

Innovation in european journalism

The case of cultural journalism

Dora Santos-Silva

Ficha Técnica

Título

Innovation in european journalism. The case of cultural journalism

Autor

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Data de publicação

2021, Coleção ICNOVA

ISBN

978-989-9048-07-2

[Suporte: Eletrónico]

978-989-9048-06-5

[Suporte: Impresso]

DOI

<https://doi.org/10.34619/cqut-tyr4>

Edição

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de Comunicação da NOVA
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FCT Fundação
para a Ciência
e a Tecnologia

A edição deste livro é financiada por fundos nacionais através da FCT — Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., no âmbito do projeto UIDB/05021/2020.



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This book is dedicated to all researchers,
journalists and individuals who,
despite the setbacks,
stay focused on discovering,
creating, expanding and sharing knowledge
towards a fairer, freer,
more pleasant and enlightened world.

Abstract: This book analyzes how European media, which specialize in culture or have an important cultural section, are innovating in a digital environment. It was born largely from my Ph.D. thesis, defended in 2016, with the original title “Cultural Journalism in a Digital Environment: New Models, Practices and Possibilities”, within the scope of the Ph.D. in Digital Media at NOVA FCSH (International Program UT Austin Portugal) with the financial support of FCT. Since then, the rhythm of change in the fields of media, journalism, and the creative industries has not slowed down. In fact, the pace of change has increased, becoming more sophisticated and thus more challenging to follow through academic research (as well as our brains). Therefore, this book preserves the theoretical framework and the results of the empirical research of my doctoral thesis, but it also serves as a record of a bewildering time in cultural journalism (between 2012 and 2016). Furthermore, this work is updated with aspects that became relevant in the areas described, between 2016 and 2020, and with a partial update of the research done in the Ph.D. The updates on both the state of cultural journalism and my research are available at the end of each chapter under the title “What happened next?” The introduction and conclusion have been updated in their entirety.

Resumo: Este livro analisa as estratégias de inovação em ambiente digital de órgãos de comunicação social europeus especializados na área da cultura ou com uma cobertura cultural relevante no seu alinhamento editorial. É, em grande parte, resultado da minha tese de doutoramento, defendida na NOVA FCSH em 2016, com o título original “Cultural Journalism in a Digital Environment: New Models, Practices and Possibilities”, no âmbito do doutoramento em Media Digitais, ao abrigo do programa UT Austin Portugal, com o apoio financeiro da Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia. Desde então, o ritmo de mudança nos campos dos media, do jornalismo e das indústrias criativas não diminuiu. Aliás, aumentou e tornou-se mais sofisticado, tornando mais difícil o seu acompanhamento por parte da academia (e pelos nossos cérebros). Dada esta premissa, este livro preserva, por um lado, o referencial teórico e os resultados da investigação, servindo como um registo histórico de uma época desconcertante para o jornalismo cultural. Por outro, é atualizado com o que se tornou relevante entre 2016 e 2020, além de a parte empírica também ter sido alvo de um novo olhar. As atualizações sobre o estado da arte e da investigação estão disponíveis no final de cada capítulo sob o título “What happened next?” A introdução e a conclusão foram também atualizadas.

Dora Santos-Silva

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Introductory note and acknowledgements

As this book was born largely from my PhD thesis, I would like to express my gratitude to all the people with whom I shared it, and especially those that follow for their decisive contributions.

- First of all, to my PhD advisor, António Granado, that became a true mentor and a very dear friend.
- I am also grateful to Prof. Rosental Alves and Prof. Sharon Strover, from the University of Texas, in Austin for their inspiration and mentoring.
- I would also like to address a special and “English” thank you note to Prof. Gordon Grams, not only for proofreading this thesis, but also especially for his critical observations, enthusiastic comments and encouragement.
- To all the editors, journalists and other professionals from *Monocle*, *The Guardian*, *Público* and *La Fábrica* who received me and shared their enthusiasm and experience.
- To my PhD colleagues, especially those with whom I made the exploratory visit to University of Texas.
- To my colleagues in the “Culture in Front Page” research project for the opportunity to share insights and experiences. A special thank you note to Carla Baptista, who invited me to be part of the project, for allowing me this experience and the financial opportunity to be present at international conferences, and to dear Marisa Torres da Silva, with whom I worked closely on some papers, for her words of encouragement in the last phase of the PhD project and for her unique professionalism and companionship, always with a smile.
- To the research PhD project initial jury, Prof. Carla Batista and Prof. Rogério Santos, for their useful insights and constructive observations.
- To the UT Austin | Portugal CoLab program for this international doctoral program and to the Department of Science Communication of Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas— Universidade Nova de Lisboa, where I have been following a path since 1996 as a Science Communication freshman. I was fortunate to have inspiring professors, such as Profs. Nelson Traquina, João Pissarra, António José Teixeira, Cristina Ponte, Maria Augusta Babo, Teresa Cruz and my dear Master thesis advisor, Prof. Lucília Marcos. One of the most inspiring of all professors had a dog named Espinoza, Prof. Eduardo Prado Coelho.

- To Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, for granting me a PhD scholarship, which gave me financial conditions to really work on this PhD and try to contribute to Portuguese research and progress in human and social sciences.
- To my students in Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas — Universidade Nova de Lisboa for their contagious curiosity and freshness, especially Catarina Durão Machado, who helped me with the transcript of the Spanish interviews (and for the inspiring stories), and Ana Carolina Veríssimo with two Portuguese interviews.
- Finally, to my parents, my close family and my unconditional love since Christmas 2016: my son Gui.

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Introduction: From a bird's-eye view

“We live *in* media”, said Mark Deuze in 2012, while attempting to explain how deep the media are embedded in our lives. Today, this statement is even closer to reality and, using the same thought process, we can also say that we live *in* digital culture.

We use the word *culture* in a wide variety of situations without questioning its deeper meaning. In a media context, its application can also be slightly blurred and uncertain. In political, social, and economic terms, the notion of culture is becoming increasingly important, and it is associated with creativity, consumerism, lifestyle, the economy, and industry.

Consider the following scenario of everyday encounters with *culture* in a digital environment: a decade ago, we often went to daily newspapers' homepages and skimmed through the Arts or Culture sections; today we use social media — Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram — to see what's happening in those fields. If a random social media link post seems interesting, we then click it and access the publication's website directly to that particular article (and not via the homepage).

Moving on from the context of newspapers, a few years ago we accessed our Feedly account to check the cultural blogs we were following. According to Technorati, one of the largest blogs directory and blog search engine at that time (which no longer exists), on March 2, 2014, there were 111,716 blogs dedicated to cultural themes (in the categories of general art, film, music, television, comics, anime, gaming, and books). Presently, arts and culture are still the main themes in the virtual world, but the majority of publications moved from blogs to social media pages.

Meanwhile, imagine this modern-day scenario: we listen to Spotify as we work, choosing between our favourite music or one of the millions of podcasts that have emerged in the last five years. After work, we can go to an artsy neighbourhood (like Chiado, in Lisbon) and have a meal at a little coffee shop — which is also a bookstore and an art gallery. There is an exhibition about the intersection of art, artist, and technology, with a piece of “junk” (a wire) as the main protagonist. We can almost hear other people asking “why is this art?” The exhibition also includes augmented reality — that is why everybody is looking at their smartphones. We take some photos, post them on social media and wait for the feedback of others.

Only a few years ago, in the evenings, we would record some of our favourite TV series on our 250-channel cable TV or watch another movie on-demand on the computer. Now, chances are we will use our tablet to watch series on streaming services, like Netflix or HBO, or to attend a live show on Facebook, while the children watch YouTube. We can also make plans for the

coming weekend, thanks to a website that suggests an artistic tour to an unknown city, based on our recent browser activity. First, we can see a 360° video of the area, then we can take a virtual tour of a beautiful museum nearby, and finally download the app to get 10 % off the booking.

Before bed, we have time to browse through a wonderful magazine (which we would never find at the newsagents in Portugal) on our phone, browse the suggested selection of movie trailers, discuss them with friends on WhatsApp and then become interested in a book which it reviews. On impulse, we buy the e-book edition from Amazon.com to read that night in bed.

Our day has been filled with culture in digital forms.

Why this book and thesis?

Our ‘daily scenario’ introduces the theme of this book, based on a PhD thesis, and illustrates its relevance. Since digital media is our primary resource for getting news and information about culture today, it is important to understand the vision and scope of culture that the media cover, and how they exploit digital tools to report stories.

This research proposes to examine how European media which specialize in culture or have an important cultural section are innovating in a digital environment. Specifically, we intend to see how these innovation strategies are being taken in relation to: the approach to culture and dominant cultural areas; the editorial model (content presentation and delivery, news values, genres and angles); the use of hypertextuality, multimediality, interactivity and other digital features to enhance long-form and short-form culture stories; brand identity, extensions and positioning in a digital environment; engagement with the public and “prosumers”; sustainable business models.

The last strategy on the list is another major goal of this research — to examine whenever possible to what extent these innovative strategies are successful (defined as simply achieving sustainability or survival), in order to contribute to a set of good practices for cultural journalism in a digital environment.

Culture coverage and digital journalism are both contemporary phenomena that have undergone several transformations within a short period of time. Whenever the media enters a period of uncertainty such as the present one, there is an attempt to innovate in order to seek sustainability, skip the crisis or find a new public. This indicates that there are new trends to be understood and explored: i.e., how are media innovating in a digital environment?

Regarding the specific sections on culture, the topic is also pertinent since culture is a large part of our everyday lives and one of the main themes explored in the virtual world. We also assume that since culture deals with the five senses — sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch — then it naturally lends itself to the potential possibilities offered by digital tools in order to enhance the performativity dimension: a painting can be shown through an image gallery, music can be

heard through audio technology... thus this is a phenomenon whose study is relevant to social and communication sciences and to society itself.

Not only does the professional debate about the future of journalism justify the need to explore this issue, but so do the academic approaches to cultural journalism in a digital environment. This is one of the first systematic studies using a quantitative and qualitative approach to address the above-mentioned objectives.

Book organization

As stated in the introductory note, this book preserves the theoretical framework and the results of the empirical research of my doctoral thesis, but it also serves as a record of a bewildering time in cultural journalism (between 2012 and 2016). Furthermore, this work is updated with aspects that became relevant in the areas described, between 2016 and 2020, and with a partial update of the research done in my Ph.D. The updates on both the state of cultural journalism and my research are available at the end of each chapter under the title “What happened next?”. The introduction and conclusion have been updated in their entirety.

The first four chapters of the book are dedicated to exploring the central concepts of our research and address the related key issues.

In Chapter I, we visit the concept of culture. We show how its definition has changed over time, accumulating new dimensions, and has had several meanings according to the approach. It is a fluid and complex concept which began as an artistic expression in a context of aesthetic tradition and arose as an object of science within the anthropological tradition, including beliefs, arts, customs and expressions of a group, and became linked with ordinary life in the 20th century. At the same time, the approach began to take commercial and industrial perspectives within mass culture and then with cultural and creative industries. In a digital environment it is becoming more collective, virtual, convergent and participatory. These steps are fundamental to understanding the definition and scope of culture today. We also address some misconceptions regarding culture versus art, or high culture versus mass or popular culture.

Chapter II focuses on cultural journalism. We approach some variations in naming the field itself according to geography and researchers’ lines of theory (arts journalism, cultural journalism and journalism on culture). We outline some of the most frequent definitions and scope of the concept and show how it has evolved along with culture towards blurring the boundaries between cultural, lifestyle and consumer journalism. We also address some specificities of the field, namely its cultural intermediaries, cartography, channels (such as magazines and newspapers supplements specialized in culture), as well as news values and genres, and an increasing hybridization. Finally, we reflect on some important contemporary

issues and related academic research, such as the importance and legitimacy of cultural journalism for journalism, the main cultural areas covered according to some data-based international studies, its relation to agenda and entertainment, the reconfiguration of its performative role and its future in a digital environment.

Chapters III and IV form the second part of the literature review, and is primarily dedicated to digital journalism. The basis is a question posed by Jeff Jarvis, American professor, director of the Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism at CUNY's and author of the influential weblog *Buzzmachine.com*: "Now that your Internet has ruined news, what now?". In Chapter III we review some of the main paradigmatic changes that occurred in the last 15 years, which affected organizations, journalists and readers' routines and practices.

However, as these changes can be both threats and opportunities, Chapter IV is focused on the deconstruction of *innovation*, a concept that doesn't mean necessarily creating new things starting from scratch. It can be new combinations of pre-existing ideas, competences and resources, such as the ones we explore in the rest of the chapter regarding new models and platforms for telling stories, new ways for engaging with readers (and "pro-sumers") and achieving sustainability.

In Chapter V, we present our research design. Our main objective — how European media which specialize in culture or have an important cultural section are innovating in a digital environment — led us to eight research questions. To answer those questions we conducted a mixed-methods study (Morgan, 2014; Creswell, 2002; Yin, 2010; Deacon *et al.*, 2010), combining case studies of four media projects, which integrates qualitative web features and content analysis with quantitative web content analysis.

When choosing the case studies, we considered, besides the importance of culture coverage for them, the criteria of geography, idioms, reputation, sustainability, a typical or atypical digital presence, type of organization and representativeness. Thus, we selected two major general-interest journalistic brands which started as physical newspapers — *The Guardian* (London, UK) and *Público* (Lisbon, Portugal) — a magazine specializing in international affairs, culture and design — *Monocle* (London, UK) — and a native digital media project that was launched by a cultural organization — *Notodo*, by *La Fábrica*.

In Chapter VI we show our findings, which result from observations and collection of data between 1st January 2013 and 31st March 2015, and web content analysis from the same period with a total sample of 1372 journalistic pieces. The data method collection was complemented by face-to-face qualitative interviews with 16 professionals from the four case studies mentioned, and by visits to their headquarters.

The final chapter is dedicated to the discussion of findings assuming the form of answers to initial research questions and respective conclusions. In the end, the findings suggest, on one hand, that we are witnessing a paradigm shift in culture coverage in a digital environment, challenging traditional boundaries related to cultural themes and scope, news values, genres,

content delivery, engagement and business models. Innovation in the analyzed media lies especially along the dimension of product (format and content), brand positioning and process (business model and ways to engage with users). On the other hand, there are still perennial values that are crucial to innovation and sustainability, such as commitment to journalism, consistency (to the reader, to brand extensions and to the advertiser), intelligent differentiation and the capability of knowing what innovation means and how it can be applied, since this thesis also confirms that one formula doesn't suit all. Changing minds, exceeding cultural inertia and optimizing the memory of the digital platforms, looking at them as living, organic bodies, which continuously interact with the readers in many different ways, and not as a closed collection of articles, are still the main challenges for some media.

Looking toward a promising future, we also include in this chapter a set of good practices that have proven to be successful in the analyzed case studies. This is our contribution to "What now?"

Note on style bibliography

We updated the bibliographic references of this book using APA style (7th edition). However, some reasonable exceptions are made: we cite *websites* URLs in-text, without including them in the bibliography, as suggested, but we reference *webpages* related to examples of single journalistic pieces (as webdocumentaries or multimedia stories) as footnotes to facilitate consultation and the fluidity of the text.

Part I

**Culture
and cultural
journalism**

Chapter I:

Culture — understanding the word and its dimensions

“What is culture?” is the kind of question that doesn’t have a single answer. In order to define culture we first have to acknowledge two premises: the complexity of the term and the continuous evolution of its definition and scope.

Regarding the first premise, there are several authors that have contributed to the compilation of hundreds of culture definitions. Today, this complexity is visible in the common use of the word in many and variable contexts: not only it is studied in different fields (anthropology, philosophy, semiotics, politics, communication, social psychology, among others) but its meaning varies according to the respective field, its roots in different regions and the approach we choose (we can talk about popular culture, corporate culture, subcultures, tribal culture, hipster culture, and so on). So, it is necessary to keep in mind this concept’s flexibility, crossdisciplinarity, ubiquity, multi-discursivity, ambivalence and heterogeneity. In a word, its complexity.

Regarding the second premise, in order to understand the definition and scope of cultural journalism in different media today it’s essential to first explore the evolution of the definition and scope of culture (in a context that can be applied to journalism), at a time when its frontiers are still naturally blurred and when creativity, lifestyle and cultural and creative industries have become an important part of its daily activity. In looking at culture and cultural journalism today, some definitions from the past no longer apply alone — a logic that supports the following work.

In the words of John Hartley (2004, p. 63), we haven’t yet recovered from Matthew Arnold’s notion of culture related to the cultivation of the higher arts and the search for intellectual perfection. However, if we recall that this concept is rooted in Ancient Greece, that the first anthropological definition of culture was given by Edward B. Tylor in the 19th century and that the importance of everyday culture was only acknowledged by Cultural Studies in the second half of 20th century, then this may explain why there is still tension between high culture and mass culture in some areas, and the question of whether ways of life (lifestyle), cultural goods or culture as service are part of the cultural aura of a community, city or country, either as cultural identity factors or as elements with value attached within societies.

The answer to the second question — “Why does it matter?” — is a little more obvious: culture is an important concept in the social sciences, humanities, arts and other disciplines.

It affects our lives in many ways — as individuals, as members of a community, as a society; it affects our work, our relations, our understanding of the world.

In order to think about culture in a way that allows us to understand how it is covered in different media, we need to reflect on some of the main events in its evolution, and key theoretical definitions upon which others have built their own understanding of culture to try to make sense of it. In the first phase, we will briefly focus on the complexity of this concept, which partly explains why it is generally misapplied in the media; in the second phase we will revisit some of the main definitions of the 20 and 21st century in regard to culture in the context of communication and media.

I. 1. The multiple dimensions of culture

When we think about the multiple dimensions of culture over time, we encounter Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) and their emblematic first collection of 164 definitions of culture. The work of these American anthropologists is widely cited, not only because of their large number of compiled definitions, but also because they made an historical analysis of the term's evolution and proposed a definition that included elements of the six main definition categories they found (descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic):

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 181)

Despite amassing 164 definitions of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn didn't look at the debates circulating at the time regarding the cultural industry. They focused on the relationship between civilization and culture and in the various definitions of culture within modern anthropology, sociology and psychology, especially the first discipline since culture was considered by the authors an anthropological concept and even the “the central concept of anthropology” (p. 36).

As if 164 definitions weren't enough, the 2006 book *Redefining Culture: Perspectives across disciplines* — edited by John Baldwin, Sandra Faulkner, Michael Hecht and Sheryl Lindsley — included more than 300 definitions of culture, most of which were created after 1952. Contrary to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, they didn't construct a single definition of

culture but asserted that there is no single enduring one, there are provisional definitions which are revised through debate over time. These authors arrived at seven different types of definitions of culture: as a structure, as function, as process, as product, as refinement, as group membership and as power. We will consider each of them briefly.

The structure approach includes definitions that are related to a whole way of life that differentiates one group from another. It sees culture as patterns: of behaviors, symbols, practices, and so on. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), E. B. Tylor (1871/1920) and Raymond Williams (1977) for example, see elements of culture existing within structures (behaviours, beliefs, language, arts, customs and ways of life) that are transmitted through heritage. The definition of culture by UNESCO in their Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity includes these structures:

culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs. (2002, p. 62)

The functional approach focuses on the needs culture serves. This is important for us in the next chapters when we will consider the way the media today cover culture as a service or related to lifestyle and guides (what to eat, what to visit, what to see). If “culture allows us to live in a certain way to experience the tastes, customs, or way of life we prefer” (Faulkner *et al.*, 2006, p. 39) then we can say that it guides us through our everyday lives.

The authors who see culture as process emphasize its active creation by groups of people and as a process of meeting our individual and group-based needs and creating meaning. This is related to another type of definition, the one that approaches culture as a product, including artistic expressions, such as music, cinema or photography, and material features, which represent a cultural heritage or a specific community.

On the other hand, culture as refinement has its roots in the cultivation of the mind and later in Matthew Arnold’s concept of culture as the study of perfection, as we will see in the next section.

Finally, culture can be seen as group membership, that is, a collective that shares a specific view of the world, and as the power of a certain group over another (in a political, social, artistic or ideational way).

This brief summary of perspectives only serves to illustrate the complexity of the term and the blurred boundaries, as some elements overlap with each other.

A variety of key authors have emphasized the complexity of culture in contributions that are still very useful and contemporary today. The American poet and literary critic T. S. Eliot (1948/1988, p. 35) alerted us to the intrinsic relationship between an individual, a group and a society: “a cultura do indivíduo não pode ser isolada da do grupo (...) a cultura do grupo

não pode ser abstraída da sociedade”¹. This tells us that there are three dimensions of culture and that is always essential to put them into perspective.

Raymond Williams identified the complex nature of the concept in a very pertinent way as well, because it is precisely the heart of the matter these days:

The complexity of the concept of ‘culture’ is then remarkable. It became the noun of ‘inner’ process, specialized to its presumed agencies in “intellectual life” and ‘the arts’. It became also a noun of general process, specialized to its presumed configurations of ‘whole ways of life’. It played an equally crucial role in definitions of the ‘human sciences’ and the ‘social sciences’”, in the second sense. (1977, p. 17)

Finally, we note that the expression “cultural complexity” itself has been defined, studied and underscored by many authors. It is a variable which is used in cross-cultural research and as a measure of cultural evolution. It is assumed that cultural complexity exceeds the assumptions of multiculturalism, cross-culturalism and hybridism and is managed in people’s interactions (Noble, 2011). It is especially present in complex societies that multiple levels of affiliations, memberships, values and other ties (Allen & Liu, 2004).

I. 2. Forms of understanding culture: major steps up to the present challenges

In order to understand culture today and the multiple visions covered by the media, we will attempt to summarize the evolution of culture across time, highlighting the moments as steps, which are important to understanding the complexity that defines cultural journalism today.

The first step: culture as the cultivation of spirit

Regarding the etymologies of the word, the majority of authors (Pestel, 2013; Baldwin, *et al.*, 2006; Ferin, 2002; Williams, 1977, 1983; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952) trace its roots to the Latin “colere” in an agricultural sense, that would be applied metaphorically to the culture of mind and spirit, and they focus on its meanings in English, French and German languages and societies. This is important because of the ways “culture” evolved in its relation with

1 Our suggestion of translation to English: “an individual’s culture cannot be isolated from the group’s; the group’s culture cannot be abstracted from society”.

the concept “civilization”, in the 18th century. These two symbolic — sometimes equivalent, sometimes opposing — words in the Enlightenment represent the passage to a world of progress, emancipated from theology. Culture was the way the intellectuals — the European bourgeoisie class — distinguished themselves as opposed to the “civilization” of aristocrats.

In Ancient Greece, “culture” meant, according to Ferin (2002, p. 35), “a ação que o homem realiza — quer sobre o seu meio, quer sobre si mesmo — no sentido de aperfeiçoar as suas qualidades e promover a cultura do espírito”². This view prevailed for many centuries (during the Middle Ages and Renaissance) and was consolidated during the Enlightenment as the cultivation of spiritual faculties through art, literature and science. This is known today as the classic or erudite conception of culture, and still remains — the elite or high culture, referring to the culture forms that were reserved for or exclusive to the social elites of society. However, it is important to say that “culture” only began to be defined at the beginning of 18th century. In England, one of the earliest definitions of culture is from Matthew Arnold, in his book *Culture and Anarchy* (first edition is from 1869), where the poet recommends culture “as the great help out of our present difficulties; culture being pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world” (1882, preface, para. 4). This recommendation (Arnold argues that is the whole scope of the essay) is above all an inward operation, that is, from the inside of each person.

The second step: culture as an expression of a group

The first break with the classic view of culture was in 1871 (first edition of the book *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*) by the anthropologist Edward B. Tylor, a scientific definition that became the basis of all other anthropological views: “Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (1871/1920, p. 1).

Culture is, then, an expression of social life; it’s possible to classify, compare and analyze several aspects of societies like the ones Tylor exemplifies; it gains a scientific aura. It describes a state of the society.

Bronisław Malinowski, who is considered the father of social anthropology, reaffirms this scientific approach to culture in his book *A Scientific Theory of Culture and other Essays* (first published in 1944). This Polish anthropologist goes even further saying that “the real

2 Our suggestion of translation to English: “action that an individual performs on himself or in the community for the purpose of improving his qualities and promoting the culture of spirit”.

meeting-ground of all branches of anthropology is the scientific study of culture” (1944/1960, p. 4). Culture is then “a system of objects, activities, and attitudes in which every part exists as a means to an end” (p. 150) and regarding the type of activity it can be analyzed into “a number of aspects such as education, social control, economics, systems of knowledge, belief and morality, and also modes of creative and artistic expression” (p. 150).

At this point we note that Tylor’s break was in fact an addition, as were subsequent “ruptures”, because they didn’t substitute the scope of culture, rather they expanded it.

With this in mind, the scientific notion of culture soon expanded to other disciplines, like psychology, sociology, semiotics and communication.

In sociology, for example, where Émile Durkheim, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons are references, culture is approached as a system of meanings, values and norms; in the Marxist conception, the means of intellectual and cultural production are ensured by the dominant class; in the symbolic and structural perspective, which mainly evolved in 19th century France based on linguistic studies by Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson and developed by Lévi-Strauss, culture is an expression of a deep structure which rules cultural forms, as Ferin systematize in her book (2002).

This expansion soon led to the need to create new expressions, such as subculture (meaning in sociology the urban communities distinguished by social classes, ethnic groups or interests) popular culture and mass culture, two sometimes equivalent expressions, which brings us to another major step towards understanding culture today.

The third step: the Culture Industry

Until the 19th century culture was still related to the upper class, who had access to paintings, books, concerts and theaters. During the second half of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century, viewing social, economic, technological and labor transformations based on seriation, the effect of the second industrial revolution began to appear in the first forms of culture mediatization through mass media: the press (in a format accessible to everyone), photography, radio, cinema and television. Through radio, a Beethoven concert can be heard by anyone; a published book can be read by the proletariat. Mass culture is therefore possible with mass media, which is consumed by mass society, constituted of anonymous people from heterogeneous groups, socially, culturally and economically.

In the 20th century with the emergence of mass society and mass media, two great concepts were articulated — one emerging from Marxist thought and the other from liberals — with different views on mass culture that are important to trace because of their legacy today. We are talking about the Frankfurt School on one hand, and Cultural Studies on the other, each having evolved in the mid-20th century.

The concept of a “culture industry” (singular) was created by Frankfurt School philosophers Max Horkheimer (1895-1973) and Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), who developed the “Critical Theory”. In their opinion there is no longer a “culture” but a culture industry, since culture has become reproducible and industrialized.

These German theorists started from a classic conception of culture, where the work of art has an “aura”, a word coined by Walter Benjamin in the well-known essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (originally published in 1936), referring to its uniqueness, authenticity and tradition in a specific time and space (1936/1992, p. 298). The reproduction of a work of art causes it to lose its “aura”, its “unique existence at the place where it happens to be” (idem) and its “presence in time and space” (idem), detached from its history. In this context, Horkheimer and Adorno argue that the cultural industry is the symbol of anti-Enlightenment, because it allows the reproduction of the work of art (film and photography being the most powerful ones). This apocalyptic vision radically influenced studies on communication and mass culture, and was described in their famous book *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, first published in 1944.

In their chapter entitled *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception*, the authors make a provocative statement that illustrates their line of discourse: “Culture today is infecting everything with sameness” (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002, p. 94). Furthermore, they say that “to speak about culture always went against the grain of culture” (p.104), since “the general designation, culture, already contains, virtually, the process of identifying, cataloging and classifying which imports culture into the realms of administration” (idem). These statements reinforce their classic concept of culture and introduce a position opposing the anthropological view of culture.

According to Horkheimer and Adorno, the culture industry originated in the liberal industrial countries where “all its characteristic media, especially cinema, radio, jazz and magazines also triumph” (1944/2002, p. 105). In an objective criticism of the United States, where they both were exiled during Nazism and began to study American society, they see radio, literature, cinema and music as a business, not as arts. The culture industry is an entertainment business that controls consumers: “The more strongly the culture industry entrenches itself, the more it can do as it chooses with the needs of consumers — producing, controlling, disciplining them” (p. 115).

If the culture of consumption follows a strategy of selling in order to distract a less enlightened mass audience, the quality of supply becomes low, causing apathy and aesthetic impoverishment. This is the turning point for Adorno and Horkheimer: true art is replaced by a series of effects and patterns in order to unify tastes. In this sense, culture is standardized and organized for the mass market, which in turn imposes stereotypes and low quality. Cultural goods are valued for the prospect of profit and not for their own content.

A few years later, Adorno wrote an essay entitled *Culture Industry Reconsidered* (first

published in 1963) where he reinforces the concept by distinguishing it from “mass culture”. While the latter “is a matter of something like a culture that arises spontaneously from the masses themselves, the contemporary form of popular art” (Adorno, 1963/1991, p. 98), the culture industry is the extreme opposite, as it fuses the “old and familiar into a new quality” (idem), meaning that cultural products are tailored for the masses according to a determined plan. The word “industry” corresponds to standardization, so in the end the consumer is not the subject but an object. Individuality is replaced by pseudo-individuality, as the culture industry, through its ubiquity, repetition and standardization, controls consumer tastes.

Adorno and Horkheimer’s proposition received much criticism which persists even today, although many groups still see popular and mass cultural manifestations as a lower form of culture, and the media as a mediators of them. For example, Santos (2007, p. 23) points to the fact that Horkheimer and Adorno reject the originality of popular cultures and the cultural potential of mass cultures and, when using “culture industry” in a singular form, see the field as a unified concept, attached to pre-industrial forms of cultural production, which is wrong because different media have different logics of production. Santos also points out that even in the Frankfurt School itself, Walter Benjamin, in his famous essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* Op. cit., says that the art of cinema, for example, is only conceived in the reproduction stage. So, art lost its aura, but that isn’t necessarily a bad thing, it’s only obsolete thinking about art as a unique piece.

We also know that in today’s society the characteristics of reproducibility do not exclude difference. According to João Pissarra Esteves (1998, p. 2), the differences in the format and content of cultural goods provided by the modern media contradict precisely the supposed homogenization of the culture industry.

The fourth step: culture as an ordinary and whole way of life

In England during the 1950s and 1960s a project arose that aimed to study everyday cultural practices in the context of the media. Born at the Center of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, it is now known as Cultural Studies. In part, Cultural Studies arose precisely as an intellectual response to the changes advocated by Walter Benjamin in 1930, and by Adorno and Horkheimer in the 1940s: the impact of television, newspapers, magazines and advertising, and the advent of subcultures and new forms of popular culture that began to take a leadership role, assisted by mass media and new technologies. In this period, “culture” was abandoned to affirm various cultures and cultural practices. Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and Edward Thompson are considered to be the founders of Cultural Studies.

The key aspect of Cultural Studies in England was, according to Bill Schwarz, “the transposition of qualitative coordinates — aesthetic and ethical — associated with literary criticism to practices of active or popular cultures” (Schwarz, 2000, p. 47). This author enumerates the starting points of Cultural Studies:

A identificação explícita das culturas vivas como um objecto distinto de estudo, o reconhecimento da autonomia e complexidade das formas simbólicas por direito próprio, a crença de que as classes populares possuíam as suas próprias formas culturais merecedoras deste nome, recusando todas as denúncias, por parte da cultura de elite, de barbárie das classes mais baixas, e a insistência em que o estudo da cultura não deveria estar confinado a uma única disciplina mas era necessariamente inter- ou mesmo anti-disciplinar (...)³

In this context, we can introduce the sense of culture as “a whole way of life”, as proposed by Raymond Williams in his groundbreaking book entitled *Culture and Society* — that “culture is not only a body of intellectual and imaginative work; it is also and essentially a whole way of life” (1960, p. 344). More importantly, he maintains the hypothesis that culture is common, in a well-known essay, entitled *Culture is Ordinary* first published in 1958:

Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes and its own meanings. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning. (...) A culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions, which its members are trained to; and the new observations and meanings, which are offered and tested. These are the ordinary processes of human societies and human minds, and we see through them the nature of culture: that it is always both traditional and creative; that it is both the most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings. We use the word culture in these two senses: to mean a whole way of life — the common meaning; and to mean the arts and learning — the special processes of discovery and creative effort. (1958/2002, p. 93)

Since it is ordinary, culture is ubiquitous, from higher to lower classes. There is no such thing as elite culture or popular culture. On the other hand, culture isn't restricted to artistic production — it includes all expressions and values of people. The supremacy of high culture is, therefore, dethroned.

³ Our suggestion of translation to English: “explicit identification of active cultures as a distinct object of study, recognition of the autonomy and complexity of symbolic forms in their own right, the belief that the popular classes themselves possess cultural forms worthy of the name, refusing all complaints by the elite culture of the barbarism of lower classes, and the insistence that the study of culture should not be confined to a single discipline, but was necessarily inter- or even anti-disciplinary”.

It's important to note that in regard to the difference between society and culture, in 1949, thirty years before Raymond Williams, Kluckhohn argued that culture referred to "the total way of life" shared by a community within society, not necessarily by the whole society. Living in society, meaning sharing a social space, does not include necessarily sharing an unique way of life. However, it was Williams who established it.

In 1961, in another essay on the analysis of culture, Williams furthers what he had said in *Culture is Ordinary* — that there are three general categories in the definition of culture: the ideal, meaning the process of human perfection; the documentary, meaning the body of intellectual and imaginative work (where arts are included) and the social definition, meaning the whole way of life or everyday culture (Williams, 1961/1998, p. 48).

For the authors of Cultural Studies and others, mass culture is not just a product of the media, but the mediated result of different dimensions of communication and cultures, meaning that it results from the coexistence of several cultures in modern policultural societies. However, the media is the central element of these societies, both a diffuser and producer of cultures.

There is no question thus that the notion of culture has changed with the expansion of media. As Fortman and Giles (2006) say, the most significant link between culture and communication is meaning. Culture has always passed from generation to generation, first through the family and community, now via the media. Communication through the media is now the primary method for exchanging information about culture and, for example, the theory of "mosaic culture" by the French engineer, physicist and philosopher Abraham Moles demonstrates that there is a new form of knowledge, fragmented and randomly assembled, that results from the mass media:

La culture nouvelle en est essentiellement different, nous l'appellerons «mosaïque»; elle repose sur l'idée de l'existence de deux couches sociales, la masse alimentée par les *mass media*, arrosée par ceux-ci, immergée dans un flux continu de messages de toute espèce, de tout propos, mais digérant sans effort et sans durée (...). A côté, une autre couche est la société intellectuelle des créateurs (au sens le plus prosaïque du terme), elle aussi immergée dans le flux de la culture mosaïque, mais qui y réagit d'une façon different. Elle absorbe des éléments qui sont proposés pour en faire une série d'autres messages, plus ou moins originaux, qui vont être diffusés par les *mass media*. (1966, p. 2) ⁴

4 Our suggestion of translation to English: "The new culture is essentially different, we will call it 'mosaïque'; it relies on the idea of two social classes, the mass fed by the mass media, immersed in a continuous stream of messages of any kind, but without effort and digesting time (...); the other is the intellectual society of creators who also emerge from the culture 'mosaïque' but react in a different way. They absorb the elements proposed to create other messages, more or less original, which will then disseminated by the mass media".

Therefore, in this cycle, fragments can contain elements of classic culture, mass culture and other dimensions of culture that are continually apprehended and recreated.

We can relate in some way this “mosaic culture” to the concept of “hybrid culture” advanced by Néstor García Canclini because he argues in *Hybrid Cultures — Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* that the hybrid culture is originated in the fusion between popular manifestations and mass culture, between consumer styles of different generations, and that the so-called elite culture can’t be set apart from this global phenomenon (1995, p. xxxiv).

In short, in this major step in defining culture, it is recognized that culture has an intrinsic association with everyday life, which means that both are highly complex, fragmented concepts and continually constructed terms, evolving alongside the societies.

The fifth step: culture within cultural and creative industries

From the mid 1980s the term “culture” began to be inseparable from the notion of cultural industries, and in the late 1990s it became linked with the creative industries, with repercussions of how the media cover culture.

Cultural industries

Against the homogeneity, lack of authenticity or originality that the singular expression “cultural industry” created by Horkheimer and Adorno meant, authors in the 1980s began to use it with a plural meaning at a time when everybody was paying attention to the possibility of producing value from arts and culture in general.

The complexity of the concept of cultural industries and the cultural sectors it includes is indicative of the variety of definitions and approaches made by many authors, some of which are summarized in Rogério Santos’ book *Indústrias Culturais. Imagens, Valores e Consumos* (2006), who gave an essential contribute to the review of literature in this field.

According to UNESCO, cultural industries

combine the creation, production and commercialization of contents which are intangible and cultural by nature, add individual and social value to content and are based on knowledge and intensive labor, create jobs and wealth, nurture creativity and develop innovation in production and marketing processes. (2006, p. 3)

These industries are thus important because they can contribute to the wealth and identity of a country, creating jobs, increasing cultural production and innovating.

For UNESCO, the sectors which are part of cultural industries include: publishing (newspapers, magazines, books, etc.), music, audiovisual technology (cinema and television), electronics (multimedia), video games and the Internet. In some countries they can also include design, architecture, visual and performing arts, fashion, sports, advertising and cultural tourism through generating value.

Types of cultural industries also varies, as Rogério Santos systematizes: French sociologist Patrice Flichy distinguishes cultural goods such as cinema, which are sold on the market, and culture flow, which corresponds to continuous and massively disseminated products such as newspapers (Santos, 2007, p. 24). French media theorist Bernard Miège distinguishes three types, using the weight of their symbolic creation as his criteria: technological devices not incorporated into the work of the artist, the reproducible products (books, music and film performances), which focus on the visibility of the artist and the logic of cultural goods, and thirdly, works of limited reproducibility or rarity (such as lithographs and limited editions) strategy (2007, p. 25).

The English media theorist David Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp. 12-14) gives us a key to understanding what cultural industries are and their contribution to the definition of culture today. Cultural industries are those whose principal activity is to produce symbolic content or create “texts” (meaning cultural products of any kind, which in essence produce symbolic content) and communicate with an audience. All goods are subject to cultural interpretation and social consumption.

In this sense, the core businesses of cultural industries deal primarily with the industrial production and circulation of “texts”: broadcasting (radio and television industries, including cable, satellite and digital forms); film industries (including dissemination of films on video, DVD, television and online); the content aspects of the Internet industry; the music industry (recording, publishing and live performance); print and electronic publishing industry (books, CDs, podcasts, newspapers and magazines); video and computer games; advertising and marketing. There are also “peripheral” cultural industries, such as sports because it includes many live performances; industry software and hardware because it involves the creation of the technology by which we experience texts; the fashion industry because it includes design creativity.

According to the author there are three main reasons why cultural industries matter: first, they make and circulate texts that influence our understanding of the world (we all watch TV, read newspapers, listen to the radio); second, they manage and circulate creativity for the purposes of entertainment, information by the symbolic creators; finally, they are agents of economic, social and cultural change, contributing to wealth and employment, and in essence to all aspects of the information society, based on information and knowledge (2007, pp. 3-9).

With the rise of cultural industries, culture adopted the logistics of industrialization, mass production and service. Media became legitimized as a form of culture. As Mark Deuze points out, “media production as a form of culture creation is quickly becoming a core industrial (and individual) activity in the globally emerging cultural economy” (2009, p. 22).

The work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is very important in regard to the field of cultural production and cultural capital, but as we shall see, it has some shortcomings. The field is defined as a system of social positions structured in terms of power relations (Bourdieu, 1997, 1989, 1984). In each field — political, juridical or cultural — the dominant classes are the ones with higher capital. For example, the artistic field includes not only the creator himself, but also agents, producers, critics, collectors and other intermediaries, who have different roles with higher or lower importance in the production of value for the artist and the work of art (1989, pp. 290-291).

For Bourdieu, the field where social differences are most expressed is the cultural one because they are identified in each act of consumption through the instruments of economic and cultural appropriation (1989, p. 226).

He goes even further on this idea, arguing that that cultural practice and symbolic exchange legitimize social differences through preferences in music, literature, visual arts and so on. Distinctions of taste and the patterns of cultural *consumption* are not only socially stratified but are also productive sources of power. He conducted research about culture consumption patterns during the ‘70s, where he concludes that cultural taste of the diverse social classes are influenced by education, family and social trajectories; in this sense, the cultural capital would be incorporated in the dominant classes. These conclusions are included in one of his most important works — *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984).

However, Bourdieu was highly criticized for this. First, he didn’t include popular culture in his metrics: later, John Fiske created the notion “popular cultural capital” (1988), relatively autonomous from economic capital, because the cultural capital of a person can acknowledge either a classic composer or the latest pop singer. Second, Hesmondhalgh (2006) points out that Bourdieu didn’t include cultural industries, particularly media, as influencers of cultural capital. However, the most widely consumed cultural products are those disseminated by the media, for which he offers no account. In this point, it is a fact that his work about the field of cultural production (1993) is focused only on literature and art, a highly selective and reductive production, as it is confirmed right in the first pages.

Creative industries

In December 2002, John Howkins, the well-known British author of *The Creative Economy* envisioned the end of the Information Society for a creative one:

I define an IS [Information Society] as a society characterized by people spending most of their time and making most of their money by handling information, usually by means of technology. If I was a bit of data I would be proud of living in an information society. But as a thinking, emotional, creative being — on a good day, anyway — I want something better. (2007, p. 117)

“Something better” is for Hawkins a creative environment, where information is challenged in an active, clever and persistent way:

Ideas and information are symbiotically intertwined. But when I say I have an idea I am expressing a more personal view, and making a different claim, from when I say I have some information. (...) We need to be original, skeptical, argumentative, often bloody-minded and occasionally downright negative — in a word, creative. (2007, pp. 117-118)

With creative industries, culture became more attached to creativity (as it already was in cultural industries). On one hand, creativity is a new idea, which is personal, original, meaningful and useful. However, in order to be considered in the scope of a creative industry it has to have commercial value.

John Hartley gives one of the best comprehensive definitions of creative industries:

The idea of Creative Industries seeks to describe the *conceptual and practical convergence* of the Creative Arts (individual talent) with Cultural Industries (mass scale) in the context of New Media Technologies (ICTs) within a New Knowledge Economy, for the use of newly Interactive Citizen-Consumers. (2007, p. 5)

For Hartley, the fact that creative industries combine the arts with cultural industries is important, because this change allows the arts to integrate large scale industries, surpassing old dichotomies such as arts/entertainment and high/popular culture.

So, creativity is the key element of this economic sector. The formal mapping of these industries was done in a series of documents called *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (originally published in 1998 and updated in 2001), in the UK, by the British Labour government led by Tony Blair, in the scope of a Creative Industries Task Force, which became the main political activity of the new Department of Culture, Media and Sport. These documents, organized in sectors, acknowledged that creative industries contributed about 5 per cent of total UK national income, generating revenues of around £112,5 billion a year and accounted

for about 1,3 million jobs (UK Gov., 2001, p. 10). They identified 13 creative industries sectors: advertising, architecture, arts and antique markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software (electronic games), music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio.

This British phenomenon soon spread all over the world. Some countries followed this mapping, becoming case-studies in terms of promotion and incentive politics, including Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and many countries in Europe. Portugal is also on this list (Augusto Mateus & Associados, 2013).

The definition and mapping of creative industries embraces many contributions by different authors investing in specific aspects. The north-American professor Richard Caves (2003) explores the organization scope, particularly contracts between creatives and agents, such as art galleries, publishers or record labels, which is particularly relevant if we consider in advance that some artists are a bit resistant to the commercialization of their works in the same marketing logic as any other product and others don't have management and marketing skills.

The Australian Stuart Cunningham points out that the term "creative industries" brings together a range of sectors which have not typically been linked with each other and is useful in the way that it mainstreams the economic value of the arts and media (2009). "Mainstream" is a key word here, if we remember that historically, arts were very far from this scenario.

The north-American Richard Florida, best-known for his concept of creative class and its implications for creative cities, uses a bohemian index (the relative concentration of artists, writers, musicians and other artistic professionals) and a gay index to determine the existence of this class in cities, arguing that the presence of these groups is an "indicator of an underlying culture that's open minded and diverse — and thus conducive to creativity" (2002, p. xvii).

However, the distinction between cultural and creative industries is not clear, either because culture and creativity and the related industries are sometimes seen as the same thing (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Cunningham, 2003) or because the criteria used to define cultural industries are the same for creative industries (O'Connor, 2010). That is why we see them being used together as "cultural and creative industries" or as "cultural and creative sector", especially in the political agenda.

In comparison with cultural industries, for UNESCO (2006) the creative sector includes a broader range: the cultural industries themselves plus all cultural or artistic production, whether live or produced as individual units. The product or service contains a "substantial element of artistic or creative endeavor" (2006, p. 3) and includes activities such as architecture and advertising. Hesmondhalgh also sees a major difference: creative industries incorporate symbolic meanings and production methods on an industrial scale in cinema, audiovisuals, recorded music, and in creative arts such as theatre or concerts, which performative essence is not industrial, but are marketed in DVDs, TV and even in cinema on an industrial scale (2007).

We argue that this model allows culture to be seen as a service linked to entrepreneurship, media agenda, commerce and goods, and it contributed to the way we see cultural journalism today — linked to service, lifestyle, creativity and goods.

The sixth step: culture in a digital environment

Digital culture or cyberculture includes the whole contemporary culture that arises with digital technology in cyberspace or the virtual space (Lévy, 1997/2007). Digitalization and convergence put cultural products (as a result/good or the cultural and creative industries themselves) on the economic, political and social agenda even more. Culture began to be seen as a service, as a way to make profit, to contribute to countries' Gross Domestic Product and to employ people. More than ever, cultural objects are presented as consumer goods and are sometimes transformed into cultural goods linked to a specific lifestyle.

Although we will look closer at these concepts in Chapter III, we will explain them briefly now. The digital environment has digitalization at its core in the development of digital electronic storage and transmission (in binary code) of images, sounds, videos and texts that can be read and stored in computers. Digitalization had a tremendous effect on existing cultural and creative industries, such as cinema and music, but also allowed new cultural forms. The video game industry is one of the best examples.

The father of the convergence concept is Henry Jenkins, for whom “it’s a word that describes technological, industrial, cultural and social changes in the ways media circulates within our culture” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 282). These changes include:

the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, the search for new structures of media financing that fall at the interstices between old and new media, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who would go almost anywhere in search of the kind of entertainment experiences they want. (p. 282)

This definition can definitely be applied to cultural forms: music, films and books are aggregated in websites, for example; multiple media industries work on the release of films that are transmediated to other forms of media, like games, fan websites and promotional packages.

Since the 1980s, the way we produce, consume and distribute cultural goods has undergone profound changes. For example, cultural products increasingly circulate across national borders. This has two consequences: on one hand, “images, sounds and narratives are borrowed and adapted from other places”, producing new hybrids; on the other hand, this “reaffirms the value of cultural authenticity” (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p. 2). Local arts and crafts and traditional festivals of specific regions are good examples of the latter.

The cultural industries themselves no longer specialize in one medium such as film, publishing or TV. Even traditional print newspapers have been obliged to offer digital content on the Internet or WebTV. At the same time, small and medium-size companies in the business of culture began to disseminate products (video producers, niche media companies, independent theatre companies, etc.) and consultancy services. These changes accompanied those in the communication and advertising areas. Creative industries, such as design, advertising and software, experienced a huge boom in services to companies, which led to greater emphasis on audience research and marketing as cultural tastes and habits became more complex and attached to lifestyles.

Moreover, and this is a crucial point, Hesmondhalgh points out that texts (as he calls “cultural works of all kinds”, such as films, records, books, comics, magazines, images, newspapers, etc.) have undergone radical transformation, crossing a wider range of genres, forms and activities (2007, p. 2).

This also changed traditional cultural policy and regulation of intellectual property. Copyright is now a huge problem, since in a participatory culture everyone can share or use work that isn't theirs; the increasing penetration of advertising material in all cultural industries is another complex issue. Open Source, Creative Commons licenses and other networked models in which amateurs take a relevant part are all consequences of a digital culture.

As we can see from the examples above, the Internet affects cultural production, distribution and consumption: cultural forms are available anytime, anywhere, eliminating entry barriers for small organizations; file sharing is much easier (although this aspect is part of a bigger copyright problem); and it allows for much greater audience participation. It is the foundation of participatory culture, another phrase from Henry Jenkins, meaning a “culture in which fans and other consumers are invited to actively participate in the creation and circulation of new content” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 290).

Even in the scope of writing this thesis, the digital environment facilitated almost unlimited access to sources and facilitated its organization. It would be almost impossible to read first editions of referenced authors (some libraries give full access to digitalizations); it would have been much more difficult to search for keywords without Google Scholar, open repositories, digital versions of scientific articles and the other voices that I had access to — journalists, specialists, bloggers and other intermediaries all over the world. Mendeley was an important tool for managing the bibliographic references used for this book.

In a very interesting study about the digitalization of cultural industries in Spain and the rest of the world, Enrique Bustamante and his team (2010) presented trends that have become widespread in 2020. Traditional cultural forms (such as painting, theatre and dance) have gradually submitted to market rules in order to survive. The most significant change has occurred among museums through their investing in merchandising, restaurants and coffee shops, attracting new forms of sponsoring and audiences as the Guggenheim

Museum and Louvre have done. The media have been adjusting to a combined show and celebrity logic, introducing info shows and reality shows as a way to mix information and entertainment. The “Masterchef” series or programs which apparently document a way of life (Amish, little people, patients with chronic diseases) but in fact rely on voyeuristic information and showmanship are good examples of this. The Internet converts original works into a cultural industry, defined by its mass immaterial reproducibility, such as a live concert shared digitally, a virtual museum or gallery. Other industries, such as the publishing and music businesses, are facing many difficulties to compete in a free access virtual world, forcing them to create new business models.

Through social media, citizen journalism and other instruments of participatory culture, digitalization has led to a collective culture where anyone can contribute, add and edit content (wiki logic) but also where mistakes, unauthenticated sources and lack of credibility and specialization are proliferating. Our pre-digital cultural heritage, such as studying to understand a topic through the original sources rather than accessing information on Wikipedia, must be protected.

The relation of culture with technology, innovation, creativity and industry is also visible in the funding of programs and initiatives all over the world. For example, Zinc Shower in Spain is an annual event that chooses the most innovative projects in cultural and creative industries and affords them access to investors, sponsorships and other types of financing. In Portugal, the multinational Unicer allied with Serralves Foundation (operating in the arts sector) to release the “Creative Industries Award” to help start-up projects in the creative sectors. In England, the Arts Council has special funds to finance creative industries, the arts in general, digital innovation in arts, cultural tourism and multichannel networks for the arts.

In the context of Portuguese initiative “Culture 2020”, the Government invited researchers and consultants to develop studies in order to deepen the discussion about cultural policy. Between 2013 and 2015 three major studies were presented: the first one presents an average annual growth of 10 per cent of cultural and creative exports. In creative and related industries it includes design, arts and crafts, visual arts, performative arts, publishing, new media, audiovisuals, advertising, architecture, film, music, heritage and software, along with research activities in these areas (Augusto Mateus & Associados, 2013); the second one (Tavares, 2014) concludes that although culture and economy diverge, for example because of the inherent difficulty in measuring the value of a cultural good, among others, it is essential to the wealth of a country, in tangible and intangible terms; the third one advises on the creation of financial incentives adequate to the characteristics of culture and creativity, investor and promoter (We Consultants, 2014).

The new funding program by European Commission for the cultural sector is strategically called *Creative Europe* and its headline is *Supporting Europe’s cultural and creative*

sectors. They favor European networks, platform projects and cooperation projects between countries, in a convergence approach.

The *Cultural Data Project* (<http://www.culturaldata.org/>) in the USA is dedicated to treating data from the cultural sector to plan and evaluate grant-making activities more effectively. The last annual world summits of IFFACA (International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies) also indicate what is on the world agenda in this sector. In 2014, the theme was *Creative Times: New Models for Cultural Development*; in 2013, the world summit was devoted to *Creative Intersections*; in 2012, the summit explored *Meeting of Cultures: Creating Meaning through the Arts*.

Today, there are many culture projects that wouldn't be possible in a non-digital environment, most of them in multimedia or a transmedia logic: for example, the *Historypin* (<http://www.historypin.com>) is a global project, created by a small association that achieved a partnership with Google maps, whose purpose is, through photos shared by all the peoples of the world, to offer glimpses of human history; *Kafka's wound* (<http://thespace.lrb.co.uk/>) is a digital literary essay that changes the way readers interact with the text; *Pictify* (<http://www.pictify.com>) is a social network for sharing art; *Toy stories* (<http://www.gabrielegalimberti.com>) by Gabriele Galimberti, began as a local photograph exposition and now is a multimedia story, available to anyone with Internet access. These are just four small projects, not to mention large ones such as the Google Arts & Culture, Spotify or videogames.

Thus, to the definitions of culture that we reviewed earlier in this chapter, we have to add one that has been taking shape in a digital environment — culture as a value-added contribution in the global information economy. Culture and creativity are now the center of public policy, as we have seen. Yet the need to revise the conventional understanding of culture remains, as Venturelli (2007) argues, although perhaps the need is for adding to it, not revising. She gives two reasons for this: first, information and cultural products are unlike other products in the economy, because ideas and cultural expression are not consumed one unit at the time and their value doesn't decrease with use; the second reason is not about the past legacy of culture but the possibilities now available for people to create new cultural forms or participate in them.

Cultural wealth can no longer be regarded in the legacy and industrial terms of our common understanding as something fixed, inherited, and mass-distributed, but as a measure of the vitality, knowledge, energy and dynamism in the production of ideas that pervades a given community (Venturelli, 2007, p. 396).

Shalini Venturelli argues that culture must be seen from a dynamic perspective, because only then can legacy and tradition have significance. In this reasoning, a culture persists if nations and people have the ability to invent, create and promote ideas across all social classes and groups. Thus, it is on this basis Venturelli concludes that culture can be seen as a key to the success of nations, and their wealth depends on “the capacity to invent and create

new forms of culture” (2007, p. 398). Nations should regard their creative work force “with at least the same value they once ascribed to their metals, mining, minerals, agricultural and heavy manufacturing industries” (idem).

Today, there are still some misconceptions regarding culture. We will end this subchapter with three.

Culture vs. arts

A misconception between arts and culture is obvious, such as when media which centres its activity in covering the arts is usually called “culture”. The confusion between culture and arts has an association with a dimension of culture as described by Arnold that still prevails today, that culture is linked to the perfection of the mind through arts. However, in this chapter we can see that artistic manifestations are only one dimension of culture.

Even the classification of arts themselves is not unanimous nowadays. To what was known as the seven fine arts — dance, music, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture and theatre/cinema — photography and comics were added. The debate now is whether video games and other digital media and culinary arts can be considered fine arts, although The National Endowment for the Arts in USA (<http://arts.gov/>) is already considering media arts as an artistic field.

Culture as an economic good

Regarding culture as a service or as a commercial good is not something we are used to. There are many authors that argue against this logic, simply because culture can't be consumed. For example, the French philosopher Bernard Stiegler argues that the new organization of the circulation of the symbolic within the culture industry, as described by Adorno and Horkheimer, produces a new form of memory that doesn't support an individual or a collective identity.

You encounter the production of symbols on the one hand, and the consuming of such symbols on the other—an *aporia* because it is impossible to consume a symbol. The symbol is not an object of consumption; it is an object of exchange, of circulation, or of the creation of circuits of trans-individuation. So this situation suddenly produced what I call short-circuiting—of trans-individuation. (Stiegler, 2010, para. 29)

From an economic perspective, contradictions and conflicts between culture and economy are clear. GANEC (2014) mentions seven (pp. 18-19) from which we highlight four: in terms of value, cultural goods are related to immaterial values, which are not measured easily and the final value outweighs the price of the material used in the creative work; regarding time, while most of the transactions in the traditional market relate to the present enjoyment and satisfaction of it, many art and culture products are intended to be enjoyed by future generations, yet unborn; finally, in terms of their intrinsic nature, many culture goods are enjoyed collectively in a social logic, not easily available to be acquired privately.

However, studies indicate that culture and creativity are contributing to the wealth of nations more than ever in tangible and intangible terms. They have a growing part in the annual incomes of countries and the numbers of associated jobs (Augusto Mateus & Associados, 2013). They have an impact on international trade, significantly contributing to the identity of a nation in ways that can impact on other countries. They are associated with higher happiness indicators, and are the main focus of the growth strategies of the European Commission within the Europe 2020 programme (GANEC, 2014).

Thus, although it is obvious that culture and creativity can't be seen exclusively as a trade good because of its social nature and because some arts have a political, sociological message which is not valued in economic terms, we have to look at its social and cultural capital as an instrument for improving countries and societies.

High culture, mass culture and popular culture

Even today, the dichotomy between high culture and popular culture still persists although both are increasingly accessible to everyone. It seems to be no doubt today that mass culture or popular culture "are" cultures, but a common misconception is to relate "high culture" to "good culture" and "popular culture" and "mass culture" to "inferior culture." This would imply that a Spielberg or a J. J. Abrams movie is a bad culture good and a concert opera is a high culture good. John Hartley (2004, p. 211) highlights the ambiguity of popular culture in the context of the mass media, common in academic and political debates: are the media products good because they are popular or bad because they are popular?

First, there is the ambiguity to know until which point popular cultural is *imposed* to people in general (by media and state agencies) or it *results* from their own tastes, experiences, habits, etc. Second, there is the ambiguity in the question of knowing until what point popular culture is a mere expression of the position of a subordinated and without power class, or is an autonomous source and potentially liberating of alternative ways of seeing and doing that may be opposed to the dominant and official culture. (Hartley, 2004, p. 211)

At this point, it is important to mention the “world-culture” concept introduced by Gilles Lipovetsky and Hervé Juvin (2011) which is substituting old dichotomies, which covers all areas on a global scale, is cosmopolitan and is cited in the media, films, audiovisuals, festivals, exhibitions and travel. This new world-culture is governed by the laws of marketplace and brands and, according to the authors, has become the dominant culture.

Umberto Eco (1964/1991) already claimed in 1964 that there was no space for high culture, mass culture or popular culture, but rather a very complex circulation of cultural values and very complex forms of reception in the way people consume or access culture. Nowadays, high culture doesn't necessarily belong to the elite classes: a comic book, for example, is a mass product which can be enjoyed by the elite, in the same way as any individual can read a poem by Proust or turn on the radio or TV to listen classical music or see an opera.

Edgar Morin (1965) goes further and says that if mass culture developed with clear common standards in 1925-1950, this new era of diversification implies that the concept risks becoming artificially unifying, since what we see now is “the proliferation of mutual combination between so-called higher culture and sectors of mass culture” (para. 9). The article is from 1965 which means that “today” was 40 years ago. The proliferation he mentions is even more obvious now in a digital environment.

I.3. What happened next?

In general terms, the definition of culture has changed over time and thus, it can have several meanings depending on the discipline, approach, economic and political forces, as well as geography. The meaning of culture ranges from process, discourse, and practice, to a product, representation, and communication. It is a fluid concept that can only be understood in the specific context of its use at a given moment.

Based on Raymond Williams' three broad categories of usage of the word *culture* (Williams, 1983), and revisiting them in a contemporary approach, we can state the following: from the 18th century onwards, *culture* describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development; also, *culture* can refer to the particular way of life of a people, a time period, a group, or humanity in general; and finally, *culture* can also describe the works and practices of intellectual and, particularly, artistic activity. The latter, Williams argued, was the most widely used meaning of *culture*: “culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film” (Williams, p. 90). Nowadays, this is still the most common view on what *culture* is as presented by the media, although the artistic activity today has expanded to other areas in the scope of the creative industries.

In the last five years, due to the growing importance of creative products, culture has reinforced its connection to creativity, enhanced by digital means, in order to generate

economic and social value; digital innovation is seen as a way of engaging audiences and providing services.

The meaning of *culture* has become more hybrid and homogeneous — the result of globalisation — but at the same time it has also become more polarised and multicultural, due in part to social media and the digital environment where we are all creators and producers.

Cultural communication has invested heavily in digital transformation to engage its audiences. In the case of museums, many of these have become virtual public spaces. This includes a website and the experiences that the user can have outside the museum's physical space. This is increasingly important given that, more than the objects themselves, it is now essential to give them a context to enrich the user's experience through adequate narratives. There are several experiences with virtual reality, augmented reality, or gamification, "turning museums' mediated communication into both a physical and a virtual affair" (Drotner et al., 2018, p. 1).

Innovation in cultural communication extends to many other cultural practices. Movies and series are now on streaming platforms, which have also become Oscar-winning filmmakers. Theatre and dance companies are betting on streaming and short videos for social media. Start-ups are investing in tourist itineraries with georeferenced cultural attractions. There are YouTube channels, podcasts, collaborative projects... The list is endless. Public spaces, such as libraries, cafes, and shopping centres, welcome cultural events. The common objective is to make culture part of people's daily lives, merging the consumer society with the culture of entertainment, and this is only achieved with the enhancement of narrative experiences and interactions with the user.

Chapter II:

Cultural journalism — discussing its scope and its contemporary issues

In 2001, Eduardo Prado Coelho, a well-known Portuguese essayist and literary critic, said in an article about cultural supplements (published in *Público*, a Portuguese daily newspaper) that we were witnessing the aestheticization of everyday life in parallel to the commercialization of artistic activities. This was his premise to assert that a cultural supplement shouldn't lose the quality and rigour of a specialized field just because the public wouldn't understand it without prior knowledge. This may seem a bit elitist, but it meant precisely the opposite.

A grande questão está em que, se não entendemos o futebol ou a informática, isso não agride o nosso narcisismo, mas, se não entendemos um suplemento de cultura, isso põe em causa aquilo que somos: e, não suportando que tal aconteça, em vez de procurarmos estar à altura do que existe, pretendemos que o que existe se reduza àquilo que neste momento somos. (...) Admitimos perfeitamente que, se temos deficiências na nossa formação profissional, devemos esforçar-nos por melhorá-la, mas continuamos a supor que, em relação à nossa formação cultural, ela nos deve chegar sem esforço da nossa parte. (...) Nesta medida, a retórica antielitista é a perigosíssima máscara da mediocridade.⁵ (Coelho, 2001, para. 2)

This passage touches on several important issues regarding cultural journalism, such as the role of cultural journalists, the relationship between them and the public and the place of criticism. Coelho finishes the article by saying that journalism is not education. This opinion can be accepted if we understand the complex and hybrid role of cultural journalism — surely journalists are an important part of public education — but he was defending a sphere of cultural journalism that is getting less and less attention: professional criticism, critical discourse and what we might call “putting all artistic manifestations in the same bag”. He says that we can't talk about a José Tolentino Mendonça book in the same way that we talk

⁵ Our suggestion of translation to English: “The big question is that if we don't understand football or information technology, that doesn't assault our narcissism, but if we don't understand a cultural supplement, it undermines what we are: and not bearing it out, instead of trying to stay ahead, we want it to be reduced to what we are at the moment. (...) We freely admit that if we have deficiencies in our professional training we should improve it, but we still assume that, regarding cultural education, it should reach us without effort. (...) To this extent, the anti-elitist rhetoric is a very dangerous mask of mediocrity”.

about a Susana Tamaro best-seller (para. 2), because a critical review about the former has to represent the profound depth and richness of the work. The journalistic approach to culture can put a best seller and a high culture piece on the same page and treat them with the same discourse — which raises another major contemporary question on the topic.

We can answer Eduardo Prado Coelho with the reflections of another journalist: in the same year Mário Mesquita stressed that, regarding cultural journalism

um dos responsáveis pela Televisão da Galiza, José Durán, sublinhou que o tratamento jornalístico da cultura deve ser encarado, em simultâneo, como forma diferenciada e autónoma, com programas específicos, mas também com participações avulsas e fragmentárias integradas no todo informativo. A coexistência das duas dimensões — permito-me acrescentar — é essencial, a fim de garantir, simultaneamente, o tratamento aprofundado das temáticas culturais mas também que estas não fiquem confinadas a um gueto.⁶ (Mesquita, 2001)

To those who question the legitimacy of specialization in cultural journalism, it became important more than ever to make sense of the cultural word. In the words of Mário Mesquita (2001), specialized information must be contextualized disclosure without confusing it with superficial knowledge, under the strategies and interests of cultural marketing.

It is becoming more and more difficult to deconstruct cultural journalism, because, as we saw in the previous chapter, culture too has been transforming at an overwhelming speed — too fast for the public, for journalists and the consumers from traditional culture forms to digest. The digital environment is not the only reason, but it surely enhances this transformation. It's about the blurring boundaries of arts *versus* entertainment, high culture *versus* popular culture, pure culture *versus* economics, creativity within culture *versus* creativity in economic and entrepreneurial perspectives. It's about the overwhelming quantity of cultural offers and initiatives the media can't cover. It's about all the other players — the institutions and public — who participate through social media in roles which once belonged only to journalists and their editors.

In this chapter, we will try to deconstruct these issues. Cultural journalism is a vast field and has been the subject of many studies around the world. We will focus on those that are the most significant in thinking about cultural journalism in a digital environment and to the field of study.

6 Our suggestion of translation to English: “one of the responsible for the Galician TV, José Durán, stressed ut that the journalistic treatment of culture should be seen simultaneously in a differentiated and autonomous approach, with specific programs, but also with loose and fragmented participations integrated into the information whole. The coexistence of two dimensions, may I add, is essential to ensure both in-depth treatment of cultural themes and defending them from being confined to a ghetto”.

II. 1. Arts journalism, cultural journalism or journalism on culture?

As an international phenomenon, the first thing to consider is the name of the field itself, since it varies around the globe. We can see this both in the name of media sections regarding culture (for example, *The New York Times* and *Diário de Notícias* use “arts”; *The Washington Post* and *The New York Post* name the section “Entertainment”; *The New Yorker*, *The Guardian*, *El País*, *Der Spiegel*, *Público* and *Le Monde* use “culture”)⁷ and the term as used by researchers in scientific articles.

In United States, for example, it is usual to talk about arts journalism and not cultural journalism. Many people don't make any connection between the two terms. I experienced this first hand on my first visit to University of Texas at Austin. I was talking to some teachers and students about the theme of my thesis, and nobody understood what “cultural journalism” meant. “Is this about the question of minorities?” is it “Culture of what?”, some asked. When I explained, they would say, “Oh, it's reporting the arts” or “that's arts journalism”. Ironically, at the same time I had the opportunity to visit a start-up web and mobile media service focused on covering culture, Culture Map Austin (<http://austin.culturemap.com>), where the editorial director explained to me that arts were just a part of culture and that arts journalism was confined to arts and entertainment. He couldn't justify why it shouldn't be called cultural journalism instead.

Another interesting thing is that Culture Map Austin focuses on arts, city life, fashion, real estate, innovation, entertainment and even sports. “Why sports?” I asked. The answer was peremptory: sports are an important cultural feature of Austin and it is an important activity, like a festival or concert. It has an influence on the way of life, on the way young girls dress, and why people gather in the street and have barbecues on game day. So, it was a cultural view of sports from an anthropological approach, because they see the culture as a member and define it in its own terms.

