

Journalism as a precarious routinized profession

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Contents

Introduction.....	2
Australia.....	4
Austria.....	5
Belgium (Flanders).....	6
Canada.....	7
Chile.....	9
Denmark.....	13
Finland.....	14
Germany.....	15
Greece.....	19
Hong Kong.....	21
Iceland.....	22
Italy.....	23
Netherlands.....	26
Portugal.....	27
South Korea.....	31
Sweden.....	32
Switzerland.....	33
United Kingdom.....	35
References.....	39

Introduction

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Quality and job satisfaction seem to be at stake in each of the 18 countries monitored in the context of the [“Media for Democracy Monitor 2020” research project](#); the uncertainty dominating the media field leads to a worrying decline in journalistic profession security in several countries.

Journalism professionalism and journalistic job security is currently in a state of flux within various media markets. Two considerable trends have emerged, characterised by different degrees of intensity and influence on journalism field: the increasingly common use of fixed-term contracts and the generational change in newsrooms, aimed primarily at saving resources in times of crisis.

This is a core finding derived from a survey by researchers of the [“Media for Democracy Monitor 2020” research project](#), conducted under the umbrella of the [Euromedia Research Group](#) in eighteen countries¹ around the globe in the first half of 2020.

Although journalism has been perceived as an “open” profession, in most countries a considerable percentage of journalists are highly educated persons holding a university degree, not necessarily on the discipline of media or journalism studies. However, quality and job satisfaction seem to be at stake forming a type of pathogen attributable to a series of factors:

- the increasing amount of workload (e.g. in Austria, where, compared to the first MDM research results, job satisfaction decreased significantly, and in Finland, where the divide between quality media and increasingly routinised bulk journalism is increasing);
- adverse working conditions (including very low salaries, underlined by Portuguese country report, and significant depressing effects on the delivery of original journalism, registered in the UK);
- staff shortages (seen as a serious deterrent to the possibility of Icelandic journalists for “high-class journalism”);
- limited resources (e.g. in Greece, where the financial collapse of the media market and the demise of journalists’ labour rights are denounced, and in Belgium, where three-quarters of Flemish journalists declare there is no time and budget to conduct profound research).

The above-mentioned features compose an image of a precarious routinized profession far from the goal of quality or high-class journalism. A distinctive exception seems to be

¹ The countries participating in the research project entitled "Media for Democracy Monitor 2020" are Australia, Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

journalism in the Netherlands where, despite the vulnerabilities at the local level, the profession is considered to be at its best phase.

By contrast, in many countries, the uncertainty dominating the media sector along with the decline of job security are clearly reflected in phenomena such as:

- the rise of temporary employed journalists (generating a particularly serious phenomenon in countries such as Iceland, where very little protection is guaranteed for journalists in case of dismissal or termination of contract resulting from changes in ownership or shifts in the political orientation of the medium, and in Italy, where the widely used contractual forms determine the rise of a generation of “information riders”, in fact these are unrecognised staff replacements);
- the apparent inclination of the media system towards the freelancers (the “bright side” of the fixed-term contracts, widely used in countries such as Australia, Germany, Netherlands as a contractual form, liable to offer opportunities to young people and contribute to job security, for which fierce battles are given);
- the replacement policy of the experienced journalists by younger ones (e.g. in Hong Kong, Greece), who cost less to media organizations and at the same time are more familiar with the new technologies.

A notable exception is Austria, where, despite the existence of low resources and high newsroom pressure, journalists enjoy a high level of job security.

The Media for Democracy Monitor 2020 (MDM) is a longitudinal research project on the performance of the media with regard to democracy. In 2011, communication and political scientists from 10 countries delivered a state-of-the art report, based on relevant indicators, researched by national experts. Results have been published by Nordicom ([free and open access book](#)), and on the [website of the Euromedia Research Group](#).

In 2020, experts from 18 countries applied the MDM indicators to their national media landscape, providing insights on the development of the media performance with regard to democracy over the decade of media digitalization (2010 to 2019). Full results will be released early 2021. The [Dutch Journalism Fund](#) support the research project.

The Euromedia Research Group is the academic host of the MDM project, which is coordinated and managed by Josef Trappel, University of Salzburg, and Werner A. Meier, University of Zurich. Contact: josef.trappel@sbg.ac.at; wenera.meier@uzh.ch

Australia

Australian media professionals suggest that training and development are made available rather than reinforced. In some cases, this could be “*some ad hoc courses*”, where other organisations ensure that training opportunities are regularly accessible, particularly for newer journalists. No one suggested an ongoing pattern of mandatory training and development, however.

Australia, for the past two decades, has offered journalism degrees at all but two of its 39 tertiary institutions (Koivisto & Thomas 2008, 95). The educational level of Australian journalists has changed significantly over this period. Whereas in 1992 only 35% of journalists held a degree, the figure was 80% in 2010, but Hanusch (2016) found similar results six years later. Interestingly, the percentage of those who held an undergraduate degree in journalism had hardly changed, from 33% to 35%, which shows that the industry is happy employing people with degrees other than journalism. However, many journalists hold a post-graduate degree in journalism (Joseph & Richards, 2011). Internships are still being offered by the major media companies, but their numbers have decreased as a casualty of expenditure cuts. Investigative journalism is a subject or topic in some university journalism courses.

In media field job security has arisen as an area of substantial concern even before the economic impacts of COVID-19 became apparent. The Senate Select Committee on the Future of Public Interest Journalism (2018) raised this as an area of growing risk for the nation. According to a columnist at a major commercial news organisation, “*Journalism today is woefully under resourced. There is too little time and not enough people to deliver news in a comprehensive way and journalists are stretched. Too many errors are made [...] In pursuit of cost savings many middle layer journalists have been replaced by younger and cheaper workers. A few bigger brand name journalists have been retained to create the veneer of the product. I believe this has taken place across most media companies.*”

While there are redundancy clauses and long periods of notice in the case of dismissal based on the time served, the union acknowledges that this is a difficult climate for the industry in general. According to the MEAA, there is an increasing use of casuals and freelancers. The union attempts to enforce that, if a journalist has been a casual for more than six months and has worked a regular pattern of shifts, s/he has the right to become a regular member of staff. Yet in a time of credit crunch and structural change, newspaper and other media are reluctant to take on permanent staff.

With the broader downturn in the media there has been decreasing job security especially during COVID-19. The MEAA has advised its members to be careful to not sign unlawful contracts during the COVID-19 period. They advise: “Any waiver

that asks an employee to indemnify their employer for any damages that may arise from COVID should not be signed” (MEAA, 2020).

Austria

Journalism in Austria is a profession with no formal skills requirement. Nonetheless, some 48,5 per cent of Austrian journalists were graduate academics in 2019. This is a considerably higher share than ten years ago (34 %). Remarkably, women outnumber men, with 58 per cent of all female journalists being graduates, and only 42 per cent being men. Among graduates, almost one third (32 %) has studied communication science or journalism, political science is ranking second (13 %) (Kaltenbrunner et al., 2020, p. 250).

The chairman of the journalists’ union emphasized the fact that journalistic ethos and resources do not always match in Austria. He pointed out that resources for investigative journalism have been reduced over the years, and journalists complain about the lack of financial support. Furthermore, journalists report back to the union that the work load has continuously increased, and journalists are too exhausted to engage in further education to enhance professionalism. In a representative survey, some 49 per cent of all journalist indicate that they are only partly or not satisfied with their daily workload, and 51 per cent are only partly or little satisfied with the time available for investigative reporting (ibid., p. 253). Compared to 2008, job satisfaction decreased significantly: By then, 75 per cent were very satisfied with working times; 51 per cent could not complain about their daily workload and 44 per cent were very satisfied with the amount of time they spent on investigation and research (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2008, p. 82).

Measured against the number of years journalists work for their employers, Austrian journalists enjoy high and growing job security. 41 per cent of all journalists are working for more than 15 years for the same media company. In 2008, this share was substantially lower at 21 per cent. (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2008, p. 145; 2020, p. 251) Another 36 per cent were employed by the same media company for five to ten years. Free-lance journalism in the news field is not a widely common practice.

Journalistic jobs are safe also with respect to their professional convictions. The Media Act contains a clause of conscience protecting journalists from writing against their convictions (§ 2 Mediengesetz). Furthermore, the Journalists’ Act includes special privileges and financial compensations for journalists in case of dismissal or termination of contract related to changes in ownership or the political orientation of the medium (§ 8 and 11 Journalistengesetz). In addition, there are several collective agreements for journalists.

However, the chairman of the journalists' union pointed to the fact that more and more journalists of advanced age are retiring early, some on request (or "invitation") by their employers. The obvious reason is the considerably higher cost of experienced journalists compared to beginners. The union's chairman argues that cost increasingly becomes more important than experience.

Belgium (Flanders)

The majority of Flemish journalist acquired a degree of higher education. However less time and resources for professional journalism are available. This contributes to a decline in general job satisfaction.

Flemish journalists are highly educated. 93% acquired a degree of higher education, with nearly 65% possessing a university degree. It is important to point out that especially younger journalists enjoyed higher education. There is also a significant difference concerning gender. Three quarters of female journalists have a university degree in comparison to 59% of male journalists (Profiel van de Belgische journalist, 2018).

Professional integrity is one of their most important features, according to Flemish journalists. They think it's completely impermissible to receive money from a source or pay for information. Their opinion on how to get information tends to be more nuanced though. Acquiring information by using confidential files without permission or concealing they're journalists is said to be less problematic. According to the nation-wide 2008 survey, it is notable that privacy and ethics are less highly valued then ten years ago.

A possible explanation could be increasing financial pressure. Financial resources are more and more declining. Especially Flemish investigative journalism has seen a substantial cut in resources. Three quarters of Flemish journalists declare there is no time and budget to do profound research. According to them this leads to a further 'sensationalisation' of news and a shift to soft news. In the selection of topics, the potential click rate is more often taken into account.

