LIQUID JOURNALISM IN SPAIN
- A multi-perspective approach: educators, practitioners and the next generation -

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1. ABSTRACT

Journalism is in a state of flux, so much so that as an industry it is unrecognisable compared to 20 years ago, before digital journalism became common practice. Where the pre-digital era of journalism relied heavily upon newspaper journalism for the dissemination of news, the current digital era of journalism has seen a convergence of media which has had both positive and negative consequences on the industry; production techniques, consumption habits and business models have all experienced change. This current embodiment of journalism is described by Mark Deuze (2006) as “liquid”, referring to the fast-paced radical changes experienced in many areas and as theorised by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman in his work on ‘liquid modernity’ (2000).

Using a mixed methods approach of qualitative interviews with journalists and journalism educators, and a quantitative survey of both state and private university undergraduates in Spain, this study analyses how ‘liquid journalism’ is reflected in the Spanish context via the way journalism is taught in universities, practiced by professionals and perceived by future journalists – university undergraduates.

Filling a research gap of investigating the attitudes towards entrepreneurial journalism of Journalism students in Spain, and building upon outdated research into Journalism education in Spain, the study provides a unique insight into the changing nature of journalism in the country from distinct perspectives. The study argues that although theory and practice are not necessarily in line, this is not necessarily negative for the future of journalism.

KEYWORDS:
‘Liquid Journalism’ - Education - Working Conditions - Precariousness
Entrepreneurial journalism -
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4. INTRODUCTION

Media convergence within journalism has provoked a significant shake-up in the industry, largely as a result of the ubiquitous nature of the internet in many realms of society. The internet lords over many an industry, insisting that those affected by its presence look for new strategies to compete with the disruption it causes and crucially, look for how they can join the party; lest they miss out on anything exciting. Journalism is no exception to this flux and whether or not the internet is an invited or uninvited guest to the party, it is one that will not be leaving any time soon.

Structural changes to the journalism industry, a direct consequence of the influence of the internet (where digital content has become increasingly important, breaking down traditional newsroom structures), have led journalism to become ‘liquid’ as postulated by Deuze (2006), the consequences of which have transformed journalism into an industry with an identity that is unrecognisable when compared to pre-global financial crisis times (pre-2007).

Deuze argues that the traditional role perceptions of journalism are “influenced by its occupational ideology – providing a general audience with information of general interest in a balanced, objective and ethical way” (2008, p.848). Yet such perceptions are not in accordance with the current lived experience of individuals working in journalism who, according to the International Federation of Journalists, lead an increasingly “atypical” work life within an “emerging digital media culture where the consumer is also a producer of public information”, leading Deuze to posit that we must see the identity of journalists now as “liquid” (Ibid.).

With liquid journalism as the point of departure, this thesis aims to present a deeper understanding of the phenomenon within the Spanish context, tackling how ‘liquidity’ manifests itself in Spanish journalism, from differing perspectives.

The study embraces a mixed methods approach of qualitative and quantitative research to reach its aims. The qualitative approach was fulfilled by conducting five face-to-face interviews and two internet interviews with educators of journalism to university undergraduates in Spanish state and private universities and journalists (active and inactive) working in Spanish journalism. Quantitative research complements the study in the form of a structured survey of 65 undergraduate Journalism students from both state and private universities, which explores attitudes towards entrepreneurship in journalism.
The main research question to be explored within this study addresses the education of future journalists in Spain, within a ‘liquid’ context:

**RQ1:** *To what extent is ‘liquid journalism’ reflected in the way journalism is taught in Spanish universities?*

The second research question deals with notions of ‘liquidity’ in the Spanish journalism industry, considering perspectives provided in interviews by those who, once academically qualified, practice the profession within the structures of the Spanish journalism industry: the journalists:

**RQ2:** *How do the notions of liquidity in Spanish journalism present themselves and what does this mean for practitioners of journalism?*

The main and second research questions take on board the independent perspective of two individual groups: the journalism theorists (educators), and the journalism practitioners (journalists). It is important to separate these independent viewpoints when considering journalism in a liquid context, hence the perspective approach adopted (figure 4.1.1).

![Figure 4.1.1: Perspective Approach to Main and Second Research Questions](image)

The third and final research question focuses primarily on the equation that is caught in the middle of theorising on journalism and its professional practice; the Journalism students. The perspective of the students is the one that is inextricably linked
to the two other categories of theorists and practitioners (figure 4.1.2); they are the ones that bridge the gap between theory and practice and learn the craft of journalism from the individuals who decide what journalism is and what it should be for future generations. How they assume the concept of entrepreneurial journalism is explored and contextualised by the standpoints provided by both theorists and practitioners of journalism also:

RQ3: *What are the challenges of ‘entrepreneurial journalism’ and how comfortably does it sit in the Spanish context?*

*Figure 4.1.2: Perspective Approach to the Third Research Question*
Prior to the mid-twentieth century the business of journalism manifested itself through the production and distribution of the print newspaper, where it was left unchallenged in its dominance of telling and selling the news until the mid-twentieth century. It was at this time that journalism was dealt its first major blow regarding how news could be delivered to an engaged audience; competition for news dissemination from radio and television broadcasting forced the journalism industry to sit up and take notice to the changes in approach. The monopoly of newspapers as the news informers was over and a new era of journalism was born; one that reached mass audiences and engaged the public with current affairs via their real-time formats and dynamic news presentations, presenting a product a static newspaper could not compete with on the same level.

The business model of journalism came under threat as a result of this media convergence, changing the way news was produced and consumed; advertisers sharply became aware of the lucrative platforms radio and television could offer their products and services, allowing them into the domestic setting to speak directly to potential customers in a way that was not as easy to ignore, as happened in newspaper advertising. Naturally, the direct consequence for the newspaper industry was that healthy revenue streams of advertising money became somewhat reduced, deftly attacking the sustainability of the print media (Collis et al. 2009).

The failing business model of print media and the increase in availability of online platforms has resulted in many news publishers, some long-standing, to cease producing print versions of their publications and dedicate their efforts to an online presence only. In many cases, some news publishers have ‘called time’, and ceased publication altogether.

These are transformative times for journalism in many locations around the world, with Spain not being an exception. Journalism in Spain has seen some critical moments in recent years, and no more so than in 2012 when it was considered to be an annus horribilis for the industry. Carmen del Riego, the then-president of the Madrid Press Association (Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid) exclaimed that it was a “black year”, which was tainted by much unemployment, precarious labour and for the journalists who were working, overwork. In 2012 alone just some of the high-profile cases of disaster in Spanish journalism were:
• the move to online-only editions of the newspaper *El Público*
• the complete closure of the newspaper *ADN*
• the closure of the second TV channel in the Canary Islands
• state radio and TV broadcaster *RTVE* cutting salaries by 14.28% between the months of July and December (Gutiérrez, 2013).

It is with these rapid changes and realities, as detailed above, which illustrate the challenges currently facing the journalism industry, and in particular in Spain. How these challenges are faced from an educational and practical perspective is what will be explored in this study.
6. LITERATURE REVIEW

6.1 Journalism Education

Anderson et al. (2012) suggest that journalism is in a process of evolution and is moving towards a ‘post-industrial’ model of news. In order to adapt to the new media environment that is so evident in contemporary journalism, the authors argue that the profession requires new organisational structures and strategies. It is by adopting such changes that we can suggest the survival and a new self-conception of journalism can be achieved and carried forward to future generations. Such changes are what led Deuze (2006) to refer to journalism as now being liquid, whereby traditional structures are broken down in order to adopt a more flexible approach to the profession, and as a result, better fitting to market demands. Deuze (2006a, p.19) additionally argues that from an educational perspective, journalism “is more or less an autonomous field of study across the globe, yet the education of journalists is a subject much debated – but only rarely researched”. Therefore, if the journalism industry itself is so self-aware and conscious of the effort it needs to make to reflect market changes to protect the future of journalism, yet the way journalism is taught academically is not necessarily approached similarly the world over, should one expect to see comparable patterns of liquidity?

To attempt to address this question within the Spanish context, an understanding of Journalism as an academic subject within the Spanish university education system should first be reflected upon.

As a direct consequence of journalism finding itself “in a crossroads between economy and technology, which have moved the foundations of the industry on a global level”, the way in which journalists are trained academically has had to adapt accordingly, in order to meet new market demands (Sánchez, 2013, p.41). In this case Spain is no different, although compared to other countries with Journalism as an academic offering, it is somewhat of a latecomer in recognising the profession as an academic proposition. Initial research into journalism studies in Spain began in the early 20th Century, with the works of Manuel Graña (1927), Juan Beneyto (1958) and Ángel Benito (1967) cited as being amongst the most important academics in the field for the defence they postulated towards journalism as an academic endeavour and how crucial this was for journalists. Whilst there were journalism schools in the early and mid-20th Century, which were largely connected to the church and authorities of the time, it wasn’t until 1971 that journalism studies were formally introduced to Spanish
universities. It is important to point out that at this time Spain was under dictatorial control (1939-1975), which influenced how news was framed and censored (Ibid.). This is a crucial factor to consider as it had a direct influence on the way Spanish journalists were trained and how journalism as a profession was seen in certain sectors of society. This also provides some understanding into why Journalism as an area of academic study was so late to be introduced to Spanish universities, again having a direct impact on its scientific development (Sánchez, 2013); hence the limited research in the field.

Since those challenging times for the profession, as Spain has transitioned into democracy and prospered, so has journalism in universities, which is now widely taught throughout the country, with 40 universities offering degree programmes to the more than 22,000 students who study Journalism each year (Madrid Press Association Annual Report, 2017). Commencing in the academic year 2010-2011, Spain, like its European neighbours has adopted new study plans as part of the Bologna Process, a European higher education agreement whose objectives are to standardise university degrees and evaluation criteria across Europe to facilitate graduates working in different European countries. The standardisation process took many years to orchestrate and is widely seen to offer both opportunities and challenges for universities and students alike. Deuze argues that alongside professionalisation and formalisation, standardisation is becoming the norm amongst journalism academic programmes, worldwide (2006a). Therefore, and with this in mind, if universities all over Europe offer largely similar academic content, to what extent can we recognise ‘liquidity’ (suggesting a recognition of how the journalism industry is evolving into a more ‘liquid’ profession and encapsulating that in the university subjects offered to students) in the way journalism is taught in Spanish universities? This is a pressing concern and something that my own study aims to address. Many scholars have argued that an urgent analysis of standardisation needs to happen. Bernaola et al. (2011, p.188) state that alongside standardised subjects and concepts in journalism programmes, which are important, “added to those should be others like flexibility, the ability to adapt to change, technological advancements and functional mobility”. All these factors are central when viewing journalism through a ‘liquid’ lens.