This is just one example of the heterogeneous approaches to culture by the media. The International Sport and Culture Association (ISCA) views sport as a cultural pursuit in their Aims and Objectives, as do many universities in their flyers. Returning to the term of culture in academic research, most north-American researchers use “arts journalism” (Szánto

⁷ *Diário de Notícias* (<http://www.dn.pt> / <http://www.dn.pt/inicio/artes/>) and *Público* (<http://www.publico.pt> / <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon>) are daily Portuguese newspapers; *The New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com> / <http://www.nytimes.com/pages/arts/>), *The Washington Post* (<http://www.washingtonpost.com> / <http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/>) and *The New York Post* (<http://nypost.com> / <http://nypost.com/entertainment/>) are daily newspapers from USA; *The New Yorker* (<http://www.newyorker.com> / <http://www.newyorker.com/culture>) is a magazine from USA, too. *The Guardian* (<http://www.theguardian.com/uk> / <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/culture>), *El País* (<http://elpais.com> / <http://cultura.elpais.com/>), *Der Spiegel* (<http://www.spiegel.de/> / <http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/>) and *Le Monde* (<http://www.lemonde.fr/> / <http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/>) are daily newspapers from UK, Spain, Germany and France, in this order.

et al., 2004; Greenwald-Gonella, 2010; Keller, 2010) and they focus mostly on arts and entertainment. Most universities have Master's degrees in arts journalism or in reporting the arts, such as USC Annenberg, in Southern California, Syracuse University, School of the Art Institute in Chicago and New York University.

In Latin-American countries, such as Argentina (Dillon, 2011; Rivera, 2006), Brazil (Faro, 2006, 2009; Melo, 2013; Gadini, 2010; Basso, 2008; Alzamora, 2005) and Mexico (Blanco, 2005) the legacy of culture is much stronger and it has an intimate link to politics. The term used is “periodismo cultural” (cultural journalism) and it has a similar scope in Portugal.

The same term is used in Spain (Pastoriza, 2006; García & Pereiro, 2005), in Portugal, as “jornalismo cultural” (Santos Silva, 2012) and in France, as *journalisme culturel* (Spano, 2011). In Germany, both terms are used, although with equivalent meaning. For example, Janne Sundqvist (2011, p. 3) says in the beginning of her article that the difficulty of defining arts journalism has to do with the changes in defining culture, so the scope of art and culture is the same in the end. The same logic appears in South Africa (Botma, 2008), and in the United Kingdom, where Paul Bradshaw (2012a) uses “cultural journalism” and Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) use “arts journalism”. So, we conclude that this is the author's choice rather than a country heritage.

In Scandinavian countries, where we find very dynamic research about cultural journalism (Jaakkola, 2014, 2013, 2012; Kristensen & From, 2013; Kristensen, 2010; From, 2010), researchers are suggesting the use of the term “journalism on culture” instead of “cultural journalism” for reasons we will see later in the chapter; finally, in the Netherlands, “arts journalism” and “journalism of art and culture” (Janssen et al., 2008) are common uses with the same meaning and scope of the last one.

For the purpose of this thesis we use the concept “cultural journalism,” not only because of its long tradition as a research subject, but also because as we have already argued in Chapter I, the arts are just one area of culture and the most common misconception regarding culture is to reduce it to artistic expression. The Brazilian researcher Basso (2008, p. 69) says precisely that: “*não se deve relacionar ao jornalismo cultural apenas as temáticas tradicionalmente conhecidas como as sete artes e nem só a cultura erudita. Se por jornalismo cultural fosse entendida apenas a produção de artes, ele deveria chamar-se simplesmente jornalismo de artes*”⁸.

8 Our suggestion of translation to English: “we can't relate cultural journalism only to the subjects traditionally known as arts or to high culture, because if it was only the arts production, well, it should be then called arts journalism”.

II. 2. Definitions and scopes of cultural journalism

Historically speaking, cultural journalism has emerged as a field associated with the so-called “high culture” in the context of the aesthetic view of culture. That can explain why there is still an apparent similarity between the terms “arts” and “culture”, enhanced by the media, and a reductive approach to culture, also by the media, as the field of artistic manifestations (Santos Silva, 2012).

Cultural journalism has evolved alongside “culture,” as we saw in Chapter I, adjusting to their two basic scopes: the “enlightened” (which was restricted to the field of fine arts) and the anthropological approach created by E. B. Tylor and later extended to everyday life by Richard Williams and other scholars from Cultural Studies. Mass culture started to reflect entertainment and leisure from the mid-1980s, and with the advent of cultural and creative industries in the late ‘90s cultural journalism also suffered deep changes, along with the concept of culture.

Particularly in the digital environment in the last twenty years, the configuration of cultural journalism regarding editorial and business models has undergone profound changes. Recent debates on cultural journalism portray a crisis in the more “classical” tradition and a decline in the amount and significance of serious reviews as well as in the critical and analytical aspect of cultural and artistic issues, primarily reflecting an orientation towards entertainment, service, agenda, and celebrities (Jaakkola, 2012; Golin & Cardoso, 2009; Gadini, 2006). However, according to some scholars, “cultural journalism is not in decline. Rather it has quite naturally expanded and developed the focus, interpretation and presentation of culture in line with a changing culture and consumer industry and an increasingly competitive and professionalized media landscape” (Kristensen, 2010, p. 69).

Broadly speaking, the emergence of more consumer-driven formats within journalism (Fürsich, 2012, p. 12) as well as the blurring of boundaries between cultural, lifestyle and consumer journalism is therefore challenging existing definitions of cultural journalism as a distinct journalistic object (Kristensen & From, 2012, p. 26). This kind of orientation favours topics on how to spend free time, placing the sector in the space for leisure and entertainment (Golin & Cardoso, 2009), which reinforces the performativity of cultural journalism as a promoter of lifestyles, suggesting what readers should read, hear and see (Hanusch, 2012). In practice, this performative aura, formerly legitimized by aesthetics, analytical and argumentative criteria, is being replaced by common unskilled criteria, sometimes dangerously aligned with promotional marketing, resulting in hybrid journalistic genres such as informal reviews and guides that support these new kinds of suggestions (Santos Silva, 2014a). This defragmentation of critique is, according to Faro, caused primarily by an authorship crisis in the digital environment, where everyone can be a “critic” and can contribute to the shape of popular taste (Faro, 2012).

Thus, regarding the definition itself, many scholars have pointed out that cultural journalism is not restricted to the fine arts and literature but include lifestyles, value systems, traditions, beliefs and ways of being (Pastoriza, 2006; Basso, 2008; Alzamora, 2009). Most of them seem to agree with the definition created by Jorge Rivera:

(...) se ha consagrado históricamente con el nombre de “periodismo cultural” a una zona muy compleja y heterogénea de medios, géneros y productos que abordan con propósitos creatives, críticos, reproductivos o divulgatorios los terrenos de las “belles arts”, las “bellas letras”, las corrientes del pensamiento, las ciencias sociales y humanas, la llamada cultura popular y muchos otros aspectos que tienen que ver con la producción, circulación y consume de bienes simbólicos, sin importar su origen o destinación estamental.⁹ (2003, p. 19)

This definition has been applied in several studies that have cited Rivera as a reference in the context of a critic on the commercialization of culture and cultural journalism. When he mentions “many other aspects that have to do with the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods”, he is relating culture to the market and integrating it in cultural and creative industries, so we can’t forget this dimension.

In this context, Basso (2008, p. 69) says that the field of cultural journalism has been adjusted over time to a more integrated view, meaning that it has been including ways of life, value systems, traditions and beliefs besides fine arts and lyrics. In this way, it tends to overcome the dichotomies between elitist, popular and mass culture (obsolete as we saw in Chapter I), showing both roles of cultural journalism in reporting and cultural criticism in the analysis.

On the other hand, J. S. Faro (2006, p. 149) focuses on the double dimension of cultural journalism today, related to an entertainment and market logic on one hand, and to its traditional space of intellectual production on another: “o jornalismo cultural constitui-se em um território de práticas jornalísticas que tanto reiteram os signos, valores e procedimentos da cultura de massa quanto discursos que revelam tensões contra-hegemônicas características de conjunturas históricas específicas”¹⁰. This double dimension, especially the second, is what justifies the specialization as a “public space of intellectual production” and with a relevant performative role.

9 Our suggestion of translation to English: “cultural journalism was historically consecrated as a very complex area of heterogeneous media, genres and products that deal with creative, critical, media or publishing purposes, fine arts, belles-lettres, currents of thought, social sciences and humanities, the so-called popular culture and many other aspects that have to do with the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods”.

10 Our suggestion of translation to English: “an area of journalistic practices that both reiterate the signs, values and procedures of mass culture as discourses that reveal counter-hegemonic tensions, characteristics of particular historical conjunctures”.

Perhaps the broadest definition that suits contemporary studies and debates around culture and cultural journalism has been given by Nete Kristensen. This author places the field “in a continuum between art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption” (2010, p. 69) as it expanded and developed its focus, interpretation and presentation in response to a changing culture and consumer industry.

Following this conceptualization, Kristensen and other authors (Jaakkola, 2012; Kristensen & From, 2013; From, 2010) suggest exchanging the term “cultural journalism” for “journalism on culture” in order to accept a broader sense of culture with the intersection of its new different faces and also areas which are peripheral to traditional culture (such as design, fashion, architecture, advertising, gastronomy and other lifestyle issues). In their studies about “journalism on culture” they integrate the traditional common use of cultural journalism, but also lifestyle journalism and consumer and service journalism in the same field. Although addressing quite different issues and principles, they argue that the process of reception seems to be interrelated in the context of a globalized culture and media industry.

Lifestyle journalism, which has much in common with service or consumer journalism and which some authors assert is equivalent (Hanusch, 2012), can be defined as a “distinct journalistic field that primarily addresses its audience as consumers, providing them with factual information and advice, often in entertaining ways, about goods and services they can use in their daily lives” (2012, p. 5). Topics such as travel, fashion, food, music, cinema, arts, entertainment, leisure and so on fall under this field. Another referenced researcher in this emerging field, Elfriede Fürsich, identifies three major characteristics of lifestyle journalism: it provides advice (promoting taste), it has a review function and a commercialization essence. We would add to this that cultural goods are the main topics of lifestyle journalism: a heritage or historic neighbourhood are often pretexts for a guide; national designs or arts and crafts are reasons to produce a guide about the best shops in town; a film festival gives a reason to feature what is worth seeing according to our lifestyle. The best international example of this is certainly Time Out, and since its launch in Portugal, in September 2007, many other publications, mainly supplements of mainstream media (from the Portuguese newsmagazine *Visão*, for example), which started as cultural supplements, have been repositioning themselves as urban or lifestyle guides.

Going back to this key contemporary definition of cultural journalism (“a continuum between art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption”, as Kristensen argues) and the interrelation between symbolic goods, lifestyle and consumption, we can easily identify examples of it: a music album can be presented in the same media integrated in a critique (being analysed through several criteria), in a news piece (about its launch), as a consumer product (where to buy or download) and as a lifestyle item (integrated in a list related to a subculture or a trend, or even as products of good taste). So, cultural objects are presented, more than ever, as consumer goods and, on the other hand, consumer goods are sometimes

transformed into cultural goods linked to a specific lifestyle. This tells us that cultural journalism doesn't oscillate only between a *sensu stricto* and *sensu lato* view of culture, as cultural topics are extended to (or subjects of) service, lifestyle and consumption. This globalized and interrelated treatment of culture makes it difficult to establish clear boundaries, regarding the categorization of culture topics:

in contemporary journalism, the boundaries between lifestyle journalism (such as journalism on fashion, food and psychology), cultural journalism (such as journalism on movies, music and theatre) and consumer journalism (such as journalism on cars, technology and travel) are blurring. These blurring boundaries make it difficult to categorize at least some subjects or stories as belonging to either one or the other journalistic category: news desks cover music and food, for example, as equivalent matters by articulating them as expressions both of culture, lifestyle and/or consumption. (Kristensen & From, 2012, p. 26)

According to the authors, journalists and editors both confirm the argument about blurring boundaries, a phenomenon that is already manifest in Portugal (Santos Silva, 2014a) related not only to the categorization, but to the genres themselves, since interviews, reports or even the daily news include elements of taste, guidance and consumption. Even the critique, as we will see later in the chapter, is being replaced by the guide and review.

Melo (2013) also points out the growing hybridity between cultural journalism and service journalism, especially in topics regarding lifestyle entertainment, such as gastronomy, movie reviews or soap opera summaries, concluding that cultural journalism is really a category which is still in configuration (2013, 2'34'').

This broader sense of cultural journalism can be a little threatening to purists of culture, but it has to evolve alongside social trends, without losing its legacy of quality, reflection and analytical reasoning. The best cultural journalism, says Rivera (2006, p. 11), is the one which reflects the problems of an era and interprets the creative potential of the society or the individual, therefore we can't close our eyes to what is happening in the cultural field and live in a past that doesn't exist anymore. As we stated in the previous chapter — we can define culture today with criteria of the past, but we can't do the same with the journalism that covers it, because it continuously reconfigures itself according to changes in society.

We close this part with two passages from an article of a Portuguese cultural journalist, Vítor Belanciano, published in *Público*, about what this field and its role means to him, although it is not a unanimous opinion, as we will see in the chapters regarding our research:

A cultura está em tudo. Mistura assuntos. Atravessa linguagens. Olhamos em redor e é como se tudo fosse cultura. E é. Mas então se a política, a economia ou a sociedade são cultura, o que torna específico o jornalismo cultural na actualidade? O seu cunho reflexivo, analítico, crítico. Nos

espaços de economia, política ou sociedade temos as práticas. O jornalismo cultural deve reflectir sobre elas. Traduzir, de forma simples, realidades complexas.¹¹ (Belanciano, 2010, para. 4)

With this idea, Belanciano is not telling us that culture “is” everything (cultural journalism would potentially then be about everything, losing its specificity and focus) but is “in” everything, which means that politics, the economy or society can be treated from a cultural angle. For example, the project *Too Young to Wed*, promoted by UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund), aims to create awareness about children that are forced to marry and has an evident political message. But it can also be covered from a cultural angle (a review of a photograph exhibition or a report about this practice in regard to its historical roots and relation with a specific way of life).

The richness and diversity of cultural themes and the potential to interrelate perspectives, disciplines and realities are certainly enough arguments for Belanciano (2010, para. 5), saying that:

Não deve limitar-se aos lançamentos de discos, livros, exposições ou filmes. Nem ao tipo de notícias que dependem mais da velocidade de actuação — em concorrência, quase sempre em perda, com a Internet — mas, sim, apostar na diferença. Interpretar diferentes pontos de vista. Decifrar objectos de forma inclusiva. Não com a falsa promessa de objectividade. Mas com justeza, honestidade e rigor. Numa perspectiva aberta. Estabelecendo múltiplas relações entre realidades que, aparentemente, não se tocam. O jornalismo cultural deve examinar mais as implicações das obras na sociedade do que limitar-se à agenda de eventos.¹²

11 Our suggestion of translation to English: “Culture is in everything. It mixes subjects. It crosses languages. We look around and it seems like everything is culture. And it is. But if politics, the economy or society are culture, what is specific to cultural journalism nowadays? Its reflective, analytical and critical impact. In areas of economics, politics or society, we have practices. Cultural journalism should reflect on them to translate and simplify complex realities”.

12 Our suggestion of translation to English: “It should not be limited to releases of albums, books, exhibitions or films. Nor to the kind of news that depends on the speed of reporting — in competition with the Internet and almost always losing, — but rather to focus on the difference. To interpret different points of view. Not with the false promise of objectivity, but with fairness, honesty and rigor and an open outlook establishing relationships between multiple realities that apparently do not overlap. Cultural journalism should examine the implications of artistic work in society further than being limited to the schedule of events”.

II. 3. Specificities of cultural journalism

A brief history¹³

Ways of communicating culture became dramatically different with the emergence of the public sphere, a concept created by Jürgen Habermas (1962/1991) which is situated between the private realm and the sphere of public authority (1962/1991, p. 30).¹⁴

This public sphere, associated with the development of mercantile capitalism in Europe in the 17th century, arose in cities such as Paris and London as part of the social domain. The bourgeoisie would debate opinions about culture, especially literary production — the public sphere was in the beginning a cultural public sphere — in *salons*, coffee houses and other public spaces in an attempt to intellectualize and evolve in aristocratic society. But these physical spaces soon evolved too: in less than twenty-five years the circulation of magazines and newspapers devoted to art and cultural criticism doubled, and reading novels became a custom. Public libraries (the first appeared in 1742), book clubs, reading circles and editions by subscription created emancipation from the old form of public meetings, now being mediated by the press and by professional criticism (Santos, 1998).

The best-known representative of cultural journalism was born in 1711 with the launch of the London periodical *The Spectator* by English essayists Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, in order to bring philosophy out of offices, libraries, schools and colleges to inhabit tea houses and coffee shops (Piza, 2003, p. 12). *The Spectator* targeted gentlemen in the cities (hence Daniel Piza affirms that cultural journalism was born in the city and with the city) who were preoccupied with fashion and trends of the body and mind.

In the same period, a new type of journalism, close to cultural entertainment, developed in Europe, such as the English *The Gentleman's Magazine* established in 1731. Other publications of criticism and essays such as the French *Le Globe* and *Le Constitutionnel* contributed to the consolidation of cultural journalism worldwide.

13 It's not our purpose to make an extensive historical review. There are several references already published on that (Santos Silva, 2012; Spano, 2011; Faro, 2009; Rivera, 2006; Pastoriza, 2006).

14 According to Habermas, with the emergence of mass culture, the public sphere suffered a process of degeneration, leading to the transformation of citizens into clients and services consumers. For him, mass media transformed the public sphere into a culture of consumerism (1991, p. 162).

Indeed, mass culture has earned its rather dubious name precisely by achieving increased sales by adapting to the need for relaxation and entertainment on the part of consumer strata with relatively little education, rather than through the guidance of an enlarged public toward the appreciation of a culture undamaged in its substance. (1991, p. 165)

Faro (2009) relates this dimension to the double role of cultural journalism, which has its own origins as an aesthetic and reflective field and as a field devoted to mass culture and entertainment.

The development of industrial capitalism and the growing prominence of the press as a forum for mediation contributed to the rise of the first publications specialized in the cultural area. *The New Yorker* (1925) and *Interview* (1969) are examples of publications that represent the emancipation of culture. These magazines mix information and entertainment, and give great importance to the layout and images that support texts.

The tension between reflective cultural journalism and the new dimension covering the news and facts of cultural subjects led to the appearance of two forms of publication by the mid-20th century: the cultural sections of daily newspapers and magazines, and weekly cultural supplements with a more academic approach (Alzamora, 2005).

From the second half of the 20th century cultural journalism has grown closer to entertainment, especially the cult of celebrity. The influence of television was decisive in this change, which consolidated the proliferation of entertainment material and contributed to greater attention to graphical aspects by newspapers.

The field and the cultural intermediaries

Although we have focused on the fact that cultural journalism is not confined to the arts, it is also true that the arts are what differentiate this field in terms of specialization.

In the beginning of this chapter we briefly addressed the legitimacy of cultural journalism as a specialization. Journalism exists as a central element of democracy and freedom of expression as it informs, reveals and denounces to make sense of the world we live in, so cultural journalism exists to make sense of cultural issues with rigour, impartiality, professionalism, contextualization (in the informative sense) and critical reflection (in the critical sphere). In this sense, the media are still the best channel to acquaint the public in general with these criteria.

Since they are responsible for the diffusion of culture, cultural journalists should be highly specialized in order to provide access to artistic capital for those that lack the cultural codes, the academic education and sensibility to assimilate it in a rewarding way (Pastoriza, 2006, p. 14). Also, like other journalists, they don't have a passive role in the construction of cultural reality, given the perspective, analysis and context present in their work.

Cultural journalism is broadly divided into two different professionals: journalists and critics. Both have a function to reflect on artistic and creative work as a cultural process, not only as an industrial cultural good, apart from explaining the aesthetic philosophy. The role of criticism traditionally belongs to the critic — a non-journalist specialist in one matter. However, in recent years, with the financial crises and changes in editorial alignments, criticism has also become the role of journalists in some media.

Cultural journalists also have a political role. For example, Botma (2008) alludes to the

role that cultural journalists had in the Apartheid period, in which art and culture took the place of political expression in South Africa.

The field¹⁵ of cultural journalism is certainly one of conflicting forces and struggles. It can be included in the field of journalism and in the field of cultural production, which only contributes to its complexity. Bourdieu objectively integrates cultural journalists, both producers and holders of cultural capital, in the field of cultural production.

It therefore as to consider as contributing to production not only the direct producers of the work in its materiality (artists, writers etc.) but also the producers of the meaning and value of the work — critics, publishers, gallery directors, and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing works of art as such, in particular teachers (but also families, etc.). (1993, p. 37)

At this point, we can place cultural journalists as cultural intermediaries or as “new cultural intermediaries,” two concepts which were originally used by Bourdieu in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984). Cultural intermediaries initially include the new bourgeoisie involved in the presentation and representation of symbolic goods and services, including cultural production. The new cultural intermediaries are a small fraction of this class, “the most typical of whom are the producers of cultural programmes on TV [television] and radio or the critics of ‘quality’ newspapers and magazines and all the writer-journalists and journalist-writers” (1984, p. 325).

However, journalists differ from other cultural intermediaries such as gallery owners, book publishers and the cinema and music industries in one important aspect: they offer an independent, although not indifferent, point of view. For Scott (2003, p. 48), arts journalists are the “bridge between producers and consumers” and have a unique position in journalism because they can report an event and judge it at the same time, affecting other’s orientations. He even remarks that journalists who are specialized in the arts are the most important cultural mediators of all.

Bourdieu also distinguishes journalists (or cultural journalists) from other cultural intermediaries in the same logic: “They have a rare force of domination: they have power over the means to express publicly, to exist publicly, to be known and to have access to public notoriety” (1997, p. 66).

The role of cultural journalists as cultural intermediaries has evolved over time, providing new frames to understand and evaluate new visions of culture and to distinguish them from the non-media institutions and public in general that communicate culture in a

15 The notion of field is defined in Chapter I.

digital environment. Kristensen & From (2013, p. 54) apply the three dimensions through which Maguire and Mathews (2012) distinguish cultural intermediaries in contemporary societies — to frame goods, claim expertise and have impact — specifically to cultural journalists, concluding that these three dimensions of their work are what distinguish them, and implies that not everybody are cultural intermediaries.

And how do cultural journalists see themselves? A study conducted by Harries and Whal-Jorgensen concludes that they see themselves as “journalists with a difference” (2007, p. 636) because besides the conventional journalistic skills, they need specialized knowledge and the ability to communicate complex ideas to the public. The field is for them more important than conventional news agenda and it is exceptional because of its complicated relationship to the strategic ritual of objectivity. So, they assume themselves to be arbiters of taste and subjective advice in their work.

Cartography and channels

Cultural journalism is present in a wide variety of media: in independent niche magazines, in the cultural supplements of generalist newspapers, TV programs, academic publications, radio, blogs, etc. We can find all the dimensions of cultural journalism (classical, urban, anthropological, among others) embedded throughout the convergence between mainstream and specialized media. It seems that the mainstream media is more effective in the generation of trends targeted at broad sectors of consumption. Specialized and niche media are more efficient in the selection and deepening of cultural fields and phenomenon, investing, for example, in explanatory journalism, thematic dossiers and even investigation about cultural matters. Rivera may be right in saying this (2006, p. 35) but now, with the rise of social networks, the niche media has greater potential to reach a larger audience.

There is also great diversity within cultural sections: on the same page we can read an article about a pop band, another about an award winning writer or an art exhibition, similar to Abraham Moles “cultural mosaic” which we saw in the previous chapter. Another thing that happens is that a cultural topic doesn’t always appear in the *Culture* section: according to the perspective, it can be in *Society*, *National* or *Political* sections. For example, a decision by a Culture Minister regarding budget cuts often appears in the Economy section; an awareness concert about a global problem can appear in Society. This is not a foolproof formula (the integration of cultural issues in culture sections), because different media have different editorial strategies, and in fact there are many doubts between editors if some cultural topics should be Society or Culture (historically, these two sections were together), as we shall see later in this thesis, and these decisions are crucial to the notion of culture that is conveyed to public.

In the context of the double dimension of cultural journalism we have described, there are two channels that historically became important in addressing the most profound and critical dimension of the field: cultural supplements and cultural magazines.

Usually appearing on a weekly basis, the cultural supplements of daily newspapers ensure a more thorough and reflective content which is impossible to produce in the daily pages, given the need for speed in reporting factual events. Cultural criticism is almost exclusively the domain of supplements. On one hand, daily cultural sections cover current information in the cultural market; weekly cultural supplements have a more opinionated treatment of serious literary and cultural questions. The layout is usually coloured and attractive, with larger images and a cover supported by one theme. Some traditional cultural supplements have evolved as urban guides, following the growing relationship of culture with consumption, lifestyle and service (Santos Silva, 2014a), consolidated by lifestyle magazines such as Time out.

Cultural magazines are another privileged medium in culture with a great tradition in some countries. In Spain alone in 2014 there were 75 printed cultural magazine members of ARCE— Asociación de Revistas Culturales de España (ARCE, 2014), specialized in culture or in specific areas, such as photography, cinema or literature alone. In comparison, in Portugal there are seven print magazines in the areas of culture, leisure and spectacles, according to the APCT (Associação Portuguesa de Controlo e Tiragem).

In a digital environment, culture is one of the most popular themes for blogs, Facebook pages and other social media, as we have already mentioned in Chapter I.

News values, genres and hybridism of narratives

As a journalistic field, it is reasonable to assume that cultural journalism would share the same news values and genres. However, there are some nuances related primarily to the hybrid character of its narratives.

As in any genre, in each journalistic genre “certain features of language take on a specific flavour” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 289), meaning that they knit together specific approaches, points of view, forms of thinking, nuances and characteristics in a stable logic. In short, journalistic genres are abstract categorizations which help journalists to create a piece according to the purpose of the journalism genre, and this goes for the audience too: for example, in a news piece we don’t expect to find personal opinions of the journalist, only the facts; on the other hand, in a critique, we expect to find journalistic opinion and analysis.

The subject of genres has been studied by many authors. In the context of cultural journalism, the classification of journalistic genres frequently cited is the one by Melo (2013), because he applies it specifically to the field (Assis, 2008; Vaz, 2013). He identifies five genres

in cultural journalism: informative, opinion, interpretative, entertainment and utilitarian, the most frequent being the first two and the last. The informative genre includes brief notes, news pieces, reports and interviews. The interpretative genre includes dossiers, profiles, opinion polls (such as a piece that brings together different opinions to clarify an issue) and chronologies. Editorials, comments, articles, reviews, columns, caricatures, letters and chronics integrated the opinion genre¹⁶. Feature stories and comics are included in the diversional variety. Finally, indicators, quotations, guides and services make up part of the utilitarian genre.

Taking this classification as our base and extending it, we can find in cultural journalism subgenres which are not common in other journalistic fields, such as biographies, obituaries, ephemeris, reviews, critiques and guides. Biographies can oscillate between the informative and interpretative genre, and are used for example, in the context of an award-winning author (when author José Saramago won the Nobel Prize, every newspaper in Portugal published a biography). Similar to a biography, a necrology may celebrate someone's work and life.

In the news category, the most common angle is the preview (or pre-announcement) of cultural subjects: the launch of a book or a music album, the opening of a festival, the premiere of a movie, and so on.

However, the hybridism that characterizes cultural journalism in many ways extends to genres, because they too evolve and change and are becoming more complex and difficult to categorize easily. What is usually called feature journalism (or “soft news” as opposed to traditional “hard news”) is an example of this hybridization and blurring of genre boundaries, especially in the digital environment. At this point, even Melo's categorization can be questioned.

A feature¹⁷ is an umbrella term to identify a number of soft news stories that can have a direct relation to a hard news story — providing it background or explanation — or no affiliation to the news flow and be simply a human interest story. The main distinction is that a feature “is not meant to deliver news firsthand” (Itule & Anderson, 2007, p. 133), meaning it doesn't have immediacy as a news value. Its main functions are humanizing, educate, explain, provide context or simply entertain.

Steen Steensen (2009, 2011a), whose research focuses on the featurization of journalism and its increase in digital media, defines it as a “a family of genres that has traditionally shared a set of discourses: a literary discourse, a discourse of intimacy and a discourse of adventure” (2011a, p. 50) and commonly includes “human interest stories, reportage, celebrity profiles, colorful background stories, lifestyle stories [and] personal columns” (2011a, p. 49).

16 Melo didn't include the critique as a journalistic genre because in his quantitative analysis of newspapers he didn't find relevant critiques, only reviews.

17 In Portugal, “feature journalism” doesn't have a literal translation. It is often referred to as “stories” (“estórias”).

We can easily relate the three types of discourse identified by Steensen to the five main generic characteristics of feature journalism he addresses in another article (2009, pp. 3-4): often narrative and not obeying to the inverted-pyramid structure (literary discourse); often not sensitive to deadlines as news journalism; its text is more colored with subjective descriptions, reflections and assessments (adventure discourse); it has personal and emotional features (intimacy discourse); finally, it is more visually attractive (with more photos, illustrations and multimedia elements in digital platforms).

Itule & Anderson (2007, p 133) identify more clearly five types of features:

- a) *personality profiles* deliver a vivid portrait of a person, using interviews, observations and creative writing (a paradigmatic profile is “Frank Sinatra has a cold”¹⁸ written by Guy Talese for the *Esquire* magazine in 1966);
- b) *human interest stories* are usually written with a utility, emotional or practical approach (for example, a travel guide to a place);
- c) *trend stories* examine best practices or inspirational measures taken by people or organizations with an impact on society and patterns in things, such as new ways to communicate or the latest trends in fashion;
- d) *in-depth stories* are the result of extensive research and interviews, providing detailed account beyond a basic news story;
- e) *backgrounders* or *analysis pieces* focus on explaining or analyzing an issue, such as the impact on society of an important Government measure.

The research conducted by Steensen (2011b) regarding feature journalism in the digital environment shows that it frequently results in creative discourse practices, exemplified by the adaptation of familiar digital genres or to the rise of new genres. Four possible new digital feature journalism genres outlined by Steensen are *live feature stories*, *database feature stories*, *Flash feature stories* and *soundslides feature stories*. He also argues that digital media (his research is on digital newspapers) is more prone to using interactivity and multimedia features in the production of feature journalism because it is not so sensitive to immediacy (2009, 2011b). A feature story is not exclusively for magazines or weekend newspaper supplements anymore.

The impact of the digital journalism on new genres is thus enabled by multimediality, hypertextuality, convergence and interactivity: besides the new genres proposed by Steensen, we can add chats, multimedia infographics, networked debates, online interviews, slideshows or interactive reporting as other examples. But, more important, what we see in a

18 <http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a638/esq1003-oct-sinatra-rev/> (last accessed 1st November 2014)

digital environment is really a mix of contents and formats in the same piece or package: for example, the piece *Vision Quest*¹⁹ about Doug Aitken's new mobile art installation, published in *Wired* magazine, is a long-form narrative (a feature story that explores an agenda-related news story), with elements of reporting, review and biography conveyed in words, image galleries, readers videos and contributions such as posts on Facebook and Twitter, besides an interactive map with the stations where the art installation (it was a train) will be seen, and infographics that explains the train. Also, it is an ongoing piece: the live blog was updated almost daily during the exhibition.

Even in the most conventional informative pieces, such as news, it is frequent to find in Culture elements close to analysis and criticism through journalist's opinions, use of adjectives and other elements that imply qualification of an action (Golin & Cardoso, 2009; Silva, 2014). City guides also often include elements of reports and reviews (Santos Silva, 2014a).

Regarding news values and the basis of journalism, objectivity, for example, does not automatically fit every news piece. Due to the field itself being artistic and cultural, its language admits more creative, aesthetic and colloquial content as well as bolder graphics (Golin, 2009). Based on a discourse analysis of news pieces about music, Torres Silva also concludes that irony, the excessive use of adverbs and adjectives (to describe singers for example), and other creative language tools are used frequently, implying that in a supposedly informative piece there is "a very strong subjective dimension of the professional journalist" (Silva, 2014, p. 24).

The news value of current events is more elastic in cultural journalism, since previews are an important genre and the life-span of an event or object is much larger than breaking news. The speech is also more historiographic and can assume a retrospective view. Public service and utility are news values that also have great importance to culture.

II. 4. Contemporary issues of cultural journalism

When we consider the main contemporary questions regarding cultural journalism, the most useful resources are research studies (most are still based in print) based on quantitative and qualitative analysis, review articles and, of course, media pieces.

These three dimensions allowed us to select six major contemporary issues and trends regarding the field.

19 <http://www.wired.com/aitken-station-to-station#train-intro> (last accessed 1st November 2014).

Less cultural journalism or not?

The economic crisis is very familiar to journalism, and has affected cultural journalism too. Many studies take a pessimistic view, pointing out the shrinking number of pages dedicated to culture or the loss of criticism, and its absence on covers. For example, in USA, Szánto *et al.* (2004) concluded that editorial space for arts is being squeezed in terms of layout space and replaced with advertising, but point out that the size of newspapers as a whole is shrinking. We don't see this reduction as unique to newspapers. In fact, all publications have lost pages in general. Besides that, these studies are based only on print media while nowadays the primary source for news is online.

However, other researchers emphasize the importance of culture to media and its numerous manifestations.

Ao contrário do que se tem dito a respeito de uma “profunda” crise na imprensa, que se traduziria no desaparecimento ou no enxugamento de órgãos tradicionais, com a consequente perda da qualidade informativa de sua produção, as manifestações jornalísticas especializadas na cobertura de eventos culturais, na sua avaliação e na reflexão em torno de tendências da arte e do pensamento contemporâneo, mostram-se bastante intensas e numerosas e, em alguns casos, com sustentação material de razoável consistência.²⁰ (Faro, 2006, p. 145)

In Scandinavian countries contemporary cultural journalism “is of considerable value and importance to the newspapers as media institutions” (Kristensen, 2010, p. 69).

In Portugal, a recent research project (2012-2014)²¹ about culture on the covers of Portuguese newspapers and magazines from 2000 to 2010 concludes that, with the exception of Público, all the newspapers and magazines analyzed decreased their number of covers with culture themes (Baptista & Santos Silva, 2013). However, that doesn't mean that culture has lost its importance. Using the celebrated expression “Apocalyptic and Integrated” from Umberto Eco, from an apocalyptic perspective we can discern two worrying symptoms: a cultural journalism that only celebrates the book, the film, the exhibition, losing much of its reflection and criticism — an outdated approach in comparison to what is offered in social media; on the other hand, the resemblance with advertising discourse in the context of service journalism (what

20 Our suggestion of translation to English: “Contrary to what has been said about a ‘profound’ crisis in the press, which would result in the disappearance or downsizing of traditional agencies, with the consequent loss of the informative quality of their production, journalistic manifestations specialized in the coverage of cultural events, in its evaluation and reflection on trends in contemporary art, are quite numerous, intensive and, in some cases with material support of reasonable consistency”.

21 The main conclusions of the research project “Cultura na primeira página” are available at the official website: <http://culturaprimeirapagina.fcs.unl.pt/>.

to read, listen to and buy). From an integrated perspective we can argue that we are not facing an abandonment of culture by the media — but rather that we are witnessing a reconfiguration of cultural space, and hence of cultural journalism; secondly, given the growing proliferation of publishing projects the analyzed media have consciously made editorial and business decisions related to the slant of their approach to culture, including the digital environment where cultural assets are the main attraction to the readers. Time Out magazine, born in September 2007, is a typical example (Baptista & Santos Silva, 2013).

Coverage focused on the artistic manifestations, but with some reconfigurations

Several studies (regarding the analysis of print publications) concluded that the media focus their coverage of culture on artistic manifestations, mainly music, cinema and literature (Santos Silva, 2012; Szánto *et al.*, 2004).

Since the 1990s some themes, although not exactly artistic or intellectual subjects, have been gaining space in the cultural sections — such as design, fashion and gastronomy. This is, for the Brazilian journalist Daniel Piza,

Um ganho para o jornalismo cultural, pois abre suas fronteiras. Seu papel, como já dito, nunca foi apenas o de anunciar e comentar as obras lançadas nas sete artes, mas também refletir (sobre) o comportamento, os novos hábitos sociais, os contatos com a realidade político-econômica da qual a cultura é parte ao mesmo tempo integrante e autônoma.²² (2003, p. 57)

In 2008, in my Master's dissertation, regarding cultural journalism in Portuguese print media I concluded that in Portugal culture is essentially conveyed in two ways: one related to the supposedly 'higher' arts, but in which film and music — massive cultural products par excellence — are protagonists; and the other is essentially related to urban culture, with an emphasis on fashion, design and lifestyle (Santos Silva, 2012). Cinema, music and literature are the three cultural areas most covered by media in the first approach; fashion, design and architecture are the most covered areas in the second approach. Besides that, in every media there has been a visible reconfiguration of cultural space, welcoming new topics such as gastronomy, television, fashion, design, media arts, and destination marketing (heritage as an inspiration to travel, visit or shop, for example).

22 Our suggestion of translation to English: "is a gain for cultural journalism because they open its borders. Its role was never just to announce and comment on works released in the seven arts, but also to reflect [on] the behaviour, the new social habits; contacts with political and economic reality of which culture is at the same time an integral and autonomous part".

Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord (2008), who conducted a study about the international orientation of arts and culture coverage in American, Dutch, French and German newspapers, found a clear internationalization of arts and culture coverage in European countries but not in the USA, given that the most-exchanged cultural products and the most visible manifestation of globalization in everyday life are north-American cinema, music and media in general.

In Finland, Jaakkola (2013) did a quantitative content analysis of the 1978-2008 period and conducted semi-structured theme interviews with the heads of the culture departments of major Finnish dailies. The results indicated that literature, classical music, theatre and fine arts dominated cultural coverage throughout the observation period, representing the classic high-culture forms. Simultaneously, popular disciplines, such as film and popular music, have become an increasingly important part of the total coverage, and doubled their share in the period observed. Jaakkola also witnessed an increasing attempt to cover a wide variety of artistic disciplines, under the logic of “full service”.

In Denmark, Kristensen (2010) identified four main tendencies following the first content analysis of the coverage of “journalism on culture” in the Danish press during the 20th century: the stability in the coverage of some areas, such as literature (high during the whole period), museums and visual arts (although never dominating); shifts within the same cultural domain, in the coverage of music, for example (until 1935, classical music was the protagonist; popular music dominates nowadays); marginalization of some cultural subjects such as dramatic arts and folk culture, which were central at the beginning of the century; new subjects entering the cultural scene (architecture was absent until 1995; media as producers of content have had a great impact since the 1960s). The main change is the focus from high art and folk culture to celebrity culture, popular music and media.

Subordination to cultural industries, their agenda and entertainment values

The domination of entertainment in cultural sections to the detriment of other faces of culture has been the subject of many studies (Cavalcanti & Lucas, 2011; Faro, 2014; Piza, 2003; Gadini, 2007). The most prevalent critique of this culture editorial alignment is the subordination to cultural industries and their agendas, culminating in a higher coverage of commercial or more mediated events and celebrities.

Although cultural journalism has two dimensions — one more economic and the other in the domain of the public sphere with a critical and reflective posture — the problem is the domination of the economic one. For Faro (2014) this has several consequences: impoverishment of agendas, a superficial approach to the facts, a pasteurization of texts, a loss of substance in investigative reports and successful harassment of marketers and press offices, resulting in pieces that are copy-pasted from press releases.

Daniel Piza (2003, p. 53) also shares the same insights: daily cultural sections tend to overrate the celebrities who are interviewed, ask banal questions, restrict reasoned opinion and to reserve more space for stories which are, in the end, event presentations. He adds the observation that even the cultural supplements known for being in the vanguard have become similar. This complacency and predictability which have flooded the field have to do with the attempt to equate cultural journalism with political or economic issues. However, for Piza, this is a poor strategy because culture doesn't have the same scope as hard news (and, we note, hard news doesn't characterize the field).

In Portugal, some studies (Santos Silva, 2012; Baptista & Santos Silva, 2013) confirm that the media itself is rarely the driving force behind the news; many of the items belong to the agenda and dissemination of planned activities. Much of the news is previews of those planned activities (film premieres, exhibition openings, album releases and book launches).

About these conclusions, it is interesting to note what Kristensen (2010) says. For her, international studies of cultural content in the press tend to be characterized by a narrow interpretation of culture in terms of "art" as opposed to popular culture. But the fact is that nowadays less priority is given to classical art and greater priority to music, film and fiction (popular culture). The conditions of cultural journalism have been altered. Since the global cultural and media industry have blurred the boundaries of cultural aesthetics, products and consumer goods, as well as expanding the themes and approaches to culture, so too the criteria for analyzing cultural content must change, in our opinion.

Blurring the boundaries between arts, service, lifestyle and popular culture

We have already mentioned the blurred boundaries between service, lifestyle and culture regarding the contemporary definition of cultural journalism — "a continuum between art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption" (Kristensen, 2010, p. 69). Consumer guides, cultural reviews and product texts are now hybrid genres, as we will see in the next point. The fact is neither previews nor reviews are new genres, what is new is that the logic of the media — and thus the logic of information — has changed. Nowadays, prices, locations, URLs, time schedules, ratings and other consumer information are important information to readers — "users of the newspaper both as a media cultural product and for the cultural objects covered" (Kristensen, 2010, p. 86).

Kristensen goes further, saying that it seems obsolete and meaningless to distinguish between art and popular culture as distinct fractions in cultural journalism because in contemporary media the culture content of a newspaper is difficult to categorize as high or popular. For example, music and food can be covered as equivalent matters, as expressions of culture, lifestyle and/or consumption; the same happens with genres, insofar as previews,

reviews, reports and interviews include not only information on cultural expressions and product characteristics, but also provide discussions of taste and aesthetics as a guide for the readers (Kristensen & From, 2012, p. 26). So, service journalism (which provides readers with guidance in terms of consumption) is intrinsic in cultural journalism.

In short, as Scott already illustrated in 2003, what is happening now in daily culture sections approaches the cultural-mosaic theory, which we discussed earlier:

In order to get round the awkward problem of considering art where money does matter — art from the cultural industries — most upmarket media outlets adopt a strategy of continuing to accept the cultural importance of older-established but distinctly minority interest art forms and then elevating mass popular culture to the same status. If opera and rock and roll, theatre and television, film and poetry are all dishes on the same cultural buffet, these can be discussed and mediated using much the same lexicon of appraisal. (Scott, 2003, p. 51)

The new performative role of cultural journalism

In January 2013, Peter Bradshaw, a film critic for *The Guardian*, said that Twitter users, because of their naturality and common approach, had become the favorite “critics” of the film industry, which nowadays use in marketing pieces, such as posters or trailers, tweets instead of reviews published by traditional critics. The implicit concern in this article became evident following several other articles published in the same newspaper on a subject dear to cultural journalism: what is the value of criticism today? Is criticism bankrupted when we are all “critics” on the Web? While some journalists like Neal Gabler (2011) argue that traditional critical authority should be decentralized and that everyone should be encouraged to share their opinion, others like Jonathan Jones (2010) say that professional criticism is essential now, more than ever.

If this decentralization of criticism is evident on the Web, it is no less true that this genre par excellence of cultural journalism has been disappearing from the pages of printed newspapers and magazines, including their supplements where it had more space. I have written an article (Santos Silva, 2014a) arguing that traditional criticism has not lost quality, but it has lost space. It has been substituted by two very common subgenres of cultural journalism: the review (or preview) and the guide; two genres that are becoming more and more important nowadays due to the interrelationship between culture, lifestyle and service, as we have seen earlier. I am not alone in the theory that the decline of serious critique parallels the emergence of a service logic (Jaakkola, 2012; Januário, 2005; Faro, 2009), but I don't agree with these authors who argue that it is still critique although a poorer one; rather it's of a very different genre. In fact, the pieces that we read daily in the media and which we

identify commonly as critiques are nothing more than structured reviews or comments in the form of guides, inserted into a new performative logic of cultural journalism.

The performative nature of cultural journalism is naturally one of its distinctive features. Historically associated with the public sphere, cultural journalism, made the stimulation of ideas around artistic creation possible in the face of criticism, especially the literary (Faro, 2012). Like an Austin illocutionary act, with an informative and appreciative review of a cultural object (such as a film, a painting or a book) the journalist is already inciting the public to action (to see that movie or not, to buy that book or not, to go to an exhibition or not). In the first instance, the selection of the cultural topics to be covered itself has a performative effect because they become visible.

This performative effect in the narratives of cultural journalism has acquired pedagogical, hierarchical and inductive features.

Portanto, o performativo nas narrativas do Jornalismo Cultural compôs, ao longo da história do gênero, a expectativa do público, já que é esse o elemento distintivo ao qual a audiência recorria para se informar, selecionar e classificar, em torno de critérios especializados da crítica, a variedade aparentemente desordenada dos fatos sobre o qual o gênero realiza sua produção.²³ (Faro, 2012, p. 194)

In this sense, this performative sphere is clearly related to taste. According to Teixeira Coelho, Portuguese translator of the famous 18th-century *Essay on Taste* by Montesquieu, this French Enlightenment thinker was a pioneer in associating taste with pleasure. This would surpass the power of social integration, national identity, class or gender: having taste would be like having the advantage of discovering the extent of the pleasure of things, and the more the soul was cultivated the more capacity it would have to enhance that taste (Fonseca, 2012). Cultural journalism would contribute to the development of taste through critical analysis and curation.

Today, based on criteria of legitimacy, aesthetic-political, analytics and argumentation which are characteristic of criticism, this performative dimension is gaining a new form, where performativity is associated with the logic of consumption, service and lifestyle. The role of the cultural journalist is not a curatorial or critical one, but one of cultural service.

We can identify four conditions in which this new performativity has emerged: two of which have to do with the evolution and reconfiguration of culture and the new dimension

23 Our suggestion of translation to English: “composed, throughout the history of the genre, the expectation of the public, since that is the distinctive element to which the audience resorted to inquire, select and rank, around the specialized criteria of criticism, the seemingly chaotic variety of facts about which genre performs its production”.

of cultural journalism. The third condition has to do with creative industries and new areas that have entered media agenda, such as design, entrepreneurial cultural projects, media arts and other subjects based on creativity and innovation which require different criteria of critical analysis and which critics or cultural journalists are not used to, resulting in clichés and contributing to a superficial discourse about them.

Finally, but most importantly, the expansion of unskilled “criticism,” especially customer reviews on the Web — particularly in blogs and social media — removed the monopoly of critics by shifting cultural journalism to a new stage, starting from the “criteria for assessing cultural products not only within specialized references, but with meaning in everyday life” (Faro, 2012, p. 195). Websites such as *rottentomatoes.com* and other professional-amateur projects, as well as personal blogs and Facebook posts, give the public the ability to contribute to global taste and justify their ratings, opinions or choices with emotional arguments such as *I like it very much, because it reminded me of my childhood* or *That movie had something I can't explain, but it really hit my heart*. This kind of informal review coexists with other specialized or passionate people who can really articulate an argument — they just make it through a media. Both have an impact on the role of cultural journalists and critics.

The fact is criticism is losing space to other hybrid genres such as reviews and guides that more effectively answer a media strategy based on cultural service and lifestyle.

At this point, it is essential to explain the difference between a critique and a review and the main characteristics of the second, along with the guide genre. Our reasoning is based on prior studies (Santos Silva, 2014a; Silva & Santos Silva, 2014) on the Portuguese media and the cultural guides of newsmagazines, in a funded research project²⁴.

It is common to confuse a critique with a review and many journalists and media use the terms interchangeably, but there are important differences between the two genres. The award-winning north-American critic Don McLeese explains them simply, but accurately:

The reviewer serves as a consumer guide, addressing a single piece of work (or perhaps a number of them serially, in capsule review) and letting the reader know whether this particular work is worth the money and/or time it requires. People read reviews to find out whether to buy this book, see this movie, or commit to this TV series. Criticism has a wider scope, a broader purpose. It extends beyond the consumer-guide merits of a single work to show where that work fits within the art form as a whole or within the culture at large. Some critical essays address many different works rather than limiting themselves to one. While reviews have a narrower focus, critical essays explore the bigger picture. (McLeese, 2010, p. 2)

24 Cultura na Primeira Página (“Culture in Covers”), Ref. PTDC/CCI-COM/122309/2010.

In order to address the “bigger picture” and judge an art work with relevant and legitimate arguments requires deep knowledge of the subject, the artist, the movement where he can be placed and also reflection about the message and its values. Moreover, the critique has to attract readership through thoughtful insight and clarification, and keeping in mind that one of the purposes of criticism is to contribute to education and the creation of well-informed and analytical opinion. This is why criticism is one of the most difficult genres of cultural journalism. Historically it belongs to non-journalists and specialists and more recently to journalists who have deep knowledge about a field and have become specialized through practice.

These requirements are confirmed by several authors. For Pastoriza (2006, p. 157), criticism is an exercise of interpretation and appreciation of cultural work, resulting in a recommendation or a disqualification. Piza (2003, p. 70) identifies four features of a good critique: it is clear and coherent like an informative piece; it informs the reader about the work of art, its historical and artistic context and the author; it analyses the work synthetically, clarifying the importance of qualities and imperfections; finally, and most important, it “goes beyond the analyzed work, using it for clarifying some view of reality”. Leenhardt (2007, p. 19) adds the importance of considering the evolution of art itself, the author’s attitude and even the public.

In contrast, the only purpose of the review is to inform, giving a brief idea of the work in question so the public can decide if it is worthwhile. Indeed, José Melo points out that distinction between criticism and review started a century ago when professional journalists started to perform the role of culture specialists, from which two types art appreciation emerged: one more academic and profound, the other more descriptive and factual (Melo, 2013). We can find reviews in all kinds of media: as cultural supplements or urban guide supplements of newspapers and magazines; lifestyle magazines, such as Time Out or Travel; media sections or dedicated websites based on ranked lists of what to see, eat, hear and experience and so on.

Regarding cultural guide articles, they also have a useful advice function, giving the public an itinerary which can be physical, conceptual, chronological or hierarchical. This is also a hybrid genre — which has elements of a report and review — whose aim is to orientate. For example, a guide-based capsule review of a selection of the best museums in Lisbon would have their time schedules, information on how to get there and their URLs. Guides and review-based projects pertaining to culture are proliferating in the digital environment outside the field of journalism.

Cultural journalism in a digital environment — is it all about the noise or not?

There are few academic studies regarding cultural journalism in a digital environment. Two deserving of mention are the Brazilian researcher Geane Alzamora (2005) and Johanna Keller (2010) in the United States.

Geane Alzamora wrote her PhD dissertation about the new paradigms of cultural journalism on the Web and claims that the Internet demanded an expansion of the field due to the transformation of communication and cultural changes demonstrated in social interactions. She points to the example of *The New York Times*, which was the first mainstream media to take an interest in cyberculture themes and in 2001 hired a reporter to cover them. Today, videogames, media art, web documentaries and other cyber trends are common themes in media cultural sections.

Alzamora also observed a myriad of formats and languages on the Internet where cultural journalistic and non-journalistic information coexist, a model that surpasses the logic of mass communication. In conclusion, she identified three paradigms of cultural information that circulate on the Internet. First, there are the websites of media already on the market (in print, TV or radio), some merely repeating the logic of mass communication and others experimenting with aspects of hypermediatic information, but the duplication model still prevails. Second, non-journalistic digital native publications that fulfil a traditional journalistic function, such as websites that provide free information about cultural agendas or websites that aggregate reviews on cultural themes, such as cinema or music. Last, weblogs are a hybrid communication gender that move between personal writing, journalism and literature, refusing editorial parameters of print journalism and mixing elements of mass, personal and community communication, sometimes with multimedia elements.

The researcher concludes that the closer to mass logic a media is, the less sophisticated is their use of hypermediatic language.

In the United States, Keller (2010) targeted six primary characteristics of online media “that are affecting—to greater and lesser extents—communications about the arts” (2010, p. 171). She calls them “Linkages or Hypertext Capabilities, a Culture of Social Media, Multi-Media Capability, Instantaneousness, Global Reach, Low Cost Distribution and Duration for Future Accessibility” (idem). For Keller, those which have more impact on culture and on the role of arts journalist are the first three, making this professional into a curating, twittering and backpacking journalist. Nowadays, the arts journalists curate information of every channel: a great example is artsjournal.com, a curator website that became a source for ideas, “a virtual bazaar where those interested in the arts may gather, learn, discuss, debate” (idem). Every arts journalist is now finding new ways to engage with audiences by blog posting, Twitter tweeting and Facebook friending. Last, due to the technological ability to transmit multimedia messages arts journalists write, photograph, record sound and video and have

the skills to cover a story with only a backpack full of equipment or even just a smartphone.

Parallel to the discourse about journalism in a digital environment there are two kinds of voices for cultural journalism: on one hand those voices that focus on the potential that digital journalism represents, in terms of storytelling, distribution, audiences and innovation to culture (we focus on this point in Chapter IV); on the other hand, those who focus on the uncertainty and crisis that digital reporting signifies for the class and for the field.

For example, in the most recent international congress on cultural journalism, in Brazil, 2013²⁵, speakers expressed their apprehension about the future of cultural journalists in an era where supposedly everybody (institutions, professional-amateurs and the public in general) can communicate culture. In another conference, via the Web, in London, 2012, entitled *Arts and Journalism in the Digital Age*, Douglas McLennan, author and editor of the first curatorial website specialized in culture — artsjournal.com — shared some important insights with which we agree and think are starting points to summarize where we stand at the moment in regard to covering culture themes.

First, McLennan says that arts journalism never really knew how to cover certain areas, such as dance or chorus. This may be true in part, but the fact is that dance and chorus have residual coverage, according to several studies. Today we find several arts blogs specialized in dance and chorus that can compete with the brief coverage made by the mainstream media, focused on consumer reporting instead of reflection and criticism.

Second, McLennan says that in a digital environment people participate in culture in a much more active way. This is truly a profound change. In a non-digital environment an audience would normally be passive, and cultural journalists would be the most massive cultural intermediaries. Now everybody can upload and share content about culture. In 2012, according to McLennan, there were twenty thousand active arts blogs; in that year seventy percent of all content made online was made by users, McLennan says. So, parallel to the erosion of reporting on arts, we are witnessing a growth of non-professional reporting, devoid of impartiality, and a myriad of reviews, lists, posts and discussions on social media, along with community websites, such as Rotten Tomatoes (<http://rottentomatoes.com>) and IMDB (<http://imdb.com>), where the ranking of movies is a ratio between the score given by professional critics, amateurs or even “pro-ams”, meaning professional-amateurs writing the reviews.

“Sharing is a meaningful and creative act that is changing the way we create communities around the arts” (McLennan, 2012, 4’) and this alone says everything. But, it overlooks several problems: the biggest one “is finding voices you can trust” (8’ 57”). So, in this context of fluid

25 Some discussions and conference videos are available on the congress site: <http://revistacult.uol.com.br/home/category/4%C2%Bo-congresso-internacional-cult-de-jornalismo-cultural/>.

and continuous sharing and creation by anybody, where does cultural journalism stand? The fact that half of all staff arts journalism jobs have been eliminated since 2005 doesn't necessarily represent a crisis in the field, he says, rather a trend due to cuts that includes journalism as a whole, the lack of a sustainable business model in a digital environment and the "noise" created by anonymous people sharing content. So, to the question "what's the role of arts journalism?" he doesn't have the final answer, but he does have conviction:

So, what is the role of arts journalism? This is a serious question that needs a serious answer. One thing is clear: that role will be different and simply staying in the traditional role won't work. (8'50" – 9'08")

II. 5. What happened next?

In the last five years, two trends of cultural journalism already identified in this book have been reinforced: hybridism and its link to service journalism.

Like culture, hybridism also took over cultural journalism: in the coverage of cultural practices, access to sources, new genres and formats of storytelling, in the authorship and the business models, thus providing a mix of revenues.

Hybridism is present, for example, in the consolidation of non-professional critics and coverage related to everyday culture, which is then linked to service journalism. "Many of the issues treated in cultural journalism echo broader sociocultural and socio-political issues of our time", argues Nete Kristensen (2019, p. 9), especially the increased focus on everyday life issues.

At a time when culture is still one of the main themes explored in the virtual world, "everybody can be potentially a source and an expert" (Silva, 2019, p. 593). In this research, published in *Journalism Practice*, I have identified new patterns of sourcing and expertise in cultural journalism in a digital environment, specifically in the culture section of *The Guardian*. I explored how this publication used, in its editorial strategy, the new "digitally empowered sources", which I defined as "the new news sources—actors and materials—including people's photos and videos, blogs, Facebook posts, tweets, Instastories, digital data, algorithmically generated sources of information, media and non-media sites, user-generated content and other sources available or empowered in the digital environment" (p. 593).

The findings of this research suggest clear changing patterns of sourcing and expertise in cultural journalism. Readers, for example, are an added value to *The Guardian*, both as "experts" and as sources of news, and legitimate their business model strategy supported in a membership strategy. There's a balance between critics, professional cultural journalists, and "everyday amateur experts", a label proposed by Kristensen & From (2015) to define

any person, non-professional journalist or critic, that can share and publish content with an opinion about arts and culture. This balance reflects a “connected strategy between editorial, readers engagement and business model” (p. 8). Findings also suggest that reviews about traditional high culture areas, such as classical music, opera, theatre, and dance are made by the intellectual cultural critics, whereas the professional cultural journalists are dedicated to television, games, digital arts, and pop culture.

This trend is reflected in the increase of what we can call proximity culture and community media. The lack of local cultural coverage by the traditional media has led to the growth of community media, that is, editorial projects that are not registered as media, but that provide relevant information to their communities, using a journalistic approach. The editorial strategy is based precisely on narratives of proximity — local coverage or coverage based on a connection between readers, which is not just geographical (it can also be cultural, affective, social, or based on community proximity, for example). Editorial projects like Coffeepaste (<http://cofeepaste.com>) and Rosa Maria (a printed newspaper about Mouraria, a traditional Lisbon neighbourhood) fulfil this purpose of proximity.

The second trend, which has been reinforced in the last few years as a result of the previous one, is the transition from an aesthetic paradigm to a journalistic paradigm, as described by Hellman et al. (2017). This transition results mainly from the distancing of the journalistic field from the aesthetic field, as well as the increasing distancing between journalists and cultural producers. But above all, this transition stems from the disappearance of specialised art critics: “Culture is increasingly being covered just as any other beat and critique are replaced by traditional journalistic genres such as news or interviews” (Sparre & From, 2017, p. 162). This paradigm shift leads to an approach to service journalism, which typically addresses its audience as potential consumers and clients. Culture is thus transformed into a commodity.

When cultural journalism meets service journalism, titles such as these abound: ‘If you watch only one movie this year’; ‘10 songs to die for’; ‘10 books that will change your life’; ‘Become a hero in your own life!’; ‘We (the media) are at your service!’; ‘Heal yourself’; ‘10 tips for a better life’; ‘Know your rights!’; ‘Be a smart consumer’; ‘Five books you should read, according to experts’; ‘10 paintings that will change your worldview’; ‘Try this before you die’; ‘Don’t let anyone cheat you’; and ‘All you need to know about DAB radio’ (Eide, 2017, p. 197).

Part II

**Where do we
stand in digital
journalism?**

Chapter III:

“Now that your Internet has ruined news, what now?”

“Now that your Internet has ruined news, what now?”, asked Jeff Jarvis (2014a) at the beginning of 2014 as a motto to his essay about new relationships, forms and business models for news. In fact, digital journalism is the prime suspect for the climate of change, uncertainty, experimentation and potential that the media and journalism are dealing with in a faster rhythm than they can perhaps successfully adapt to. “What now?” has not found the right answers yet. The last few years have been marked by attempts to transform threats to traditional media into opportunities in digital journalism, but the route has led in many cases to a dead end.

What’s changed in the past 15 years for media and journalism? We could say simply that the Internet was the most fundamental change. By the end of 2014, there were three billion users worldwide, or 40% of the world’s population (Internet Users, 2014). According to the State of News Media 2014 (Pew Research Center, 2014), the vast majority of Americans get news in some digital format (82% on a laptop or desktop; 54% on a mobile device). These data are similar in other countries: Reuters Digital News Report (2014) concludes that 37% of users from the countries sampled²⁶ are accessing news from a smartphone each week and 20% from a tablet (Reuters, 2014, p. 8).

It “is not a new entrant in the news ecosystem. It heralded a new ecosystem, full stop” (Anderson, Bell & Shirky, 2012, p. 83). Why? The short answer is that news organizations are no longer in control of the news, amateurs can be reporters, crowds have become powerful players, advertising can reach consumers directly, traditional business models are failing, the role of journalism is changing... Thus, applying the meaning of ecosystem — as a complex network or interconnected system or a community of interacting members — to information, we see that the era of “monolithic media” (Jarvis, 2014b) is being replaced by an ecosystem where information is produced and distributed by the media and non-media contributors. The media are not alone anymore.

On one hand, the Internet altered the communication model of “one to many” for “many to many”: now, the audience, once a clear term designating the “mass of recipients of content

26 US, UK, Germany, France, Denmark, Finland, Spain, Italy, Urban Brazil and Japan.

produced and distributed by a publisher” (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 16), can publish, recreate and participate in the production of that content as pro-ams (professional-amateurs).

On the other hand, one of the most disruptive effects of the Internet is to combine publishing and communications models into a single model — such as Twitter or Facebook — allowing people to publish and share any story, shrinking the once privileged position of the original publisher (2012, p. 16). We all now have access to means of production and distribution of news, information and content. Anyone — not only the media — can gather, distribute and share original or third party information. “Anyone can be connected to anyone without need of gatekeepers or mediators — that is, media” (Jarvis, 2014b) and because of that everyone contributes to a larger information ecosystem.

Parallel to this, the Internet brought the decline in newspaper and magazine advertising — in 2012, total newspaper advertising revenue was down 52% from 2003 (Pew Research Center, 2014) — and caused a major crisis for media that couldn’t create a successful online and offline business model.

Instant access pushes news organizations to publish without always verifying the facts; journalists’ routines become more sedentary and more dependent on press releases and paid stories (Gomes, 2012); boundaries between journalism and non-journalism are blurring with the overlap between public relations and news (such as paid website content); the role of journalism and journalists, in a time when blogs can be more powerful than a single media, or a group of readers can know more than a single journalist (Gillmor, 2006), is being questioned... Many things have changed on all fronts.

However, using Pavlik’s logic (2001, xii), the Internet is just a symptom of a major technological change (for him is the convergence of telecommunications, computing and traditional media, as we will see later in this chapter) and doesn’t explain all that is happening today in media. Several authors have been focusing on specific realities or specific changes, which in their opinion constitute the most important marks or trends in the evolution of media and journalism, in particular, digital journalism. “There are lots of ways to tell the stories now”, says Paul Bradshaw (2012a). “Abundance rules in digital”, argues Jeff Jarvis (2014b) about the capability that everyone now has to produce, distribute and share content. “There are many opportunities for doing good work in new ways” (Anderson *et al.*, 2012: 2).

If you wanted to sum up the past decade of the news ecosystem in a single phrase, it might be this: Everybody suddenly got a lot more freedom. The newsmakers, the advertisers, the startups, and, especially, the people formerly known as the audience have all been given new freedom to communicate, narrowly and broadly, outside the old strictures of the broadcast and publishing models. The past 15 years have seen an explosion of new tools and techniques, and, more importantly, new assumptions. (Anderson *et al.*, 2012, p. 1)

In this chapter, we address some of the main changes in the last 15 years. In Chapter IV, we focus in detail in which have been the main innovations in media, starting with the deconstruction of innovation and media innovation concepts.

III. 1. Living “in” media

In 2006, Mark Deuze focused on the components of digital culture which characterized society in a media context, as electronic culture did for the 20th century and print culture for the 19th century. Participation, remediation and bricolage were the three main components of the global digital culture, “an emerging value system and set of expectations as particularly expressed in the activities of news and information media makers and users online” (2006a, p. 63).

In digital culture, everybody, *we*, become participants in the process of meaning-making through real-time connection to the Internet, a reality — the participatory culture — that we have already addressed in Chapter I. On the other hand, and revisiting the remediation concept of Bolter and Grusin (1996) who argue that every new medium reproduces older media and the latest reconfigure themselves because of the new medium, we engage in remediation because we modify and manipulate consensual ways of understanding reality; finally, we are bricoleurs because we make our own versions of reality online, by publishing, sharing and manipulating others and our own content.

Although participation, remediation and bricolage are key concepts of today’s digital environment, in recent years Deuze’s work has been evolving and focusing on one of the biggest changes of the 21st century: the way we live now *in* media, rather than *with* media (2011, 2012). Deuze’s thesis results from the fact that these days media has become invisible because they disappear from our consciousness: “As media become invisible, they become all-powerful. We propose that the key challenge of the digital humanities in the 21st century is, or will be, the disappearance of media” (2012, p. 2).

We use media intensively, and we produce ourselves in media to a point that we don’t recognize our media habits. Media penetrates all aspects of our everyday life and is intrinsically part of it.

In this abundantly mediated and progressively mobile lifestyle media are such an augmented, automated, indispensable and altogether inalienable part of one’s activities, attitudes and social arrangements that they disappear — they essentially become the life that people are experiencing on a day to day basis. (2012, p. 3)

These arguments confirm Deuze's assumption — we are living a media life, meaning *in* media and not *with* media, with their own individualized media system in *their own personal information space* (2011, p. 139).

We argue that these arguments can be linked to the new form of socialized communication proposed by Manuel Castells, which he calls “mass self-communication”:

It is mass communication because it potentially reaches a global audience through the p2p networks and Internet connection. (...) and it is self-generated in content, self-directed in emission, and self-selected in reception by the many that communicate with many. (2007, p. 248)

For Manuel Castells, one of the biggest changes is the demise of a communication system centered around the mass media where one message was transmitted to audiences, to a global web of horizontal communication networks where interactive messages are exchanged from many to many, because now people have their own system of communication through sms, blogs, vlogs, podcasts and other new forms of communication.

This network organization in a networked society is what primarily defines media today, in the opinion of Castells and other authors such as Gustavo Cardoso (2006, p. 28), rather than technological convergence.

On the other hand, Rosental Alves (2006) calls this new form of communication “I-centric” (centered in “me”) because it is based in individual decisions in face of the numerous options given by the Internet — according to our interests, and when and where we want.

Alves uses Fidler's mediamorphosis concept and the term ‘mediacide’ to reflect this new digital revolution. In the first years of digital journalism the newspaper model was used to present and organize content in a digital environment, because media companies saw the Web not as a new medium but as a tool to distribute content produced in other formats. This process, which become known as shovelware, was the “original sin” for Alves (2006, p. 94) and is similar to a mediamorphosis: the emergence of a new media causes an earthquake in mediatic environment, during which traditional media go through a metamorphosis in order to adapt to the new reality; on the other hand, the new media, which in the first phase reproduces the traditional model, will eventually find its own language and communication code.

This digital revolution, of which the Internet is just the most visible face, is only comparable, in Alves' opinion, to the Gutenberg printing revolution, and — as in all revolutions — this new digital revolution brings the probability of a mediacide: a technological rupture that can be the death of traditional media (both companies and journalists) who can't or won't adapt to the new media environment.

This processes of mediamorphosis and mediacide are a way of understanding the crisis traditional media are in, such as the decline of TV audiences and the loss of advertising in newspapers due to the new digital medium which publishes news, and a new role for audiences

who now have the power to access infinite sources of information and even participate in its production and distribution.

III. 2. Convergence: the “digital Renaissance”

Five years before his famous book — *Convergence Culture* (2006) — Henry Jenkins, in an article entitled “Convergence? I diverge” (2001), said that the real media convergence was “on the verge of transforming our culture as profoundly as the Renaissance did” (2001, p. 93). “Real” because he was arguing against those who held that all media would meld into one. Media convergence was an ongoing process, as a result of the proliferation of channels and the increasingly ubiquitous relation of computing and communications. He anticipated an era where media would be everywhere and would be used by people in relation to one another.