In addition, a majority of Flemish journalist state an incremental increase of workload (82%) and broadening of tasks (87%) in recent years. Journalists are expected to work more across media platforms, and to be more technologically skilled. As an example, at the VRT about 80% of journalists work for at least two media (radio, television and/or online), more than 60% even work for all three. General job satisfaction also appears to be declining.

In this context of increasing workload but decreasing job satisfaction a lot of Flemish journalists worry about job security, even though professional journalists are protected by law. Due to the financial pressure journalists are more and more forced

to work as freelancers, lacking protection measures. Older journalists fear being sacked because of their higher wages.

Since 1963, Flanders acknowledges the title 'Professional journalist' (*Beroepsjournalist*). It is administered to every journalist whose main occupation has been working as a journalist for a period of minimum two years. Licensed professional journalists receive an official press card and receive additional advantages as well as a statutory supplementary pension. For freelance journalists, protection measures are limited.

The average Flemish professional journalist has worked in journalism for approximately 21 years. Almost half of them had another occupation before starting to work as a journalist. This is less common among young journalists, as they more often aspire a journalistic career right after graduation. It is common for Flemish journalists to work for multiple media brands, but still nearly half of them remain loyal to one media organization. The large majority of Flemish journalists has a contract of indefinite duration and almost 80% work fulltime.

A lot of journalists worry about job security. This number has risen from 66% in 2013 to 79% five years onwards (*Profiel van de Belgische journalist*, 2018). Especially older journalists are worried they will get fired in the near future. Journalists also declare they are sometimes forced to work as freelancers by media companies, most notably regional journalists who in Flanders and the Netherlands in a few occasions have filed (and won) court cases against unfair pay.

Canada

Most Canadian journalists receive professional training. Journalism programs (college and university level) are available all across Canada. Up slightly from 2006, with about 2,300 students, there were 2,700 students enrolled in journalism programs at Canadian universities in 2016. In addition to formal university education, most journalists talk about on-the-job training as well. A number of journalists reported taking short courses at conferences hosted by the Canadian Association of Journalists or the Radio, Television Digital News Association (RTDNA). Newsroom leaders stressed that they want their journalists to participate in ongoing education and training.

Despite the overall professionalism of Canadian journalists, the current economic realities of the news industry have affected the quality of reporting. According to one Canadian authority interviewed for this study:

when they lay people off or cut back on staff and get rid of and do buyouts, you end up with less experience, less knowledge in newsrooms, fewer people doing editing, journalists being asked to do more things. It's not a great

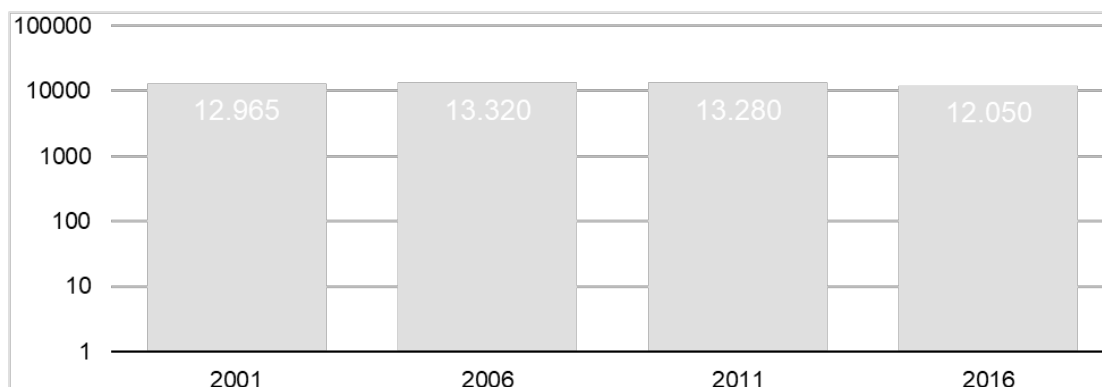
environment in which to work at the moment, in the midst of all the cutbacks and changes. What we've seen is a pretty significant move away from, in most cases, journalists that had any degree of specialization and turning more and more people into general assignment reporters: generalists who are doing a bit of everything. And when you when you have those sorts of jobs, it's very difficult to develop any expertise or any knowledge in some complicated fields. So the quality journalism we get isn't that great.

Essentially, training, many journalists and newsroom leaders told us, depends on budgets.

As far as job security is concerned, it is elusive in Canada's news media. There are no legal provisions in Canada protecting the job security of journalists. Unionized journalists have rights when they are laid off. Casuals or temps comprise about one-quarter of the CBC's unionized workforce who work in English Canada and Radio-Canada employees outside of Quebec and Moncton, New Brunswick. Many of these public broadcasting workers complain that they have little agency or security, leading to poor morale (Haupt, 2019). The CBC's most recent collective agreement between itself and the Canadian Media Guild included provision to convert 41 employees into permanent workers at the public broadcaster.

Many newsrooms have downsized. In 2019, for instance, the TorStar publishing company shut down dozens of daily and community newspaper across the country, cutting 70 jobs. In a time of job slashing in the news industry, Statistics Canada census data from 2016 shows that the number of journalists working in Canada declined by seven percent since 2001 (Graph 1). When asked to reflect on the state of job security in Canadian journalism, a well-known scholar in the field interviewed for this study remarked "everyone's kind of trying to stay alive and keep their jobs."

Graph 1: Journalists in Canada (J-Source, 2018)



A close look at statistics reveals that the number of journalists working in Canada has, in fact, risen slightly in absolute terms since 1987 (Wilkinson & Winseck, 2019). But, as a percentage of the total Canadian working population, journalists fall from 0.08 per cent in 1987 to 0.06 per cent in 2017. More journalists are working as freelancers or in permanent positions for news organizations. Wilkins and Winseck (2019) contend that while there, indeed, have been substantial layoffs at legacy media organizations, a lot of Canadian journalists are working at new digital news services or as social media managers.

Chile

The Law N.19,733 (Law 19,733) considers as journalists those who possess a university degree valid in Chile and to whom this Law “recognizes” as journalists. The latter is rather subjective, therefore, there are no particular restrictions to the professional exercise, but it is mainly a professional activity supported by higher education.

The first journalism school in Chile started in 1953 at Universidad de Chile. During the decade of the 1960s, under the influence of the International Center for Higher Education in Journalism for Latin America (Ciespal, for the Spanish initials), a formative model was introduced with a Bachelor’s degree in Communications that incorporates contents about journalism, public relations, and advertising, which is still used today (Mellado and Hanusch, 2011).

In Chile, currently, there are 43 journalism programs throughout the country, in different modalities: evening, morning, and programs directed to people with B.A.s in other areas; sometimes, there is more than one per University, between private and public institutions (Mifuturo, 2020). This offer has increased greatly since 1985, hand in hand with the growth of private universities (Délano, Niklander, and Susacassa, 2007). In addition, there is an increasing offer for postgraduate programs with specialization courses, master’s degrees, and three PhD programs for Communications.

Professionalization has grown too, from 50% of journalist with a title in the field in the 1960s, to 70% of them holding a title in the 70s. The last available studio (Mellado, 2012) showed that 86.2% of working journalists had studied this specific degree at university and 92.5% had a professional degree. Between 6% and 9% of them has a master’s degree (Mellado, 2012; Cabalin and Lagos, 2012). The offer for these programs has grown since then.

According to the study by Cabalin and Lagos (2012), journalists do not value their previous academic formation, which they understand as a formal step to access the industry, where the real learning happens. Journalists criticize their formation, although they are not capable of detailing what these formative vacuums are, and

they are critical with what they consider deficiencies in their colleagues' trainings, for example, a lack of general knowledge.

To achieve their degrees, students, must also undertake a professional internship in a journalistic medium; other cases consider two internships, including one linked to corporate communications. Mellado and Hanusch (2011) conclude that those who work in journalism and public relations share common values, but they fulfill different roles. A plausible explanation for this is that they are able to move from one sector to the other.

The report by Mellado et. al. (2015), about the profile and expectations of journalism students, shows that as they advance in their academic degrees, while most of them maintain their interest in working in media, there is also an increase in the students' expectations of working for corporate communications or as academics.

Since returning to democracy, the professionalism of Chilean journalists has faced questioning, considering the previous 17 years of dictatorship, with censorship and state intervention on media, added to self-censorship and media that worked clandestinely and independently. This history created a legacy of questionable practices.

This critical view of journalism has been reflected in a concern from academia about professionalism and performance of journalists, with research that questions their routines, values, practices, and systemic elements that model them (Otano and Sunkel, 2003; Gronemeyer, 2002; Lagos and Cabalin, 2013). This was heightened during the 2019 protests, with columns written by academics, as well as declarations to the media (eg. Aguilar, 2019; Salinas and Cabalin, 2019; Lagos and Faure, 2019), and two letters signed by professors of journalism from Universidad de Chile and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, in which the coverage of the protests was criticized.

Regarding ethics, while in the interviews the journalists considered it an important value, in the study by Mellado (2012), only 43.3% of the journalists considered that there are ethical principles that cannot be transgressed, independently from the situation. In the same study, the journalists said that if necessary, they would use ethically questionable practices, for instance hidden cameras and microphones. The study realized by Cabalin and Lagos (2013) shows that each profession interprets ethics differently.

Journalists inhabit what is considered a precarious market (Lagos and Faure, 2019; Lagos and Cabalin, 2013), where routine is more important than their capacity to innovate and that creativity is not a shared value, nor one of the most relevant, from the perspective of information professionals (Gronemeyer, 2002).

Digital outlets have gradually created an innovative space, but it is still in the early stages. An example of this is the fact that the Award for Excellence in Journalism only started giving a prize for digital innovation in media as recently as

2020. While the narrative development of multimedia tools has not been the main contribution of digital media in Chile, online outlets have moderately reinforced the role of watchdogs, which is weaker in legacy media (Elórtegui and Mellado, 2019).

The best case is Ciper Chile, which has not made much use of multimedia resources for years but has always stood out for publishing impactful and thorough investigations. After an audience survey, they took the decision to make their website more user-friendly, which came hand in hand with a call for economic support from their readers, in order to function as a foundation.

