showed that the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) had 73 accredited courses, the Broadcast Journalism Training Council (BJTC) had 43 and the Periodicals Training Council (PTC) 14.

A simple tally of the numbers would not provide an accurate picture of the number of programmes.

The accrediting bodies do not distinguish between university and private training courses. For example, the same PTC accreditation is awarded to a three-year undergraduate degree offered by Sheffield University, one year MA degree by the University of Central Lancashire, one-year postgraduate diploma from City University and nine-week postgraduate diploma offered by PMA Media Training.

Also, some courses, such as the BA (Hons) Journalism at the University of Central Lancashire carries both PTC and NCTJ accreditation while others, including some highly-regarded journalism courses, do not seek external accreditation.

Jim Latham, secretary of the BJTC, estimates that in 2010 there are about 10,000 students engaged in accredited and non-accredited journalism courses at universities, further education colleges and other centres of learning. That may be conservative, given that in 2008-9 there were more than 9,000 local, EU and foreign university students enrolled in undergraduate and postgraduate journalism courses delivered full-time, part-time and online. And the 10-year trend graph pointed to further growth, which may only have been curbed by recent government-enforced caps in recruitment.

Of course, a journalism qualification is not the only route to entry into the industry. In the 2002 Journalism at Work study, only 58% of all respondents were reported to have a journalism qualification.

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18 Newspaper journalists were most likely to have a journalism qualification, with 75% of regional and 68% of national newspaper journalists in the study saying they had one. Those working in magazines were least likely to do so (42%), while 58% of radio and 56% of television journalists were likely to have such a qualification (Spilsbury 2002: 34)
Like its counterparts elsewhere, the journalism training programmes in Britain are rooted in a system that has a simple goal: to provide junior
employees in the news industry\textsuperscript{19} (Delano 2000). While journalism education extends that by also studying the work of those who do, journalism courses at UK universities are firmly rooted in the industry’s expansion in the 1960s when demand for journalists was high following the introduction of the commercial television news service, ITN, which recruited heavily from amongst radio and print journalists at a time when a growing economy was also fuelling expansion of the national and regional press (Delano 2000).

That was then. The situation now is very different. The reality is that only a fraction of the many thousands of graduates from UK journalism courses will find a place in the mainstream industry.

Curriculum reform is certainly happening at many institutions in the UK and elsewhere. Skillset, for example, has recently issued new National Occupational Standards\textsuperscript{20} for print and multimedia journalism, which includes guidance on undertaking freelance work (Unit 22).

While these are welcome, there is little indication that the downsizing in the news industry has led to a rise in opportunities for part-time and freelance workers, which is how 19.4\% of our respondents hoped to earn a living after being laid off (See Chapter 6). In fact, the National Union of Journalists is running a campaign\textsuperscript{21} for freelance rights saying, “A combination of the recession and the drive by media owners to maintain impossible profit levels has led to a sharp fall in the work available for freelance journalists.”

Another ongoing NUJ campaign is to “End Low Pay”. The campaign manifesto includes reference to surveys that have shown: “75\% of journalists earn less than the average wage of a professional worker; 80\% can’t afford the average house mortgage; Journalists’ starting rates are at least £7,000 less than the median starting salary for graduates”

A basic understanding of business (which is not included in the curriculum of standard journalism courses) would suggest that at the heart of these concerns is an imbalance between supply and demand\textsuperscript{22}.

\textsuperscript{20} http://www.skillset.org/standards/standards/newspaper_journalism/\textsuperscript{21} http://www.nuj.org.uk/innerPagenuj.html?docid=1276\textsuperscript{22} A point well made by Prof Robert Picard in his recent speech entitled, “Why journalists deserve low pay”, http://www.robertpicard.net/PDFFiles/whyjournalistsdeservelowpay.pdf , which I picked up in “Learning from Layoffs:
Amongst the many questions these issues pose to journalism educators, such as me, are these:

- Are we candid with our prospective and current students (and their parents) about the risk they’re taking on their investment in time and money, particularly given the expected rise in the annual undergraduate tuition fee cap of £3,225 per year?

- Do we need to reconsider the prominence we give in our curriculum to the expectations of those “formerly known as the employers”?

- Are our definitions of journalism and journalists broad enough? Should we echo the head of the University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism head Prof Geneva Overholser who says her message to students is that “we care about information in the public interest even if it doesn’t look like journalism.”

- Do we under-emphasise numeracy and ignore the business of journalism in our courses? I’ve argued before that being independent from commercial pressures is not the same as being ignorant of commercial imperatives, and that for journalists to understand the various aspects of the business they’re in is crucial. This theme was recently taken up in a Carnegie-funded forum on journalism education in the US, entitled, “A Way Forward: Solving the Challenges of the News Frontier.” In a session chaired by Jeff Jarvis, Overholser is quoted as saying that five years ago she should have rather “cut my tongue out than say to a journalism student, ‘Be your own brand.’” But the former editor of the Des Moines Register believes “many if not most of the journalism jobs in the future indeed will include the skills of entrepreneurialism.” She, too, recalled when journalistic “purity” kept the editorial side divorced from the business side of the newspaper. “But the fact that we didn’t worry about the audience really had some bad effects on us. It got us disengaged from the

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What the experiences of laid-off journalists mean for journalism education presented at 2<sup>nd</sup> annual World Journalism Education Congress: Journalism Education in an Age of Radical Change, 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> July 2010, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa

23 Conversation during the World Journalism Education Congress, July 2010.
24 See “A response to ‘Four Excuses That Impede Change in Media Academia”
http://forthethmedia.blogspot.com/2008/05/blog-post.html
audience,” Overholser admitted25 (p. 13). Fellow panellist Phil Balboni of GlobalPost, a former Hearst Corporation executive and news director at a Boston television station, urged journalism schools to “break down the silos between newspaper, broadcast, magazine and multimedia tracks, teach all students how to edit and publish stories on the Web and how to run a business...I’ve been talking about this for almost all my 43 years in journalism” (p. 14) He added that students should learn how to write a business plan, do spreadsheets and “love numbers.” (Ibid). I couldn’t agree more.