Jenkins (2001) says that media convergence occurs at the intersection of technologies, industries, contents and audiences, and it integrates 5 convergence processes:

- technological convergence, meaning the digitalization of all media content;
- economic convergence, such as synergies and transmedia exploitation of brands (e.g. a film company entering another sector, such as books, games or television);
- social convergence; when consumers use multitask strategies to navigate media, such as being online and watching/reading what people are saying about a football game at the same time as watching it on TV;
- global convergence; impact which results from international circulation of media content, for example when Hollywood cinema is influenced by Asian cinema or pop music that is shaped by tribal influences;
- cultural convergence; results from the power that citizens now have to participate in the production and distribution of content, the development of content across multiple channels and the use of multiple mediums to build a narrative.

In 2006, Henry Jenkins centered his investigation in convergence culture (already approached in Chapter I) and argued that convergence should be primarily understood as a cultural shift because the circulation of media content across different media systems and national borders “depends heavily on consumers’ active participation” (2006, p. 3).

He described media convergence and convergence in this logic:

By [media]²⁷ convergence, I mean the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media systems, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want. Convergence is a word that manages to describe technological, industrial, cultural, and social changes depending on who's speaking, and what they think they are talking about. (2006, p. 3)

In fact, convergence is one of the main changes in recent years and it spreads across numerous strands: the emergence of multimedia groups where there were once just newspapers or a TV channel, with a presence in various communication markets, integrated newsrooms, a mix of functions in journalists' routines, the use of different languages to create an information unit... Convergence is a reality of our everyday life too, between our private self and social self on social networking websites, between work and play (Deuze, 2012, p. 4). Googling our name is a good example of how we, with our different selves, flow across different channels. Convergence thus affects the way content is produced, consumed and shared.

These simultaneous convergence processes in journalism are possible due to a previous one: the technological (Salaverria & Avilés, 2009) though digitalization, which changed the search for and the production and dissemination of information.

This technological convergence occurs in several spheres: in the interconnection of networks and in journalists' tools and applications (today, a simple iPhone allows a journalist to record audio and video, and then edit both), changing the way journalists get the news, produce it and then distribute it.

For Pavlik in 2001, technological convergence, meaning the convergence of telecommunications, computing and traditional media, was already one of the main changes that would impact journalism in the 21st century. The new digital tools have visible impact in three components: the nature and production of news content, the journalists' work routine and the structure of the newsroom. Pavlik added a fourth impact: the relationship between and among news organizations, journalists and their public (2001, p. xiii).

New digital tools gave rise to the development of new storytelling techniques. Journalists can tell a story with texts, images, videos or infographics and engage with readers in more contextualized and customized ways; they can publish a story and update it instantly.

²⁷ Reading the chapter, we want to distinguish "media convergence" from "convergence" at the beginning, since he previously says that the book is about the relationship between three concepts: media convergence, participatory culture and collective intelligence.

New digital tools have also changed the work of journalists: they have more tools to gather information, communicate, edit and find reliable sources in the crowd. The “backpack” journalists, equipped with portable and simple devices (a smartphone that can record audio and video), have more ability to do their work in the field.

New possibilities for journalism require changes in the organization of the newsroom itself: online newsrooms are more decentralized and flexible, boundaries between advertising and editorial tend to blur, along with the boundaries between journalism and non-journalism. Regarding the relationships between the once inaccessible journalists and their public, the power that the public now has in actively participating in the production and sharing information has changed everything.

For Pavlik, one of the most important changes in a digital environment is that new media technology is enabling a new form of news, which he described as contextualized journalism that “incorporated not only the multimedia capabilities of digital platforms but also the interactive, hypermedia, fluid qualities of online communications and the customizable features of addressable media” (2001, p. 217).

III. 3. Digital journalism or journalism in a digital environment

This “new” journalism produced for and in a digital environment has been given many names because of the fertile academic discussion regarding the use of “cyberjournalism,” “online journalism,” “webjournalism” or “digital journalism.”

“Online journalism” is the label most used in Anglo-Saxon countries and has been adopted by Paul Bradshaw (2012a), Steen Steensen (2009), among others. Mark Deuze also uses “online journalism”, but in the plural (2003) along with multimedia journalism (2004). Palacios (2003) also uses the term “online journalism”. On the other hand, “cyberjournalism” and “webjournalism” is more used in Latin American countries, Portugal and Spain (along with “periodismo digital”). The first is used by Bastos (2006) and Zamith (2011), among others. The latter is used by Canavilhas (2014, 2001) and Longhi (2011).

For the purpose of this investigation we use the expression “digital journalism” as we believe the other terms can be misleading—for example, online journalism, webjournalism or cyberjournalism can be perceived as just referring to journalism practiced and disseminated on the Web, and digital journalism literally includes all the journalism produced and disseminated through digital media platforms, including mobile phones and tablets, for example (which can deliver offline as well as online content). This naming is used by several authors (Hansen, 2012; Grueskin, Seave & Graves, 2012; Briggs, 2007; Butry, 2014; Kawamoto, 2003) and by universities and organizations for programs or seminars, such as by the Tow Center for Digital Journalism from Columbia University (<http://towcenter.org>) or Poynter

News University (<http://www.newsu.org>) and scientific publications (as *Digital Journalism*, published by Taylor and Francis).

We can define digital journalism with a more conservative approach, as proposed by Kevin Kawamoto: “[is] the use of digital technologies to research, produce and deliver (or make accessible) news and information to an increasingly computer-literate audience” (2003, p. 4).

This definition recognizes the historical and important function of journalism in a democracy (informing and enlightening the public) and acknowledges the digital tools which have an impact on how journalists construct their stories and how the audiences receive and have the power to participate in their life-cycle.

However, this definition can be a little too simple, i.e., it doesn’t acknowledge in an assertive way the complexity and continuous reconfiguration (because it changes alongside the evolution of technology and digital devices) of this new reality for journalism. In the presentation of a new scientific journal, titled *Digital Journalism*, its editor, Bob Franklin, acknowledges precisely that

digital journalism is complex, expansive and, even in these early days, constitutes a massive and ill-defined communications terrain which is constantly in flux. Digital journalism engages different types of journalistic organizations and individuals, embraces distinctive content formats and styles, and involves contributors with divergent editorial ambitions, professional backgrounds, and educational experiences and achievements, who strive to reach diverse audiences. (Franklin, 2013, p. 2)

This definition approaches what is happening in a digital environment: mainstream media live online together with niche native digital media projects, social media, blogs, and so on; journalists exist together with the so-called pro-amateurs. Users receive this daily mix of languages, formats and sources, in which they can also actively participate. Thus, digital journalism requires new ways of thinking: about the audience, the content and its distribution, the business models and the blurring boundaries between journalism and non-journalism.

Figuring out the most useful role a journalist can play in the new information ecosystem requires thinking about the essence of journalism and what can journalists do better under the new model. Journalism has a historic relationship with democracy, exposing corruption and injustice; it explains complex issues and draws attention to what matters; it accounts for politicians’ promises and duties. This role is, of course, irreplaceable. The journalist is a “truth-teller, a sense-maker, an explainer” (Anderson *et al.*, 2012, p. 4) and that’s how he can make a difference in a world where everybody can make information available:

Now and for the foreseeable future, we need a cadre of full-time workers who report the things someone somewhere doesn’t want reported, and who do it in a way that doesn’t

just make information available (a commodity we are currently awash in), but frames that information so that it reaches and affects the public. (idem)

For Pavlik (2001, p. 219), the role of the journalist in a digital environment changed in three ways. Once dominated by three objectives—report the facts, interpret the facts and help shape public opinion—journalists now must be more than tellers of facts, providing them in context; they must expand their interpretation of facts and be curators of the avalanche of information, in a way that they can reconnect and manage communities.

In the new digital environment, journalists need to have in-depth knowledge about issues because of the wider availability of specialist commentary. They also need to know how to deal with big data and statistics, as well as understanding metrics and audiences. Besides data skills, they also should know how to code.

Another key skill is storytelling: journalists need to know how to tell stories using the most appropriate medium, from video to image galleries and infographics, in the most compelling way. Finally, they also need to know how to manage a project, since today an idea doesn't end in a story, but in multiple platforms with specific audiences and characteristics.

Using Deuze's model for online journalism as a reference, which concentrates on public connectivity as much as it does editorial content (2006b, p. 21) and the suggested expansion by Sue Robinson (2012, p. 65) integrating citizen's personal experience in the news (both immersive and participatory ways), we can conclude that journalist's functions don't resume to instrumental and informative functions, but rather to a more global role that includes engaging with the public and finding new ways to provide them with a more immersive and participatory experience. Thus, journalists surely haven't been replaced, but their role has definitely changed.

The journalist has not been replaced but displaced, moved higher up the editorial chain— from the production of initial observations to a role that emphasizes verification and interpretation, bringing sense to the streams of text, audio, photos and video produced by the public. (Anderson *et al.*, 2012, p. 22)

Every year, Nieman Lab asks some of the most influential people in media field to predict what the next year will bring for the future of journalism. Their predictions are great indicators of what the trends will be.

For the year 2014, Dan Gillmor (2013) argued that in order for journalism to still matter, journalists should focus more on critical mass, raising big topics, spreading them, but also sustaining them. For that, journalists have to acknowledge the value of collaboration and cooperation (with citizens and even with other media). In that sense, “exclusives” can be counterproductive.

“The future of news is anticipatory”, said Amy Webb (2013), revealing other major great trend: the personalization of news, anticipating people’s thoughts, interests and needs through sophisticated algorithms, as social media and Google Now are already doing. In this case, James Robinson (2013) predicted that 2014 would be the year that newsrooms would begin to think of analytics to increase the quality of their readership, not just the quantity.

‘Connecting’ would be also a word in every journalist’s mind, whether it means connecting with communities, connecting the dots to a more immersive niche coverage or finding compelling ways to tell stories (Kramer, 2013). In this context, it would be essential to get smarter about social media (Hermida, 2013), being more careful about distinguishing facts from fiction (from what people know and think that they know), not making assumptions or jumping to conclusions.

In the context of entrepreneurial journalism, Elizabeth Green (2013) predicted that there will be more nonprofit news entrepreneurs and a continued rise of single-subject websites. Along this line of thought, Carrie Brown-Smith (2013) said that the most successful startups will be the ones that understand readers and address their needs. One of the most important needs was precisely, according to Lauren Rabaino (2013), contextualized news...

These are just a few of those predictions, and most deal with the need for innovation. Taking into account that the future is now, how are media adapting and innovating in order to be sustainable? That question waits to be answered in the next chapter.

III. 4. What happened next?

Where do we stand in terms of digital journalism? The answer to this chapter, based on what has happened in the past five years, would in itself provide material for an entire book. Because that is not our present goal (although the challenge remains), we will focus on fundamental changes and developments related to the points in this chapter.

At the beginning of this chapter, we said that the Internet was the most fundamental change to occur between 2000 and 2015. Presently, the way media, businesses, and people are using the potential of the digital world is the most crucial change. There are some key aspects to this change.

Disinformation and fake news

Disinformation and fake news entered the digital lexicon quite abruptly. Events such as the election of Trump and Bolsonaro reinforced the link between populism and disinformation. Also, during public health crises like the Covid-19 pandemic, the power of this combination has

been well noticed. The European Commission says that disinformation “includes all forms of false, inaccurate, or misleading information designed, presented and promoted to intentionally cause public harm or for profit” (European Commission, 2018, p. 5).

Disinformation is a much wider phenomenon than fake news, because we are often dealing with real information that has been taken away from its real context. Incidentally, Pennycook *et al.* (2018) concluded that a user’s exposure to fake news can only generate the effect of “illusory truth” if it has a certain degree of plausibility. This effect of belief in the illusion increases with repeated exposure to misinformation.

Journalists have tirelessly developed fact-checking strategies, also seeing the fight against disinformation as an opportunity to claim journalistic authority; however, it is often the newsrooms themselves that, while always trying to be the first breaking the news, inadvertently share content that leads to misinformation. It should be remembered that in January 2020, only 38% of readers surveyed in the context of the Oxford Institute for the Study of Journalism’s *Digital News Report 2020* relied on the news “most of the time” (a percentage that improved in the meantime during the Covid- 19 crisis, according to the same source).

The reconfigurations of time and space in a digital environment (Santos-Silva & Granada, 2021), and the fact that social media has become the most important source of news for many users who share the “news find me” perception (Zúñiga, Strauss & Huber, 2020), undermine this apparent new role of the journalist. For these professionals, the most important things have always been defending the truth, confirming facts, and being as objective as possible.

Collaboration and a new type of journalism: the artistic one

The digital environment has forced a redefinition of the roles of newsroom professionals. Multimedia projects require teamwork, combining different skills and perspectives. But above all, they also require reasoning that is much more based on a concept that determines the story’s architecture and the contribution that each format can make to enrich the story.

This collaborative work that brings together journalists, infographics, multimedia designers, sound designers, and videographers, among other professionals, is at the basis of what Postema and Deuze (2020) call artistic journalism (or aesthetic journalism). These researchers defend an articulation between the creativity inherent to professional journalism and the artists — noticeable today in visual journalism or in segments that explore digital formats — and the search for the truth that has always guided journalistic work.

The “news desert” and the local coverage

In the last few years, people have been experiencing a paradox of proximity in terms of information. One would think that in this new digital ecosystem, where it is easier to consume, produce, and share content, the needs of local communities would be met. However, large cities like Lisbon also hide “news deserts”, camouflaged by the apparent abundance of information.

The concept of “news desert” relates to the decline of local journalism all over the world. Whatever the conceptual approach — local (Nielsen, 2015), hyperlocal (Metzgar *et al.*, 2011), community (Abernathy, 2014, 2018; Wiltshire, 2019), or proximity (Camponez, 2012; Jerónimo, 2015; García, 2017) —, this type of journalism tends to cover the specific needs of a community associated with a location (where we live or work).

However, local journalism has been disappearing in this new digital ecosystem, which has promoted profound changes in the behaviour of audiences, as well as advertisers, who have directed their budget to cheaper platforms. One of the consequences of these changes has been the appearance or expansion of “news deserts”.

One of the most accepted definitions of “news desert” is proposed by the University of North Carolina: “a community, either rural or urban, with limited access to the sort of credible and comprehensive news and information that feeds democracy at the grassroots level” (Center for Innovation and Sustainability in Local Media, 2019, para. 6).

The impact of “news deserts” has already been stated in other countries. In 2017, the *Columbia Journalism Review* published a map that identified “news deserts” in the USA. For example, two counties in Texas with a population of 1.3 million people had no local newspaper (Bucay *et al.*, 2017).

Another critical study was conducted by Penelope Muse Abernathy, Knight Chair in Journalism and Digital Media Economics, at the University of North Carolina. The investigation concluded that, since 2004, in all of the USA, 1,300 communities had lost journalistic coverage, 1,800 local newspapers closed down and 7,100 of those that survived became “ghost newspapers” (Abernathy, 2018, p. 24), that is, with such reduced staff that they were unable to cover their communities adequately. In 2018, more than 90 counties in the southern states had no local newspaper, making it the country’s largest “news desert”.

Chapter IV:

Innovation in the media

IV. 1. Definitions of media innovation and typologies

In the previous chapter we approached some contemporary issues regarding media in a digital environment, some of which contributed to the rise of entrepreneurial journalism. Recalling that entrepreneurship can be defined as the “discovery and exploitation of profitable opportunities” (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 217), an essential condition for entrepreneurship in media is innovation, which we will give attention to throughout this chapter.

There is already a large body of research examining innovation in media and even a scientific journal dedicated to it, entitled *The Journal of Media Innovations* (<https://www.journals.uio.no/index.php/TJMI/>).

According to the Oxford Dictionary (2014) *to innovate* comes from the Latin *innovāre*, which means *introducing something new or making changes in something established*. The Business Dictionary (2014) defines *innovation* as *the process of translating an idea or invention into a good or service that creates value or for which customers will pay*.

However, like other terms already deconstructed in this thesis, innovation is a concept with multiple meanings. First, it differs from invention: “invention is the first occurrence of an idea for a new product or process, while innovation is the first attempt to carry it out into practice” (Fagerberg, 2009, para. 6). Tom Grasty also acknowledges that innovation “occurs if someone improves on or makes a significant contribution to an existing product, process or service” (2012), while invention is the creation of a product or introduction of a process for the first time. Thus, some entrepreneurs are inventors, but most of them are really innovators. For example, the iPod was not the first portable music device (it was the Sony Walkman some years earlier), but Apple made a product innovation, combining design, ergonomics and ease-of-use, keeping the iPod updated with music linked to iTunes.

Innovation also differs from creativity: “creativity (...) is the process through which new ideas are produced, while innovation is the process through which they are implemented” (Landry & Bianchini, 1995, p. 20). The authors give the example of a city: it can be creative, but may not have analytical, evaluative and financial skills to develop innovation solutions. Thus, although creativity is a necessary precondition for innovation, innovation is what counts in maximizing the potential of a city. The same premises can be applied to the media.

Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950), considered a forerunner in the study of innovation and

entrepreneurship, defined innovation as “new combinations” of existing resources fulfilled by entrepreneurs who had to fight against the prevalence of society inertia and find novel solutions existing problems (Schumpeter, 1934/2012). The Austrian author distinguishes five different types of innovation: new products, new methods of production, new sources of supply, the exploitation of new markets and new ways to organize business.

Thus, it is important to note that innovation implies the introduction of something new, but not necessarily an invention. It can be new combinations of ideas, competences and resources. In the end, it simply involves new ways of doing things.

Regarding media innovation in particular, it can include several aspects of the media landscape, from new ways of storytelling to new business models. Axel Bruns (2014) draws our attention to the fact that media innovations are first innovations in media practices and in media technologies, which reflect and promote societal changes as well. Second, they are almost always user innovations because ordinary users are now active content creators and media innovators (2014, p. 13).

Thus, Bruns argues, there is an intrinsic relationship between media innovations, user innovations and societal innovations, and that when we are studying the first we are really investigating a process of the latter. But the most important of these for Bruns seems to be user innovations, as participants and co-creators of media, the “people formerly called the audience” (Gillmor, 2006, p. 30), have the power to blur the boundaries between the other two categories:

in a very real sense [it] is both media and societal innovation, and arguably collapses the two categories into one: into multi-pronged innovative processes within a comprehensively mediatized society in which boundaries between media professionals and media amateurs are rapidly shifting, even dissolving. (Bruns, 2014, p. 18)

In the context of the *Scripps Howard Awards 2013* for which Mark Briggs was on the judges’ panel for “Digital Innovation”, he defines innovation in news focusing on digital technology and the customer:

Once we looked through all the entries, the definition of innovation in journalism became clearer, at least to us: trying new ways to create a better journalism experience for the reader through digital technology. Even better when it’s journalism that matters. And it works across all platforms. (2013, para. 8)

In Briggs’ opinion, being innovative is not just using a new digital tool, such as a newspaper making a video, if it is not innovative for the user:

True innovation in news means connecting that reader/user to important information in a new and meaningful way. Will non-journalists share your project on social media and email it to their friends? Then you might be onto something truly innovative. The day of doing journalism for journalists — or awards — is over. Focus on the customer. Serve the customer. (2013, para. 11)

There have been several proposals to systematize media innovations for research or market purposes. In the following pages we will present the ones that seem more consistent and appropriate to this fieldwork.

Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) apply the four types of Innovation identified by Francis and Bessant (2005, as cit. in Storsul & Krumsvik, 2013) — product, process, position and paradigmatic innovation — to a media context.

Thus, *product innovation* relates to changes in products or services offered by the media, such as new media platforms (tablets or smartphones), new media services, such as web TV or media apps, or even new genres or communication patterns.

Process innovation refers to changes in the ways in which products or services are created and delivered, including the way media engage with users or organize their activities. Gamification, although not mentioned by the authors, is a good example of this. The strategy of using game design and mechanism in non-game contexts has been used for instance for education, marketing and information purposes.

Position innovation refers to changes in how products or services are positioned. Media companies regularly reposition their brands or services in order to target new audiences.

Last, *paradigmatic innovation* relates to changes in an organization's mindset, values and business models, such as the increasing focus on digital content.

However, for Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) the four Ps are not sufficient to describe all kinds of media innovation and they add an S to conceptualize it: social innovation, including new ways of using media services for social ends, meaning engaging with the audience and using their power to share information (through social networks and platforms).

Table 1. Our summary of types of innovation proposed by Storsul & Krumsvik (2013)

Product innovation	Process innovation	Position innovation	Paradigmatic innovation	Social innovation
New platforms, services, genres and communication patterns.	New ways of creating and delivering products and services, including the way media engage with users or organize their activities.	Changes in the way products or services are marketed, in terms of branding.	Changes in business models, values and organizations' mindset	New ways of using media for social ends.

On the other hand, Dogruel (2014) uses the same 4 Ps and adds the underlying dimension of change: technological, content/design-oriented, functional or organizational. She gives the example of streaming music to illustrate how the combination of these categories works out: first, it can be classified as a paradigmatic innovation, involving both technological and organizational changes (such as a new business model); second, it can be considered a product innovation, with changes at a functional dimension, bringing new ways of consuming and sharing music.

Another group of researchers (Bleyen *et al.*, 2014) proposes a typology of innovation in the media sector (Table 2) starting from the standard distinction between product and process innovation and the four respective categories but identifies a new category that is situated between them: consumption and media innovation, which includes all those related to them. It deals with how the product is marketed and made available and also how it is perceived and experienced by the user.

Table 2. Typology of media innovations proposed by Bleyen *et al.* (2014, p. 35)

PROCESS INNOVATION		CONSUMPTION & MEDIA INNOVATION	PRODUCT INNOVATION	
Business Model	Production & Distribution		Inner Form	Core
A new feature of a business model, including a new organization of an industry	A new means of creating, producing, reproducing, distributing or marketing content	A new way of consuming content, or a related service	A new stylistic feature	A new theme or message

Researchers relate product innovation only to content and categorize it into inner forms (such as new features) and core innovation (in the editorial approach). The process innovation is divided into production & distribution (new means of creating, producing, reproducing, distributing or exhibiting content) and business models.

In their empirical exploration regarding Flanders stakeholders' perceptions on media innovations selected from three different media industries (magazines, newspapers and broadcasting), Bleyen *et al.* achieved some conclusions, summarized in Table 3, that could be used as good practice or reference for other media.

Table 3. What innovation is taking place? Our adapted summary of findings based on the typology by Bleyen *et al.* (2014, p. 45)

PROCESS INNOVATION		CONSUMPTION & MEDIA INNOVATION	PRODUCT INNOVATION	
Business Model	Production & Distribution		Inner Form	Core
A new feature of a business model, including a new organization of an industry	A new means of creating, producing, reproducing, distributing or exhibiting content	A new way of consuming content, or a related service	A new stylistic feature	A new theme or message
FINDINGS				
Crowdfunding User-generated content Cross-subsidization Multi-platform strategies	Video equipment YouTube, Search engines, Aggregator apps	Advertising in print: Augmented reality, QR codes, physically integrating product information Advertising on TV: Interactive advertising Interactive TV applications Second screen applications	Print: newspaper format, printing quality, color scheme Digital: adoption of HTML 5	Niche magazines More qualitative offer in newspapers – with more weekend material and specialized/ theme editions High quality TV programs / formats
Who innovates? External players or media companies?				
Both	Mainly external players	Both	Both	Media companies, often local ones
Is this type of innovation triggered by technology?				
Not necessarily	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not necessarily

Regarding product innovation, these findings suggest that the most prominent seem to be in core. Niche publications, a more qualitative and specialized approach or high quality formats are the main trends.

As for innovation in consumption and media, the most prominent are related to the insertion of technology in advertising, satisfying advertisers and improving consumers' experience at the same time.

Innovative business models take many forms. The mobile revenue model of *The New York Times* is a major role model for magazines that are trying to monetize print and digital (mobile) editions, while in newspapers the multiplatform strategy and e-commerce initiatives have the most potential.

Product & distribution, consumption & media and inner form innovations are triggered by technology, and media companies rely on technological innovation by external companies to improve their own products and processes.

John Pavlik (2013) goes further and says that the key to the viability of news media in the digital age is precisely innovation, which the author defines as “the process of taking new approaches to media practices and forms while maintaining a commitment to quality and high ethical standards” (2013, p. 183). It lies in four dimensions:

Innovation in the news media, including both the professional journalists and citizen journalists who generate news content, lies along at least four dimensions. These are: (1) creating, delivering and presenting quality news content, (2) engaging the public in an interactive news discourse, (3) employing new methods of reporting optimized for a digital, networked age, and (4) developing new management and organizational strategies for a digital, networked and mobile environment. (2013, p. 183)

According to Pavlik, innovation in news media should be guided by four principles in order to be sustainable long-term: intelligence or research, a commitment to the freedom of speech, a dedication to the pursuit of truth and accuracy in reporting and ethics.

The first principle is essential because of the urgent need to innovate in the digital marketplace, uncertain and competitive. The other three are related to a compromise that media have to keep in order to maintaining their credibility and legitimacy.

Pavlik highlights three major innovations in news media: the emergence of mobile technologies and their increasing adoption by citizens who use them to access and distribute information via the Internet; news content opportunities, such as storytelling platforms using location-based images, video and augmented reality; the growth of social media and public engagement and the development of digital tools to help assure the accuracy of what the public report.

Regarding the development and use of innovative methods for newsgathering and reporting, these represent an essential area of news media growth for Pavlik and he also highlights the recent developments by *The Guardian* on data-driven and interactive visualizations, such as

the ground-breaking data pieces based on Twitter feeds in the context of the Tottenham riots²⁸. Pavlik also adds that to do this it is critical to achieve a viable revenue model.

In this context, Pavlik proposes the Journalism Innovation Matrix, a combination of the three digital media innovation strategies which he highlights in combination with the four news principles he proposes for effective journalism in a digital, networked and global marketplace (2013, p. 188):

Building an innovative strategy built on networked, digital and mobile technologies will enable the news media and their journalistic staff, both professional and citizen, to achieve the goal of building a sustainable business or financial model to produce quality journalism in a global, networked and mobile environment.

Table 4. Journalism Innovation Matrix proposed by John Pavlik (2013)²⁹

	PRINCIPLES				
		Research	Pursuit of truth and accuracy	Freedom of expression	Ethics
NEWS STRATEGIES	Content	Augmented reality <i>(The New York Times^a and Philadelphia Inquirer^b)</i>	Authenticated citizen reporting <i>(Citizenside.com^c)</i>	Transparency of reporting <i>(Wikileaks^d)</i>	Privacy Protections <i>(ABYZ Newspaper Archive^e)</i>
	Methods	Analysis of big data <i>(The Guardian^f)</i>	Using location-based technology to verify data reporting <i>(Citizenside.com^c)</i>	Featuring citizen social media, mobile media postings during crises	Engaging citizens in interactive dialog <i>(The Guardian^h)</i>
	Management	Virtual newsroom to support field reporting <i>(Vanderbilt Newsroom)</i>	Digital tools for detecting plagiarism <i>(The Hartford Courantⁱ)</i>	Inviting the public to submit digital documents for investigation <i>(Al Jazeera Transparency Unit^k)</i>	Lowering paywall during crisis <i>(The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal^l)</i>

^aVenture Beat (2011); ^bGelles (2012); ^cCitizenside (<http://www.citizenside.com/>, accessed November 4, 2012); ^dWikiLeaks (<http://wikileaks.org/>, accessed November 4, 2012); ^eABYZ Newspaper Archive online (<http://www.abyznews-links.com/priva.htm>, accessed November 4, 2012); ^fThe Guardian (2011); ^gCBS News (2012); ^hThe Guardian (2012e); ⁱGlasser (2012); ^jSilverman (2010); ^kAl Jazeera Transparency Unit (<http://transparency.aljazeera.net/en/>, accessed November 4, 2012); ^lOsborne (2012)

28 <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/dec/09/data-journalism-reading-riots> (last accessed 23rd November 2014).

29 The presented examples and references are also part of the Journalism Innovation Matrix.

We will look more closely at some media innovations in the next subchapter.

IV. 2. Innovations in storytelling

At AMA 2012, under the theme *A collaborative future for Arts and Media?*, Paul Bradshaw, one of the most influential UK's multimedia journalists, author of *Online Journalism Blog* (<http://onlinejournalismblog.com>), gave a talk precisely about new models for telling stories in cultural journalism. He focused on the changes that journalism has suffered through the last 15 years, moving into a multiplatform, networked environment, influencing the way journalists make the stories. Perhaps this sentence sums up his contribution: "There are lots of ways to tell the story now" (2012a, p. 6).

Nowadays journalists have to deal with new sources of information, such as big data, tweets, feeds, Facebook posts and other forms of crowdsourcing and have to decide on the best means of publishing the material (tweet, audio, video or live blog), which platform (Facebook, the media's website or blog, Flickr for photos of cultural events, for example) and when to publish. Plus this, and regarding the production of a story in a digital environment, journalists have a full hand of tools that they can use to tell a story in the best way possible, from photo slideshows to video, audio or animated graphics.

All this — keeping up new skills demanded to report, edit, curate, write, photograph, use social media and find new ways to engage with the public — is a challenge to journalists, but it is also an opportunity for them to innovate in their field.

The "Snow Fall effect"

If we take a closer look at innovation in the way journalists conceptualize and construct their stories and how they are presented to the public, there is an expression that can represent it: "multimedia storytelling". This term — with the variations "digital storytelling", "interactive narratives" or "interactive storytelling" — seems to categorize stories that explore the potential of digital, such as hypertextuality, multimediality or interactivity. "A multimedia story is some combination of text, still photographs, video clips, audio, graphics and interactivity presented on a website in a nonlinear format in which the information in each medium is complementary, not redundant", defines Jane Stevens (2014, para. 2).

The most mediated reference of this multimedia storytelling paradigm became known as the “snow fall effect”. *Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek*³⁰, a story by *The New York Times* reporter John Branch, involving 16 professionals (from journalists to multimedia designers), debuted on December 2012 and in 2013 won a Pulitzer prize in the feature writing category, “for his evocative narrative about skiers killed in an avalanche and the science that explains such disasters, a project enhanced by its deft integration of multimedia elements” (*The 2013 Pulitzer Winners*, 2013). In the first 10 days, it attracted 3 million website visits (McAdams, 2014).

What was innovative in *Snow Fall*? First, the integration of multimedia elements, which are part of the narrative flow, rather than accessories to the words, gives the user a seamless experience. The narrative starts with a silent video that places the user in the story; there are videos providing testimonies, graphical backdrop or information. Maps, audio and photo slideshows all are combined harmoniously in the story. Second, the parallax scrolling effect, which emerged in 2012, gave the user an immersive reading experience. Third, the long-form journalism again became an attractive way of doing journalism, now enhanced by multimedia possibilities. Besides maps, audio, videos and photos the story has a 17,000 word text in six parts, and took this user an hour just to read it.

In a phase of evolving experimentation and quick evolution, this multimedia narrative is just an example of innovation that has been followed by others which are even better, such as *Firestorm*³¹, by *The Guardian* (released on May 2013), or *Planet Money Makes a T-Shirt*³², by *National Public Radio* (released on December 2013).

Characteristics of digital journalism

There have been several suggestions on to classify the most important new and innovative characteristics of digital journalism. Multimediality, hypertextuality and interactivity seem to be the most important ones for many researchers (Canavilhas, 2014, 2012a; Siapera & Veglis, 2012; Díaz-Noci, 2009; Deuze, 2003).

Kevin Kawamoto (2003, p. 4) identifies six characteristics of typical digital journalism:

30 <http://www.nytimes.com/projects/2012/snow-fall/#/?part=tunnel-creek> (last accessed 12th April 2015).

31 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/may/26/firestorm-bushfire-dunalley-holmes-family> (last accessed 27th May 2015).

32 <http://apps.npr.org/tshirt/> (last accessed 21st December 2014).

1. hypertextuality (linking of digital information through a nonlinear hierarchical structure);
2. interactivity (engaging active human or machine participation in the process of information seeking and sharing);
3. nonlinearity (a flexible and dynamic ordering system of information instead of a chronological, linear pattern of storytelling);
4. multimedia (the use of more than one type of media in a single product);
5. convergence (the blurring or melding of historically discrete technology and services);
6. customization and personalization (the ability to shape content and services to individual needs and desires).

For João Canavilhas (2014, p. 2; 2012a, p. 354), multimediality, hypertextuality and interactivity are the three main features of digital journalism and are completed with four other elements that are themselves web features: instant access (the immediacy of accessing the Web), personalization, memory (archive) and ubiquity, meaning “be found everywhere” (Pavlik, 2014, p. 160) and simultaneously in multiple spaces.

The “ideal-typical” form of digital journalism for Deuze has interactivity, multimediality and hypertextuality as key features:

The online journalist has to make decisions as to which media format or formats best convey a certain story (multimediality), consider options for the public to respond, interact or even customize certain stories (interactivity), and think about ways to connect the story to other stories, archives, resources and so forth through hyperlinks (hypertextuality). (Deuze, 2003, p. 206)

Palacios (2003, pp. 2-5) talks about multimediality/convergence, interactivity, hypertextuality, personalization, memory, instant access and continuous updating of content.

Fernando Zamith (2008, p. 2), one of many authors who developed a methodological proposal to analyze news websites, points out seven characteristics with recognized potentialities for digital journalism — hypertextuality, multimediality, immediacy, ubiquity, memory and personalization — and adds an eighth, creativity (meaning for this researcher, unforeseen exploitation).

According to Salaverría (2005, p. 517) the inclusion of hypertext, interactive and multimedia elements in several studies has been a signal of innovation for journalism in a digital environment, but for him the use of these resources is above all a breakthrough in language and adaptation to the new medium.

We will detail and exemplify the three more important elements.

Interactivity

Interactivity is a key to understanding a major innovation in digital journalism — the ability or potential to make the user part of the experience. Of course we can say that the letters to the editor or the participant on the radio (to request some music, for example) is already an interactive experience, but high-speed connections and other digital features have brought a whole different potential to the word. In a digital environment, interactivity allows media to establish an immediate and continuous relation with the user, who, in turn, can participate, co-create and establish a dialogue with the media and other users. To sum up, interactivity implies producing something that users can interact with (Bradshaw, 2013, p. 23) and is inserted in the contact space between journalists and readers, with different levels of content selection, intervention and participation, which technologies have been extending and simplifying (Rost, 2014, p. 53).

According to Deuze (2003, p. 214), website interactivity can be subdivided in three types: navigational, meaning that the user is allowed to navigate in a more or less structured way through the website content; functional, referring to the extent of participation allowed to the user in the participation process (such as moderated discussions, interaction with other users or sharing options); adaptive, meaning the capacity of the website to adapt itself to the surfing behavior of every individual user and to remember user preferences.

For Rost (2014, p. 55), interactivity is defined as the gradual capacity that a media has to give more power to users and it can be selective (users' power in content selection) and communicational (users' power to express themselves and communicate).

Nel & Westlund (2012) consider four aspects concerning interactivity in digital media: personalization, defined as the extension to which users can modify or participate in modifying form and content in real time; customization (similar to the adaptive characteristic suggested by Deuze), which is the media's technological ability to respond to user actions, for example, recommending content based on previous user behavior; dialogical, meaning the level of interaction between users through various forms of expression such as texts, images and video; finally, they consider navigation, similar to Deuze's proposal.

Examples of interactive opportunities are hyperlinking to other materials and sources, engaging in e-mail conversations with journalists, answering questionnaires, participating in a review of a film, music or other product, uploading videos. The more a website gives opportunities to users, the more involved the users will feel about the website. Slot & Frissen (2007, p. 205) sum up the innovative roles of users in an interactive context into five categories: users can now consume in different ways (read, view, listen, download, buy, play a game and search); they can create (contribute, customize content or even produce it); they can share (upload and publish content and send it to others); they can even act as facilitators (tagging, recommending, filtering, subscribing and channeling content); and act as communicators (sending messages to other users, commenting, rating or ranting and chatting).

The multimedia story *Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek*, already mentioned in previous point, has several examples of interactivity: users can experience the story in different ways (read it, look at the photo galleries, choose a chapter, play the videos, for example); they can read the e-book version or watch the documentary (a version of the story in the words of the survivors); they can share it on Facebook and Twitter or share the link in an e-mail.

In a cultural journalism context, the multimedia story *Vision Quest*³³, about the artist Doug Aitken's latest art installation, published in *Wired* magazine, has several interactive features: users can share on social media or through e-mail, they can follow a live blog that traces the stations of the art installation (it is on a train) and join the conversation about the project, contributing with their own comments and reviews.

Multimediality

We assume also that multimediality is one of the most important tools in digital storytelling. It can be defined as the integration of two or more mediums in a journalistic piece, such as text, video, slideshows, infographics and other interactive and hypertextual elements. The possibility of using several mediums to create a narrative, taking advantage of the different potential of each one, without space constraints, is in fact the most practical advantage of multimediality from the journalistic point of view. It is, however, important to note that a multimedia narrative isn't the result of just a "mere juxtaposition of textual and audiovisual codes, but rather the harmonious integration of these codes in a single message" (Salaverría, 2001, p. 388).

For Deuze (2004), there are two ways of defining multimedia: "as the presentation of a news story package on a website using two or more media formats, such as (but not limited to) spoken and written words, music, moving and still images, graphic animations, including interactive and hypertextual elements" (these last two are typical of online journalism); secondly, as the "integrated presentation of a news story package through different media" (p. 140). The only reason we didn't adopt the expression "multimedia journalism" in this dissertation has to do with the fact that many media are not yet driven by the purpose of multimedia.

For Salaverría (2014), multimedia needs to be defined in three acceptations: as multiplatform, as polyvalence and as a combination of languages.

The concept of multimedia as multiplatform corresponds to the logistic coordination of newsrooms (for instance, BBC can use radio, TV and online newsrooms in a special piece).

33 <http://www.wired.com/aitken-station-to-station/> (last accessed 30th March 2015).

The concept of multimedia as polyvalence is used in the context of the journalist as a professional who now has skills and tasks that once were other professionals' responsibilities. Now, journalists can easily record and edit audio and video, for instance.

Finally, the third acceptance mentioned by Salaverría — and the one that is more important in the context of this dissertation — is multimedia as a combination of languages and formats in just one message.

Today, due to the potential of digital format, multimedia content can be constituted by eight different elements: 1) text, 2) photography, 3) graphics, icons and static illustrations, 4) video, 5) digital animation, 6) oral discourse, 7) music and audio effects and 8) vibration. About this last element, Salaverría comments that vibration is an important element in mobile device new message alerts, so this element also has narrative possibilities.

Thus, in multimedia storytelling the watchword is “complement, don't repeat” according to Mindy McAdams (2014), since various media types should be used according to their strengths.

For instance, the story *At the Metropolitan Museum, a New Wing, a New Vista*³⁴, released by *The New York Times* on October 2011, is a good example of choosing the right multimedia elements: the story about the new Islamic wing is told through a virtual tour of the gallery space and 360° panoramic surround images of some of the main artwork rooms. Using only text and plain images wouldn't provide the same experience.

*The places we live*³⁵, a multimedia project by Jonas Bendiksen (*Magnum* agency), is another good example of the potentialities of audio and 360° images. Audio is used with static image (not video) to represent the noise of some of the most populated cities and 360° panoramic images are used to show the interior of the houses where those people live, in order to give the users a notion of how small and poor those interiors are.

Hypertextuality

Hypertext allows a text to include blocks of media or other content via a hyperlink to additional information about the subject.

Hypertext was first described by Theodor Nelson, in 1965, in his well-known article *Complex information processing: a file structure for the complex, the changing, and the indeterminate*:

34 <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/10/30/arts/design/20111030-met-islamic-wing.html> (last accessed 12th August 2014).

35 <http://www.theplaceswelive.com/> (last accessed 12th November 2014).

Let me introduce the word 'hypertext'^{****} to mean a body of written or pictorial material interconnected in such a complex way that it could not conveniently be presented or represented on paper. (...) Such a system could grow indefinitely, gradually including more and more of the world's written knowledge. (1965/2003, p. 144)

The criteria Nelson used for the prefix “hyper” was “the inability of these objects to be comprised sensibly into linear media” (p.144), which is the reason for the asterisks in the original quote.

Deuze stresses that there are two different types of hypertextuality: hyperlinks which refer *internally*, i.e., to other texts within the text's domain, on-site), or *externally* (to texts located elsewhere on the internet, off-site) (Deuze, 2003, p. 12).

Barbosa & Mielniczuk (2011, p. 37) draw attention to the fact that today links don't refer only to text but to multimedia elements and can involve elements already published by the media — which they call memory or documentary links — and contributions given by users.

The fact that hypertext doesn't refer only to text led some authors to distinguish hypertext from hypermedia (Longhi, 2010; Zamith, 2013), first as the non-sequential construction between text units, and the latest as the non-sequential combination not only between text units but also between other media codes, such as images or video: “the hypermedia covers the possibilities of the hypertext, namely linking texts together, and text with different other media formats” (Zamith, 2013, p. 267). However, in the context of this dissertation, we use hypertextuality in the scope of hypermedia, because it is a more generalized and unanimous expression.

Salaverria (2005, p. 519) distinguishes two main types of hypertext in journalism: the one that allows experimenting with new possibilities for experiencing a narrative (whether it's updated information, contextual changes or more detail) and documental hypertext which gives access to content that's already in the media archive. That's why the author says that journalistic hypertext is situated in a plan where the documental and the literary worlds are interconnected.

The web documentary *100 Gallons* by *Powering a Nation*³⁶ is a good example of hypertext use. As users are viewing the documentary, white bubbles beneath the progress bar indicate that there are more in-depth stories. These 16 bubble icons link to the text, to more videos, to contextual or explanatory graphics and to interactive infographics.

On the other hand, the article *A Landmark Oscar Win for '12 Years a Slave*³⁷, that integrated the special coverage of Oscars 2014 by *The New York Times*, is an example of the

36 <http://www.poweringanation.org/water/> (last accessed 12th November 2014).

37 <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/03/movies/awardsseason/oscars-2014-winners-and-losers.html> (last accessed 4th March 2015).

types of hypertext cited previously. When presenting the winners and losers of Oscars, the article hyperlinks the names of the actors or the titles of the movies to previous reviews published in *The New York Times* itself, but it also hyperlinks to external sources to provide background information (for example, to Hollywood Reporter when confirming the unusual black-themed Oscar contenders in that year).

There has surely been innovation in how to tell stories and the characteristics presented allow for the emergence of hybrid genres and new formats, for example contextual or explanatory journalism, and projects such as *Upshot*³⁸ (*The New York Times*), *Storyline*³⁹ (*The Washington Post*) or *Vox*⁴⁰ (*Vox Media*).

However, many studies have concluded that in regard to news production, journalists' cultural habits or behaviors, there is a disparity between early predictions about the potentials of these characteristics, anticipating scenarios, and the reality (Santos, 2011). For instance, some research about the presence of interactivity in media suggest that this feature isn't yet fully explored, focusing only on the functional interactivity, meaning the ability of the user to share their own media content through social media and e-mail (Rost, 2014; Steensen, 2011b; Ureta, 2011; Quandt, 2008; Zamith, 2011, 2008). Regarding mobile channels, the level of interactivity is even lower, facilitating little dialogical interactivity nor user ability to comment, share or engage in chat rooms (Silva, 2014b; Nel & Westlund, 2012).

When looking at multimedia packages, the most frequent element used is photography, followed by videos and graphics, but at a great distance (Guallar, Rovira & Ruiz, 2010; Silva, 2014b) and they have not yet embraced the qualities of hypertext (Jacobson, 2010). Regarding hypertext alone in mobile devices, it is most used for internal content and has not yet been exploited to its full capacity (Santos Silva, 2014b; Zamith, 2008).

Hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity seem to be more prominent in feature stories or web specials, reflecting an innovative, original and creative approach (Ureta, 2011). This can be explained by the fact that web specials are planned activities, more extended over time with the aim of offering the user a richer experience.

However, we have to keep in mind that media are still in an experimental phase and multimedia storytelling is evolving every day, so these studies tend to become easily updated if their focus is only on quantitative analysis, rather than a critical and qualitative one.

38 <http://www.nytimes.com/upshot/> (last accessed 22nd March 2015).

39 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/storyline/> (last accessed 22nd March 2015).

40 <http://www.vox.com/> (last accessed 22nd March 2015).

The possibilities of data journalism

Data-driven journalism or simply data journalism is a type of reporting based on a large amount of data that is curated, analyzed and presented to the public by infographics and other ways of visualization. Stories are based on concrete data that have to be managed and processed with the help of computational analysis — that’s why there is a line of research (for example, Diakopoulos, 2012) devoted to computational journalism that shares great similarities (or can even be considered equal in some aspects). This large amount of data, usually known as “Big data” (structured or unstructured), is defined by high-velocity, high-volume and high-variety (Laney, 2001) so it can’t be managed and processed without the help of computer systems.

For Jonathan Stray (2011, para. 4) data journalism means “obtaining, reporting on, curating and publishing data in the public interest”. As the practice is often more “about spreadsheets than algorithms”, he suggests that not all data journalism is computational journalism. For Paul Bradshaw, what differentiates data journalism is the new possibilities that open up when we “combine the traditional ‘nose for news’ and ability to tell a compelling story, with the sheer scale and range of digital information now available” (2012b, para. 4). For Susana Barbosa, it is a model whose databases are “defining the structure and organization, as well as the presentation of journalistic content, according to specific categories and features that will enable the creation, maintenance, upgrade, availability and circulation of dynamic digital journalistic products” (2007, p. 29).

In recent years, data has become a public good related to discovery of previously well-hidden secrets (*WikiLeaks* is an emblematic example) — a tool for achieving transparency — but also, because of the rise of alternative ways to tell stories with innovative data visualizations and engaging infographics, data became attractive to report on, representing an opportunity for media to both engage with readers and to honor the expression “Facts are Sacred” — *The Guardian*’s data blog⁴¹ devoted to data-driven journalism which launched in 2009.

Data journalism can help journalists use software to find connections between thousands of documents, tell a complex story through engaging infographics or share interactive data useful to citizens lives (such as the effect of taxes on salaries). Thus, data can be the source, the tool with which the story is told or both. But the most important innovation brought by data journalism seems to be the ability to create deeper insights into what is happening and how it can affect us in an explanatory, contextual and useful perspective.

The *Visualizing Palestine* project (<http://www.visualizingpalestine.org>) uses attractive infographics to tell stories about Palestinians, such as school enrollment rates or Palestinian

41 <http://www.theguardian.com/news/series/facts-are-sacred> (last accessed 1st December 2014).

refugee children who have fled Syria. In this case, beyond informing us, data has a perspective of awareness, allowing the public to see the big picture from different angles and make connections. Another project that unites information with awareness is *Vidas Contadas* (<http://vidascontadas.org>) dedicated to the historic memory of people who disappeared in the Civil War and Francoist period in Spain.

Data journalism also allows engaging explanations of topics that are little known outside expert circles or are not integrated in hard news. The data visualization project *Art Market for Dummies* (<http://quoi.askmedia.fr/en>), which won a 2013 Data Journalism Award in *Small Media* category, explores the art market over the past two centuries. It is possible, for example, to sort the 320 most expensive works sold around the world using various criteria, such as the artists' nationality or gender, or location of the sale.

Data also have an intimate relationship with investigative journalism. That's the case, for instance, of *La Nacion* special *Los millones de la APE*⁴², which analyzed the variation between social work fund requests and the funds that the Government gave through the years, as well as the role of individual donations. That is also the case of *The New York Time's* article *Where poor and uninsured Americans live*⁴³, which reveals the relation between states that didn't participate in an expansion of Medicaid and the numbers of poor and uninsured citizens.

Finally, data is also an opportunity to expand source revenues, as we will see in the last topic of this chapter. For instance, *ProPublica* has a data store⁴⁴ which contains free and premium data sets priced from \$100 to \$10,000 in five categories: health, education, campaign finance, business and transportation.

Engaging with the “prosumer”: the potential of social media and crowdsourcing

In the previous chapter we approached this new communication paradigm, which goes beyond journalism and forces media to rethink their practices and find new ways to engage with the new “prosumer” (users that also create and produce). “If searching for news was the most important development of the last decade, sharing news may be among the most important of the next”, anticipated Olmstead, Mitchell and Rosenstiel in 2011 (p. 10). Paul Bradshaw also said that the growth of social media, which facilitates content sharing and

42 <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1484852-los-millones-de-la-ape-como-se-repartio-en-2011-la-caja-que-era-de-moyano> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

43 <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/10/02/us/uninsured-americans-map.html> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

44 <https://projects.propublica.org/data-store/> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

engaging in communities, has been the dominant characteristic of the Web 2.0 decade (Bradshaw, 2012c, p. 6), from blogs to networks such as LinkedIn (2003), Facebook (2004), YouTube (2005) or Twitter (2006).

There are several examples that illustrate innovation by media or journalists in using social media, crowdsourcing and other tools to tell stories and engage in new ways with the public. We will highlight some of them, but noting that, according to another report promoted by Tow Center for Digital Journalism (Anderson *et al.*, 2012, p. 23), “most journalists, and journalistic institutions, have failed to take advantage of the explosion in potentially newsworthy content facilitated by the growth in digital communication”.

One of the most cited examples of a journalist exploring social media is that of Andy Carvin at NPR (US National Public Radio) during the Arab Spring in 2011 (Hermida, Lewis & Zamith, 2014; Anderson *et al.*, 2012; Farhi, 2011). He began to use Twitter (@acarvin) to chronicle fast-moving developments throughout the Middle East on a frequent basis — seven days a week, sometimes for 20 hours straight. He developed and curated hundreds of sources from Facebook, YouTube and the Internet, and could tweet photos of protests, citizens’ videos from rebels or make a summary of a NATO news conference. In talking about the name of what was he doing or the role in journalism (perhaps a tweet curator, social-media news aggregator or interactive digital journalist as interviewer Paul Farhi suggested), Carvin answered that he was “another flavor of journalist” (Farhi, 2011, para. 11).

Another two examples of disruption using social media are that of Burt Herman, who left *Associated Press* to develop Storify (<http://www.storify.com>), and of Mark Little, founder of Irish Storyful (<http://www.storyful.com>), presented as the first social media news agency.

Storify is an aggregation tool that helps organize social media stories. It allows pulling together Facebook posts, tweets, YouTube videos, images, sound and adding context to them (in words). Several news organizations have been using this tool, such as *The Washington Post* to compare tweets from mayors in elections confrontations⁴⁵, or the *BBC North West*, to look behind the scenes of programs⁴⁶ or to pull together live backstage updates and tweets from reality show finals⁴⁷.

Storyful, whose headline is “news from noise”, discovers, verifies and acquires valuable content on the social web for newsrooms, brands and video producers. Its partners already include *The New York Times*, *Aljazeera*, *BBC* and *MSN*.

Citizens can now photograph and film important events and even get political scoops. Media have already acknowledged the potential of this citizen journalism. The *OffTheBus*⁴⁸

45 <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2010/12/post-286.html> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

46 <https://storify.com/BBC/bbc-nw-tonight-thursday-19-november> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

47 <https://storify.com/BBC/strictly-final-2013> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

48 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/offthebus/> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

project coordinated by *The Huffington Post* in partnership with Jay Rosen, a professor at New York University, is one example. It began as an answer to citizens' dissatisfaction regarding political campaigns coverage, The Huffington Post invited the public to get involved and participate. The editorial philosophy of this pro-am journalism was precisely to focus on what journalists couldn't or wouldn't do:

we instructed our citizen journalists to steer clear of the horse race and the top-down coverage that dominates the mainstream press. We didn't try to replicate what traditional journalists do well. Instead, we focused on what traditional journalists couldn't, or wouldn't, do: cover the grass roots, and let those roots guide our coverage. Digital technology had broken the monopoly on the production of journalism, and we exploited that reality by organizing thousands of "ordinary" (more often extraordinary) people to cover what was possibly the most important election of our lifetime. (Michel, 2009, para. 3)

Crowdsourcing

The concept of crowdsourcing — which means the crowd as a news source but also implying the crowd as content producer — was coined by Jeff Howe and presented in the provocative article *The Rise of Crowdsourcing* published in *Wired Magazine* (Howe, 2006, para. 1 and 8).

Remember outsourcing? Sending jobs to India and China is so 2003. The new pool of cheap labor: everyday people using their spare cycles to create content, solve problems, even do corporate R & D. (...) Hobbyists, part-timers, and dabblers suddenly have a market for their efforts, as smart companies in industries as disparate as pharmaceuticals and television discover ways to tap the latent talent of the crowd. The labor isn't always free, but it costs a lot less than paying traditional employees. It's not outsourcing; it's crowdsourcing.

In the media context, a crowd can be a source in general observation, in breaking news or even in investigative journalism. That was the case of the coverage of US Attorney Firing Scandal⁴⁹ (a journalism investigation that unmasked a vote fraud scam by the Republicans) through *Talking Points Memo*, which won the George Polk Award in 2007 for legal reporting. The website posted documents released by the US Department of Justice and readers helped journalists to find potentially valuable material.

The fact is that a large group of individuals can sometimes overcome the actions or

49 <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/remember-the-us-attorneys> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

knowledge of a small group of experienced and paid journalists. Where do journalism and journalists stand in this new crowdsourced world where citizens contribute to the stories? For Anderson, Bell and Shirky, who wrote the report *Post-Industrial Journalism: Adapting to Present*, this new reality “doesn’t obviate the need for journalism or journalists, but it does change the job from being the source of the initial capture of an image or observation to being the person who can make relevant requests, and then filter and contextualize the results” (2012, p. 24).

Medium (<http://www.medium.com>) is a great example of this new role. Founded by former Twitter CEO Evan Williams, this open publishing platform allows citizens to write and distribute content. But the editorial team also curates the best content and integrates it into collections, which readers can follow.

Social media doesn’t just facilitate crowdsourcing. Social media is where the public is at the moment, so engagement with the public through social media is top priority in many media, since visits to homepages are declining while traffic from social media is rising. Social media is an opportunity for media but also a threat if they don’t exploit relevant tools. In 2013, *The Wall Street Journal* created an “audience engagement team” in the middle of the newsroom, with social media editors and data scientists pursuing the best way to tell stories. This example is included in the well-known *The New York Times Innovation Report*, where the websites like *BuzzFeed*, *The Huffington Post* and *USA Today*, among others, are cited as successful strategic innovation initiatives, “because of their sophisticated social, search and community-building tools and strategies, and often in spite of their content” (The New York Times, 2014, p. 24).

Exploring new ways to engage with the public through the opportunities given by social media goes far beyond being “just there”. *The New York Times* presents three case-studies in its *Innovation Report*, curiously all regarding arts coverage and potential opportunities. The first is about the potential of an archive to give context to information. The report gives the example of Oscar night 2013 when the movie *12 years a slave* was a candidate. *Gawker* (<http://www.gawker.com>), a website about media and pop culture, fashioned a story based on excerpts of a 161-year-old article about Solomon Northup published by *The New York Times* and it went viral. The second opportunity is about the profile of the *Arts and Culture* section. The NYT Team found out that stories are consistently read after their publication dates and public had a hard time looking for reviews of books, museums, food and theater published long ago. The team came up with the idea of turning review topics into guides that would supplement existing art pages and would be optimized for search and social media so readers could use them as a more permanent resource. *The Book Review Complete Archive*⁵⁰ is an example of this.

50 <http://www.nytimes.com/pages/books/index.html> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

Engagement with the reader is also accomplished by journalists talking about what blogs are they following, for example (Bradshaw, 2012a, calls this “link blogging”), as the cultural website *Created in Birmingham* (<http://www.createdinbirmingham.com/>) does, or by having their own blogs, such as BBC arts editor⁵¹ Will Gompertz, Jonathan Jones⁵² or Charlotte Higgings⁵³, from the *The Guardian*. Some media have also blogs for each cultural area (or some guest blogs) or create blogs for cover one special theme. For example, besides his pieces on *Channel 4*, *Channel 4* News Culture Editor Matthew Cain has a blog named *Cain on Culture*⁵⁴ where he gives a more personal analysis of cultural subjects and a twitter account, named *Matthew Cain C4's conversations*, where he usually asks for public help, opinion or talks about what he is making at the moment. The public can interact on twitter from his page (without having to go through Twitter's interface).

In this case, journalists maintain a community of readers and establish a more informal bond with them where they can test ideas and receive feedback in the shortest possible time, because the fact is “A good blog is an ongoing conversation” (Briggs, 2007, p. 55).

Live-blogging and live-tweeting can work very well to cover an event. Accordingly to Paul Bradshaw, its “is not like a live broadcast of an event. It's not about documentation, but about being part of a networked event” (2012a). The live tweeting for the *State of the Arts Conference* (organized by Arts Council UK), with the #sota 2012 hastag⁵⁵, the live blogging for the Oscars 2012⁵⁶ by *The New York Times* are just a few examples.

Although it will be part of our field work, we mention here the video that the *The Guardian* launched in February 2012. Titled *Three little pigs*⁵⁷, it clearly demonstrates the concept of open journalism and the position that *The Guardian* adopted as part of their editorial philosophy. It shows how the story of the three little pigs would be covered today, with the help of multiple platforms, blogs, social media and people all around the world. The key message to retain from *The Guardian's* three pigs video trailer, which won a Cannes lion in the same year, is that the public is part of the news organization and journalists are not in the center of things but part of a network where everyone can contribute. As of April 2014, it had been viewed by two million people.

51 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/correspondents/willgompertz/> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

52 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

53 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/charlottehigginsblog> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

54 <http://www.channel4.com/news/matthew-cain> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

55 <https://twitter.com/#!/search/realtime/%23sota12> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

56 <http://carpetbagger.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/26/2012-oscar-night-live-blog/> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

57 <http://www.theguardian.com/media/video/2012/feb/29/open-journalism-three-little-pigs-advert> (last accessed 1st February 2015).

Mobile journalism or “The Tablet Revolution”

The emergence of mobile technologies and their increasing adoption by the media to create social and economic value and by citizens using them to access and distribute news and information wirelessly is one of the most relevant innovations in media. In 2011, the Pew Research Center’s report entitled *The Tablet Revolution and What it Means for the Future of News* already recognized that tablet computers were “one of the fastest-growing new technologies ever introduced” (Mitchell, Christian & Rosenstiel, 2011, para. 1). Here we will focus on tablets and magazine or supplement apps, due to our field work and case studies, and approach slightly news consumption through smartphones.

The emergence of mobile devices, in particular the iPad in 2010, has brought new hope for the industry and increased digital magazines potential and opportunities. It was one of the most eagerly anticipated product arrivals ever. Although it was not the first personal computer tablet to have appeared on the market or the first electronic reading device, its success derives from the fact that it combines the functionality of the personal computer, the intuitive interface that consumers had become familiar with from other Apple products such as the iPhone, and the talent of Apple to mobilize both the world’s media and its own user base to publicize its new products (Flew, 2010, p. 2). In contrast to e-readers, iPad has a large color screen of almost ten inches, readers can check e-mail, listen to the radio, watch a film, track calories, see the headlines, etc. In the same year, Google launched a mobile operating system called Android, and it is available in most tablets and smartphones that don’t operate with Apple IOS.

The first magazines to have an iPad edition were *Time* (launched on 12th April 2010) and *Wired* (18th June 2010). *The New Yorker* was the first magazine to use in-app subscription. In Portugal, *Visão* and *Caras* magazines were the first ones with iPad editions (in December 2010).

Eighteen months after the introduction of the iPad, 11% of Americans had a tablet (Mitchell *et al.*, 2011), of which 53% used it daily to access news and 59% of these had replaced printed newspapers or magazines with the tablet.

According to more recent data, the scenario is still appealing. In the 2014 Reuters Institute Digital News Report, based on a survey of 18,000 people in 10 countries, a third of the global sample (37%) access news from a smartphone each week and one in five (20%) from a tablet. A fifth (20%) says that their mobile phone is their primary access point for news. Regarding magazine versions for tablets, the most recent data (although dated 2013) from MPA — The Association of Magazine Media⁵⁸ says the number of magazine apps grew from

58 There is a more recent report from this institution, but the data is presented in regard to print and digital magazines together.

339 in the first quarter of 2011 to 2,234 in the first quarter of 2013 (over 559%). The percentage of issues downloaded also grew 699% in the same period.

Newspapers apps or news websites apps are driven by immediacy and instant access — the goal is to give the reader short headlines or the latest news from the world as it happens. Many apps, as *The Guardian's*, are highly customized — the reader can receive an alert every time there is a new headline or create their own app frontpage with the news from the sections he selected. Magazine apps, frequently created for tablets, are driven by other values as we explain in the next point.

Potential of magazine apps for tablets

In magazines, unlike newspapers, the aesthetic treatment requires more attention — the magazines are loved and saved because they can be enjoyed, played, and “felt”. Thus, the experience of reading magazines on an iPad or on the Web cannot escape what differentiates them: the beauty and aesthetic pleasure of consumption. Usability and aesthetics must therefore go hand together.

It is important to note for our fieldwork the definition of “magazine”, “digital magazine” and “interactive digital magazine”. The second expression is commonly attributed to the website of a magazine, which is incorrect. In this logic, in Portugal, almost all magazines have an online website but it is not the digital version of the magazine, rather a complement to the print magazine or an extension of the brand; few have a digital version of the magazine and their own magazine app, as distinguished from the print edition.

A printed magazine has six key characteristics (Silber, 2009) which can be shared by digital magazines: a beginning, middle and end; an editorial alignment and defined sections; a proper and permanent design; periodicity (weekly, monthly or quarterly, for example); its contents are permanent; final, they have several editions. The great difference between a printed and a digital magazine is that the latter is electronically distributed, and may include elements which are only possible in a digital environment.

Lower production and distribution costs, more creativity in the construction of journalistic narratives, a new reader experience, an alternative to the print edition or an opportunity to launch an exclusively digital magazine are assumptions that were the basis for the creation of several existing magazine apps, but also for the launch of independent magazines created exclusively for tablets.

In this remediation process (Bolter & Grusin, 1996), in which an original medium (the printed journal) is represented in another (digital media), the version of the physical magazines on mobile devices, particularly in tablets, has been established in two ways: directly as a non-interactive duplicate of the printed publication or as a duplicate with

interactivity added (Matthews, 2013, p. 3). Unfortunately, the former prevails. Some studies regarding the use of digital tools on mobile devices (Nel & Westlund, 2012; Westlund, 2013) and specifically on tablets (Silva, 2014b; Scolari, 2013; Matthews, 2013; Canavilhas & Satuf, 2013) concluded that, especially for those which aren't digitally native, the potentials of digital are still residually explored and sometimes the format is not well-suited for tablets (the pages of printed magazines are simply replicated, even when they are vertical, appearing "cut" in the app). Experimentation, heterogeneity in the models and uncertain are the suitable words and expressions to characterize the phase in which these media are.

However, the display of a magazine on a mobile device requires "rethinking participation and the user experience, the workflow and the creative process of the editorial and creative teams" (Kawohl, 2011, p. 3). Trying to adapt the printed version to mobile devices (which was the case in the first digital versions of magazines) was error number one. This resulted in problems, for example, the 2011 report published by Nielsen Norman Group (Budiu & Nielsen, 2011), related mainly with usability and the weak use of multimedia elements to tell the stories, contrary to the expected immersive experience of the reader.

Astronaut video magazine (available on iTunes App Store), as well as *Project Magazine* and *Clear Magazine* (available on both Android and IOS) are good examples of cultural publications made exclusively for tablets.

The opportunities for magazines and the construction of new narratives for tablets are numerous: reading experiences are enriched by the interface, the design and the multimedia elements that allow not only reading, but how to see, hear and interact. The digital format combined with creativity offers a range of opportunities for magazines stand out not only on the editorial level, but also in respect to their business model.

Interactivity, multimodality and hypertextuality may be enhanced in creative, visual and linguistic terms in a magazine designed for tablets, because unlike smartphones which are more linked to brief consumption of news, tablets have the ability to recreate the experience of reading a print magazine and therefore lend themselves to longer narratives (Aguado, 2013).

Because mobility matters, as a print magazine a tablet can be taken anywhere and read at anytime. Moreover, the user can easily access all editions of the magazines in the archive. Most of them can be read offline after downloading, so there is no need to connect by Wi-Fi. The size and shape of tablets are suitable for extensive reading and therefore the reader experience is richer. The proximity between the user and the tablet is also much higher than with a computer, and the tactility reinforces it. The interaction is also potentially greater than a print magazine due to instant content sharing, comments and other functionalities allowed by digital.

Along with smartphones, tablets are the agents of innovation, renovation, reconfiguration of journalism practices, dynamic consumption and specific business models (Barbosa, 2013) in a context of convergence and remediation. The layouts of magazines for tablets themselves,

with a “responsive” design and latest trends of html5 language, has influenced the design of websites available on the web, as in the cases of the *Boston Globe*, *The New York Times* and multimedia narratives developed by these brands.

The differentiation potential of magazines for tablets lies, in short, in the features that can be used to construct narratives along with portability and a better user experience. Tablets “can be considered a compromise between miniaturization and ergonomics, between portability and comfort” (Palacios, 2013, p. 4).

These advantages are also broadly understood by the consumers of these magazines. According to the aforementioned report of MPA — The Association of Magazine Media, 61% highlight the advantage of having access to several issues in one device; 56% highlight the interactive features (videos, image galleries and links to other content); 54% note the convenience; 37% emphasize the possibility of reading in dim light; 28% say it is fun to read (2013, p. 67).

A question can, however, still be put: why did print magazines readily adhere to specific applications for tablets when it would have been possible to provide the magazine with the same multimedia content and degree of interactivity (with the exception of the tactile experience) on the Web? Besides the advantages already listed, related to a potential experience similar to that of a printed magazine, Scolari (2013, p. 13) adds the economic criteria: not only are applications for mobile devices secure against piracy attempts or illegal copying, but the business model is potentially profitable, similar to the iTunes Store: consumers pay for the songs, rather than listen free on the Web.

IV. 3. Innovations in business models

“What’s the best business model for digital media?” seems to be, nowadays, the million-dollar question. The crisis that particularly affects the daily newspapers due to the fall in advertising space, as we saw in Chapter III, and the lack of a successful financial formula for digital media, make answering the question even more urgent.

For the purpose of this thesis a business model is understood as an umbrella term for the “overall strategy of a startup to make sustainability happen in the longer term, which includes revenue streams and the specific mechanics of how startups generate income” (Sirkkunen, Cook & Pekkala, 2012, p. 13). The authors refer to startups but we include legacy media in the definition, as they are changing to improve their revenue sources.

However, we can view a business model more broadly, for example, the model canvas⁵⁹ proposed by Alexander Osterwalder and Yves Pigneur (2009) and defined as a strategic management and entrepreneurial tool. Nowadays this visual chart is a reference for every strategic business plan nowadays and describes nine essential elements of a functioning business: key partners, key activities, value propositions, customer relationships, customer segments, channels, key resources, cost structure and revenue streams.

Although the focus is on the last element, in order to get more revenue streams media are changing the way they partner, engage users, distribute their content and diversify their activities, as we shall see in the examples presented in the following pages.

In this context, the sustainability or success of media projects relies not only in the revenue sources themselves but also in the way they create editorial, social and economic value. As seen in the results of empirical studies and reports, there have been many proposals on how media can seek sustainability, some of which we will look at in detail. First, we have to acknowledge that sustainability or success can refer just to survival (in the case of startups, for example), as proposed by Bruno & Nielsen (2012, p. 99) or to “a product being able to maintain itself in whatever context its objectives dictate but also in profitability and the qualification of gross turnovers being greater than net” (Sirkkunen et al., 2012, p. 11). So, for the purpose of this thesis, we see sustainability as synonymous with success, and to survival in the case of startups, or viability, i.e., being able to maintain or be profitable.