Data from Mellado (2012) exposes that participation of journalists in Colegio de Periodistas is at 13.5%, which is coherent with the negative view that all the interviewees had of this entity, who consider it a politicized organization that acts as an enemy of the work done by the media. The participation in other associations, as of the year 2012, was 14.5%.

From the Colegio de Periodistas, one of its representatives recognize they face a critical situation regarding new adherents: “Our professional formation is individualistic; we are not trained to do teamwork. Colegio de Periodistas has more than 60 years and close to 6.500 journalists in its historic membership. We are aware that we are going through a representation crisis. Colleagues only come to us, when their job is at risk, and the media is not aligned with our agenda, for example, regarding our call for a new media law”.

The Chilean Network of Journalists, founded in 2013, has as one of its main tasks giving professional development to journalists through workshops. As of 2020, they count with 353 members, and 561 people have attended their workshops (Red de Periodistas, 2020); this is low considering that every year around a thousand journalists graduate from universities. In 2018, 907 journalists graduated (Mifuturo.cl). In 2005, the universe of practicing journalists was 10,768, with a projection for 2020 of 22,492 active journalists, thinking on 850 graduates a year (Délano et. al, 2007).

Media often counts with internal unions, grouped under the Chilean Confederation of Media Unions, as well as a Federation of Television Unions. These entities make pronouncements about labor practices that media workers consider unfair, whether on the administrative or editorial level.

In 2019, the union for Radio BioBio organized a strike with a public call to demand improvements to their work conditions; among their demand was the fact that some journalists were working 65-hours weeks, when the law establishes that workweeks cannot be longer than 45 hours. This case had support from other media unions, Colegio de Periodistas, journalists and editors, which considered this represented a reality general to all media in Chile (El Desconcierto, 2019).

Sometimes, these actions generated internal controversies. An editorial case happened after the 2019 protests, in the newspaper La Tercera. A journalist claimed

that the director had made them sign an article that they had not researched themselves, and with which they did not agree, considering it imprecise. The own newspaper recognized this afterwards, and erased the journalist's name from the article. The story became public by the newspaper's union, which denounced this as a common practice; however, the medium's editors wrote another letter in response, denying these accusations (El Dínamo, 2019). This left one group's word against the other's.

In a media system that functions under market logic, an industrial crisis hits directly the work conditions of journalists. Massive firings of journalists have become more frequent in the last few years. This has been a consequence of industry decisions, such as the closing of magazines, joining work teams from two media in one within a holding, and externalizing the production of contents and other services to other companies.

Meanwhile, academia has reported for years that this is a work sector with "precarious" conditions when it comes to working hours, salaries, and benefits from employers. Instead of improving, this situation has become worse (Lagos and Faure, 2019; Lagos and Cabalin, 2013), with journalist unions becoming news subjects in 2019 (El Desconcierto, 2019; El Dínamo, 2019).

The employment rate of journalists one year after graduating is 71.9%, and 81.3% in the second year after graduating (Mifuturo, 2020). 80% has a full-time contract, 60% has long-term contracts, 24% has fixed-term contract, and some of them do not have any formal contract (Mellado, 2012). While the numbers are high, not all graduated journalists work in media, but in other fields such as corporate communications.

There are editors who, in the interviews, agreed on the difficulty of retaining journalists, who after two or three years in a medium decide to start working in communication agencies, because they have better work hours, contracts and conditions, in addition to higher wages.

Salaries for journalists grow slowly. In their first year after graduation, without considering income tax or other deductions such as health insurance and pensions, average income is CLP \$681,896 (EUR \$746.42); in their fifth year after graduating, average income reaches CLP \$1,061,515 (EUR \$1,160.69) (Mifuturo, 2020). If we compare this, for instance, to a lawyer's salary, the average income in their first year after graduating is CLP \$1,073,253 (EUR \$1,174.04), and in their fifth year after graduation it reaches an average of CLP \$1,896,175 (EUR \$2,073.32) (Mifuturo, 2020).

Denmark

The journalism professionalism in Denmark is high with a strong professional ethos. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) professionalization of journalism has three components which are the autonomy of journalists, the development of distinct professional norms and rules and the public service orientation of the journalists. The degree of autonomy of Danish journalists is relatively high, not least due to a combination of 1) a very strong union of journalists representing almost all Danish journalists, which has been very successful in securing a high income and good working conditions for their members, and 2) the Danish welfare state model which gives (media) employers high flexibility and (media) employees high income security.

Until global digital intermediaries challenged the business model of national professional media organizations by attracting advertising spending to social media platforms, the economy of media companies in Denmark was good. In recent years however, the economy has been challenged in news organizations and this has led to less job security and lower income for the youngest generation of journalists. The professional culture of Danish journalists is strong and goes hand in hand with a homogenic development of distinct professional norms and rules (Willig, 2016). Regarding the third component, the public service orientation of Danish journalists is relatively high. Firstly, electronic media carrying news are predominantly public service media. Secondly, regarding newspapers, Denmark has a tradition of not-for-profit ownership (Willig, 2010) and reflected in mission statements and policy papers of individual news companies (Willig et al., 2015) as well as in the self-understanding of journalists (Skovsgaard, 2010; Willig et al., 2015). Thirdly, Denmark had a monopoly on journalism education until 1998, but even with the introduction of two new formal journalism educations at two different universities, the three educations are more alike than different not least because they all include 12-18 months of paid internship (Willig, 2016).

Journalists' job security in Denmark is generally high compared to other countries, but with the older generations having more secure job positions and privileges than the younger generations.

Traditionally job security has been high in Denmark, but more recently the economic challenges to traditional news media, has led to lay-offs and an increased use of free-lance contracts. Though several of interviewees did not feel that they experienced less job security than previously a former head of the Danish Union of Journalists was more sceptical of recent developments, pointing to especially less job security of the younger generation of journalists and to an increased use of free-lancers by more and more news media. Recent layoffs, as well as the Covid-19 crisis, have also led to a slight increase in the unemployment rate of journalists.

Finland

The news media are characterized by strong professional ethos and a high level of unionization. According to recent studies, journalists and media professionals are mostly well educated and share a basic commitment to common quality standards (Rantanen et al. 2020). Together with local unions and member associations, The Union of Journalists is active in organizing further education for journalists. According to the respondents, the professionalism among journalists in Finland is high, and professional and ethical rules are generally well established. The increasing time pressure, however, is seen as a chronic problem that threatens to decrease the time available for in-depth journalism and professional deliberation.

The number of staff in relation to the amount of content produced has also decreased, which means that there is less time available for writing and planning a single news item. While the overload of journalistic capacities was widely acknowledged as a real problem in the interviews, many respondents also noted that the resources and tools available for providing quality journalism are still better than before (Rantanen et al. 2020). The tension between increasing demands and limited resources thus seems to have become a permanent situation in journalism. One interpretation of the developments is that there is an increasing divide between quality media, which strive to uphold and develop high professional standards, and increasingly routinized bulk journalism that is gaining ground especially online (Kivioja 2018; Pöyhtäri, Väliverronen & Ahva 2016; Manninen 2019).

[General legal provisions on employment and labor contracts](#) give journalists with permanent contracts, like any other occupational groups, strong protections against dismissal because of personal convictions or any other arbitrary reasons. In the case of the termination of an employment contract, the employer is obliged to demonstrate a financial or production-related reason for termination. Dismissal must be preceded by a period of notice, pre-emptying arbitrary sacking. The Finnish collective employment contracts between the employer's unions and trade unions are extensive and the terms of employment are generally complied with. The most recent collective contract representing journalists is negotiated between the Finnish Media Federation (the employers' union) and the Union of Journalists for the period 2020—2022.

[The Union of Journalists](#) aims to improve the financial and professional position of its members and their work conditions, and to supervise their interests on the level of both collective bargaining and individual organizations. During years, the Union has taken several dismissal cases to courts, which have generally ruled in favor of the journalists by awarding compensations or damages for undue dismissal. According to the interviews, a professional practice of allowing journalists not to write against their personal convictions has a solid ground in Finnish journalistic

culture and it is strictly followed in the news media. This principle is also stipulated in the journalists' collective contract.²

In the 2010s, some 200 journalist's jobs have been lost on a yearly basis merely from the newspapers because of both digitalization and the economic downturn (Grundström 2020). In addition, the proportion of freelancers has declined, being currently around 10 % of the members of the Union of Journalists. The use of short-term contracting varies between sectors of the media, but in general, short-term contracts, internships or freelance contracts are still the main way of entering the profession. As one respondent remarked: because of relatively high unemployment among journalists, there is no shortage of temporary workforce, which has allowed the employers to downgrade their earnings.

Yle is in a class of its own when it comes to [the amount of] part time jobs. The organisation is too large. The organisation should let the managers in the 'lower- tiers' have more freedom to make arrangements. In the commercial media the situation is different, often when someone is on maternity leave there are older professionals hired to take their place, at a much lower salary, this is the nasty symptom. It is perfectly legal but a mockery of people's professionalism.

[According to the Union of Journalists](#), the unemployment rate among journalists is currently around 7,5 %, although many of those who have lost their jobs become freelancers and do not show up in the statistics.

Germany

The representatives of the journalists' unions are unanimous in their view that the professional standards are high in German journalism, but that the conditions of resources worsened, so that profound investigation is sometimes lacking: "We see significant gaps in resources that affect publications. Almost all the editorial offices we know of are staffed too tightly. Attempts have been made to improve the economic situation by cutting jobs."

