

INNOVATION JOURNALISM: a multiple concept

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ABSTRACT - Thinking about the journalistic activity beyond its traditional forms is a recurrent practice in contemporary journalism. The plurality of audiences, behaviors and technologies challenge the classic models of journalism in a way that encourages innovation in different aspects of the activity. However, the term innovation is being broadly applied without rigorous and interesting delimitation to the academic environment. In this sense, we propose in this article initial directions under which aspects it is possible to understand the journalism innovation. It starts from the original concept in the field of Economics and Management to expand its meaning to the Social Sciences and Journalism. We expose three instances in which contemporary journalism already has changes, to understand the journalism as a process and product, which are: 1) content and narrative, 2) technology and format and 3) business model. In addition to this segmentation, some initiatives are presented to illustrate each sub-category and to design an updated concept about innovation journalism.

Key words: Journalism. Innovation. Innovation Journalism.

JORNALISMO DE INOVAÇÃO: um conceito múltiplo

RESUMO - - Pensar a atividade jornalística para além de suas formas tradicionais é uma prática já recorrente no jornalismo contemporâneo. A pluralidade de públicos, comportamentos e tecnologias desafiam os modelos clássicos do jornalismo em um movimento que incentiva a inovação em diferentes aspectos da atividade. No entanto, o termo inovação vem sendo aplicado de forma ampla sem um rigor e delimitação interessantes para a pesquisa em jornalismo. Nesse sentido, propomos no presente artigo direcionamentos iniciais sob quais aspectos podemos compreender o jornalismo de inovação. Partimos da origem do conceito na área da Economia e Administração para ampliar seu sentido nas Ciências Sociais e no próprio Jornalismo como atividade. Expomos três instâncias das quais o jornalismo contemporâneo já apresenta novidades para entender o jornalismo de inovação como processo e produto, quais sejam: 1) conteúdo e narrativa, 2) tecnologia e formato, e 3) modelo de negócio. Para complementar essa segmentação, apresentamos algumas iniciativas a fim de ilustrar cada subcategoria e projetar uma conceituação atualizada de jornalismo de inovação.

Palavras-chave: Jornalismo. Inovação. Jornalismo de inovação.

PERIODISMO DE INNOVACIÓN: un concepto múltiple

RESUMEN - Pensar la actividad periodística más allá de sus formas tradicionales ya es una práctica habitual en el periodismo contemporáneo. La pluralidad de públicos, las conductas y las tecnologías desafían los modelos clásicos del periodismo en un movimiento que fomenta la innovación en diferentes aspectos de la actividad. Sin embargo, se aplica la palabra innovación en términos generales, sin una delimitación rigurosa e interesante para las investigaciones. En este sentido, proponemos en este artículo las direcciones iniciales en las que puedan entender aspectos del periodismo de innovación. Partimos del concepto de origen en el campo de la Economía y Gestión para ampliar su significado en las Ciencias Sociales y en el Periodismo. Se exponen tres casos de los cuales el periodismo contemporáneo ya presenta características para comprender el periodismo de innovación como proceso y producto, tales como: 1) el contenido y la narrativa, 2) la tecnología y formato, y 3) modelo de negocio. Además de esta segmentación, se presentan algunas iniciativas para ilustrar cada subcategoría y el diseño de un concepto actualizado de periodismo de innovación.

Palabras clave: Periodismo. Innovación. Periodismo de Innovación.

1 Innovation is nothing new

The journalistic scene in its totality has been experiencing increasingly rapid, intense and challenging modifications for the area. The convergent culture associated with continuous novelties, whether it is from a technological nature, or of public behavior, are catalysts of innovations in the field; and this is not considered exactly "new." By perceiving the very essence of the flow of journalism, it is possible to see that in some sense, innovation has always been part of the activity. Contemporarily, the central issue is to delimit the very concept of innovation, to mirror its meaning and practices in journalism. It is known that not every change is an innovation, but every innovation requires change (Hargie & Tourish, 1996). In this sense, the innovation was initially understood as a constant phenomenon in the search for something new. With this, journalism would resemble itself as the way to renew itself, having its fundamental fuel in the novelty. According to Otto Groth (2011), its essence is summarized in four pillars, namely: 1) Periodicity, 2) Universality, 3) Actuality and 4) Diffusion or Publicity. In this sense, it was possible to return to the idea of "new-present" (Groth, 2011) that unites the information characteristic of qualitative order - which the public is not yet aware of - with the temporal characteristic of Actuality.