Before describing innovative uses of getting revenues in digital media, real change must occur first among journalists themselves, who were until today apart from the business side of journalism. This is the opinion of Jeff Jarvis, head of the Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism (City University of New York’s Graduate School of Journalism), in his preface of the book *Entrepreneurial Journalism — How to build what’s next for news* by Mark Briggs:

A generation ago, this book’s mission — as well as my current vocation to train journalists to become entrepreneurs — would have been heresy. When I came through journalism, I was taught that commerce was corrupting. I was told to keep my distance — safely on my side of the temple wall — from the moneychangers who brought in the revenue to support our work. I was led to believe that we didn’t need a business strategy; we already had one. (Jarvis, 2012, p. xv)

Jarvis goes further and blames journalists for the business crisis of media — “this willful ignorance of the business of news is precisely what made us journalists such awful

59 The business model canvas can be downloaded here: http://www.businessmodelgeneration.com/downloads/business_model_canvas_poster.pdf (last accessed 12th January 2015).

and irresponsible stewards of journalism” (idem) —, arguing then that journalists must take on the urgent responsibility of building the future of news, meaning to be taught the skills of business and create new business models, at the same time rethinking the very nature of news and its value to the public.

In an online debate promoted by the Portuguese newspaper *Público* about the future of digital journalism, Fernando Zamith (2010) said that the survival of journalism itself depends on finding the ideal business model: “whoever finds the ideal business model for journalism on the Internet will save not only an industry that employs millions of people around the world but can even save journalism itself”.

Hélder Bastos (2012, p. 134) argues that the failed attempts to find sustainability by both national and international media are due to three factors: the small size of the online advertising market, the culture of ‘free’ that prevails on the Internet and the limited availability of users to pay directly for content.

We now summarize some of the main business models which have been tested in digital media, from the literature review and case studies.

The paying model or the paywall

In this model, all content is paid by users. It is a closed model whose advantage is to guarantee revenue but the disadvantage is the decreasing audience because content disappears from search tools. This model has already been tried several times, for example in *Público*’s website in Portugal, or *The Times* in the UK, but some of the media eventually retreated.

Requiring users to pay or not has been the most polemic topic since the first digital media business models tryouts, separating journalists and academics in favor of those who claim that digital content should only be paid for if it has quality. An example of that was the Portuguese think tank that confronted Henrique Monteiro, the director of Portuguese newspaper *Expresso*, and the former *publico.pt* multimedia editor, António Granado, with a question — “Should online content produced by the Portuguese newspapers be paid by the reader?”

Monteiro (2011) advocates that all “work should be paid” and presents a recurrent argument: “if [journalism work] deserves to be paid in the physical world (printed paper), why wouldn’t they deserve to be paid in the online world?” Granado (2011), on the other hand, displays another popular argument: “without a lot of quality it is not possible to convince a sufficient number of people to pay for it”. Paywalls also have other problems according to Granado: advertising loses value in terms of audience and journalists lose readers. He says the reason behind the successful cases in this model, such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *Financial Times*, is the vital importance, quality and differentiation of content for readers.

The advertising model

This model is supported by advertising, the most common form in the print world. The fact is advertisers don't express similar interests, which is a great disadvantage, along with the fact that readers often consider it intrusive and eventually block the ads.

However, an international study regarding 69 digital journalistic startups (Sirkkunen et al., 2012) concluded that advertising was still a primary source of income, especially for the startups with the largest turnovers. The strategy involves focusing on the quantity or quality of audiences. Pay-per-click and cost-per-view are the trends for quantity; weekly and monthly rates are frequently among niche projects. Other startups, such as *ArsTechnica* (<http://arstechnica.com>) or the cultural websites *Make Money not Art* (<http://we-make-money-not-art.com/>) and *CoolHunting* (<http://www.coolhunting.com>), use an online advertising network — Federated Media — in order to concentrate on content.

The freemium model (or the “metered” paywall)

This is a combined model, because it integrates both free and paid content and services. The basic service is available to everyone and then value-added services or content are charged. It is used by multiple platforms online such as LinkedIn, Skype or Spotify.

The New York Times (<http://www.nytimes.com>), an example in innovation in digital journalism, whose website is one of the most visited worldwide, tried this model in 2005. It charged for some content (*Time Select*) and for two years it generated 10 million dollars and 227 thousand subscribers, giving up in 2007 because of a decrease in subscribers. In 2011, created a “metered” paywall with a subscriber plan that includes access through platforms but allow readers to read 20 stories a month for free. In 2012, the number of free stories declined to 10. This metered paywall also has the flexibility of allowing readers that arrive at the website via social media and search engines.

In a conference at Columbia University in 2013, *The New York Times* CEO Mark Thompson said that the metered paywall “is the most important and most successful business decision made by *The New York Times* in many years. We have around 700.000 paid digital subscribers across the company's products so far and a new nine-figure revenue stream that is still growing” (Roberts, 2013, para. 2). In 6th August 2015, the brand announced in a press release that it had passed the one million paid digital-only subscriber mark in July 30 (The New York Times, 2015).

In 2013, *The New York Times* announced that subscriptions had beaten advertising revenues for the first time in its history. Subscriptions made up 48% of the company's total revenues in 2012, compared with 45% for advertising (BBC, 2013).

At present (2014), it maintains this metered paywall and has 3 different subscriptions (website + smartphone app, website plus tablet app or all digital access), between \$3,75 and \$8,75 per week. It also launched *Times Premier* in 2014, with access to exclusive behind-the-scenes content, two ebooks every month, *TimesTalks* videos of their journalists' interviews with leading newsmakers in the arts, politics and fashion, a premier boutique online and gift subscriptions. It charges \$45 a month or adds an additional cost for digital subscribers.

For those who don't want to spend much money on subscriptions, the media brand launched *NYT Now* in the same year, a low cost subscription (\$2 per week) allowing access to 40 top stories a day.

The freemium model of *The New York Times* has been adopted by many newspapers, including Público (<http://www.publico.pt>) in Portugal, and El País (<http://www.elpais.com>) in Spain. In the first semester of 2014, the digital subscriptions of the five main generalist newspapers grew 135% in comparison to the first semester of 2013, with *Público* leading with 6.626 subscribers (Pereira, 2014). Nevertheless, they still represent a tiny slice of all paid editions.

Mendes (2012), whose dissertation focused on the freemium model used by the three newspapers mentioned, argues that the freemium model has two advantages: on one hand, it allows having “the best of the two worlds, free access for those who interact little with the medium and paid access for those who have a more profound relationship with the medium” (2012, p. 84); on the other, it allows a “hybrid space of time during which the media can deepen the relationship with their users while at the same time increasingly restricting access to content to a point when paying for them will be normal” (idem).

João Canavilhas (2012b, p. 117) also say that the freemium model seems to be more successful for now because it allows for two kinds of revenue: from sales, which although not too significant allow the segmentation of readers and the personalization of the advertising and from advertisers who seek traffic resulting from a vast majority of readers looking for free content.

The membership model

In the membership model, important to nonprofit and for profit organizations, individual contributors pay for subscriptions in exchange for the product plus benefits. For example, *The Texas Tribune* (<http://texastribune.com>) offers six levels of membership from student (\$10) to Benefactor (\$500) with benefits including exclusive invitations to social events, opportunities to promote a nonprofit of the member choice on the website for a year and monthly newsletters. Long-form Atavist, already mentioned, offers a 1-year membership at \$24,99 with unlimited access to their back catalog. Longreads (<http://blog.longreads.com>) also focused on long-form

journalism, doesn't give any direct reward to members, but they contribute directly to the editorial budget to fund exclusive and original work, from \$3 a month.

The nonprofit model

The nonprofit model, as its name says, has no profit objective, and is emerging among several new media, especially those who perceive that an editorial strategy can be easily integrated in a public service logic, such as investigative journalism or cultural coverage (since culture is historically a public service). Data reveals that foundations increasingly support media-related work across multiple areas in the USA. Between 2009 and 2011, \$1.86 billion was awarded in media-related grants (Henry-Sanchez & Koob, 2013).

However, a nonprofit media has to be run like a business (and the profit, if it exists, is reinvested into the operation) — and this is the trend among all nonprofit media projects, which have other revenue sources because public funding can't cover all the expenses in most cases.

Regarding this need, Grant Smith (2012) adapted the business model canvas, already explained here, to a nonprofit business and created two business model canvases which are complementary due to the fact that the “traditional” client is split in two: the donor client and the beneficiary client. The premises are globally two: the first has to receive something in return for donating, a value-added proposition that they can agree with; the second has needs that have to be identified.

The cultural journalism websites Glasstire (<http://www.glasstire.com>), which won first prize in the *National Summit on Arts Journalism* (promoted by the National Arts Journalism Program in 2009) and San Francisco Classical Voice (<http://www.sfcv.org>), which won second prize, are examples of media using the nonprofit business model. Both create revenue from individual and corporate donations, foundation support, membership plans and advertising. Thus, the important point here is that being a nonprofit media doesn't mean that sustainability isn't a goal and should have business principles.

Other revenue streams

Micropayments

Some publications use a micropayment system for digital access. *Atavist* charges \$3.99 for each story. It also sells books at \$9.99. Users pay a small amount for just one informative unit.

Selling apps, data and other products

From *The New York Times* to *The Guardian*, media are investing in their own online stores, selling concert tickets, DVDs and books, for example, in the *Culture* section, or selling local artisanal products.

Narratively (<http://narrative.ly>), dedicated to human and single-subject stories, created a publishing platform (which supports *Narratively*), named Marquee, and sell licenses, from \$5.00 to \$5.000 per month to third parties.

At *Atavist*, readers can buy stories in a kindle version or buy the iPad/iPhone version with audio recording and other multimedia. Users can also convert the stories to audiobooks so they can listen to them on the road, for example.

Monocle (<http://www.monocle.com>) and *La Fábrica* (<http://www.lafabrica.com>) both invest in coffee shops to enhance the brand experience where they also sell their editorial products.

Parallel to data journalism, organizations have recently discovered the value of searchable databases beyond their journalistic utility and even generate revenue with it. Unveiled in February 2014, *ProPublica's Data Store*, already cited, offers both premium and free data sets for journalists, academics and corporate clients, with price ranges between \$100 and \$10,000. Four months later, Richard Tofel, *ProPublica's* president, said in an interview that 500 data sets have been downloaded and the premium ones have brought \$30,000 in revenue (Batsell, 2014). Thus, beyond serving a journalistic purpose, data also have commercial value and can help paying the expenses of data journalism, a time-consuming task.

Conferences, talks and other events

The Texas Tribune generated \$1.2 million in 2013 from events and conferences through sponsorships, tickets and product sales, among others (Breiner, 2014).

Douglas McLennan, the founder of *Artsjournals.com* which focuses on curation and aggregation of arts content, is paid to talk around the world. This came naturally through site success and these engagements represent half of total revenue (Sirkkunen & Cook, 2012, p. 105).

Consulting and training services

Creating editorial content for brands (content marketing or customer publishing) for their websites or blogs is another way to generate revenue. It represents 10 percent of total revenues for *BetaZeta* (Breiner, 2014).

Another emerging method is consulting and training services, for example in the interactive media area or in digital tools. For the Chilean news organization *Mi Voz*, it represents 37 percent of total revenue (Breiner, 2014).

Syndication

Selling editorial content to third parties is something that *Exaro* (<http://www.exaronews.com>), dedicated to investigative journalism, is doing with success. In an interview with Journalism.co.uk (Marshall, 2013), its editor-in-chief, Mark Watts, confirmed that it does not cover the costs of an investigative story, “but makes a significant contribution to it”. French-based *Citizenside* (<http://www.citizenside.com>) sells individual stories and breaking news created and scoped by citizens to their partners (including AFP and The Canadian Press) and shares revenue with them. They also do their own curation from multimedia content produced on social media and sell it to bigger players.

Crowdfunding and individual donations

Crowdfunding is a recent tool that is emerging as an alternative to bank loans or business models. Literally it means to be funded by the crowd, usually with small amounts of money in exchange for a reward. The most well-known example is digital startup *Matter* (<https://medium.com/matter>), focused on long-form journalism on science and technology, that raised \$140,000 in 2012 from more than 2,500 people (McNally, 2012) for its launch. Before it was acquired by *Medium*, *Matter* charged 99 cents a story.

Sustainability: the business model key is a mix of revenue streams

Many analysts and insiders suggest that the industry must find additional revenue streams beyond the traditional advertising and paid model. The key to a successful digital business model is to arrive at a mix of revenue streams according to a study conducted by the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism on how 38 US print origin newspapers are creating digital revenue (Rosenstiel & Jurkowitz, 2012, p. 18) by providing consulting advice to advertisers and local businesses, website construction services, social media campaigns revenues, etc. The same study also concludes that the bigger obstacle to that is “cultural inertia”, meaning “most papers are not putting significant effort into the new digital revenue categories that, although small now, are expected to provide most growth in the future” (idem).

The same conclusion is confirmed by Macnamara, for whom the “one size fits all approach’ is unlikely to ensure media survival” (2010, p. 17) and he suggests that the best way forward may be a hybrid model involving multiple revenue streams developed to suit each medium and its operations.

A mix of revenue and engagement with a community (both individuals and advertisers) to seek sustainability is also of the solution suggested by James Breiner (2014). Besides integrating services (such as consulting and training), conferences and events, direct sales of products and other emergent revenue streams already approached here, Breiner argues that there is a need to change the perspective and focus in three ways.

First, media should focus on a community rather than an audience. He states; “an audience is just a group of observers. A community shares values and a deep interest in a topic or geographic area. It often has a bias towards action” (Breiner, 2014, para. 3). The creation of a community is thus the first step to get their financial support.

Second, media should invest in memberships, not paywalls. A subscription or a paywall is just treating the user as an anonymous consumer. Creating a membership program is saying that members can be part of a community, a family. A membership program offers not just the product but also access, privileges and opportunities within the community. *LaSillaVacía* (<http://www.lasillavacia.com>), a Colombian investigative journalism website, has 550 “Super Amigos” that contributed \$32.000 in 2013, enough money to finance operations for a month.

Finally, just like the logic of memberships vs. subscribers, a sponsorship model as an alternative to an advertising model allows a relationship with brands rather than selling ads and clicks. For example *The Texas Tribune* has a sponsorship program on three levels from \$1.000 to \$5.000 a year, and includes benefits such as a presence at premium events and access to specialized publications. Leo Prieto, co-founder of Chilin news organization *BetaZeta*, in declarations to James Breiner (2014) said that sponsorships make up 40 percent of revenues and explains; “The advertising model is dead for everybody. (...) It continues to be an advertising relationship but a different kind of advertising. (...) A sponsor is a brand that stays with you in a longer-term relationship and is a close partner”.

In 2010 the Tow-Knight Center for Entrepreneurial Journalism created three new business models for news projects in order to demonstrate there is a sustainable future for news (2010). The key is also a mix of revenues and a clear understanding of who their audience is and the scope of the digital news organization.

The first, suitable for hyperlocal websites, which would focus on a town, a neighborhood or on a single topic of interest, would generate revenues via three lines of business: advertising (banner ads, contextual ads and sponsorships); events (coordinated and sponsored in cooperation with local venues and restaurants, and would include concerts, wine tasting, themed lunches, etc.); ecommerce revenue (through merchandise and affiliate sales).

The second, serving a metropolitan area of 5 million people, would generate revenue through more than 15 sources, including a hybrid subscription model (50% of the content behind a paywall), website advertising, niche content websites targeting moms, seniors, ethnic groups and other niches, special issues, listing sales of local businesses, events, twitter coupons, sms alerts, local coupon service, iPhone apps, donation systems for watchdog journalism, tickets for local events, conferences, sales & marketing training for local businesses, online subscriptions.

The third and last model for nonprofit news organizations would generate income from foundation support, membership support, advertising & corporate sponsorship, fundraising events and e-commerce.

In a report focusing on journalistic online start-ups in Western Europe (Germany, France and Italy), the formula for success and sustainability, both defined in the report at the stage of a start-up as “survival” (Bruno & Nielsen, 2012, p. 99), has five features:

- they avoid head-on competition with legacy media;
- they have a clearly defined niche audience;
- they keep costs under control;
- they diversify revenue base beyond online advertising;
- they offer different kinds of quality (quality content, quality curation, quality forms of user engagement and co-creation; quality forms in the use of video, interactivity and other appealing features).

For example, the French news website Rue89 (<http://rue89.nouvelobs.com>), that was sold in 2011 to Le Nouvelle Observateur, invested in a monthly printed magazine (in a reversion of print-to-web strategy) whose sales and advertising represented more than 30% (614,641 Euros) of total revenue (1.879.733 Euros) in 2010. Services to third parties represented 16% — mainly training in web writing, video production, community management and web development.

The German digital magazine Perlentaucher (<http://www.perlentaucher.de>), which focuses on curation of the most interesting topics featured in national newspapers’ cultural pages, has moved from an advertising-only model and diversified into e-commerce and services. Even the advertising strategy is tailored choosing only campaigns that interest their target audience and not relying on low-cost formats and CPMs. In 2011 they began to include donations also. According to the report, it has already achieved sustainability (Bruno & Nielsen, 2012, p. 30).

Another international research study (Sirkkunen et al., 2012) mapped 69 sustainable journalistic startups in nine countries. They found that the business models analyzed fall into two main categories: storytelling-oriented and service oriented. The first make money

from producing original content and rely on niche audiences. The latter, which they conclude is growing, uses paywalls, subscriptions and freemium models exist alongside donations, selling data or services, events, training and selling merchandise. They argue that there is potential innovation in new business models by way of combining revenue sources and for that it is essential to keep the costs low, teams small and master many skills, including entrepreneurial ones and building relationships with the advertisers.

For Canavilhas (2012b, pp. 117-8) business models of news organizations seeking sustainability must rely on seven pillars:

- invest in differentiated and creative content to legitimize charging for them;
- explore mobile platforms, which are estimated to be the first form to access content, and personalization of it (through geolocation, for example);
- seek partnerships (Canavilhas suggests with mobile operators and telecommunications companies in order to offer a tablet or a smartphone along with a subscription);
- have a presence in social media and integrate the most-used apps on their websites;
- seek alternative ways to pay for content, such as micropayments or paying by phone;
- seek sponsorship, donations, crowdfunding or philanthropic help;
- invest in a 360° model of revenue, combining several forms of advertising and tools.

Finally, we look closer at a report from Knight Foundation based on a detailed analysis of 18⁶⁰ nonprofit news organizations (local, state and national) between 2010 and 2012, which had several interesting conclusions about how they seek sustainability.

There are three key factors to achieving sustainability, according to this study:

- social value creation, i.e., the ability to create unique and relevant content, and to attract, understand and engage audiences in ways that produce measurable impact;
- economic value creation, i.e., the ability to grow multiple revenue streams;
- organizational capacity regarding the infrastructure, resource allocation and skills.

60 The profiled American news organizations were: 8 local (City Limits, The Lens, MinnPost, New Haven Independent, Oakland Local, The Rapidian, St. Louis Beacon and Voice of San Diego); 7 state (FCIR, I-News at Rock Mountain PBS, NJ Spotlight, Texas Tribune, VTDigger, Wisconsin Watch and Wyofile); 3 national (Center for Investigative Reporting, New England Center for Investigative Reporting and ProPublica).

Each of these areas has key strategies defined by the study, which are essential in seeking sustainability. We summarize them in the following Figure. Note that these keys are well suited for any media, not just the nonprofit ones.

Regarding social value creation, this study shows that this area is essential to assuring sustainability but there is still much to do. For example, most organizations define their audiences broadly and don't really understand their users, and thus don't convert them into revenue opportunities. The same happens with online engagement measurements, privileging the traditional quantitative Web metrics. On the other hand, they have already understood the value of social media communities and events, debates and discussions to extending their reach (Table 5).

Table 5. Seeking sustainability through social value creation (our summary)

Seeking sustainability—I Social value creation		
Key strategies	Conclusions	Good practices examples
Understanding audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Few have invested time in understanding the size, profile and motivations of their audiences — Most of them define their audience broadly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sponsor presentations about the data obtained by their annual reader survey (<i>Texas Tribune</i>); surveys to members and newsletter subscribers about the services provided (<i>Voice of San Diego</i>); use of data from readers’ surveys to meet the goals of potential sponsors (<i>MinnPost</i>)
Reach and distribution Web and Mobile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Nonprofit news organizations still use standard metrics which are simplistic and often misleading, such as unique visitors, bounce rates and average time spent on website. — Only three organizations (<i>ProPublica</i>, <i>CIR</i> and <i>CityLimits</i>) developed mobile apps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Estimation of the number of repeat users — New visitors vs. returning visitors (<i>MinnPost</i>) — Qualitative information about the impact of the reports in the community (<i>ProPublica</i>) — Mobile responsive design on websites (<i>TexasTribune</i>, <i>CIR</i> and <i>City Limits</i>)
Social Media	A strong social media presence may be associated with greater brand awareness and visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Five organizations have over 10,000 Twitter followers. — <i>City Limits</i> paid recruitment services to expand its social media community: \$50 per 10,000 Twitter followers and \$120 per 10,000 Facebook likes.
E-Newsletters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — They are necessary to cultivate a customer relationship and it is imperative to find ways of getting users to open content. — On average, e-newsletter open rates were 6% of total for the 11 organizations that supplied these data. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <i>ProPublica</i> publishes a daily newsletter and a major investigations newsletter, which goes out once or twice a month. — Subscribers
Events	Events are a creative way to increase awareness, tapping into new donors and members and demonstrating value for potential sponsors	Community conversations in partnerships with New York museums, schools and colleges (<i>City Limits</i>)
Distribution Partnerships	They are an effective and economical way to reach a wider audience.	— Republicatsubscription fee for republication (<i>CIR</i>)

The combined revenue generated by the 18 news organizations increased nearly 30% over three years. Parallel to the decrease of Foundations' reliance, there was a growth in earned revenue streams, primarily from corporate sponsorship, events and advertising, which reflect the importance of mixing revenue. Finally, syndication of content was the fastest-growing source of earned revenue which confirms the importance of distribution partnerships.

Although foundations continue to be a major source of support, the study also shows that 16 of the 18 nonprofit news organizations effectively cultivate sources of revenue. For example, 67% of total revenue for *The Texas Tribune* comes from individual donors (19%) and earned income (48%). For *VTDigger* 42% of total revenue is earned. Events, advertising and syndication are the major increasing sources of earned revenue (Table 6).

Table 6. Seeking sustainability through economic value creation (our summary)

Seeking sustainability – II Economic value creation		
Revenue generation	Breaking even	Revenue growth
The 18 organizations raised nearly \$35.6M in 2012 (30% more than 2010).	14 organizations reported a surplus, and 4 a deficit.	12 organizations reported growth in revenue.
Revenue sources		
Type	How many news organizations	
Foundations Grant funding, seed funding, topic coverage, operating support and innovation grants.	All	
Donors Donations and gifts from individuals often tied to membership programs.	16 in 18	
Earned Revenue		
Corporate sponsorships Corporations or institutions that pay to associate their brand with the content of the nonprofit news organization.	10 in 18	
Events Corporations or institutions that pay to be associated with events hosted by the nonprofit news organization.	6 in 18	
Advertising Corporations or institutions that purchase banner or display ads on the nonprofit news website.	9 in 18	
Syndication Content sold for republication to other organizations.	10 in 18	
Subscriptions Selling individual subscriptions to specialty publications.	1 in 18	
Services Training, selling training courses, data analysis and selling data analysis services to other organizations	4 in 18	

Regarding the third area — organization capacity — the study shows that there is still a heavy emphasis on producing journalistic content and devoting the greatest share of expenditures to editorials. To be sustainable, news organizations must also invest resources in revenue development and technology.

The study concludes that the most successful analyzed nonprofit news organizations exhibit the following eight traits (2013, p. 52) that, in the end, confirm the key strategies announced in the figure:

- they question their assumptions, regularly developing ways to gather insights on who their audience is and what they care about, then applying this to refine membership programs, pitch sponsors and develop tailored user experiences;
- they pursue the greatest overlap between niche and need, a community that lies between two extremes, not being too broad or too narrow;
- they provide services beyond publishing, and acknowledge that experiences, events, community discussions and partnerships are essential for seeking sustainability;
- they invest beyond content, seeing marketing, business development and fundraising as core activities to their operation;
- they measure what matters, focusing on indicators that offer feedback on repeat user engagement;
- they strive for diversity in funding, not just waiting for foundation funding;
- they build partnerships, offering content to others to reach key audiences or getting fees from syndication;
- they understand the changing habits of consuming information and prioritize social media.

We began the second part of the literature review — *Where do we stand in digital journalism?* — with the question “Now that your Internet has ruined news, what now?” initiated by Jeff Jarvis in 2014.

We have tried in Chapter III, to understand the context in which this question is placed. Recent years have indeed been marked by sweeping changes for organizations, journalists and readers. New work routines, new ways to create stories, new ways to reach them... New opportunities and new threats. The word “new” has never been so widely used.

However, these changes are also attempts to reply to “What now?” and ‘innovation’ is the other word (or should be) in the mind of all media organizations and professionals. As we have seen in the beginning of Chapter IV, innovation does not just mean inventing something new or being creative. It can also imply picking up on something that already exists and giving it a new combination, a new process, a new way of organizing it or exploring it. It can be new

combinations of ideas, competences and resources. This is precisely what we have explored in the subsequent subchapters: new models and platforms for telling stories, ways to engage with the reader and to become sustainable.

IV. 4. What happened next?

Failure is essential to innovate. In recent years, the enthusiasm that has created some media products has been quickly dampened by the costs involved or the lack of technology. Magazines and other editorial products for tablets are one such example. At the time this doctoral thesis was written, several media outlets were creating versions of magazines and supplements for tablets, or digital native magazines. Nevertheless, this enthusiasm quickly faded. The costs associated with these products, as well as the constant evolution of mobile phones (which have become the preferred devices for accessing the news) and the websites themselves (it has become much easier to be responsive) lead to this demise. However, other innovations seem to be here to stay.

In recent years, the new digital ecosystem increased the rhythm of change and broke old boundaries between creators and audiences. The convergence of media and new techniques resulted in hybrid forms of reporting and storytelling, and the traditional advertising model was replaced by one sustained by mixed revenue.

Parallel to this change, there was the rise of a culture of emotion, “one where emotion is granted a central place from the workplace to education and the media” (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 3). The role of emotion in journalism has also been the subject of academic research, regarding the production and circulation of “affective news” (Beckett & Deuze, 2016, p. 1).

In a time of emotional culture, leading to a fragmentation of the public and changes in information reception, the media needed to innovate. Therefore, new products and processes appeared as an opportunity to engage with readers or niche segments, curate content, and empower journalists. Of these, I would like to highlight three: newsletters, podcasts and vodcasts, and naturally, storytelling.

The newsletter was identified in *The New York Times Innovation Report*, from 2014, as part of a new newsroom strategy that would be focused on stand-alone innovative products. At that time, the NYT was emailing approximately 30 editorial newsletters to 6.5 million subscribers. At the beginning of 2019, *The New York Times* was sending 64 different newsletters to 13 million subscribers. The new strategy appears to have been successful, and the newsletter was reborn as an effective way of engaging with the reader. Nowadays, free newsletters, premium newsletters, niche newsletters, single-subject newsletters, and newsletters just for subscribers are present in every media to maintain an ongoing conversation with the readers, as well as curating the news for them.

Another way to engage the reader has been through podcasts and vodcasts dedicated to specific or niche themes. Audio has the potential to engage the user in a more intimate and personalised way. The podcast in particular has the advantage of being easy to produce, with very flexible consumption (the computer, mobile devices, or even in the car), and reaching younger people; hence it was quickly used by non-journalists to involve their audiences. There are two reasons why we have come to such extraordinary numbers as 88 million podcast listeners in the USA in 2019 or a 31% increase in podcast listening since 2018 (in the 21 countries analysed in the Digital News Report 2020 of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism). First, the rise in smartphone users and those who use the Internet to search for information; secondly, the investment in the podcast market by giants such as Apple, Spotify, and Google.

Regarding innovation in storytelling, which can be understood as “a set of techniques and strategies used to tell and share a story to create added value to the news and generate public interest” (Casero-Ripollés et al., 2020, p 72), we can identify seven emerging storytelling formats. These are the most used in cultural journalism (and journalism in general).

I presented these models in a chapter I wrote called *Inovação e Comunicação de Cultura — Modelos Narrativos Emergentes* (2021) (in English, *Innovation and Communication of Culture — Emergent Narrative Models*). I should note that since hybridism is a characteristic of contemporary narratives, most projects and journalistic pieces have elements from various narrative models.

Thus, we can define the narrative based on proximity, i.e., on a connection (geographical, cultural, affective, or social, for example) that unites users. This is what differentiates local and hyperlocal media or community media.

Another narrative model is the collaborative one. This model is created based on the contributions of several users at a global or international scale. The Historypin project, already mentioned in this book, records visual memories organised by themes provided by contributions from people all over the world.

We must also consider georeferenced narratives, which present content associated with a location. These have been used in the journalistic context and cultural tourism, mainly by apps offering different tours.

Narratives based on video, audio, or multimedia formats have evolved remarkably in recent years due to the evolution of technology. One of the most viewed articles in 2019 was “An illustrated guide to all 6,887 deaths in ‘Game of Thrones’”⁶¹, published by *The Washington Post*, which combines data, illustration, hypertext, and georeferenced content to show the 6,887 deaths portrayed in the eight seasons of this famous TV series.

Transmedia narratives are another model that continues to gain traction in the cultural

61 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/entertainment/game-of-thrones/> (last access on 15th December 2020)

industries. This model, in which the original story is unfolded into several stories, each with a particular meaning, and distributed by specific platforms, is not exactly new. Marvel heroes, for example, have used this strategy. Still, the expansion of social media and other new formats lead to the enrichment of this model.

Another narrative model is based on complex data, which is then presented via infographics, games, or interactive experiences. A good example of this model is “What was Leonardo da Vinci doing at your age”⁶², a piece created by CNN to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the artist’s death, and a winner of a Webby Award in 2020, in the “Arts” category.

Finally, narratives can use virtual reality, augmented reality, and other 3D features to provide an immersive user experience. Between 2016 and 2018, some media made significant investments in virtual reality (like *The Guardian*, mostly 360° videos) and in augmented reality (like *The New York Times*). However, the truth is that the costs associated with these technologies are still high, which led to a decrease in their use by journalists in the following years. However, it should be noted that Google Arts & Culture is one of the initiatives that most explores these formats, in addition to providing virtual tours to various museums around the world.

One of the most unexpected events in recent years with the most significant impact on culture, journalism, and of course, the world, was the Covid-19 pandemic, in early 2020. Confinement, the requirement for remote working, changes in journalists’ routines, and the closure of cultural institutions led to the exploitation of the digital environment’s potential, especially video and audio. Shortly after the publication of this book, there will certainly be several lines of investigation on the impact of Covid-19 in all areas of society, including those explored in this book.

Finally, an updated note regarding paradigmatic innovation. In the last few years, the focus has been on a new business model: the audience-first and consumer engagement model focused on developing consumer relationships. The contemporary business model perspective “involves creating new processes, products, and ways of presenting content, and changing the relationships between consumers and the enterprise” (Villi and Picard, 2018, p. 121).

In 2020, I published an article titled *Paradigmatic Innovation in European Cultural Journalism*, where I argue that paradigmatic innovation is the driver for all the other innovations, mainly editorial, and that positioning and coherence are key.

“There are no fire-proof models, but the key is to be coherent. For example, if *The Guardian* advocates open journalism, it makes sense to have a membership model, supported by an engagement strategy, rather than a paywall. If *Monocle* does not give away any free print copies, it makes no sense to give the magazine’s content away for free on the website.” (Santos-Silva, 2020, p.11).

62 <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/style/leonardo500/> (last access on 15th December 2020)

Part III

Questions, hypotheses and answers

Chapter V:

Research design

V. 1. How this idea became a research problem and proposal

The design of the research was one of the most important issues when developing this thesis. I knew that if the research design was weak, all the elements would be flimsy. Like the analogy of a building described by De Vaus (2011, p. 9), before thinking about the materials or the stages for constructing the building we need to know what kind of building we want. Research designs are thus “plans and the procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis” (Creswell, 2002, p. 25) and its function “is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible” (De Vaus, 2001, p. 9).

From the beginning I wanted to study cultural journalism in a digital environment. But how could this idea become a research problem? And which design should I use to study this?

The first question was “Why study this, besides my passion for it?” Is it there a problem to be solved or is it a phenomenon that needs to be explored and understood?

Both culture coverage and digital journalism are contemporary phenomena that have undergone several transformations within a short period of time, as we have seen in the four chapters dedicated to the literature review. Whenever the media enter a period of uncertainty such as the present one, there is an attempt to innovate in order to seek sustainability, skip the crisis or find a new public. This indicates that there are new trends to be understood and explored: i.e. how are media innovating in a digital environment?

Regarding the specific sections on culture, the issue is also pertinent, taking into account that culture is a large part of our everyday lives and one of the main themes explored in the virtual world. We also assume that since culture deals with the five senses — sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch — then it naturally lends itself to the potential possibilities offered by digital tools in order to enhance the performativity dimension: a painting can be shown through an image gallery, music can be heard through audio technology, thus this is a phenomenon whose study is relevant to social and communication sciences and to society itself.

Not only does the professional debate about the future of journalism justify the need to explore the issue, but so do the academic approaches to cultural journalism in a digital environment. However, none of the studies so far have considered innovation as a motto or driver. Mostly analyze the specific use of a digital tool but don't develop a qualitative analysis

in order to explain *how* are the media achieving sustainability, engaging with the readers or covering culture, i.e. how are they innovating.

This is one of the first systematic studies on the cultural journalism in the digital environment using a quantitative and qualitative approach to address the following objectives.

V. 2. Global, specific and utility objectives

This research proposes to examine how European media which specialize in culture or have an important cultural section are innovating in a digital environment.

Specifically, we intend to see how these innovation strategies are being taken in relation to:

1. the approach to culture and dominant cultural areas;
2. overall brand positioning in the digital environment and brand extensions (digital and culture-related);
3. the editorial model (sectioning, content format and delivery, angles, genres and news values);
4. the use and importance of digital tools, such as hypertextuality, multimediality, interactivity and other features to enhance long-form and short-form stories in culture;
5. engagement with the public and “prosumers”;
6. business models.

These items will allow us to systematize the analysis of media innovations in five areas, adapted from Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) proposal: product (new platforms, services, genres and communication patterns), process (new ways of creating and delivering products and services), position (brand positioning), paradigmatic (changes in business models, values and organizations’ mindset) and social (new ways of using media for social ends).

Another major goal of this research is to know, whenever possible, to what extent these innovative strategies are successful (defined as simply achieving sustainability or survival), in order to contribute to the collection of a set of good practices for cultural journalism in a digital environment.

V. 3. Research questions and hypotheses

The global and specific objectives led us to 8 research questions:

Framing questions (What?)

1. What is the meaning and importance of culture for the media analyzed and which dimensions and cultural areas are privileged in a digital environment?
2. What is the overall brand positioning in a digital environment, including digital and culture-related brand extensions?

Developmental questions (How?)

In the digital environmental, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding:

3. The editorial model (meaning culture approach, editorial delimitation, content format and delivery, angles, web genres, news values and other ways to create and present stories)?
4. The use of digital tools and strategies to cover, create and present both agenda-based and feature pieces and which are the most used?
5. The engagement with the users (meaning the quality of interaction, navigation, personalization and memory)?
6. The business models and organization values?

Systematic questions

7. In the digital environmental, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding product, process, position, paradigmatic and social types of innovation, as identified by Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) and which are the most frequent and relevant to them?
8. Which of the findings can be considered successful and contribute to a set of good practices in cultural journalism?

In terms of quantitative analysis, we have assumed three hypotheses:

1. There is a trend towards the blurring of boundaries between arts, popular culture and lifestyle, as observed by Kristensen (2012, 2010), with cultural journalism expanding its focus and dimensions;
2. The blurring of boundaries is seen in cultural theme sectioning, editorial models and web genres;
3. Digital tools can naturally enhance a cultural piece (a photo gallery to show an exhibition, audio to support a music piece), so we expect their frequent use.

V. 4. Literature review: concept map



Figure 1
This research's concept map

In the literature review stage, which was fundamental to the research questions and to identify the state of the art of the various concepts involved in the research, we focused on reference concepts which support our thesis, such as “culture,” “cultural journalism,” “digital journalism” and “innovation,” as well as other concepts which arise from them, such as multimedia storytelling or successful business models, presented in Figure 1. We explore them taking into account the respective context, reference authors in each field, academic theses, papers and professional work debated on the Web. The literature review also allowed us to explore today’s debate — the “what now?” — surrounding cultural journalism in Chapter II, and in digital media, especially in Chapter III.

In every research process, organization is one of the most important elements. We chose Mendeley software to manage all bibliographic references, since there were hundreds of papers, books, websites and webpages to explore for each reference concept.

V. 5. Qualitative and quantitative methodological approach: the mixed methods research

Creswell argues that if a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it, then it merits a qualitative approach (2002, p. 40); if the problem calls for identification and description of patterns in manifest content, then a quantitative approach is best.

The research questions presented above are basically descriptive ones. Those that start with “How?” require a qualitative approach; those beginning with “Which/What”? led us to both qualitative and quantitative approaches (for example, the question “Which cultural themes are privileged?”). Thus, to answer the research questions, we conducted a mixed methods research (Morgan, 2014; Creswell, 2002; Yin, 2010; Deacon et al., 2010), combining case studies of four media projects, which integrates qualitative web features and content analysis, with quantitative web content analyses.

The mixed methods research, which can be described as “deliberating designing a study to use quantitative and qualitative methods, both of which are needed to address the research questions” (Yin, 2010, p. 310), combines the strength of both approaches, both of which are important to addressing our two types of research questions in a complementary manner. In this approach we can understand the phenomenon better by converging numeric trends from quantitative research and the details of qualitative research that can explain, complement or validate those results.

V. 5. 1. Case studies: *The Guardian* (UK), *Monocle* (UK), *Público* (Portugal) and *La Fábrica* (Spain)

“A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, p. 13), so in order to answer our research questions we can’t just make a quantitative content analysis, for example, but need to explore the phenomenon, understanding it and explaining it. Yin adds that case studies are the preferred strategy when “how” and “why” questions are being posed (2003, p. 1), which is a major focus of our research.

Cultural coverage is mainly done by generalist newspapers, magazines and native digital projects. Specialized media in culture has an important role in culture coverage so we couldn’t choose only generalist newspapers. On the other hand, some of the best cultural coverage comes not only from media organizations but from cultural organizations, so we also use this premise when choosing the sample.

In terms of geography, financially we couldn’t include countries outside of Europe and there was also the language barrier: we could focus only on Portuguese, Spanish and English idioms. Finally, representation, reputation, sustainability and the type of case (typical or atypical) were also criteria taken into consideration.

In the end, we chose two major general-interest journalistic brands which started as physical newspapers — *The Guardian* (London, UK) and *Público* (Lisbon, Portugal) — a magazine specialized in international affairs, culture and design — *Monocle* (London, UK) — and a native digital media project that was launched by a cultural organization — *Notodo*.

***The Guardian* (London, UK)**

The Guardian UK website (<http://www.theguardian.com/uk>)⁶³ is one of the most reputable news websites and its selection for this research has to do with the importance given to “culture” and “lifestyle” sections with several innovative features regarding editorial and business models, and, of course, its digital approach. In 2008 and 2009, the website won two awards each year for “digital innovation of the year” and “digital journalist of the year” (British Press Awards); in 2011 it was named “digital news service of the year,” it won the “best use of new media” category and was commended for its iPhone app (Newspaper Awards).

⁶³ In July 2013, the website moved to a new global domain — *theguardian.com* — as a strategy to reflect its growing international presence. It has now UK, US, Australia and International versions. We focus on the UK site which is the original one.

***Monocle* (London, UK)**

Monocle (<http://www.monocle.com>) is one of the most prestigious magazines in the world regarding international affairs, business, culture and design. We chose it for its international scope, its definition of cultural journalism (which is very different comparing to the other case studies) and its particular approach to digital. We note that its editor, Tyler Brûlé, has a particular strategy regarding the print and digital version of the magazine (he's against, for example, an app of the magazine for iPad, it just has an iPhone app for *Monocle 24* radio station) but explores multimedia in a very distinct way. *Monocle* was awarded one of the top ten titles of the year 2011 by Ad Age USA and it is a really good example of convergence (magazine, radio, shops and merchandising). It has been profitable for 5 years now.

***Público* (Lisbon, Portugal)**

Público (<http://www.publico.pt>) is one of the most reputable Portuguese daily newspapers which have been investing in global digital positioning of the brand. It has also a clear focus on culture, which is the major source of revenue. It has several websites dedicated to cultural themes besides the *Culture* section of the main website, and it has been developing several cultural multimedia projects along with an iPad edition of the weekly culture supplement.

***La Fábrica* (notodo.com, Madrid, Spain)**

Finally, *La Fábrica* (<http://www.lafabrica.com>) is one of the most relevant organizations in the cultural scene in Spain. It is responsible for the PhotoEspaña event, Notodo Film Fest, Europe's — Festival of Contemporary Culture, Eñe Festival and other relevant projects. In the media area, it has three magazines (Matador, Ojo de Pez and Eñe) and one cultural news website, entitled *Notodo* (<http://www.notodo.com>) that has already been transformed into a brand, including also notodotv.com (currently closed), notofilmfest.com and notodohotels.com. The website *Notodo* is thus the main subject of our research.

V. 5. 2. Data collection methods used

In the context of qualitative research, Yin identifies four potential data collection activities: interviewing, observing, collecting and examining and feeling (2011, p. 31). The first three are common in every research methods manual, but “feelings” are not very usual.

It is not reduced to one's sense of touch, rather it takes different forms (p. 150): explicit data about the environment, such as warmth/coldness, noisiness/quiet; data about other people (distant/close, disruptive/accommodated); finally, intuition and 'gut feelings' about a situation, derived from the observation or interviewing.

Feelings turn out to be one of the most important data collection methods as people are one of the most important elements in innovation.

Multiple sources of evidence in case studies allow us to achieve more convincing accurate results and to develop converging lines of inquiry, which is the convergence of evidence. The collection of information from multiple sources is known as data triangulation (Yin, 2003, p. 99). In this research and in the context of case-study we used all of the above methods of data collection.

Face-to-face qualitative interviews

Face-to-face qualitative interviews differ from structured interviews because there is not a strict questionnaire and questions are not close-ended. Of course we had framework questions but those were adapted to context and to the answers of the interviewee. The goal was to achieve a conversational mode in order to establish some kind of social relationship in order to achieve richer, more relaxed and honest non-filtered answers.

The qualitative interviews were subject to summarized qualitative content analysis in the categories used in observation and content analysis. The analyzed data was used to validate or confirm other data of quantitative content analysis.

Table 7. Face-to-face qualitative interviews

Case study	Method of data collection: face-to-face interviews		
	Who?	When?	Where?
<i>The Guardian</i>	Alex Needham , former Culture Editor and now acting network editor	8 th August, 2013	<i>The Guardian's</i> newsroom, Kings Cross
	Francesca Panetta , Special Projects Editor leading on innovation in storytelling and new platforms	6 th August, 2013	<i>The Guardian's</i> newsroom, Kings Cross
	Caspar Llewellyn Smith , Head of Culture	8 th August, 2013	<i>The Guardian's</i> newsroom, Kings Cross
<i>Monocle</i>	Tom Edwards , News editor of <i>Monocle 24</i>	5 th August, 2013	Midori House (<i>Monocle's</i> newsroom)
	Andrew Tuck , Founding Editor and Editor in Chief	6 th August, 2013	Midori House (<i>Monocle's</i> newsroom)
	Sophie Grove , Senior Editor and Bureau Chief in <i>Monocle's</i> Istanbul Bureau	5 th August, 2013	Midori House (<i>Monocle's</i> newsroom)
<i>Público</i>	Simone Duarte , Deputy Director, former Online Director	21 st August, 2014	<i>Público's</i> newsroom, Lisbon
	Sónia Matos , Art Director	21 st August, 2014	<i>Público's</i> newsroom, Lisbon
	Kathleen Gomes , Journalist in charge of Ípsilon edition for tablet	4 th September, 2014	<i>Público's</i> newsroom, Lisbon
	Isabel Salema , Executive Editor (Culture area)	4 th September, 2014	<i>Público's</i> newsroom, Lisbon
<i>La Fábrica</i>	Alan Queipo , editor in chief of <i>Notodo</i>	29 th October, 2014	<i>La Fábrica's</i> Coffee Shop, Madrid
	Alberto Fesser , co-founder of <i>Matador</i> and <i>La Fábrica</i> vice-president	30 th October, 2014	<i>La Fábrica's</i> newsroom, Madrid
	Álvaro Matías, former <i>Notodo</i> director and General Director for <i>La Fábrica</i>	30 th October, 2014	<i>La Fábrica's</i> newsroom, Madrid
	Luis Posada , Exhibitions Director	30 th October, 2014	<i>La Fábrica's</i> newsroom, Madrid
	María Pallas , Director of <i>La Fábrica</i> Library, Store and Gallery	29 th October, 2014	<i>La Fábrica Gallery</i> , Madrid
	María Pelaez , International Press Officer & Social Media Manager	29 th October, 2014	<i>La Fábrica's</i> newsroom, Madrid

Physical sites visits

Making site visits is a way of doing fieldwork and direct observation. Although it is not as profound as participant-observation, it can be worthwhile (Yin, 2011) because it can include field settings. Unfortunately, it is more rigid and is tied to a schedule. In this context, site visits were essential to understanding the creative environment, body language of hosts and interviewees, as well as the style of the brand. We visited not only the newsrooms, but also the coffee shops, galleries and stores from the media projects. We were accompanied by a host in *La Fabrica* (by Laura Fernandez, Internet Director) and in *Monocle* (by Tim-Anscombe-Bell, Managing Editor).

Table 8. Physical sites visits

Method of data collection: physical sites visits		
Case-study	When?	Where?
<i>The Guardian</i>	5 th to 15 th August 2013	<i>The Guardian</i> newsroom, headquarters, restaurant; the garden where journalists do brainstorming (Kings Cross, London, UK)
<i>Monocle</i>	3 th to 15 th August 2013	Midori House, Radio newsroom, <i>Monocle</i> newsroom and <i>Monocle Café</i> (Dorset Street and Chiltern Street, London)
<i>Público</i>	21 st August, 3 rd and 4 th September 2014	Público newsroom (Alcântara, Lisbon, Portugal)
<i>La Fábrica</i>	28th to 30th October 2014	<i>La Fábrica</i> newsroom, <i>La Fábrica Café</i> , gallery and Art store (Alameda 9, Madrid)

Observing and collecting through qualitative parameters

In the scope of case studies we also collected contents of reports, archival records, audiovisual materials in order to answer our research questions, mostly available on the Web. This content was then subject to qualitative and quantitative analysis. We looked at each website, apps, newsletters and other platforms of each case study, their staff social media accounts, academic research, journalism and media websites and weblogs. We collected data directly from the case studies websites or using search engines. Direct collecting from their websites was made having as time frame parameter the period between 1st January 2013 and 31st March 2015, but we also considered as potential contextual data all search engines results after 2005.

Qualitative and quantitative Web content analysis

Content analysis applied to communication has its roots in Bernard Berelson and Paul Lazarsfeld's work, which became widely recognized with their book *The Analysis of Communication Content* (1948). Berelson defined it as a "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (as cit. in McMillan, 2000, p. 81). Describing characteristics and trends in communication content became one of the most frequent content analysis research designs during the second half of the 20th century (Holsti, 1969, p. 27) and it is still now in the context of Web communication.

Although, as the Berelson definition confirms, content analysis started to focus on the quantitative approach, it can serve the purpose of both quantitative and qualitative research, as well as mixed methods (White & Marsh, 2006).

If the primary use of a quantitative approach is to "identify and describe patterns in manifest content" (Herring, 2008, p. 2), in order to generalize, qualitative content analysis

is also related to concepts and patterns but there's a deep grounding in data and context in order to create "a picture of a given phenomenon that is always embedded within a particular context, not on describing reality objectively" (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 38). The latest can, thus, be defined as an "approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2000).

Since the first approaches to analyzing content on the Web, researchers began to question if the methods of content analysis would be adequate to analyzing web content. The immediate difference is that a unit of content can't be separated from its context. There have been three common approaches to website research: discursive and rhetorical analyses, with focus on content; structural or feature analyses, focusing on the structure of the website and its features (such as navigation options or order of the pages); finally, sociocultural analyses of the Web, focusing on multi-actor and cross-site actions (Schneider & Foot, 2004).

Susan Herring (2008), for example, proposes an expanded web content analysis paradigm which includes elements from discourse analysis and social network analysis, important to analyzing, for example, patterns associated with linking or commenting. Thus, Web Content Analysis "considers content to be various types of information 'contained' in new media documents, including themes, features, links, and exchanges, all of which can communicate meaning" (2008, p. 11).

In this new paradigm many researchers have been proposing methodologies for analyzing digital journalism regarding typologies, design and genres (Palacios & Díaz Noci, 2007), the exploitation of digital possibilities applied to journalism (Zamith, 2008) or methodologies to analyze one particular tool or dimension, such as the ones included in the manuals edited by Marcos Palacios and Javier Díaz Noci (2007) and organized by Marcos Palacios alone (2011).

Sampling and time frame

In content analysis of traditional media, researchers usually define the time period and then analyze a constructed week or stratified sample of a time period edition. Two constructed weeks for representing the content of an entire year, a random selection of 14 issues from a year or one issue from each month in a year (stratified sample) have been considered effective and efficient samples for analyzing newspaper content (Wang & Riffe, 2010); in the case of weekly magazines, a random issue selected from each month for representing one year's content (*idem*).

However, regarding websites analysis, researchers have been applying various methods for sampling: they have been focusing on a time frame (such as one whole month),

most of them collect data in one to two months (McMillan, 2000) or have been applying constructed weeks or stratified samples in the same logic applied to analyzing newspapers (Wang & Riffe, 2010).

As we are analyzing content in four different European media, with different periodicity and structure, and considering also that Web content is continuously being updated we opted for a mix of the above practices and achieve two types of sample approach: in time and as packages.

In the case of *The Guardian*, *Público* and *Notodo*, we created, for a two-year analysis (January 7th 2013 to March 8th 2015), a sample size of 2 effective constructed weeks meaning 14 days, from Monday to Sunday, for each.

In the case of *Monocle*, the sample was much more difficult to achieve, because the website congregates many projects with different periodicity, such as the daily monocolum, weekly radio programs and the monthly digital edition of the magazine. The magazine has also 10 editions per year (November/December and January/February are double editions), and have thematic issues. Thus, for a two-year population (January 2013 to December 2014) we created a stratified year constructed of 1 day every two months from 2013 (beginning in January 2013) and one day every two months in 2014 (beginning in February 2014).

Units of analysis, coding units, parameters and variables

Units of analysis

Regarding content analysis, the units of analysis for the four case studies are their homepages, their entire website and the culture packs chosen. The study includes not only articles from the cultural sections but across the whole website because one of the hypotheses tests is that we are observing the blurring of the boundaries of culture, which is also expressed in changing editorial sectioning.

We also take into account all brand extensions, especially digital and culture-related but we didn't perform a content analysis to all. In the case of *The Guardian*, we considered all pieces that were assigned to the *Culture* section from the UK website (<http://www.theguardian.com/uk>). In the case of *Monocle*, we did a quantitative web content analysis to the digital version of the magazine and a qualitative observation of the whole website. In the case of *Público*, we made a content analysis to the *Culture* section of the main website and in the case of *Notodo*, to the whole website.

Coding units

We have developed several analysis typologies adapted from previous research, in particular my own in 2012 (regarding cultural coverage by Portuguese newspapers and magazines), the methodological approach to digital tools made by Zamith (2008), the manuals edited by Marcos Palacios and Díaz Noci (2007) and organized by Marcos Palacios (2011), the methodological approach to multimedia packages (Jacobson, 2010) and the innovation typologies proposed by Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) and Dogruel (2014) in order to answer all the research questions and test the hypotheses presented. The most used coding units in this research are content categories and feature categories.

Content was coded using Excel, because the size and complexity level of the statistic sample wouldn't require a SPSS coding, and Excel is easier to manage (especially regarding broad functions, that are more flexible, and charts).

To present types of coding in this chapter, we distributed the typology of analysis into different categories (that are assembled in plan sheets). For every typology we explained what the goal is and what the sample is. For the qualitative approach, we developed an innovation score.

Table 9. General classification of the media analyzed

General information
Name of the media
Subtitle
Media type
Medium original platform
Digital and culture-related brand extensions
Headquarters location
Other offices
Property model
Copyright
Institutional links
Staff and collaborators through all sections and platforms
Number of elements linked to cultural coverage

Table 10. Innovation in culture coverage regarding culture approach, dimensions, news values and web genres — typology of analysis

Coding units	Content and feature categories / variables
Media unit	<i>(the title of the piece)</i>
Date and time of snapshot	(Date of publication)
Editorial alignment in the <i>Culture</i> section	Name of the section, menus (subsections), organization of content and special features, services or products
Dimension	Artistic presentation (work of art or creator); celebrity and entertainment; way of life (sociological and anthropological phenomenon); performative (lifestyle, service and consumption); policies and economy.
Cultural area	Literature, music, performing arts, cinema, architecture, design, photography, fashion, plastic arts, infra-structures, policies and entrepreneurship, media, digital culture, food and wine, heritage, multidisciplinary, culture as service
Section	Culture, Lifestyle, Society, Other (according to the media sectioning)
Presence in homepage	Yes, No
News value (angle)	Agenda-based or feature piece; release or launch, award, festival or exhibition, obituary, conflict, study, discovery, new policy, creator himself, work of art itself, innovation / creativity, service or consumption
Web genre	News item, preview, critique, review, list, guide, Q&A, blog post, commentary, profile, report, interview, forum, survey, infographic, gallery, video, webdocumentary, newsgames.

Table 11. Innovation in culture coverage regarding positioning — typology of analysis

Overall brand positioning	Platforms or different projects where culture is presented and delivered?	Apps developed	Social media	Products and services
Signature / slogan or headline	How many different websites or media projects contain culture coverage, besides the main one? (URLs)	If yes, how many and what for?	Do they have invited blogs? If yes, how many?	Do they have specific products and services regarding culture, besides the journalistic approach? If yes, which ones?
Institutional campaign to enhance positioning and brand values	Which is the purpose of each one?		Do they have a YouTube channel? If yes, how many followers?	Do they use external services and products to enhance culture coverage? If yes, which ones?
	Do they have a newsletter?		Do they have a Facebook account? If yes, how many followers?	
	Do they have a culture newsletter?		Do they have an Instagram account? If yes, how many followers?	
	Do they have e-mail alerts?		Do they have a Pinterest account? If yes, how many followers?	
			Do they have their own social network? If yes, how many followers?	
Others	Others		Others	Others

Table 12. Innovation in culture coverage regarding exploitation of digital tools – typology of analysis

Hypertextuality	Multimediality
Internal hyperlink to content from the same article	Video (with audio or not)
Internal hyperlink to content from the media archive	Audio
External hyperlink	Infographics
Hyperlink to text	Image
Hyperlink to image	Interactive images (popup, ampliation)
Hyperlink to popup image	Data bases
Hyperlink to image gallery	Video galleries
Hyperlink to infographics	360°
Hyperlink to video	Games or newsgames
Hyperlink to audio	
Hyperlink to social media	
Hyperlink to users content	
Hyperlink to multimedia packages	
Function of hypertextuality and multimediality	
Hypertextuality	Multimediality
To provide context	To provide context
To explain	To explain
To include other points of view	To include other points of view
To show the object of the piece (artwork, exhibition, creator, etc.)	To show the object of the piece (artwork, exhibition, creator, etc.)
Aleatory / random	To present the information in the most adequately way
Other reasons	Other reasons

Table 13. Innovation in culture coverage regarding the engagement with readers — typology of analysis

Interactivity	Personalization	Services	Navigation and memory
Staff e-mail	Possibility of personalizing the homepage	Opportunity to buy the cultural objects presented or tickets to the festival previewed, for example	Website responsive (adapted to all screen websites)
Piece writer's e-mail	Possibility to save content to read later	Opportunity to participate in conferences and other events with the staff	Features that facilitate navigation through the <i>Culture</i> section, multimedia packages and related content
Sources e-mails	Possibility to receive alerts (RSS or associate with feedly or other aggregators) globally	Opportunity to periodically receive newsletters, bulletins or e-mail alerts	Time and date of publication
Discussion forum, surveys	Possibility to receive alerts (RSS or associate with feedly or other aggregators) thematically		Possibility to access archives (free or paid)
Interaction between journalist and user (for example, answering user's commentaries)	Possibility to save for reading later		Archives organized by date and category or other system index
User as source of the news piece (crowdsourcing)	Possibility to send by e-mail		Search box
Featured contributions from users	Possibility to receive personalized newsletters, bulletins or e-mails periodically		Tags and topics associated to each piece
Sharing options: Facebook, E-mail Pinterest and other			Information throughout the website about options that user have to navigate or personalize pages
Possibility to correct, enhance or contribute to journalist's pieces			Website maps or breadcrumbs
Voting or recommending			
Other innovative forms	Other innovative forms	Other innovative forms	Other innovative forms

Table 14. Innovation regarding business model — typology of analysis

Major model	Sources of revenue
<i>Paid model</i>	<i>Micropayments</i>
<i>Advertising model</i>	<i>parties</i>
	Brand Merchandising
Membership model	Conference, talks and events
Metered paywall model	Consulting and training services
Nonprofit model	Syndication
	Advertising
	Crowdfunding
	Other sources

Table 15. Systematic and structured typology of media innovations identified

Product innovation	Process innovation	Position innovation	Paradigmatic innovation	Social innovation
New platforms, services, genres and communication patterns.	New ways of creating and delivering products and services, including the way media engage with users or organize their activities.	Changes in the way products or services are marketed, in terms of branding.	Changes in business models, values and organizations' mindset	New ways of using media for social ends.
Dimension of change: technological, content/design-oriented or functional				

Chapter VI:

Findings

This chapter presents the findings of our fieldwork in the sequence of our chosen research design and research methods. It is important to emphasize that both the content analysis and case studies approach focus on culture coverage, but on some points the analysis had to be extended to the whole brand, especially when analyzing their strategies for business models and overall brand positioning and values, as well as their historical framing.

On the other hand, following this logic, it is important also to note that many innovative strategies that are being carried out by these media may not be part of the findings presented here for two reasons: first, because they are not directly related to culture coverage; second, because they are not part of the time frame (January 2013 to March 2015) proposed for the analysis.

The findings are organized by case study and by key categories related to the objectives and research questions of this research. The first four subchapters of each case study have the purpose to frame the brand; the rest of the subchapters are related to more specific findings.

Note that the first part of each case study begins with a personal observation that could be called “feelings”, identified by Yin (2011, p. 150) as a potential data collection activity, integrating data about the environment, people and intuition, as approached in the previous chapter. Although the observation must be rigorous and impartial, there is in this topic some room for subjectivity, and I added, at this point only, a few personal notes regarding the context of all visits to the case studies headquarters and the interviews.

VI. 1. *The Guardian* — “Open Journalism”

I felt overwhelmed. Certainly there were more butterflies in my stomach than chairs in The Guardian and Observer headquarters at Kings Place, the first time I visited it for the interview, on August 8th 2013, with Alex Needham, former Culture Editor and current Acting Network Editor.

The Guardian is a favorite personal reference in cultural journalism so it tends to compete with my impartiality as a researcher. The journalists’ feedback to my approach exceeded expectations: Caspar Llewellyn Smith, Head of Culture, answered my request by e-mail the next day. Francesca Panetta, Special Projects Editor Multimedia, on the same day.

All made themselves available to receive me in August. I did not expect so much openness, but I was somehow anticipating the unanimous enthusiasm with which they spoke about The Guardian's editorial philosophy, its approach to culture, multimedia and open journalism. "An ongoing conversation [with the reader]" was a recurring phrase I heard, which told me that these journalists are aligned with a digital-first strategy. They did not have a critical tone at any point, on the contrary, they seemed to be proud to belong to a project that they consider to be innovative, and above all grateful for the time they have to experiment and make mistakes — a natural process of innovation, because they are not restrained by a short-term obligation to make a profit (Caspar Llewellyn Smith told me), although it's a goal.

I also realized that they seemed to truly admire Alan Rusbridger, who stepped down as editor-in-chief in 2015, and who answered me saying that he could not give me an interview because of travel commitments, but gave me guidance on what to investigate.

Despite a cold-looking glass building with hundreds of journalists working inside it was very cozy, and my interviewees were very approachable and open.

The building to where The Guardian and The Observer moved in the winter of 2008 is conducive to creativity. Situated at 90, York Way in the Kings Cross area, the seven-floor building is home to cultural events throughout the year: exhibitions, concerts, plays, workshops and conferences. It has two auditoriums, two art galleries, a restaurant, two cafes, a public concert hall and seven office floors.

But the pearl is hidden behind the Kings Place, on the ground floor, where there's a concert hall and a very British Café where we can have coffee a few meters from Battlebridge Basin in Regent's Canal. The canal has a number of boat houses and it's just a one-hour walk along the shore to Camden Town.

The three times I was on the terrace, I appreciated the spectacular, inspiring view that The Guardian's journalists have over the canal from the canteen, as they work, meet and do interviews in the café area.

The identity of The Guardian and The Observer headquarters can be seen from a distance because the building entrance has a large shop window with the names "The Guardian" and "The Observer" spelled out in big individual white letters inside.

In the foyer of Guardian Media Group's offices there's a gallery, which at the time of my visit had an exhibition about the role of journalism. In some parts of the open space where journalists work there are sculptures and historical pieces about the history of the brand.

The architecture is very suggestive of the open journalism approach cultivated by The Guardian, and this building is in fact very strategic because it welcomes Guardian Live Events such as talks or summer book readings, or The Guardian Open Weekends where they literally open their doors to readers; it is also the location of The Guardian Education Centre, run by The Guardian Media Group Foundation, with free journalism workshops for primary and secondary schools, universities and families.

On level three of the building there is a large open space and areas bounded by glass walls. Everywhere there are comfortable sofas and chairs with vibrant colors like yellow and green that contrasts with the white walls and desks and gray floor. There are many breakout zones with sofas, and I saw many meetings being held on couches (not in chairs around a table). The enormous long canteen overlooks Regent's Canal. It has very creative decoration and there seems to be a concern for well being at work and also for the visibility of the brand, since with the glass building and open spaces with windows to the exterior they really are open to the public.

VI. 1. 1. Historical framing

We can say that the history of *The Guardian* is a story of innovation in management, in editorial principles and evolution.



Figure 2
The Guardian's logotype in March 2015
(above) and 2021 (below).

The Guardian was founded in 1821 by John Edward Taylor as a liberal interest weekly newspaper. At the time, its name was *The Manchester Guardian* and was first published on May 5th of that year. Between 1836 and 1855 it was published on Wednesday and Saturday and become a daily in 1855, after the abolition of the Stamp Duty.

Between 1872 and 1932, *The Manchester Guardian* was edited by CP Scott, who is considered an emblematic figure of this newspaper. He bought the paper in 1907 and managed to achieve international and national recognition for the newspaper. The independence of *The Guardian* was Scott's major priority and his article "A Hundred Years", written to celebrate

The Guardian's 100th anniversary, is a statement of values and traditions of *The Guardian* even today, especially these sentences:

Comment is free, but facts are sacred. "Propaganda", so called, by this means is hateful. The voice of opponents, no less than that of friends, has a right to be heard. Comment also is justly subject to a self-imposed restraint. It is well to be frank; it is even better to be fair. This is an ideal. Achievement in such matters is hardly given to man. We can but try, ask pardon for shortcomings, and there leave the matter. (Scott, 1931/2002, para. 3)

After his death in 1932 the newspaper passed to his two sons, John Russell Scott as manager and Edward Taylor Scott as editor. Edward died in an accident just four months after his father's death, and the newspaper became John Scott's full property.

Four years later, to ensure the future of *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Manchester Evening News* (his property as well) and protect these newspapers from death duties related to early death of Edward Scott, John Scott created the Scott Trust to ensure the independence of the newspapers and protect his father's principles and values. After his death in 1949, his son, Laurence Scott, became chairman of the Scott Trust and managing director of the company.

On August 1959, the newspaper changed its title to *The Guardian* to position itself in the national and international market, continuing to grow and acquiring other newspapers. In 1967, both companies of *The Guardian Newspapers Ltd.* and *The Manchester Evening News Ltd.* were formed as wholly owned subsidiary companies of *The Manchester Guardian and Evening News Ltd.*, and changed to *The Guardian and Manchester Evening News Ltd.* in 1972.

In 1992, The Scott Trust formally set its central objective for *The Guardian* and its editorial position in the market and in society "to secure the financial and editorial independence of *The Guardian* in perpetuity: as a quality national newspaper without party affiliation; remaining faithful to its liberal tradition; as a profit-seeking enterprise managed in an efficient and cost-effective manner" (GMG, n.d.).

In the same year, *The Guardian* launched *Weekend* as a color magazine on Saturdays and *G2*, a daily features tabloid section. In 1993, the company purchased the oldest Sunday newspaper, the *Observer*, and changed the company name to *Guardian Media Group plc* to reflect the diversity of its media properties. In the years ahead, it would purchase titles and stakes in radio, print, magazines, and even launch a film production company, Guardian Films, focused on documentary made for television.

In 1995, *The Guardian's* most emblematic editor after CP Scott, Alan Rusbridger, joined *The Guardian* as editor.

In 1997 and 1998, *The Guardian* was named Newspaper of the Year.

In 1997, *The Guardian* was the first national newspaper to appoint a reader's editor, producer of the daily Corrections and Clarifications column. In 2005, the newspaper continued

to innovate: it launched a pioneering design in a mid-size Berliner format, becoming the UK's first full-color national newspaper and the first UK national newspaper ever to adopt this size.

The *Guardian Media Group* is now one of the UK's leading media organizations and its core business is *Guardian News & Media*, publisher of *theguardian.com* and *The Guardian* and *Observer* newspapers. It also manages investments to support the development of its journalism. Its main goal is to deliver the financial security that allows the Scott Trust to maintain the editorial independence of *The Guardian* in perpetuity. Its business conduct is guided by the values of the Scott Trust, cited earlier.

This “unique form of media ownership in the UK”, as claimed by *The Guardian Media Group*, will be approached later in this chapter in our findings regarding *The Guardian's* business model. As set out in its history, *The Guardian* is owned by a Trust — the Scott Trust — sole shareholder in *Guardian Media Group*, created in 1936 to safeguard the journalistic freedom and liberal values of *The Guardian*. Its core purpose is to secure the financial and editorial independence of *The Guardian* in perpetuity. This unique ownership model means that all profits are reinvested into *The Guardian* in order to develop its journalism.

VI. 1. 2. Overall brand positioning regarding innovation

With a population of 63 million, 90% of the UK have access to the Internet, 70% express interest in news and 51% trust in news, according to the Reuters Digital News Report 2015 written by Newman, Levy and Nielsen. The top social networks used weekly for news are Facebook (29%) for reference to news websites, but Twitter (12%) is widely used by journalists and politicians as it is where news is often found first. 6% of readers paid for online news last year and the top digital subscriptions were for the Times, Economist, Telegraph and the Sun.

