

29 Deepening the theory of innovation in journalism

Impact on the industry, the quality, and the function of journalism in democracy

Michael Graßl and Klaus Meier

Introduction

Communication science and journalism research have given a variety of definitions, concepts, and systematizations of innovation in recent years (Storsul and Krumsvik 2013; Bruns 2014; Dogruel 2014; Pavlik 2021; Meier et al. 2022). Despite an increasing number of studies, research in this field is still, in some areas, fragmented and underexplored. García-Avilés (2021, 15), who has carried out a wide-ranging international literature review on innovations in journalism, states that there “is a need for further research to gain deeper insight into the nature, conceptualization, and effects of journalistic innovation.” There is still a lack of a broad empirical basis about framework conditions, which support or hinder innovation in journalism; about its impact on society; and about it in comparative studies in the context of international systems and markets (García-Avilés 2021; Meier et al. 2022). These research gaps have also been described in depth in Chapter 1 of this book.

The aim of this chapter is to address these identified gaps and to push forward progress in the theory of innovation in journalism via the support of evidence-based results. Therefore, we build on the findings of the research project Journalism Innovations in Democratic Societies (JoIn-DemoS), which were presented in detail in previous chapters (see Chapters 8–25 and Chapter 27). In our JoIn-DemoS project, a three-year international research project, we investigated the nature and the impact of innovations on journalism, and the influence of the socio-political framework in Austria, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The analyses draw on 108 guided expert interviews, 100 case studies, which were examined through 137 interviews, and 239 online questionnaires from the five countries (see Chapter 2).

In evaluating and relating the multifaceted findings, we aim to make theoretical progress in four areas: (a) the interplay between change in the industry and society, the transformation of media organizations, and the innovations in journalism will be illustrated. (b) The character of innovations and their impact on the industry will be illuminated more deeply, in which areas and levels they take place. Finally, we deal with the still largely unanswered questions (c) to what extent innovations influence values and norms as well as the

quality of journalism, and, based on this, (d) to explore the question of the impact of innovations on the function of journalism in democratic societies.

Specifying change, transformation, and innovations in journalism

In the theoretical basis of the project, we have differentiated between change and transformation in the context of innovations in journalism (see Chapter 1): change can be characterized as a merely passive and driven reaction to external environmental influences, transformation concerns actively observing the environment, modifying basic beliefs and long-term behaviors. In other words, transformation is the strategic response to change. This distinction becomes even clearer when we look at the most important areas of innovation that we identified across the five countries studied (see Chapters 8–25). Here, it becomes evident that innovation in journalism is mostly driven by change in the form of external drivers like politics, technological development, or the current zeitgeist in that journalism is usually in the position of the responder, reacting to change in the form of adaptations. This is exemplified by important areas of innovation we found in our studies:

- *News on social media and audio/podcast*: Both areas of innovation are driven primarily by technological change and the resulting alterations in media usage behavior; journalism adopts these external technologies and integrates them as new publication channels.
- *Artificial intelligence (AI)/automation and data journalism*: The same applies to these two innovation areas, which journalism integrates via external technological developments around the processing and networking of data. A further field of innovation closely linked to electronic information is “*engagement on the basis of data.*”
- *Diversity and inclusion*: This area of innovation is also attributable to an external change, which is a response to the social zeitgeist. Journalism, for example, is making newsrooms more diverse or using gender-sensitive language.
- *Fact-checking*: Integrating these departments, journalism has reacted to the change in the political situation, especially around fake news in election campaigns, as in the United States or Brexit, and to the associated fakes spread in social media. But fact-checking also shows that the reaction to change not only means an adaptation of technology but also is an example of a creative response to new socio-political challenges.
- *Remote work*: Home office, more flexible working hours, and locations were mainly triggered in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

However, innovations in journalism are not necessarily triggered just by external influences. Our findings illustrate that internal transformation processes also initiate innovations (see Figure 29.1). The innovative areas of paywalls, membership models, or citizen participation are examples of innovations that have resulted from such strategic processes. The development of