Another important point to consider is to understand the idea of innovation as multiple in its senses and, because of this, there is no unique approach to the term (Koulopoulos, 2011). Initially disseminated by the areas of Economics and Management, innovation is not necessarily understood as an invention, but as a new combination of existing ideas, skills and resources. The main goal of innovation is to have greater profitability in organizations (Schumpeter, 1985). Understanding it as a process, innovation is a specific tool of entrepreneurship, generating resources in a new capacity to produce wealth (Drucker, 2002). Another fairly clear concept of innovation is brought in by David O'Sullivan and Lawrence Dooley (2009):

Innovation is the process of making changes, large and small, radical and incremental, to products, processes, and services that results in the introduction of something new for the organization that adds value to customers and contributes to the knowledge store of the organization. (O'Sullivan & Dooley, 2009, p. 5)

Innovation is based on constant processes and its own concept has undergone changes. Some authors have discussed an approach beyond innovation: re-innovation; This basically means rethinking the way value is created, restructuring services and products already available (Koulopoulos, 2011). It is understood that innovating and re-innovating are concepts of the same order, because in its nature innovation is not a fixed or unique formula, but a constant movement. It is interesting to note that in the areas related to Communication and Journalism, innovation suggests being more perceived in a qualitative way than in terms of profit margin, efficiency and results. "The Social Communication seems more likely to consider 'innovation' according to its effects, impacts, appropriation and social benefit.[...] an innovation does not necessarily mean something new, but rather something that people perceive as novelty [...]". (Giacomini Filho & Santos, 2008, p.16).

It is also important to highlight the proposal published by the British authors Dave Francis and John Bessant (2005) that delimits the innovation from four administrative aspects, called 4Ps of innovation: 1) Product Innovation (P1) 2) Process Innovation (P2), 3) Positioning Innovation (P3) and 4) Paradigmatic Innovation (P4). Categories 1) and 2) account for the most notorious characteristics of innovation, the first focused on what the company offers,

product or service, and the second on how the organization creates and delivers those products or services, process. Points 3) and 4) focus on a more comprehensive perspective, involving the (re) definition of the positioning of the company or its products, while P4 defines or redefines the dominant paradigm of the company, including its values and business models. The purpose of this delimitation is to holistically grasp the whole of what innovation is and to organize it under the strategic and economic aspect of the corporate management. Based on this proposal by Francis and Bessant (2005), the Norwegian researchers Tanja Storsul and Arne H. Krumsvik (2013) related it to the media innovation including another extremely important aspect when communications and journalism are considered: the social dimension. The authors stated:

[...] the four Ps are not sufficient for describing all kinds of media innovation. The innovative use of media and communication services for social purposes does not necessarily imply new product or services, but could also concern using existing services or products creatively to promote social objectives. We therefore add social innovation as a fifth type of innovation in order to conceptualise media innovation. [...] Thus, media innovation includes four Ps and one S: Product innovation, Process innovation, Position innovation, Paradigmatic innovation and Social innovation. (Storsul & Krumsvik, 2013, p. 17)

Just as innovation from the perspective of the administrative and economic area does not include all the characteristics of the media innovation, the media innovation itself has limitations when considering the innovation journalism. It is interesting to note the slight distinction between the expressions “innovation in journalism” and “innovation journalism”. Innovation journalism always brings innovation in journalism, for example: include in the reporting team, game designers, computer graphics or audio editors to create legitimately convergent products. On the other hand, not every innovation in journalism is considered innovation journalism, since it may be strictly related to a technological or administrative aspect, without an immediate and relevant consequence for the practical journalistic field. This case can be illustrated by switching the broadcast signal on television systems from analog to digital. It is also an innovation for journalism, with the improvement of image and audio quality, but this innovation does not substantially alter the journalistic products to the point of being considered innovation journalism.

With this, it is possible to understand that journalism, even belonging to the great area of social communication, has in its nature particularities not necessarily common to the various manifestations of the media. In this sense, to specifically delimit what is understood as Innovation Journalism, three typologies of the contemporary scenario are presented.

2 Innovation Journalism

To delimit the concept of innovation journalism, it is necessary to explain the difference between *innovation journalism* and journalism *on* innovation. The journalism *on* innovation is the one that has as its main theme the technical, legal, business, political, and system innovations (Nordfors, 2004) presented on any platforms and in any traditional journalistic languages.

When talking about innovation in journalism, the most recurrent idea is that associated with technology. We agree with the authors Tanja Storsul and Arne H. Krumsvik (2013), when they affirm, from a media perspective, that they understand “media innovation as a research field beyond the question of how to manage technological changes.” (2013, p.13). Although essential to the innovation journalism, the technological innovation is not solely responsible for the changes in the field. Carlos Eduardo Franciscato (2010) also understands that:

The technological innovation in journalism [...] cannot be considered as an isolated investment in industrial modernization, but also characterized as a contribution that modifies the journalist's work routines and processes, as well as the profile and quality of the journalistic product. (Franciscato, 2010, p.12).