Would it therefore be justified to say that the Bologna Process actually impedes Journalism as an academic subject from becoming more ‘liquid’ (which would be a truer reflection of the market)? To an extent, yes. What becomes evident from the limited previous research which has been published on the subject, is that although there
is recognition that university degree programmes must adapt to the market (Gillmor, 2016; Deuze, 2006a), there is also a tangible desire to hold on to the core subjects of journalism such as “language, deontology, composition and information design, which are fundamental to the practice of journalism” (Rosique-Cedillo, 2016, p.594). Pilar Sánchez, from the University of Valladolid, Spain attests that the presence of these core subjects is vital and that the teaching of them should be “in-depth and with priority placed on journalistic criteria”. However, Sánchez also adds that educational institutions should, at the same time “respond to the challenge of providing a core education that allows future journalists to practice their profession in a new, multi-faceted and technological market which is under continual change” (2013, p.55).

One can therefore argue the importance of working to find a way of not compromising on core subjects which are essential for the base training of future journalists by introducing new ways of operating as journalists, which better reflect the breakdown in structures and free flow of work, which Deuze theorises, is the case now. Professionals at the helm of the education of journalists must not see these challenges as obstacles that simply cannot be traversed; ways must be found to circumvent this situation. Deuze lends from the work of Kovach & Rosenstiel (2001) when he underlines that there is

“an assumption that journalism cannot exist independent of community; it is a profession interacting with society in many – and not wholly unproblematic – ways and should therefore be seen as influencing and operating under the influence of what happens in society. Just as the news organization cannot maintain itself completely distanced or independent from society, a school of journalism also has to define ways to culturally and thematically contextualise its program” (2006a, p.26-27).

This is all very well and good in theory, but in practice, is it something we find evidence of happening? We must feel compelled to consider if educators should be doing more to revolutionise journalism as a field of study and to shape the industry from the core, as some scholars suggest (Becker, Vlad & Simpson, 2013; Robinson, 2013, Jarvis, 2012; Bennett, 2014). Gloria Rosique-Cedillo (2013, p.129) states that Journalism programmes at Spanish universities need to “be more in line with the market changes that are reflected in the journalism industry”. Yet when one has such a confined space
for manoeuvre (an obvious consequence of the Bologna agreement), which way should you move?

Deuze (2006a p.30) postulates that as journalism programmes continue to see more and more enrolments and the number of establishments offering programmes also rises, there must be a critical investigation into what impact this has on the industry, arguing that “systems of mass education tend to promote a product-oriented teaching culture instead of a process-focused learning culture”. There is a certain amount of fear that when one focuses more on the product than the process, something gets lost along the way. Bauman argues that “the way learning is structured determines how individuals learn to think” (2000, p.123). Contemplating this, I posit that from previous studies in this field it would appear that there is not enough evidence that the way journalism is taught in Spanish universities is ‘liquid’ in its nature. My own empirical study aims to challenge that notion, demonstrating that the current literature that places Spain’s approach to Journalism education as being somewhat out-of-touch with the demands of the market, is not wholly accurate in 2019.

6.2 The Journalism Industry

The global journalism industry is amid a crisis. A crisis of significant proportions whereby its sustainability is challenged, its identity is questioned and its importance for democracy is compromised. Deuze & Witschge (2018, p.166) state that “journalism is transitioning from a more or less coherent industry to a highly varied and diverse range of practices”. However, it would be disingenuous to suggest that this is a crisis felt like no other in journalism; “the history of journalism has been marked by continuous eruptions of crisis”, which is unsurprising because journalism is subject to social change, much like many an industry in modern societies (Alexander, 2015). Deuze & Witschge (2016, p.2) state that journalism is in a “permanent state of flux” and “worldwide, is in a process of becoming a different kind of profession”. Where once TV and Radio were the threats to print media, current concerns within the industry emanate from the proliferation of digital technologies which have made content more widely available at reduced costs, ensuring that “almost every aspect of the production, reporting and reception of news is changing” (Franklin, p.481). Such economic constraints naturally have an impact upon the practitioners of journalism, who in order to haemorrhage huge financial losses and in many cases, to simply tread water, have had
to reconsider the structures in place that no longer make their form of journalism commercially viable.

In Spain, the global financial crisis, which commenced in 2007 (and took hold in 2008), hit the country hard, in all areas of industry. However, it was the journalism industry which was one of the most affected. Between November 2008 and November 2013 10,410 professionals working in the field of journalism were made redundant and 86 media companies were closed, making journalism the second industry with the largest number of unemployed workers in the country (Sánchez, 2013). Such drastic times called for drastic measures and so journalism organisations “in order to guarantee their economic viability, began a race to restructure operations; exploring and trialling new models for digital business, reducing salaries, closing foreign bureaux, hiring interns and more importantly, intensifying precariousness and unstable employment” (Goyanes, 2015, p.57). Of course, in every crisis there is opportunity to be sought. Schudson (2010) argues that job losses can serve to incentivise individuals to use their talents elsewhere, namely via entrepreneurship, which will be discussed in depth further in this chapter. However, the previously mentioned period in Spanish journalism history is one which is regrettable for many professionals working in the industry. Spanish Journalist Antonio Pampliega has written and spoken extensively at conferences (with brutal and cutting honesty) about the changing nature of the Spanish journalism profession, proclaiming that “there is hope for this profession, but it’s not with the Spanish media” (Pampliega, Paying to Go to War, 2012). The profound effect of the global financial crisis on Spanish journalism was palpable for anyone working in the industry at the time, the effects of which have not worn off, but merely been weaved into the culture of how the industry now operates. Pampliega argues that little value is placed upon what professionals like him do now, be it economical or in the recognition they receive; everything now appears to be somewhat disposable. Pampliega states that because of changes to the business models of news outlets, now “advertising pays for the newspaper”. This becomes all the more complicated when there is a population “where nobody is prepared to pay for absolutely anything; the cinema, music, nothing…except for football where there are people prepared to pay €2,000 to see Real Madrid in the Champions League final” (Ibid.).

In the new mass-media environment that journalism finds itself in there is an acute sense of temporality to what is produced in the industry, much like Pampliega alludes to. Rosen (2004) says that “the age of the mass media is just that – an age, it
doesn’t have to last forever”. When considering the concept of time in liquid life, Bauman, in an interview with Deuze, puts forward the notion that in history there were two visions of time; cyclical and linear. Bauman says that “certainly ours is not cyclical time – nothing repeats now exactly as the last time…people are afraid of sticking to experience, tradition, going by the pattern” (Deuze, 2007, p.673).

One can see evidence of the concept of time in the way that journalism is practiced now, especially within the Spanish context, where evidence of ‘liquidity’ is clear. In his theory of liquid journalism, Deuze (2006) theorises that the breakdown in traditional news structures and the new flexibility of how a journalist is expected to work has led to the ‘liquidity’ of the profession. Routinely, journalists in Spain are now expected to be multiskilled in the way they execute their jobs, and work at paces that are unrealistic. Bauman (2005, p.1) argues that ‘liquidity’ in society refers to “the conditions under which its members act change faster than it takes the ways of acting to consolidate into habits and routines”. In journalism, sudden changes in working conditions, such as those suffered by Spanish journalists during the financial crisis resulted in drastic changes in the way journalists were expected to work. Pampliega was at the centre of these changes to the point where his father says that journalism is “an expensive hobby, not a profession”. As a freelance war reporter, Pampliega repeatedly found himself out-of-pocket, financing trips to war zones which he did not fully recover when selling his work to news outlets; a trip to Haiti in 2010 left him with a shortfall of €1,500 and a 2008 trip to Iraq resulted in him recovering just €700 from €1,500 expenses. He claims that the current Spanish journalism industry is based upon news outlets buying stories based on what the audience wants to hear about but points out that “we cannot choose news depending on the audience” (ibid). ‘Liquidity’ is certainly at play here, although the impact on journalism as a credible entity, which is necessary for democratic societies (Alexander, 2015), is at stake.

There was no dress rehearsal for Spanish journalists when faced with this new way of working, especially regarding working at greater speed, required due to the amount of competition in the market aiming to publish content first. Establishing new work habits and routines, which Bauman says is necessary in a ‘liquid’ society, was logically, untenable. There are dangers at play when so much importance is placed on speed. Deuze (2006, p.6) envisaged when discussing the future of journalism that “value attributed to media content will be increasingly determined by the interactions between users and producers rather than the product (news) itself”. Placing emphasis on the
interactions rather than the product, could lead to compromising on the quality of content to satisfy the quantity of content required to feed such interactions. This is a commonly held argument amongst journalists, and one which appears to go unchallenged, as journalist Delia Rodriguez (2016) points out in her scathing attack on the realities of the internet as a platform for news dissemination:

“It is very difficult to control the quality of such volumes of content, and consequently maintain the credibility of the publication for the reader. One of the sentences I’ve heard the most regarding reports I have worked on is “has anyone actually read this, which we have published?”

Katharine Viner, editor-in-chief at The Guardian, provides some insight as to why this transformation of journalism in liquid times, whereby standards have slipped, is occurring. Viner argues that the reason why so many news organisations are producing digital journalism which has “become less and less meaningful” is a direct consequence of the tech giants Facebook and Google, who, because of market dominance can “swallow digital advertising”. For news organisations which are funded by algorithmic ads, they find themselves in a race to chase the largest audiences they can. The only way to operationally achieve this is to compromise on journalistic standards to the point that “binge-publishing without checking facts, pushing out the most shrill and most extreme stories to boost clicks” (2016), becomes the norm.

Of course, not everyone prescribes to this negative perspective towards digitally oriented journalism. The New Orleans Times-Picayune when faced with digital transformation took the decision that with new digital tools available, reporters had to embrace them and change the way they worked to fit into the “rigours of new journalism”; “[They] gotta get up, start tweeting, check aggregates, be on the social media, check posts, check comments … This doesn’t diminish journalism, it [just] makes the job a lot tougher” (Alexander, 2015, p.21).