- The knowledge and skills taught in journalism courses are indeed transferrable, but to what extent do we foreground these in our programmes? For example, what qualifies as a suitable story? Or an appropriate site for work placement? Which alumni achievements are celebrated through the course literature? How many of the visiting speakers come from outside of the mainstream media?

- Are we (mainstream journalism educators) adequately equipped to prepare those we teach for the demands of a fast-changing – and growing – sector?

After having actively participated this summer in meetings of both the UK Association of Journalism Educators and the World Journalism Education Congress, my perception is that, with some exceptions, the reforms aren’t nearly radical enough, aren’t widespread enough and aren’t happening fast enough.

That is already having consequences for the industry and for individuals, as this study clearly shows. As part of that eco system, universities will not be exempt. And the signs are already there. Recently, one university decided to close its journalism programme (Edge Hill University). Will others follow? I, for one, think that is probable. And I hope that, when the experiences of redundant journalism staff are researched, some answers are not like the response of a 40-year-old magazine editor with a postgraduate degree, NCTJ

25 Download the full report at: http://carnegie.org/fileadmin/Media/Publications/final_journalism_rpt_lowres.pdf
accreditation and 12 years of experience to the Laid Off study question, “Looking back, is there anything you could have done to keep your job?”:

“The company could have done something about their strategy but they are an old-fashioned organisation and slow to move on the fast-moving world of digital.”

What lessons can Government learn from the layoffs?

Some key questions that arise are:

- Should incentives for business innovation, which are typically targeted at SMEs, be extended to mainstream media companies?\(^{26}\)
- Is there a role of Government to encourage and support innovation in the media education sector?
- What more can Government do to support journalists who have been laid off?
- Can Government do more to improve information about the industry?

\(^{26}\) I have previously suggested that companies should be assisted through tax relief to build the capacity to innovative and grow - [http://www.journalism.co.uk/13/articles/533900.php](http://www.journalism.co.uk/13/articles/533900.php). This and other solutions are reviewed in Prof Andrew Currah’s report, *Navigating the Crisis in Local and Regional News: a critical review of solutions*. [http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Navigating_the_Crisis_in_Local___Regional_News_Final.pdf](http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Navigating_the_Crisis_in_Local___Regional_News_Final.pdf)
Chapter 8: Job tips for Journalists

As bad as the effects of layoffs are on the companies and the economy, perhaps the biggest toll is to the individuals involved. Here the consequences can, not surprisingly, be devastating as a 55-year-old survey respondent pointed out:

“While redundancies are symptomatic of recession and to be expected when we are struggling, it seems some highly profitable media outlets are using the recession as an excuse to steamroller through cost-cutting measures without regard for staffing levels, increased workloads on survivors or quality of product, and right off their radar of concern is the human cost.”

In an attempt to support those who have been laid off, we’ve compiled a list of online resources where you can find guides and advice about how to get back into the work force, re-tool your career and shift directions, or keep your current journalism jobs.

If you have suggestions for other sites or links we should add, please send an email with the URL to FPNel@uclan.ac.uk or post your comments at: http://forthemedia.blogspot.com/2010/08/building-tip-sheet-for-laid-off.html

Job Search Engines, Articles & Guides

- **Journalism.co.uk** – tips on CV writing, preparing for an interview and more – as well as daily updates on jobs across the broader communications sector. To stay abreast of the latest opportunities, follow @journalismjobs on Twitter.
- **HoldtheFrontPage** – jobs listings in the local and regional press.
- **Jobs4journalists.co.uk** – journalism jobs across the sector
- **Guardian Media Jobs** - national and even international jobs
- **How-Do** – creative industry jobs in the Northwest
- **Skillset** has a wide range of resources for those looking for work, including fact sheets on being a freelancer, marketing yourself, links to a free telephone careers helpline, information links on other creative
media sectors and roles, plus a creative media specific course
directory that includes all types of courses – whether short, CPD, FE,
HE – if relevant to the industries we work in.

- The National Union of Journalists’ site, and particularly the London
freelance branch page, has loads of useful information on freelance
rates and ratings of different publications for rates and payment – most
illuminating!
- www.elance.com helps you list and connect with other freelancers to
get work.
- Mashable’s list of 100 job sites (predominantly US-orientated).
- UCLAN’s Andy Dickinson’s guide to digital job hunting.

What support is on offer for graduates of the University of Central
Lancashire, home to the UK’s oldest journalism programme?

- Careers advice and guidance by email, telephone or face-to-face
- Search for job opportunities and internships at ‘myfutures’
- Careers resources to download
- Help with gaining relevant work-experience
- Events & workshops to help develop your skills
- Business start-up, freelance and self-employment advice, including
free office space
- If you’re considering further studies, self-funded UCLAN alumni qualify
for 20% discount on most postgraduate course

Training Sessions

- Skillset provides links to a wide range of courses available in the UK.
- Vision + Media - provide a range of activities to support media
professionals in the Northwest.
- News University - training and courses for journalists, many of them
free (project by the Poynter Institute)
How to Keep Your Job if You Still Have One

- [Keeping your Job in Journalism](#) (from the Knight Digital Media Center)
- [Tips on Keeping Your Print Journalism Job](#) – some sober advice from a politically-incorrect hack.