In this sense, the innovation journalism is one that necessarily passes through modifications in techniques, technologies, processes, languages, formats and devices intended to enhance the production and consumption of the journalistic information (Machado, 2010). Another important point to delimit the innovation journalism is to understand that the basic processes of the journalistic practice - verification, checking, writing, editing and dissemination, for example - are maintained. However, each step of this process may undergo innovation-related changes. These changes occur separately

or in association, focused on the process and/or on the product, being characterized as innovation journalism.

Since the popularization of online journalism in the mid-1990s, followed by new languages, platforms and convergent essays, it is possible to identify innovative lines in journalism. In addition to its generations, the online journalism manifests itself as a convergent current, already indicated by authors like Roger Fidler (1997) and Nicholas Negroponte (1995) when dealing with the convergence of media and its influence in the media. What these movements suggest is that the online journalism was understood, in its emergence, as a segmentation of traditional journalism: with its characteristics oriented to the digital environment with short and shallow text, but immediate, for example. As for the concept of convergent journalism, in “substitution” to the online journalism, it is a more current and innovative perspective, which gathers and hybridizes all the news processes, regardless of the platform of publication. Thus, it is emphasized that innovation journalism is not a specialized type of journalism, but rather a possible behavior in any sphere of the activity and probably a natural flow of part of the contemporary journalistic practice.

We agree with the Finnish researchers Erkki Kauhanen and Elina Noppari (2007) in understanding innovation journalism as a methodological attitude that can be applied in all areas of journalism. For Kauhanen and Noppari (2007), the innovation journalism is clearly *future-oriented* and uses conceptual methods and tools of future research.

[...] innovation journalism may benefit greatly from the methodology of future research, like scenario methods, trend analysis, weak signals, delphi panels and the like. At minimum an innovation journalist should know and understand these methods and be able to use the information so produced. (Kauhanen & Noppari, 2007, p.23)

In addition, Kauhanen and Noppari (2007) argue that innovation journalism perceives innovation itself as a process: circular, cascading, complex, multi-layered and socially conditioned. Also, innovation journalism invests in scientific, technological and research and development (R&D) knowledge; it sees co-production and co-innovation as important as their own work and perceiving the public as a participant in the innovative role. It considers social and cultural innovations as relevant as technological and commercial

innovations (Kauhanen & Noppari, 2007). With this, it is possible that the innovation journalism itself is also journalism *of* innovation when it includes the subject of innovation in an innovative way. Ramón Salaverría complements that:

Journalistic innovations are not strictly limited to products or services available to the public. They can also occur in production processes and even affect the entire configuration of the environment in its totality. (Salaverría, 2015, p.39, author's translation)

Understanding the multiplicity of the concept of innovation journalism, some typologies that can help in understanding this constantly changing scenario were rehearsed.

3 Typologies of the Innovation Journalism

The scenario was compartmentalized in three typologies derived from what is considered innovation journalism, namely: 1) content and narrative, 2) technology and format, and 3) business model. Categories 1) and 2) are more closely linked to newspaper products, while category 3) is more closely related to the journalism production process.

Each of the typologies suggested in this article will be illustrated by examples of contemporary journalism, with the intention of representing a movement already started in the activity and with a perspective of replication and popularization. All categories may manifest in an isolated or conjugated way and do not represent hierarchical stages.

3.1 Innovation journalism: content and narrative

Clear, direct and objective text is one of the premises of traditional journalistic content. The arrangement of items on the page, whether printed or digital, the relationship between media such as images, videos, audios and text is a pattern mostly juxtaposed in journalism.

In digital platforms, the multimedia elements combine both side-by-side, and in agglutinated form (Salaverría, 2005). The development of new languages and their association by integration

- when the components of the journalistic product are allocated on the same basis, articulated in a single, coherent and convergent speech, introduced new ways thinking about journalism itself. These modifications of perspective also provided elements of innovation focused on journalistic products that, in addition to technology, brought original narratives and content. These are characteristics that are most obviously inspired in literature, cinema and reading experience. The short text, typical of online journalism of the mid-2000s, divides space with the long-form text (Longhi, 2014; Salverría, 2015; Winques, 2015), in longer narratives and in a distancing from the standard model of the inverted pyramid, which presents the news from the most important (lead) to the least important (sub lead and text body). This means “ [...] a renewal in the journalistic narrative in the digital environment, [...], in what has been called long-form journalism, journalistic reports with more than 4000 words, or large reports with between 10 and 20 thousand words.” (Longhi, 2014, p.13). Exploiting news content with a more dense text form modifies the news-building processes, introducing new practices in the presentation of the final product.