In the *Worlds of Journalism* study, the respondents almost unanimously agreed that journalists should always adhere to the codes of professional ethics, regardless of situation and context (Hanitzsch et al. 2016). The education of journalists is as high as ever, but working conditions and shortness of time hinder in cases that journalists perform in line with their skills. In 2016, 96 % of the journalists had a university-entry diploma and 75 % had a university degree, although a slight

² See p.15, paragraph 2.7, in <https://journalistiliitto.fi/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Lehdistön-tes-2020-2022.pdf>

majority (56 %) had not specialized in communication or journalism. (Hanitzsch et al. 2016)

The prerequisite of cross-media skills is ubiquitous and workload has increased as well because of digital publishing aside with the print version. This is in line with a survey where 44 percent of interviewed journalists assess their working conditions as rather less good, 11 percent even as not good at all. (Statista 2020) This is especially true for daily newspapers, and here the hitherto important regional and local papers. In addition, it is criticized that the level of general education has decreased, so that background knowledge to classify and interpret events of the news is lacking. In public service media, the conditions are judged comparatively better, but a sense of insecurity by political pressure to cut costs in public service media is weighing on the working conditions.

Because of redundancies in the newsrooms, the workload has increased and time for sound investigative research has been lessened continuously: “Where you used to go and do research for two weeks, let's say today, six days must also be enough.” Still, two weekly publications, which can be regarded as market leaders, have good working conditions and are well esteemed for their investigative power. The disclosure of the so called *Ibiza video*, which forced the Austrian government to resign, the *Panama Papers* and disclosures on fraud in health insurances were some of these investigation successes.

The level of self-organisation is high. Not only are there two competing, but as well cooperating unions of journalist active, which publish their own media thematising issues of professionalism and ethics, but there are additional organisations (*Network Investigation, Initiative Quality*) which work on these topics.

Having regard to the working conditions, journalists – as the interviewees from the unions claim – show a high level of solidarity: “There is a good solidarity among colleagues, because everyone sees that the situation as we see it is due to the bottlenecks. The colleagues exercise their profession with such passion that they say: no, we have reached a point here, we cannot go any further.” Public debates about ethical behaviour usually and since long come up when big scandals happen, they are then picked up by journalists, but not initiated by them. Thus, a big faking scandal within a leading weekly, triggered a huge discussion about how far a reportage may be embellished in order to captivate the reader.

A regular education is given by a tariff agreement, which states the conditions of the initial training, which is a two years paid internship. Journalists unions promote the necessity of further education, i.e. by making it a component of the collective wage agreement.

Gender issues in further education are reported as being underexposed, although the journalists' unions report a high level among women journalists to defend their claims.

On the level of the labour market, the journalist unions like *DJV* and *Ver.di/DJU* provide a differentiated view, whereas in MDM 2011 it was clearly pessimistic. This change can be attributed to various reasons. First, in the last decade the fictitious self-employment in the media sector had finally been prosecuted, after a long period of a legal *laissez-faire*. This led to a wave of contracting formerly self-employed journalists. However, unions point out that publishers filtered out the high potentials and dismissed the rest. Austerity has also other spill-over effects:

A situation of tension arises [dealing with the tight resources] because those who manage budgets in the editorial offices [...] are in a bind. .. It is of course the case that a budget that is too tightly allocated [...] by the management [...] and the editors in the individual units have to manage parts of this budget. [They] are responsible for awarding contracts and can only offer lousy fees in order not to end up under pressure themselves because they exceed their budget.

Fixed-term contracting is widespread, and freelancers are seen as an important part of the German media system. The official statistics counted 27.000 freelancers in journalism alone in the year 2018. (Statistisches Jahrbuch 2019: 365) Of about 220.000 employees in the media industry 158.000 work in editorial boards and in journalism (including public relations staff). These freelancers are heavily affected by the Corona crisis, as they rarely meet the requirements for state subsidies. About 113.000 of these 220.000³ employees are under contract and 60.000 are self-employed. (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2019: 121-123) The job market lastly showed a positive development, due to the overall solid economic growth in Germany. However, the seniority system of contracts makes the work of older journalists more expensive. In print journalism this may have led to dismissals, but there is a tendency to keep experienced journalists, according to unionists. The digital transformation, however, created new challenges for legacy print media.

The people who are hired now are not journalists, they are reconfiguring the platform of journalism [...] In the print sector [...] they hire a lot of expensive people. [...] those who are hired there for digital transformation are really expensive. They are as expensive as an editor who has been around for twenty years.

In public service media political pressure and austerity is a driving force for job instability. However, according to the World's of Journalism-Study (2016), about 75%

³ The official statistics does not differentiate between journalists and PR-professionals. It is hence hard to give an specific overview of the current employment situation in the news media.

of German journalist's had stable working conditions in 2016 and of those with full-time employment, over 92% hold permanent positions. Second, despite that unionists confirm a trend towards stable working conditions, it is partly attributed to the goal of publishers to attract younger journalists who are able to cope with the digital transformation, while Gen Z – on the other hand – strives to keep a work-life-balance and a projectable future, which means employers need to offer better contract conditions. Moreover, the employability of academics sunk during the last decade and the interview partners assume a battle for the best graduates. In the perspective of DJV the public debate about quality of news and the trend to invest more in investigative reporting led to a rise of awareness that journalism is more important than ever.

On the juridical level, the companies that derived from classic print publishers in Germany are *Tendenzbetriebe*, which means that a company not only has economic but may also have cultural or political objectives. One example is *Axel Springer SE (BILD)*, where journalists have to consent to report supportive about the Israeli state and liberal market economy. However, any influence on the editorial concept of the news media from politicians or the industry is against federal constitutional law and federal law. In house, publishers still cannot force their editorial staff to follow their inclinations, i.e. a journalist is not bound to write an article expressing exactly the publisher's viewpoint. Freedom of expression and human dignity (according to the German Basic Law) legally protects journalists from pressure, which can be interpreted as a *clause de conscience*. Above that, bylaws of editorial units, labour legislation and last but not least unions protects journalists. Female journalists are – like every working woman in Germany – supported by federal laws such as parental leave law, which guarantees a leave for up to 36 months for each child. In media companies where unions are strong partners, women contracts seem to be protected better. Male journalists can take the leave, if resources are available, which, however, may in fact interfere with advancing their career, according to *DJU*. What prevention and complaint system with regards to sexual harassment at the workplace is concerned, public debates during the last decade led to a rising of awareness, since the female journalist Laura Himmelreich shared her negative experiences with a politician's sexist advances during an interview via Twitter *#aufschrei* in 2013, comparable to *#metoo*. Since then the debate about everyday sexism is going on. Legally, the victims of physical sexual harassment are protected by the law to protect sexual self-determination, which has been implemented in November 2016 (§ 184i StGB).

Bullying is as such not an element of crime, but certain acts like discriminating or harassing someone. The anti-discrimination law AAG (*Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz*) obligates employers to offer comprehensive protection

and implement measures against sexual harassment and bullying on various levels, which also contains the right to complain. The reversal of evidence forces the suspect to prove he is not guilty.

Greece

Limited journalistic resources do not allow for high professional ethos. Journalism professionalism in Greece presents a number of chronic features, given that journalists have persistently served the model of the advocacy reporting under the influence of the news organizations interests. However, journalism has been a profession with an active social and political role, particularly after media commercialization and market expansion taking place after 1989 (Papathanassopoulos, 2001). Therefore, it can be argued that in the period of prosperity (1990s and early 2000s) journalism professionalism used to be quite solid and sufficient in the sense that journalists were governed by high level of competence and resourcefulness in implementing their reporting tasks, enjoying freedom from pressure in terms of time and resources and sharing some fundamental norms and standards of journalistic work.

However, the recent economic recession has brought about the financial collapse of the media market as well as the demise of journalists' labour rights, affecting adversely the quality and level of their professionalism. This situation seems to worsen in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic which has heavily affected all sectors of the economy, principally the media.

The main factors contributing to the distortion of journalism professionalism are described by a representative of Journalists' Union of Athens Daily Newspapers (JUADN) highlighting that "the level of journalistic professionalism has always been very high in Greece [...] Nonetheless, the financial crisis and the special crisis afflicting the media industry in recent years, and on the other hand, the various pathogens that characterize the way media owners grow and invest, have induced a significant blow to the industry, sometimes distorting the image of high journalistic professionalism".

During the crisis (2010-2018) the decline of the media market was reflected, as noted, in bankruptcy of numerous media outlets: 4 historical media groups (Lambrakis Press Group known as DOL, Pegasus Publishing S.A., IMAKO Media S.A., Liberis Publications). Moreover, 84 national newspapers, including newspapers inserts, 4 newspapers in Thessalonica, 4 national or Attica television channels, 55 regional channels, 3 satellite channels, one digital subscription-based platform (Alpha Digital), 9 Attica radio stations closed down, making the media market to shrink.

At the same time, more than 50 magazines, either autonomous editions or inserts, suspended their edition shaping the tragic account of the financial crisis. The market presented signs of recovery only to a limited extent through the replacement

of certain losses. For instance, Lambrakis Press Group passed to the jurisdiction of Alter Ego, while at the same time Ethnos Newspaper, Sunday Ethnos Newspaper (of Pegasus Publishing) as well as Epsilon television channel, now known as OPEN, came under Dimeras' control.

The transition to the digital age has raised new challenges to journalism profession related to multi-tasking practices that journalists can cope with through constant training. According to a representative of JUADN, "the Journalists' Union is worried about the pathogens, favoured by the digital environment (plagiarism, copy-paste phenomenon in news websites, aggregators - robot journalism and fake news) and evaluates as very important the need to inform and train its members".

Generally, in Greece media field is characterized by the lack of a strong journalism culture, a weakness that has been deteriorated over the years of the financial crisis. In the networked environment the partisan culture is interacting with new technologies under the pressure of the financial recession leading journalists to search for alternative practices and funding models (Touri, Theodosiadou & Kostarella, 2017).

Leading Greek news media change their journalistic staff frequently, employment for a longer period of time is the exception, not the rule. Nowadays, due to the sharp decline in media revenues the life cycle of journalistic jobs in media organizations tend to be short-lived. As opposed to the heyday of leading news media, over the last years media owners have resorted to the systematic use of short-term contracting with journalists. As a representative of Journalists' Union of Athens Daily Newspapers (JUADN) mentions "the truth is that in the past, during the heyday of media groups, journalists had a life cycle of about 15 years in a media organization, sometimes being retired from the medium in which they began their careers in the industry. However, today the cycle of a journalist's stay both in traditional and new media has 'closed' dramatically, resulting often in their staying only a few months on a website, a newspaper or a television channel and then leaving in search of a job in another media organization".