However, it is a risky strategy to demand such high levels of flexibility from journalists or other news workers if it means that editorial rigour may become compromised; “fluidity in one’s work as a journalist should not come at the cost of upholding journalism’s traditional set of ideological values, such as the public service ideal and a commitment to objectivity and ethical standards” (Deuze & Marjoribanks, 2009, p.557). At the forefront of journalism should always be a retention of the core values of journalism; democracy depends upon it.
The expectation of journalists to be multiskilled is an interesting consequence of the ‘liquid’ nature of journalism. A ‘liquid’ journalism affords the journalist or news worker with the opportunity (or demands the journalist or news worker unwillingly, depending on your chosen perspective), to develop new skills and tactics in which to carry out their job (Deuze, 2016), clearly illustrating how professional profiles within the industry have evolved in recent years. There are naturally many positive attributes to developing skills beyond what one initially believes their jobs entail, or should entail, and many journalists would surely agree with this for the professional opportunities and personal development this provides. However, we should acknowledge that there will inevitably be many more journalists for whom such fluidity in professional roles is not welcome. Additionally, we must have a conversation about whether having a pool of journalists or news workers who are so multi-layered in their abilities could result in a workforce made up of ‘jacks-of-all-trades and masters-of-none’, which puts the credibility of journalism at risk, once again.

6.3 Entrepreneurial Journalism

It is at this point that the concept of entrepreneurial journalism, an important aspect to consider when viewing journalism as ‘liquid’, must be carefully analysed to understand what it implies for the industry of journalism and how it is received not only by the professionals experiencing it, but by the journalism students, many of whom will become journalism entrepreneurs. Central to the discourse of entrepreneurial journalism, argues Cohen (2008, p. 514) is to see the journalist in their entrepreneurial endeavours as “an individual hero figure called upon to renew journalism’s relevance and reinvigorate stagnating business models”. The emergence of the entrepreneurial journalist “coincides with a gradual breakdown of the wall between the commercial and editorial sides of the news organization” (Deuze & Witschge, 2016, p.13). The importance of entrepreneurship in journalism should therefore not be underestimated, in fact, the entrepreneurial approach to journalism is “held up in much of the digital journalism literature as what will save journalism” (Kreiss & Brennen, 2015, p.14); for this reason we must consider its attributes and analyse how this plays out in the Spanish context.

As previously explained, the global financial crisis which took hold from 2008 onwards had such an impact on the journalism industry that new business models had to be sought for its survival. Casero-Ripollés & Cullell-March (2013, p.682) posit that
poor responses to the challenges of restructuring journalistic business models in Spain, which resulted in “cost-cutting, huge lay-offs of journalists and the closure of correspondents’ offices” have led to a situation where new opportunities for journalists are more necessary now than ever. The authors argue that one aspiration for journalists could be to consider starting their own business initiatives which are focussed on providing journalism to a society that needs it, and which is “crucial for good democratic processes” (Ibid.). How to go about doing this is where the challenge lies. Attitudes to entrepreneurship are diverse, depending on the country you live in, and whilst there are many factors which can drive entrepreneurship in a society, an important factor is the education system. To be educated in entrepreneurship means to be taught to “not only to observe, describe andanalyse reality, but also be able to create people with initiative who can detect necessity, opportunity, innovate, and at the same time be responsible for making something happen that will change the current reality” (Kirkby, 2008 in Casero-Ripollés & Cullell-March, 2013, p.683). Aceituno-Aceituno et al. (2014, p.410) echo these thoughts when stating that those working in the media who will survive or be successful will be those who can “react quickly, go where the people are, learn to connect content, change, and collaborate in a generation of shared content”; all skills which embody an entrepreneurial approach to journalism, and can be learned. One way to affront this within journalism is therefore to offer university subjects with titles such as ‘Entrepreneurship for Journalism’ or ‘Journalistic Enterprises’ which “incentivise and motivate the student towards self-employment” (Casero-Ripollés & Cullell-March, 2013, p.686). To date, there is scarce published material on Spanish universities which offer such subjects, and less material which includes analysis and published results of teaching entrepreneurship as part of a Journalism programme. My own study provides the results of university undergraduates who do study ‘Entrepreneurship for Communication’, and so attempts to bridge this gap somewhat. There is however one university which has published work on this theme; the University of Málaga. Paniagua et al. (2014) conducted a study of the progress made by 58 Journalism students in the subject of ‘Creation and Management of Journalistic Enterprises’ during the 2013-2014 academic year. The results of the study, which relied heavily on student feedback, found that the subject was deemed “to be necessary, not only in Journalism studies, but also in almost all other university degree programmes” (Ibid, p.567). It was felt that the implications of the current economic climate could significantly benefit from new approaches to journalism, and better reflect new
consumer habits for news consumption, such as new media, which could be satisfied by new business initiatives.

It is an interesting finding that students recommended rolling out entrepreneurship subjects across most other degree programmes, as although the feedback from the Journalism students on the subject was wholly positive, it was far from reflective of perceptions of entrepreneurship in Spain. Cultural attitudes, I posit, are crucial to understanding how entrepreneurship manifests itself in a country; if there is a poor general attitude or lack of encouragement towards entrepreneurship, be it within the field of journalism or otherwise, then this will become evident in the way in which it is practiced. The *White Paper on Entrepreneurship in Spain* (Alemany et al., 2011) gathers data over the period of the previous decade both in Spain and internationally to obtain a wide view of how Spain is positioned compared to other countries concerning its entrepreneurial endeavours, and where improvements need to be made. The analysis also presents the results of 7,000 young people expressing their views on entrepreneurship. The results are rather startling, and although are not results specific to people working in the field of journalism, they are indicative of the Spanish population, therefore suggesting a correlation with how individuals may consider an entrepreneurial approach to journalism to be. Key findings are:

- The Spanish tend to engage in entrepreneurship out of necessity, not opportunity (7 out of 10 Norwegian entrepreneurs cite opportunity as their motivator, compared to 4 out of 10 in Spain).
- “Spain is in last place in terms of investment in R+D and number of researchers: countries such as Sweden and the USA invest up to two to three times as much” (Ibid., p.14).
- “There is a phenomenon of social rejection of business failure that stigmatizes the entrepreneur who has failed, rather than encouraging learning from the experience and undertaking new projects” (Ibid., p.18).
- Less attention to entrepreneurs is given in the media than in most other countries.
- More work needs to be done to promote entrepreneurial culture, entrepreneurship training and access to financing for new business initiatives.
It is therefore a challenging prospect to see an entrepreneurial approach to journalism occupying a solid position within the Spanish journalism industry, which Casero-Ripollés & Cullell-March insist is such a significant proposition for the journalist of today, and one that should be explored to accommodate changing market demands.

When contemplating entrepreneurial journalism, we should be clear that this relatively new terminology does not solely refer to individuals establishing their own companies to distribute news. Petre & Besbris (2013, in Cohen, 2015, p.517) describe the entrepreneurial journalist as being “boundlessly energetic, game and highly adaptable”, highlighting the necessity of contemporary journalists to be prepared to ‘move with the times’ and willing to go along with what the new incarnation of the industry expects of them. To be an entrepreneurial journalist can present itself in multiple ways. A current trend on the ascent is self-branding and promotion (Hearn, 2008). Cohen (Ibid.) refers to the many academics who insist upon the relevance of building a personal brand and taking advantage of what social media afford as “developing a social-media presence can help land paid work” (Kuehn and Corrigan, 2013 in Cohen, Ibid., p.516). This trend has developed to such an extent that “journalists at digital media companies are pressured to promote themselves and their work to increase readership and online circulation of their articles - not just to boost social capital but because many journalists are now paid based on the number of people who click through and read their articles (Carr, 2014 in Cohen, Ibid.). This places a huge responsibility on the journalist and makes them responsible for the success of their work, and the publication they are working for, yet strangely it is not the quality of the content that is being prioritised here. The consequences of this element of entrepreneurial journalism should sound alarm bells concerning the rigours of journalism standards, as previously highlighted by Deuze & Marjoribanks (2009) and Viner (2016).

In addition to self-branding and promotion as a gateway to entrepreneurial success in journalism, ‘precariousness’ within the industry is a concept which also falls under the same umbrella term of entrepreneurial journalism. Cohen points to the work of Elmore & Massey (2012), Evans (2013) and Quinn (2010), when she states that the term entrepreneurial journalism “is deployed when describing the more marginalised, feminised end of the media worker spectrum: the growing pool of freelance journalists, or solo operators living by selling bits and pieces of work” (2015, p.514).
One can view precariousness in journalism from two standpoints, which sit at opposite ends of the spectrum. There is the positive perspective where we can witness that precarious contracts provide journalists with the opportunity to pick and choose what they wish to work on and when, without having to comply too heavily to power structures within journalistic enterprises (which may define the conditions of a full-time employment contract), and then there is the other, more commonly proffered opinion of precariousness viewed from a negative standpoint. When one contemplates the term ‘precarious’, thoughts of instability and uncertainty come to the fore. Academic literature on precariousness in journalism is no exception. Cohen (Ibid.) states that payment problems is just one area of precariousness that afflicts many journalists who work on a freelance basis on short-term projects. She points out that journalists do often not set their payment rates and much power remains with the publishers on this score, challenging the notion that precariousness provides journalists with freedom and independence. In order to secure work in an industry which employs increasingly less people on a full-time contract basis, the pool of freelance journalists offering their services to work under precarious conditions has notably expanded. Spanish Journalist Antonio Pampliega argues that he has become victim to insulting remuneration as a result of increased competition by the number of freelancers in the industry:

“I was in Afghanistan in 2011 and proposed a story about an Afghan girl who was a boxer and training for the London Olympic games. She boxed in a stadium where women used to be executed. The publication loved the story but refused photographs as they said they would use agency photos. They then offered me a double page spread in the newspaper but said they wouldn’t pay me as the promotion I would get from the publication was my payment. To be told to work for free to make a name for myself is obscene”. (Paying to Go to War, 2012)

To undervalue the work of a professional working under such challenging conditions is more than just insulting, it is clearly irresponsible. If we expect professionals to work in this way, can we expect quality pieces of journalism to be produced in return, which, as mentioned, is important for democracy? It’s a tough ask of a person and Walters, Warren & Dobbie (2006), claim that as a result of precarious employment in journalism there has already been a link to slipping standards and a decline in critical and investigative reporting is now evident, thus diminishing the prestige the industry once held in less ‘liquid’ times.
7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

7.1 Liquid Modernity & Liquid Journalism

This study, as the lead research question indicates, is supported by the theoretical framework of liquid journalism, as theorised by Mark Deuze (2006). Deuze developed the concept of ‘liquid journalism’ from the works of social theorist Zygmunt Bauman, whose viewpoint of contemporary society (as a result of his increasing unease with it), is seen in terms of a “liquid” modernity (2000). It is therefore pertinent that before exploring ‘liquid journalism’ further, we should first establish the foundations of ‘liquid modernity’. Bauman defines liquid modern society as

“a society in which the conditions under which its members act change faster than it takes the ways of acting to consolidate into habits and routines. Liquidity of life, and that of society, feed and reinvigorate each other. Liquid life, just like liquid modern society, cannot keep its shape or stay on course for long” (2005, p. 1).