In addition to the text, intuitive navigation, auto-play video insertion, or animated graphics bring an innovative reading experience; This is done by inviting the user to an immersion that takes him on a more emotional common thread than the traditional story. Agreeing with Raquel Longhi (2014),

This more consistent form of textual narrative that follows a pattern of vertical reading, given by the scroll bar, has marked the large contemporary multimedia report. At the same time, it answers a question about the quality of the journalistic narrative before the textual fragmentation in products, such as the multimedia specials. (Longhi, 2014, p.15)

An example of this form of innovation journalism is the Great Multimedia Report (GMR). The reference journalism is one of the pioneers to explore and innovate with this expressive genre, configuring the Great Multimedia Report as a reinvigorated genre, with contents in several codes, whether they are linguistic, sonorous, iconic or stylistic (Canavilhas, 2007). One of the most significant examples of GMR came from the production of Snow Fall by The New York Times in 2012. The report tells the story of skiers who were isolated after being hit by an avalanche in the snowy mountains of Cascade, in the United States. In the report, it is possible to identify different

multimedia contents , arranged in an integrated way: infographics, 2D simulations, maps, video testimonies, audios, static photos and an extensive report that induces a chronological logic. The intuitive and responsive navigation, involved in an unprecedented visual identity, are also characteristics of the report. Snow Fall's production lasted six months and involved a team consisting of a reporter (John Branch), 11 graphic and design experts, a photographer, three video makers and a research collaborator.

Another case of representative GMR, now in the Brazilian scenario, is the Folha de S. Paulo series of Tudo Sobre (All About). The premiere of this model for the vehicle was in 2013, with the Great Multimedia Report All About: The Battle of Belo Monte:

It was 10 months of work, with the broadcasting of several digital dossiers preceding the great report. The Battle of Belo Monte has five chapters, 55 photos, 24 videos, 18 infographics, approximately 15 thousand words and a game about the Brazilian hydroelectric which is considered the third largest in the world. The work involved a team of 19 people at different times in the production and was rewarded in 2014 with a silver medal at the Malofiej, one of the most important distinctions in infographics and design worldwide. (LONGHI & WINQUES, 2015, p.10)

With this, it is also highlighted how innovation can be present in one of the most basic elements of the journalistic practice: textual content and narrative. Beyond technology, the innovation journalism suggests having different fronts, but in common, all must go through the journalistic process whether in the calculation, production, circulation or consumption (Palacios & Machado, 2003). The way in which the text is organized reflects on innovations, including in the verification, in the attention to the story and the source, in the creative potential of the reporter and the editor. This only reaffirms the importance of good journalistic work for any instance of the activity.

3.2 Innovation journalism: technology and format

Technology is the main ally in the innovative process of journalism - and in any activity. It is present either in terms of new possibilities for processes or in the creation and dissemination of the final product. Just like the word innovation, technology also has varying meanings and both terms are closely related. As

technology its multiform applications are considered, whether it is a product or a process. Milton Vargas (1994) notes that “technology is understood as the study or treatment of the applications of methods, theories and experiences, and conclusions of the sciences to the knowledge of materials and processes used by the technique” (Vargas, 1994, p. 213). In this sense, two examples are highlighted, in which technology is, in fact, the centrality of innovation, permeating the processes of the journalistic content and its formatting for consumption and dissemination. The newsgames and reports presented in Virtual Reality (VR) innovate all stages of the journalistic production.

Newsgames are games created from news and journalistic information, in which the plot is based on that content. With this, the news information is transmitted in a more attractive way, allows greater interactivity and is adapted to communicate and entertain at the same time (Cappelletti, 2011). The challenge of the journalist who creates content for newsgame is also to restructure the journalistic content, in a process of gamification of the news. Gamification refers to the expression used for when any action is transformed or rethought in a more interesting way by adopting the usual game mechanics (Marczewski, 2012). This movement of user/news interaction meets the web 2.0 public’s behavior (Acerecho & Ayerdi, 2011), which values the participation and the active role in the journalistic process.