The media environment in the UK is highly competitive — there are strong media brands which are present both offline and online. *The Guardian* is considered by the Reuters report as a success case, having invested heavily in digital media and taking UK journalism to international audiences. In the last two years, it “has revamped its website and mobile offerings, introduced a membership scheme, developed a branded content studio, and expanded paid events. It continues to win awards for digital innovation — but faces a year of transition with a new editor and chief executive” (Newman *et al.*, 2015, p. 25).

The numbers confirm this success. In Reuters Digital News Report 2014, regarding weekly online usage by readers, *The Guardian* appeared in 5th place (9% of readers using it weekly), after the leading brand BBC News Online (47%, Mail Online (14%), Sky News (12%) and Yahoo (9%). Regarding offline (TV, Radio and Print) weekly usage, *The Guardian + Observer* appeared in 13rd place. The leader was BBC News.

According to Reuters' numbers in 2015, *The Guardian* is now in 4th place regarding the percentage of weekly online usage (preceded by BBC News, Mail Online and Huffington Post), 3% more than in the last year, and in 12nd place regarding offline usage (2015: 25). In the segment of traditional media, it occupies third place.

The Guardian is also in the battle for global audiences (2015: 17). It is the fourth leading brand (in the traditional segment, meaning non-digital born) in the USA (4%), preceded by CNN (14%), the NY Times (12%) and BBC (10%); the second (7%) in Australia, along with CNN (7%), preceded only by the BBC (14%).

At the end of March 2014, *The Guardian's* online audience was 102.3 million, monthly unique browsers, up from 78.3 million in March 2013, meaning a growth of 30% (24 million). The barrier of 100 million monthly unique browsers was broken for the first time in March 2014 (GMG Press Office, 2014).

The first steps to the digital presence of *The Guardian* were taken in 1995 when *The Guardian's* New Media Lab was officially established to implement "a proposed electronic publication of the Guardian and Observer" (GNM archive, 2010). Go2 was launched in the same year as the website for *The Guardian's* computer science and technology supplement OnLine.

In January 1999 *The Guardian Unlimited network* of websites was launched, rebranded *guardian.co.uk* in 2008, with several layout improvements over the following years.

In June 2011, *Guardian News & Media* announced plans to become a digital-first organization and in September as part of this strategy launched its new US homepage (*guardian.co.uk/us*) with a digital operation in New York (the first attempt was in 2007), *The Guardian* iPad edition in January 2012, the Australia digital edition (*guardian.co.uk.australia*) in May 2013. In July 2013, the website moved to a new global domain — *theguardian.com* — as a strategy to reflect its growing international presence.

Between 2005 and 2015, *guardian.co.uk* (and as *theguardian.com*) won 59 Webby awards⁶⁴, an international award honoring excellence on the Internet, in several categories, such as Podcasts, Documentaries, Best Practices, Apps, Viral, Best Visual Design or Best Use of Interactive Video. Other distinctions highlighting *The Guardian* journalists, digital pieces or website devices and layout, more than one hundred in total⁶⁵, include Online Media Awards for Best Online Journalism and Best Data Journalism, in 2011, a Data Journalism Award in the Data Visualization and Storytelling Category for the Riot Rumors data interactive⁶⁶, in

64 Data collected from <http://www.webbyawards.com> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

65 Data collected from <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/guardian-wins-online-media-awards-2011> (last accessed 3rd February 2015) and <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/guardian-wins-data-journalism-award-2012> (last accessed 3rd February 2015), <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/guardian-app-named-world-s-best-designed-ipad-app-2013> (last accessed 3rd February 2015) and <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/guardian-wins-newspaper-and-website-of-year> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

66 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/interactive/2011/dec/07/london-riots-twitter> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

2012, an Award from the Society for News Design for World's Best Designed iPad News App, in 2013, Newspaper and Website of the Year from Press Awards, in 2014, five digital-related awards at Online Media Awards, in 2014, and an Innovation of the Year Award by British Journalism in 2014.

In 2014, *The Guardian* and the *The Washington Post* were awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service for their groundbreaking articles on the National Security Agency's Surveillance activities based on the Edward Snowden leaks (Wikileaks)⁶⁷.

Today, *theguardian.com* is a media world brand, with so many sections, features and platforms that they are impractical to condense here. It includes not only articles published in *The Guardian* and *Observer* newspapers, but also (and mainly) pieces made only for the website, special platforms, such as *Guardian Witness* (platform for readers' content), *Guardian professional networks* (collection of community websites that bring professionals together, based on debates, idea sharing and professional-related articles), Guardian blogs, sections dedicated to video, multimedia, interactive and image galleries, among other features.

Overall, *The Guardian* awards are the reflex of major innovations carried in a digital environment under the motto "open journalism". Its philosophy seems to be embracing changes before others, being a pioneer in using, for example, new ways to tell stories with big data or the crowd as a source.

The Guardian was one of the first media organizations to go "digital-first" in 2011, meaning "placing open journalism on the web at the heart of its strategy" (GNM, 2011). In a press release, *The Guardian* self-proclaimed itself as a pioneer in digital innovation, leading the way, and in open journalism, which it defined as "editorial content which is collaborative, linked into and networked with the rest of the web". In the same press release, Alan Rusbridger, editor-in-chief of *The Guardian*, justified moving "beyond the newspaper, shifting focus, effort and investment towards digital" because that was the future:

Every newspaper is on a journey into some kind of digital future. That doesn't mean getting out of print, but it does require a greater focus of attention, imagination and resource on the various forms that digital future is likely to take. (GNM, 2011)

In February 2012, *The Guardian* released a video advertorial to demonstrate the power of its open journalism. The video, called "Three Little Pigs"⁶⁸, is a re-imagined classic fairy tale and passes three main messages: that people play an important role in sharing information, judging it and participating in the creation of it; that all information is now linked around the world; and, finally, that journalists are not the only experts in the world. The video ends with

67 <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/apr/14/guardian-washington-post-pulitzer-nsa-revelations> (last accessed on 3rd February 2015).

68 Available in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDGrfhJH1P4> (last accessed 24th February 2014).

the slogan “The Whole Picture” and the platforms in which *The Guardian* is now present: web, print, tablet and mobile.

In regard to open journalism, Alan Rusbridger explained in the “Comment is free” section of *guardian.com* in March 2012 that

open journalism is journalism which is fully knitted into the web of information that exists in the world today. It links to it; sifts and filters it; collaborates with it and generally uses the ability of anyone to publish and share material to give a better account of the world. (Rusbridger, 2012a)

He gives two major examples of what he considers *Guardian* innovations in a digital environment. First, for the MP expenses project⁶⁹ which evaluated the expenses of Members of the British Parliament *The Guardian* built a widget and asked for the help of the public to read 700,000 individual documents containing the receipts of 646 members of the Parliament for four years, to disclose irregularities; it was possible due to the help of 23 thousand volunteers. Second, the death of Ian Tomilson⁷⁰, in the City of London, during the G-20 summit protests, where *The Guardian* appealed to the crowd asking them for evidence; in the end, it turned out to be a citizen in New York who had evidence that the newspaper venter had died as a result of being hit by a police officer. “Journalism is now harnessing the means of open journalism and digital engagement: to do things that wouldn’t have been possible ten years ago”, concludes Rusbridger (2012b).

After 36 years at *The Guardian* and 20 as editor-in-chief, Alan Rusbridger announced in December 2014 that he would stand down from his position in order to be a chair of the Scott Trust in 2016. In an e-mail to the staff— available to all Guardian readers, he reinforced that the last 20 years in journalism had been marked by Guardian’s innovations, “always the outsider”, and its unparalleled experience in digital had one simple reason: investment at all levels and a “considerable financial endowment to secure future innovation and built on quality journalism” (Guardian, 2014).

69 <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2009/jun/18/mps-expenses-houseofcommons> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

70 <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2009/may/15/ian-tomlinson-death-g20> (last accessed on 3rd February 2015).

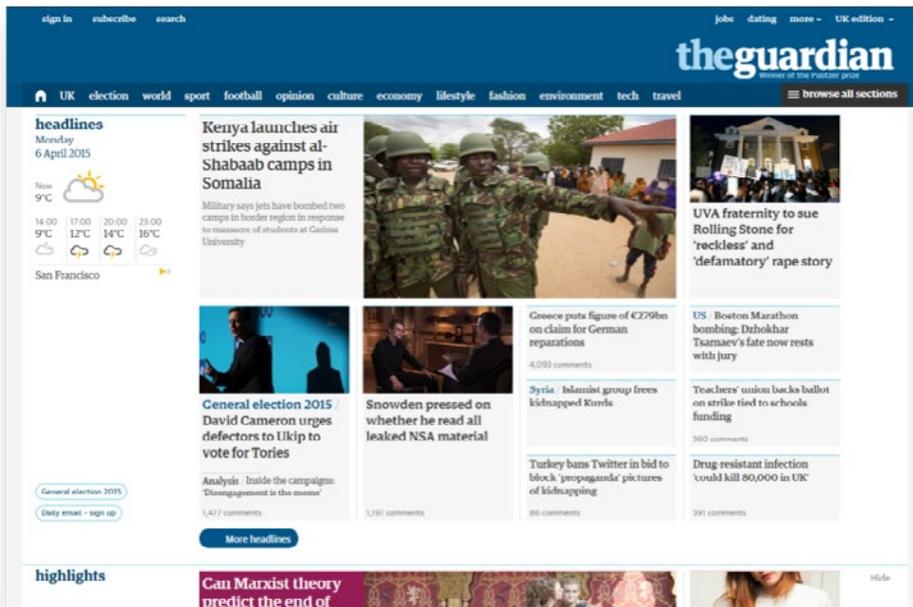


Figure 3
theguardian.com
 front page (UK edition)
 on April 6th 2015.

Chronological highlights

1999

— *The Guardian Unlimited* network of websites is released.

2001

— *The Guardian* launches Guardian blog, one of the first collective blogs written by the staff.

2007

— *guardian.co.uk* is released with a new design and layout.

2009

— *The Guardian* launches a project to evaluate the expenses of Members of the British Parliament for which it asks the help of readers to read through some of the 458 832 pages of documents in order to disclose irregularities⁷¹. This project became one of the most important examples of crowdsourcing by *The Guardian*.

— Launch of *Guardian Datablog*.

— Release of *The Guardian* app for iPhone.

71 <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2009/jun/18/mps-expenses-houseofcommons> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

2010

- Restyling of the guardian.co.uk frontpage.

2011

- The new website for *The Guardian US* is launched with a digital-only US newsroom with approximately 60 journalists.
- *The Guardian* produces a ground-breaking data visualization based on 2.6 million Twitter feeds during the Tottenham riots.⁷²
- *The Guardian* launches an interactive timeline of Middle East protests.⁷³
- *The Guardian* launches a music reviews app for Spotify and a Spotify app.⁷⁴

2012

- Launch of “Streetsstories” app, a free audio app about the King’s Cross area (where the *The Guardian*’s headquarters are located).
- Promotion of the First Guardian Open Weekend, where *The Guardian* opened its own doors to several sessions and talks for readers from their own staff.
- Release of the video advert “Three Little Pigs”⁷⁵ for *The Guardian*’s open journalism strategy.

2013

- In August 2013, all *The Guardian* domains content are moved to a single global domain — *theguardian.com*.
- Launch of the first multimedia interactive story — Firestorm⁷⁶ — by *The Guardian Australia*, considered the “first of its kind”⁷⁷, about the bushfires in Tasmania in January of that year.
- As part of its internationalization and digital-first strategy, *Guardian News & Media* implements a digital-only Australian newsroom and launches the Australian edition of *theguardian.com* on 27th March 2013. In one year, it becomes the third

72 <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/interactive/2011/sep/05/england-riots-timeline-interactive> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

73 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

74 <http://www.theguardian.com/help/insideguardian/2011/nov/30/spotify-guardian-app> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

75 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iP88d87AV1k> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

76 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2013/may/26/firestorm-bushfire-dunalley-holmes-family> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

77 <http://www.theguardian.com/help/insideguardian/2013/may/31/guardian-australia-week-one-feedback> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

most-read quality newspaper on the web, according to GMG⁷⁸, reaching 5.6 million unique browsers in May 2014, an increase of 81% year-on-year.

- The interactive NSA Files: Decoded⁷⁹, based on the leaks of Edward Snowden is launched, winning many awards including Innovation of the Year by British Journalism and The Pulitzer Prize for Public Service, both in 2014.
- Launch of *The Guardian* and Observer tablet edition for Android.
- Release of Guardian Witness, a platform for readers' content.

2014

- In February 2014, GNM launches *Guardian Labs*, its new branded content and innovation agency, helping brands to reach and engage with Guardian audiences. *This topic is explained in depth in Innovation in Business Model section.*
- On April 2014, *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post* are awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service for their groundbreaking articles on the National Security Agency's Surveillance activities based on the leaks of Edward Snowden (Wikileaks).⁸⁰
- Launch of the beta version of the new website to 5% of Guardian desktop readers, asking for their feedback.
- Launch of an innovative multimedia guide to the First World War⁸¹.
- Launch of a Guardian app for Google Glass⁸²
- On April 2014, the *guardian.com* traffic reaches 100 million monthly unique browsers⁸³
- *The Guardian* releases *The Guardian* membership model⁸⁴, as part of their business strategy against the paywall

78 <http://www.gmgplc.co.uk/press-releases/2014/guardian-media-group-plc-gmg-today-announces-its-results-for-the-financial-year-ended-30-march-2014/> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

79 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/nov/01/snowden-nsa-files-surveillance-revelations-decoded#section/1> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

80 <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/apr/14/guardian-washington-post-pulitzer-nsa-revelations> (last accessed 5th February 2015).

81 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2014/jul/23/a-global-guide-to-the-first-world-war-interactive-documentary> (last accessed 5th February 2015).

82 <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/guardian-glassware-google-glass-uk-explorer-programme> (last accessed 5th February 2015).

83 <http://www.theguardian.com/help/insideguardian/2014/apr/17/guardian-one-hundred-million-unique-browsers-abc> (last accessed 5th February 2015).

84 https://membership.theguardian.com/?INTCMP=NGW_FOOTER_UK_GU_MEMBERSHIP (last accessed 5th February 2015).

2015

- The new global website theguardian.com is launched with a new responsive design, navigation and editorial model as a result of detailed feedback from readers and interviews of readers in the UK, US and Australia⁸⁵.

Table 16. General profile of *The Guardian* (in 2015)

General information	
Name of the media and URL	<i>The Guardian</i> theguardian.com
Global slogan	Open journalism The whole picture
Original platform	Print newspaper
Some extensions of <i>The Guardian</i> – media types and platforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– <i>The Guardian Masterclasses</i>– <i>The Guardian Live</i>– <i>The Guardian</i> app for smartphones (IOS and Android)– <i>The Guardian</i> app for tablets (IOS and Android)– <i>The Guardian Witness</i> (platform for readers' content)– <i>The Guardian Open Weekends</i> (Guardian's open doors events for readers)– <i>The Guardian Professional Networks</i> (collection of community websites that bring professionals together, based on debates, idea sharing and professional-related articles)
Headquarters location	Kings Place, 90 York Way, London N1 9GU
Other offices	Australia and USA
Property model company and type	Guardian Media Group Media company
Staff and collaborators throughout all sections and platforms	Between 1,001 and 5,000 employees, according to Guardian News & Media Linked In Page

VI. 1. 3. Editorial strategy regarding culture coverage

Editorial positioning and structure

“Culture is crucial for *The Guardian*”, said Alex Needham, former Culture Editor and now Acting Network Editor, when interviewed in the context of this research in August 2013. “Whenever there is research about why people are buying *The Guardian*, culture rates are very high and we get lots of advertising because of the resources we put into culture, high

85 <http://www.theguardian.com/help/insideguardian/2015/jan/28/welcome-to-the-new-guardian-website> (last accessed 5th February 2015).

culture in particularly”, he explains. The *Culture* section has approximately 40 people and each section has, on average, an editor and three or four journalists working for it.

The editorial position of *The Guardian* regarding culture coverage is eclectic and breaks traditions regarding cultural dimensions. That is where innovation relies on in culture coverage, in Needham’s opinion:

We believe that the arts are crucial to Britain’s identity, its economy, the well-being of its people, we are absolutely pro the arts but at the same time the artists speaks through our pages — we would never say that something is too commercial or not. It is a very broad span of what we do — we try not to be elitists. A lot of people consume culture in a mixed way — high and low (personal interview, 8th August 2013).

Caspar Llewellyn Smith, Head of Culture⁸⁶, also interviewed for this research in August 2013, shares Needham’s position about the importance of culture for the brand, in terms of website traffic and *The Guardian*’s reputation: “when we survey people, culture is always in the top 5 reasons why they like *The Guardian*”, he justifies.

The numbers confirm this. According to Smith, *The Guardian* had in 2013 as a whole about 80 to 84 million unique visitors a month; the *film* section had about six or seven million a month; the *music* section had about five million; *books* tended to be 4 million; *arts & design*, about two million; and the stage stuff about a million. Thus, the *Culture* section accounted for about 30 percent of all traffic of *The Guardian*. *Film* and *music* are the leading editorial website sections in the UK.

And what does the word culture mean for *The Guardian*? Alex Needham says that culture means arts and entertainment and ranges from the so-called high arts to popular culture, such as TV. “I think it is really the things that people make as art and also as entertainment or leisure”, he outlines. Caspar Llewellyn Smith has a more conservative approach and says that it just really means the arts in general.

Despite that, in our findings culture has a much broader range, which is visible in the own structure of the section. During the time frame of our research, *The Guardian*’s website was the object of a full restyling, both visual and editorial, including the *Culture* section.

86 The Head of Culture position oversees all editors’ work and thinks long-term about creative and new editorial approaches.

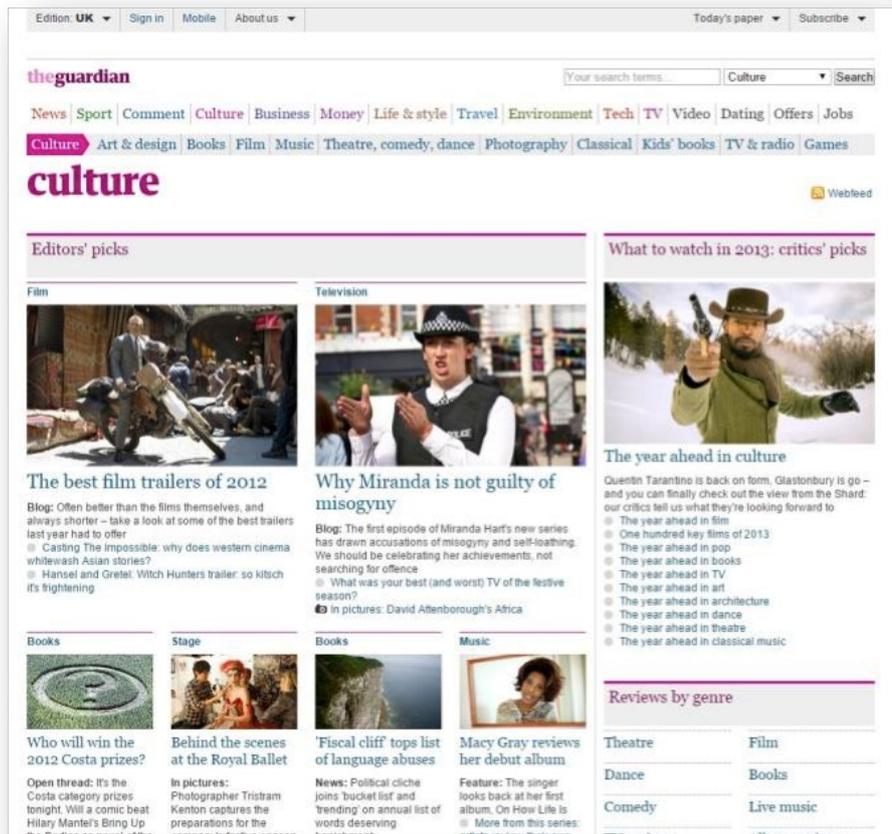


Figure 4
The Guardian's culture section front page on 2nd January 2013.

In January 2013, the *Culture* section was organized into ten subsections: *Art & Design*; *Books*; *Film*; *Music*; *Theatre, Comedy and Dance*; *Photography*; *Classical*; *Kids' Books*; *TV & Radio*; and *Games*. Each subsection was then structured into an average of ten areas. For example, the *Book* section included *News*, *Blog*, *Review*, *Kids'*, *Podcasts*, *Find a Book*, *Best Bookshops*, *Reading Group*, *A-Z*, *FAQS* and *Our Bookshop*. It is a mix of news, feature stories, services, lists and engagement content⁸⁷ suited to each section's needs and not an editorial formula applied to all sections. We can see that the *Photography* subsection was divided into *Blog*, *Camera Club*, *Interviews*, *Reviews*, *In Pictures*, *Technology* and *Sean O'Hagan*, again mixing engagement content with editorial content.

The *Culture* section front page was organized into seven areas: editors' picks from all sections; latest video, audio and galleries; latest news, features, blogposts and lists; the talking

87 <http://web.archive.org/web/20130103020510/http://www.guardian.co.uk/books> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

points (an area dedicated to readers' comments and reviews); the most popular or latest news; a service and shopping area (*The Guardian* collection, a widget to buy tickets for top music events or *The Guardian* bookshop); finally, highlights from *The Culture Professionals' Network*, specialized in professional content for culture professionals, aside from the Culture staff.

In January 2015, the new *Culture* section (the beta version was launched in 2014 and the final version in 2015), integrated in the new global website with a responsive design and a new navigation and editorial model, had major changes in comparison to the previous one. It became more customized and closer to the reader.

So, on 10th March 2015, the *Culture* section was organized into eight sections: *film*, *TV & radio*, *music*, *games*, *books*, *art & design*, *stage* and *classical*. *Photography* was relocated in the *art & design* section and kids' in the book section. The subareas disappeared and each subsection front page became organized in the same way: highlights, news, in pictures, talking points, reviews, highlights from the main topics of each subsection, the big picture, you may have missed, video and popular. At the bottom of each subsection front page, there is a list of topics including "All today's stories". All these areas are customized, meaning the reader can hide any of them, on the one hand, or expand them, to access more articles.

The *Culture* section front page is organized into a mix of genres and highlights, besides engagement areas: below the highlights, the reader can see the news (or hide the area if he wants), then reviews. Below reviews, there is usually a special multimedia package or series, such as the special coverage of the Toronto Film Festival; then, the area *People* includes profiles, interviews or obituaries; the *Talking Points* area includes users' reviews, comments, open threads or any other type of readers' contributions. The final areas are the *Critics' Picks*, *Pictures & Video*, *Lists & Playlists*, *You May Have Missed*, *What're Reading* (suggestions from *The Guardian's* staff), popular articles and highlights from The Culture Professional Network. This new organization is based more on the approach than on the cultural areas and it works like a living website that highly customized according to each reader options. There is also a colour associated with the type of article (for example, grey for reviews, black for multimedia and pink for feature stories).

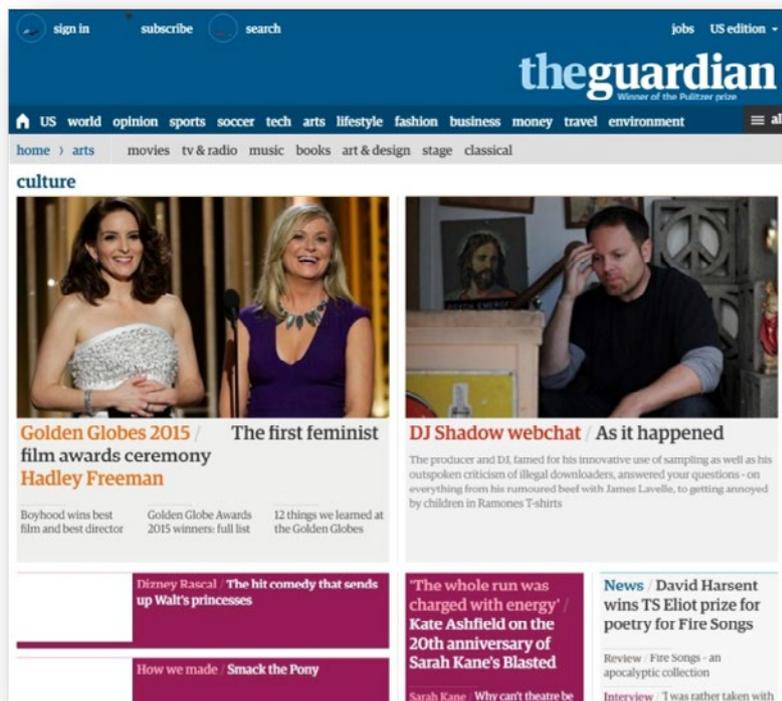


Figure 5
The Guardian's
Culture section front page
 on 13th January 2015.

The most covered cultural areas, dimensions and approaches

The findings show us four major innovations regarding culture coverage: the breaking boundaries through sections, which we can call “cross-sectioning” and a broader coverage of culture; the editorial content with engagement purposes, visible for example in the regular features; a new relation to the news agenda; and finally the multimedia approach, which will be considered in the respective subchapter.

As we have already mentioned in Chapter V, we created, for a two-year analysis (January 7th 2013 to March 8th 2015), a sample size of 2 effective constructed weeks meaning 14 days, from Monday to Sunday, for each. In this period, we identified 944 articles presented in *The Guardian's Culture* section, with an average of 67 pieces published per day (the higher average, with any possible comparison, of the four case studies). One may think it is too much, that no reader can read 67 pieces a day. However, in the digital environment we can make that induction. A website is a living media reaching millions of readers (in *The Guardian's* case) and there can be loyal readers to Culture, but also loyal readers only to *Arts & Design* or to *Games* and a great number of potential readers of just one article. And the readers can come back, check the archives or all the news published about a topic he likes only at the weekend. So, this high number satisfies all these different expectations and needs.

Breaking boundaries between sections

The first finding is that the *Culture* section no longer has only the articles created by journalist specifically for this section. It was very easy to confirm this since *The Guardian* has at the bottom of each section the link *All today's stories*, allowing us to see all the pieces published in the *Culture* section on each day and each article has at the top of the section and subsection where it was published.

This cross-sectioning strategy is a symptom of the dialogue with the reader that the Guardian defends: the *Culture* section reader may also like a piece originally published in the *World* section or the *Media* section, if it has a cultural approach. Since we cannot expect that the reader will read the entire website, The Guardian brings to the *Culture* section other articles previously published in other sections that could be of interest to the reader. This is a new way of exploring the potential of the digital environment.

Thus, based on our findings, 79% of the pieces presented in the *Culture* section were originally published there, but 21% were not: they came from the *Technology* section (7%), especially games and apps; *Life and Style* section (3%); *Comment is free* section (1%); *Specials/Observer* (3%); *World* section (2%); *UK* section (2%); *Sports, Environment, Science, Politics* and *From the Archive* sections (3%).

For example, the story *Violin museum shows off musical heritage of Stradivari's birthplace*⁸⁸ (6th September 2013) was published both in the *World* section and *Europe* subsection and in the *Culture* section; *The Joy of Six: fictional sports film characters*⁸⁹ (6th September 2013) appears in both *Sport* and *Culture*.

88 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/06/violin-museum-stradivari-birthplace-cremona> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

89 <http://www.theguardian.com/sport/blog/2013/sep/06/joy-of-six-fictional-sporting-film-characters> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

Culture is more than films, music and books

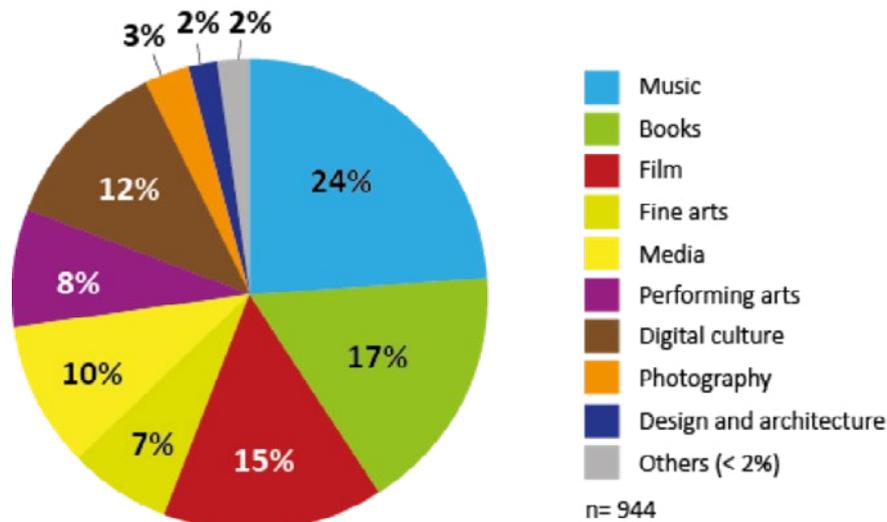


Figure 6
The most covered cultural areas.

Another innovation in culture coverage is the focus on a wider range of cultural disciplines parallel to some niche ones, where *The Guardian* wins in reputation and focus: these are in particular the sub area *children's books*, which accounts for 34% of all book coverage, and the sub area *classical music*, which accounts for 28% of all music coverage.

Although it is visible that the three most covered cultural areas are *Music* (24%), *Books* (17%) and *Film* (15%), it is important to note that these areas include the niche ones mentioned in the previous paragraph and only correspond to 55% of all articles. This means that 45% are associated with other areas that are increasingly getting more attention: *Media* (10%), *Photography* (3%), *Design and architecture* (2%) and *Digital culture* (mainly games and apps), which accounts for a big 12%. Thus, what we see here is that the traditional monopoly of film, music and books is getting smaller and the coverage is diluting with other cultural and creative areas.

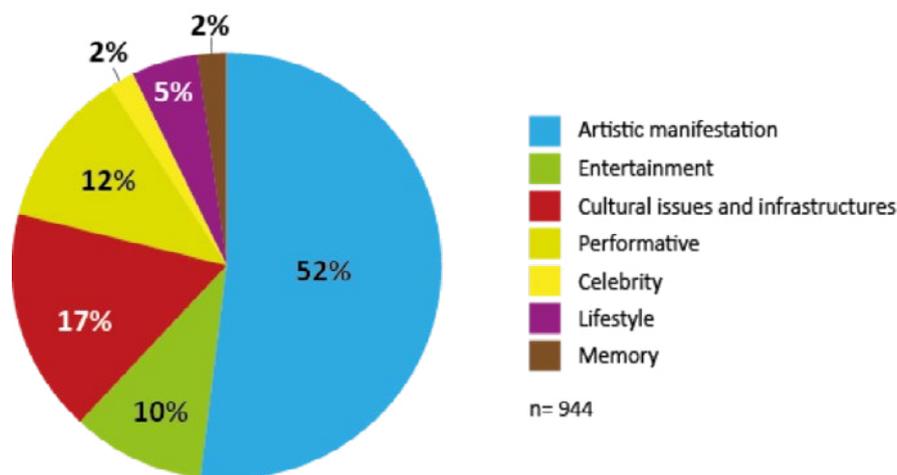


Figure 7
The most covered cultural dimensions and approaches.

Artistic manifestations is not the only approach

The same logic is represented in the approach to culture: although the percentage of pieces focused on the artistic manifestation (on the artist, the cultural object or the event) is 52%, other approaches also account globally for the same percentage. The key factor here is balance. We do not defend that culture coverage should skip one of its main identities, i.e., to show, discover, analyze and review artistic manifestations, but there should also be room for analyzing, for example, cultural issues, world cultures or the state of the art. *The Guardian* achieved this balance: there is a space for covering entertainment (mainly TV and radio), to address lifestyle issues (5%), to recover pictures from the past (memory approach represents 2%), to talk about cultural issues and infrastructures (17%) and to share the best music, films and TV lists (performative approach accounts for 12%). The piece *The sons of war: Syria's refugees in pictures*⁹⁰ (16th October 2014) is an example of a cultural approach to war. On the other hand, the piece *Rembrandt's lessons for the selfie era: why we must learn to look again*⁹¹ (26th October 2014) has a digital approach to the fine arts and at the same time it raises a contemporary cultural issue.

For Caspar Llewellyn Smith, the biggest change in culture coverage in the digital environment has to do with the (big) competition.

90 <http://www.theguardian.com/media/gallery/2014/oct/16/the-sons-of-war-syrias-refugees-in-pictures> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

91 <http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/oct/16/rembrandt-selfie-era-self-portrait> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

When we were just a physical product—*The Guardian* and *The Observer*—we knew who the competitors were: the other newspapers in the UK. Now, suddenly, the competition is the newspapers around the world, but it is also everything else that is on the Web. So, on the film website, the competition is partly the *Internet Movie Data Base* (IMDB). It is also the *BBC* and *The New York Times*. It is just more challenging in that respect (personal interview, 8th August 2013).

The competition on the Internet can be really specialist and this is also a major challenge for generalist media:

We cover a lot of things quite well, but when you get to the Internet, suddenly some things are very, very specialist and very, very niche and it is quite hard competing with that if you are trying to be a broadsheet paper. So, you want to write about music, for example, classical music, pop music, country and western music, heavy metal, but we are never gonna have the resources here to be really specialist. So, this is one of the challenges you face: trying to compete with that kind of thing. (Idem)

One of the most innovative culture coverages has a multimedia approach, in the opinion of the Head of Culture, so we will include some examples in the corresponding subchapter.

Dominant news genres and their relation to the news agenda

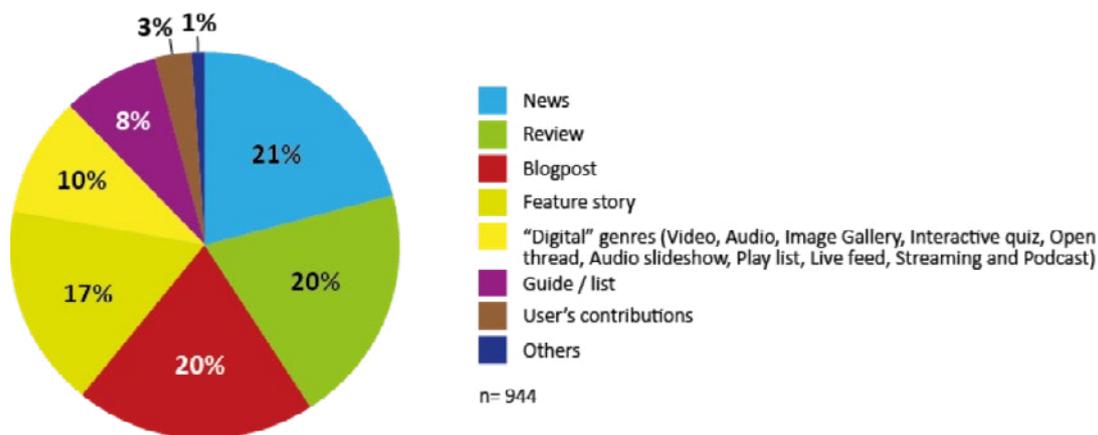


Figure 8
The most used genres in the *Culture* section.

Culture is regular features, series and users' contributions

One of the most innovative approaches we find regarding *The Guardian's* culture coverage is associated with genres and their relation to the news agenda. When we said that *The Guardian* publishes an average of 67 articles in the *Culture* section daily, we could not expect that all of them would be breaking news. And they are not. Straight news only accounts for 21%. Other genres play an important role, such as the features stories (17%) and reviews (20%). In fact, Smith outlines that, despite the fact that “everyone is a critic now”, research shows that *The Guardian's* readers consider reviews and criticism the most important part of its culture coverage. For him, the reason behind this is (and remembering the difference between a review and a critique) that these kinds of pieces are really proper criticism provided by experts with real authority who spent many years in the field and are able to develop a proper critical argument about something, not just a user-friendly piece that could be done by anyone.

Another representative genre is the blogpost (20%) which has a hybrid narrative. A daily series, called *Chatterbox*⁹², dedicated to games, is a visible example of the mixing between news and reviews. It is also important to consider the high percentage of the so-called “digital” genres (10%), where the format and the genre converge. Video, audio, interactive quizzes, open threads, live feeds, streaming and podcasts are the most used ones. *The Guardian's Book Podcasts* weekly series⁹³, the daily culture guide with live feed⁹⁴ or the poetry audio slideshow⁹⁵ are examples of these digital genres. Users' contributions, mainly children's book reviews and pieces made from readers' comments account for 3% and play an important role in *The Guardian's* engagement strategy (see examples in the related subchapter).

92 See for example <http://www.theguardian.com/technology/gamesblog/2013/jan/07/nvidia-announces-shield-games-console> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

93 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/series/books> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

94 <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/live/2014/oct/16/badu-busks-harris-hosts-and-gallagher-goggles-all-todays-pop-culture-live> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

95 See for example <http://www.theguardian.com/books/audioslideshow/2013/jul/25/poetry-southbank-centre-audio-slideshow> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

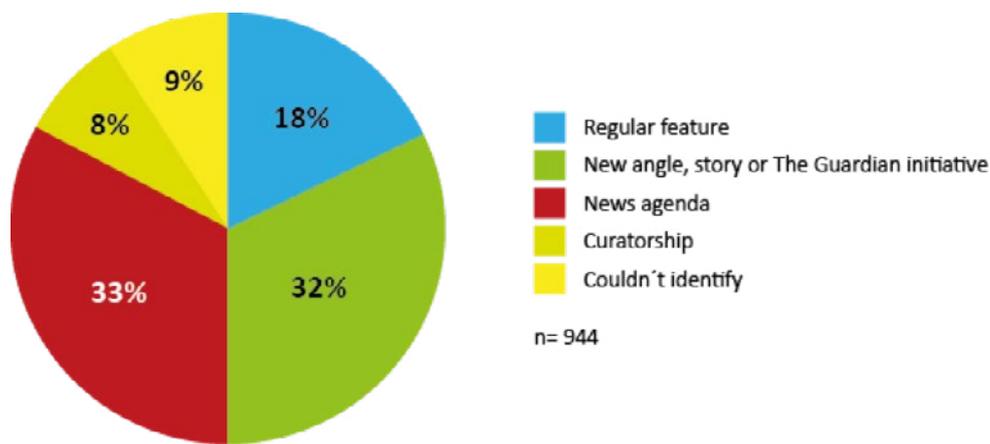


Figure 9
Relation with the news agenda.

Thus *The Guardian* cultivates an ongoing conversation with the reader going beyond the news agenda. Our findings identified 26 regular series: *From The Guardian Archive*⁹⁶, *Pictures from the past*⁹⁷, *Watch this*⁹⁸ and *New band of the week/day*⁹⁹ are just a few examples of regular pieces, besides the ones already exemplified, that can contribute to the loyalty of the readers and the differentiation from its competitors.

The use of digital tools and features

The Guardian has been making a huge investment in multimedia stories, but also in approaching an article digitally — which is really an innovative aspect compared with the other three case studies.

The multimedia department has about thirty people and is run by Francesca Panetta, the Special Projects Editor. Her main job is trying to get everyone — journalists, designers, multimedia editors — working together effectively. In her opinion what makes a great multimedia story is a skill, i.e., the ability to look at the story and find the best media to tell it: “every story is different, every story has to be told in a different way and with different media. Each media is appropriate for each different story and that’s why it is hard”, she explains in the context of this research.

96 <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/series/from-the-archive> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

97 <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/series/pictures-from-the-past> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

98 <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/series/watchthis> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

99 <http://www.theguardian.com/music/series/newbandoftheday> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

No media has the glue effect. All different media components play different roles, like in the emblematic multimedia story *Firestorm*¹⁰⁰, which took the team three months to finish:

I think the writing in the text is very, very beautiful and it was like reading a storybook, it just drew your eyes through; the audio gave immersiveness, placed us in those landscapes; the videos actually put human faces to those characters, let them say in their own voice what happened, so I think they all played different roles within that project. Digital is taking over our world and does it in many forms (personal interview, 6th August 2013).

Alex Needham says that one of the most innovative initiatives in the digital environment has been the festival coverage: *The Guardian* has been live streaming operas from Glyndebourne festival¹⁰¹ for the last few years; it has a lot of multimedia features, such as music and book podcasts and film video shows:

I think we were the first paper to allow readers to comment before the reviewers. First there were the reviewers and the critics and then everybody else, they didn't really mix with the readers, but now we have a much more ongoing conversation. Also, we had artists that made works specifically for the site like the Chapman brothers made us a film and Mark Titchner made a podcast for the Guardian Culture Podcast and screensavers. We have done a lot of that kind of thing (personal interview with Alex Needham, 8th August 2013).

In Smith's opinion, multimedia is crucial for the *Culture* section. One reason is that video is an area where *The Guardian* definitely makes money through advertising, so it is commercially very important. But multimedia also has an important editorial role:

I think it enriches the coverage when you can see Adrian Searle going around an art form rather than just reading his report. His report is fantastic, obviously, but it adds a different dimension. Printing is still very important, it is what drives the most revenue and no one is saying that print is going to die anytime soon but we need to get to a point where print is just another strain of the range of stuff we produce.

But it is not the multimedia special projects that represent the innovative approach to digital. It also relies on the daily routines and in this case our findings were really interesting.

100 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2013/may/26/firestorm-bushfire-dunalley-holmes-family> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

101 <http://www.theguardian.com/music/glyndebourne> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

Hyperlinks are an integrated digital feature in the newsroom routine. We have identified a total of 7,558 hyperlinks in 944 articles. 76% are internal and 24% are external.

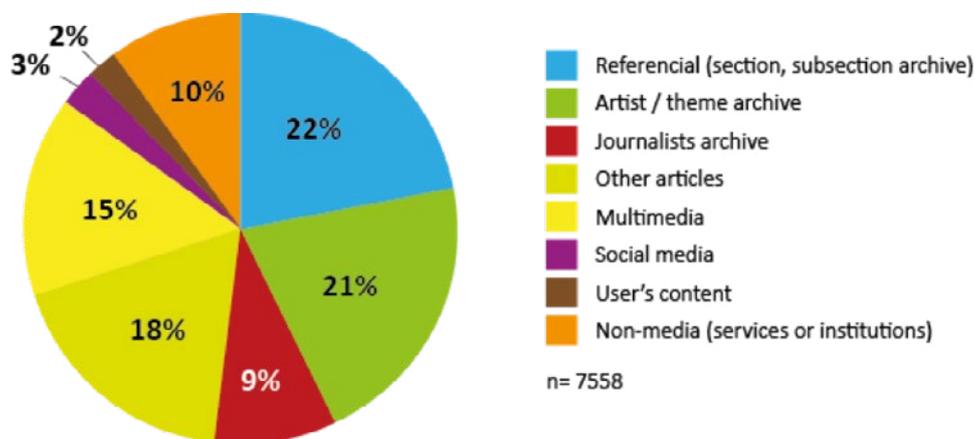


Figure 10
The most frequent hyperlinks' destinations.

The destinations of these hyperlinks varies widely, confirming that they really enrich the piece: 15% link us to multimedia (mainly video and audio in the film and music sections); 21% to the artist or theme archive; 18% to other articles, 3% to social media and 2% to users' content. However, it is the hyperlinks' functions that represent the enriching use of this tool: 13% link us to articles that provide context or explain something; 15% show us the cultural object in question; 5% are used to confirm facts and 3% provide reactions and other points of view.

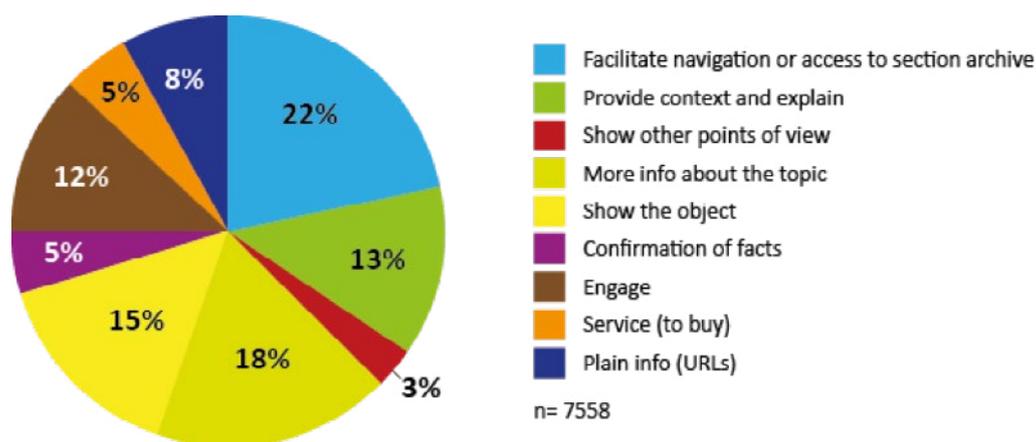


Figure 11
The most frequent hyperlinks' functions.

Regarding multimedia tools, we have identified a total of 264 in 944 articles (one in each three articles). Being the most commercially relevant, it is no surprise that video is the most used multimedia tool and about 40% of those are edited by *The Guardian* or made by it. Interactive photo galleries (24%), social media posts embedded in the article (6%), interactive infographics (5%) and multimedia packages (6%) are also well represented.

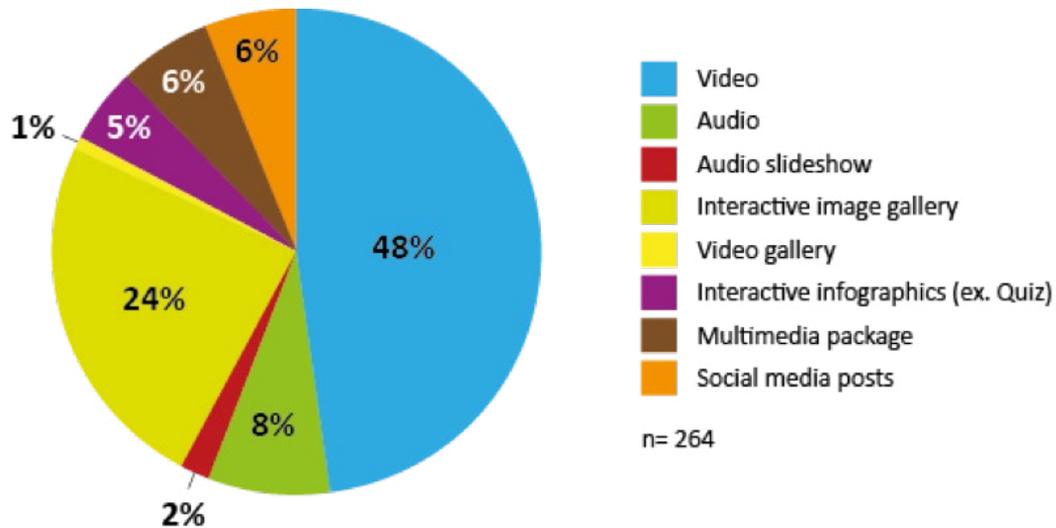


Figure 12
The most used multimedia features.

Regarding the function, there is no doubt: 97% show us the artist or the cultural object.

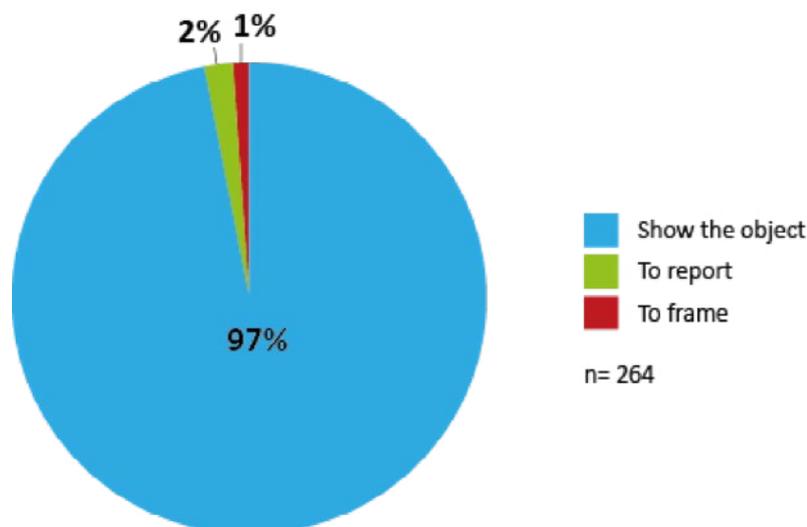


Figure 13
The most frequent multimedia features' function.

VI. 1. 4. The engagement strategy — it is all related to this word

An ongoing conversation is something that *The Guardian* cultivates every day with its readers. The numbers regarding web genres, exposed in the previous subchapter, confirm that the readers' contributions, the open threads and the interactive quizzes are all part of a strategy to remain closer to them. The *Book* section, especially the subsection Children's reviews, is an emblematic example: every day, a reader's review is published. In the end, there is the invitation "Want to tell the world about a book you've read? Join the site and send us your review!"¹⁰² In the film blog, there is also a similar invitation: "If there's a cinema you'd like to tell readers about, drop an email to adam.boult@guardian.co.uk"¹⁰³. In the music section, the same: "What have you been to see lately? Tell us about it on Twitter using #GdnReview"¹⁰⁴. The pieces made entirely using readers' contributions — crowdsourcing — are thus frequent examples¹⁰⁵; even the hyperlinks to readers' content are an example of that.

Despite that, the engagement strategy seems to more well represented with the regular features, which are not related to a news agenda, but rather to a reader's agenda. The series *Chatterbox*¹⁰⁶, *In pictures*¹⁰⁷ or the section *Comment is free*¹⁰⁸ or live blogging are also great examples.

Caspar Llewellyn Smith is very keen to engage with the readers and it is for him what differentiates *The Guardian* from the rest of the media: the brand brings the readers in.

Engaging with readers is really important to us, particularly because we don't live behind a paywall. Traditionally, the writers and the editors would take the position that they knew everything that was happening in the world and were just transmitting information to the readers. It was just a one way thing — transmitting, transmitting, transmitting. That was the end of it. I think we recognize that actually lots of people who read our stuff are really knowledgeable and informed. In areas of specialist knowledge, we can't hope to cover all of that ourselves and actually if you have readers out there who do know a lot about that object, it seems sensible to try to bring them in, whether it is just influencing a writer or it is just through ways of showing what those readers produce themselves (personal interview with Caspar Llewellyn Smith, 8th August 2013).

102 See for example <http://www.theguardian.com/childrens-books-site/2013/sep/06/review-dream-of-lights-kerry-drewery> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

103 <http://www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2013/mar/12/cine-files-royal-cornwall-polytechnic-society-falmouth> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

104 <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/jan/07/national-youth-orchestra-review> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

105 See for example <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2013/nov/09/remembrance-march-lady-gaga-grandmas-biscuits> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

106 <http://www.theguardian.com/technology/series/chatterbox> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

107 <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2013/mar/12/american-george-bellows-ra-in-pictures>

108 <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/commentisfree> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

Alex Needham also confirms the attention that *The Guardian* gives to readers, in the context of an open journalism editorial position.

The idea is that readers bring their ideas and knowledge into what we do and that is a richer and more nuanced picture. When I started it was the arts blog and it was just like a light version of Comment is Free. Now on our site we do a lot to engage the readers. Some of the experiences have been more successful than others but you don't need us to start a conversation now, you can go and review a record or you can write about what you felt about a book or a film. That's why we frequently embed tweets in pieces of what people are saying about a film or show (personal interview, 8th August 2013).

Table 17. Navigation and memory

When?	Responsive website	Clear organization of the website (filters, platforms, topics)	Time and date of publication	Possibility to access archives?	Possibility to personalize the search by topic, section and date?	Search box	Features that facilitate navigation (topics, related pieces, website map)
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Cross-searching available. It's possible to access all pieces published in the <i>Culture</i> section, by day, through the link "Today's stories"

The navigation and structure of the site also reflects the engagement strategy. The *Culture* section, as any other section, is customized, meaning we can hide the areas defined by *The Guardian* that we do not want to see or, on the other hand, see more from that area, as we have already mentioned in the previous chapters. There is an area in the *Culture* section titled *Talking points*, which directly asks for the readers' attention and participation.

Alongside *Monocle*, *The Guardian* is the case study that facilitates the navigation. We can see all the pieces presented in the *Culture* section by clicking the link *Today's stories*; the same logic is available for all the topics or areas.

Table 18. Readers' interaction with the media/journalists

When?	Staff e-mail?	Forms of contacting the authors of pieces?	Sources contacts?	Crowd-sourcing?	Can users comment on articles?	Can users vote on or recommend articles?	Can users contribute to articles or are they invited?	Users' sharing options	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	By e-mail, Twitter Facebook and other social media	Sometimes (URLs)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Facebook Twitter and Google +	Guardian Witness, readers area

The readers are treated as a partner. They have their own area in the site where they can save articles to read later, they can comment on articles, see the ones which were featured and contribute to *The Guardian Witness*¹⁰⁹, the home of readers' content on *The Guardian*.

About the readers' comments on articles, Smith knows that it is a key strategy to achieve their loyalty and consequently the advertisers' loyalty.

I am very keen to encourage all our writers and critics to actively engage with readers. We know — we have got research on this — that a critic going below the line in an article is the thing most likely to drive engagement with the readers. And the other reason it is important is that we actually also need to concentrate not only on growing the audience but also on getting that audience to come back more often and to be really loyal. It is desirable for journalism and it is desirable for financial reasons because advertisers are increasingly aware of that. It's not about lots of people that come and go but it's about people who keep coming back. So it's really important that the level of engagement differentiates us from paywalls (personal interview, 8th August 2013).

Table 19. Social media positioning

When?	Invited blogs	YouTube channel	Facebook account	Twitter account	Instagram account	Another social media network
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	All Culture subsections have their own blogs	Yes, 8 accounts	Yes, 38 accounts	Yes — a total of 54 active Twitter accounts	Yes	An inside area with all <i>The Guardian</i> websites and useful information for the readers

109 <http://www.theguardian.com/community/series/guardianwitness> (last accessed 16th February 2015).

Being an advocate of open journalism, we would expect a larger presence in social media. Our findings confirmed that. In March 2015, all Culture subsections had their own blog where the narrative is more informal. *The Guardian* had eight YouTube channels¹¹⁰, 38 Facebook accounts¹¹¹ (for all sections and for special projects), an Instagram account, 54 active Twitter accounts, besides an area on the website dedicated to all useful information about the brand¹¹², such as *Inside The Guardian*, about changes and updates to the website, it's Style Guide, all *The Guardian* websites, the Community, Values, Sponsored Content, etc.

Regarding social media, Twitter is perhaps the most effective way of spreading information and engaging with readers. In 2010, Alan Rusbridger criticized the number of colleagues in media companies who “rolled their eyes at the mention of Twitter” and explained why Twitter mattered for media organizations in 15 ways, from being an “amazing form of distribution” to being a “series of common conversations” (Rusbridger, 2010). Five years later, the use of Twitter as a way to engage in the conversation is clear. In March 2015, *The Guardian* had more than 3 million and 7 hundred followers of its general Twitter account (@guardian).

The Guardian had at that time a total of 54 active Twitter accounts (not including the staff accounts) and 33 lists with tweets published by specific section staff which is a strategy to get the staff closer to readers. From the 33 lists, there were seven culture related (directly and indirectly): *Culture staff*, with 16 members of staff tweeting and 345 subscribers; *Film staff*, with 19 members of staff tweeting and 831 subscribers; *Music staff*, with 31 members of staff tweeting and 906 subscribers; *Books staff*, with 21 members of staff tweeting and 1155 subscribers; *TV staff* with 11 members tweeting and 196 subscribers; *Media staff* with 14 members and 390 subscribers; *Life and Style staff* with 26 members tweeting and 204 subscribers; finally, *Travel staff*, with 4 members tweeting and 167 subscribers. There is also a list — *Guardian Accounts* — that gathers all tweets from all the 33 lists. From all 33 lists, which approach politics, features, money, technology and other sections, the ones with more subscribers are precisely *Books*, *Music* and *Film staff*.

110 <https://www.youtube.com/user/TheGuardian> (last accessed 16th March 2015).

111 <https://www.facebook.com/theguardian?fref=ts> (last accessed 16th March 2015).

112 <https://www.theguardian.com/info> (last accessed 16th March 2015).

Table 20. Personalization and services

When?	Possibility to personalize the homepage	Possibility to save content to read later	Possibility to receive alerts or newsletters or e-mails	Opportunity to buy the items presented in the pieces	Opportunity to participate in conferences and other events with staff
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	Yes	Yes, by <i>The Guardian</i> smartphone app or by subscribing to each topic newsletter	Yes, especially in the book section	Yes

VI. 1. 5. The business model — an engagement model

On March 30th 2014, at the end of the financial year, according to the *Guardian Media Group Financial Report* the total revenues of Guardian News & Media (guardian.com, Guardian and Observer newspapers) were £210.2m, a rise of 6.8% in comparison with the previous financial year. Digital revenues represented 33% of the total revenue (£69.5m) and rose 24% in just one year.

There was also a positive evolution in the underlying operating losses; they dropped to £19.4m, less than £7.2 million in comparison with the previous financial year.

In that year there was also a significant transaction; the divestment of Trader Media, by selling its 50.1% stake to Funds advised by its joint venture partner Apax Partners.

According to the report, the focus next year is on reducing the underlying operating losses at Guardian News & Media. Neil Berkett, Chair of GMG, also added (in the report press release): “Our underlying performance is improving amid continued cost discipline, improved audience reach and innovation in award-winning editorial products”.¹¹³

At the end of March 2014, *the Guardian’s* online audience was 102.3 million, monthly unique browsers, up from 78.3 million in March 2013, meaning a growth of 30% (24 million). The barrier of 100 million monthly unique browsers was broken for the first time in March 2014.¹¹⁴

There are two aspects of *The Guardian’s* business model. One the one hand, *The Guardian* is owned by a Trust — the Scott Trust — the sole shareholder in the *Guardian Media Group*, which was created in 1936 to safeguard the journalistic freedom and liberal values of *The Guardian*. Its core purpose is to secure the financial and editorial independence of the

113 <http://www.gmgplc.co.uk/press-releases/2014/guardian-media-group-plc-gmg-today-announces-its-results-for-the-financial-year-ended-30-march-2014/> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

114 <http://www.gmgplc.co.uk/press-releases/2014/guardian-media-group-plc-gmg-today-announces-its-results-for-the-financial-year-ended-30-march-2014/> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

Guardian in perpetuity. This unique ownership model means that all profits are reinvested into *The Guardian* to develop its journalism.

On the other hand, *The Guardian* is assertively against any type of paywall on its website, because it advocates that journalism is for everyone, is open, and remains truthful to their 200 year old progressive values.

Does this mean that *The Guardian* does not have to worry about money or does not need to make it? “No”, answers Caspar Llewellyn Smith. “We are losing less money and that is a good thing. One way is to produce more video content and being at the forefront of what can be done digitally”, he explains, remembering the importance of video for interactive advertising. The difference with *The Guardian*’s business model is time:

We have to worry about it [money] but we can take a long-term view about it. We don’t need to panic about it now. We have to think how the world will be in five years’ time and organize ourselves for that world. The long-term view allows us to experiment and do things with multimedia (personal interview with Caspar Llewellyn Smith, 8th August 2013).

Taking this into account, its current business model for the digital environment is a mix of revenues, but all of these are related to a principle: engagement with the reader. We will explain why in the following section.

The membership model

On 10th September 2014, *The Guardian* released *The Guardian Membership Model* in a news piece entitled *Alan Rusbridger: welcome to Guardian Membership* (The Guardian, 2014) and signed by the Editor-in-chief. The article was supported by a photograph of all staff members with a relaxed attitude. The new model was presented as a natural result of the relationship that *The Guardian* had been developing with its readers and the kind of public service journalism that it is dedicated to, which has already been awarded with a Pulitzer.

The Guardian is much more than a business — for almost 200 years we have dedicated our resources to the kind of public service journalism that recently won a Pulitzer prize. By becoming a member you’ll help to support that ideal and, no doubt, have a great time in doing so (...) You’ve read the Guardian. Maybe, in recent times, you’ve listened to, or watched the Guardian. You may have come to our building to learn with the Guardian, in one of our series of Masterclasses. Now you can join the Guardian. (The Guardian, 2014)

From that moment a blue widget at the bottom of every page of the website began to appear, inviting everyone to become a member — “Become a Guardian Member and support fearless investigative journalism” — with a link to the membership options. If we have an ad-blocker switched on, then another type of message appears: “We notice that you have an ad-blocker switched on. Do you want to support us in a different way?”

In March 2015, there were three types of membership.

The supporter (£50/year or £5/month) has access to:

- a) membership card and annual gift;
- b) live stream of flagship *Guardian Live* membership events;
- c) video highlights of selected *Guardian Live* events;
- d) membership email updates from membership community;
- e) book tickets to Guardian Live events.

The Partner (£135/year or £15/month) has access to supporter benefits, plus:

- a) early ticket booking for Live events;
- b) the opportunity to bring a guest to Guardian Live with the same discount and priority booking advantages;
- c) 20% discount on *Guardian Live* events (sometimes 50% on special occasions);
- d) 20% discount on *Guardian Masterclasses*.

The Patron (£540/year or £60/month) has access to partner benefits, plus:

- a) priority booking for *Guardian Live* events before partners;
- b) a special thank you (an occasional unique gift to thank you for their support);
- c) unique experiences behind the scenes of *The Guardian's* journalism.

The Guardian's journalism remains free, but there is an appeal for readers' contributions to support quality journalism. It is also a reflection of the strategy regarding engagement with users, as expressed in the quote from the Editor-in-chief, Alan Rusbridger, used in the promotion of the membership model:

The only relationship our journalists have is with our readers. Membership gives the real possibility to deepen the intense bond between the producers and consumers of the Guardian. (Idem)

“If you believe in *The Guardian's* journalism, the best way to express it is by becoming a member”, says Jonathan Freedland, *The Guardian's* journalist and executive editor, in the video made with the contributions of many members of staff who addressed the readers themselves, asking them to continue to join the conversation.

The advertising model

Regarding advertising in the digital environment, besides the traditional banner ads, *The Guardian* is taking full advantage of multimedia and interactive possibilities in the *Culture* section. Our findings identified several examples of advertising at the beginning of *The Guardian* videos in *The Guardian* Film Show feature. For example, in the piece *Star Trek Into Darkness is light years ahead of the competition*¹¹⁵ (15 May 2013), the video opens with a Skoda ad which finishes with the mention of its partnership with *The Guardian*: “The Guardian Fil Show in association with the New View Series from Skoda”.

Each podcast of *The Guardian’s Book Podcast* series also starts with a mention of a brand’s support. For example, the podcast from 13th March 2015 — *Mythical figures with Amit Chaudhuri and Katrine Marçal*¹¹⁶ — starts by saying “This Guardian podcast is supported by Square Space, the renowned website that helps building (...)”.

Sponsored content, advertisement features and content supported by foundations

The Guardian also invests in strategic content partnerships. For example, the section *Cities* (<http://www.theguardian.com/cities>) had, until the end of our research time frame, the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. The special multimedia series dedicated to the Sydney Festival¹¹⁷, including the festival Spotify list, the guide to the Festival and the interactive feature *You choose from YouTube*, was made in partnership with Destination NSW, the leading government agency for New South Wales tourism.

These kinds of revenue sources are identified editorially with one of three labels: “Sponsored by”, “Brought to you by” or “Supported by”. *The Guardian* clearly explains the reason behind these partnerships: “these sources of revenue allow us to explore, in more depth than editorial budgets would otherwise allow” (2014).

115 <http://www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2013/may/15/star-trek-into-darkness-british-box-office> (last accessed 14th January 2015).

116 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/audio/2015/mar/13/mythical-figures-podcast-amit-chaudhuri-katrine-marcal> (last accessed 14th January 2015).

117 <http://www.theguardian.com/destination-nsw-sydney-festival-2015/2014/dec/28/all> (last accessed 14th January 2015).

Guardian Labs

On 13th February 2014, *The Guardian* launched Guardian Labs (<http://guardianlabs.theguardian.com/>), *The Guardian*'s own branded content agency, specialized in telling brand stories, as an answer to the major media trend in 2014: content marketing. One of the first deals was with Unilever, worth £1 million. The content partnership resulted in a subsection of Life & Style, entitled "Live better — Unilever partner zone" with tips and tricks for better living¹¹⁸. The project included online, video, print and events. Visa, UPS, HP and Rolex are other examples of brands working in partnership with *The Guardian* for branded interactive content.

Retail model

Retail also has a strong presence in the *Culture* section and is integrated within the pieces. For example, a review about a book links us at the end to *The Guardian's Bookshop* (<http://bookshop.theguardian.com/>). In the series *Guardian Screening Room* it is possible to rent or buy a movie.¹¹⁹ Other *The Guardian's* offers and services include *The Guardian* holidays and escapes¹²⁰ and online shops for homeware, t-shirts, gardening and holidays.¹²¹

Other sources of revenues

*The Guardian Masterclasses*¹²² also deserve a mention, with paid courses in the most varied areas, such as communication, writing, entrepreneurship, social media or fashion journalism; the dating website, *The Guardian Soulmates*¹²³; *The Guardian's* open API for content¹²⁴, potentiated with advertising and licensing fee charge; and *The Guardian Live Events*¹²⁵, a number of events, discussions, debates and festivals which became exclusive for *The Guardian* members when the membership model was launched.

118 <http://www.theguardian.com/live-better-unilever> (last accessed 15th January 2015).

119 <http://www.theguardian.com/film/interactive/2013/apr/30/when-china-met-africa-film-on-demand> (last accessed 15th January 2015).

120 https://www.guardianescapes.com/instant-access/guardianescapes?utm_source=guardianescapes&utm_medium=website&utm_term=guardianshop&utm_campaign=acq (last accessed 15th January 2015).

121 <http://www.theguardian.com/guardian-offers> (last accessed 15th January 2015).

122 <http://www.theguardian.com/guardian-masterclasses/all> (last accessed 15th January 2015).

123 https://soulmates.theguardian.com/?INTCMP=NGW_FOOTER_UK_GU_SOULMATES (last accessed 15th January 2015).

124 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/open-platform> (last accessed 15th January 2015).

125 <https://membership.theguardian.com/events> (last accessed 15th January 2015).

VI. 2. *Monocle* — “Keeping an eye and an ear on the world”

I have butterflies in my stomach, take II. Monocle headquarters are in Midori House, a traditional office building, located in Marylebone (a typical residential neighborhood) on a secluded site bounded by Paddington Street Gardens. The neighborhood has nice art galleries, vintage and concept stores. The first time I went there, on the 5th August 2013, I left Baker street tube station, decorated with Sherlock Holmes profiles (the museum is minutes from there). It was raining and I arrived very early so I went to Monocle Café, opened only 4 months earlier (15th April 2013), just around the corner from Midori House, 18 Chiltern Street. It is a café, but it could be the lounge room of Monocle — it’s like a Monocle space that happens to serve coffee, so the brand strategy is clear. You can read the magazine, while listening to Monocle 24. The tables and stools were made by a young Australian design firm of Tasmanian craftsmen. The whole space was designed by the same team as the magazine. The espresso is from the New-Zealand Australian Allpress and the pastry is by Japanese pastry chef Masayuki Hara of Lanka. It’s a Monocle-like experience: consistent quality (not vain luxury), contributions from all over the world and attention to detail.

Going back to Midori House, the reception area is carefully decorated to reflect the style and tone of Monocle — minimalist but with great detail. The waiting area has designer pieces everywhere and magazines from all over the world to read. Andrew Tuck would tell me later that all rooms have hand-crafted pieces from around the world, because they expose unknown but good designers and craftsmen and good quality products, just like the editorial philosophy of the magazine.