A ‘liquid’ society is therefore one which is defined by “uncertainty, flux, change and revolution” (Deuze, 2008, p.851), factors which become part of the everyday realities for those immersed in it. This places emphasis upon the notion of time and space and the speed at which society functions, with the inevitable consequences this has on societal structures and notions of power; “speed of movement has today become a major, perhaps the paramount, factor of social stratification and the hierarchy of domination” (Bauman, 2000, p.151).

Such musings have led Deuze to apply the concept of ‘liquidity’ to contemporary journalism in relation to the current position the industry can be seen to accommodate. When analysing journalism, Deuze challenges the notion put forward by John Hartley that “journalism is the primary sense-making practice of modernity” (1996, in Deuze, 2007, p.671). He questions the type of modernity journalism makes, suggesting that “providing the social cement of democracies” and reinforcing “the foundations of social organisation”, which many scholars and practitioners of journalism perpetuate as being the normative notion of what journalism is, simply cannot ring true in the current climate because “contemporary society is anything but solid or socially cohesive” (Ibid.) Deuze posits that journalism has become ‘liquid’ because the media in general has become ‘liquid’; the dividing lines between
professionals and amateurs and between producers and consumers of media are increasingly blurred (2006, p.6), compressing the space occupied by all parties and breaking down the hierarchical structures that once separated journalists (in the 20th Century golden era of mass media) from audience behaviours. Hallin (1992) refers to this period of invisibility between the two subjects as the “high modernism” of (American) journalism.

The 21st Century new media ecology where Deuze argues ‘liquid journalism’ sits, is an era whereby the “value attributed to media content will be increasingly determined by the interactions between users and producers rather than the product (news) itself”. The implications of this new manifestation of journalism will be the production of “one-size-fits-all content made for largely invisible mass audiences next to (and infused by) rich forms of transmedia storytelling including elements of user control and ‘prosumer’-type agency” (Ibid).

Operationalising this theory within my own study is to analyse the theoretical perspectives made by Deuze (in relation to Bauman’s original concept of ‘liquid modernity’) and connecting them to the practice of journalism in Spain and the way in which journalism is taught in Spanish universities. The lived experience of educators and scholars within the Spanish university education system and journalists, (both active and inactive) provide the structure to apply this theory.
The principal research question and two secondary research questions accompanied by corresponding hypotheses are reflected in Figure 8.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Hypotheses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RQ1: To what extent is ‘liquid journalism’ reflected in the way journalism is taught in Spanish universities?</td>
<td>H1: Implementing changes to university programmes implies significant bureaucratic time lags. The networked digital world moves at a much faster pace with incomparable restrictions meaning that there is probably an insufficient reflection of ‘liquid journalism’ in Spanish universities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ2: How do the notions of ‘liquidity’ in Spanish journalism present themselves and what does this mean for practitioners of journalism?</td>
<td>H2: Spain suffered dearly during the financial crisis beginning in 2007; journalism would not have escaped that suffering. Journalism as it was once known in Spain would have suffered huge structural and operational changes for commercial survival, affecting working conditions and staff morale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ3: What are the challenges of ‘entrepreneurial journalism’ and how comfortably does it sit in the Spanish context?</td>
<td>H3: There will be a palpable disconnect between what is taught and what is practiced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H4: Amongst active journalists with lived experience of journalism in Spain, there will be an acceptance of having to adopt entrepreneurial approaches to working in order to survive within the profession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H5: Private university students will demonstrate a keener interest in entrepreneurship as a result of having first-hand experience of entrepreneurship in family and social circles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8.1.1: Research Questions and Corresponding Hypotheses
9. METHODOLOGY

To carry out this study into ‘liquid journalism’ in the Spanish context and how this is reflected in how journalism is taught at Spanish universities, a mixed methods approach of qualitative and quantitative research was adopted. The qualitative approach was fulfilled by conducting five face-to-face interviews and two internet interviews with educators of journalism and journalists. The study was complemented with quantitative research in the form of a survey of 65 undergraduate Journalism students from both state and private universities, aiming to discover attitudes towards entrepreneurship in journalism. It is argued that validity of the findings can be enhanced by not adopting a single-method approach to research. Layder (2012, p.93) argues that “the denser the empirical coverage, the surer one can be about the validity of the findings and stronger will be the evidence on which to base explanations”. However, it should be acknowledged that qualitative and quantitative research methods are very different in their approaches; providing distinct challenges for the researcher in the execution process of the study. Blaikie (2010, p.215) posits that “qualitative data gathering is messy and unpredictable and seems to require researchers who can tolerate ambiguity, complexity, uncertainty and lack of control”, painting a rather negative picture of the fascinating and productive experiences that can be had by conducting, for example, interviews or observations. Quantitative methods on the other hand are more suited to researchers who “aim for maximum control over the data gathering and the achievement of uniformity in the application of the techniques”. Striking a balance of both qualitative and quantitative research was not only important for the study (qualitative interviews with just a few students to understand their attitude to entrepreneurship in Journalism would not have been representative enough), but also a personal challenge for myself as a researcher.

9.1 Interviews

For the qualitative approach, several directed semi-structured interviews were conducted with diverse professionals who were considered to be able to provide the necessary information for the research.

Interviews are a time-consuming process, and in the case of audio recorded face-to-face interviews, require the lengthy process of transcribing before analysis can take
place. Of course, a transcribed interview allows a researcher to identify “which strips of talk are the most important pieces of data or evidence in terms of throwing light on your research problems and questions” (Layder, 2012, p.87), but transcription is a laborious process, nonetheless. It was with these factors in mind, together with contemplation of the scale of this project and that interview data would be collected alongside quantitative data gathered from a survey, that the number of interviewees was capped at 7 individuals.

The questions put forward to the interviewees followed a guide (Appendix 1) which is discussed in further detail in the Data Collection Process section. The guide naturally had distinct objectives depending on who was being interviewed; figure 9.4.1 in The Sample section explains methods undertaken for each interview and the differential position of each interviewee. As the sample of interviewees was diverse, the interview objectives for each person needed to reflect that. Figure 9.1.1 details the research objectives sought from each sample member representing the educators and figure 9.1.2 represents the journalists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEW CATEGORY</th>
<th>INTERVIEWEE</th>
<th>INTERVIEW OBJECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATORS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Humberto Martínez-Fresneda</td>
<td>Understand:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director of Journalism degree &amp; professor – private Spanish</td>
<td>- how a journalism degree programme is constructed and how it has changed over time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>university</td>
<td>- how university programmes influence the profession of journalism and vice versa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- how much resistance to market changes is reflected in the journalism degree?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- if student academic ability has changed as the liquid society has developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Francisco Javier Davara</td>
<td>Understand:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director of Studies (Journalism) &amp; professor – private</td>
<td>- the mechanics of changing the degree programme and operational implications within the private sector academic environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish university</td>
<td>- student approaches to the study of journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Javier Reyero</td>
<td>Understand:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Active national television journalist &amp; professor of</td>
<td>- the importance of entrepreneurial journalism as an area of academic study and for professional opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entrepreneurship for Communication – private Spanish university</td>
<td>- student approach to the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria Rosique-Cedillo</td>
<td>Understand:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professor of Journalism &amp; former journalist – state Spanish</td>
<td>- the mechanics of changing the degree programme and operational implications within the public sector academic environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>university</td>
<td>- how much resistance to market changes is reflected in the journalism degree?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- if student academic ability has changed as the liquid society has developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- the state university approach to entrepreneurship in journalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9.1.1: Interviewees (educators) and Interview Objectives*
Regarding what style of interview would be conducted (face-to-face, telephone, video call, internet etc.), the concept of the so-called interviewer effect was considered. Denscombe (2010, p.178) discusses the interviewer effect in relation to conducting interviews for small scale research projects. The interviewer effect refers to the impact the researcher’s identity has on the interviewee. Denscombe states that

“research on interviewing has demonstrated fairly conclusively that people respond differently depending on how they perceive the person asking the questions. In particular, the sex, the age and the ethnic origins of the interviewer have a bearing on the amount of information people are willing to divulge and their honesty about what they reveal”.

Denscombe argues that one way of avoiding the potential pitfalls of the interviewer effect is to conduct interviews by internet, which may be more productive and truthful, due to the lack of visual and verbal clues:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEW CATEGORY</th>
<th>INTERVIEWEE</th>
<th>INTERVIEW OBJECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOURNALISTS</td>
<td>Diego Carrión, Active national television journalist &amp; director of programming – Independent Spanish TV production house</td>
<td>Understand: - entrepreneurship and precariousness in journalism from the perspective of someone in the industry (private sector); its impact on the industry and the journalist - journalist employability attributes - current challenges for TV journalists - reaction to current Journalism degree programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cristina Crisol, Former digital news journalist – national publication</td>
<td>Understand: - entrepreneurship and precariousness in journalism from the perspective of someone in the industry (private sector); its impact on the industry and the journalist - journalist employability attributes - current challenges for print/digital journalists - reaction to current Journalism degree programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juan Carlos Cuevas, Active national state television journalist</td>
<td>Understand: - entrepreneurship and precariousness in journalism from the perspective of someone in the industry (public sector); its impact on the industry and the journalist - journalist employability attributes - reaction to current Journalism degree programmes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.1.2: Interviewees (journalists) and Interview Objectives
“The absence of visual and verbal clues, some researchers argue, democratizes the research process by equalizing the status of researcher and respondent, lowering the status differentials linked with sex, age, appearance and accent, and giving the participant greater control over the process of data collection”.

Such demonstrable research was considered carefully when it became apparent that two of the journalists were having difficulties in finding time in their busy schedules to meet me in person. The decision to combine face-to-face interviews with internet interviews was then taken. Such an approach additionally allowed me as a researcher to explore varied techniques for qualitative data collection, whilst securing valuable research data from carefully selected interviewees who could take the opportunity to respond to prepared questions at a time convenient to them.

9.2 The Survey

For the quantitative approach to this study, a survey was conducted. A key motivator for researchers using surveys is to collect data efficiently on a large scale. The availability of manageable software to conduct online surveys allows for data collection using minimal resources and which can be answered by multiple, purposefully selected individuals with access to a PC, Smartphone or tablet device and an internet connection.