In addition, the usual reporting team (reporter, videographer, photographer, publisher and diagrammer) multiplies in an interdisciplinary team with software engineers, programmers, animation designers, audio and video editors, and more. Although it presents different typologies and definitions, such as Current Events Newsgames, Editorial Games, Reportage Games, Tabloid Games, Infographics Newsgames, Puzzle Newsgames and Community Newsgames (Bogost, Ferrari & Schweizer, 2010; Marciano, 2016), the newsgames innovate in the process of journalistic construction by inserting attachments into the journalistic ways of making a focus on technology and special formats. One of the flagship examples for newsgames is September 12th: a toy world, created by a team of game developers led by Gonzalo Frasca, a former CNN journalist, also responsible for coining the term newsgame. September 12th was launched in 2003 with the main idea of using the language of video games to describe current events and broadcast the timeless

maxim that violence generates more violence from the post-terrorist attack in New York, which killed almost three thousand People, on September 11, 2001.

The main objective of the game was to trigger discussions among young players. In fact, this is what has happened in several online forums. The game was highly controversial when released, generating soft or negative threats and criticisms. As the war on terror worsened, the popularity of the game grew exponentially. (Games For Change, 2017, online, author's translation).

More recently, in 2017, the news game *Jogo da Previdência* (Social Security Game) was launched by the group *Brasil de Fato* (BdF), a news site, radio-agency and owner of regional newspapers. The context of the game comes through the heated debate over the proposed constitutional amendment (PEC 287) in Brazil that changes the minimum age for retirement to 65 years, valid for both sexes. For this, it is necessary to contribute to Social Security for at least 25 years, however, the full retirement is only possible if there is a contribution for 49 years, which makes the measure controversial and radical.

The proposal of the newsgame is “How will the life of the worker be if the pension reform is approved by the National Congress? The challenge is to be able to complete the 49 years of contribution necessary to receive full retirement” (Brasil de Fato, online, 2017). For this, the site emulates a board game (similar to the Game of Life) in which the player is a character; for every action, real news is related to the character's situation and the impacts on its career and retirement. It is interesting that while incorporating different roles of workers, the game makes the understanding of the change in the rights of various profiles clear, always validated with real reports already determined by the vehicle, which have in common the stand taken in defense of the Brazilian worker. Issues such as wage differences between the same jobs for men and women, exploitation of irregular labor and the particularities of the rural worker also appear in the context of the game. Throughout the game, there are also insights about news related to people's actions, through protests, petitions and fights, motivating the player to know and do more about their rights.

Virtual Reality (VR) can be defined as an experience that recreates environments that give the user the sensation of being present in a place where he or she is not physically in (Doyle, Gelman

& Gill, 2016). In that sense, reporting events giving the impression that the reader is in the exact place where the event happened is an innovation never provided in the history of journalism. And so, it has been singled out as the main investment in innovation journalism. Jake Silverstein, editor-in-chief of The New York Times Magazine, comments on the VR's potential power:

We were first interested in virtual reality when we saw a movie in a refugee camp made for the UN. We showed it to some people in the newsroom, and everyone was impressed. Hardened editors in the international section would take the headset off and say, 'Listen, I've edited hundreds of stories about refugees, and I've never had an experience like this.' (Silverstein, 2016, p. 20, author's translation).

For a complete Virtual Reality experience, it is necessary to use special equipment - the Oculus Rift was the first prototype, launched in 2012. However, the high cost of the device was a point against the popularization of VR for the journalistic universe. In 2014, Google responds to the trend by launching a low-cost version of cardboard glasses, the Google Cardboard, adaptable to different smartphones. Soon after, the first special journalistic productions for Virtual Reality are gaining prominence in periodicals like The Des Moines Register, The Wall Street Journal (WSJ) and The New York Times (NYT).

In November of 2015, the NYT distributed one million and 300 thousand Google Cardboards with the printed newspaper edition, on the same date that it made the free app NYT VR available and published the report *The Displaced*, with spherical videos produced with this technology. In 2016, the *Veja* magazine in Brazil, in partnership with Itaú Bank, also distributed 10,000 customized glasses units to subscribers and influencers to experience a series of 360° reports. In July of the same year, Rede Record television also gave space for a series of 12 thematic reports in 360° about the city of São Paulo. The content was made available on the network's Facebook page, since the video technology is more accessible and responsive through the social network platform. During the 2016 Olympic Games, Globosat's SporTV channels, in partnership with Samsung, produced extensive coverage of the Virtual Reality games for users of the Samsung Gear VR glasses, adaptable to the Galaxy S7 smartphone model. Also in 2016, *Folha de S. Paulo* produced a mini-documentary in Virtual Reality, directed by Tadeu Junge, about the ecological tragedy in Mariana, in the state of Minas Gerais, called

Rio de Lama (Mud River). The objective, according to the director, was to bring the immersive experience of the impacts in the city of Minas Gerais, even months after that, and to sensitize the public for the cause. In 2017, the same vehicle started the Folha 360° project, with a series of spherical and immersive documentaries, available in the newspaper's free app about themes from the São Paulo capital, entitled São Paulo from point to point.