The phenomenon of non-permanent positions or freelance contracts is not a working regime that differs between genders. Nor is there discrimination in hiring journalists based on gender, according to most interviewees. However, there was a time, especially after 2006 when the advertising revenue began to decline, that media organizations provided job security mainly to young journalists rather than to the old ones as a means of saving money. According to a representative of Journalists' Union of Athens Daily Newspapers, "at the time of the reduction in advertising spending, after 2006 both publishing organizations and TV channels often preferred younger journalists in order to reduce their payroll obligations and on the grounds that younger journalists were considered more knowledgeable on digital tools. Today, this has started to subside in both traditional and new media, as the 'slow jour-

nalism' movement has begun to inspire the Greek media organizations, which are slowly returning to credible reporting and to experienced, reputable reporters and to commentators".

On the juridical level, there are no special legal measures or tools protecting journalists against dismissal. In terms of labour rights, what applies to all professions is the same for journalism as well. Journalists unions in case of proven illegal and abusive dismissals are used to making allegations of support for underprivileged journalists, releasing relevant complaints. Although leading news media are mainly based on permanent staff rather than freelancers there is no guarantee that a journalist's position will be preserved for a long period of time. At the same time there are no professional rules protecting journalists against dismissal because of personal convictions. In effect, Greek journalists are usually subject to a type of self-censorship for fear of being fired.

Hong Kong

Journalists in Hong Kong have a high education level. Almost 60% of Hong Kong reporters hold undergraduate degrees, and 16% have received postgraduate education. Men outnumber women in the profession; in 2016, the male-to-female ratio was 51:47 (HKJA, 2016). However, women outnumber men in terms of advanced education level; 58% of all female journalists are college graduates, whereas only 42% of men have post-secondary education.

Roughly half of the respondents said that their companies allot satisfactory time and resources for investigative research. Their companies have teams established to manage and contribute investigative reports. As the sole public service broadcaster, RTHK does not have sufficient resources to engage in investigative reportage. With its limited resources, RTHK can only handle regular programs; however, a few of its journalists still manage to produce diligent, informative investigative reports.

The interviewees said that their workloads continue to increase and that they are required to have multimedia skills. There is no regularly occurring continuing education for journalists on professional ethics, but there is training on an ad hoc basis. For example, some media organizations provide training on the ethical coverage of large protests. The chairperson of the journalists association stated that Hong Kong journalists maintain good professional standards, even though they work for media organizations with political stances that differ from their own.

The Hong Kong Journalists Association conducted a survey of 400 reporters in 2016 and found that more than 30% of respondents had a monthly income of less than HK\$15,000. They generally had long working hours and strong educational

backgrounds (see indicator C4). The median monthly income in Hong Kong in 2016 was HK\$15,500. Low pay was the main reason for journalists remaining in the industry for only a short time. The reporters explained that journalists work under great pressure because of the short news cycle and political stress. More than 50% of respondents predicted that they would stay in the industry less than 5 years, and 40% of management-level journalists had considered leaving the news industry (HKJA, 2016). The chairperson of the Hong Kong Journalists Association admitted that low wages present a significant obstacle in retaining good, experienced journalists. This issue deteriorates the quality of news. The interviewees generally found reporters' wages to be very unsatisfactory. One stated, "our staff worked very hard to report on the anti-government protests over the past year, yet they only received half of a monthly income as a bonus."

There are no professional rules to protect journalists from dismissal or the termination of their contracts due to changes in ownership or political pressure. The chairperson of the Hong Kong Journalists Association rarely heard that journalists were fired because of their political stances. However, the rise of freelance journalism in the news field may signal otherwise. *Apple Daily* laid off many staff members in 2017 and rehired them as freelance reporters. This move affected a wide range of sections, including entertainment, sports, and features.

Once experienced news reporters leave the newsroom, their positions are usually replaced by junior staff members. The obvious reason for this replacement is the considerably higher cost of experienced journalists compared to beginners.

Iceland

The education of journalists has greatly improved, and just over two-thirds of Icelandic journalists have a university degree (Kolbeins 2012). However, in an international context this is not particularly high. Data from the Worlds of Journalism Study show that in 53 of the 67 countries studied, 75% or more of the journalists have some form of a university education. Furthermore, formal education in journalism is not nearly as common in the Icelandic media as in most countries. According to the Worlds of Journalism Study, only 25% had specialized in journalism or communication studies. Out of the 67 countries that took part in the study in 2012, only in Bhutan (23%) and Japan (12%) are the percentages of journalists with journalism degrees lower than in Iceland (Worlds of Journalism Study n.d.). Staff shortages also seriously limit Icelandic journalists' possibilities for "high-class journalism". A study on the state of journalistic professionalism in Iceland showed that although oriented towards public service, journalists "are undermined by the realities of the media market" (Guðmundsson & Kristinsson 2019, 1700). Journalists

are seldom specialists, which may make them more dependent on their sources (Ólafsson, 2020; Jóhannsdóttir & Ólafsson, 2018).

Our journalist interviewees report that resources are diminishing and that this can be even more exaggerated in Iceland than in larger states because most media outlets are very small. Journalists have little time and resources for investigative journalism. In addition, they do not have much time to engage with further education to increase their professionalism as journalists.

Journalists' job security has decreased in the last decade, particularly in the private media. It was pointed out by interviewees that there was a key shift in Iceland following the financial crisis of 2008. Many senior journalists were let go and younger journalists hired instead to lower costs. Many journalists are on short term contracts and there is very little job security overall.

In 2012, the average work experience of Icelandic journalists was 12 years (Kolbeins, 2012). Newer data isn't available, but it is unlikely that it has increased in the private news media since, as layoffs have been frequent and many journalists quit for better paid, less stressful jobs (for example in PR) (Ólafsson, 2019). Freelance journalism in the news field is not a widely common practice in Iceland.

Journalists can easily be dismissed. The Media Act does not contain clauses of conscience protecting journalists from writing against their convictions, nor any special privileges or financial compensations for journalists in case of dismissal or termination of contract related to changes in ownership or the political orientation of the medium. The National Union of Icelandic Journalists has repeatedly called for more protection for journalists, but so far in vain.

Italy

Hallin and Mancini (2004) highlight how a low level of professionalism characterizes the Mediterranean Model. They mentioned the Italian "anomaly" where a low level of professionalism co-exists with a highly selective association (properly regarded as a "guild"). Therefore, to understand professionalisation within the Italian context it is important to consider the role of the 'Order of Journalists'. The Order regulates access to the profession, by defining who can (and cannot) become a journalist through a highly selective requirement process based on years of paid work into newsrooms and a final examination. This means that Italian journalists approach the process of professionalization generally inside newsrooms, rather than through education.

If, as stated, Italian journalism is distinguished by a high level of political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini 2004), this situation, on the one hand, places journalistic professionalisation within the broader issue of the mediation crisis; on the other, is replicated over and over in the way in which Italian journalists learn

how to do properly their works. It has to be mentioned, however, that Italy is no stranger to the trend that sees an increasingly widespread diffusion of a level of university education among journalists. 68% of journalists have a higher qualification than the upper secondary education diploma (university degree, bachelor's degree, master's degree, first or second level Master's degree, Ph.D., mainly in the field of Political, Social and Communication Sciences). In addition, women have a higher education qualification than secondary school diploma in 81% of cases, while men only in 60% of cases, again confirming the higher schooling of women (AgCom, 2017).

The mediation crisis is directly mentioned by the President of the National Journalist's Union, who speaks about an "annoyance with intermediate bodies, journalistic mediation and the question itself" demonstrated by Italian neo-populist political forces. An issue strictly related with the evolution of the Italian media system, and the use that different political forces did of television first, and of social media then: "We have been the main exporters of the conflict of interest, and today we are proof of media populism, in which the leader turns from the balcony to his followers, who must answer with 'yes' or 'no' in the form of a click".

The effects of this condition on work routines seem more encouraging: today the overabundance of newsrooms and journalistic styles (long form journalism, data journalism, journalism based on native advertising, so on and so forth) has been creating a more fragmented Italian journalistic culture, where traditional values live with new values or values reshaped from elsewhere. It creates therefore mix results, where paths of professionalization may be very different. Just to make an example, on the one side, forms of data journalism or crowdfunding experiments prove daily to be highly transparent (see Porlezza & Splendore 2016, 2019), on the other transparency does not seem to be the core issue form many journalists and newsrooms (Bentivegna & Marchetti 2018).

Another aspect that, according to the President of the National Journalist's Union, is evolving in a positive way is the journalist's capacity of self-organizing and solidarity in case of conflict. In November 2017, a journalist was attacked with a headshot by a member of an extreme right-wing political force and a well-known family of the Ostia underworld. In January 2020, the attacker was convicted, and "the Court of Cassation, with an unprecedented sentence, recognised that that headshot did not only affect the individual journalist but also the right to report [...] This will allow us to ask to add an enormous aggravating circumstance: harassment to the right to report".

Representatives of the FNSI and the OdG (Equality Committee) have highlighted how younger professionals are expected to have many skills and competences - editing, writing, screen and radio - and are requested to perform

many tasks, though sitting in precarious positions; at the same time professional competence is now explicitly acknowledged.

Job security varies a lot among the different categories of journalists, as well as in relation to where in the country the profession is exercised. Many gaps are found in terms of payments and protection schemes.

One way to interpret the level of job security in Italy is looking at the data that the Ordine dei giornalisti provides about its members. The most important categories that the ODG includes are three: *professionisti*, *praticanti* and *pubblicisti*. The first category is usually composed by journalists with permanent job within their newsrooms. Those journalists have legal protection and they may maintain secrecy about what they do in terms of investigation. They have a good level of job security. The latest data reveal that in Italy around 28.000 professional exist. *Praticanti* are journalists who are doing their path within newsrooms to become professionals and then acquiring those *privileges* we sketched above. In terms of absence of legal provision, presence of short term labor contracts, inadequate payment, the worst situation concerns the so-defined *pubblicisti* who are almost 75.000. During the 2000 they were around 47749, in 1975 they were 1373. This is a clear sign of the increasing insecurity that the journalistic Italian market offers. In this sense, one of the greatest divide in Italy is between journalists who work in the Northern part of Italy in comparison to journalists who work in the South (they are more precarious and they work in more insecure environment).