The online survey was a late addition to the study and included to conduct comparative analysis. The analysis was originally conducted by the Universitat Jaume I de Castellón, Spain to evaluate the entrepreneurial attitude among university students. In the original survey 1,077 first-year undergraduate students participated in the survey during the 2009-2010 academic year, which revealed a “weak student entrepreneurial attitude” (Casero-Ripollés, A., & Cullell-March, C., 2013, p.681). It was decided to use this survey in its original form, without any modifications as it provides very clear questions regarding entrepreneurship; taking into consideration varying factors such as

- how entrepreneurship is perceived by the student
- the influence of family and friends towards a student’s desire to engage in entrepreneurial activity (Laspita & Bregust, 2012, argue that those with entrepreneurial families and friends are more likely to become entrepreneurs)
- personality traits linked to entrepreneurs such as tolerance to stress, autonomy, proactivity and innovative, which are just some of the traits
Rauch & Frese (2007) posit have a direct influence on an entrepreneurial attitude.

The results of the original survey were then used to design training methods for journalism students regarding entrepreneurship. To reuse this survey directly with students of Journalism provides the opportunity to identify the attitude that they have towards entrepreneurship, at a time when it is considered to be a key strength for newly qualified journalists seeking new professional opportunities in the field.

The survey is short and exclusively structured (Figure 9.2.1). The questions require the respondents to quantify their answers on a Likert scale of 7 (7 indicating the greatest persuasion on the scale); it is therefore an uncomplicated survey in its nature and does not encroach upon the respondent’s time, which was an important consideration as the sample consisted of university undergraduates and the survey was conducted in the final couple of weeks of the 2018-2019 academic year. It was important to be mindful of this important detail and the data collection did not distract them greatly from their studies at such a crucial time.

It should be acknowledged that there are weaknesses to surveys and that they may not always offer the depth a study may require (Denscombe, 2010). As explained, this survey was written by another researcher and making no modifications to it was an important element to it to be able to later compare results between university students spanning a nine-year period; a significant space of time in a ‘liquid’ society.

As indicated, the survey depends upon the use of the Likert scales to quantify answers. Likert scales traditionally contain an odd (and large) number for respondents to choose from. A researcher’s objective is to gather responses from their respondents that indicate a definite choice having been made. Garland (1991, p.66), states that a definite choice cannot be made when an odd number of options are available as there is a “neutral or intermediate point on a scale”, which could affect the “validity or reliability of the responses”. However, by choosing to use the survey in its original form the odd number on the Likert scale had to be accepted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>RESPONSE (1-7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Indicate how probable you believe it is that you will work as a salaried employee upon completion of your studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indicate how probable it is that you will create your own company either upon completion of your studies or whilst still studying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors that favour entrepreneurial intentions</td>
<td>To what extent do you believe that your close family members feel you should create your own company?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To what extent do you believe that your closest friends feel you should create your own company?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualities of the student sample that are associated with entrepreneurship</td>
<td>I can generate new ideas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can take risks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can manage situations of uncertainty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.2.1: Student Attitudes towards entrepreneurship survey questions

9.3 The Research Paradigm

Conducting mixed methods research is to aim to establish a more nuanced understanding of a phenomenon which may not have been possible by using only one approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The research paradigm, defined by Morgan (2007, p.49) as “systems of beliefs and practices that influence how researchers select both the questions they study and methods that they use to study them”, should therefore acknowledge and accommodate these complexities. The paradigm used in this study is, therefore, pragmatism.

Pragmatism is an “outcome-oriented paradigm, interested in determining the meaning of things” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2006 in Shannon-Baker, 2016) in addition to being a paradigm that allows the researcher to maintain both subjectivity in their own reflections on research and objectivity in data collection and analysis (Ibid., p.322). Figure 9.3.1 illustrates an overview of the pragmatism paradigm (Morgan, 2007). Morgan maps out characteristics of the paradigm such as its purposeful nature, which is to establish practical solutions to a problem. RQ1 asks to what extent ‘liquid journalism’ is reflected in the way journalism is taught in Spanish universities; a pragmatism paradigm allows a researcher to look at the problem and analyse potential solutions, based on the data collected. Additionally, pragmatism “utilizes transferability to consider the implications of research”, transferability referring to “the possible local and external connections that data can reveal about a phenomenon” (Jensen, 2008 in Shannon-Baker, 2016, p.326). This emphasis on transferability enables one to
understand ‘liquidity’ in journalism within the Spanish context from different perspectives. Such characteristics are clear examples of the suitability of this paradigm for the study at hand, using a mixed methods research approach.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSPECTIVE (Primary Source)</th>
<th>PRAGMATISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose for using</td>
<td>Determine practical solutions and meanings; useful for programmatic or invention-based studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characterised by</td>
<td>Emphasis on communication; shared meaning making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach to connecting theory to data</td>
<td>Connect theory before and after data collection (abduction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>Emphasises identifying practical solutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferences from data</td>
<td>Discuss transferability of results by determining level of context-specificity and study’s generalisability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for mixed methods research</td>
<td>Mixes characteristics of quantitative and qualitative approaches; identifies practical solutions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9.3.1: Pragmatism Paradigm (Adapted from: Morgan, 2007)*

9.4 The Sample

The sample for the qualitative interviews was 7 individuals, as detailed in figure 9.4.1. As Spain is home to both private and state universities, it was important that this was reflected in the interview sample. The identities of the universities are not revealed here, for reasons explained in the *Ethical Considerations* chapter. Interviewees were purposefully selected for the experience they hold, and which is directly connected to the key concepts being explored (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2006). There are numerous purposeful sampling strategies available when conducting qualitative research, all providing different purposes. Creswell & Plano Clark (Ibid., p.112) earmark one such strategy entitled “maximal variation sampling, in which individuals are chosen who hold different perspectives on the central phenomenon”. For this study, maximal variation sampling was the chosen strategy, given that each of the individuals interviewed occupies distinct positions within the categories they represent, as detailed in figure 9.4.1. The authors argue that by taking this approach to participant selectivity “their views will reflect this difference and provide a good qualitative study” (Ibid.).
The aim was to interview an equal number of individuals to represent each interviewee category, however securing interviews in some cases was somewhat challenging, resulting in unbalanced figures. Finally, the educator section is balanced in favour of educators at the private institution, as access to professionals there was easier than at the state institution. The initial objective was to interview an equal number from both the private and state education sector, but as interviewees were chosen for the differential positions they held, as previously argued, each interviewee could offer a unique perspective to the research. The sample of journalists is balanced, providing differing perspectives to the key concepts, and demonstrating an example of non-probability sampling which can be “used where the aim is to produce an exploratory sample rather than a representative cross-section of the population” (Denscombe, 2010, p.25).

The number of interviewees is equally as important as the selection of participants when conducting qualitative research. Choosing a reduced number of people to interview should, in theory, allow for in-depth information where participants can talk at length, whereas a larger number of interviewees may result in less unique detail. One should therefore take into account that “a key idea of qualitative research is to provide detailed views of individuals and the specific contexts in which they hold these views” (Ibid.); it is wise to decide upon the number of interviewees accordingly. Some researchers may choose to not place a restrictive number on the number of individuals to interview, but it is important to evaluate the amount of time one has for empirical research and be realistic about the quantity of data required for the study in question.
The sample for the quantitative survey consisted of 65 university undergraduate students of Journalism ranging from the first to the fourth year of their studies. Similarly, a relatively equal number of respondents were sought from both the state and private universities that form part of this study. Unfortunately, the final number of respondents was not 50-50 (state vs. private universities), as reflected in figure 9.4.2. The reason for this was that authorisation to distribute the survey in the state university took longer than expected. When the OK was given, it was towards the very end of the academic year and so many students had come to the end of their classes and were focussed on exams and final projects, hence the smaller sample. Regardless of the irregular sample, it was important to survey students from both areas of the Spanish higher education sector to determine differences and provide a more representative picture of attitudes towards entrepreneurship amongst Journalism students in Spain in 2019. The final totals for the respondents, divided by the status of institution is illustrated in figure 9.4.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEW CATEGORY</th>
<th>INTERVIEWEE &amp; INTERVIEW METHOD</th>
<th>DIFFERENTIAL POSITION WITHIN SAMPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATORS</td>
<td>Humberto Martínez-Fresneda</td>
<td>Director of Journalism degree &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(face-to-face audio recorded</td>
<td>professor – private Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interview)</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Francisco Javier Davara</td>
<td>Director of Studies (Journalism) &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(face-to-face audio recorded</td>
<td>professor – private Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interview)</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Javier Reyero</td>
<td>Active national television journalist &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(face-to-face audio recorded</td>
<td>professor of *Entrepreneurship for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interview)</td>
<td>Communication* – private Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria Rosique-Cedillo</td>
<td>Professor of Journalism &amp; former</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(face-to-face audio recorded</td>
<td>journalist – state Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>interview)</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOURNALISTS</td>
<td>Diego Carrión</td>
<td>Active national television journalist &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(interview questions and responses by E-mail)</td>
<td>director of programming – Independent Spanish TV production house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cristina Crisol</td>
<td>Former digital news journalist – national publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(interview questions and responses by E-mail)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juan Carlos Cuevas</td>
<td>Active national state television journalist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A gender discrepancy can be identified in the sample, where we can see that the total number female respondents outweighs male respondents by 24. The reason for this discrepancy is justified by the number of females enrolled on Journalism undergraduate degrees in Spain being greater than that of men (Goyanes, 2015), a fact confirmed by Martínez-Fresneda (2019). We can therefore observe a total gender distribution in the survey of 63% female to 37% male, which although is not a hugely balanced sample according to gender, it is a true representation of the gender balance of students enrolled in Journalism undergraduate degrees, in general, in Spain. The gender imbalance is represented in both the state and private universities (figure 9.4.3).
By taking a strategic approach to selection of the sample based upon institution status, it enabled me to observe differences and correlations between how undergraduate students from the state and private education systems view entrepreneurship in journalism, affording me the opportunity to test my hypotheses on what I expect their attitudes to be.

9.5 The Data Collection Process

The qualitative face-to-face interviews were directed and semi-structured. The directed approach was adopted as a constrained interview whereby questions were absolutely predetermined was not desirable. I wanted the interviews to be more of a conversational exchange whereby there was researcher freedom to construct questions based on the answers given in the interview itself (Layder, 2012; Denscombe, 2010). That said, it is important to not confuse the conversational nature of an exchange as being an actual conversation; it is still an interview. Denscombe (2010, p.173) argues that during conversational exchanges the researcher can be “lulled into a false sense of security” which can manifest itself in a relaxed “attitude to the planning, preparation and conduct of the method that would be unlikely were it to involve questionnaires or experiments”. Therefore, an interview guide was made before interviews were conducted with areas of topics to explore and some specific questions written down, although in some cases not all areas were covered, and questions were not necessarily asked in the same manner as featured in the interview guide. Appendix 1 is an example of one such guide which was used in the interview with Gloria Rosique-Cedillo.