I was received by Tim Anscombe-Bell, managing editor, who organized all the interviews and gave me a tour of the newsroom (Andrew Tuck later gave me the whole tour).

On the first floor, the newsroom has writers from all over the world — we can identify different English accents — and this is part of Monocle strategy, being a global magazine (it is easier to report on Portugal if there’s a writer in the newsroom who speaks Portuguese, for example). The open space has doors to a long balcony with a view to inspiring gardens and comfortable chairs to sit on.

On the ground floor there’s a communal canteen, an events space for live music and the state-of-the-art broadcasting studios of Monocle 24 radio.

Midori House is also the home of Winkreative, the brand agency owned by Tyler Brûlé, also Monocle’s owner, responsible for big advertising accounts, most of them advertising in Monocle magazine and Monocle 24.

The editor-in-chief, Andrew Tuck, is ironically very similar to Tyler Brûlé (who I didn’t get the chance to interview, but know from pictures): prominent black glasses framing his eyes, very elegant clothing and speech, the same elegance and refinement as the magazine. He and the other interviewees, Sophie Grove, executive editor, and Tom Edwards, news editor of Monocle

24, were very assertive (not distant, but profoundly consistent and aligned with Brûlé's views) and keen on talking about the brand and their values, which they see almost as an oasis in a media desert, as we shall see in this chapter.

VI. 2. 1. Historical framing



Figure 14
Monocle's logotype in March 2015,
still in use in 2021.

Monocle is a London-based magazine that was launched in 2007 by Tyler Brûlé, a Canadian, as a “briefing on global affairs, business, culture, design and much more” (Monocle Media Kit, 2013). Brûlé had previously worked as a journalist for the *BBC*, *The Guardian*, *The Sunday Times*, among others. As *Monocle* is his vision, it is worth telling his story.

Tyler Brûlé launched two magazines, first *Wallpaper**, a design, lifestyle, arts and fashion magazine, and then *Monocle* to answer his needs as a writer. In 1994, he was covering the Afghanistan war for *Focus*, a German news magazine, and was shot twice by a sniper in an ambush in Kabul, one bullet hit his left arm, the other his shoulder and a third skimmed his chest. During his long recovery in the hospital, he found that there were no satisfying reading options and decided to launch his own magazine in 1996 with just a business loan. *Wallpaper**, focused on design, style, fashion and arts with a business and manufacturing approach, won numerous industry awards and was purchased by Time Inc. one year later.

This purchase included a contractual clause that prevented Brûlé from founding another magazine during a certain period, so, in 1998, he launched *Winkreative*, a branding and design agency, to answer advertisers' needs and others, and now *Monocle's* advertisers needs, much

as *The Guardian* is doing recently¹²⁶. In 2001, he became the youngest ever recipient of the British Society of Magazine Editors' Lifetime Achievement Award.

Between 2003 and 2007 he was a columnist for the *The New York Times* and the *Financial Times* (he still maintains this last collaboration).

On February 15 2007, free again, Brûlé launched the first issue of *Monocle* and monocle.com. The project was financed by a group of five family foundations, each from a different country. The magazine was co-founded and it is currently edited by Andrew Tuck.

In Monocle Media Kit 2013, the magazine presents its mission: bringing the world into focus, because there is “a globally minded audience that was hungry for opportunities and experiences beyond national borders” and a “generation that wanted to know who was creating the best cities (...) and the people benchmarking quality in everything from media to hospitality”.

Monocle is published ten times a year. It sells over 81 thousand copies per year in 65 countries and has 18,000 subscribers all over the world, who receive the print magazine and have access to the digital version of the magazine. Subscriptions cost £90 annually (10 editions plus two newspapers) and don't vary according to the country. The edition price varies according to the country where it is sold (£7 in the UK, \$14 in the USA, €8.50 in Portugal, for example, in December 2014).

The top 10 markets of *Monocle* are the US, the UK, Australia, Canada, Singapore, Germany, Hong Kong, Portugal, France and Italy. Southeast Asia is also an emerging market. Its global approach is possible due to a network of 30 correspondents all around the world, a staff of 40 in Midori House, London (the headquarters) and seven bureaux; in Tokyo, New York, Hong Kong, Zürich, Istanbul and Singapore.

VI. 2. 2. Overall brand positioning regarding innovation

“We've developed a brand that employs both formats and uses them to the best of their abilities. Paper and ink for pictures and words, the web for audio and video.” This quote is from Brûlé (2008) in the “Observation” column of *Monocle* magazine, issue 11, a year after its launch, and it is really a statement of the magazine's positioning in the digital world. On the front page of that issue, the heading was “Monocle on the great digital resistance movement”.

The premise behind this is “don't throw away content”, according to Andrew Tuck, who was interviewed in August 2013 for this research. Monocle.com is a very active website — it's an archive of all *Monocle* editions, is an e-commerce website for all of *Monocle*'s merchandising,

126 *The Guardian* launched its branded content division in 2014, The Guardian Labs (<http://guardianlabs.theguardian.com/>)

books and magazines. It's a radio station — *Monocle 24* is a 24 hour radio station on the web — but the main revenue stream, the magazine, is only available on the website by subscription (and there is no digital-only subscription).

We can say that in the case of *Monocle*, the brand is innovating in a digital environment, because it is innovating in print. All of the *Monocle* identity in a digital environment is later mirrored in Tyler Brûlé's column in the Financial Times, dated 17th August 2012, entitled "Differentiate — or die":

"(...) no one addresses the core issue that's at the heart of print's decline in many markets — yes, it's a 'd' word and no, it's not 'digital'" (Brûlé, 2012).

The word is "differentiate" and that's the real issue that publishers face. So, without differentiation, there's really no point in investing in tablet editions — "I'm still waiting to see a sustainable advertising model for this format", says Brûlé — or on Twitter streams to push traffic, it's "a tremendous waste of money at the expense of real journalism".

So, does that mean that Twitter is a waste of time for all media? No. The point is that one formula doesn't suit all. Andrew Tuck believes that a newspaper giving information minute by minute may be more engaged with social media, but for a magazine with a focus on reflection and slower journalism, social media may bring more people but doesn't deliver "real listeners, real readers and real money" (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013).

Brûlé puts a finger in the wound: "we've come to a point in our popular and consumer culture where uniformity isn't just stifling innovation, it's also making consumers dumber and dumber". So for Brûlé, "lack of innovation is at the heart of the problem" (2012).

Andrew Tuck also reinforces this in his interview for this research: "six years ago, there was a feeling that there was just one story for all media brands — that print was declining, readers were all moving online and that they would read all of their content on a website" (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013). *Monocle* didn't accept the idea that everyone was going to access content only on their iPad.

The fact is, according to Andrew Tuck, is that iPad or Twitter or free content can work very well, but just for some media. The story can't be the same for all of them. The magazine market is very different from the newspapers.

So, how does *Monocle* differentiate or innovate? For Brûlé, it implies having a strong point of view, a solid product, a good customer service and a good branding. That means a luxury magazine with 300 pages, 5 or 6 types of paper in a single edition, no iPad edition and no social media of its own. The content is also differentiated: *Monocle* doesn't focus on celebrity, rather on a cultural and global approach to city problems, for example, or a well-known annual ranking of the world's best cities to live in.

For Andrew Tuck, the most innovative thing *Monocle* has done is doing “the opposite” from what everybody in the media is saying. This attitude started with the launch of a print magazine in the middle of media crisis and is similar to the digital approach. In print magazine, instead of shrinking the edition or buy cheaper paper, they do editions with more than 200 pages and use the best paper — sometimes 6 or 7 different stocks of paper to feel nice in readers hands. Instead of shooting in digital, all *Monocle* photographers shoot in film to make sure every photo will look exactly the same on every page. Tuck and Brûlé belong to the generation where the magazines people bought define who they were. And this is something *Monocle* wants to recover: “If I see someone carrying *Monocle*, I know something about them”, explains Tuck. Impossible with an iPad.

A solid product can be achieved by a consistent tone, according to executive editor Sophie Grove, also interviewed for this research (5th August 2013), from the fact that all editorial staff work on all platforms and there is a great investment in travel and writers.

However, this focus on print doesn't mean that *Monocle* neglects the digital. On the contrary, findings from this research suggest that it has one of the most successful digital strategies, as we shall see. It simply figured out how to differentiate it, according to Andrew Tuck: “Online is good for watching films, for listening, for looking at short pieces of text, but not for reading 50 thousand words. We don't think that's the right media” (personal interview, 5th August 2013).

That's why *Monocle*, in Sophie Grove's words, instead of investing in social media to engage with reader, launched a 24-hour radio station on the Web, as we shall see in the chapter dedicated to “Engagement” in this research:

“[doing radio] was his [Tyler's] way to go online, doing something completely different that is actually in parallel to the magazine rather than what seems to be happening in other media where you are actually taking away from your readership by almost corrupting the integrity of what you're doing on paper”.

Successful? Yes, it has been profitable for 7 years.

Main brand extensions

Monocle began as a London-based magazine, but the fact is that it's now a self-proclaimed global media brand with print, audio, video and online products. It also has six retail shops in New York, London, Toronto, Hong Kong, Tokyo and Singapore (and online), two cafés, in London and Tokyo, and is also associated with *Winkreative*, a creative brand agency. Besides that, *Monocle* also organizes conferences — the last one, dedicated to the quality of life, was held in Lisbon in April 2015. Consistency is the key driver of all *Monocle* brand extensions.

Print: magazines, books and travel guides

Besides the ten print editions of *Monocle* magazine, the brand has been expanding to seasonal publications: *The Forecast* (each December), dedicated to key insights of the year ahead, and *The Escapist* (each July), a summer travel-minded magazine. Books and travel guides, linked to culture, lifestyle and entrepreneurialism have also been a brand investment, as a result of partnerships between *Monocle* and the German book publisher Gestalten. The first book, titled *The Monocle Guide to Better Living*, was launched in 2013 for £40. This is a guide with inspirational ways to improve life and many of the portrayed stories have been published in *Monocle*'s editions, particularly in the special editions regarding Quality of Life Index. It was followed by *The Monocle Guide to Good Business* in 2013 and *The Monocle Guide to Cosy Homes*, in 2015. 2015 was also the year to launch the *Monocle Travel Guide Series* in partnership again with Gestalten. New York and London were the first issues, followed by Tokyo and Hong Kong.

Monocle digital edition and Monocle.com

As we saw in chapter IV, the website of a print magazine is not necessarily the digital edition of a magazine. In this case, monocle.com includes the digital edition and still serves as an extension of the brand.

According to Andrew Tuck, the brand didn't believe that going online with a simple replica of what *Monocle* was doing in print would be a good strategy. So the team needed to think how to add value online. The answer was film and then radio, besides a daily column, an online shop and digital specials.

In December 2014, monocle.com, responsive and with a grid-based design, was the place to hear the 24 hour web radio station *Monocle 24*¹²⁷, access *Monocle* magazine editions (only available to subscribers)¹²⁸, access short documentaries and films¹²⁹, buy *Monocle* merchandising and other special pieces, both often created in collaboration with local designers from different parts of the world¹³⁰, books, read the daily *Monocolumn*¹³¹, a daily digital-only bulletin of news & opinion, and access special projects, such as *The Monocle Restaurant Awards*¹³² or the *Travel* interactive infographics¹³³. These last three will be considered in the subchapter regarding the use of digital tools and features.

The site had, in 2013, more than one million page impressions per month, 220,000 unique visitors per month and 450,000 film downloads. The average visit lasted 16 minutes (*Monocle Media Kit 2013*). In the month after the relaunch, in December 2012, the website received 2,607,058 page views (Jenkins, 2014).



Figure 15
Monocle.com Front page on 16th April 2015.

- 127 <http://monocle.com/radio/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).
 128 <http://monocle.com/magazine/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).
 129 <http://monocle.com/film/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).
 130 <http://monocle.com/shop/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).
 131 <http://monocle.com/monocolumn/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).
 132 <http://monocle.com/restaurant-awards/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).
 133 <http://monocle.com/25-25/> (last accessed 20th May 2015).

Radio — Monocle 24

The 24-hour web radio station *Monocle 24* began as a weekly podcast: the *Monocle Weekly*. Then *Monocle* saw an opportunity: on the one hand, there were two hundred thousand followers of *Monocle Weekly* who would say that they downloaded it and other podcasts from other media they were interested in. So, there was a demand from readers. On the other hand, advertisers loved radio advertising but they didn't do that because the only radio they liked was State owned. So, *Monocle* approached advertisers and launched *Monocle 24* with a couple million dollars of revenue, according to Andrew Tuck. Taking podcasting very seriously was one of the successful strategies to add value online.

The radio shows complement the main sections of the magazine. In March 2015, besides the live edition, *Monocle 24* had a total of 18 shows: five daily, five weekly and eight at the weekend. The majority had culture as the central theme: for example, *The Monocle Arts Review* brings the best in global arts; *Culture with Robert Bound* is presented as a global digest of music, art, film and media; *Section D* is a review of design, architecture and craft; *The Urbanist* focuses on what makes cities tick; *The Menu* is *Monocle's* guide to food, drink and entertaining; *The Entrepreneurs* brings innovative businesses and inspiring startups, frequently related to cultural and creative industries; *The Stack* focuses on the future of print media; and finally, *The Sessions at Midori House* brings live music from *Monocle's* headquarters.

In August 2013, regarding the numbers of *Monocle 24*, there was an average of 2 million downloads per month. The majority of listeners download the podcast instead of listening live, according to Tom Edwards (personal interview, 5th August 2013).

No app, besides the Monocle 24 app

Monocle 24 can be heard live on monocle.com and on podcast players (such as iTunes, Soundcloud or Mixcloud). It is also available on the *Monocle 24* iPhone app, the only app developed by *Monocle* until March 2015.

Monocle is a magazine, so we were expecting a tablet app because it can preserve the differentiating factors of a magazine, as well as enrich the reader's experience. *Monocle* doesn't want to go that way, as a matter of identity and money. Brûlé and Andre Tuck don't think a tablet is the right medium: first, there's no money in doing it and it would be necessary to invest in six or seven staff, without being certain of recovering the investment. Besides that, it doesn't do well as a brand promotion, because if a reader is walking with a tablet in his hands rather than the magazine, no one would know what is he reading.

Monocle shops and cafés

Retail merchandising and cafés play an important role as *Monocle*'s brand extensions. Besides the six shops in New York, London, Toronto, Hong Kong, Tokyo and Singapore and the cafés in Tokyo and London, there is an online shop on *Monocle*'s website. We can see that the merchandising and the partnerships with creators are also carefully selected and expand the brand consistently.

The shops have six categories of products: Bags & Travel, Books & Music, Brass Collection, Clothing, Events, Fragrances, Homeware, Magazine, Prints and Stationary. All of these are *Monocle*'s partnerships with designers and sustainable craft brands, out of the mainstream and from all over the world. For example, in the clothing section, in March 2015, we could buy the *Monocle Voyage Sweatshirt* made with Japanese melange cotton in Japan (for £85). In the Homeware section, there was a stool designed by Karl Virtanen as a result of the collaboration (identified Nikari x Monocle Home Stool) between the magazine and the Finnish manufacturer of sustainable wood designs (for £260).

All the time the magazine is saying 'support small businesses, make stuff in Europe, make things by hand, make quality products, know what you are paying'... The products we make through *Monocle* are not just stuff to sell, it's stuff that brings life to things that we believe in, you know, we support communities and we are proud of the origin of the things we sell. On the retail pages we carefully include where everything is made, and we always know the story behind so we can justify why it is a good product (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013).

In the magazine section, we can buy current and previous editions of *Monocle*, *The Forecast*, *The Escapist* and *Mediterraneo* (a summer journal that was substituted by *The Escapist*). Talking about magazines, Brûlé told Nieman Lab in March 2015 (Lichterman, 2015) that the next move in the retail model would be to open up a newsstand near London's Paddington Station with a curated selection of magazines and newspapers as well as global newspapers printed on demand, i.e., a customer will be able to register online, request the printing of a newspaper from any part of the world and pick it up at the newsstand. This brand extension is clearly a strategic positioning in print and the theme of newsstands and magazine shops is recurrently debated in the Brûlé *Monocle 24* show *The Stack*.

Quality of Life conference

Lisbon was the location for the inaugural Quality of Life conference *Monocle x Lisbon*, another brand extension, and the first *Monocle* conference, which took place on 17th, 18th

and 19th April 2015 at the Four Seasons Hotel Ritz. 165 delegates attended, from all parts of the world and 60 members of staff from London and the other *Monocle*'s offices. A 2016 conference has already been planned.

Chronological highlights

2007

- *Monocle* is launched as well as monocle.com

2010

- In June, *Monocle* launches a summer newspaper, called *Monocle Mediterraneo*, as a declared confrontation to the iPad trend.
- In December, *Monocle* launches the winter newspaper *Monocle Alpino*.

2011

- *Monocle 24*, Monocle radio station with daily and weekly shows as well as live sessions, is launched.
- Brûlé is named Ad Age's Editor of the Year (Dumenco, 2011).
- *Monocle* launches a TV show, broadcast internationally on *Bloomberg*. The series is concluded after six episodes.

2012

- *Monocle* is named "Best Brand for living the good life" in Ad Week's annual Hot List (Ad Week, 2012).
- In November, *Monocle* launches its new redesigned website.

2013

- *Monocle* launches its first book in collaboration with Berlin publisher Gestalten: *The Monocle Guide to Better Living*.
- Monocle.com wins three awards in The Lovie Awards (European Awards for the best on the Web) for Best Writing-Editorial, Lifestyle and Best Practices (The Lovie Awards, 2013). It also receives a Webby Awards Honoree in the category "general website" (The Webby Awards, 2013).

2014

- *Monocle* launches its second book in collaboration with Gestalten: *The Monocle Guide to Good Business*.
- In December, it launches the new annual publication, *The Forecast*, offering key insights for the year ahead.
- *Monocle 24* wins a Webby Award in the category “Radio & Podcasts”

2015

- Launch of the travel guide series, again in collaboration with Gestalten, with the first editions dedicated to London and New York.
- *Monocle 24* wins a Webby Award in the category “Radio & Podcasts”
- *Monocle* hosts the *Quality of Life Conference*, in April, in Lisbon.

Table 21. General profile of *Monocle*

General information	
Name of the media and URL	<i>Monocle</i> Monocle.com
Global slogan	Keeping an eye and an ear on the world
Original platform	Print magazine
Extension of the brand (by March 2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">— <i>Monocle</i> magazine (10 print editions per year and also available on the website for subscribers)— Monocle.com (website)— <i>Monocolumn</i> (digital daily bulletin)— <i>Monocle 24</i> radio station (digital only)— Summer Magazine <i>The Escapist</i> (print and digital version available to subscribers)— <i>The Forecast</i> magazine (print and digital version available to subscribers)— Conferences and live sessions— Books (<i>The Monocle Guide to Better Living</i> and <i>The Monocle Guide to Good Business</i>, print-only)— Travel guides— Two <i>Monocle Cafés</i> (London and Tokyo)— <i>Monocle shops</i> (New York, Toronto, Singapore, Hong Kong, Tokyo, London)— <i>Monocle TV</i> (TV show broadcast in 2011 on Bloomberg, for six episodes)— <i>The Monocle Bulletin</i> (digital newsletter)
Headquarters location	Midori House 1 Dorset Street London, W1U 4EG United Kingdom
Other offices	Tokyo, New York, Hong Kong, Zürich, Istanbul and Singapore
Property model company and type	Holding Company — Winkontent Ltd / Media company
Staff and collaborators through all sections and platforms	About 85 full time members, including retail, subscription and advertising team, including full time correspondents plus freelance correspondents (total of 30 correspondents).

VI. 2. 3. Editorial strategy regarding culture

Monocle has, of the four case studies, the most uncommon approach to culture and it can be considered innovative regarding dimensions, subjects, areas and delivery (genres). Again, the important aspect is not only our point of view about what culture is but *Monocle's* own point of view.

Straightforward culture and the culture of things: breaking boundaries

The digital edition of *Monocle* magazine (the same as the print one) has five sections related to the first five letters of the alphabet: A for Affairs, B for Business, C for Culture, D for Design and E for Edits.

The sections are presented this way in Monocle Media Kit 2013:

- A *A global mix of reportage, essays and interviews with forces shaping geopolitics.*
- B *Devoted to identifying opportunities and inspiring the reader.*
- C *A tight group of opinionated columnists, reviewers and interviewers deliver the best in film, television, music, media and art.*
- D *Bypassing hype, Design is dedicated to unearthing emerging and established talent wherever it may be.*
- E *Bite-sized and always thought-provoking, Edits is full of vital life improvements curated in a fast-paced and well-researched collection.*

This editorial structure didn't change between January 2013 and March 2015.

However, Sophie Grove and Robert Bound, culture editor, both recognize that culture is approached in all sections.

“There is always a cultural dimension”, explains Sophie Grove, executive editor, even in the *Affairs* and *Business* section:

I have been, for instance, to factories, in Poland, and I have seen the most amazing, creative and brilliant spaces. Each of them has a story, the ex-Soviet context and what Americans are doing... There is always a cultural dimension. And as a journalist you have to reflect that, even in manufacturing. I think if you really report a story and give it enough space to breathe you will automatically write about what is relevant to that culture. In *Affairs*, we often set the political premiere in its context and look at the culture inside (personal interview with Sophie Grove, 5th August 2013).

This cultural dimension present in the *Affairs* and *Business* sections of the magazine is for Grove what makes these areas interesting and innovative because it is difficult to find magazines that cover politics, design, culture and travel all in one place.

Also questioned about why design is not part of the *Culture* section, Grove clearly recognizes that design is a cultural area, but for *Monocle* it makes sense to differentiate that because the section is very specialist and has a manufacturing, technical, creative and functional approach. Regarding the *Edits*, the scope is also cultural but related to lifestyle.

Robert Bound distinguishes “straightforward” culture — which we can assign to the *Culture* section — and the “culture of things”, present in all sections, in an interview given to arts portal *Coffeepaste*.

Although *Monocle*’s coverage of affairs includes interviews with prime ministers, ambassadors and mayors, it’s also concerned with the culture of things — who does the mayor’s PR? How does the PM manage his media schedule etc. (Coffeepaste, 2015, para. 1).

In terms of “straightforward culture”, meaning art, music or film, *Monocle* is positioned, according to its culture editor, as a “trailblazer”. Examples of this innovation advanced by Bound are the coverage of K-pop, the abbreviation for Korean pop, a music genre originating in South Korea,¹³⁴ in 2007, or the “Bilbao effect” in cities, in 2009, for example, demonstrating the power or the danger of Guggenheim, a cultural building, to a city’s identity¹³⁵.

As mentioned in the Methodology Chapter, we constructed a one year sample of *Monocle* magazine issues available on the website — 12 editions between January 2013 and December 2014, covering all months. As *Monocle* publishes 10 times a year, the sample includes both July/August editions from 2013 and 2014, as well as December 2012/January 2013 and December 2014/January 2015.

There are 414 journalistic pieces published in the 12 edition samples. 18% of the pieces are included in the *Design* section, 31% in *Affairs*, 14% in *Business* and 19% in *Edits*. The *Culture* section is responsible for 13% of the total pieces, but if culture is approached in the other sections as well, we have to consider all pieces directly related to culture published in them.

The criteria to conclude rigorously whether an article has a clear approach to culture or a cultural dimension was the identification created by *Monocle*, because it show us objectively what the magazine considers as culture. First, we knew that three sections, confirmed by *Monocle*, were associated directly with culture coverage: *Culture*, which covers

134 See for example the article published in *Monocle* n.º 4, vol. 1 (June 2007), entitled “Korea Moves”, available at <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/4/korea-moves/> (to subscribers).

135 See for example the article published in *Monocle* n.º 25 (July/August 2009), entitled “Town Criers” available at <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/25/town-criers/> (to subscribers).

“straightforward culture”; *Design*, which covers this cultural and creative area from a more functional approach; *Edits*, which looks into cultural identities around the world, ways of life (from a society or anthropological perspective) and *Lifestyle* (from a consumer and service perspective). The doubt could remain with the *Affairs* and *Business* sections.

Second, each article is assigned to a section (*Affairs*, *Business*, *Culture*, *Design* and *Edits*), which defines the main theme. Then, it is also assigned to a topic, which identifies the approach or a more specific theme. Each article, regardless of the main section, that is assigned to a cultural topic (for example, media, arts or design) shows us two things: that it has a cultural approach or theme, or a business or affairs approach to culture.

For example, in the piece *Behind the Camera*¹³⁶ (May 2013), Michael Booth interviews film producer Sisse Graum Jorgensen. This would be expected to be in the *Culture* section, but it was assigned to the *Business* section (and to the topic *Entertainment*), because the focus is on the management’s best practices, alongside her Oscar-winning career. The piece *Born to Draw*¹³⁷ (February 2014), about the illustrator Mohammad Nor Khalid, is assigned to the *Affairs* section and to the topic *Arts*, because the story of his career leads us to geopolitics issues.

On the other hand, the articles in the *Culture* section can also be assigned to a topic that is not usual to find in cultural sections. For example, the reportage *Fully Booked*¹³⁸ (November 2014) is assigned to the *Culture* section and to the topic *Diplomacy*. It is about France’s New York cultural counsellor Antonin Baudry, who decided to build a bookshop in France’s New York embassy.

We didn’t consider being directly related to culture a piece that would have only cultural references because then we will fall out in the fallacy that everything is culture. And our hypothesis is that culture breaks boundaries and a political issue can have a cultural approach, for example. It’s about culture being “in” everything not being everything.

Taking this into account, considering all sections, we find that from the 414 journalistic pieces, 55% (228) are directly culture related, which is an interesting number for a magazine about affairs, business, culture and design.

136 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/63/behind-the-camera/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

137 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/70/born-to-draw/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

138 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/78/fully-booked/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

The most covered topics and areas in the *Culture* section

Media is the most frequent theme

If we just consider the *Culture* section, the most frequent topic is *media* (35% of all pieces, 18/52). Confronting this with our own theme identification by reading the pieces in the *Culture* section, the percentage is almost the same (35%). There is a difference because in our own coding we sometimes narrowed down the identification of the areas covered (in this case, we differentiate “Media” and “Digital Media”).

The explanation given by Sophie Grove is very assertive: “media is valid as a cultural institution, as a gallery to be represented in the *Culture* section, as a reflection of society and ideas” (personal interview, 5th August 2015).

However, media is not related to entertainment. It frequently has a process approach, meaning the analysis of best practices or innovative ways used by the media. For example, the piece *Spread the News*¹³⁹ (December 2014/January 2015) is about the news network France 24 and how it differentiates from its competitors. Another frequent approach is the media portrait of a city, i.e. the analysis of a city’s media infrastructures. The piece *Rise and Shine*¹⁴⁰ (May 2013), about Australia’s media battle for the control of breakfast news, is an example of this.

It is also worth mentioning that the *media* topic includes, in *Monocle*’s view, not only TV, radio and press but also bookstores, book publishers and design shops, when the approach is the cultural infrastructure and not the cultural object.

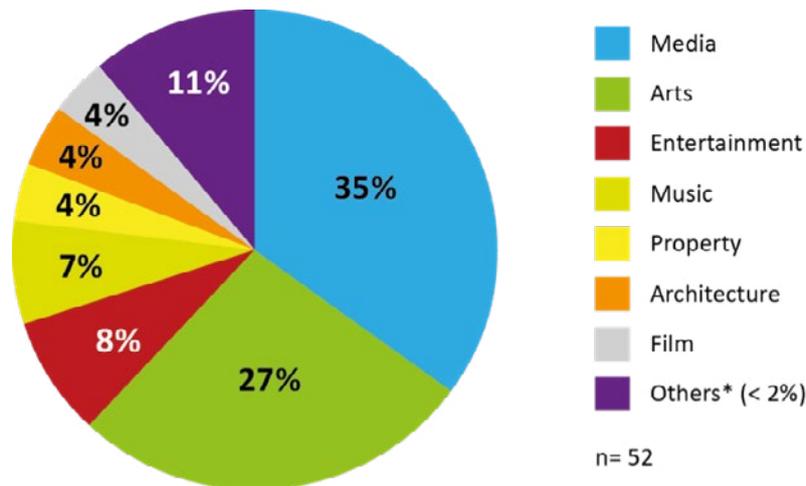


Figure 16
The most covered topics in the *Culture* section.

139 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/79/spread-the-news/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

140 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/63/rise-and-shine/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

The second most covered topic is *arts*, which represents 27% (14/52). However, the reading of these pieces allows us to find more clear results regarding arts as an area (not as a topic): arts in general (for example, a piece focusing on books, films or arts in general, as it is usually in the series of pieces titled *Culture briefing*) represent 8% (4/52) of all pieces; cultural infrastructures, such as film houses, art galleries or art markets are the main theme covered in 21% (11/52) of the pieces; the seven arts in general, covered as culture objects, such as fine arts (3/52), architecture (4/52), music (3/52), films (3/52) and books (2/52) are represented, all together, in 28% of the pieces (15/52). This tells us that *Monocle* is more concerned about cultural infrastructures than plain artistic manifestations.

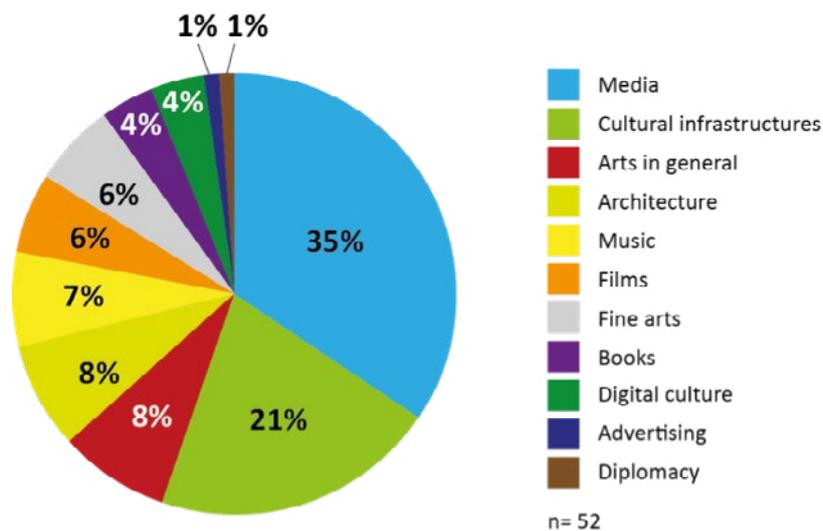


Figure 17
The most covered areas in the *Culture* section.

It is worth mentioning the areas included in the *Culture* section which are not normal: the topic *property* appears in two pieces and *manufacturing* in one piece. The story *Theatre of Life*¹⁴¹ (n.º 59, December 2012/January 2013), about a building for retired artists, actors and journalists, is an example of the first topic. The piece about Volkswagen's mid-20th century adverts¹⁴² (which we assigned to the advertising area) is an example of a manufacturing approach.

141 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/59/theatre-of-life/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

142 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/76/driving-forces/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

The most covered cultural areas, dimensions and approaches in all sections

If we look at all sections (228 pieces), the findings suggest a broader coverage of culture through all the dimensions identified in Chapter I: artistic manifestations, ways of life, such as the cultural identity of a city or a country, cultural and creative industries and culture related to lifestyle, consumers and service. 23% of the pieces are assigned to the *Culture* section, 35% to the *Design* section, 33% to *Edits*, 5% to *Affairs* and 4% to *Business*. *Design* and *Edits*, as we saw, have more articles per edition than the *Culture* sections which is why the percentages are higher.

The topics identified by *Monocle*, 25 in total, tell us that culture is media (10%), arts (11%), food & drink (12%) urbanism (5%) and fashion (7%). All the other topics are residual, but this also tells us that there isn't one highlighted topic.

However, topics can't give us a clear view of what cultural theme or object is represented (for example, manufacturing or diplomacy topics don't show us which is the cultural area approached; the articles assigned to the *Design* section focus on the perspective and not on the theme), so in this case we mainly rely on the article readings to identify the cultural areas covered.

Thus, the 10 most frequent cultural areas covered through all sections are design (15%), cities' cultural issues and urbanism (14%), architecture (14%), food & drink (10%), arts, only if we add in one category fine arts, arts in general, music, films and books (10%), media (9%), fashion (7%), culture related to lifestyle (7%) and cultural infrastructures (6%).

These findings show us that all culture dimensions are covered (there isn't an area that stands out), but there may be a preference for culture related to creative industries, i.e., design and architecture.

Cities' cultural issues, particularly urbanism and quality of life, are also a very frequent subject in culture coverage and the approach is often related to cases of good practices and the integration of cultural infrastructures within the city, perhaps because the culture editor Robert Bound believes that culture is misunderstood by many cities:

Culture is the ultimate free-market economy of thought that is happily impossible to regulate. Cities undervalue commercial galleries, music venues, cinemas, theatres — lower rents and attract people to watch other people performing or selling paintings — not **everything** should be in a museum built by a famous name's fifteenth assistant (Coffeepaste, 2015).

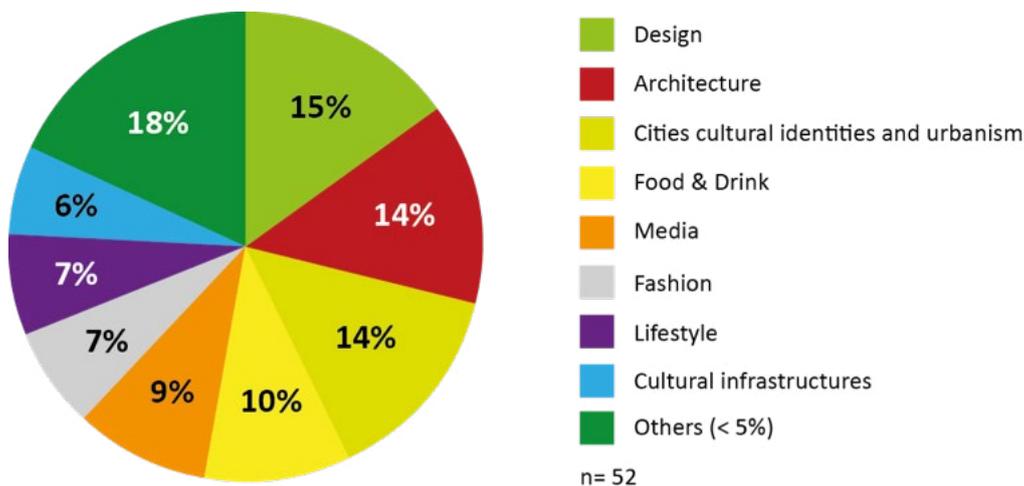


Figure 18
The most covered cultural areas in all sections.

Culture is quality of life and it is important to nations

One of the main innovations regarding *Monocle's* culture coverage is precisely the importance that is given to culture within the quality of life (not lifestyle) and the nation's soft power. There are two main examples of this: the annual special issue dedicated to the top 25 liveable cities (July/August 2013 and July/August 2014 issues) and the Soft Power Survey annual special issue (December 2014/January 2015).

First, the findings show us that culture has an important role in the criteria that *Monocle* uses to rank the cities with better quality of life, besides the usual ones such as crime or unemployment rate: the number of cinemas, art galleries, theaters, music venues, bookshops or the street life are some examples.

Thus, for *Monocle*, quality of life is not luxury in the common sense:

When *Monocle* is entitled by the other media as a luxury magazine, luxury has a different scope. What is luxury? Is luxury having a chauffeur who drives you from your big house on the edge of the city or is luxury really living three minutes away from the office and being able to walk to work? For *Monocle*, there's only one answer. We champion city living; we champion people having their work next to their homes, we champion good public transport. That's why Zurich does well in the quality of life survey because, you know, the guy who runs the biggest bank in the morning, he doesn't think about taking his car because the transport system is so good he walks to the tram stop (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2015).

Quality of life is about authenticity, not ostentation and that's why *Monocle's* model reader is still more likely to be somebody in Portugal who is thinking about reliability,

durability and long lasting values, states Andrew Tuck, pointing at the sofa where I am sitting: “Here’s the Danish furniture company that’s been making this sofa for 30 years”, he outlines.

Second, *Monocle* is perhaps the only magazine conducting an annual soft power survey, for which culture plays an important role. This concept, as opposed to hard power, is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as “a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence”. In the December 2013/January 2014 issue, *Monocle* explains it as:

(...) This is what soft power does: it makes a Jewish atheist like me think better of the Catholic Church. Leaders can do this; witness the way so many people changed their view of the US once Barack Obama took over from George W. Bush. Footballers can do it too. And chefs. And film stars. And artists and musicians and a type of cake and a university professor and an airline and an author and a beach and a new museum director and a friendly diplomat and a breathtaking piece of music. Soft power is all these things and more (Bloomfield, 2013-2014, para. 3).

Culture is international

The findings show us that culture coverage definitely has an international approach for what differentiates a country or city culturally: in the same issue (for example, the December 2015/January 2015 edition), we fly to Berlin and visit the Danish avant-rockers Efterklang¹⁴³, then go to the annual Basel art fair in Miami¹⁴⁴; we also have time to visit the news network France 24¹⁴⁵, in Paris, and David Zwirner’s art gallery in London.¹⁴⁶

In Sophie Grove’s opinion, investment in writers and travel is what makes the brand innovative regarding the editorial model, when all the media are doing the opposite. Besides the correspondents, there is heavy investment in sending people to every story to report it, to deliver different stories:

We just trust and we wait until we have exclusive access to stories that people won’t be looking at and, if they have been looking at them, we will do them differently and photograph them beautifully. It is a lot of work coordinating the people and the correspondents; they are very switched on to their local environment so stories come from the ground. We would have no idea how to get stories from Finland, for instance, if we didn’t have a collaborator in the office and a

143 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/79/lock-and-keys/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

144 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/79/picture-perfect/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

145 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/79/spread-the-news/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

146 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/79/playing-to-the-gallery/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

Finnish correspondent in Helsinki. Between them, they get that authentic view and they know what we want as a magazine. It's really about contacts, nurturing people and ambassadors and looking for these trends (personal interview with Sophie Grove, 5th August 2013).

Content delivery also reinforces this international scope: the title of each article proceeds to indicate the geographic scope (usually identifying the city or, in the case of multi ones, the reference global). Three or more contributors usually write global pieces.

Culture is organic, processes and good practices

Regarding the dimensions of the culture approached, the findings show us that most of the articles (33%) are written to inspire or to give examples of good and innovative practices. The piece *Arts Smarts*¹⁴⁷ (July/August 2014), about how Brisbane is coming into its own culturally, with a global mindset and forward-thinking, is an example of this dimension or angle. A major interest of *Monocle* is to see how business is being conducted in a gallery, a museum or a TV station.

“*Monocle* is very thorough. It looks into the providence of products, the stories behind the people. In a sense, it is also quite modern because it looks at brands and startups and innovation”, explains Sophie Grove.

Monocle gives little importance to the artistic manifestation or cultural exhibitions (4%), but rather to the creative process of an artist or brand (11%), to the state of art debates or cultural issues and infrastructures, including quality of life (17%).

Related to this dimension and the passion for unearthing success stories, *Monocle* shows an innovative curiosity about the state of cultural and lifestyle infrastructures, both in big cities and small neighborhoods, and in almost every story with this angle *Monocle* gives advice on how to improve. For example, in the annual special issue dedicated to the top 25 livable cities, each analysis ends with the feature *Monocle Fix*, which gives advice about specific items that cities need to address.

This is why Andrew Tuck believes that *Monocle* is optimistic and confident without being naïve or silly. He remembers the issue dedicated to Lusophony (October 2012): “While every newspaper was talking about the Portuguese crisis, *Monocle*'s version was ‘ok, we know there's a crisis, now what are we going to do about it?’”

147 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/75/art-smarts/> (last accessed 31st March 2015).

The focus on the process and the culture of things is even present in *Monocle 24*'s radio shows. The 22th March show had the theme *How do you write about fashion?*¹⁴⁸ as an example of this. The focus on the cultural issues debate is present, for example, in the 15th September 2014 show, titled *Do music awards really matter?*¹⁴⁹

Being a lifestyle magazine, this angle is also very important to *Monocle*, which is represented in pieces about green, urban, cosmopolitan or other lifestyle choices. *A Great Dane*¹⁵⁰ (May 2013), where *Monocle* tours a photographer's house and focuses on its "funkis" style, or the article about bike culture, *Power to the People*¹⁵¹ (October 2013) are examples of this. This angle is directly associated with the performative one, so it is important to note that both represent 25% of all pieces. However, we considered performative as the most representative dimension in articles with a clear curatorship of what to read, see, eat or experience, such as the series of pieces titled *Culture Briefing*¹⁵² or *Inventory*¹⁵³.

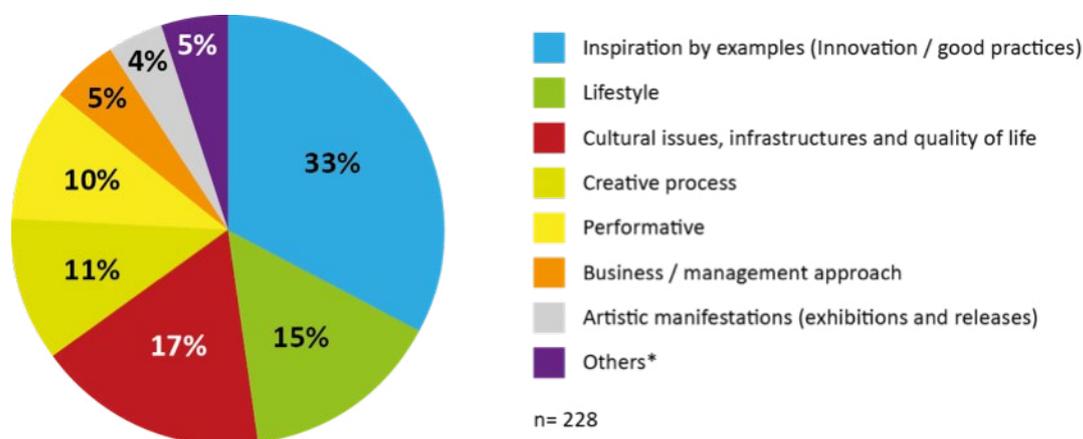


Figure 19
The most frequent angle / dimension of culture.

It is important to note that this coding can be subjective: a story with a focus on the innovative side can also have a performative approach or lifestyle can be related to quality of life, but in each story we selected the most representative dimension.

148 <http://monocle.com/radio/shows/culture-with-rob-bound/180/> (last accessed 24th March 2015).

149 <http://monocle.com/radio/shows/culture-with-rob-bound/153/> (last accessed 24th March 2015).

150 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/63/a-great-dane/> (last accessed 24th March 2015).

151 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/67/power-to-the-people/> (last accessed 24th March 2015).

152 Read, for example, <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/63/culture-briefing/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

153 Read, for example, <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/70/inventory-no-70/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

Culture is not celebrities

Monocle's curiosity doesn't include culture celebrities. In our findings there is only one interviewee who we can consider a global celebrity: Karl Lagerfeld, in the piece *Gloves Off*¹⁵⁴ (December 2014/January 2015). The inspiration for good practices and the culture of things comes from unknown people, Indonesian local talent — *Local Talent*¹⁵⁵ (July/August 2013) — or the small community in the Portuguese city Aveiro that creates handmade porcelain — *Helping Hands*¹⁵⁶ (October 2014).

Dominant news genres and their relation to the news agenda

Culture is feature journalism, not hard news

There isn't a single hard news piece in our findings which meets the profile of culture coverage designed in the previous points. The dominant news genre is the feature story (78%): 52% are reportages, interviews represent 20% of all genres, feature analyses represent 4%, lists or guides are equivalent to 10% and profiles to 1%. The other most frequent genre is review/preview and briefing (a summary of suggestions or findings).

The hybridism is also present in every genre: feature stories usually have elements of review (*The Monocle Fix* feature addresses strong and weak points) and reviews always have reportage elements. The coding was based on the dominant genre.

These findings have a direct association with the role of the news agenda to *Monocle*. It doesn't follow an international, cultural or global news agenda. Just 25% of all pieces have a direct relation to an agenda or news as a news value — the opening of a new gallery (*Eye of the Tiber*¹⁵⁷, September 2013) or the new collaboration between Oscar-winning producer Jeremy Thomas and director Ben Wheatly (*Film Dialogue*¹⁵⁸, June 2014). 18% have an indirect relation to agenda — which is the case of curator guides and lists that can include both new novels and a film with 13 years that is now covered from a different angle. The other 58% are timeless stories or stories developed according to *Monocle*'s agenda and editorial profile. That's the case of the piece *Screen time*¹⁵⁹ (July/August 2014) which is about innovative cinemas around

154 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/79/gloves-off/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

155 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/65/local-talent/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

156 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/77/helping-hands/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

157 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/76/eye-of-the-tiber/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

158 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/74/film-dialogue/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

159 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/75/screen-time/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

the world through the eyes of directors and other cinema staff or the feature story *Blue-sky thinking*¹⁶⁰ (June 2014), about who chooses in-flight entertainment.

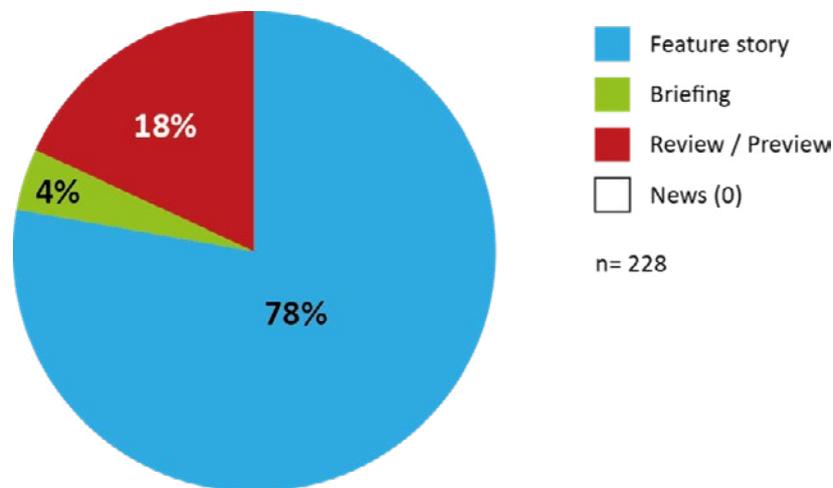


Figure 20
Dominant news genres.

The use of digital tools and features

Regarding the use of digital tools and features, we looked at them in-text (in each article) and on-site, i.e., digital features on the website.

The digital edition of the magazine preserves the editorial model regarding the sections and topics, but there are some digital tools that enhance it. First, almost all the issues have a promo film that highlights the main themes. Second, the images published in the print edition (when there's more than one) are presented in an interactive digital gallery. Finally, there are two types of hyperlinks, besides the in-text ones. On the one hand, the active hyperlinks in the identified section and the main topic to which each article is addressed link us directly to the archive of that section or topic available in all *Monocle* extensions: *Monocle 24*, *Films* and *Monocolumn* (a daily opinion piece of what is happening in Midori House). In this case, the consistent organization in the same topics through all *Monocle* extensions enhances the digital archive. On the other hand, at the beginning each article has some subtopics (such as countries, cities, cultural subareas or creators) with active hyperlinks that link us directly to articles sharing those same subtopics.

160 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/74/blue-sky-thinking/> (last accessed 2nd March 2015).

In each article, there is also the chance to share it directly to LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter and by e-mail, but we can see how many times readers did this.

The most frequent content format found in our sample was interactive gallery plus text (87%). Pieces that include an interactive gallery plus loose pictures and text represent 6%. This high number of interactive galleries can be explained by the fact that each *Monocle* edition has numerous photographs per article and this digital tool is a useful and creative way to show them.

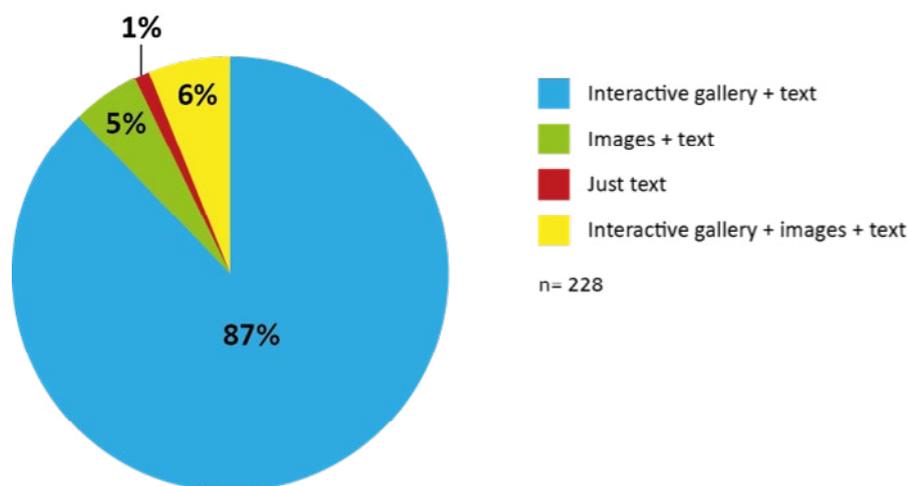


Figure 21
The most frequent content format.

The typical article is presented with an interactive image gallery with horizontal scrolling, the section and the topic to which it is assigned; title and subtitle (the latter refers to the geographic scope of the article), the “preface” of the article, internal hyperlinks of the main article topics, the page edition, volume and data of the print issue and four ways to share the article: LinkedIn, Twitter, Facebook and e-mail.

Regarding the use of hyperlinks, we didn’t find a better use of them in-text. Internal hyperlinks are present in all the pieces of our sample if we consider the topics above the preface. Regarding the use of external hyperlinks, they are present in just 20% of the articles. They are not embedded in the text (the URLs appear below the text or blocks of text) and they are the same as the print edition. However, some articles would benefit from their use: for example, if we are reading the article about the innovative redesign of La Nación (*Ahead of the News*¹⁶¹, September 2014), we would expect a hyperlink to that Argentine newspaper’s website.

161 <http://monocle.com/magazine/issues/76/ahead-of-the-news/> (last accessed 3rd March 2015).

The main functions of hyperlinks are memory and plain information, in internal and external hyperlinks, respectively. Internal hyperlinks link us to an archive of *Monocle*'s articles or films or radio shows addressing that topic. External hyperlinks link us to the URLs of the spaces or creators addressed. There aren't any hyperlinks to social media or the creator's social media pages.

Other digital features

As we said before, *Monocle* adds value online especially with radio, films and special digital packages. As we have already addressed *Monocle 24*, we will focus on the last two.

Between January 2013 and December 2014, *Monocle* uploaded 154 short documentaries and promo-videos, with an average of 6.4 per month. As they are all made in-house, this is a really good number compared to the other three case studies and we can say that it plays an important role on the website.

Video has three main uses for *Monocle*: self-promotion, editorial and advertorial.

16% of the videos analyzed have the purpose of promoting *Monocle* magazine editions; 3% resulted from an editorial partnership with Samsung to discover chefs around the world¹⁶² and the rest (81%) are short documentaries that complement the articles of the magazine. For example, the film *Quality of Life Survey 2014*¹⁶³ (June 2014), made with interactive graphics, explains what's behind that *Monocle* special. The interview with Karl Lagerfeld published in the December 2014/January 2015 issue, already considered here, is complemented by a video of that interview¹⁶⁴.

Finally, there are two digital native specials on *Monocle*'s website: one dedicated to travel and the other to restaurant awards. The *Travel* special¹⁶⁵ is sustained with an interactive world map. The cities with content assigned are marked with an icon differentiating resorts from the business. Clicking on each icon will lead us to an "essentials" page with travel information: transportation, shopping, dining, leisure and other features. It is possible to download a PDF file with this advice or to access *Monocle*'s digital archive related to that city.

The *Monocle Restaurant Awards*¹⁶⁶ digital special is an extension of the radio show *The Menu*. Each year it presents winners (50) with a video about the initiative, a link to the radio show *The Menu* and a short article about each awarded restaurant with a hyperlink to its page.

162 <http://monocle.com/search/monocle-x-samsung/> (last accessed 3rd March 2015).

163 <http://monocle.com/film/affairs/quality-of-life-survey-2014/> (last accessed 3rd March 2015).

164 <http://monocle.com/film/design/the-big-interview-karl-lagerfeld/> (last accessed 3rd March 2015).

165 <http://monocle.com/25-25/> (last accessed 3rd March 2015).

166 <http://monocle.com/restaurant-awards/> (last accessed 3rd March 2015).

VI. 2. 4. Engagement through traditional media

Interactivity through social media

“Everyone wants to chase the mass. Particularly in media, everyone wants big numbers. We don’t want big numbers. We want engaged, quality readers, listeners, viewers. That’s what’s important to us”, said Tyler Brûlé earlier this year to Nieman Lab (Lichterman, 2015), disassociating once again *Monocle* from where the media are investing — social media.

This aversion to social media networks has attracted other media attention but is also enhanced by Brûlé. This is clear in a short interview with him by the video show “Chat to the Chief” Bloomberg Business video. Questioned about *What would he like to be remembered for?*, he answered “Not tweeting” (Bloomberg Business, 0’44”).

Monocle staff members are also discouraged to use Twitter and it is recommended that they keep their online presence minimal, so the public doesn’t associate the staff members’ personal lives with the brand (Jenkins, 2014, p. 4).

The premise on this positioning is loyalty to *Monocle*’s customers, control and financial reasons. On the one hand, likes and followers depend on Twitter and Facebook that are currently free media but can charge the following month. “If you’re then promiscuous enough to jump to the next channel, how loyal are you as a consumer of brands?” asks Brûlé (Lichterman, 2015). On the other hand, *Monocle*’s customers, who spend £100 a year to subscribe to the magazine, with no discounts, are more important to *Monocle*’s advertisers, because they are more likely to buy their stuff than someone who is on a free channel.

Remembering Tuck’s explanation, social media is not consistent with *Monocle*’s editorial model. He believes that a newspaper giving information minute by minute may be more engaged with social media, but being a magazine with a focus on reflection and slower journalism social media may bring more people but it doesn’t deliver loyal fans (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August, 2013).

It’s a little more complicated than that. It’s not that we don’t like it [social media], it’s the same thing I was saying in the beginning. There’s not one model for every media company. If I were running a newspaper where I was given information minute by minute, then I would be more engaged with social media. *Monocle* comes out ten times a year, even the radio is not rolling news, we try to be more reflective and slower and again it gives you numbers, it brings more people to follow you but doesn’t deliver real listeners, real readers and real money. (...) It’s a promiscuous group of people. 2,500 went that day, they’re gone the next day. What is more interesting for me is adding a thousand people who are fans, who understand the brand and come every single day.

Between January 1st and March 2015, *Monocle* maintained this position regarding social media — there are no invited blogs, no YouTube channel, no Facebook account, no Twitter, Instagram or other social network accounts. There is a *Monocle* Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/monoclemag?fref=ts>) but it isn't run by *Monocle*, but rather fans, and a Twitter account (@monoclebrief) which was suspended eventually.

Table 22. Social media positioning

When?	Invited blogs	YouTube channel	Facebook account	Twitter account	Instagram account	Another social media network
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	No					

Table 23. Readers' interaction with the media/journalists

When?	Staff e-mail?	Forms of contacting the authors of pieces?	Sources contacts?	Crowd-sourcing?	Can users comment on articles?	Can users vote on or recommend articles?	Can users contribute to articles or are they invited?	Users' sharing options
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Only editors	No	Sometimes (URLs)	No	No	No	No	Twitter Facebook LinkedIn E-mail

The participation of readers in the construction of the articles is non-existent and is not encouraged. They can't comment, vote or contribute in any way. Crowdsourcing is also non-existent. There is not a single person sharing a YouTube video. In each article there are sharing options features: readers can share directly to LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter and by e-mail.

Regarding the level of interaction with the reader, Sophie Grove argues that *Monocle* treats each reader and listener like a member of a club and that they feel close to the staff:

“They can write to us and we will respond. We have parties around the world frequently to which subscribers are all invited. They feel quite close to us, to the editorial staff. And that makes a difference” (personal interview with Sophie Grove, 2013).

Table 24. Personalization and services

When?	Possibility to personalize the homepage	Possibility to save content to read later	Possibility to receive alerts or newsletters or e-mails	Opportunity to buy the items presented in the pieces	Opportunity to participate in conferences and other events with the staff	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	No	No	Yes, one weekly promo bulletin	Sometimes	Yes, but it can be expensive	No

Regarding the level of personalization of the homepage, the level of interaction is also low. Readers can only subscribe to *Monocle*'s bulletin, a weekly promo-newsletter with news from *Monocle*, the staff, etc. It announces, mainly, new issues of *Monocle*, new radio shows, new partnerships in the retail shop, new books and conferences promoted by *Monocle*. They can participate at conferences and other events but they can be expensive and exclusive.

Table 25. Navigation and memory

When?	Responsive website	Clear organization of the website (filters, platforms, topics)	Time and date of publication	Possibility to access archives?	Possibility to personalize the search by topic, section and date?	Search box	Features that facilitate navigation (topics, related pieces, website map)	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	Yes	Just date	Yes, but paid (to access the magazine)	Yes, by topic, keyword, platform and section	Yes	Yes Information is organized by topics and subtopics Footer has all menus	No

Navigation on the website is easy because it is clearly organized by platform: *magazine*, *film*, *radio*, *shop* and *specials*. In each section, we can filter the content by four categories: *Affairs*, *Business*, *Culture*, *Design* and *Edits*. Each page presents a slider with highlights and then the content with an icon that identifies the category or the platform and the month in which the content was released.

How does Monocle engage with its readers in the digital environment?

Monocle engages with readers through traditional media, in particular radio and shops. The launch of *Monocle 24* in 2011 was a clear strategy to get closer to the audience, because in Brûlé's opinion, radio is the digital channel that can have the closest relationship with the audience: "it's very personal, it's very intimate, and it's incredibly fast. It's still the fastest medium" (Leichtman, 2015).

The same point of view is shared by *Monocle 24* editor, Tom Edwards, who sees in it a strategy to differentiate from other media:

It is quite conversational; it engages as if we are having a face-to-face conversation. So, for the radio, it is about taking those founding principles from the magazine and making it even more personal because you've got the voice that has the intimacy. We have millions of downloads per month. It makes sense from an editorial viewpoint, it fits into the *Monocle* brand and it makes sense because it supplements the magazine and also makes sense in a commercial way. So, if you check all those boxes, why not? (personal interview, 5th August 2015).

For *Monocle*, its shops and cafés are also a different way to engage with people and they are very important for understanding who their readers and customers are. "Who needs Twitter when you've got a network of shops around the world?", said Brûlé in the September 2010 edition of *Monocle* magazine (para. 1), in his column, entitled "Observation".

VI. 2. 5. Business model — a brand extension model

Monocle has been profitable for three years now, said Andrew Tuck, when interviewed by us in August 2013. Almost two years later, it is still "very profitable", as Brûlé informed Joseph Lichterman from the Nieman Lab in March 2015. So, in his case, sustainability means being profitable.

Print is the "cash cow", meaning *Monocle* magazines and supplements represent the majority of the money. "I'd say we're one of the strong performers of the UK newsstand", says Brûlé. He acknowledges that the "newsstand" is international because the US is the biggest market regarding subscriptions and newsstands (Lichterman, 2015). Retail represents 15% of total business. *Monocle 24* has been profitable from the start, ensured Andrew Tuck.

Monocle's business model seems to be based on five principles.

First, everything is launched to make money, because an independent publisher depends on making money, so all ventures must have “a path to profitability”, justifies Brûlé (Leichtman, 2015). Related to that, all *Monocle* copies circulating are paid for (there are no discounts for subscribers or free copies for hotels).

Second, the advertisers are seen as editorial partnerships, rather than economical partnerships (*Monocle*'s team frequently works with the advertiser on the concept and on the development of the partnership).

Third, being an independent publisher is very important to Brûlé (Lichterman, 2015, paras. 11-12) because this means there is no commercial pressure of a big parent or the need to follow what it dictates:

We see that independence is really incredibly important to us, and has allowed us to be in the luxurious position that we're in today, where if we decide to do a cafe, we do a cafe — because we think it's the right thing to do from a brand point of a view, and also from a revenue position. (...) Of course, we can do all of that because we have a nicely profitable business, and that's exciting, because we just organically reinvest in everything that we do without having to go to the market to look for more money.

Fourth is strategic partnerships. On 1st September 2014, Tyler Brûlé sold a minority stake of *Monocle* to the Japanese media company Nikkei and the magazine was valued at over 100 million USD. The stake size wasn't disclosed but in the press release announcement *Monocle* (Monocle press release, 2014) said that Winkontent (the company owned by Tyler Brûlé) retains more than 80 percent of *Monocle* and the remainder is held by founding shareholders from Switzerland and Sweden. Mediaweek confirmed the value of *Monocle* as 115 million USD (Jack, 2014).

Nikkei is best known for publishing the highest-circulating financial newspaper in the world — Nihon Keizai Shimbun. In autumn 2013 the Asian company also launched the Nikkei Asian Review and Brûlé anticipated synergies between the two titles at the time: *Monocle* could work with Nikkei correspondents to strengthen its coverage while supporting the Asian title via distribution. The partnership also reflects the editorial focus *Monocle* has held in Japan and its goal to bring the country to the world, as can be read in the press release.

Finally is a loyal brand community, who can be a great source of revenue because readers are willing to pay more to be a club member and that's something *Monocle* cultivates. Its readership is also clearly defined:

The Monocle readership is urban-dwelling, MBA-educated, CEO/MD/entrepreneurs working in finance, government, design and the hospitality industry. Readers have an average income of £207 thousand GBP (\$340 thousand CDN) and travel on ten business trips a year plus have five

holidays a year. They are savvy, design-conscious consumers and investors in property, art, cars, timepieces, fashion and interiors (Monocle Media Kit, 2013).

Monocle has a mix of revenues, but there are four business models that stand out: the paid model, the advertising/sponsorship model, the subscription model and the retail model.

Paid model and paywall

A *Monocle* issue costs £6 (this price varies according to the country) at a newsstand. We can also buy the magazine through *Monocle*'s website, but previous issues are generally more expensive (about £15 each in general), which reflects the collectible logic *Monocle* wants to imprint. Special issues are even more expensive. For example, issue 65 (July/August 2013), which includes the *Monocle Quality of Life 2013* with the top 25 cities to live in, costs £30 (and sold out in March 2015).

In August 2013 *Monocle* had an average circulation of 75 thousand copies. 18 thousand belonged to subscriptions, according to Andrew Tuck. In March 2015, according to *Monocle*'s website (<http://www.monocle.com/about/>), they sold 81,000 copies of each issue and had 18,000 subscribers, which represents an 8% growth in sales.

Another important factor, as Andrew Tuck stresses, is that all copies of *Monocle* are paid for, i.e. there are no free copies or any discounts which means the circulation numbers are equal to the sold numbers.

We don't give any free copies away to anyone. You would never go to a hotel and find a free copy; you would never get a free copy on an airline unless the airline and the hotel paid for it. We treat the product with respect from the beginning. We believe journalism costs money and is valuable (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013).

On *Monocle*'s website, we can read the *Monocolumn*, listen to *Monocle 24*, watch the films, access the online shop, all for free... except the *Monocle* archive, the core content. In almost every issue there is a promo video that presents its main themes and we can look at the titles and leads of all articles, but if we click to read it, there is a paywall that demands a subscription. So the paywall is more like a subscription wall. We can't just buy one issue online, we have to buy at least a six-month subscription to the print magazine to get online access. For Tuck, it's a matter of consistency. If the magazine content is paid for in the print version, why would it be free on the website? "It's just common sense. Why would we generate all of these stories and invest in editorial content and annoy our core readership by giving it all away for free [online]?", he justifies.

If we can buy just one print issue in the online shop, why can't we buy just one online issue?, we asked. The answer is obvious. *Monocle* doesn't want the reader to read an entire issue online. *Monocle* wants print readers.

Strip everything away — one thing matters: ten issues of *Monocle* a year. That is the basis of everything we do. That is our biggest source of revenue, our biggest source of readership, the loyalist followers of *Monocle* (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013).

Advertising/Sponsorship model

Monocle's other main source of revenue comes from advertising, both in print and online. However, we are not only talking about single ads, such as one page advertising or banners, but real partnerships with brands in the format of the single sponsorship of shows (in the case of *Monocle 24*) and special sponsored content in the case of films, print magazines and websites.

When leafing through the magazine we see a lot of ad pages, but the main differentiation from the other magazines is the sponsored content, i.e. packages and supplements where the line between advertising and editorial isn't clear. The commercial partnership is usually identified as “[name of the brand) x *Monocle*”, like a co-branded experience. For *Monocle*, this is a win-win situation because this symbiosis has more value for advertisers and perhaps for the reader since all content is *Monocle's* entire responsibility. The premise to work with an advertiser is sharing the same values. The *Monocle Media Kit 2013* is very clear about this: “We also offer the opportunity to build a strong brand partnership with the use of sponsored colour supplements such as a city and country surveys or travel guides”. These advertorials are mainly bespoke surveys, travel guides, themed series and other exclusive partnerships.

But since our focus is on digital, we will explain it here. The digital version of the magazine, which only provides access to subscribers, doesn't have advertising at all, meaning the print advertising doesn't extend to digital. But the rest of the website, which is available to everyone, doesn't use stock advertising agencies or social media ads and definitely not Google ads, but rather has the same kind of co-branded experience, native digital, i.e., created exclusively for the website.

For example, *Monocle's* website on 20th July 2013 featured in the slider a film entitled *The food lover* and below the title *Samsung x Monocle*. The video is about the entrepreneur and gourmet Andrew Tarlow, co-owner of the Wythe Hotel in New York, and is part of a series

of 5 films dedicated to food and wine personalities sponsored by Samsung, which is reunited in a microsite¹⁶⁷ where it also has some Samsung Galaxy Tab features.

The slider of the website is also the place for native digital ads: On 23rd January 2014, we could find in the dynamic slider 3 editorial highlights and 2 ads (in the first and 4 position): an ad with the title *Explore Japan* with a link to the website *Visit Japan* and a video ad for the Hublot watch. On 5th August 2013, we also found in the slider two dynamic ads, from Hasselblad and Bottega Veneta.

The co-branded experience is even more evident in *Monocle 24*. The radio doesn't sell ads, but rather single sponsorship of shows. For Andrew Tuck this was the formula of sustainability for the radio station:

We launched *Monocle 24* with two million dollars of revenue because we weren't selling little ads, we were selling single sponsorship of shows and it was great. We took on in one year twenty journalists for the radio station. (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013)

In December 2014, 6 of the 14 shows were single-sponsored: the daily shows *The Globalist* and *The Monocle Daily* were presented "in association with UBS"; the weekly show *The Curator* was "presented by Rolex"; the weekly *The Entrepreneurs* was presented "in association with Pictet" and the same type of collaboration happened with *The Monocle Weekly* and Persol. There was also a show with a naming advertising strategy: the weekly show *The Bulletin* with UBS.

Besides the reference in the show ad, sponsors are also present on the page of the show with an ad and in the footer of the website whenever the show sponsored is live with the mention "in association with" or "presented by".

In January 2013, 8 of the 13 shows were "presented by" or done "in association with": *Culture* (in association with Spain Tourism); *The Menu* (in association with Krug); *The Curator* (presented by Rolex), *The Monocle Daily* (in association with Korean Air), *The Entrepreneur* (in association with Pictet), *The Globalist* (in association with GE), *Section D* (in association with Lexus) and *The Monocle Weekly* (in association with Australia Tourism).