The survey conducted by the Observatory on Journalism of the Authority for the Guarantees in Communications (AgCom, 2017) reveals that journalists were found to be employed (also through so-called fixed collaborations) in 49.5% of cases; self-employed (freelance) in 24.2%; parasubordinate workers (so-called co.co.co.), in 11.6%³⁷; unemployed or unemployed and job seekers in 5.7%; finally, pensioners in 5.6%.

From the point of view of contractual forms and their concrete use by information companies, the President of the National Union of Journalists paints a picture full of grey areas. On the one hand, not only is there no guarantee about a contract that will last for an entire career, but entry into the profession itself leads to a widespread and dangerous sense of frustration: “Many of the boys and girls I see don't even know when they're coming in, and that puts them in a situation of exasperation ... you may not make it as a Union, but you have to keep in mind that there is what used to be called a ‘maneuvering army’, a ‘reserve army’ made up of people that suffer and may even be available for any adventure, if you're able to talk to them”. In this already dramatic situation, the already mentioned North/South divide is grafted on, so that “In recent years a series of labour policies have been made that have increased flexibility, that have turned it into precariousness for life, that in some cases have created what I call the ‘information riders’, that is, girls and

boys who work in particular in the areas most at risk, in Campania, in Sicily, in Calabria; they work for unscrupulous publishers, paid one euro, one and a half euro per piece”. A faithful mirror of this situation is the situation of great backwardness regarding the rationale between recognised journalism contracts and fixed-term contracts: “The great scandal in the publishing sector is that alongside the traditional contract, and collaboration contracts, there are the Co.Co.Co., which determine the ‘riders of information’, because they are in fact unrecognised staff replacements, a form of blackmailing contract and a way of having full-time journalists paid two thirds less than ordinary contracts”.

Representatives of the Equality Committee of FNSI and the Order highlight the fact that a gender divide is also to be considered in relation to professional job security, as a high proportion of the precarious conditions involve women professionals. A situation which has implication and serious consequences not only their job in/security but also on their possibility to act to obtain more equal conditions in terms of salary, or to receive support when they are exposed to situations of harassment and abuse. No efforts by media outlets are reported to address these intersecting dynamics.

Netherlands

As Jo Bardoel pointed out, journalism has become highly professionalized over the past decades, with an increase in academic profiles and well-developed curricula both at bachelor and master level. According to Bardoel, “journalism was never as good as it is today.” Investigative journalism has also become more powerful in recent years.

This positive outlook is tempered somewhat by Evert de Vos, the chairman of the Dutch Association of Investigative Journalists, who does recognize that professionalism and investigative journalism have improved, but adds that it very much depends on what news medium one is looking at. The cutbacks in regional print media have closed the door to investigative journalism. Moreover, de Vos indicates that a lot of smaller investigative platforms are depending on subsidies, which is not a sustainable business model, especially in view of the decision to allocate the 2021 ‘special research projects’ funding to the special COVID-19 fund intended to help door-to-door newspapers and local public broadcasters.

The journalists interviewed indicated that in practice self-reflection is limited to an ad hoc (and fleeting) critical evaluation moment during editorial meetings. The open debate culture (see indicator F4) often results in lively discussions on how news is selected and framed. Such discussions are more difficult to achieve when everyone is working from home, as has been the case during the COVID-19 lockdown.

Another facet is the open debate culture with the audience. For instance the editor in chief of *Twentsche Courant Tubantia* often responds to audience comments based on disagreements on how a news article ought to be written or on the timing of a news story. The most effective form of self-reflection can be found in news media which have an ombudsperson, such as *NPO*, *De Limburger*, *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Volkskrant*: these media outlets benefit from the buffer effect created by the presence of intermediaries between the editorial staff and the audience.

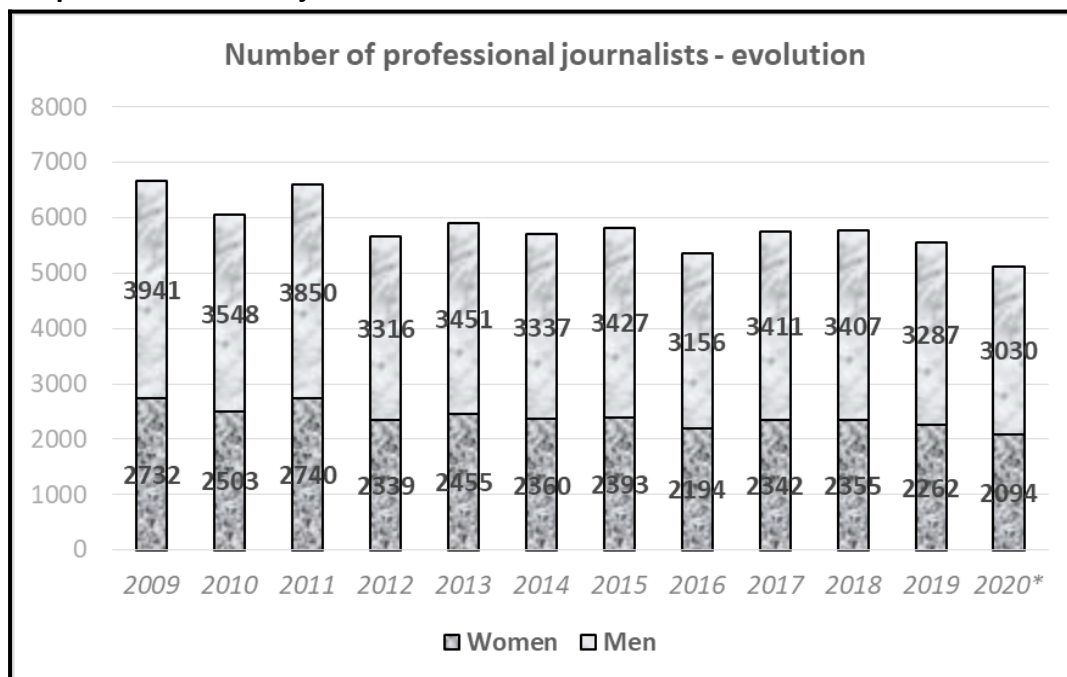
Generally speaking, the Association of Journalists controls the basic working conditions of professional journalists in the Netherlands. Generally speaking, the Dutch Association of Journalists (Nederlandse Vereniging van Journalisten, NVJ) controls the basic working conditions for professional journalists in the Netherlands: negotiating collective employment agreements and copyright contributions, providing legal advice to its members, discussing insurance issues, etc. A notable trend, however, is that permanent contracts have become very scarce in journalism. Freelancers are more and more the norm in the Netherlands. Jo Bardoel, Piet Bakker and Huub Evers all confirmed this trend. Jo Bardoel points at a natural process as it were, whereby journalists who retire are being replaced by younger journalists who will not be offered the conditions their predecessors enjoyed but must make do with 'flexible' (read 'uberized') contracts. Piet Bakker also indicated that the increased numbers of freelancers are a direct consequence of the media concentration, characterized by ever fewer media companies. This results in a fierce battle in the rates paid to freelancers, as confirmed by the journalists we interviewed. Piet Bakker thinks that the NVJ is doing a good job, also in the case of conflicts with freelance contractors. He has no knowledge of cases in which freelancers or journalists were dismissed due to personal convictions. The increase in freelancer numbers lowers job security, especially in times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Even now, some news media are refraining from hiring, fearing that the crisis will only make things worse in future.

Portugal

Following the classification of media systems by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Portugal belongs to the so-called "polarized pluralist model", which has as one of its main characteristics a relatively low level of professionalization of journalists. This means a low degree of professional autonomy, some weakness in the definition and implementation of distinct professional and ethical norms, and a relative lack of public service orientation. These traits somehow apply to the Portuguese situation, although with nuances.

During most of the 20th century, because there was no freedom of expression or of association, journalists’ professional organizations had no autonomy at all. In such conditions, it was particularly difficult for them to implement their specific ethical values and professional norms, and this contributed to a “weak professional culture” (Correia & Baptista, 2007). Things changed fast after 1974, when democracy prevailed. One of the first laws to be put into practice was a new press law. Journalists organized themselves in a (now free and autonomous) strong national union, and were able to convince the political powers to make laws on a large set of items considered very important to journalistic work. If the instruments of journalistic professionalization had been absent, now they were ‘conquered’ by the professional group, although more because of pressure over the State rather than because of a dynamic autonomous process. However, dependence on a very centralized state, which is typical of the ‘pluralist polarized systems’, somehow continued in the country.

Graph 2: Professional journalists – evolution from 2009 to 2020



Source: CCPJ – Comissão da Carteira Profissional de Jornalista

Portuguese journalists have important laws to protect their activity, they have their Code of Ethics, but they were never able to put into practice an efficient and consensual mechanism of self-regulation. The existing ‘Ethics Council’ works in the context of the union, but many of the 5.124 professional journalists that exist in May

2020⁴ -- see Graph 2-- do not belong to it (according to the president of the Journalists Union, only about one-third of the professional journalists are members nowadays) and, therefore, tend not to acknowledge its jurisdiction.

The teaching of journalism is very recent as well: it only appeared at a Portuguese university in 1979. But it then developed very fast and, nowadays, Journalism courses (usually integrated in Communication Sciences courses), as well as Master degrees, are very popular in the country – and present in all the relevant universities, both public and private. If we look at the group of actual professional journalists (5.124, from which 3.030 men and 2.094 women), it's relevant to notice that 43% of them hold a University degree – Graduation, Master or PhD – and this number goes up to 69% if we include those who began a University course but never finished it. Women journalists with a University degree are 61% (87% if we include University unfinished courses), while journalists with a degree are 31% (57% if we include University unfinished courses). These data confirm the idea that there are more young women journalists and more old men journalists (they come from a time when no course at all was taken to become a journalist) (CCPJ, 2020).