The face-to-face interviews were conducted in the workplaces of the interviewees, in all but one of the cases in the participants’ offices. This was a strategic decision taken to ensure that interviewees felt as comfortable as possible in an environment they were familiar with, allowing them the latitude to speak freely in familiar surroundings. Additionally, it was important that they were not required to make the physical effort of travelling to a certain location to be interviewed; giving up between 30 to 60 minutes of their time (previously agreed time slots) was a generous enough gesture given that they were not remunerated or gifted anything for their contributions.

The face-to-face interviews were audio recorded, with permission granted beforehand, allowing for no notetaking but only dialogue and constant eye-contact with the interviewee which in turn aides to establish interest and trust. From a practical
standpoint, recording the interview prevents having to rely on memory for data analysis, which “as psychologists tell us; human memory is prone to partial recall, bias and error” (Ibid. p.186).

All face-to-face interviewees were presented with an interview consent form (*Appendix 2*), giving permission for what they said to be used for the research project. All participants happily signed the document and were offered copies for their own reference.

The interviewees who participated by internet (Carrión and Crisol), ultimately due to schedule conflicts preventing them from meeting in person, were sent questions (upon pre-agreement by e-mail) to respond to. These participants were given the option of typing their answers and returning the completed document by e-mail, or if time constraints were an important factor, responding to each question in an audio file and sending it via e-mail or *WhatsApp*. Both interviewees provided written responses and returned them via e-mail.

The interviews, both face-to-face and internet were conducted in Spanish, Spanish being the native language of all the contributors. The responses were subsequently transcribed (face-to-face) and carefully translated (face-to-face and internet) by myself (I am a bilingual Spanish speaker), ensuring that no nuanced meaning was lost in translation.

The quantitative survey was conducted online using *Google Forms* with the link for the survey being posted on the virtual learning platform they have for distinct subjects on their degree programmes (the survey link was e-mailed to Journalism teachers at both the state and private universities who agreed to pass the survey on to their students). The survey was conducted in Spanish and the results were then translated into English. Respondents were either Spanish native-speakers or Erasmus students with a minimum B2 level in Spanish, ensuring that each respondent had an opportunity to complete the survey without disadvantages of language barriers.

Students were asked if they wished to take part and it was made clear that completion of the survey was absolutely voluntary and of course, anonymous. Some teachers chose to conduct the survey during class time, given that response time was so short. Other teachers indicated the link to students and encouraged them to participate in their own time, if they so desired. Respondents could complete the survey using either a laptop PC, Smartphone or tablet, as the survey was exclusively online. All classrooms at both the state and private universities are equipped with Wi-Fi connections and all
students come to university with at least a Smartphone in their possession, therefore those wishing to participate in the survey had no inconveniences in doing so.

The data gathering of the quantitative survey was conducted without the presence of the researcher. Denscombe (2010) argues that when the researcher is present during the survey completion process, there is often a higher response uptake than in other types of surveys which are conducted independently by the respondents. Blaikie (2010, p.214) in contrast suggests that a researcher maintaining distance from the people being studied “is largely practised in the belief that it will ensure that objectivity is achieved”. In this case, researcher presence was not possible due to the onus being on the students’ teachers deciding when the survey would be conducted (either during class time or not). Therefore, providing physical presence for some but not all of respondents would have provided unequal survey completion conditions.

Once completion of the survey took place the results were downloaded from Google Forms into an Excel spreadsheet for analysis. The decision was taken to analyse the data directly from the spreadsheet using category filters and averages, and to not use an analytical software tool such as IBM’s SPSS. It is important to point out that analytical software tools can provide nuanced analysis of data, discovering correlations that can be easily omitted by the human eye, and in much data analysis I advocate using such tools, like SPSS. However, for the quantitative survey conducted for this study, the results that were (intentionally) focused on were the average scores for each item the respondents were asked to validate on a Likert scale of 7. The motivation for this was to provide a direct comparison between the original study conducted during the 2009-2010 academic year by the Universitat Jaume I de Castellón, Spain, and with my own results (figure 11.1.1). Additionally, the difference between responses provided by students from the state and private university systems in my own study (figure 11.1.2) focussed on the average scores, again to make direct comparisons. Should I have desired to focus on more nuanced information (for example; female respondents who claim to be risk takers yet less willing to create their own companies, regardless of how much family support they had), then using SPSS or a similar tool would certainly have been a logical step for data analysis. However, my manual analysis using category filters and averages was sufficient for the data I wanted to highlight.
9.6 Study Validation

My study builds upon previous research into the way Journalism degrees are taught in the Spanish university system, responding to the changing nature of journalism as an industry, and the utility of those changes as perceived by journalists working in the field. Previous research in this area is not very recent and given that the journalism industry is changing at such an accelerated pace, my study brings the academic research up to date.

My study additionally addresses *Entrepreneurial Journalism* as an academic subject and a professional practice by exploring the attitudes towards this concept held by Journalism undergraduates in Spanish state and private universities. The survey conducted with the undergraduate students is inspired by a similar survey conducted in 2012 at the *Universitat Jaume I de Castellón* in Spain of (unspecified degree) university undergraduate students. My understanding is that there is no other current research which investigates the attitudes towards entrepreneurial journalism of students specifically studying Journalism in Spain, and given that an entrepreneurial approach to journalism is an opportunity for employment in an industry marked by precarious work (Martínez-Fresneda, 2019; Reyero, 2019, Carrión, 2019 & Cuevas, 2019), it fills a research gap in this area and sets my study apart from existing research into approaches to journalism education in the Spanish market.
The research participants who form this study come from varied backgrounds; education professionals and students from both state and private Spanish universities and journalists from independent and state media organisations; in most cases, professionals holding high-profile positions in their field.

The identities of the respondents in the quantitative survey are not disclosed in this paper, nor were they disclosed at the time of survey completion; anonymity being guaranteed from the outset. This was an important factor to consider when distributing the survey to the university undergraduates of Journalism. The objective of the survey is to better understand the attitudes of the sample towards entrepreneurship in journalism, at a time when a strong grasp of entrepreneurial skills is considered to be an important advantage for the next wave of journalists. Under no circumstances was the survey intended to make the sample feel inadequate if they did not feel that an entrepreneurial approach to journalism was something that interested them or if they felt it be an unviable option for their futures.

The educators interviewed for the study come from both state and private Spanish universities and data collected from the interviews reveals that these two universities, although operating in the same country, have slightly different approaches to how Journalism is taught. Many factors including institutional identity and governmental obligations go some way to explaining these differences; however, it should be made clear that the objective of this study is not to pit university programmes against each other in order to suggest that some institutions do a superior job of training future journalists than others. It was made clear in the interviews that educators had been selected for the work they were doing and to offer their perspective; not to demonstrate how they outdo their potential competitors. Additionally, and very importantly, I am employed by one of the universities which features in the study. One could argue that my role within the institution could potentially limit the study in its integrity. However, my position as a researcher is impartial and in no way have I framed my study to favour the work of my employment institution over the other one. No institutional information gleaned from the interviews that could be considered to be sensitive is presented in the research paper; ensuring that no participant’s professional positions are in any way compromised.
Similarly, the journalists interviewed represent diverse areas of Spanish journalism, from both the public and private sector. I would argue that journalists are more aware than most interview participants that what they say should be said with care and calculation. However, it was important to protect the integrity of the organisations they work for when asking direct questions relating to how their employers approach journalism in the current climate. This ethical approach to questioning enabled the interviewees to respond freely without feeling they were being pushed into a corner, again aiming to gain insight from the professionals without compromising them.
11. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

11.1 Journalism Education

The main research question in this study is (RQ1): *To what extent is ‘liquid journalism’ reflected in the way journalism is taught in Spanish universities?*

Deuze’s notion of ‘liquidity’ (2006) relies upon the given circumstance that to be ‘liquid’ means, amongst other things, to embody a flexible approach to journalism, whereby traditional structures are broken down, enabling a more efficient adaptation to changing market needs. Regarding journalism education, the practice of standardising course content has become the norm worldwide (Deuze, 2006a), much to the concern of many scholars. In Spain, the Bologna Agreement implies a degree of standardising across Journalism degree programmes in Europe, for the reasons explained in Chapter 6, and it is here where true ‘liquidity’, I posit, is impeded from being omnipresent in Spanish Journalism programmes. Humberto Martínez-Fresneda, Director and Professor of Journalism at a private Spanish university says:

“we try to adjust the study plan to fit the market, but a study plan is not a blank page where you can just put down whatever you want. There are ministerial obligations you must comply with, such as the subjects of ‘Language’ and ‘History’. You end up with a small section of the degree whereby you can put subjects related to television, multimedia, marketing, theory etc. I’d love to add more content that deals with entrepreneurship for example, but I just don’t have the space to do that” (Martínez-Fresneda, interview, 2019)

We can therefore see that standardisation actually gets in the way of offering a truly tailored degree in journalism that is wholly reflective of the current market demands and consumer habits. However, to view the standardisation of journalism programmes as completely negative would be to serve it an injustice, as what standardisation does aim to ensure is that there is a similar calibre of course demands available to potential journalists, regardless of geographical location.

In addition to exterior political factors hindering journalism education in Spain from exuberating a more ‘liquid’ approach, the advocation of maintaining and reinforcing core subjects within university programmes (by journalism educators), is also a stalling factor in achieving increased ‘liquidity’. Journalism educators present valid arguments for this and Francisco Javier Davara, Director of Studies and Professor
of Journalism at a private Spanish university states that as a result of previous changes to high school education systems, students are generally entering university with an inferior level to in previous years (interview, 2019). This argument is also affirmed by Gloria Rosique-Cedillo, Journalism Professor and former journalist at a state Spanish university who echoes Davara when saying that students arrive with “insufficient reading and writing skills, the quality has fallen…we should add more compulsory subjects in this area because I don’t think there are currently enough” (interview, 2019). These observations support Sánchez’s (2013) arguments about the need to maintain core subjects whilst at the same time catering for a multi-faceted market.