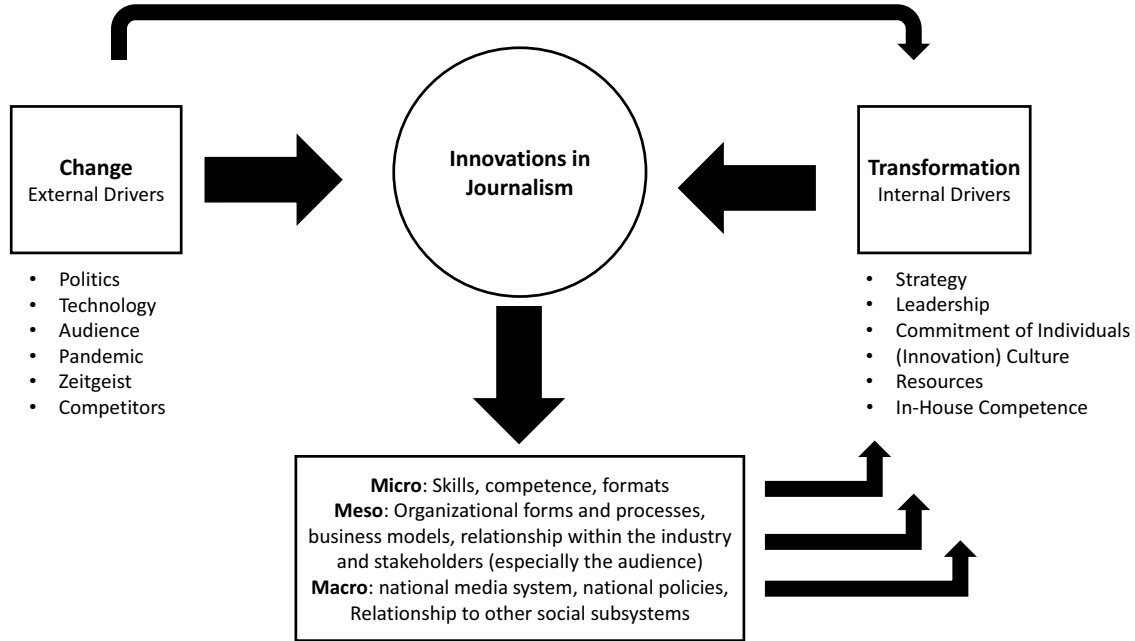


Figure 29.1 Interplays between change, transformation, and innovations in journalism and their impact on the levels micro, meso, and macro.

Source: Authors.

innovation labs was also primarily triggered by internal initiatives (Hogh-Janovsky and Meier 2021). Moreover, innovation labs can be interpreted as an approach from media organizations to break out of the reactive position and to actively develop innovations themselves, or at least to be able to react more dynamically and strategically to change. Identified internal drivers of innovations in journalism are, for example, an existing in-house culture promoting the concept, existing resources (staff, money, time) and competence, and commitment of individuals and employees to it.

Our case studies have shown that innovations, which are first adopted as a reaction to change (e.g., AI/Automation, fact-checking, remote work, newsletter), can later be transferred into a strategic transformation process (e.g., in the form of new organizational teams or departments). As a result, journalistic innovations often follow as a second step at the level of the format, as observed, for example, in the field of podcasts (Klinghardt et al. 2022) and social media (Graßl et al. 2023).

These findings point to a further discussion of the concept of journalism innovation. In Chapter 1, we defined the concept as “the performance of reactions to changes or within transformations in news products, processes, and services in a large or small, radical or incremental way (...).” Although this definition can still be maintained in this form, the strong influence of external factors (and thus of change) suggests a specification of the terminology. We want to argue that the use of the phrase “innovation in journalism” does infer more credit to that concept being externally initiated and subsequently adopted by journalism and adapted.