In this sense, the technology and format of journalistic products gain an unprecedented power to inform. Thinking about the verification, the capture of materials with technologies, such as newsgames or reports in Virtual Reality (360°), modifies all the traditional processes of journalism, raising them to new levels of precision and experience. If journalism can never take its reader to the event, so that it "sees with its own eyes" the unfolding of the news with Virtual Reality can be, even if planned, another possibility of technology in the service of good journalism.

3.3 Innovation Journalism: Business Model

Journalism is widely analyzed in terms of its products, in discussions that derive from ethics, esthetics, form of knowledge to the social role of the activity. In parallel and more recently, however, the academy itself has given space to study business models of news organizations. This is due, at least in part, to the crisis scenario and the significant fall of readers and users in the most different forms of news dissemination. It is possible to think that innovation in business models or organizational structure can be a merely operational characteristic and without direct impacts on the journalistic activity. However, in this article, let us turn to the perception of journalism as an activity in an engaged way and, therefore, associated to structural changes and business models to journalistic products and services, characterizing innovation also in ways of doing: one more pillar of what is considered innovation journalism.

With this, the logic of rethinking the way in which journalism organizations are managed becomes even more evident. Some business, technology and innovation researchers such as Thomas Koulopoulos (2011) claim that "the most important innovation in any organization is not the specific product; is in the renewal of the company's own business model." (Koulopoulos, 2011, p. XIII). The

authors Gary Hamel and Gary Getz (2004) also certify that innovation from the management's point of view is a strategic process of continuous reinvention and creation of new concepts of the business in question. A business model is understood as the clear definition of the interests and advantages motivated by the product or service of the company considering all those involved, from producers to consumers (DUARTE, 2011). Basically, the business model should be a scheme for the strategy to be implemented through the organizational structures of processes and systems. (OSTERWALDER and PIGNEUR, 2011).

With this, the insertion of Media Labs, Innovation Labs or simply labs into the internal structure of journalistic companies, has gained prominence in reference journalism. These laboratories are spaces for research, preparation and testing of processes, products and services aimed at the consumption of journalism. We agree with Ramón Salaverría (2015), when considering the 4Ps model of innovation highlighted by Storsul and Krumsvik (2003), when it complements that the media labs are doubly innovative:

- They constitute themselves of process innovations: they propose a change in the traditional production model of the media, since they introduce a new operational division within the company, responsible for the discovery of new modes and models of work.
- Their task is precisely the internal exploitation of journalistic innovations in products and services. Thus, its innovative contribution also points directly to the first of the areas mentioned by Storsul and Krumsvik: the product. (Salaverría, 2015, page 399, author's translation).

Significant examples of this practice are in The Guardian, with Guardian Labs and The Guardian Mobile Innovation Lab, and in The New York Times with NYTLabs, now called Times Story[X]. Both newspapers bring specific spaces for tests with collaboration from external professionals or hired especially for each project. In The Guardian's case, the two laboratories clearly have distinct purposes: 1) The Guardian Mobile Innovation Lab works with mobile-first journalism, focusing on mobile platforms, primarily exploring five areas: live coverage, video, contextualized news, content interaction and notifications; 2) Guardian Labs is an innovative branch, aimed at branded content with private and external funding for every major report. On the site, you can also follow the behind-the-scenes challenges of producing relevant materials for companies

and products like Unilever, UPS, Visa, Rolex, among others. (Longhi & Flores, 2017). What this type of model suggests is that part of the human resources of the journalistic organization has been financed by other companies and this can be a way of re-injecting financial resources in a crisis scenario.

According to an exploratory research (convenience sample) carried out by Ramón Salaverría in 2015, 31 journalistic innovation labs were found in more than 10 countries - the United States, England, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Norway, Italy, Switzerland, Qatar and Iran. Most media labs are embedded in media of international reference. Among the labs analyzed in the study, it was possible to identify four front lines referring to the work focus: 1) 12 laboratories focused on the technological development of digital apps; 2) Nine laboratories focusing on new narratives, multimedia formats and data journalism; 3) Seven labs with promotion and encouragement of new business projects, business initiatives and start ups; and 4) three laboratories such as vocational training and media literacy schools for young people. In Brazil, on the other hand, the use of external consulting for specific projects is empirically observed. A recent example is the case of InfoGlobo in 2017, which created a new project to unify O Globo, Extra and Expresso newsrooms, maintaining the identity of each vehicle. The project was done by the international media consultancy Innovation for six months, with the directors and executive editors. According to the consultancy.