Rosique-Cedillo (Ibid.) does insist that striking the right balance between old and new is most certainly at the forefront of how they train future journalists and that they try to teach an “ideal version of journalism, as the market does define a lot of it”. It is here that one can recognise how the notion of ‘liquid journalism’ is, in part, present in Spanish universities, although only up to a point that they can allow for it; compromising on traditional journalism subjects appears far from the educators’ ambitions. Rosique-Cedillo, although a supporter of placing emphasis on core subjects, posits that when approaching how to teach journalism to students

“you cannot lose touch with the reality of the market. You must always teach them how to do things properly, and execute ethical journalism, but knowing the market they are going to be working in, we can’t only think of our own agenda, we must pay attention to the employment market, because not doing so is not good for them” (Ibid.)

To actively seek to reflect the ‘liquid’ nature of journalism in education, educators can adopt two approaches; plan ahead in study plans or be adaptable during up-and-running courses. Martinez-Fresneda states that the challenges when designing and planning the content of a Journalism degree programme are substantial. The pace of change in the journalism industry is so much so that universities cannot possibly run at the same speed, it is logistically and bureaucratically impossible: “to make changes to the study plan for the academic year 2025-2026, I need to act now because there are processes that need to be respected” (Ibid.). Rosique-Cedillo (Ibid.) claims that if this is the reality for private universities, “in state universities the bureaucracy is greater; and changes imply a revolution that is reflected in future years”. Such postulations confirm the hypothesis (H1) that bureaucratic matters would interfere with universities being
able to move at a similar pace to that which can be seen in the journalism industry; they simply do not have the ability to make major structural changes, even if that is out of line with the reality in the industry.

One solution to this challenge is to be generic when naming academic subjects and being flexible with approaches to content to allow for the true nature of the journalism industry (at that time) to shine through in university teaching. This strategy is one that appears to work both in the state and private education sectors in Spain, whereby freedom is acquired by allowing subjects to be as adaptable as possible to the ever-changing market:

“There are subjects called ‘New Tools’. What does that mean? Nothing; it’s whatever I want to put there. The same goes for ‘Social Media Management’, which could focus on YouTubers etc.” (Martínez-Fresneda, Ibid.)

“If you name a subject as being about Instagram, maybe in four years’ time Instagram may not be as important as it is now” (Davara, Ibid.).

“Outside of officialdom and changes, it is the teacher that needs to sow the seeds of thought regarding the other professional opportunities that await the students, and we of course have that flexibility. If we don’t reflect content changes in our classes, then some subjects will be rendered obsolete, so certain concepts that we don’t teach officially, like entrepreneurship, we still have an obligation to touch upon, because if we don’t, students will graduate with limitations” (Rosique-Cedillo, Ibid.)

We can therefore see that there is a strong commitment by educators to try to reflect the ‘liquid’ nature of journalism by adapting content, as much as they are able to and feel is appropriate, to provide students with a realistic vision of the industry, as it stands. I argue that educators appear resolute in their decisions to provide what they think is best for a student of journalism; there is a profession with a long and rich history to protect. Although it is evident that journalism education in Spain is beginning to reflect the ‘liquid’ nature that the profession now embodies, it is yet to wholly embrace it. However, the Spanish education system proposes to prepare students by providing them with solid training to maintain the principles of the profession, whilst also opening the debate about what the journalism of today should be.
11.2 The Journalism Industry

Goyanes (2015) and Pampliega (2012) lament on the changing nature of the industry of journalism in Spain, which they claim has made the practice of journalism challenging, with untold obstacles that take away the shine from what should be an industry one is proud to play a part in. This bitter pill to swallow is an experience corroborated by Cristina Crisol, a former digital news journalist for a Spanish national publication who worked throughout the global financial crisis period and recalls what she saw, tinged with sadness:

“What I saw from 2008 onwards was how less and less people were hired. We only worked with interns who would never end up being given contracts. They did their internships with energy and enthusiasm, hoping they’d be able to continue working there, and some of them were really excellent at what they did. Afterwards, they were laid off to make way for new interns, and that’s how it worked, repeatedly. They worked as journalists, just like the rest of us who took home a salary, yet they were given just €300 (per month)” (Crisol, interview, 2019).

Crisol’s observations challenge Schudson’s (2010) idea that where there is crisis, there is opportunity for journalists; the interns that Crisol came across were exploited for their talents, leaving journalists like her in the difficult situation of working with people who were treated unethically.

It is at this point that RQ2 should be addressed: How do the notions of ‘liquidity’ in Spanish journalism present themselves and what does this mean for practitioners of journalism?

Referring to Bauman’s (2005, p.1) argument about change within ‘liquid’ societies and how that change occurs faster than one can “consolidate into habits and routines”, in journalism, sudden changes in working conditions, such as those suffered by Spanish journalists during the financial crisis resulted in “having to work at a great speed to be able to produce more content” (Crisol, 2018). This is a direct result of reducing staff numbers and an illustration of restructuring and adoption of ‘liquidity’ within the industry. A pressing concern of working at such great speed is the impact on the quality of the content as Katherine Viner of The Guardian claims. Crisol indicates that Viner’s viewpoint is something which rings very true in her own personal experience, confirming that: “the content deteriorated as it couldn’t be passed over for revision; in many cases there were spelling and grammatical errors”. Additionally, “the
fight for the number of clicks within online journalism mean prominence is placed upon headlines and content where the SEO (search engine optimisation) is more important than the story being told” (Ibid.).

There is a clear sense of frustration at some of these changes to the journalism industry, one’s integrity is at times being compromised, which as hypothesised (H2), must surely affect a professional’s morale when faced with such changes to working conditions beyond an individual’s control.

However, changes can either be rejected or embraced, depending on the individual. Crisol suggests that the most important challenges for the journalist of today is having to be multiskilled. For her, this worked very much in her favour. As someone who claims to have always liked learning new technology related to journalism, the demand to be multiskilled was seen as an advantage, which she relished, to be able to “adapt to the needs of the era…I had no problems in getting to grips with the changes that happened in journalism” (Ibid.). Diego Carrión, an active television journalist and news content director, is equally as positive regarding the opportunity to learn new skills. Stating that the journalist of today needs to be “able to carry out tasks which are not strictly journalistic, such as production and editing”, he reflects that this blurring of the job description in ‘liquid’ times has allowed him to “learn how to do basic editing, which has opened many doors for me professionally” (Carrion, interview, 2019).

When considering the need to be multiskilled as a journalist we must question what impact this has on the profession and the individual. Crisol attests that new skill-demands mean that “specialisation in themes or specific types of journalism is now more blurred” (Ibid.) This is not just a problem amongst active journalists. Javier Reyero, Spanish national TV journalist and Journalism Professor, claims that this is a problem which is more deep-seated than merely being a result of demands placed upon journalists by their respective editors, but a problem which is noticeable much earlier on, in university undergraduates; “it’s difficult for them (the students) to understand being a specialist in particular themes. For example, if you are a specialist in your neighbourhood and you know that the people in that neighbourhood have a particular interest in it, you have an objective” (Reyero, interview, 2019). This is a good starting point in aiming to differentiate oneself from the competition, which in a new ‘liquid’ journalism, is plentiful. As Deuze (2016) argues, new skills and tactics are required by the journalist for longevity in the industry, and specialisation is one way of achieving this.
Therefore, we can witness that notions of ‘liquidity’ are present in Spanish journalism and the result is that there is a tangible impact upon the way journalists conduct their jobs, both positive and negative.

11.3 Entrepreneurial Journalism – An Educator and Journalist perspective

Central to the notion of ‘liquid journalism’ is entrepreneurial journalism, which truly embodies new approaches to practice the profession. RQ3 asks *What are the challenges of ‘entrepreneurial journalism’ and how comfortably does it sit in the Spanish context?* To answer this question, the results are separated by groups, first the educators and journalists, then the students where data collected in the quantitative survey is reflected upon.

Results from the qualitative interviews garnered a mixture of both recognition of the existence of entrepreneurial journalism in the industry, lauding the positive impact of start-ups, and scepticism of what this could mean for the industry. Cohen (2015) highlights the emphasis on technology that is attributed to entrepreneurial journalism and refers to some of the success that well-established journalists have achieved by moving into “well-funded online journalism outlets”. In Spain, a very similar pattern has developed, one which Spanish TV Journalist Juan Carlos Cuevas feels is very positive for Spanish journalism:

“a few years ago, it was unthinkable to try and be a journalist outside of the big publications like ‘El Pais’, ‘El Mundo’, the ‘BBC’ etc., unthinkable. But now there are serious successful journalists that don’t work for the big media companies. The big companies have lost a lot of power and that power has been transferred to the smaller media companies, or tiny companies which were born out of social media. This is far more democratising as it means all the information is not based on a few larger media groups” (interview, 2019).

Attitudes across the board are not all so positive though and Francisco Javier Davara is more sceptical about the trend of flourishing start-ups in Spanish journalism:

“there is a lot of entrepreneurship in digital media of all types, but they come and go. There are well-known journalists that move over to new media initiatives and then later, disappear. All of the successful small projects end up forming part of a bigger company later” (interview, 2019).
Davara’s scepticism surrounding the manifestation of entrepreneurship in journalism is not an isolated opinion that was provided within the qualitative interviews. Diego Carrión, who pointed out the opportunities a more ‘liquid’ form of journalism had afforded him, was keen to say that when learning about entrepreneurship academically, in preparation for becoming a practitioner of journalism, a more realistic approach should be taken regarding the priorities of what journalism students should be taught at university:

“I consider that the practical elements of the journalism profession are by far more important than the theoretical ones. Training and practice in recording reports and in-depth investigative pieces should take priority over entrepreneurship” (interview, 2019).

Carrión’s comments confirm the hypothesis (H3) that there does exist a disconnect between what is taught academically and what is practiced in the field from the perspective of the journalist. However, this is not a blanket perspective. Crisol argues that in order to cater for the digital market, “fast” journalism is being taught to accommodate this. The breakdown in structures in how journalism is produced and consumed has changed the way a journalist works (Ibid.), which “is detrimental to journalism which requires measured research and time to contrast sources”. Therefore, the ‘liquid’ approach to journalism is fundamentally impacting the profession and the professional.