Note that Rolex and Pictet sponsored the respective shows during the time frame of this research (2 years) and still were in March 2015.

In 2013, *Monocle* also tried television with a TV show on the *Bloomberg* channel about current affairs. The show only lasted six episodes, but the reason they tried it was commercial, not editorial factors. There was a common client of *Monocle* and *Bloomberg* that wanted a TV solution. It was interesting for Brûlé because not only did the TV show make "lots of money"

167 <http://monocle.com/extras/ad/microsites/samsung/the-food-lover/> (last accessed 23rd January 2015).

for *Monocle* (Leichtman, 2015), it also gave staff the confidence to show that they know how to do broadcasts.

Subscription model

This is a print subscription model really — there is not a digital-only subscription model that reinforces the brand as a print brand.

The subscription costs the same whichever country you live in.

In June 2015¹⁶⁸, *Monocle* had three subscription types. All give access to the *Monocle* archive and exclusive content on the website (during the subscription period); delivery costs are included worldwide, regardless of the location; 10% discount at the *Monocle Shop* (excluding online); exclusive offers and invitations to events around the world; priority access to selected product collaborations.

The one-year premium subscription costs £155 and includes ten issues of *Monocle* magazine, the annual magazines *The Escapist* and *The Forecast* plus an exclusive *Porter Sub Club bag*.

The one-year subscription costs £100 and includes ten issues of *Monocle* magazine, the annual magazines *The Escapist* and *The Forecast* plus an exclusive *Monocle Voyage Tote Bag*.

The six-month subscription costs £55 and includes five issues of *Monocle* magazine and *The Forecast*.

The subscriptions play an important role in revenue. In 2015 if each edition of the magazine sells 81,000 copies and there are 18,000 subscribers (assuming they are annual), that means subscriptions will represent 22% of sales in 2015.

The retail model

Retail merchandising and coffee shops are not just to create value for the brand. It makes money, ensures Tuck. Two years later, Brûlé would confirm to *Nieman Lab* that the six shops around the world (including the online shop) represent 15% of the business now (Lichterman, 2015). Thus for *Monocle* it is a real business model.

The shops and the café... they've had the benefit of getting your name out there, they're good PR but they have to make money and again we come back to the very beginning of

168 These values were updated during the reviewing of the thesis. In the time frame of the content analysis, all subscriptions were £10 less.

this discussion, how the media companies make money. Well, everybody is looking at other opportunities to be making money and retail is part of the *Monocle* model (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013)

Other revenue sources

Conferences

Lisbon was the location for the inaugural *Quality of Life Conference Monocle x Lisbon*, another brand extension, and the first *Monocle* conference, which took place on 17th, 18th and 19th April 2015 at the Four Seasons Hotel Ritz. 165 delegates attended from all parts of the world and 60 members of staff from London and bureau. It had the support of the Portugal Tourism State Secretary and a 2016 conference has already been planned.

Tickets for attending the three-day conference cost 1,500 Euros. *Monocle* subscribers had the preference.

There was an exclusive *Monocle* pop-up shopping event (in Príncipe Real) between 17 and 26 April.

Winkreative

Winkreative is Brûlé's creative agency. It is not a direct source of revenue for *Monocle*, but it is indirect since there is a clear synergy. *Monocle*'s big advertisers, such as Pictet, Personal, Lexus and Blackberry, are also Winkreative clients, and some ads and advertising packages that appeared on *Monocle*'s pages were developed creatively by Winkreative, which facilitates the implementation process. The creative studio of Winkreative, with headquarters in London and bureaus in New York, Tokyo, Hong Kong and Toronto, is located on the first floor of Midori House, *Monocle*'s headquarters.

Other organizational values

Staff and office

The staff members seem to be an extension of the brand. They all have a unique style and are engaged with the magazine. The expression “living brand” suits *Monocle* perfectly. First, they support the international perspective of the magazine: “our team is international. Brazilians, Germans, Turkish people, Lebanese... There is just absolutely a myriad of different passports in the office which really helps us to remain international”, says Sophie Grove. Second, the staff members aren’t allowed to put their coats on the back of their chairs or to keep water bottles on their desks (Swedish designed carafes are provided) to keep the office clean and stylish (Jenkins, 2014).

Staff effort seems to be acknowledged:

People here are inspired. That’s energy. Tyler does simple, very kind things like the last Friday of every month... we do lunch for everybody in the company. The last time we had a guy who makes incredible hamburgers and did them in the backyard. We’ve had a Japanese chef and a Mexican chef here. Summer, at the end of the day, there is beer on the terrace. If you work late into the evening, we will get you a taxi. These are small things that make people feel valued. Lots of the people who started on day one of the magazine are still here (personal interview with Andrew Tuck, 6th August 2013).

Andrew Tuck also believes that the success behind *Monocle* comes from the fact that from day one they felt like a start-up: “with a company this size, we can make quick decisions, be innovative, you can change your mind or have a great idea in the morning and get it done by the afternoon”, he explains.

And like in a start-up, all the staff members are very committed to the brand:

There are so many things going on and that means being involved in a lot of things: people here work very long hours, they are very committed. For example, the art director is the art director of the magazine, but he is also in charge of every logo done for the radio station, he oversees the visual signs for the cafés, if there is an invitation, he will sign; even internal letters or how we post letters to people, will be assigned to him. And it is the same on the editorial side. I will read every single story twice, on Sundays I listen to the radio and make notes about things I want to change, so we are passionate about it, we have that metabolism and we know it is a fight.

VI. 3. *Público* — “Without limits”

Público was a late passion for me. During my degree in Communication Sciences from 1996 to 2000, the newspaper of reference, or at least the most quoted, was Diário de Notícias. Its weekly supplement, DNA, was one of my favorite reads. However, in the final year (and during my Master’s Degree), I had the privileged to have Eduardo Prado Coelho as a teacher, who in 1998 had started to publish a weekly daily column in Público (O Fio do Horizonte). I read this religiously, together with the Público’s cultural supplement Mil Folhas, born in 2000. It was culture that brought me to Público, making it in my national reference newspaper today.

Since 2013 Público headquarters have been in Alcântara, an area by the Tejo River, in a warehouse-style building that is easily identified from the main street by the red Público “P” at the top, its logo since 2007. Reception is at the back of the building and a visitor’s first contact is with the receptionist and the Público merchandising store. Grey stairs lead to the first floor in an open space where the newsroom is organized in islands according to newspaper sections. Interviews take place in meeting rooms, one of which is on a mezzanine floor. The atmosphere and the decor are not as creative or as brand-oriented as at the Guardian, and there are lots of newspapers on the tables. It seems that the newsroom breathes more paper than digital, but that first impression was soon dissipated, at least in the interview with Sonia Matos, Art Director of the brand, and Simone Duarte, Online Director at that time (she is now executive editor, responsible for the Brazil Internationalization strategy) .

My first contacts with Público were not easy (it was by far the most difficult of the four case-studies) which contradicts a little with the investment made in getting closer to readers. Key people, such as the Culture Editor, never replied to my e-mails. On the other hand, the staff I had the privilege to interview for this research was consistently very genuine, interested in sharing their ideas for an academic project, very keen on receiving interns from universities and very enthusiastic and proud to present their innovative projects. There were more conversations than formal interviews, facilitated by the fact that there was always more than one interview at the same time. From my conversations with four journalists I took away two very important ideas:

- enthusiasm for digital is great, but it does not inspire everyone; the main challenge is not primarily technological, it is mental;*
- the great landmarks in the digital environment (as we shall see) are the result of pro-activity and enthusiasm of some employees (not exactly an official brand strategy), which tells me that people are really the driving force in innovation and some specific professional and emotional skills really make the difference in driving innovation.*

VI. 3. 1. Historical framing



Figure 22
Público's logotype in March 2015,
still in use in 2021.

The daily newspaper *Público* is very recent in the Portuguese media panorama, if we recall that the first official Portuguese newspaper, *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1715-1820), dates from the 18th century and two of the current daily newspapers were launched in the 19th century: *Diário de Notícias* (1864) and *Jornal de Notícias* (1888). *Público* was founded in 1989 and the first issue was released on 5th March 1990.

Público is positioned as an independent daily newspaper integrated in the “European tradition of demanding quality, refusing sensationalism and commercial exploitation of informative material”, as set out in its editorial statute from May 1989 (*Público*, 1998, p. 33). In December 1989, Vicente Jorge Silva (*Público's* editorial director) associated the editorial style of *Público* with the founding principles of modern journalism, the ones adopted by *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *La Republica*, *El País*, *Le Monde* and *The Independent* in references to *Público*, and in 1997 Nuno Pacheco (associate director and founding member of the newspaper) reinforced the goal to “associate, quality and diversity in the daily journalistic routine, classic technical and ethical journalism patterns with permanent availability for innovation”, both in the introduction (1998, p. 25) and in foreword of *Público's Style Book*, made public in 1998.

Although *Público* was in 2015 only 25 years-old (and has been for 20 years online), it has achieved a national reputation as a media of reference, international recognition in the form of many awards, and it can be considered as one of the most innovative national newspapers in the digital environment, justified by the recent website redesign, interaction strategy with the readers, multimedia approach and database journalism projects, for example.

The *Público* media brand belongs to Sonae, a Portuguese retail company and the largest private company in Portugal, with two major partnerships in shopping centers and telecommunications.

VI. 3. 2. Overall brand positioning regarding innovation

In 1995, the newspaper launched *publico.pt*. It's not the first national newspaper to have a website (the first was *Jornal de Notícias*), but was the first one to have a digital-only content with the section *Última Hora (Last Hour)*. Its editorial principles follow those of the *Público* newspaper.

The most important moment in *publico.pt* was its redesign in 2012 with two major aims, according to its director, Bárbara Reis: “to make reading *Público Digital* a better and easier experience” and to be the newspaper with “the best relationship with its readers” (Reis, 2012). To communicate this change, *Público* released eight videos¹⁶⁹ where the staff talks about that redesign and the respective goals. It also released ads with the digital brand positioning, which can be summarized in three main ideas: information made in a network with the participation of readers (the ad said “Information today is made in a network. It is not a monologue. It's a dialogue between journalist and reader”¹⁷⁰); new ways to tell stories (“journalism never had so many means to tell a story. Is there better revolution than this one?”^{171,172}); and the interaction with readers in a closer way, being the first national newspaper to have an open reader's comments forum, a writer's page for each journalist, which includes a short biography, photograph, contact, links to blogs or social networks, and a history of all their pieces and comments, and a personal area for every participating reader.

“Just nine years ago, the focus was all on paper and the website didn't have a strategy, it was a patchwork”, said Sónia Matos during her joint interview with Simone Duarte for this research. In 2010, a year after Simone Duarte came to Portugal to be executive director, *Público* decided to create an Online Management position to bet on digital. The restructuring of the website began two years earlier with extensive field work in *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* newsrooms and in the digital agency *Huge*, where Sónia Matos and Simone Duarte recorded trends and good practices.

Then Simone Duarte invited everyone from *Público* to participate, giving ideas for the restructuring of the website — “it was pro-bono work”, which lasted for months in a little room in the basement where the new digital presence was taking shape.

“Coming out of paper” was for *Público* both its main innovation but also its main obstacle. Paper doesn't suit online content, meaning that digital requires a different language and mindset, but according to Simone Duarte not all journalists “can say that they are working or thinking online, when the next day they continue to think on paper and work online like they

169 The videos are available in <http://static.publico.pt/novosite/>

170 Our translation.

171 The ads are shown in *Público's* new website presentation video in <http://static.publico.pt/novosite/>

172 Our translation.

do with paper”. A proof of that is continuing to think of breaking news as still immediate on the following day.

Thus, the driving force for innovation in a digital environment according to Sónia Matos and Simone Duarte is having the digital “chip” — changing the mindset — and it was only possible in *Público* because there was a big movement carried by a few people to push others to get online.

Over the years its website has won more than 20 European prizes (Público, 2015), including an unprecedented recognition from the European Newspaper Award in 2013, the ÑH Design Prize (Society for News Design) for best website design in 2014, and gold awards in three categories: best multimedia special for *25 de Abril — As linhas da Liberdade*¹⁷³, video innovation with *O Brasil é*¹⁷⁴, and innovation in multimedia for *Casa do Vapor — um dia a casa virá abaixo*¹⁷⁵.

These awards are also the result of an investment in new ways to tell stories in digital. Regarding computational journalism, in the context of the research project REACTION (October 2010 — April 2014), integrated in the international program UT Austin/Portugal, a researcher worked in *Público* newsroom for 22 months and made the bridge between this media and the research team. Another researcher also worked there for seven months preparing different stories using also data journalism. The pieces resulting from this partnership became some of the most well-known and award-winning data base interactive journalistic stories, such as *Floresta em Perigo*¹⁷⁶ or *O que moldou as famílias portuguesas desde 1864*¹⁷⁷ or an unprecedented piece about the financing of political campaigns¹⁷⁸. Some of the pieces prepared by this team of researchers are still waiting to be published.

Another major strategy in a digital environment has been internationalization. In 2014, *Público* launched the series *O Ano Grande do Brasil* dedicated to Brazil, and sent ten journalists to that country; it organized the *Vinhos de Portugal no Rio* wine event in Rio de Janeiro, and launched a monthly version of the *Ípsilon* cultural supplement in a partnership with Livraria Cultura. In March 2015 *Público* announced a special online edition for Brasil, available at <http://publico.uol.com.br/>.

Regarding numbers and audiences, *Público* online has always had more readers than the paper version. In 2014, it was the only daily media to improve its paid circulation (both offline and online), ending with an increase of 7.2% due to an increase in digital sales. The

173 <http://www.publico.pt/25abril/as-linhas-da-liberdade> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

174 <http://www.publico.pt/multimedia/o-brasil-e> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

175 <http://www.publico.pt/multimedia/casa-do-vapor> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

176 <http://publico.pt/floresta-em-perigo> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

177 <http://www.publico.pt/sociedade/noticia/estado-civil-os-numeros-dos-ultimos-147-anos-1584148> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

178 <http://publico.pt/autarquicas2013/financiamento-das-campanhas> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

offline *Público* newspaper had an average of 15,875 daily editions and is the third most-read daily newspaper after *Correio da Manhã* and *Jornal de Notícias* (Nobre, 2015).

According to the netScope by Marktest, on March 2015, *publico.pt* had 12,106,552 visits to the website and 54,725,335 page views. In the segment of daily generalist newspapers, it was only preceded by *Correio da Manhã* (Marktest, 2015a). In July 2015, *Jornal de Notícias* (<http://www.jn.pt>) surpassed for the first time *publico.pt* (Marktest, 2015b), becoming the second most readed generalist news paper online with 13,1 million visits and 49,3 million page views (*Público* was still on the lead only regarding page views with 51,7 million; it had 11,9 million visits in that month).

In the first trimester of 2014, *Público* led the segment of digital product subscriptions with 6,626 subscribers to its digital products, an increase of 72% over the previous year (Pereira, 2014). At the end of 2014, it had an average of 8,300 digital subscribers (Sonaecom, 2015).

According to the Sonaecom (2015) financial report, business volume of *Público* reached €3.7 million in the first trimester of 2015 (a slight improvement over last year) and the growth of online advertising offset the decline of offline advertising. EBITDA (*Earning Before Interests, Taxes, Depreciation and Amortization*) is still negative — about €0.7 million, but had an improvement of 15.9% compared to the first trimester of 2014.

Culture and digital-related brand extensions

The importance that culture has to *Público* is visible in the number of brand extensions. This media brand has seven thematic channels and five of them have culture as the central theme¹⁷⁹. If we look at them all together, we can have most of the dimensions of culture covered. It is important to note, though, that our content analysis was made to the *Culture* section of the main website — *publico.pt*.

Fugas (<http://fugas.publico.pt>)

It is the website of *Público*'s print supplement on Saturdays. It is dedicated to travelling, hotels, restaurants, food & wine. Thus, we can say that culture is seen here from a lifestyle perspective. In March 2015, it was the second most visited thematic channel with 423, 867 unique visitors and 3, 031, 041 page views¹⁸⁰.

179 The other two is the digital version of the Sunday magazine — 2 — and the satiric supplement *Inimigo Público* (“Public Enemy”)

180 These statistics (as well as the corresponding to the other culture-related *Público*'s extensions) are available in <http://static.publico.pt/publicidade/online/stats.html> (last accessed 15th April 2015).

Guia do Lazer (<http://lazer.publico.pt/>)

It is a digital-only agenda with all information relating to the latest exhibitions, concerts, plays, parties, Portuguese heritage, restaurants and TV programs. It is sustained in short texts and the focus is on useful information (service logic). In March 2015, it had 213,265 page views and 73,290 visitors. It has a mobile version for tablets and smartphones (<http://m.lazer.publico.pt>)

Cinecartaz (<http://cinecartaz.publico.pt>)

It is a digital-only channel solely dedicated to the seventh art, gathering film reviews of *Público*'s critics and journalists, trailers and movie listings. There is also a mobile version for smartphones and tablets (m.cinecartaz.publico.pt). In March 2015, it had 1,925,140 page views and 421,524 visitors, being the fourth thematic channel with more page views.

P3 (<http://p3.publico.pt>)

P3 is the most visited thematic channel. It had in March 2015 4,675,911 page views and 802,408 unique visitors (the double of the second most visited). *P3* has a younger target than the rest of the channels (18-25 years old) and it covers an urban dimension of culture with focus on the cultural and creative industries: design, architecture, films, stage, exhibitions, digital arts and culture, street food, besides the daily national and international news agenda, are the main topics. It has a great multimedia approach.

The digital-only project was launched in 2010 as a result of a joint venture between *Público*, the University of Porto and INESC Porto, founded by QREN, an international funding program. This joint venture is unique in the country and it can be considered an innovative strategy to reach younger people who are not an avid consumer of newspapers.

Life and Style (<http://lifestyle.publico.pt>)

Life and Style is a digital-only channel. It focuses on some cultural-related areas, within a lifestyle scope, such as fashion, celebrities and food. In March 2015, it had 458,968 unique visitors and 2,990,455 page views, being the second most viewed thematic channel.

Ípsilon (<http://ipsilon.publico.pt> until June 2014)

The greatest change in *Público* regarding culture was the disappearing of *Ípsilon* website and the full integration of this brand in the *Culture* section of publico.pt. As a result, the name of the *Culture* section changed to *Cultura-Ípsilon* and the section suffered a redesign that differentiated it from the other sections of the website.

Ípsilon print supplement, released with *Público* newspaper every Friday, is focused on artistic manifestations, the traditional dimension of culture, and in features, interviews and reviews. It was first published on 12nd February 2007, replacing at the time three culture supplements — *Mil Folhas*, *Sons* and *Y*.

Ípsilon had its own website until June 2014. At that month it was the thematic channel with lower visits and page views (35, 038 visits and 65, 534 page views). These results were perhaps the result of few updates to the website, since the supplement was weekly. However, they don't represent the enormous importance that print *Ípsilon* has for *Público*: is commercially very relevant and is still the most important thematic supplement of *Público* (regarding the front page, an ad is only more expensive in the Sunday magazine and in the newspaper) and contributes to the higher circulation of the newspaper on Fridays. It became a reference in culture coverage.

There is also a version of the print *Ípsilon* for tablet (released in November 2011 for iPad and January 2012 for Android). In March, there was no statistics available regarding number of sessions, visualizations or downloads. The most recent data at the time corresponded to December 2014 regarding number of downloads — 167¹⁸¹.

Chronological highlights

1995

- Launch of *publico.pt*. It was not the first national newspaper to have a website (the first was *Jornal de Notícias*), but it was the first one to have digital-only content with the *Última Hora* (*Last Hour*) section.

2007

- Redesign of the *Público* newspaper, adopting the red “P” letter which was transformed into the *Público* logo and brand. The design consultant was Mark Poter, who also redesigned *The Guardian* newspaper at that time.

2010

- The Brazilian journalist Simone Duarte (who had come to *Público* in 2009 with executive manager functions) was invited to be the Online Manager.
- Launch of *P3*, a website focused on culture and lifestyle for younger readers, as a result of a joint venture between *Público*, the University of Porto and INESC Porto funded by QREN, an international funding program.

181 This information was verified also in September 2015 in <http://static.publico.pt/publicidade/online/stats.html>

2011

- In November, it launched the cultural supplement *Cultura Ípsilon* for iPad (it launched for Android in January 2012).

2012

- Launch of the redesigned *publico.pt* with a focus on easier navigation and interaction with the readers, a new journalists' area, a new area for readers and the ability for them to moderate on others' comments.
- Partnership with TVI channel for video coverage of events.
- In October, *Público* announced a restructuring of the company that included the dismissal of 48 employees, 36 of whom were journalists (Henriques, 2012).

2013

- The first webdocumentary produced for a daily Portuguese newspaper is launched
 - *Casa do Vapor — um dia a casa virá abaixo*¹⁸²
- *Cultura Ípsilon* iPad is distinguished with an honorary mention in European Newspaper Award (Público, 2013a)
- *publico.pt* wins an unprecedented special recognition from the European Newspaper Awards jury (Público, 2013b) for database journalism, especially the interactive piece *Floresta em Perigo*¹⁸³, and the long-form multimedia story [*Martin Luther King*] *Há 50 anos ele teve um discurso com um final perfeito*¹⁸⁴
- *Público* launches a new payment system for its digital content. In March 2015, readers could read up to 20 pieces per month for free and then had to subscribe *Público* for a year or a month.

2014

- Launch of the new cultural section *Cultura-Ípsilon*, which integrates content from the previous *Ípsilon* website.
- Beginning of the internationalization strategy: Brasil is the first country involved.

182 <http://www.publico.pt/multimedia/casa-do-vapor> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

183 <http://publico.pt/floresta-em-perigo/> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

184 <http://www.publico.pt/temas/jornal/ele-teve-um-sonho-26930400> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

2015

- To commemorate its 25th anniversary, *publico.pt* released an interactive feature dedicated to time.¹⁸⁵
- In March 2015, *Público* launched a new special online edition for Brasil.

Table 26. General profile of *Público*

General information	
Name of the media and URL	<i>Público</i> publico.pt
Global slogan	“Sem limites” (Without limits)
Original platform	Print newspaper
Current editorial director (2015)	Bárbara Reis
Extension of the brand — media types and platforms	<p>Platforms and media types</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <i>Público</i> (print newspaper) — Publico.pt (website) — <i>Público</i> app (IOS and Android) — P3 Iphone (P3 thematic website app for iPhone) — <i>Público</i> app for tablets (Android, IOS and Windows 8) — Ípsilon supplement for tablets (IOS and Android) — <i>Público</i> newspaper for Kindle — <i>Público</i> mobile for Smartwatches (Galaxy Gear S) — Four print supplements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <i>Inimigo Público</i> (dedicated to satire, published on Fridays and available online); — <i>Ípsilon</i> (cultural supplement, published on Fridays and available on culture-ipsilon); — <i>Fugas</i> (leisure and travel supplement, published on Saturdays); — Revista 2 (Sunday magazine). Five thematic websites¹⁸⁶: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — <i>Cinecartaz</i> (digital-only, dedicated to cinema, available in cinecartaz.publico.pt); — <i>Fugas</i> (Fugas supplement website, available in fugas.publico.pt); — <i>Guia do Lazer</i> (digital-only; website dedicated to cultural and leisure agenda, available at lazer.publico.pt); — <i>Life & Style</i> (digital-only; website dedicated to lifestyle, available at lifestyle.publico.pt); — P3 (digital-only; website focused on culture and creativity, directed at a younger urban target, available at p3.publico.pt with an iPhone app); — <i>Revista 2</i> (magazine 2 website, available at http://publico.pt/revista2) — <i>Inimigo Público</i> (Inimigo Público supplement website, available at http://inimigo.publico.pt/) <p>Merchandising, e-books and books in partnership with other institutions</p>

185 <http://www.publico.pt/25anos> (last accessed 3rd February 2015).

186 The Ípsilon supplement site was integrated in the *Público's Culture* section, renamed “Cultura-Ípsilon” on June 2014.

VI. 3. 3. Editorial strategy regarding culture coverage

A merge and the consequent identity and memory problem

During the time frame of our research, there was a major change in the way culture is presented in the digital environment, as a result of the integration of *Ípsilon* content in the culture website, as we have already approached. This integration meant, in fact, the redesign of the *Culture* section in 2014, only two years after the redesign of the whole *Público*'s website that included, naturally, the *Culture* section.

The integration of *Ípsilon* website, the strongest brand extension of *Público*, in the daily updated *Culture* section of *Público* website was not pacific or easy. Isabel Salema, executive editor in charge of the *Culture* section and also the thematic channels dedicated to culture guide (*Guia do Lazer*) and cinema (*Cinecartaz*), besides supervising the *Fugas* and Sunday magazine, gave an interview to this research two months after this change and said that the doubt remain until the last days.

Our big question was whether if we integrated culture and *Ípsilon* in one new website or not. We had lots of doubts despite what people may think. In the end, we thought it would be very complicated to be managing two different things and readers would be confused. Our main question was whether *Ípsilon* would resist as a niche in the digital environment. *Ípsilon* is our strongest brand, both in editorial and commercial terms. (personal interview with Isabel Salema, 4th September 2014, translated from Portuguese).

The difference between paper and digital become very clear: “in the print media, things are organized in a different way and the news agenda doesn't force us to be as agile”, says Salema. For her, the greatest question was how to decide which news or follow-up would go into *Ípsilon* website and which one would go into the *Culture* section and guessing at the same time which website would be visited by the readers. Managing two cultural platforms and justify the need to do it was “schizophrenic” and, in the end, what mattered the most was to protect *Ípsilon*, a strong print brand, from a weak performance in the digital environment.

Sónia Matos, art director, who redesigned the website, also explained the difficulty of dealing with two strong brand extensions which have different periodicities in print. Digital changes the notion of time.

We knew that the Ípsilon website was very weak and we would have to change it. If we end it, then culture would be resumed to the newspaper's *Culture* section online. So, we created a strong website for Ípsilon and in the end we realized that we had two strong brands. (personal interview, 21st August 2014, translated from Portuguese)

The strategy was to merge the two brand extensions and the *Culture* section was named *Cultura-Ípsilon* with the slogan *Ípsilon — Toda a Cultura* (*Ípsilon — All the Culture*).

None of the brands went away, but the fact is that readers (including me at the time) were surprised and the first impression was that the *Culture* section would have only weekly updates, as the *Ípsilon* website had.

But what has changed, besides the name? Looking at the presentation of the *Culture* section in March 2014 and in March 2015, we can see that the changes occurred were much more profound than we could expect. The *Culture* section lost its identity as a section of *Público's* website and gained a unique graphic presentation that was likely to be, in the beginning, the proposal for the *Ípsilon* website.



Figure 23
Público's Culture section (18th March 2014)

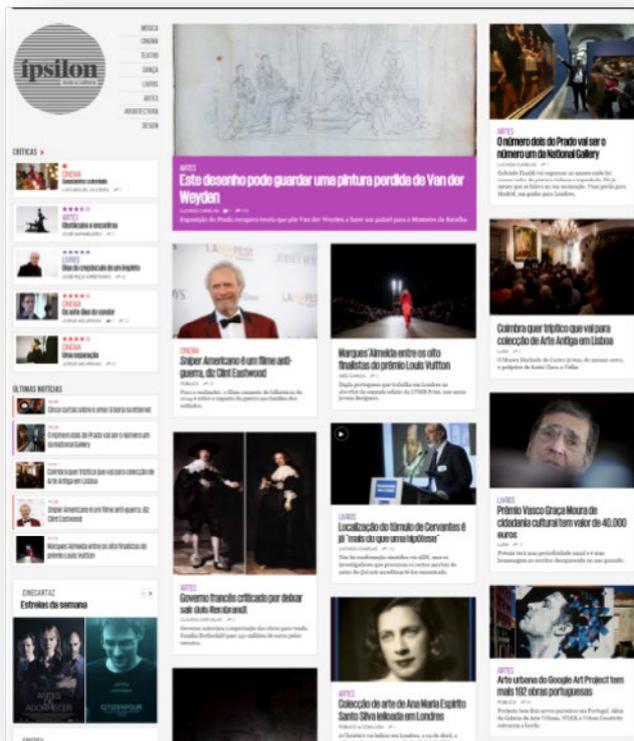


Figure 24
Público's Culture section (18th March 2015)

Table 27. *Público's Culture section in March 2014 and March 2015*

	<i>Público's Culture section in March 2014</i>	<i>Público's Culture section in March 2015</i>
Name	Cultura	Cultura-Ípsilon
Design	The same as other sections of <i>Público's</i> website	A unique design
Navigation (menu)	Music Cinema Theatre Dance Books Arts Architecture Heritage	Music Cinema Theatre Dance Books Arts Architecture Design
Content areas	Front page news Ípsilon Last news Multimédia Most popular Specials Opinion Cover stories per subsection and related research topics	Front page news Reviews Latest news Most popular news
Engagement areas	Open thread Comment Cinecartaz premieres Ípsilon on Spotify	Ípsilon on Spotify Cinecartaz premieres Ípsilon on tablet
Other features	Bookstore Promo <i>Público</i> (subscriptions)	---
N.º of content titles	41	37

Regarding the design, the layout of the new website became completely different from the one in the other sections. We can say that *Ípsilon* won a new website, but *Público* lost the *Culture* section, in terms of consistency within its website. If all sections respect the same editorial strategy, why should culture have a different one? Looking at both, we see that the red list with the name of the section disappeared and it's the word "Ípsilon" that prevails. A more distracted reader may think that this website is indeed the digital version of the culture supplement and not the daily updated *Culture* section. He may get more convinced when noting that the articles don't have the time and date of publication (only on the article's page).

The new website also lost some content areas: the *Culture* section had an area dedicated to *Ípsilon*, which made sense since it is a weekly supplement. From the moment that a weekly supplement overlaps the daily section in the digital environment something is lost: the notion of time and the flux of news.

Regarding the navigation, the new website seems to be a "closed" product with less content and engagement areas, which may affect the interaction with the reader. In terms of content areas, the reviews are now highlighted and the sections *Opinion*, *Multimedia* and *Specials* have disappeared. The digital features *Open Thread* and *Comment* usually have also disappeared.

It seems that the main difference is the level of interaction with the reader and how the culture has positioned: more linked to criticism and the identity of *Ípsilon* and less attached to the news agenda.

There is, however, a memory problem on both websites. When we reach the bottom of the page, there's no link or feature that allows us to continue to see other news that made the previous day news agendas, as *The Guardian* does with the link *Today's stories*, organized by dates. We can only access previous news within each topic which becomes extremely reductive. Moreover, in the list of all topics, there's one called *Cultura-Ípsilon*: we expect to be linked to a page with the archive of that topic, like the others do, but it just links us to the current front page of the *Cultura-ípsilon* section. So, in many ways, we reach a closed door in a website that should have many open doors and windows and allow us to navigate in different directions.

These findings, alongside the absence of the time and date of publication of each article on the front page of the *Culture* section, don't give us the feeling of a living website, rather a digital version of a magazine, for example, where one set of stories are associated with each issue.

The most covered cultural areas, dimensions and approaches

As we have already mentioned in Chapter V, we created, for a two-year analysis (January 7th 2013 to March 8th 2015), a sample size of 2 effective constructed weeks meaning 14 days, from Monday to Sunday, for each. In this period, 171 articles were published in the *Culture* section. Note that we didn't consider the content area *Open Thread* and *Cinecartaz premieres*: regarding the first, there was not a time of publication attached, but we observed that between January 2013 and June 2014, there were 8 open threads in our sample; regarding the second, besides the time, the area is just a widget that links the reader to the website of *Cinecartaz*.

Where are they?

However, we have realized that there was another huge problem with the memory of the website, besides many bugs. Our goal was to understand how *Público* covers and presents culture, so although we have saved the *Culture* section page in the days of our sample and accessed some of them through the Wayback Machine website (<https://archive.org>), we wanted to understand the performance of *Público*'s archive. And we found a memory problem again.

Público's search engine doesn't allow us to access all the news published in the *Culture* section; it forces us to put a word in the search field and then select the section. We can't expect that all news within the *Culture* section would have, for example, the word "culture" in the article. But we could expect that all of them are assigned to the *Culture* section which shares the name, so we didn't anticipate any other problem. So, if we search the word "culture" in all sections, the results would include all the pieces assigned to the *Culture* section, with or without the word in the text, and the ones from the other sections which have the word "culture" in the text. Surprisingly, if we search the same word, but reduce the search to the *Culture* section, we found zero results, which is a serious bug problem. Besides this, the most part of the articles published in the newspaper and then allocated to the website (it's easy to identify them, because they have the word "journal" in the URL) weren't assigned to any topic, not even to the *Culture* section, although they appear in it. This is also confirmed by the fact that the *Culture* section is not highlighted in these cases. So, we have identified a major difference between the digital-only articles, which are fully integrated in the website, assigned to topics, and the ones that came from the newspaper and *Ípsilon* print supplement, which didn't have any digital editing. The piece *Raul Brandão já não está disperso*, published in the newspaper and on the website on 12th March 2013, or the piece *Os dzö não querem copos, querem a garrafa inteira*, published in the *Ípsilon* print supplement and in the website on 6th September 2013, are examples of that problem.

Moreover, in many cases, we reduced the search to a particular date (7th September, for example) and the results would be related to the immediately preceding day (6th September), which is, to say the least, surprising.

All these bugs have forced us to cross various forms of searching to legitimize the data selected. A simple access to all the news assigned to the *Culture* section, organized chronologically, would have facilitated all the process.

Culture is the most important section in commercial terms, according to Isabel Salema, and it has a large budget to freelance journalists. Other sections don't.

Taking this into account, we would expect a higher average of daily articles. A total of 171 give us an average of just 12 pieces a day. Moreover, we don't find here the strategy of cross-tagging and cross-topics, typical of *The Guardian*. For example, we found pieces in the *Society*¹⁸⁷ and *Local*¹⁸⁸ sections about cultural themes that could be also available in the *Culture* section — digital allows these breaking boundaries and the reader who accesses the *Culture* section may not access the others. Besides this, the *Culture* section could include highlights from the other culture-related brand extensions, such as *Guia do Lazer* or *Fugas*. It only does it with the Sunday magazine and *Cinecartaz*, periodically. If *Público* had a convergent strategy regarding its *Culture* section and the other culture-related brand extensions, it could achieve a much larger scope of culture and achieve a larger scope of readers. So, it is important to read the next results in light of these observations.

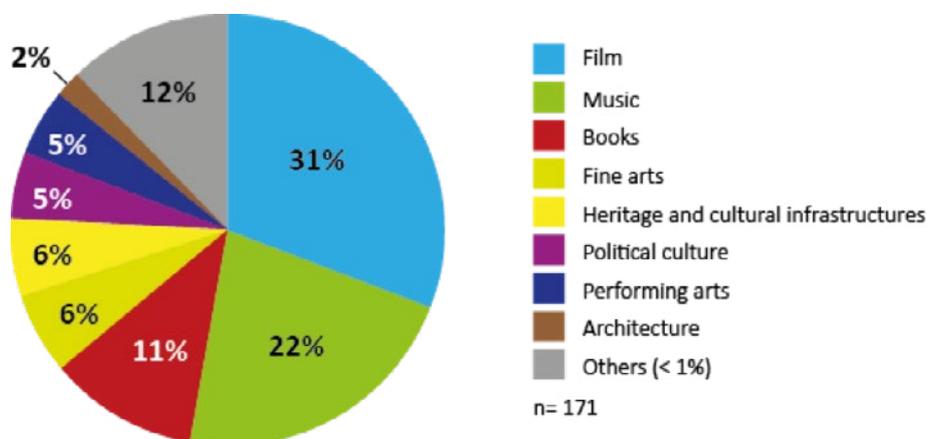


Figure 25
The most covered cultural areas.

187 Read, for example, the article available in <http://www.publico.pt/sociedade/noticia/graciosa-classifica-touradas-como-patrimonio-cultural-imaterial-defensores-dos-animais-protestam-1587472> (last accessed 3rd January 2015).

188 Read, for example, the articles available in <http://www.publico.pt/local/noticia/executivo-de-rui-moreira-muda-a-agulha-e-abre-os-bracos-a-arte-urbana-1633916> and in <http://www.publico.pt/local/noticia/rota-dos-cafes-portugueses-com-historia-lancada-hoje-em-coimbra-1633922> (last accessed 3rd January 2015).

Culture is still films and music

The most frequently covered areas are films (31%) and music (22%), which is not a surprise, since previous studies regarding culture coverage in *Público*'s newspaper (Santos Silva, 2012) also concluded the same. This can also suggest, alongside the number of published articles per day, that there isn't a different position in the digital environment. Although the comparison between the *Culture* section in the newspaper and in the website was not included in our research, the URL of each article told us if an article was published in the newspaper or not. Some of them were also assigned to the *Multimédia* section.

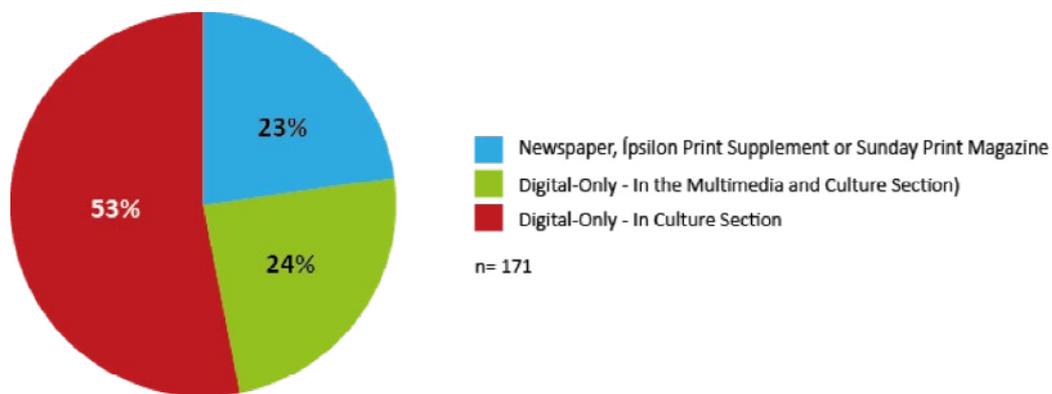


Figure 26
Articles' origin.

We can see in the graphic that 23% of the articles were also published in the newspaper and that 24% of all articles were also assigned to *Multimédia* section, which tells us instantly that these percentage of articles have a digital feature.

However, we were expecting to see a wider range of cultural areas covered and regular features to engage with the reader. On the one hand, media, design, photography, fashion, urban art or digital culture are almost absent — they represent 12%, all are below <1%, and are not part of the main topics. Heritage, which was part of the *Culture* section menu until June 2014, represents, together with cultural infrastructures, 7%. On the other hand, film and music are areas which are now widely covered in blogs, Facebook posts, etc. So, how does *Público* differentiate the coverage of culture? The explanation given by Isabel Salema for removing heritage from the menu also serves to determine the way culture is covered and the problem of narrowing it down.

We believe that heritage could be in all sections: cinema's heritage, architecture's heritage, book's heritage. Heritage no longer obeys the new *Ipsilon* [editorial] logic, centered in the object

itself, in a profound way. We ourselves had difficulties in using heritage; we approached it in a conservative way... Nothing is perfect and now we have other problems, such as new areas, like photography, which are not in the menu (personal interview with Isabel Salema, 4th September, translated from Portuguese).

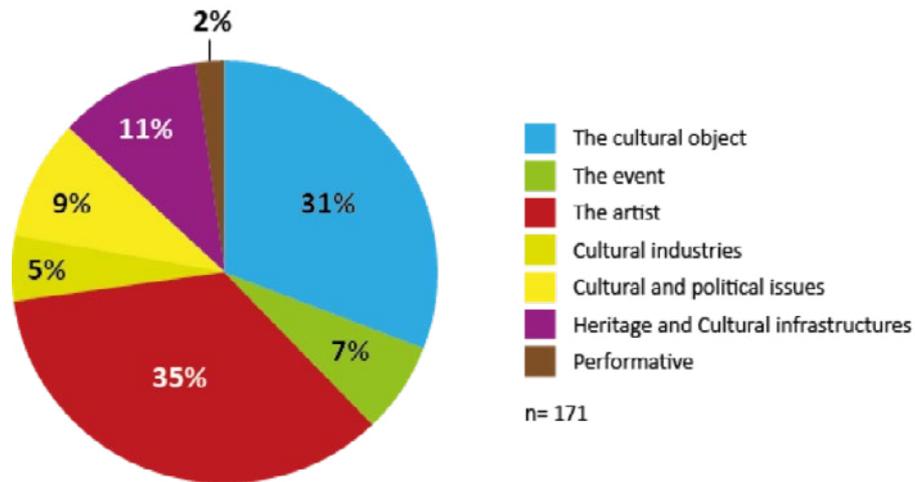


Figure 27
Culture's main angles.

Culture is artistic manifestations

It is no surprise that, regarding the dimension of culture, artistic manifestations have a clear advantage (73%), and the focus is more on the artist (35%) and on the cultural object (31%) even if the article is related to an event. Only in 5% the focus is solely on the cultural event. We also find a clear relation between cultural and political issues and the *opinion* genre, the main home of this cultural dimension.

Dominant news genres and their relation to news agenda

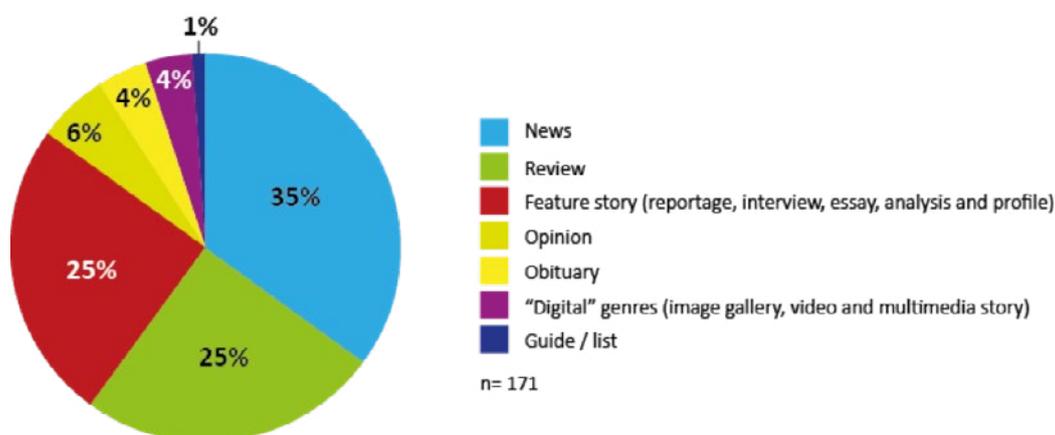


Figure 28
Dominant news genres.

Culture is not breaking news

“Breaking news in culture is not as strong as in the other sections. There are days when it doesn’t exist at all. It’s cultural policies, obituaries and the other things we feed everyday with two or three paragraphs”, says Isabel Salema. Our findings confirm this: only 35% of the articles collected were news. Reviews (about films, music and books) represent a quarter of the articles, due mostly to the pieces from Ipsilon print supplement and Cinecartaz. The feature story, where we included interviews, reportage, analysis, profiles, human interest stories and background articles, represents another quarter.

It is important to note the emergence of “digital” genres, where the format and the genre converge, and the *Culture* section is really innovating. During the time frame of our analysis we have also identified one short series dedicated to a book choice by an editor, “Um editor por dia, um livro por dia” (“One editor a day, one book a day”)¹⁸⁹ and six special projects, all multimedia packages, so we will include them in the next subchapter.

189 See, for example, <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/um-editor-por-dia-um-livro-por-dia-1638394> (last accessed 3rd January 2015).

The use of digital tools and features

The *Culture* section has been embracing digital and there are several examples of digital innovation, as we have already considered in subchapter VI. 2. 3. However, this investment has been more visible in special projects than in the daily articles.

The general sense in the Culture newsroom seems to be that a website creates a lot more work than paper, because an article isn't finished in the last word.

The new website creates a lot more work than the other one. There are all these components we can't ignore anymore and a number of operations that we have to do to get complete the article... there's the review box, putting the stars, make all the associations between the articles. We are still learning that. These new instruments are not yet fully integrated in our routine (personal interview with Isabel Salema, 4th September 2013, translated from portuguese).

These new operations, which are usual in a website — assign articles to topics, choose photographs for a gallery, make all the associations that can enhance the article — require, for Isabel Salema and Kathleen Gomes, responsible for the tablet edition of *Ipsilon*, a visual culture, but there is still some resistance in the newsroom: “we have to repeat over and over again ‘don't forget to associate five photographs because it is a photo gallery, don't forget to include a highlight in the middle of the text’”, explains Salema.

The multimedia special package (which resulted in a micro website) created by the *Culture* team to mark the 100th anniversary of World War I⁹⁰ in the summer of 2014 is an example of this need to change routines and to adapt to the digital environment. It required several months of work.

In the first week, we were all going crazy: there were the highlights, the photos, the photo galleries... It took us a month just to train the long format [in digital], which requires a lot of work. From photos to videos, it was all difficult because we didn't have the routine to include a story like that on the Internet. But it was a great training experience (personal interview with Isabel Salema, 4th September 2013).

Regarding these new skills, Salema shared with our research a major doubt regarding the digital environment: should all these new tools and requirements be in the journalist's hands? She argues that, in the near future, perhaps it would be necessary to have a new figure, such as a content producer, who will make the bridge between the journalist and the graphic so that all this ambition regarding multimedia won't fail.

190 <http://www.publico.pt/primeira-grande-guerra> (last accessed 3rd January 2015).

She is sure about one thing though. The integration of multimedia and the use of all these new tools makes a huge difference in the content format and delivery: “the result is much more interesting and pretty”, stresses Salema, and a long-term idea is to use the staff from Guia do Lazer and Cinecartaz websites, for example, to edit small videos with excerpts from the movie trailers and the voice of the critic talking about it. “We can’t make the videos, but we can edit them”.

Video is a strategy to reinforce multimedia presence, but the fact is at the time of the interview there was only one person who could create and edit videos.

The World War I special multimedia package was made in the context of *Público* + (special projects financed by foundations or patronages, as we will see in the subchapter regarding *Público*’s business model). It had the financial support of Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and a content partnership (historic data, including photographs and documents) with Lisbon Municipal Archive, the Portuguese Centre for Photography and the Militar Historical Archive of the War Ex-Combatants League. The innovation behind this multimedia package relies on the availability of hundreds of photos and documents from that time, an interactive chronology and the contextual and explanatory approach.

Two other coverages in our findings deserve a mention: the cultural approaches in the series *Ano Grande no Brasil (Big year in Brazil)*¹⁹¹ with a strong presence of video and video galleries, for example in the section *Brasil é (Brazil is)* made entirely by *Público* and *Público* brand extensions (*Ípsilon* and *Fugas*); the series 30 anos do CAM¹⁹², to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Modern Art Centre, for which *Público* made a series of video interviews with artists talking about their own artwork included in the CAM’s special exhibition *Sob o Signo de Amadeo. Um Século de Arte (Under Amadeu Sign. A Century of Art)*.

Finally, Laura Bacall’s death¹⁹³ was also a motto to explore a multimedia angle with several photo galleries and videos.

It is also representative of *Público*’s investment in multimedia the partnership that the brand had with a TV channel — TVI — to publish its videos¹⁹⁴ and the section Multimédia¹⁹⁵, where readers can access all multimedia features, organized in Videos, Photo galleries, Infographics and Videos TVI.

Regarding the use of digital tools in-text, we found 304 hyperlinks in 171 pieces. 88% of them are internal and 12% link to external pages. These high percentages of internal hyperlinks are mostly associated with topics and not hyperlinks within the text.

191 <http://www.publico.pt/ano-grande-do-brasil> (last accessed 31st January 2013).

192 <http://www.publico.pt/multimedia/video/pedro-cabrira-reis-serie-gulbenkian-20130724-170928> (last accessed 31st January 2013).

193 <http://www.publico.pt/lauren-bacall> (last accessed 31st January 2013).

194 <http://www.publico.pt/multimedia/videos/tvi> (last accessed 16th March 2015).

195 <http://www.publico.pt/multimedia> (last accessed 16th March 2015).

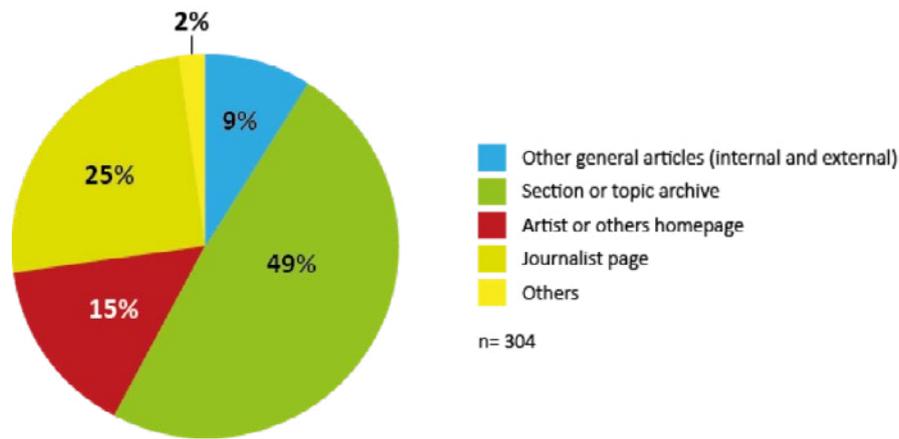


Figure 29
Hyperlinks' destinations.

We can see that 49% of the hyperlinks link us to the section or the topic archive and 25% to the journalist page, so the use of hyperlinks is not exploited to its maximum. The remaining 24% link to homepages of the artists or institutions referred to in the piece.

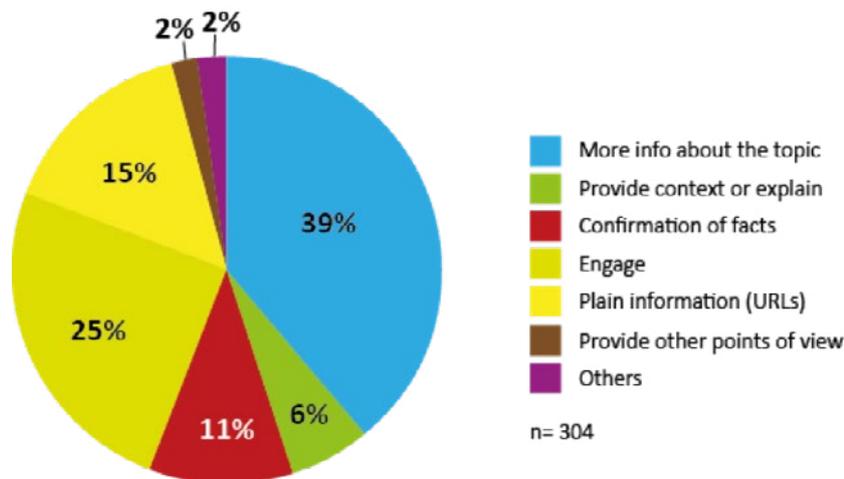


Figure 30
Hyperlinks' functions.

The limited use of hyperlinks is associated with the respective function: we considered engagement hyperlinks as the ones that link us to journalists' pages (25%). Most of them give us more information about the topic, 15% are referential, linking us to the URLs and only 19% of the hyperlinks enhance the piece, providing other points of view (2%), context or explanation (6%) or the confirmation of facts (11%).

Regarding the use of multimedia tools, photo galleries are the most used tool, which

are present in 25% of the pieces (42/171), although it is important to acknowledge that almost half of them only included two photos. We also identified 26 videos and 5 of them were made in *Público*.

The function of both photo galleries and videos is mainly to show the cultural object or the artist and they are more frequent in cinema and fine arts.

Regarding audio, we could not find any use of it, with the exception of one piece that crosses the music and digital culture and includes 2 Spotify lists.¹⁹⁶

It is also worth mentioning the examples of convergence between the *Culture* section and *Cinecartaz*, although this is only present in two film reviews.¹⁹⁷ The reader can read the highlighted review and, in a box located on the left, can access other reviews about the same film from *Público*'s journalists and see the movie trailer.

In our findings there were no examples of interactive infographics or other multimedia approaches, but as already mentioned in a previous chapter, *Público* has taken huge steps in data journalism thanks to its partnership with the academic project REACTION.

Ípsilon for tablet

Although it was not part of our content analysis, we had the opportunity to interview Kathleen Gomes who is in charge of the print supplement *Ípsilon* for tablet.

Besides the interactive navigation, the main difference between the two platforms is that they rely on the multimedia complements. The pieces are not changed in essence, but Kathleen looks for external content that can enhance the piece, such as an audio clip of the music band that is being reviewed or a movie trailer of the film being reviewed. She also adds more images, if available, to a piece, or allows the reader to zoom or makes even more images available for a piece. These elements are usually aside from the text so the experience does not become noisy. Covers are also animated. At the time of our research, the tablet version did not have any advertising.

“*Ípsilon* for tablet can't be just a PDF, right?”, asks Kathleen Gomes. There are many advantages of getting the tablet version: readers have access to this edition sooner than the print edition and the version does not have any advertising. However, the great advantage, especially in culture, pointed out by Kathleen Gomes is the chance to give readers the opportunity to see or listen to the cultural object they are reading about instantly.

196 <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/fazer-uma-careta-a-morte-1672963> (last accessed 31st January 2015).

197 See, for example, <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/fazer-uma-careta-a-morte-1672963> and <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/a-charada-de-david-fincher-esta-decifrada-1672962> (last accessed 31st January 2015).

People often say ‘you write about music bands that I don’t know or about writer x that I have never heard of’. This is no longer an excuse because the tablet version has the music or the video associated with the text and the reader can see or hear instantly. If the reader doesn’t know a reader, we then provide an excerpt of the book (personal interview with Kathleen Gomes, 4th September 2014, translated from Portuguese).

In that logic, for Kathleen Gomes video is the richest multimedia tool.

Another key factor has to do with the reader’s experience. The strategy is to maintain the same reading experience that the reader has on paper, but to enhance it, meaning that if the reader wants, he can access other features. On the website, the layout and the reading experience are completely different.



Figure 31
An example of an *Ipsilon* page in the tablet version (15th August 2014). The multimedia feature appears at the left margin.

VI. 3. 4. The engagement strategy — achieving the best relationship with the reader

“We want to be the newspaper that has the best relationship with its readers”, says Simone Duarte. This was the motto for the redesign of the website in 2012. At that time, there were major innovations across the whole website: the website became organized by topic and potentially all news would be assigned to a topic; by registering, the reader gained their own area with the chance to save their favourite articles to their library; every journalist became closer to the reader through an authors’ page that has his contact details and a brief profile; registered readers gained the opportunity to moderate comments; open threads were a major opportunity to engage with readers.

We wanted to create a dialogue with the reader. It is no longer a monologue, although the media industry still thinks that way. A dialogue is so much more than just putting the reader’s comment on the homepage... it starts with the title we give to the news piece, it continues on the reader’s page, with the journalist’s page written in the first person (personal interview with Simone Duarte, 21st August 2014, translated from Portuguese).

Another engagement strategy for the new website has to do with thinking about the article page as a destiny and not just the homepage and trying to “accommodate the reader, to make him feel at home and without the need to leave”, explains Sónia Matos. Blogs were also an investment to establish an ongoing conversation with the reader.

Table 28. Navigation and memory

When?	Responsive website	Clear organization of the website (filters, platforms, topics)	Time and date of publication	Possibility to access archives?	Possibility to personalize the search by topic, section and date?	Search box	Features that facilitate navigation (topics, related pieces, website map)	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	Yes	Date and time just on the article’s page	Yes, but if you are not a subscriber you can only access 20 pieces per month	Only by keyword, date and topic. The search has many bugs and does not work by section	Yes	We cannot access the whole archive of a section, just the topics	No

However, we have already seen in Subchapter VI. 4.5. that there is a navigation and memory problem within the website. We cannot access the whole archive of a section; the topic, time and date of the publication is only available on the article's page and the personalization of the search has many bugs.

We would also expect a major interaction between the *Culture* section of *Público* and the other culture-related brand extensions, beyond the superior menu. For example, *Guia do Lazer* has a widget in the right hand margin with news from the *Culture* section, *Fugas, Life & Style* and *P3* that could be interesting to the reader. This strategy could also be applied to the *Culture* section.

Table 29. Readers' interaction with the media/journalists

When?	Staff e-mail?	Forms of contacting the authors of pieces?	Sources contacts?	Crowd-sourcing?	Can users comment on articles?	Can users vote on or recommend articles?	Can users contribute to articles or are they invited?	Users' sharing options
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	By e-mail	Sometimes (URLs)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Facebook, Twitter and Google +

On the other hand, our findings confirm a path towards a dialogue with the reader: it is possible to contact journalists by e-mail and to comment on articles and share them.

Table 30. Social media positioning

When?	Invited blogs	YouTube channel	Facebook account	Twitter account	Instagram account	Another social media network
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	<i>Miss Dove</i> and <i>Letra Pequena</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ípsilon has	Spotify list

Público has a significant presence in social media: it has a YouTube channel¹⁹⁸ with all the videos published on the website, a global Facebook account¹⁹⁹ and different Facebook accounts for specific sections and a Twitter account (@publico].

198 <https://www.youtube.com/user/jornalpublicovideos> (last accessed 31st March 2015)

199 <https://www.facebook.com/Publico?fref=ts> (last accessed 31st March 2015)

Regarding the *Culture* section, all culture-related brands have Facebook accounts²⁰⁰ (on 31st March 2015, *Guia do Lazer* had more than 50 thousand followers; P3 had more than 270 thousand; *Fugas*, more than 275 thousand; *Cinecartaz* had 28 thousand readers approximately; *Life & Style* had approximately 100 thousand) and the *Culture* section is integrated in the Ípsilon Facebook account²⁰¹ (on 31st March 2015, it had approximately 60 thousand readers). It also has an Instagram account²⁰² and a direct app²⁰³ through Facebook.

Table 31. Personalization and services

When?	Possibility to personalize the homepage	Possibility to save content to read later	Possibility to receive alerts or newsletters or e-mails	Opportunity to buy the items presented in the pieces	Opportunity to participate in conferences and other events with the staff	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	No	Yes	Yes, through the <i>Público</i> app	Sometimes	No	No

VI. 3. 5. The business model — no more than 20 articles

During the time frame of our research, *Público* has experimented with many ways to finance its digital presence. Until November 2013, only a few articles were available for free to readers. Feature stories were usually behind a paywall. At that time, readers could become *Público* subscribers or just pay for one article (micropayment). That could be done with the credit on our mobile phone. In November 2013, there was a major twist in the digital business model.

From that point, readers could read any article they wanted, including accessing, for the first time, the digital archive since 2001 but there was a catch: they could only read 20 articles per month. To publicize this new business model, *Público* created a new signature — “Without limits” — and explained this would be needed to “ensure *Público*’s sustainability” (*Público*, 2013) and the investment in quality journalism.

200 *Cinecartaz* (<https://www.facebook.com/cinecartaz>), *Fugas* (<https://www.facebook.com/fugasb>), P3 (<https://www.facebook.com/PublicoP3?fref=ts>), *Guia do Lazer* (<https://www.facebook.com/guiadolazer>) and *Life & Style* (<https://www.facebook.com/publico.lifestyle?fref=ts>), (last accessed 31st March 2015)

201 <https://www.facebook.com/IpsilonFB?fref=ts> (last accessed 31st March 2015)

202 https://instagram.com/ipsilon_publico/ (last accessed 31st March 2015)

203 https://www.facebook.com/IpsilonFB/app_168188869963563 (last accessed 31st March 2015)

In the first trimester of 2014, as we have already said earlier, *Público* led the segment of digital product subscriptions with 6,626 subscribers to its digital products, an increase of 72% over the previous year (Pereira, 2014). At the end of 2014, it had an average of 8,300 digital subscribers (Sonaecom, 2015).

On 31st March 2015, there were four types of subscriptions: digital-only, digital plus paper, Ípsilon for tablet and Kindle. An annual digital subscription was 99,99 Euros and a monthly subscription was 9.99 Euros, with an offer for the first two months of 2.99 Euros.

Other sources of revenue

An innovative approach to the business model is the project *Público +*, a fund financed by companies with a philanthropic profile for major journalism projects. The fund is used in three key areas: Investigative Reportage, Culture, Science/Environment and Multimedia. BES, EDP, Galp, Mota-Engil. REN, Santander Totta and Vodafone are the current patrons. The World War I micro website is an example of a project made with the support of these patrons.

Digital advertising, merchandising, DVDs, CDs and book collections are also sources of revenue. *Público* also has an online shop, where readers can buy *Público*'s merchandising and Portuguese designers' merchandising.

However, there is still a lot to be done to increase digital revenues, especially in the *Culture* section: the Ípsilon version for tablet had no advertising during the time frame of our research but it has great potential to include interactive ads; cinema, music and books are also interesting areas to make other types of revenue, such as selling tickets or organizing conferences.

VI. 4. *La Fábrica (Notodo)* — “Not everything, just the best”

I encountered La Fábrica through its flagship magazine, Matador. Only later did I realize the true cultural universe of this company, which includes, in addition to specialized magazines and the subject of analysis of this study — notodo.com — organizing and promoting festivals (the best known is the PhotoEspaña), exhibitions and other events, training in cultural areas, book publications and, more recently, an art gallery, a concept store with works by Spanish designers, a bookstore and a café.

La Fábrica headquarters are on Calle Verónica 13, near the Paseo del Prado, one of the most touristic areas of Madrid, with three important museums: Prado, Thyssen-Bornemisza and Reina Sofía.

La Fábrica Café, the art gallery, the book store specialized in photography, the concept store and the training space, all La Fábrica projects, are in Calle Alameda 9 (about ten steps from Calle Veronica, 13). Although having two different entrances, both the café and the concept store are linked by a corridor, and stairs gives access to the basement where the art gallery and the book store are located, so the total space is about 400 square meters. On the outside, 4 large red awnings with the La Fábrica logo announce these websites.

La Fábrica Café was one of the last ventures of La Fábrica in 2013, joining the other four spaces open to the public. The concept of a bistro serving light meals, with a great wine list and coffee was a way to expand the cultural experience of La Fábrica.

Contact with La Fábrica was quite easy because Laura Hernandez, Director of Projects and Digital, replied immediately and advised me about the most important interviews that would give me an overall idea of the whole of the La Fábrica universe. She also offered to schedule them during my time in Madrid. The way she hosted me was a fantastic experience, which greatly facilitated getting past the language barrier when interviewing the six members of the staff. All had the openness and friendly qualities traditionally attributed to the Spanish, and I realized that most of them have a spirit of mission to their work: to bring culture to more people through an institution that is, in everyone's opinion, alone in the cultural universe of Madrid (and some dare to say, in Spain). More than being a job, they see it as a public service provided to society, they see a social utility in their work (ironically, I didn't have this feeling in the other three case studies, whose roles are essentially journalistic, but mission-oriented too).

The staff of the La Fábrica are by far the youngest of the four case studies (between 25 and 35), with the exception of the directors. The atmosphere is very informal and hectic, in a good way, and different from the other case studies: it is not only a newsroom, because the open space is flanked by small offices that house 6 teams: Editorial (9 permanent staff), Festivals & Exhibitions (7 permanent staff), Projects & Digital (6 permanent staff), Communication (1 permanent staff) Administration (6 permanent staff) and La Fábrica Fundación Contemporanea (5 permanent staff), and teams from La Fábrica Café and La Fábrica Galeria and freelancers in the editorial and festival areas.

Another major difference is that, in contrast to Público and The Guardian for example, the editorial staff breathes culture first and then journalism, and the editorial department is not the only channel to bring culture to the audience. However, as we shall see, it is essential to stress that many non-editorial cultural projects were strategically created by La Fábrica to bring visibility and sustainability precisely to media projects: one example is the Eñe Festival which was created to expand the universe of Eñe magazine; another is the OjodePez Photo Meeting, an extension of the OjodePez magazine.

VI. 4. 1. Historical framing



Figure 32
Notodo's logotype in March 2015.

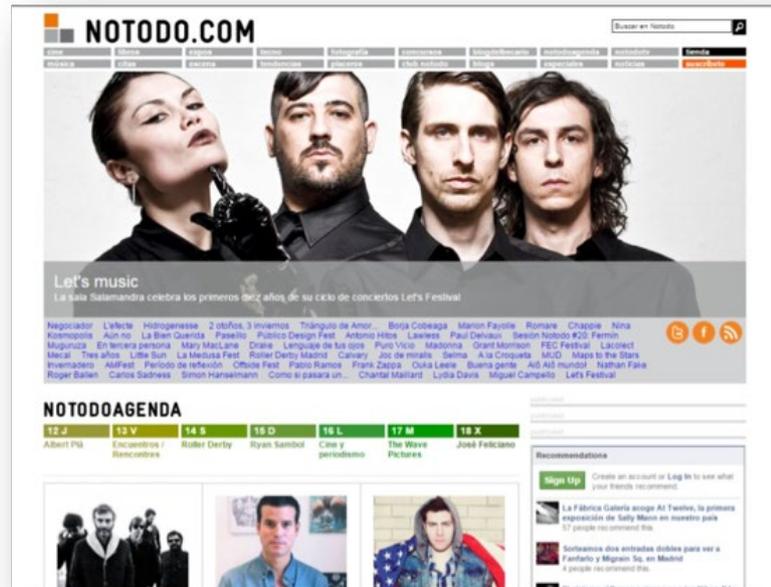
The Spanish cultural information portal *Notodo.com* is the only case-study that was not created by a media company, but rather by a private cultural management organization, called *La Fábrica*. Its story is just a small piece of an innovative cultural project in Spain — which has already spread to Latin America — carried out by *La Fábrica*. So, although our content and structural analysis is focused on *notodo.com*, the case-study must, at some point, expand to the whole company for the diversity of their editorial and cultural offer so we can appreciate the concept and the innovative strategies as a whole.

Notodo.com was born in 2000 and presented as a cultural digital magazine with “carefully chosen content with a selection of current proposals”²⁰⁴ in the fields of film, music, literature, exhibitions, theatre, photography, trends, entertainment, video and technology. “Notodo” means “not everything”, positioning the brand in a curatorship role.

It has over 100,000 subscribers to date who receive the *Notodo Revista* each week in their e-mail, their weekly magazine edition with a selection of pieces published in *notodo.com*, *Notodo Agenda*, with a selection of exhibitions, festivals and other events, and an almost daily bulletin, called *Mail Cultura*, with the latest news or events, focusing on ones from *La Fábrica* or selected by it.

204 Retrieved from <http://www.notodo.com> last accessed on 21st April 2015.

Figure 33
 Notodo.com front page on
 14th March 2015.



La Fábrica was created in Madrid by Alberto Arnaut and Alberto Fesser. Arnaut was founder and director of the magazine *Mercado*, editor in chief of *El País Semanal*, sub-editor of the daily newspaper *El País* and editor of *La Revista del Mundo*. In 1995, he retired from journalism to found *La Fábrica*, to which he invited Fesser, with a professional career in business management, as co-founder.

The first project of *La Fábrica* was the annual cult magazine *Matador*, launched to survive one generation, from 1995 to 2022. Each issue is associated with one letter of the alphabet, from A to Z. In 1998, *La Fábrica* created the photography festival *PhotoEspaña* to satisfy a need in this area. Two years later came *notodo.com*, the cultural recommendation digital magazine. In the last 20 years *La Fábrica* has been developing privately-run contemporary cultural projects of value to society, in different formats with a focus on innovation, social integration and international projection. In 2009 it created a non-profit organization — *Fundación Contemporánea* — with the support of the Spanish Government to contribute to professional development in the culture sector.