This is the biggest digital transformation of a journalistic publication in Brazil, which, in short, will increase the depth of printed editions.[...] Changes in the structure and work processes broadens the focus on digital environments, especially through mobile. Throughout the day, the main news will be deepened and enriched with analysis, videos and infographics in real time. (Innovation Media Consulting, online, 2017)

The point of emphasis is that even if the center of innovation in this case is mostly in the convergence of essays, apparently more structural, this modification also implies what is understood as innovation journalism; especially in the sense that there is now a new concatenation of actions already practiced, rearranged in an innovative way.

Another important point of the business model is to consider the traditional advertising system. The sale in newsstands and printed signatures also denote a panorama in decline and the innovation

also appears in this sense. Direct sales to consumers and monthly subscriptions have been steadily declining, while advertising does not have enough revenue to cover the loss of other sources of income. And during this process, the fixed costs of doing good journalism remain the same (Osterwalder & Pigneur, 2011).

Digital and online versions of some vehicles have invested in the paid subscription system, such as the Los Angeles Times, the USA Today, Washington Post, The New York Times, and in Brazil, Folha de São Paulo, O Globo, Valor Econômico and Zero Hora, among others. The paywall, a system developed for media companies, guarantees the management of access to exclusive content through paid digital signatures. The paywall model most used by newspapers in Brazil is known as flexible or porous, since it allows the non-subscriber to have free monthly access to a limited number of subjects. Still, the application of paywall has generated debate among consumers already used to having full access to online content for free. It was also possible to observe at least two opposing sides among the professions, with a certain conflict of generations. Journalists more focused on technology, decentralization, sharing and collaborative content advocate a free news system, where producers and readers are virtually on the same level. Traditional journalists argue about the importance of journalistic institutions and the professional gathering of information, long, in-depth narratives and the reporter's impartiality (Starkman, 2014, online). According to Starkman (2014), "for there to be some kind of growth, the content behind the paywall cannot be routine journalism. [...] Medium content paywalls do not work" (Starkman, 2014, online, emphasis added). In Brazil, according to data compiled by the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas:

In September 2016, the digital signatures of 33 newspapers with online editions monitored by the IVC [Circulation Verifier Institute] reached 818,873, a number 20% higher than the average of 2015. In the same period, the printed circulation fell almost 20%, reaching about 2.6 million copies sold in Brazil. Folha de S. Paulo, one of the first Brazilian newspapers to implement the paywall in 2012, announced in August 2016 that its digital circulation surpassed the printed version. In September 2016, the newspaper sold 164 thousand digital editions and 151 thousand printed ones. O Globo is also very close to this transition: with 150,000 digital circulation and 163,000 printed, according to the IVC. (Estarque, online, 2016).

The editors themselves were surprised by the results of growth, addressing this behavior to points such as the decentralization

of the reader, that is, the consumer can be in any city or country and have access to newspaper content, the increasing popularization of the internet via Mobile and broadband service improvements. In addition, in an interview with the Knight Center, Murilo Bussab, director of circulation and marketing of *Folha de S. Paulo*, comments that there was also a change of mentality in newsrooms encouraged by the new model of digital signatures. For him, when the newspaper's website was totally free, columns and printed editorials were not available online for enhancing the subscriber of the paper edition. Now with full access, the subscriber also invests in this facility of concentrating everything in a single environment.

On the other hand, to a lesser extent, some vehicles are betting on an unprofitable model when administered by non-profit organizations. This is the case of the two largest newspapers in the state of Philadelphia, in the United States: the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Daily News* tabloid and the online version on Philly.com. This is the first time since the 1970's that a major American daily newspaper has made that attempt, at a time when most publications are experiencing major financial difficulties resulting from the transition to a digital model. Richard Tofel, president of ProPublica, an independent, nongovernmental editorial with a focus on investigative journalism, in an interview with The Atlantic magazine and reporter Robinson Meyer (2016) argues: "In a printed newspaper, in an order of magnitude - 85% of costs are probably spent on other things than on news, and only about 15% is spent on news. In this format, 80% of the money we use is proportionately spent on news." (Tofel, 2016, online, our translation).

Another proposal that has also gained space in the journalistic market is the collaborative model through *crowdfunding*, financed by private companies or non-governmental organizations. What is observed in this pattern, however, is that the vehicles make vertical journalism, with deepening and focus on a central issue, different from the horizontal, factual and comprehensive focus of most journalistic vehicles. One of the first successful examples in Brazil is the one from Public Agency, created in 2011. With research axis like "[...] mega-sport events; torture and violence of State agents; Mega-investments in Amazônia; urban crisis; and companies of violations of human rights." (Agência Pública, online, 2017), the agency produces independent and in-depth reports focusing on the public interest, on recurring issues in the country from the perspective of the population.