Journalists are a rather heterogeneous professional group and still have not succeeded in putting forward a strong collective dynamic. Some progress in recent years is partly counterbalanced by the negative economic situation in the media industry, which pushes journalists more towards 'proletarianization' than professionalization. A survey among journalists made in 2016 (and involving 1.494 valid respondents) somehow confirmed this increasingly difficult situation for the professional group. In terms of pay, 80.6% of them received monthly less than € 1.500 net (57.3% got less than €1.000 per month and 11.6% less than €500...) ⁵. For the whole of the inquired, the average monthly income was €1.113, which is, even for a poor country like Portugal, a very low pay – moreover if we remember that most of the journalists have a University education and the work they do brings big responsibilities. (OBERCOM, 2017) In this scenario, it is not surprising that 48.8% of the journalists feel very unhappy with their labour conditions, and 64.2% confess to have already considered leaving the job. Actually, in recent years many journalists decided to exchange journalism for another job in the area of communication (public relations, press attaché, communication manager, marketer, etc...), because they are

⁴ The number of journalists has decreased in recent years (see Table1), but it grew very quickly during the previous three decades: between 1987 and 2006, it increased from 1281 to 7402 professionals, most of them (ca. 60%) with some academic degree in journalism or communication sciences (Fernandes, 2008). It should also be noted that only 19.8% of them were women in 1987, but the figure was about 41% of the total in 2006 – and this same percentage continues nowadays (41% women journalists, 59% men journalists) (Salim, 2008; CCPJ, 2020).

⁵ Another survey to journalists, made in 2015 and involving 806 valid respondents, reached to similar conclusions: 55.4% of the inquired confessed to receive less than €1000 per month (Miranda, 2019).

usually much better paid, even if they have a lower status in terms of social recognition (Fidalgo, 2019).

Portuguese journalists do not have many reasons to complain about job security, when it comes to legal dispositions. However, in practical terms, the economic structural weakness of most media industries and the economic and financial crises play a major role when it comes to assessing their effective security. Apart from the legal guarantees, the day-by-day routine in concrete media companies shows that, according to multiple sources, things are becoming increasingly difficult for journalists, and this leads to silence and resignation rather than to confrontation and a struggle for one's rights. "It's better to try to avoid problems than to be involved in a long process in a court of law", as was said by a seasoned journalist at a major newspaper.

In the last 10 years, all of the most important Portuguese news media downsized their newsrooms, dismissing dozens of journalists – some of them, but not all, through friendly negotiations. Between 2009 and 2020 the number of professional journalists decreased from 6.673 to 5.124, which means less 1.549 journalists (a drop of 23%). Not all of these are now unemployed (some of them probably changed for another job), but some hundreds lost their jobs, for sure, given the frequent news we read about media companies downsizing their labour force, especially in the newsrooms (official numbers are not available). Even among those who are still working, many of them complaint about their precarious situation: in the aforementioned study by OBERCOM, the respondents that said they have a permanent labour contract (and, therefore, legal job security) were no more than 56.3%. This means that all the others (near half of the respondents) have a more or less precarious labour condition: 17% are freelancers⁶, 10.5% have a short-term contract, 16.4% have a "collaborator" status (which means no labour contract at all and no regular salary, because they are paid according to the concrete work they do). These last ones are the first to be "fired", because they have no formal link to the company they work for).

The fear of being the next to lose the job somehow spreads among journalists and invites a more passive behaviour. With this scenario, it is increasingly difficult for young people to find a new occupation in the media. Because hundreds of them leave the universities every year, the competition is very strong. Many of them will work as interns for three months, with no pay, and then again as interns, in another newsroom, again with no pay. "It's good to make the curriculum and to be prepared

⁶ This percentage must be read with caution, because, according to the Journalists' Union sources, the real freelancers (journalists who choose to work with that status) are very few in Portugal – and always have been. Many of these "freelancers" are actually collaborators, with no labour contract, usually working for a specific media outlet but preferring to be free in order to get an opportunity in another company, if it appears.

for a permanent job, when it comes”, they hear frequently. Therefore, it is not difficult to find someone who will accept precarious labour conditions (Graça, 2007), usually in the form of short-term contracts or no contracts at all. The legal job security, even existing, does not help much in these situations.

This said, it is important to acknowledge that some important legal protections are in place for journalists, particularly those related to the “clause de conscience”, according to which no one may be forced to write something against his/her convictions and ethical norms, and no one may suffer any kind of punishment for not doing it.

South Korea

While newspaper as business declines, professional ethos of journalists seems to become strong in Korea. You need a strong identity in order to hold the profession especially when financial reward is not as strong as before and social esteem for the profession is not as strong. Reporters’ communicative efficacy in the newsroom is solid, and when the editorial or journalistic rights are infringed by external or internal reasons, they often show solidarity across firms as a professional group. Union activities are also strong.

Organization such as Korea Press Foundation provides a fair amount of quality education and professional forums for journalists to network and learn new skills such as data science and visualization. The foundation is also active in publishing professional texts or reports. Prominent reports from global organizations such as Reuter Institutes are often quickly translated in Korean.

While cynicism towards news media is prevalent in Korea, public debate on journalism is ample. Although being controversial on the political stance, public broadcaster KBS has an hour-long regular program on journalism critique.

While the constitution ensures the freedom of press, no specific legal provisions are in place for internal democracy, or for protection of individual journalists when in conflict with the management. While the general level of job satisfaction improved in comparison to the 2017 survey, the average job satisfaction score in 2019 is still 2.85. In terms of satisfaction with the work environment factors, job stability was the third on the list with the score of 2.91 (out of 5), following work autonomy and promotion opportunities, but 32.6% of the respondents were generally dissatisfied by the work stability while only 28.5% were generally satisfied. 84.6% of the journalists in the news industry work full-time and 15.4% work under contract in 2018. In comparison to the previous year, this is a 0.3% decrease in the number of full-time journalists and 17.5% in the number of contracted journalists. While full-time employment is predominant and suggests a relative job stability,

based on the history of unexplained firings and leaves, we can expect some gap between the statistical data and the reality.

There is no formal action taken to support women and promote gender equality in hiring non-permanent positions. However, in the recent years, many of the news media have adopted gender equality rules and guidelines for sexual harassment at workplace, and refurbished rules for equal treatment of both sexes as well as disciplinary measures for sexual misconduct.

Sweden

According to national surveys among Swedish journalists), a huge majority strongly endorse the professional goals of independent scrutinizing of powerholders, gathering and distributing information to citizens that is needed for their informed decisions in the democracy and giving a voice to the voiceless. The figures are high in a comparative perspective (Strömbäck et al., 2012).

According to the national interviews, Investigative reporting is considered the top priority in the leading news organizations. For once, professional and democratic aspirations are accompanied by a commercial interest in reader revenues. The journalists' union stresses the increased workload of journalists when newsrooms are downsized and expresses concern about the professional identity of those who combine journalistic freelance work or short-term employments with other kinds of communication/information occupations. The union monitors native advertising and issues warnings when professional conduct may be threatened.

In the regional interviews, media representatives claim that investigative journalism is poorly developed. No regional media have journalists or routines designed for investigative journalism. When such journalism does occur, it is more likely to be the result of ad-hoc decisions than of long-term editorial planning. Analyses of regional media newsroom practices have even been referred to a possible 'de-professionalization of journalism on the regional level (Nygren, 2008).

Still, leading national news media in Sweden must be considered as highly professional and with sufficient and sustainable resources to maintain basic democratic functions, including independent investigative journalism.

Journalists permanently employed have a pretty safe job security, but the number of temporary employed persons is increasing. Staffing agencies for journalists have become more common as well as the use of freelance journalists.

Swedish labor laws protect employees from being dismissed for their personal convictions. The Journalists' Union argues for less short-term employments in order to protect members' financial situation, but also in order to foster a more secure work atmosphere with healthy opposition and debate on journalistic issues. The

journalists' union estimate that staffing agencies' share of the workforce has been somewhat reduced, but is still considered a problem.

Switzerland

Although journalism in Switzerland is an “open” profession with no formal requirements, the educational background of Swiss journalists has increased steadily. Almost 70 % of the surveyed journalists in 2015 had an academic degree, and about half of the academics had received their degree in journalism, communications or a related field (Dingerkus et al. 2018: 120). And there exist various educational opportunities in journalism, e.g. by the Institute for Applied Linguistics at the Zurich University of Applied Sciences ZHAW in Winterthur, the HTW Chur with a BA in Multimedia Production, or the Media Education Centre MAZ in Lucerne with its diploma course in journalism. Still, journalists themselves complain about their colleagues, not at least because experienced elder journalists had to leave their job in the last years or more journalists switched to better payed jobs in corporate communication. And several journalists in our actual study complained, that there exist no concepts, incentives or even obligations for further journalistic education in most editorial offices. At least, in the Worlds of Journalism Study (<https://worldsofjournalism.org>) from 2012-2016, Swiss journalists had a mean of 16.6 years of professional experience, and 58 % of the questioned Swiss journalists said, that “Journalism Education” has become stronger in the past five years.

In 2019, there was a short controversial public discourse about a possible future certification of journalists in Switzerland, initiated by the Federal Media Commission EMEK under guidance of former university professor Otfried Jarren (Altwegg 2019). The underlying idea was, to create a quality label for journalistic texts, because the loss of the monopole to produce and disseminate media texts, based on journalistic quality, is under pressure, not at least by the new Social Media. One main discussed problem was the question: Who would decide over the award of this label? – As an alternative, it was suggested, that it would be better, if the media itself would inform its public actively and in a more transparent way about how their journalists are working and guaranteeing the quality of its journalistic products. – The discussion ended as fast as it started.