The impact of innovations on journalism at differing levels

This first part already indicates that innovations have a multifaceted impact on journalism. To make this impact more accessible and to better map it theoretically, it is helpful to differentiate between the micro-, meso-, and macrolevels. This differentiation has only received sporadic attention in the literature on innovation research (Dogruel 2013; García-Avilés 2021).

Microlevel

The microlevel describes how innovations affect individuals who are part of newsrooms, media organizations, and specific units, such as newsrooms, labs, and start-ups, or who are working as freelancers (García-Avilés 2021). Most clearly, innovations have an impact on the skills needed by journalists and over the past decade particularly focused on technology skills for journalists. These skills were generally driven by the transformation process toward digitization (Guo and Volz 2019); the innovation areas of data journalism and AI/automation in particular have made the use of technology and technical tools commonplace in journalistic work (Loosen et al. 2017; Graßl et al. 2022; Bisiani et al. 2023). Inherent to these transformations lies a large challenge for

the realization of innovations in journalism in that the lack of technological competence can be identified as one of the most inhibiting factors for the implementation of innovations across all areas, not only in data-driven fields.

On the other hand, the project's interviewees indicated that factors on the microlevel, such as the intrinsic motivation of individual employees and the integration of new external ones with various competences and perspectives, were mainly supportive of innovation development. Indeed, there is a diverse range of personal and professional backgrounds among employees involved in innovations, which the results of the online survey show. Nearly half of the respondents ($N = 239$) indicated that they had completed a degree other than journalism. Furthermore, age, gender, or length of employment do not seem to play a significant role in the development of innovations in journalism, although slight trends can be seen. In terms of age, the most represented age group is between 30 and 45 years, and the employees often have not worked in the respective media organization for more than seven years.

However, innovations do not require a completely new toolbox of competence and skills but rather trigger an ongoing adaptation. The traditional journalistic skills, such as research techniques, remain at the core of the process, as confirmed by the interviewees, but are supplemented by new abilities (e.g., coding) and competences (e.g., knowledge about the logics of social media and how to use it for journalism). Individual competences are reassessed in terms of their importance (e.g., of technological knowledge). In addition, innovations influence not only competence and skills but also the mentality of journalists and editorial teams, which may require a rethinking (e.g., regarding new economic thinking triggered by the introduction of paywalls or membership models).

Mesolevel

The mesolevel focuses on the effects of innovations at the organizational level, thus placing media companies in the center of attention as actors and as affected by innovations. This applies at both intraorganizational and interorganizational levels. Innovations within media organizations can give rise to various impulses and take on a range of forms. They lead to new organizational forms (e.g., newly created project teams, units, and departments) or to new processes (workflows, communication related). In this context, management becomes an important actor in innovations, either as an obstacle or a driver, as it (usually) bears the responsibility for the decision whether or not to develop an innovation, and it also decides on the resources made available (time, money, staff).

Interorganizationally, innovations have an impact on the relationship between media organizations and their stakeholders. New options for exchange are stimulated inside the industry in that editorial teams and media organizations force staff exchanges and networking, and in some fields of innovation, their own communities have formed across organizations (e.g., fact-checking, data journalism, paywalls, collaborative-investigative

journalism). Innovations also have an influence on the relationship with the audience, which they constantly redefine. Through digitization and technological progress, journalism and the audience have moved closer together, as shown by the innovation areas of social media or audio/podcasts, which are very much oriented to the interaction and needs of the audience (e.g., via community management or the support of editorial analytics).