It is also worth mentioning the Amazônia Real agency, which works for an independent journalism since 2013, non-profit, focused on “issues of the Amazônia and its people and editorial line in defense of the democratization of information, freedom of expression and human rights” (Amazônia Real, online, 2017). The update model is also more spaced, with priority for weekly reporting. The agency is supported by advertising partnerships with private companies that have socio-environmental responsibility, donations of individuals and through funding agencies, through specific projects. Another good Brazilian example is the Aos Fatos platform, launched in 2015, which has as its essence the fact-checking, investigative journalism and verification of public speech with an emphasis on political issues. Aos Fatos has three main fronts as its financing model: editorial partnerships, contributions from the private initiative and from civil society organizations or direct donations from readers.

What all these bets of journalism indicate is that the activity is being rethought in different instances, whether it is in the process, format, distribution or business model. The key to a journalism which is better-accepted or closer to a public who is also innovative seems to be focusing more and more on the cultural and behavioral anticipation of its consumers. The crisis of journalism is not only limited to the financial question or the revenue of the companies; the crisis is also set in the search for transparency in the processes, in the public’s response to the news approach and in the empowerment of the consumer of news in the face of shared information beyond the large journalistic vehicles.

4 Final Considerations

A given innovation is never permanent, the very nature of innovation is to have a period of vitality to gradually lose relevance; when it dissipates the force, a different innovation comes to prominence and, thus, the cycle repeats itself. This finding is based on the innovation diffusion curve, originated with the rural sociologists Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross (1943). Ryan and Gross published results from studies of a hybrid corn seed and, during the 1960s, the paradigm of initially agricultural diffusion spread to other scientific specialties such as public health, economics, geography, marketing, political science, and communication (Pessoni, 2010). For Everett Rogers (2003), the

diffusion of innovations covers four elements: the innovation itself, the communication channels used for dissemination, the time and the social system where innovation is proposed.

Rogers (2003) concludes that regardless of the innovation, the pattern that the diffusion of innovations follows in a group, community or social tribe, is the same. The groups can be divided into: 1) Innovative; 2) Initial adopters; 3) Initial Majority; 4) Late Majority; 5) Later majority and 6) Latecomers. It starts as an idea (or service or product), with an innovator that inserts it into a group called initial adopters. They adapt quickly to the idea and pass it on to a group called the initial majority, which in turn transmits to a larger group, the late majority. Finally, the latter group brings innovation to the group of latecomers, who form a group of people more resistant to change (Raymond, 2010).

What we want to propose is that the adoption of innovation journalism behavior, whether in 1) content and narrative, 2) technology and format or 3) business model, or even all of them, can have a curve behavior in “S” by Rogers (2003) in itself.

In a primary analysis, it is possible to consider on one hand a) the journalistic vehicles and on the other, b) the consumer public. When the end user (b) is considered, it is possible to insert it in this innovation adoption curve, with specific profiles for each group based on their lifestyles, well beyond the age range, gender, social class or occupation. The mentality of an audience that has grown into a more active role in receiving and searching for information and news through multi-channels is clearly different from the way a reader is informed via the newscast, on a fixed schedule, or through print newspapers. Understanding the surroundings of the needs, habits and tastes of these audiences will make journalism more useful for each lifestyle and, thus, better inform.

On the other hand, by segmenting journalistic vehicles (a) we could consider as reference innovators and initial adopters the reference newspapers, because they have a financial investment margin and are, in fact, trendsetters. It is also possible to consider the new journalistic vehicles with flexible business models and specialized editorial positioning as part of this group. The other journalistic companies would be in the following groups (between Initial Majority and Latecomers), absorbing the popularization of the techniques and evaluating the public response through the results of the competition.

In this sense, it is possible to infer that innovation journalism will not have a flow of diffusion to the point of becoming the standard journalism of the future. The prospect for the coming years is that the idea presented on innovation journalism should be at least a strategy of trans-media narrative, with stories that unfold on different media platforms (Jenkins, 2009), contributing to an integral sense, although optional for the understanding of the journalistic content. Innovation journalism is understood as a natural response to the process of renewing journalism in the pursuit of winning new audiences and maintaining relevance for current users or readers. Just like convergent journalism is perceived (Kolodzy, 2006) as a natural course of contemporary journalism, innovation journalism is identified as an important branch of the model of journalistic communication. Although the hegemony of innovation journalism as a *modus operandi* of the activity is unlikely, this kind of journalism comes to strengthen the duty to inform in the best possible way, within the current behavior of news consumption.

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