VI. 4. 2. Overall brand positioning regarding innovation

Notodo.com gets around 70 to 75 thousand monthly visits and around 400 thousand monthly page views. 90% of the readers are from Spain and the greater part are between 20 and 35 years-old and active users of the Web. Alan Queipo, editor-in-chief, coordinates an external team of eight to ten collaborators and also writes for the website. The dimension is totally different from the other case studies, but the numbers are relevant, given that the website

focuses on cultural events taking place in Spain outside the mainstream, particularly in Madrid.

La Fábrica positioning in digital also is different from the other case studies: it did not have a print project that strategically needed to go online as the fruition of a digital-first strategy, neither is resistant to digital in an atypical way. It uses digital as a way to expand the brand to more readers, communicating the name, or to grow a specific media brand.

Notodo.com is an example of this, as explained by Alan Queipo for this research: “[*La Fábrica*] has a profile of expensive projects, specialized cult magazines. *Notodo.com* is the counterpoint — it opened the range to an audience who search for another kind of content on the Web, for free”²⁰⁵.

With the same logic that *La Fábrica* created the *Eñe Festival* to bring readers to *Eñe* magazine, it created the digital-only short film festival called *Notodo Film Fest*, with seven million views of short films on average in each edition, to enhance the *Notodo* media brand.

Thus, as Álvaro Matías, General Editorial Director, explained to our research, digital serves the main purpose of communicating with readers and retaining them both for print and for digital projects. *La Fábrica* has built a database of readers, currently already 100 thousand on record, to whom it communicates all of *La Fábrica* and partners projects.

Media brands all have websites, but it’s more of a brand website to retain readers: for example, the *Eñe* magazine website has the presentation of each issue, information about the festival and content created just for the website, but it does not have all the content of the magazine.

Magazine *Matador* also has a brand website and since 2012 the digital version is paid, but just for tablets (iPad and Android) because it allows the reader the same quality of design and content experience plus extra audiovisual content which is not possible on paper, such the video, audio and image galleries.

The best role that suits the Internet is not to replicate printed content, but to retain readers with it, or create and distribute digital-only content. “The last few years are proof that we are right”, Matías confirms.

It now operates mainly in six fields:

- *La Fábrica Editorial*, which includes specialized magazines *Matador*²⁰⁶, a culture, ideas and trends magazine; *OjodePez*²⁰⁷, a documentary photography magazine; and *Eñe, Revista para leer*²⁰⁸, dedicated to literature; and books series, such as *PhotoBolsillo*, *Obras Maestras*, *Conversations with Photographers*;

205 Our translation. The interview was conducted in Spanish.

206 <http://revistamatador.com/> (last accessed 21st April 2015).

207 <http://www.lafabrica.com/es/colecciones-editorial/9/ojodepez> (last accessed 21st April 2015).

208 <http://revistaparaleer.com/> (last accessed 21st April 2015).

- *La Fábrica Festivals*, all focused on cultural areas that didn't have much visibility, such as *PhotoEspaña*²⁰⁹ (photography), one of the major visual events in the world, attended by 700 thousand people annually, *Eñe Festival* (literature), *Getafe Negro* (Crime Novels) or *OjodePez Photo Meeting Barcelona* (documental photography);
- *La Fábrica Digital*, integrating the creative and online production projects, such as *notodo.com*, the cultural information portal; *notodofilmfest.com*²¹⁰, the first and largest online short film festival; *notodohoteles.com*, an independent guide of hotels in Spain, Portugal and Andorra; *ABC LifeLovers*, *Fotoactitud*, among others;
- *La Fábrica Cultural Management* and cultural consulting for clients;
- *La Fábrica Courses*, including training and professional development in the culture sector, through various activities and observatory projects integrated in Fundación Contemporánea and, for example, a Master's in Cultural Engineering in association with the European University of Madrid;
- *La Fábrica Space*, with its own gallery, book store, concept store and a Café.

Chronological highlights

1995

- Launch of *La Fábrica*.
- Launch of the annual print magazine *Matador*.

1998

- First edition of *PhotoEspaña*, international festival of photography and visual arts.

1999

- Creation of the annual art projects awards in association with Caja Madrid Social Foundation.

2000

- Launch of *notodo.com*.

209 <http://phe.es/> (last accessed 21st April 2015).

210 <http://www.jamesonnotodofilmfest.com/> (last accessed 21st April 2015).

2001

— *NotodoFilmFestival.com*, the first and largest online short film festival is born, an original idea from *la Fábrica*. By 2014 they had presented more than 11 thousand short films from 38 different countries, with 44 million viewers worldwide. In recent years, after a naming strategy, it began to be called *Jameson Notodo Film Festival*.

2002

— Launch of the documental photography quarterly magazine *Ojo de Pez*.

2005

— Launch of *Eñe Magazine*, dedicated to literature²¹¹, published 4 times a year.

2006

- Launch of the annual book meeting *La noche de los libros*, in association with Region of Madrid.
- Launch of *notodohotels.com*, an online guide of the best hotels in Spain, Portugal and Andorra

2007

— Creation of Master PhotoEspaña in Photography in association with PIC.A Escuela Internacional Alcobendas

2008

— Creation of the festival *Getafe Negro*, dedicated to crime novels, for the city council of Getafe (Madrid)

2009

- Launch of an extension of PhotoEspaña — *Trasatlántica PhotoEspaña* — with photography and visual arts forums in Latin America.
- Launch of the first edition of *OjodePez Photo Meeting*, as an extension of *OjodePez* magazine.
- Creation of *Fundación Contemporánea*, a non-lucrative foundation by *La Fábrica* with the support of Spanish Government.

211 <http://revistaparaleer.com/> (last accessed 21st April 2015).

2013

- Launch of *PhotoEspaña* in Brazil in association with Serviço Social do Comércio-Sesc.
- Launch of *Eñe Festival*, an extension of Eñe magazine, dedicated to literature.
- *La Fábrica* opens *La Fábrica Café* en la calle Alameda 9, Madrid, next to its headquarters, gallery and bookstore and concept store.

2014

- Launch of *La Fábrica Masters of Cultural Engineering* at the European University of Madrid

Table 32. General profile of *Notodo*

General information	
Name of the media and URL	<i>Notodo</i> notodo.com
Global slogan	Not everything, just the best
Medium original platform	Digital-only
Extension of the brand — media types and platforms	<p><i>Notodo.com</i> (digital only)</p> <p><i>La Fábrica</i> (the overall company, available in http://www.lafabrica.com)</p> <p><i>Eñe magazine</i> (in print and with a website, in http://revistaparaleer.com/)</p> <p><i>Matador Magazine</i> (in print, with a website in http://www.revistamatador.com/ and with iPad app)</p> <p><i>Ojo de Pez magazine</i> (in print and with a website)</p> <p>Several festivals and events of their own or for institutions</p> <p>Several cultural projects for clients or their own</p> <p>Exhibitions</p> <p>Several books collections in photography and fine arts</p> <p>Book store (with <i>La Fábrica</i> own magazines and books plus specialized books mainly in photography)</p> <p>Concept store (products from Spanish designers)</p> <p>Art Gallery</p> <p>Online shop (http://www.lafabrica.com/en/tienda)</p> <p>Café</p> <p>Training in Cultural Engineering and other professional courses and workshops</p> <p>A Cultural Foundation, with activities to develop culture</p>
Headquarters location	c/ Alameda 9 28014 Madrid
Other offices	---
Property model company and type	<i>La Fábrica Gestión Más Cultura</i> , B82627548, Private cultural company
Staff and collaborators through all sections and platforms	About 50 (not counting on café staff and freelancers working periodically for <i>La Fábrica</i> festivals)

VI. 4. 3. Editorial strategy regarding culture coverage

Editorial positioning and structure

Notodo organizes the website menu into 18 sections, allowing us to quickly understand what culture means to this media organization. Ten sections are associated with cultural areas or types of event: films, books, exhibitions, technology, photography, music, festivals, performative arts, trends and pleasures (food & drink). The other sections include specials, news, blogs, contests, *Notodo club* (an area also for contests), *Notodo agenda*, *Notodo TV*, online shop and subscription.

It is important to note that digital culture already has its own section, as well as trends and pleasures, which shows the growing role of culture related to digital, lifestyle and service.

Between 1st January 2013 and 31st March 2015, there were two changes in this organization: the section news replaced short news and the section *Notodo TV* is still there but leads us to a Chinese page. *Notodo TV* was the audiovisual platform for all videos released under *La Fábrica* projects.

The page — which until March 2015 was not yet responsive — is organized into four main sections. First, a slider gallery, which occupies all the superior area of the website has the main highlights; it is, however, difficult to understand which criterion defines the highlights because there are an average of fifty (50) sliders at the same time.

Below the slider there's an agenda with *Notodo's* choices (exhibitions, films, festivals or concerts) for each day of the week; below the agenda there's an average of 20 news pieces structured in a grid-based design. Being a portal focused on the time factor we would expect to see the date of publication of each article right on the front page. Unfortunately, that only happens in the agenda section.

The right hand side includes advertising banners from different projects of *La Fábrica* and other cultural advertisers, some widgets with the last updates of *Notodo* on Facebook and Twitter, as well as some thematic lists (best albums, films or books). Unfortunately in March 2015, the last lists were from 2013.

For Alan Queipo, *Notodo's* editor-in-chief, culture is definitely more than entertainment and artistic manifestations.

Culture is a form of education and citizenship. It is to communicate what is happening, what people think and how they project things. It's a way to show the philosophy of the human being creatively. So, cultural journalism is like a school that communicates the ideas shaped by culture. The most important thing to mainstream media dedicated to culture is having journalists who know how to cover culture (personal interview with Alan Queipo, 29th October 2014, translated from Spanish).

Notodo focuses on one of the aspects mentioned by Queipo with an innovative approach in his opinion, compared to other Spanish media: cultural initiatives outside the mainstream, alternative and independent proposals. *Notodo* brings them to its readers in an accessible, handy and engaged way, differentiating itself from the tendency to approach culture in a dour and cerebral manner.

Notodo tracks proposals that form the “underground” part of the alternative and independent culture and has a publishing profile that is different from that of other media: getting people things they do not know about, on a daily basis, and with a philosophic approach. The problem is that today the media writes about culture in a different way to what people understand. Our work is to make culture accessible to the reader. (idem)

The focus of *Notodo* is on the cultural production that happens in Spain and 90% of the public is Spanish. Queipo sees *Notodo* as a big agenda that follows cultural news in Spain, favoring the one that is not covered by the other media.

This is the philosophy of Notodo: find what is different. If we have to choose between highlighting a U2 concert in Santiago Bernabeu and an alternative small electronic concert that seems to be showing a different proposal in the culture, we prefer to emphasize the small concert. (idem)

The most covered areas and approaches plus a memory problem

As we have already mentioned in Chapter V, we created, for a two-year analysis (January 7th 2013 to March 8th 2015), a sample size of 2 effective constructed weeks meaning 14 days, from Monday to Sunday, for each. In this period, 61 articles were published in *Notodo*. However, we encountered a huge problem that weakened our sample. The news section ironically and surprisingly doesn't have the time or even the date of publication which is a huge failure. This absence is both on the homepage and on each news piece page. So, we couldn't consider them. We know that all of the pieces are short news pieces (an album release, a new movie trailer or an ephemerid), so we took this into account regarding the analysis of genres.

We know that between January 2013 and March 2015, approximately 1600 news articles were published in the news section, which gives an average of two per day. If we had considered them, then we would have 28 more news pieces, with a total of 89 pieces, which shows us that there is an average of six daily updates in *Notodo*. Compared with the other case studies, this number is the lower one, but we have to take into account that the approach to culture is also different from the others, focusing on a curator agenda and recommendations, and the

editorial team has, as we have already mentioned, few elements: an in-house editor-in-chief who coordinates an external team of eight to ten collaborators.

Culture is mainly music

Music is the cultural area most covered by *Notodo* (44%) followed by performing arts (21%) and film (15%). Although in our findings music is the section most frequently covered, the section with more readers is, according to Queipo, performing arts, especially theater. In his opinion, this has to do with the low attention and specialization level given by other media.

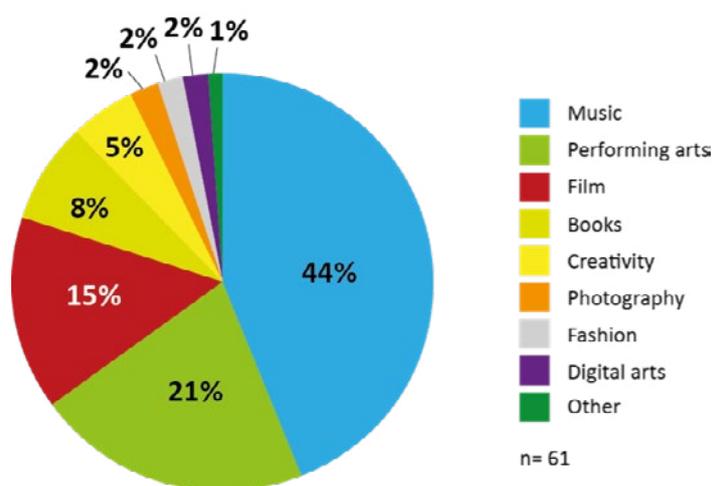


Figure 34
The most covered cultural areas.

The approach to culture is thus based on the artistic manifestation, especially the event or the cultural object. Both represent 49% of all data. Celebrity culture is not important to *Notodo* and this can be related to the focus on independent and alternative culture, rather than global celebrities.

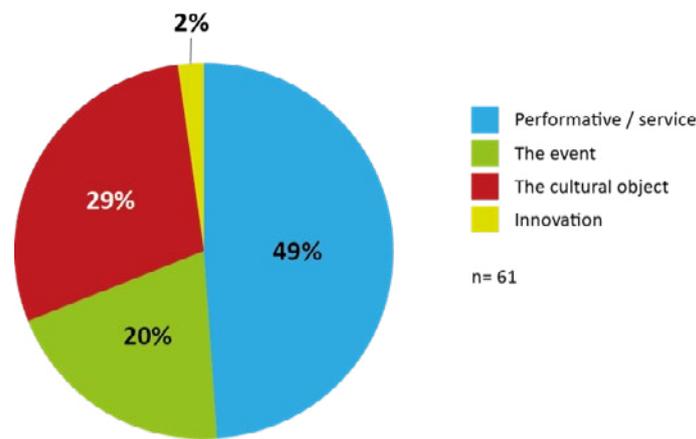


Figure 35
Main approaches to culture.

However, the dominant approach to culture as a service (a performative approach) also represents 49% of findings. This can be explained by the daily agenda brief, which is characterized by a short synopsis but with a clear performative logic. These performative elements, although not dominant in the other findings, are present in all articles, without exception, because *Notodo* is dedicated to choosing, from the global agenda, which is the best for its readers. For example, all articles, regardless of the genre, have, in the right hand margin, the feature “+ Info”: in the case of books, the feature includes the author, the title, the genre, publisher, year, pages and price²¹²; in the case of a music concert²¹³, it includes the address, time and date, ticket prices, where to buy, etc. This shows us how even in a review of an album release or in a one paragraph piece about a festival there is always the suggestion to buy it.

Breaking boundaries in news genres

The presence of performative elements in all pieces has a direct relation with the hybridism of genres.

212 See for example http://www.notodo.com/libros/comic/5026_sammy_harkham_todo_y_nada.html (last accessed 12th March 2015).

213 See for example <http://www.notodo.com/v4/php/agenda.php?iagenda=5360#ficha?url=http://www.notodo.com/v4/new> (last accessed 12th March 2015).

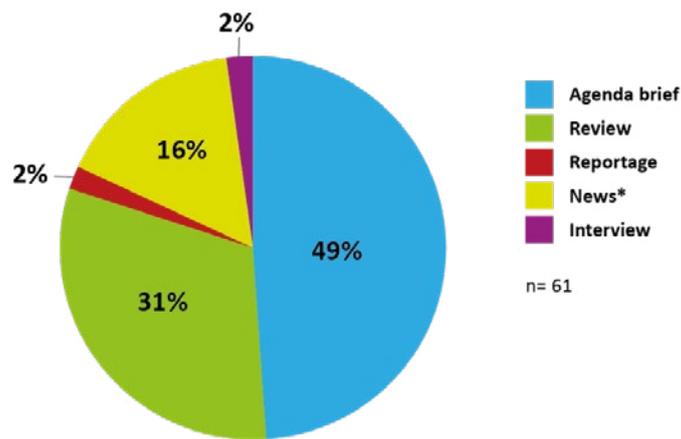


Figure 36
Dominant news genres.

If we look straight at the “dominant” genre, our findings show that the agenda brief has the higher percentage — 49%. These agenda briefs are one paragraph pieces that have a news element — something is going to happen — but also a review element, because the performative/service dimension is dominant. This review element is not based on a quality critique, but rather serves to integrate the cultural object or event in an experience that will be good for the reader: for example, the theater piece *Las uvas de la ira* is “completely necessary for any proud cinephile” but it doesn’t explain why.²¹⁴ The festival Ebrovisión²¹⁵ is “the last quirk before the cold winter brings back the coffee and the blanket”.

However, the same happens with the news pieces, which represent 16% of our findings but, if we had included the 28 estimate pieces that didn’t have time and date of publication, this number would be higher — 43%. The news pieces, although included by *Notodo* in the news section (“noticias”), and dedicated to presenting new initiatives, objects or artists in the culture sphere, are contaminated with adjectives and the tastes of the author. The entrance of the news piece *En el páramo*²¹⁶ is emblematic: “Into the Wilderness is the fabulous video of the no less fabulous theme of Burning Hearts”.

On the other hand, pieces that have review/preview as the dominant genre — 31% — are the ones with a more critique and comprehensive perspective of the cultural object or event. In this case, the analysis tends to be quite in depth.

214 <http://www.notodo.com/v4/php/agenda.php?iagenda=5927#ficha?url=http://www.notodo.com/v4/new> (last accessed 12th March 2015).

215 <http://www.notodo.com/v4/php/agenda.php?iagenda=5360#ficha?url=http://www.notodo.com/v4/new> (last accessed 12th March 2013).

216 http://www.notodo.com/noticias/144_en_el_pramo.html (last accessed 12th March 2015).

When we talk about a new movie, we don't just say that it is out there. We include the context, the philosophic background, the idea the director had, technical things. In the end, we can say why we liked it or not (idem).

Although only 4% of the pieces are feature stories — reportage and interview — Queipo says that these genres are the ones that have more success with the audience.

Despite the genre, all articles are related to the news agenda, i.e., they are timeless stories.

The use of digital tools and features

“The most important to us is text, but we are keen on using video and audio as a complement”, confirms Alain Queipo.

The interactive gallery is the more used digital tool — it is present in 90% of the articles. However, it is important to note that video is used in 37% of the articles, mainly regarding music (music videos) and film sections (trailers), perhaps due to their availability, since any of the video is made by *Notodo*.

Audio is also a resource used in 10% of the pieces, exclusively in articles about music.

Thus, the main function of video and audio as multimedia tools is to show the cultural object — 100% in both cases.

Regarding hyperlinks, all articles have hyperlinks in the form of subtopics above the text or in the text. We identified 379 on the total, with an average of six hyperlinks per article. 64% are internal and 36% are external.

The destinations of the hyperlinks vary: 51% of the total link to related articles, sections or other types of archive within the *Notodo* page; 19% link to the artist's homepage, Facebook page or other social media page; 9% link to services pages (for example, to buy a ticket to a concert); 7% link to video or multimedia packages.

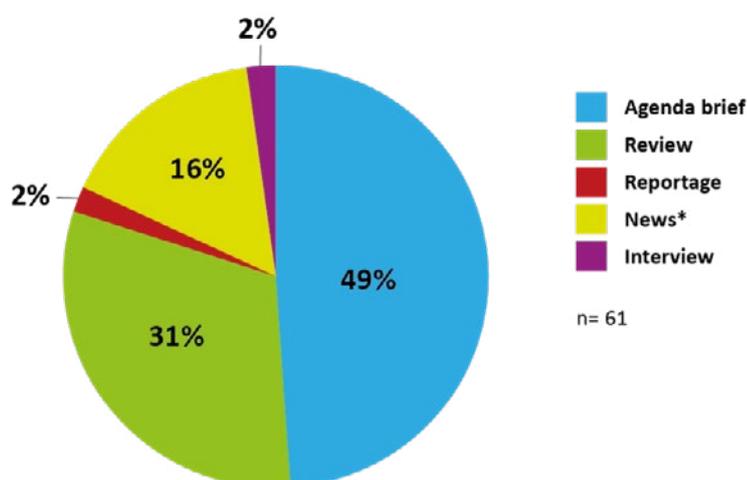


Figure 37
Hyperlinks' destinations.

Finally, it is important to note that engagement hyperlinks represent 14% of all hyperlinks. We have considered engagement links as the ones that link to a journalist’s homepage or the archive and the ones that ask for the reader’s opinion.

Regarding the function of the hyperlinks, 42% link to more descriptive information about the artist of the cultural object, including the archive; 19% are simply referential hyperlinks, linking us to URLs; 8% provide context or explain something; 9% have a service function (buy the ticket); 8% show us the cultural object; we also consider engagement as the main function in 14% of all hyperlinks.

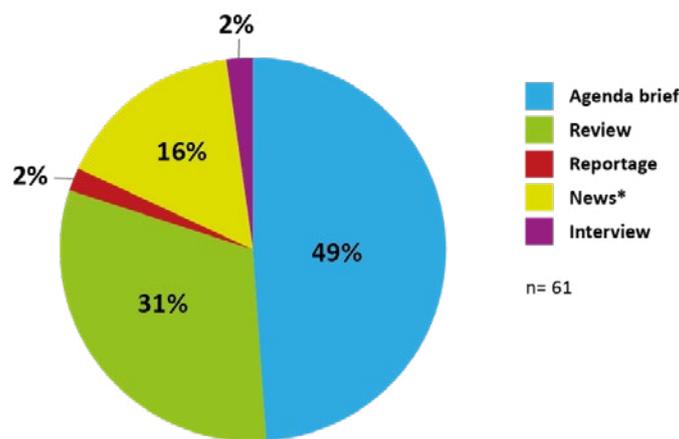


Figure 38
Hyperlinks' functions.

Other digital features

It is important to note in this segment the innovative *Notodo* brand extension — the *Jameson Notodo Film Festival* (<http://www.jamesonnotodofilmfest.com/>), the first and largest online short film festival, an original idea from *La Fábrica*. By 2014 they had presented more than 11 thousand short films from 38 different countries, with 44 million viewers worldwide, confirms Álvaro Matías, general editorial director. The festival has Jameson as the most important sponsor and has support from another ten brands and identities.

Notodo Hotels (<http://www.notodohotels.com>) is another example of *Notodo*'s brand extensions. The website includes the best list of hotels in Portugal and Spain.

VI. 4. 4. Engagement with the readers

Notodo, or better, *La Fábrica* takes engagement very seriously because they believe that a consistent and continuous communication is the key to maintain loyal readers and consumers of all *La Fábrica* projects. However, there are some issues in *Notodo* website regarding navigation and memory.

Table 33. Navigation and memory

When?	Responsive website	Clear organization of the website (filters, platforms, topics)	Time and date of publication	Possibility to access archives?	Possibility to personalize the search by topic, section and date?	Search box	Features that facilitate navigation (topics, related pieces, website map)	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	No	Yes	Absent on the homepage and in all articles included in the news section	Yes but it is not easy because the search is not optimized	No	Yes	None	---

The page is not responsive, meaning it doesn't adapt to all screen resolutions. The search box is not optimized and it is not possible to search between the interval of dates or topics for example. The absence of time and the date of publication on the homepage and the news section is a huge obstacle for navigation and memory. The presence of sections on the website with an interval of months regarding updates and a broken page (*Notodo TV*) that was there until the end of our research are signals that it may be necessary to reorganize the sections.

Table 34. Personalization and services

When?	Possibility to personalize the homepage	Possibility to save content to read later	Possibility to receive alerts or newsletters or e-mails	Opportunity to buy the items presented in the pieces	Opportunity to participate in conferences and other events with the staff	Others
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	No	No	Yes, the newsletters <i>Mail Cultura</i> , <i>Notodo Revista</i> , <i>Jameson Film Fest</i> and <i>La Fábrica</i> newsletter	Sometimes, mainly tickets to concerts	Yes	---

Notodo has two newsletters (besides the *Jameson Notodo Film Fest* newsletter). *La Fábrica* has a few more. María Pelaez, International Press Officer & Social Media Manager, had at the time of the interview a new role at *La Fábrica*: dealing with the presence of *La Fábrica* and its different projects on social media and with its different newsletters, in order to create a general criterion for all of them.

Table 35. Social media positioning

When?	Invited blogs	YouTube Channel	Facebook account	Twitter account	Instagram account	Another social media network
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes, <i>Club Notodo</i>

Facebook is the most important form of social media for *Notodo* (<https://www.facebook.com/notodo.com?fref=ts>). All news is published within an interval of 30 to 45 minutes. Its Facebook page also has an app for YouTube videos that were used in the news and on Twitter. *Club Notodo* is another area within the website to engage with the reader, with contests and promotions, such as free entrance to theater shows or tickets to concerts. Blogs are also present on *Notodo's* website, but they were not updated during the period of our research.

For Álvaro Matías, social media is a communication tool that helps to attract more readers.

You have to be with them [social media], you have to be with the press, you have to be with public relations. I assure you that in ten years Twitter will not exist, there will be something else. Right now

you need to be on Facebook because it helps you to communicate, even though people consume information in different ways. We have lost lists pages on our websites; that means that people read differently. Social networks are important, they are formats that help to increase the audience. But social networks have to have a criterion. The crisis prompted us to organize ourselves and to find a person who would manage them (personal interview with Álvaro Matías, 30th October 2014).

Table 36. Readers' interaction with the media/journalists

When?	Staff e-mail?	Forms of contact-ing the authors of pieces?	Sources contacts?	Crowd-sourcing?	Can users comment on arti-cles?	Can users vote on or rec-ommend articles?	Can users contribute to articles or are they invited?	Users' sharing options
Between 1 st January 2013 and 31 st March 2015	Only edi-tors	No	Sometimes (URLs)	No	Yes	Yes: like and recom-mend on Facebook	They are invited to comment	All social media through the widget "Add this"

Finally, readers can share all the articles and they are encouraged to give their opinion, but none of the articles read were developed with crowdsourcing. There is also no way to contact the journalists who have written the pieces.

VI. 4. 5. Business model — a brand extension model

Notodo is, according to Alain Queipo, sustainable because it is part of the projects network by *La Fábrica*. If in one year it doesn't generate a profit, it will be supported by other projects' revenue. However, Queipo confirms that *Notodo* makes an impressive profit.

This financial success has to do with mixing the sources of revenue that *La Fábrica* has.

Regarding advertising, the strategy is very aggressive. On *Notodo's* website and in its newsletters, advertising can be present in the interactive galleries, on the homepage and article pages, and the newsletters sent to the readers. There are also editorial sections sponsored by brands and branded content, although the line between what is editorial and advertorial is not clear.

Brand extensions are also part of the business model, as we have already approached. To finance editorial projects, *La Fábrica* often promotes festivals related to the editorial brand, because it is easier to obtain sponsorships (it creates more visibility). That's the case of the *Eñe Festival*, which brings readers and revenue to *Eñe* magazine, and the *Jameson*

Notodo Film Festival, as a brand extension of *Notodo*. Naming (giving the festival the name of the sponsor) is also frequent.

The same logic is behind the internationalization strategy: the *Photo España Festival* is now in Brazil, as a way of expanding the brand and getting more sponsors and revenue.

La Fábrica's business model also includes cultural consulting for clients and training courses, including a Master's in Cultural Engineering in association with the European University of Madrid and the Master Photo España in Photography in association with PIC.A Escuela Internacional Alcobendas.

Finally, the retail model also contributes to revenue. *La Fábrica* has had a gallery, a concept store with Spanish designers' works, a bookstore with *La Fábrica*'s own collection of books and magazines and others and a café since 2013. There is also an online shop where we can buy all magazines and books developed by *La Fábrica*.

It is also important to note that *La Fábrica* has a team that is responsible for all communication and the public relations of each project, so it does not have to pay a third party.

Overall, editorial represents 30% of revenue, 30% comes from festivals and digital projects represent 12%. The rest comes from retail, services and training.

Regarding *La Fábrica* as a cultural institution, from the beginning the founders had the notion that the business model would have to be a company one and, therefore, sustainable. That is for Albert Fesser, co-founder and vice-president, the main innovation — earn money with culture with a cultural company that has no equivalent in Spain and that, in the last 20 years, has created magazines, books, digital projects, organized festivals and Master's programs and opened a bookstore, a concept store and a café. This innovation is needed because sponsors and advertisers are not always at the door.

There is an internal rule that forces us to think of projects that add value, not about capricious projects made for the artists, the curators or the critics. We are contributing with something and someone is willing to pay. That someone is sometimes the public, sometimes the public administration and sometimes the sponsor. Many viable projects are the result of many small contributions and it is the diversity that makes *La Fábrica* possible (personal interview with Alberto Fesser, 30th October 2014).

V. 5. What happened next with these media?

It would be impossible to answer the research questions that guided my doctoral thesis with updated data until 2020, given the complexity of the analysis' variables involved. Next, I will identify some crucial moments of the evolution of these media and propose a typology for their innovation model based on the article *Paradigmatic Innovation in European Cultural Journalism* that I published in 2020 in the *Journal of Media Innovations*.

***The Guardian's* innovation — a reader-centric media paradigm**

Every type of innovation in *The Guardian* has the reader as motive, drive, and concept. This has been consistent since the release of its membership model on September 10, 2014. The model has evolved, but is always focused on the reader and the freedom of content, and it paid off. In May 2019, *The Guardian* editor-in-chief Katharine Viner thanked its readers for making “a small operating profit”, something unprecedented in decades of financial losses. That year, 55% of *The Guardian's* revenue came from digital sources, and the majority of that revenue came from readers rather than advertising. In December 2020, *The Guardian* announced that its total digital recurring support — digital subscriptions and recurring contributions — stood at over 900,000, up from 632,000 in November 2019. “Including print subscriptions and single contributions, people have supported The Guardian financially over 1.5 million times in the last 12 months”, said the press release (GNM press office, para. 6).

The turning point happened in August 2020, when the membership model became a supporter model. At that point, readers who made contributions ceased to have additional benefits (such as discounts on Masterclasses and live events). The readers can make single monthly or annual contributions. The membership model of *The Guardian's* Patronage was updated, now starting at £1,200 a year or £100 a month, with three levels of patronage available and their respective benefits. The benefits include discounts on *The Guardian's* Masterclasses and the chance to attend morning editorial conferences with *The Guardian's* editor-in-chief, among other perks.

Although content is free, readers can purchase print or digital subscriptions, including ad-free content, premium access to *The Guardian Live*, as well as access to the full content of the print newspaper reimagined for mobile phone users.

Concerning culture, the reader continues to play an essential role as a source, author, and critic. Findings from Silva (2019) reflect this:

- in December 2016, 12 generic editorial formats were identified in the culture section to encourage readers' contributions;
- 9% of the journalistic pieces analysed were created using only the contributions of readers (the sample used corresponds to an artificially made week between 2016 and 2018, in a total of 992 pieces);
- 18% of reviews were written by the readers in a specific field, namely children's books.

Monocle's innovation
— an upmarket extended media brand experience paradigm

Monocle is an “extended media brand experience” because it’s available not only in print, audio, and online, but also through continued investment in areas beyond the editorial core: it promotes the annual *The Quality of Life* conference since 2015 (except in 2019 and 2020, but it is already scheduled for Madrid in June 2021); it has eight retail shops (in London, Toronto, Hong Kong, Hong Kong international airport, Tokyo, Merano, Los Angeles, and Zürich), besides the online shop (mainly products in partnership with designers and upscale brands), and the Monocle Café in London.

This global presence continues to be reflected in the coverage of culture: “The best practices from around the world in urbanism, cities, fine arts, architecture, food and drink, and culture related to upscale taste-making is what makes the quality of life and the nation’s soft power” (Santos-Silva, 2020, p. 9). The most emblematic example is still *Monocle's* annual ranking of the 25 most liveable cities in the world.

Público's innovation — a mixed paywall paradigm

Público has experimented with many different ways to finance its digital presence, which resulted in some inconsistency in its paradigm. Until November 2013, there was a classic paywall — only a few articles were available for free to readers; then, *Público* adopted a metered paywall: readers could read up to 20 articles per month; in 2018, anyone could read only up to 7 articles each month, and registered users could read 12 (increased to 15 in September that year); in 2020, there was a return to classic paywall — some content is only available for subscribers.

Changes also happened to the naming of the culture section: it changed from *Culture* to *Culture-Ípsilon* in 2014 (with the fusion of the cultural print supplement and the culture daily digital section), and then back to *Culture* in 2018. But when we accessed that section, the logo present on the header was *Ípsilon*. In 2020, *Público* resolved this issue with redundancy: on the upper menu of the homepage it uses *Ípsilon*, and on the lower menu the section, *Culture*. However, both link to the same part of the website. This is symptomatic of the difficulty that the media have in organising a defined strategy for the architecture of their websites, sections, and topics.

Notodo's / La Fábrica's innovation: the convergence paradigm

Notodo, the only digital journalistic brand extension of *La Fábrica*, ended in late 2018. At the same time, *La Fábrica's* website became the showcase of all the editorial and cultural portfolio of the company, including a cultural events agenda (most of which are produced in partnership with *La Fábrica*).

Although the business model has remained similar — to finance editorial projects, *La Fábrica* still promotes festivals related to the editorial brand, because it facilitates sponsorships — there is a clear investment in editorial projects, such as books, artist collections, thematic series, and co-editions with institutions and companies. Less investment is placed on journalistic products.

At the same time, *La Fábrica* added to its portfolio the Madrid Design Festival, *Pública 21* — Encuentros Profesionales de Cultura, *Reset* in partnership with La Caixa and cultural services to other institutions. As far as journalistic products go, only the *Matador* magazine (still considered one of the most prominent magazines globally) and *Eñe* remain.

Updated Conclusion

I began this research with one overall objective: to understand how the European media were innovating in a digital environment regarding cultural coverage. At that time, the chosen case studies and analysis parameters seemed to be the most appropriate for a global vision. I still have that idea, but I now recognize that it would be possible to explore so much more (a world) in each parameter. Considering only *The Guardian*, it would be necessary to write many more pages. Thus, if this research helps us in answering some questions it also raises a lot more, which can be explored in greater depth at other academic opportunities.

We will present our conclusions and discussion of results in the form of answers to the initial questions, but, first, a global overview of this research and its contribution to the state of the art of digital cultural journalism is called for.

This research proposed to examine how European media which specialize in culture or have an important cultural section were innovating in a digital environment. Specifically, we intended to see how these innovation strategies were being taken in relation to: the approach to culture and dominant cultural areas; the editorial model (content presentation and delivery, news values, genres and angles); the use of hypertextuality, multimediality, interactivity and other digital features to enhance long-form and short-form culture stories; brand identity, extensions and positioning in a digital environment; engagement with the public and “prosumers”; sustainable business models.

It is important to underline that — to the extent of our knowledge — this is the first study about cultural journalism in a digital environment of this scope, this type of research design and the corresponding research questions. That is why, in confronting the literature review, this research brings news perspectives, new possibilities, conclusions and new lines of research. Four years have passed since the publication of the doctoral thesis that originated this book and we can still argue this originality.

There is no doubt that culture and digital culture plays an important role in everyday lives. The ‘daily scenario’ that we included on pages 1 and 2 illustrates that and thereby the relevance of this study. The contemporary questions that frame digital journalism and cultural journalism in our literature review also make this very clear. Finally, all the media that were analyzed in this research are, on the one hand, fully aware of their brand strategy for digital and its importance, since digital is the place where all the corresponding brand extensions converge; on the other hand, the interviews also confirmed that culture is a very important area even for generalist media *Público* and *The Guardian* — on commercial, editorial and reader engagement levels.

The first overall conclusion, before considering specific ones, is that we can't extrapolate the results of media content analysis of the press (print pages) to digital, unless the digital platform is an exact replica of the print version. The realities are quite different, due to the editorial space available, different editorial lines, convergence of editorial projects and different ways to engage with the reader. Our research didn't compare press and digital but we can compare this research to other studies on cultural coverage in the press and we can make some simple deductions. For example, *The Guardian* published an average of 67 pieces in the *Culture* section per day between January 2013 and March 2015 (according to our two week constructed sample); *Público* published 12 (we could see in this case that only 23% of all pieces came from the print editions). We have no parallel in print media.

Moreover, we find new journalistic genres and hybrid genres where the platform (such as video, photo galleries or podcast) converges with the genre itself. In *The Guardian*, the blogpost represents 20% of all genres identified; digital genres, 10%. *Monocle* has an entire section on its website dedicated to films edited by its own staff. In *Público*, digital genres represent 4% of all genres. Again, there is no parallel in the print media.

Regarding the use of digital features, the interactive gallery is present in 90% of *Notodo's* pieces and in 87% of *Monocle's* stories. One in each three journalistic pieces of *The Guardian* has a digital feature. Video is used in 15% of *Público's* stories. We also found several examples of multimedia series and packages in four case studies already identified in the corresponding pages. Again, there's no parallel in print.

Finally, the cross-tagging strategy of *The Guardian* (the presentation of pieces in the *Culture* section that also available in other sections), the convergence of editorial products in *Público* (such as the widget from the *Cinecartaz* website on the homepage of the *Culture* section) or the 7558 hyperlinks found in the 944 pieces analysed from *The Guardian* are very clear examples of having no parallel in print and, from that, we conclude that the results of previous studies regarding content analysis of culture coverage in print samples can't be extended to the digital environment. If a few results are naturally similar, most of the others are quite different.

We can clearly conclude from our research that we are witnessing a paradigm shift in culture coverage in a digital environment, challenging traditional boundaries related to cultural themes and scope, angles, genres, content format and delivery, engagement and business models.

In the literature review about the scope of culture, we acknowledged its complexity (Williams, 1977) and multiple dimensions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952), which, in a sense, explains the importance of analysing which dimensions are privileged in the digital media since they are a privileged resource for getting news and information about culture today. Raymond Williams identified the complex nature of the concept in a very pertinent way as well, because it is precisely the heart of the matter these days:

The complexity of the concept of “culture” is then remarkable. It became the noun of “inner” process, specialized to its presumed agencies in “intellectual life” and “the arts”. It became also a noun of general process, specialized to its presumed configurations of “whole ways of life”. It played an equally crucial role in definitions of the “human sciences” and the “social sciences”, in the second sense. (1977, p. 17)

We have identified six dimensions of the concept chronologically: we can relate culture to artistic manifestations, focusing on the artist or on the work (Ferin, 2002; Arnold, 1882); we can approach it as an expression of groups, looking at their beliefs, morals and customs, what is usually known as world cultures (Tylor, 1920); we can see it as an expression of everyday life, our ordinary cultural practices or our lifestyle (Williams, 1958/2002); we can also regard it as a consumer good and service (Adorno, 1944/2002); we can even approach it through cultural and creative industries, focusing on creative, innovative, entrepreneurial, economic or political views (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Hartley, 2007); finally, we can consider digital culture or cyberculture, meaning the whole contemporary culture that arises with digital technology in cyberspace (Lévy, 2007).

These dimensions, which coexist together, have shown us that culture is a fluid, complex and evolving concept, with multiple perspectives that can be represented in the media.

Our findings confirm this. All four case-studies bring different perspectives and dimensions of culture: *Público* and *Notodo* have a more conservative approach, linked to artistic manifestations, while *The Guardian* and *Monocle* have a broader coverage, including not only the artistic sphere but also looking at new fields, at the inner process of culture or the “culture of things” as Sophie Grove from *Monocle* puts it, at its creative, lifestyle and service dimension.

We can conclude that would be unreasonable to try to create a single, closed, contemporary definition of culture. However, we can try to construct a momentary present definition of culture. This is our proposal:

Culture is a heterogeneous, complex and fluid concept, marked by a field of tensions as a result of multiple definitions that co-exist, particularly the artistic and anthropological ones, to which we add the new roles that culture plays in industry, economics and digital environments. Culture is, then, an accumulative concept: it is an artistic manifestation, a representation of social life and everyday life, a service and a good, it is participatory and creative, symbolic, virtual and an intangible good.

Regarding cultural journalism, it evolved alongside “culture”, so the same complexity and multidimensions of culture are also reflected in the field. Looking at the name of the field itself, our research also reinforces the legitimacy of using “cultural journalism” instead of “arts journalism”, because the scope of the Culture sections of the media analyzed clearly expands

beyond the arts themselves. However, we acknowledge the legitimacy of the proposal given by the Scandinavian researchers (Jaakkola, 2014, 2013, 2012; Kristensen, 2013, 2010, 2008; From, 2009) naming the field as “journalism on culture” in order to accept a broader sense of culture with the intersection of its different new faces and also areas which are peripheral to traditional culture (such as design, fashion, architecture, advertising, gastronomy and other lifestyle issues).

This research approximates two proposed definitions of cultural journalism. The first is from Rivera (2003: 19), who sees the field as

una zona muy compleja y heterogénea de medios, géneros y productos que abordan con propósitos creativos, críticos, reproductivos o divulgatorios los terrenos de las “belles arts”, las “bellas letras”, las corrientes del pensamiento, las ciencias sociales y humanas, la llamada cultura popular y muchos otros aspectos que tienen que ver con la producción, circulación y consume de bienes simbólicos, sin importar su origen o destinación estamental.²¹⁷

The second is more succinct, from the other side of the globe, but sharing the same anthropological space, from Nete Kristensen (2010: 69) who places it “in a continuum between art, popular culture, lifestyle and consumption”. The first acknowledges its complexity and multidimensionality. The second recognizes its continuing evolution and manifestation in various fields.

Keeping these two in mind with the conclusions from our research, we can also contribute to a contemporary definition of cultural journalism:

Since its object is culture, cultural journalism is also a complex, multidimensional and evolving concept. As a result of editorial choices, it can focus on artistic manifestations, the process of culture, cultural and anthropological issues, cultural infrastructures and goods, lifestyle and quality of life, entertainment and leisure, creativity and innovation. Thus, cultural journalism covers potentially all dimensions of culture: as an artistic and creative object, as a process, as a manifestation or way of life of society, as an intangible and tangible good, always connected to their value within society at each moment, with different genres and editorial treatments. Cultural journalism is itself a cultural practice.

217 Our suggestion of translation to English: “a very complex area of heterogeneous media, genres and products that deal with creative, critical, media or publishing purposes, fine arts, belles-lettres, currents of thought, social sciences and humanities, the so-called popular culture and many other aspects that have to do with the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods”.

With this proposal, we can argue that culture has to be seen as a broader field, always connected to its meaning within a certain period of time. If fifteen years ago we didn't think that digital technologies would have so much impact on our everyday life and representation of it, today we easily acknowledge the digital culture. So, if painting, cinema, and photography are cultural representations that emerged over time, why are we still reluctant in accepting design, advertising, fashion, games or culinary arts as cultural representations too? On the other hand, if we easily acknowledge old customs of gatherings in saloons or other public spheres as cultural practices, why are we so reluctant in accepting today's leisure practices or lifestyle practices as cultural practices too? The blurring of boundaries between lifestyle journalism, traditional cultural journalism and consumer journalism are in fact a reflection of our daily lives: we can hear classical music on the radio while we are playing a digital game on our tablet. Today, culture is not just contemplating a work of art or occasional cultural experiences. We live "in" culture, just like Mark Deuze argues that we live "in" media (2012).

This contemporary view is precisely at the core of recent debates on cultural journalism approached in this document. They portray a crisis in the more "classical" tradition and a decline in the amount and significance of serious reviews, as well as in the critical and analytical aspect of cultural and artistic issues, primarily reflecting an orientation towards entertainment, service, agenda, and celebrities (Jaakkola, 2012; Golin & Cardoso, 2009; Gadini, 2006). However, according to some scholars, "cultural journalism is not in decline. Rather it has quite naturally expanded and developed the focus, interpretation and presentation of culture in line with a changing culture and consumer industry and an increasingly competitive and professionalized media landscape" (Kristensen, 2010, p. 69).

We tend to agree with Kristensen on this. Culture has expanded its focus but it is not to blame for poor editorial choices regarding cultural journalism or for the predominance of superficial journalistic genres. Cultural journalism can still be serious, treating contemporary cultural events that deserve it seriously and others in a more superficial way. Hybridity is a major characteristic in digital cultural journalism today — in genres, journalistic areas and editorial approaches — because hybridity is a major characteristic of today's culture.

Thus, the responsibility is not in the hands of culture, but rather in editor's and journalist's hands. The richness and diversity of cultural themes and the potential to interrelated perspectives, disciplines and realities are enough argument for Belanciano (2010, para. 5) saying that:

[O jornalismo cultural] não deve limitar-se aos lançamentos de discos, livros, exposições ou filmes. Nem ao tipo de notícias que dependem mais da velocidade de actuação — em concorrência, quase sempre em perda, com a Internet — mas, sim, apostar na diferença. Interpretar diferentes pontos de vista. Decifrar objectos de forma inclusiva. Não com a falsa promessa de objectividade. Mas com justeza, honestidade e rigor. Numa perspectiva aberta. Estabelecendo múltiplas relações

entre realidades que, aparentemente, não se tocam. O jornalismo cultural deve examinar mais as implicações das obras na sociedade do que limitar-se à agenda de eventos.²¹⁸

Regarding its primarily orientation towards entertainment, service, agenda, and celebrities (Jaakkola, 2012; Golin & Cardoso, 2009; Gadini, 2006), we didn't find that predominance in our results, so we can assume that digital (since those results are from press analysis) is the perfect place for media to meet their traditional agenda and audiences, often compromised by marketing and advertising constraints, but also to find new readers and expand their editorial space beyond entertainment, major cultural events and celebrities. *The Guardian* and *Público* are examples of that practice in digital: cinema and music are the main cultural areas treated, but not with the same predominance that we found in press content analysis regarding culture (Santos Silva, 2012, 2014).

Confronting similar studies in the area (but only focused on print or on online a few years ago when digital was still very similar to print), we didn't find less cultural journalism in our research as the Portuguese team (which I was part of) did when analysing the first pages of Portuguese newspapers and magazines between 2000 and 2010. One major difference was that the first only focused on first pages and, in a digital environment, a homepage today is a very personalized reader object and each section has its own personalized homepage. Perhaps in a digital environment, that kind of research wouldn't be so useful, because a website homepage isn't similar to a newspaper frontpage.

In my 2008 Master's dissertation, regarding cultural journalism in Portuguese print media I concluded that in Portugal culture was essentially conveyed in two ways: one related to the supposedly 'higher' arts, but in which film and music — massive cultural products par excellence — are the protagonists; and the other is essentially related to urban culture, with an emphasis on fashion, design and lifestyle (Santos Silva, 2012). Cinema, music and literature are the three cultural areas most covered by media in the first approach; fashion, design and architecture are the most covered areas in the second approach. Now, analysing cultural journalism in a digital environment and at an international level, that clear boundary is no longer established in a clear way. In our research we did see new hybrid genres such as consumer guides, cultural reviews and other editorial choices that blur the boundaries between lifestyle, arts and popular culture (Scott, 1999; Kristensen, 2008).

218 Our suggestion of translation to English: “[Cultural journalism] should not be limited to releases of albums, books, exhibitions or films. Nor to the kind of news that depends on the speed of reporting — in competition with the Internet and almost always losing, — but rather to focus on the difference. To interpret different points of view. Not with the false promise of objectivity, but with fairness, honesty and rigor and an open outlook establishing relationships between multiple realities that apparently do not overlap. Cultural journalism should examine the implications of artistic work in society further than being limited to the schedule of events”.

We also found a clear performative role of cultural journalism and our findings reinforce the necessity of clearly distinguishing professional criticism from more superficial reviews:

The reviewer serves as a consumer guide, addressing a single piece of work (or perhaps a number of them serially, in capsule reviews) and letting the reader know whether this particular work is worth the money and/or time it requires (...) Criticism has a wider scope, a broader purpose. It extends beyond the consumer-guide merits of a single work to show where that work fits within the art form as a whole or within the culture at large. (McLeese, 2010, p. 2)

This necessity has to do with the fact that the reader now participates in a much more active way, devoid of impartiality and other journalistic values, and on every website anyone can review a film, musical performance or other piece of art. The role of the cultural journalist has to be thoughtful and invested in criticism instead of doing what every citizen can do.

This previous point is simply an example of what has changed for media and journalism in the last 15 years, leading to a new media ecosystem (Anderson, Bell & Shirky, 2012). The era of “monolithic media” (Jarvis, 2014b) is being replaced by an ecosystem where information is produced and distributed by the media and non-media contributors, where new forms of communication emerge, such as the mass self-communication, proposed by Castells (2007) to characterize the individual appropriation of mass communication, or the “I-centric” (centered in “me”) as suggested by Rosental Alves (2006).

This new digital revolution is marked by key words, such as convergence (Jenkins, 2006) in every process — to technological to social and economics — allowing media, people and organizations to be connected everywhere, non-stop.

In this new digital environment, digital journalism — the name used in this research for journalism made precisely in this environment, following the naming proposal by many authors (Hansen, 2012; Grueskin, Seave & Graves, 2012; Briggs, 2007; Butry, 2014; Kawamoto, 2003), universities and publications, — faces many challenges, new roles, models and possibilities. An essential condition for answering these challenges is innovation. This concept is defined by Joseph Schumpeter as “new combinations” of existing resources fulfilled by entrepreneurs who had to fight against the prevalence of society’s inertia and find novel solutions to existing problems (Fagerberg, 2009). Regarding media innovation in particular, it can include several aspects of the media landscape, from new ways of storytelling to new business models. In the context of the *Scripps Howard Awards 2013* for which Mark Briggs was on the judges’ panel for “Digital Innovation”, he defines innovation in news focusing on digital technology and the customer:

Once we looked through all the entries, the definition of innovation in journalism became clearer, at least to us: trying new ways to create a better journalism experience for the reader through digital technology. Even better when it's journalism that matters. And it works across all platforms. (2013, para. 8)

Since our research analysed innovative strategies taken by European media, in our literature review we focused on some typology of innovations best suitable for the fieldwork. We approached the proposal by Storsul & Krumsvik (2013), which identified 5 types of innovations (product, process, position, paradigmatic and social innovation); one from Bleyen et al (2014), which classifies media innovation in process, product and consumption; and the innovation dimensions proposed by Pavlik (2013), associated with the creation and delivery of news content, engagement with the public, new ways of reporting optimized for the digital and new management and organizational strategies.

Keeping these dimensions in mind we took a closer look at some innovative features of digital journalism, such as multimodality, hypertextuality and interactivity (Canavilhas, 2014, 2012a; Siapera & Veglis, 2012; Díaz Noci, 2009; Deuze, 2003); we looked at some innovative ways to tell stories, such as multimedia storytelling and data journalism; how to engage with the “prosumer”, through crowdsourcing or social media; how to present the news in new platforms, such as smartphones and tablets; and finally, we looked at some innovative strategies for sustainability through various types of business models.

Our findings suggest that innovation is at the center of all the media analyzed. All, without exception, are innovating in some way, primarily regarding the product (new ways of presenting the news), the process (new ways for engaging with the public) and the business model (new ways of being sustainable). However, innovation is not a closed process. This is a continuous effort of testing and experimenting to find successful formulas. We have also identified some obstacles to innovation: cultural inertia is one of them, associated with a resistance to acknowledging that words or the text can be enhanced with digital features, but it must be a convergent task; journalists have to look beyond the journalistic unit and look at how that journalistic unit is integrated and presented in the website and how is it accessed by readers. Another obstacle to innovation is the urgency to make something new — sometimes, the best innovation comes from making new combinations of the traditional, such as *Monocle* did with radio station *Monocle 24*.

We will now address each research question with a short, systematic answer.

1. What is the meaning and importance of culture for the media analyzed and which dimensions and cultural areas are privileged in a digital environment?

In the beginning of this chapter, we reinforced that culture is a fluid, complex and evolving concept, with multiple perspectives that are represented in the media, and that our findings confirm this. If traditional culture coverage in the media was almost exclusively about artistic expression, subordinate to the news agenda, perhaps minimizing other richer approaches, the digital environment stretches the space and allows the presence of other dimensions of culture. *The Guardian* is a clear example of that.

We believe that the arts are crucial to Britain's identity, its economy, the well-being of its people, we are absolutely pro the arts but at the same time the artists speaks through our pages — we would never say that something is too commercial or not. It is a very broad span of what we do — we try not to be elitists. A lot of people consume culture in a mixed way — high and low (personal interview with Alex Needham from *The Guardian*, 8th August 2013).

Digital culture — especially games and apps — creative areas, such as design, fashion and architecture and multidisciplinary approaches, cultural approaches to politics and public affairs make the traditional delimitation of the areas not so simple to sustain. This becomes more difficult when there is no section or subsection to welcome new areas. *Público* is a clear example of tight sectioning, with no room in its main menu for photography, for example. Culture is processes, is memories — *The Guardian* covers it very well with special regular series —, is state of the art, is quality of life, urbanism and cities — and these approaches embrace artistic expression far beyond aesthetic contemplation to real roles within a city or nation's development. On the other hand, culture appears as linked to service and lifestyle areas, such as food, travelling, leisure spaces with a clear service logic. This is frequently seen in *Monocle* and *Notodo*. Thus, our findings confirm the first hypothesis mentioned in Chapter V. There is a trend towards the blurring boundaries between arts, popular culture and lifestyle as observed by Kristensen (2012, 2010, 2008), with cultural journalism expanding its focus and dimensions.

In a world where culture is desired by the media, social media and non-media, the differentiation can take on new forms of coverage, less on the surface and more in the processes, in the “culture of things”, as *Monocle* does.

We became certain of two things: the heterogeneity and complexity of culture, and that it means different things to every journalist we interviewed. Editorial consistency is crucial to not disappointing regular readers.

We also substantiate that culture is a very important area for the mainstream media analyzed: it is commercially very relevant to both *Público* and *The Guardian*, it is among their reader's top choices and is responsible for a large part of their global websites. Regarding

Notodo its importance was even clearer, since it was a specialized culture media project (as we said earlier, it ended in 2018). Finally, culture is present in all sections of *Monocle* magazine, as straightforward culture or as the “culture of things” (as we saw, 55% of the stories published in all sections are directly culture-related).

2. What is the overall brand positioning in a digital environment and what are the main brand extensions, especially digital and culture-related?

Our findings confirm one important aspect: the digital environment can't be approached in the same way by all media. There is no such thing as one size fits all.

All four case studies have different approaches to digital: *The Guardian* became a digital-first brand under the motto “open journalism”; *Público* wants to be the media brand with the best relationship with its reader; *Monocle* holds that the digital environment is good for videos and radio, but not for its magazine content; the placing of *Notodo* in the digital environment was a communication strategy for all *La Fábrica* projects.

However, we can identify a pattern, i.e., they all have one thing in common: thinking as a brand, rather than as a newspaper or a magazine. The brand concept is essential in the digital environment where everything is fragmented and a consistent identity is crucial. They are all investing in a living brand concept where the experience provided to the reader is what matters the most. Thus it is easy to understand why these media are expanding their brands to cafés, festivals, thematic websites, events and apps, often beyond the journalistic approach. *Monocle* has two *Cafés* and six shops around the world and organized the first Quality of Life conference in April 2015, in Lisbon; *The Guardian* has *The Guardian Live Events* exclusively for members and several masterclasses; *Notodo* expanded the brand to a short film festival (*Jameson Notodo Film Festival*) and hotels (*Notodo Hotels*); *Público* has now a strong relationship with Brazil and has organized a wine festival in Rio de Janeiro.

Journalism and editorial activity are just two spheres of the experience that a media brand can provide today.

3. In the digital environment, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding the editorial model (meaning culture approach, editorial delimitation, content format and delivery, angles, web genres, news values and other media choices)?

We have already identified some types of innovation regarding the approach to culture in answering the first section. Here we can highlight some more. The cross-sectioning and cross-topping strategy applied by *The Guardian* allows for expansion of culture, beyond the limits of the section, and a dialogue with the reader which is not possible on paper. Based on our findings, 79% of the pieces presented in the *Culture* section were originally published there, but 21% were not: they came from the *Technology* section (7%), especially games and apps; *Life*

and Style section (3%); *Comment is free* section (1%); *Specials/Observer* (3%); *World* section (2%); *UK* section (2%); *Sports, Environment, Science, Politics* and *From the Archive* sections (3%).

Another innovation in culture coverage is the focus on a wider range of cultural disciplines parallel to some niche ones, where *The Guardian* wins in reputation and focus: these are in particular the sub area *children's books*, which accounts for 34% of all book coverage, and the sub area *classical music*, which accounts for 28% of all music coverage. In this logic, *Notodo's* attention to performing arts (is the second most covered area after music) and to national cultural production was also an example of an innovative focus on niche markets.

Monocle also approaches all areas of culture, from cultural infrastructures to media, from design to lifestyle, from urbanism to food & drink. The most frequent angle is the inspiration from example (33%) and cultural issues, infrastructures and quality of life (17%).

The Guardian also develops this ongoing conversation with any reader focusing on its daily and weekly series (we have identified a total of 26 regular series), encouraging readers' contributions, giving them more than just the daily news, exploring a news angle and cultivating a more informal discussion via blogposts.

The key here is balance. It is important to give the news, but it is also important to explore other news angles, deliver feature stories and curate information or give a new perspective of things. In this case, *Monocle* and *The Guardian* seem to have the most innovative approach, and the patterns identified allow us to confirm that culture is not just breaking news or the news agenda. Straight news only accounts for 21% of all pieces published by *The Guardian*. Other genres play an important role, such as the features stories (17%) and reviews (20%). In fact, Caspar-Llewellyn Smith outlines that, despite the fact that "everyone is a critic now", research shows that *The Guardian's* readers consider reviews and criticism the most important part of its culture coverage.

On the other hand, we noticed an emerging mix of traces of journalistic genres in the same narrative, such as in *Notodo* news and reviews. Thus hybridism or the blurring boundaries also extends to web genres and their relation to the news agenda: blogposts and digital genres play an important role for *The Guardian*; 78% of all genres in *Monocle* are feature stories, which also represents the minimal importance of news agenda or the straight news. Regarding *Público*, the feature story and the review represent 50% of all genres, which show this media investment beyond the straight news.

4. In the digital environmental, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding the use of digital tools and strategies to cover, create and present both agenda-based and feature pieces, and which are the most used?

This was the Achilles heel and there is some doubts about what innovation means and how it can be applied in the digital environment. There seems to be some enthusiasm regarding the use of video or photo galleries, but this doesn't mean approaching an article

digitally. The memory problem identified in Público's and *Notodo* website seems to reflect a distance between journalists and the multimedia or design staff.

A website is a living body, not a closed book: a piece has to have the time and date of publication; a section has to have a decent archive and search tools that allow readers to navigate in many forms. They want to be able to go to the bottom of the page and have ways to continue exploring it. Topics are great, but journalists or other staff have to assign every article to a category, otherwise they will be forever lost in space as they won't be in the topic archive. This was a pattern with *Público*'s articles coming from the newspapers, besides the impossibility of accessing the whole Culture section archive because of a bug in the archive interface that only allows the reader to access topics or keywords (the keyword "culture" only leads to articles with the keyword "culture" in the text).

In some of the interviews I got the impression that approaching an article digitally (meaning choosing the photos, the hyperlinks, assigning them to topics, etc.) was more of a headache than an important part of the article creation. So there is a huge need to make the switch to the possibilities and requirements of a digital environment. Five years after, in 2020, there is still some randomness in the use of topics and tags in several newspapers, reducing the potential of navigation and content archive.

In this case, the augmented use of hyperlinks, digital genres, crowdsourcing and multimedia tools by *The Guardian*, the use of video by *Monocle*, the special multimedia packages that we shared here by Público and the creation of a web radio station by *Monocle* are great examples of innovation.

Multimedia enriches the editorial product and also is an important source of revenue, especially video, as The Guardian's Head of Culture says:

I think it enriches the coverage when you can see Adrian Searle going around an art form rather than just reading his report. His report is fantastic, obviously, but it adds a different dimension. Printing is still very important, it is what drives the most revenue and no one is saying that print is going to die anytime soon but we need to get to a point where print is just another strain of the range of stuff we produce (personal interview with Caspar-Llewellyn Smith, 8th August 2013).

This enthusiasm about multimedia is visible in our findings. Regarding *The Guardian*, we have identified a total of 7,558 hyperlinks in 944 articles (an average of eight per article) with an enriching function: 13% link us to articles that provide context or explain something; 15% show us the cultural object in question; 5% are used to confirm facts and 3% provide reactions and other points of view (the others lead to archive, authors' pages or plain sites). One in three articles have a multimedia feature (video, audio, audio slideshow, video gallery, interactive image gallery, interactive infographics, a multimedia package or a social media post), 40% of which belonging to video, which is a great representation of the use of digital tools.

Regarding *Monocle*, the most frequent content format is the interactive photo gallery and text (87%) and in the analysed period, *Monocle* uploaded in its website 154 short documentaries and promo-videos (an average of 6.4 per month).

Interactive photo galleries are used in 25% of *Público*'s pieces and video in 15%, data that also deserve mention.

The interactive photo gallery is also present in 90% of all *Notodo*'s stories and video is used in 37% of them, mainly music videos and film trailers.

Finally, our findings confirm the third hypothesis: digital tools can naturally enhance a cultural piece (a photo gallery to show an exhibition, audio to support a musical piece). Showing the cultural object or the artist was the most frequent function of multimedia tools and was also associated with a high percentage of the hyperlinks. In *The Guardian*'s findings, showing the reader the artist or the cultural object is the main function of 97% of multimedia features and 15% of the hyperlinks; the main function of video and audio as multimedia tools in *Notodo*'s pieces is also to show the cultural object — 100% in both cases.

5. In the digital environment, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding the engagement with the users (meaning the quality of interaction, navigation, personalization and memory)?

We have already considered the quality of navigation and memory when answering the previous question. Again we confirm that one size doesn't fit all. The key is to identify the best way to engage with the brand's readers and not trying to engage with all the social media. *Monocle*'s web radio station was an innovative way of engaging with the reader through traditional media, *The Guardian*'s attention to the reader, by giving them space on its website, or the frequent use of all social media, are other examples.

We conclude clearly that engaging with the readers is an important strategy for all four media. For *The Guardian*, it is about having an ongoing conversation with the readers and, most of all, acknowledge the importance of their contributions:

Engaging with readers is really important to us, particularly because we don't live behind a paywall. Traditionally, the writers and the editors would take the position that they knew everything that was happening in the world and were just transmitting information to the readers. It was just a one way thing — transmitting, transmitting, transmitting. That was the end of it. I think we recognize that actually lots of people who read our stuff are really knowledgeable and informed (personal interview with Caspar-Llewellyn Smith, 8th August 2013).

Readers are treated as partners and a key strategy for achieving their loyalty and consequently the advertisers' loyalty.

The importance of nurturing a dialogue with the reader is also a major strategy in *Público* and the role that was given to them after the redesign of its website (the opportunity to moderate comments of their own area in the website) is a good example.

We wanted to create a dialogue with the reader. It is no longer a monologue, although the media industry still thinks that way. A dialogue is so much more than just putting the reader's comment on the homepage... it starts with the title we give to the news piece, it continues on the reader's page, with the journalist's page written in the first person (personal interview with Simone Duarte, 21st August 2014, translated from Portuguese).

6. In the digital environmental, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding their business models and organization values?

A common pattern seems to be a mix of revenue sources extending beyond editorial content: merchandising, training, conferences, festivals, cafés and galleries, all contribute to a stronger business model. There's no sure-fire model but the key is to be coherent. For example, if *The Guardian* advocates open journalism, it makes sense to have a membership model, supported by an engagement strategy, rather than a paywall. If *Monocle* doesn't give away any free print copies and doesn't like social media, it wouldn't be logical to give the magazine's content away for free on the website.

The *Notodo / La Fábrica* strategy is an interesting one, in the way that it promotes cultural events that enhance their own editorial projects and also focuses on training and consulting services, a pattern that is being followed by *Monocle* (with creative agency *Winkreative*) and *The Guardian Labs*. On the other hand, *Público +* provides funding to special stories that probably would not exist without it.

The point here is to be sustainable, and two of these four case studies are effective in this: *Monocle* is profitable and *Notodo* was too. At the time of the research, *The Guardian* and *Público* were achieving better results, but we now know that *The Guardian* achieved a "small operating profit" in 2019.

7. In the digital environmental, how are the media analyzed innovating in culture coverage regarding product, process, position, paradigmatic and social types of innovation, as identified by Storsul & Krumsvik (2013), and which are the most frequent and relevant to them?

In the next table we have summarized some of the most innovative findings. The most frequent innovations seem to be associated with the product, process and positioning dimensions.

Table 37. Summary of The Guardian's, Monocle's, Público's and Notodo's main innovations

Product innovation	Process innovation	Position innovation	Paradigmatic innovation	Social innovation
<p>New platforms (<i>The Guardian</i>, <i>Público</i> and <i>Monocle</i>)</p> <p>Services beyond the journalistic approach (all four case studies)</p> <p>Investing in new news genres and regular series (<i>The Guardian</i>)</p> <p>New editorial products: a radio station (<i>Monocle</i>); and <i>The Guardian</i>)</p> <p>New digital-only features (all four case studies)</p>	<p>Crowdsourcing (<i>The Guardian</i>)</p> <p>Partnerships for special coverages (<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>Público</i>)</p> <p>Multimedia approach (all four case studies)</p> <p>Digital approach in-text (<i>Notodo</i> and <i>The Guardian</i>)</p>	<p>Consistent and strong brand positioning (all four case studies) regarding culture and digital</p>	<p>Business model based in a mix of revenues, from editorial to cafés and stores (<i>Monocle</i> and <i>Notodo</i>), branded content services (<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>Monocle</i>), sponsored content (all four case studies) and special projects financed by patronage or foundations (<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>Público</i>)</p>	<p>Crowdsourcing, Readers' contributions (<i>The Guardian</i>)</p> <p>Presence in social media (all except <i>Monocle</i>)</p> <p>Differentiated interaction with the reader (all)</p>

8. Which of the findings can be considered successful and contribute to a set of good practices in cultural journalism?

This research didn't have the goal of measuring success. We said in previous chapters that success could be considered as just survival or financial sustainability. However, we have identified some findings that can contribute to a set of good practices in cultural journalism:

- a staff engaged with the brand;
- a staff engaged with the digital environment, with the right skills and with no cultural inertia;
- a coherent strategy of brand extensions;
- a differentiated cultural approach that meets an unsatisfied need;
- the diversification of news genres and a approach beyond the news agenda with a big investment in regular series and original stories (the key is balance);
- an approach to digital beyond the simple video or audio complements;
- a strong understanding of how the website or other platforms work and how readers read the news;
- a convergent business model with a mix of revenue sources;
- exploitation of differentiated digital advertising;
- a strong relationship with the reader.

We hope that, in a near future, this brief set of good skills and the data analyzed in this research will be useful and inspiring for future or current cultural journalists, academic

researchers and future business ideas regarding cultural journalism. We learned a lot doing this research, we reinforced the passion to this subject and the commitment to media innovation. Using *Monocle*'s slogan, we will keep certainly “an eye and an ear” on this world.

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