Yet, journalists are not the only ones to blame. Under the constraints caused by today's media crisis, the quality of journalism necessarily suffers. As a consequence of the increased economic pressure in the editorial offices of most newspapers, journalistic staff and budgets have been shortened; there is less time for investigations and the production of journalistic contributions; competition between media increased; and the significance of the so called click-rates got

stronger (Puppis et al. 2017). But despite of these negative tendencies, the job satisfaction of journalists remained stable on a quite high level (Dingerkus et al. 2015: 125, 126). – To conclude: Professionalism can be better safeguarded if resources are assured.

Job security in journalism is not an issue that the Association of Swiss Media (VSM) deals with. In the wake of the media crisis, which has been making itself felt for more than a decade with the steady decline in advertising revenues, job security for media workers has also declined. In 2010, the union Comedia reported 1465 media workers as unemployed. Reorganisations, job cuts and centralisation of reporting are decimating both employed and freelance media workers. The latter in particular receive fewer orders and lower compensation. But even the trade union has no up-to-date data on the length of time spent in the profession. In German-speaking Switzerland and Ticino, there are no regulations on dismissals at sectoral level, as there has been no collective labour agreement since 2004.

In the opinion of the interview partners, the situation at the public broadcaster SRG SSR is still satisfactory with regard to job security. However, the days when people had a secure job until retirement are over at SRG. There is, however, a collective labour agreement (Gesamtarbeitsvertrag) which provides a certain degree of protection for all employees. However, the SRG also makes redundancies or forces employees over 60 to take early retirement or leave the profession.

Some time ago, Vinzenz Wyss surveyed the job security of media workers in an essay on the precarisation of Swiss journalism. While SRG SSR employees scored 2.3 in 2008 (1 = satisfied; 6 = dissatisfied), the figure for print journalists was 3.5 and for online media 4.2, which was significantly less favourable (Wyss 2012: 8). Looking at the current industry reports, job security is likely to decline even further in the future. The long-standing problem of financing journalism has prompted many daily media to reduce their output. The industry itself assumes that the number of media companies in Switzerland will fall or stagnate over the next five years and that the media offerings produced by these companies will decline (UVEK: Medienperspektivenbericht 2020: 8-9). Overall, the majority of respondents assume that the number of employed media workers will "decrease slightly or sharply" (UVEK: Medienperspektivenbericht 2020: 10). FMEC also sees strongly disruptive tendencies towards the Swiss media system and especially towards daily newspapers. These include a sharp decline in advertising revenues and print circulation. As a result, further title mergers, editorial mergers and job cuts are likely to occur. The diversity of content and journalistic opinion is likely to suffer from this (EMEK 2020: 14).

United Kingdom

Increased journalistic professionalism in the sense of formal qualifications and training is covered in Section C8 below. Ethics training in UK journalism is relatively widespread and, as demonstrated in recent surveys of working journalists, broadly viewed as satisfactory. It is also directly supported by the National Union of Journalists, which operates an ethics council, an ethical code of conduct and advice for journalists. However, the workload intensity of UK journalists and the need for an evolving skillset to cope with industry changes is seen as inhibiting the ability of editorial staff to maintain their desired quality of work, particularly among newspaper journalists. Several studies of UK journalism in recent years have highlighted the effect of economic pressures on the quality of journalistic output.

The National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ), from which 65 per cent of UK journalists hold a qualification (Spilsbury, 2018, p.18) lists “Essential journalism ethics and regulation” as one of the core skills of its Diploma in Journalism qualification. The BBC, which operates an extensive training programme for its journalists via the BBC Academy, is obliged to do so by constitutional documents, the Royal Charter (Clause 35) and Agreement (Clause 13) in ensuring that the Corporation delivers its Public Purposes (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2016a & 2016b).

The 2018 Journalists at Work survey found that 74 per cent of UK journalists across all sectors felt that they had received sufficient training in ethics, a substantial increase from 52 per cent from the previous survey in 2012. 85 per cent felt that their personal work in the workplace “reflects and respects” ethical boundaries, although 31 per cent claim that “business pressures in my workplace mean that ethical boundaries are sometimes not respected” (Spilsbury, 2018, pp.82-83). The National Union of Journalists – of which 35 per cent of journalists are members according to the Journalism at Work survey (p.81) – operates an additional level of ethical training for member journalists. The Union operates an Ethic Council which provides advice and information on journalistic ethics and produces the NUJ’s code of conduct, which sets out 12 professional principles that NUJ members are expected to observe (National Union of Journalists, n.d.). Members also have access to the NUJ ethics hotline.

Increasing newsroom pressures on the working practices of UK journalists are having a significant depressing effect on the delivery of original journalism, particularly resource-intensive but socially important public-interest and investigative journalism. Table 1 shows the concerns of UK journalists regarding the negative effects that industry changes are exerting on their ability to perform their jobs. Some concerns relate to the need for new skills and greater flexibility in producing journalism:

85 per cent of respondents to the 2018 Journalists at Work survey stated that they faced an increased need to widen the range of tasks they are obliged to perform as part of their day-to-day work, and 67 per cent had to produce content across multiple platforms. Alongside this, journalists raise concerns about their capacity to produce high-quality journalism: 70 per cent cite ‘increased work intensity’ – the need to develop more stories (indirectly confirming that less time is available to develop each story); 35 per cent report a lower job satisfaction as a result of industry changes; while – of significant concern given the democratic and social function of journalism – 34 per cent felt that they were forced to engaged in “de-skilled” research activities, necessitating a reliance on external copy, including from PR companies, while 34 per cent claimed that industry changes mean that they produce a lower quality of work.

Table 1: Effect of industry changes in last 10 years (Source: Journalists at Work survey, 2018 – cited in Spilsbury, 2018, p.68)

	Impact on respondent’s job
Increased need for multi-skilling – e.g. need to widen range of tasks	85%
Increased work intensity – e.g. need to develop more stories	70%
More diverse range of outlets – need to be able to write across different platforms	67%
Lower job satisfaction	35%
De-skilled research activities – e.g. more reliance on PR companies	34%
Produce a lower quality of work	34%

These impacts were found to be worse for journalists working in the newspaper sector. 77 per cent of newspaper journalists reported increased work intensity, 41 per cent felt they produced a lower quality of work, and 42 per cent reported a lower job satisfaction.

Research on the effects of newsroom cuts on the delivery of local news in the UK has found evidence of the reduced ability of journalists to cover local issues in depth (Franklin, 2011; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018), the displacement of locally-relevant journalism with non-local stories to build online audiences and the coming-together of editorial and advertising departments to monetize digital content (Jenkins & Nielsen, 2020). The problem of “churnalism” (the replacement of original journalism with PR copy has been observed for a long time in UK media research and continues to be a problem (Jackson & Moloney, 2016).

As far as job security is concerned, UK journalists are more likely to be in stable, permanent employment than engaged in temporary, part-time or freelance work, but the latter, more precarious, positions still make up a significant part of employment in the sector, and are likely to grow as economic pressures on traditional news organizations increase. Instability and precarity in employment is also worse for women, who are more likely to be in temporary or part-time employment. Labour law in the UK offers a range of employment rights and protections, and journalists have the same minimum rights as employees in any other sector. Following the Leveson Inquiry, the newspaper industry has also taken steps to ensure that journalists have a degree of protection if they refuse to engage in activity that is in breach of standards codes or the law.

Protections for Journalists

In the UK newspaper industry, whistleblowing mechanisms and contractual protections have been put in place following the 2012 report of the Leveson Inquiry. In setting out 47 recommendations for a new self-regulatory system the report recommended that “[a] regulatory body should establish a whistleblowing hotline for those who feel that they are being asked to do things which are contrary to the code” (Leveson Inquiry, 2012, p.1809). Although the industry’s regulator IPSO was largely created in order to circumvent the Leveson recommendations, this was incorporated into IPSO’s articles of association. A further recommendation of the Leveson report specified that regulated news organizations should ensure that employment contracts should include “a clause to the effect that no disciplinary action would be taken against a journalist as a result of a refusal to act in a manner which is contrary to the code of practice” (Leveson Inquiry, 2012c, p.1809). This too was incorporated into the IPSO system. The independent regulator for print and online journalism, IMPRESS, includes the Leveson recommendations in its articles and regulations as a condition of its recognized status.

Employment Conditions

The majority of UK journalists are in permanent employment: surveys of journalists in 2015 by the Reuters Institute and in 2018 by the NCTJ found 74 per cent of journalists across all sectors had permanent contracts (Thurman, Cornia & Kunert, 2016, p.15; Spilsbury, 2018, p.31). 7 per cent of journalists surveyed in 2015 and 4 per cent in 2018 were on temporary fixed-term contracts, while the proportion working as freelancers was 17 per cent in 2015 and 12 per cent in 2018. Some caution should be maintained when interpreting these figures, however, due to different definitions of ‘freelance’ work in different studies: for example, the UK Office of National Statistics

Labour Force Survey (LFS) recorded 37 per cent of journalists as ‘self-employed’, more than double the proportion recorded as ‘freelance’ by the Reuters Institute in the same year (cited in Thurman, Cornia & Kunert, 2016, p.15). LFS data from 2018 was also found to differ significantly from the 2018 NCTJ survey in a similar manner: It is suggested that this is due to survey sampling skewing towards mainstream journalists (Spilsbury, 2018, pp.29-30). Regardless of the proportion, it can be said that permanent contracts are significantly more common in UK journalism employment than temporary or freelance work.

Employment conditions in UK journalism are not equal for women and men. The Journalism at Work survey found that men were more likely than women to have a permanent contract (78 per cent compared with 71 per cent), and that men are far less likely to work part-time (15 per cent) than women (41 per cent). The two outcomes are related, as only one-third of part-time workers were found to have a permanent contract, compared with 79 per cent of full-time employees (Spilsbury, 2018, pp.28-31).

As noted in Section F8 above, in recent years news organizations such as the *Telegraph* and *Guardian*, as well as the BBC, have acknowledged the need for more appropriate employment and workplace policies to account for differences in working patterns for men and women, and to reduce the barriers to full-time employment.

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