Something that became clear from the qualitative interviews was the pressure journalists feel now to be involved in promoting their own work and engaging with their audience, adopting roles of marketers as well as journalists. Cuevas (Ibid.) explains that “where once the newspaper used to take care of your image, now the journalist is responsible for it”. Cuevas’ insight into the industry has taught him that having a digital presence is fundamental for journalists operating in a ‘liquid’ industry, as attested by Carr (2014). Cuevas says he is happy to use his own personal social media to promote the programme he works on, although he could do more. Cuevas recognises that by directly engaging with the audience via social media allows you to

“promote your work, lure viewers to watch your reports, creating expectation and debate. Another tool available to us now that we didn’t used to have, and one that I don’t do but really, I should, is to keep an eye on social media whilst the programme is being broadcast, making the programme more interactive and closer to the audience. You have to be aware that people may be critical of your
work, people criticise everything and it can be harmful and even painful, but you can’t give up because of that” (ibid).

One of the more worrying aspects of entrepreneurial journalism, amongst both educators and journalists is the problem of precariousness in the industry, which appears to be on the rise. Carrión demonstrates enormous concern towards this direct consequence of journalism becoming ‘liquid’ when he says precariousness is a significant issue for journalists and the industry alike:

“when you have to change companies or projects every 3 months, you can’t possibly internalise the mechanics of a job or the company. You can’t progress performance-wise and you can’t form an identity with your company or channel and the corresponding superiors. For the industry, the impact of this is huge. Constant labour turnover results in people not being as productive as they should be, regardless of how much experience they have. This is because of a lack of affiliation with the company or the project which affects one’s motivation; people know they have an expiry date” (Ibid.)

This is an ugly reality for practitioners of journalism in the industry now and something which I hypothesise (H4) they simply must accept as the new status quo, regardless of whether they agree with it or not.

11.4 Entrepreneurial Journalism – A Student Perspective

As previously explained, the quantitative survey was originally conducted during academic year 2009-2010 amongst undergraduate students from unspecified degree programmes. To compare the results with those from the survey conducted for this study, which is made up exclusively of students studying Journalism, is rather telling regarding attitudes towards entrepreneurship. Figure 11.1.1 reveals that if we were to compare current attitudes towards entrepreneurship held by Journalism students to that of other university students from 10 years ago, we note very little change. I posit that there is a clear link with the results illustrated in the White Paper on Entrepreneurship in Spain (Alemany et al., 2011) which argue that a lack of promotion of entrepreneurial activity in Spain and a palpable fear of social rejection if one fails in business, mean that it is logical that student attitudes to entrepreneurship, especially the perception of it, are negative; it is ingrained in their culture.
The only question that garners any marginal significance in the results is when ‘managing situations of uncertainty’ are put to the fore. Here we can see a 0.17 increase compared to in the original survey, thus reflecting some awareness of a fluctuating employment market and preparation to have to respond to the unplanned.

Javier Reyero, professor of ‘Entrepreneurship for Communication’ agrees that cultural factors affect the way entrepreneurship is seen and embraced by students when he says that “culturally in Spain, we are very conservative. ‘Change’ scares the Spanish and that isn’t going to change any time soon, and entrepreneurship goes against this current” (Ibid.). Rosique-Cedillo echoes these sentiments when positing that history has influenced attitudes:

“Spain has had a very long dictatorship whereby the notion of everything being resolved for you (such as health etc.), exists. This doesn’t happen in other countries like in Latin America; there people understand that things will not be sorted out for you and that they need to do that themselves. As a result, there are more initiatives and a state of survival. This is what makes people more entrepreneurial” (Ibid.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>CASERO-RIPOLLES SURVEY 2009-2010</th>
<th>FOLEY-RYAN SURVEY 2018-2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Indicate how probable you believe it is that you will work as a salaried employee upon completion of your studies</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indicate how probable it is that you will create your own company either upon completion of your studies or whilst still studying</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors that favour entrepreneurial intentions</td>
<td>To what extent do you believe that your close family members feel you should create your own company?</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>3.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To what extent do you believe that your closest friends feel you should create your own company?</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>3.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualities of the student sample that are associated with entrepreneurship</td>
<td>I can generate new ideas</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can take risks</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>4.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can manage situations of uncertainty</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>4.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.1.1: Results Comparison between Original 2012 Survey amongst Unspecified-degree University Undergraduates and 2019 Journalism University Undergraduates (Average Scores out of 7)
Where very interesting results can be found from the survey is when comparisons are made between the responses given, according to the institutions the students pertain from. Of the two universities that make up the sample for the survey, only one of them formally teaches any kind of entrepreneurship in its programme; the private institution. To compare the data from the two institutions reveals a significant difference in attitudes towards entrepreneurship, with students from the private university embracing entrepreneurship significantly more than their state university counterparts (figure 11.1.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>STATE UNIVERSITY 2018-2019</th>
<th>PRIVATE UNIVERSITY 2018-2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Indicate how probable you believe it is that you will work as a salaried employee upon completion of your studies</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indicate how probable it is that you will create your own company either upon completion of your studies or whilst still studying</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors that favour entrepreneurial intentions</td>
<td>To what extent do you believe that your close family members feel you should create your own company?</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>4.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To what extent do you believe that your closest friends feel you should create your own company?</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualities of the student sample that are associated with entrepreneurship</td>
<td>I can generate new ideas</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can take risks</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>5.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can manage situations of uncertainty</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>5.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11.1.2: Results Comparison between State and Private Journalism University Undergraduates 2019 Survey (Average Scores out of 7)

As the survey was structured and respondents were not given the opportunity to offer any additional information, I hypothesise (H5) that students from the private institution demonstrate a more positive attitude towards entrepreneurship because they have lived experience of it. The private university in question offers many degree courses which have an average annual cost of €8,350. Many of the students’ parents successfully run businesses in Spain and abroad. This surely influences the positive attitude towards entrepreneurship that their offspring have; when one sees the results of something at home, the idea that your own future could reap similar success is more realistic, hence the unequal attitudes between state and private Journalism students.
12. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the qualitative and quantitative research, we can identify that Deuze’s (2006) notion of journalism being ‘liquid’ is reflected in certain areas of Spanish journalism.

The Spanish journalism industry, having experienced major upheaval since the global financial crisis which took hold in 2008, presents clear signs of being ‘liquid’. The working conditions of journalists have changed greatly over the last decade and journalists now expect their professional lives to be marred by precarious contracts, having to produce content faster, self-promotion of their work (and that of their publication), assuming roles that were once far from what was expected of a journalist and in some cases, even having to set up their own business concerns to secure work for themselves. Some of these factors are well received within the industry; learning new skills promotes professional development and working for oneself provides a higher degree of autonomy and personal satisfaction. Yet lack of employment security and compromised integrity are more difficult factors to digest, thus affecting the morale of the people enlisted with informing the public of what is happening in society – an important role in democratic societies and one that should not be taken for granted.

Regarding the way journalism is taught at university level, ‘liquidity’ is less evident. As some scholars have argued, and as this study illustrates, journalism education in Spain is not wholly reflective of the ‘liquid’ nature of the industry. There is some obvious resistance to fully embracing what the market is demanding and given the pace at which the market of journalism is indeed changing, this is a rather astute strategy. Education professionals exhibit a clear passion for maintaining the core values of journalism and what individuals need to learn to be able to pass on those core values to the next generation of journalists. To not fully embrace a ‘liquid’ approach to journalism education demonstrates integrity on the educators’ part; after all, journalism is currently in a new phase and until we see the longer-term impact of that phase, prudence is wise. An important task when studying journalism education would be to conduct deep analysis of the results of the effect of the Bologna Agreement; the new study plans are still in the early days of being rolled out. Any major changes to the way journalism is taught should be first informed by this analysis.

Students of journalism in Spain are largely fearful of entrepreneurship and there are cultural factors that influence this. More exposure to and promotion of
entrepreneurship are crucial for all industries in Spain, not just journalism; with that, many exciting employment opportunities may present themselves and the concept of entrepreneurial journalism could be fully embraced.

As this study focuses on how ‘liquid’ journalism is reflected in certain areas of Spanish journalism, therefore accepting its existence and not arguing against it, Deuze’s theory of ‘liquid journalism’ is a strong framework for the study. One could argue that the importance of university student attitudes towards entrepreneurship in journalism within the study could warrant the inclusion of entrepreneurial journalism as an additional strand to the theoretical framework. However, as ‘entrepreneurial journalism’ is in itself an example of ‘liquidity’ within journalism, the decision to support the whole study with the theory of ‘liquid journalism’ was taken, and has proved to be sufficiently robust.

Future research in this field could be to measure the success of journalism students who do decide to engage in entrepreneurial activity. Their success and its impact on Spanish journalism could be analysed to evaluate to what extent entrepreneurial journalism is important to the industry, as a whole. It is only by developing a deeper understanding of this question can we make a strong case for modifying journalism course content at university level to bring the academic proposal closer in line with journalism in practice.
13. BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Davara, FJ. (2019). Interview with Director of Studies (Journalism Degree) and professor, Francisco Javier Davara.


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APPENDIX 1: Interview Guide Used with Interviewee Gloria Rosique-Cedillo

- What subjects have you removed that you would like to have kept, but have now become obsolete?
- Resistance - what subjects have you reluctantly held onto?
- How much does the degree programme influence the profession and vice-versa?
- What and now... significant changes?
- Entrepreneurial element - importance given to business content and personal branding outside of those specific subjects
- Do degrees sufficiently prepare students for the current job market or are post-grad programmes a must?
- Do their news consumption habits inform what they want to achieve professionally?
- Writing skills... any changes at entry level over the last 25 years? Do short messages encouraged by digital media have an impact on this?
- Entrepreneurial nature... how does this manifest itself in the profession? Advantageous or damaging?
- Much content is written by unqualified individuals; citizen journalism, columnists etc. Is there room for everyone? What are the main threats to the industry?
- Long-form journalism - a desirable proposition?
- What expectations do they have when they start and how realistic are they?
- Entrepreneurial element - are they aware or prepared for the challenges of entrepreneurial journalism? How positively do they see this reality?
APPENDIX 2: Face-to-face Interviewee Consent Form

THESIS WORKING TITLE: Journalism; education, entrepreneurship and long-form reporting

Consent to take part in research

I……………………………………………..… voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.

I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.

I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I understand that participation involves a face-to-face interview, the content of which will be used to support the researcher’s thesis.

I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.

I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.

I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous (if I request so). This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.

I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained in the possession of the researcher, Matthew Foley-Ryan until the examination board confirms the results of the thesis.

I understand that a transcript of my interview in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained for a period of two years from the date of the examination board.

I understand that under freedom of information legalisation I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.

I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information (University of Malmö, Media & Communication Studies department)

Signature of research participant

---------------------------------------------------------  ---------------
Signature of research participant  Date

Signature of researcher
I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

---------------------------------------------------------  ---------------
Signature of researcher  Date