Macrolevel

The macrolevel describes the mutual relationships of the impact of innovations on journalism at the societal level. In the context of innovations, this includes the media system, for example, but also the socioeconomic framework or the effects of innovation policies. In turn, national media systems and national policies themselves have a strong impact on innovations; for example, varying degrees of journalistic start-up scenes in the countries studied can be well explained by such preconditions (Buschow 2018; García-Avilés et al. 2018). It is also striking in the results that the conditions for innovation at the macrolevel are more often described by the interviewees as being unhelpful rather than as supporting. One major difference between the systems results from different national support for technological infrastructure and digital transformation. Other key criteria for innovation development are the recent structure of the dual broadcasting system, the development mandate of public broadcasting, and the quantity and quality of state media subsidies. Even strong, direct economic intervention by the state in favor of an established media system could not (so far) prevent the loss of legacy media and journalistic jobs (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2020) under the conditions of digitization and globalization, as well as more commercialization of journalism. Subsidies can, however, delay the national and regional market entry of innovative projects as competitors. Reaching new audiences with innovative journalistic projects from entrepreneurs in new organizational forms still tends to emerge primarily from journalism in the logic of “creative destruction” (Schumpeter 1942). At the macrolevel of state regulation, new funding models that might focus specifically on such journalistic innovation with democratic political quality goals are only being developed hesitantly.

Links between micro-, meso-, and macrolevels

Although the individual levels do help to systematize the impact of innovations on journalism and to sort them by certain characteristics, they cannot be considered as being completely separate because the results of the project have shown that each level can influence the others in some way. This finding supports the results of García-Avilés (2021), who has so far identified scant cross-level research on media innovation but ideally recommends a combination of all three levels for analyzing its impact. Findings from this project can serve as a starting point for closing this gap.

For example, the relationship between the individual levels can be concretized to the effect that the influence does not run in just one direction, i.e., neither bottom-up (micro to macro) nor vice versa, but crucially in both. In this context, the organizational level (meso) acts as a link between all three (Altmeppen 2008) because it receives the interactions of the other two, coordinates and transmits them. For example, new, politically initiated funding opportunities for journalism (macrolevel) lead to new organizational forms or business models (mesolevel), and these, in turn, to new tasks and competences (microlevel). Conversely, newly acquired competences (microlevel), e.g., through technological change, can develop into new organizational forms or business models at the mesolevel, which in turn lead to overall societal discourses and changes (macrolevel), such as ethical guidelines for AI (Porlezza and Ferri 2022).

The links between the individual levels also become evident in the example of a journalistic innovation culture (Dogruel 2013; Storsul and Krumsvik 2013; Küng 2015). The innovation culture in journalism can be seen as a kind of cross-sectional framework condition that covers all three levels. The interviews show that a supportive innovation culture can be defined as a framework condition that affects all levels individually but only realizes its full innovation potential when combined. The microlevel requires intrinsic motivation, patience, and creativity of the employees; on the mesolevel, open-minded management in the sense of an open culture of error and the willingness to break up existing structures are supportive; and on the macrolevel, innovation-supporting structures in the form of funding or legal framework conditions are needed.

A similar situation applies to journalistic culture in general (Hanusch 2021), which we defined in Chapter 1 as a precondition for innovation in journalism. It is also influenced by innovations on the three levels: new competences and tasks affect the self-perception of journalists (micro), new business models stimulate a cultural change within the whole media industry (meso), and disruptive technologies demand new negotiation processes with other social subsystems (macro). On the other hand, however, journalistic culture also influences the development of innovations at the individual levels, e.g., at the microlevel through the self-image of individual journalists, the identity or newsroom culture of a media organization (meso), or through a national or international journalistic self-perception based on the form of government and on the media system (macro). This makes it obvious that innovations are influenced by values and norms in journalism, but in the other direction, they also have an influence on both.

How innovations influence values and norms and the quality of journalism

According to the definition (see Chapter 1), innovations solve problems and add value for the audience or the news organization. But which values are these? How are they characterized? We apply a theory of journalistic quality to classify the changes in values and norms through innovations. The literature

points out that quality depends on various factors and is relative and dynamic (Meier 2019). Our project operates in pluralistic, open societies; hence, we derive quality from the tasks of journalism in democracy (e.g., McQuail 1992; Scheuer 2008). From this, we deduce the values truth/facticity, relevance/context, and independence (see Chapter 1), and on this basis, we can establish norms as quality criteria in that the truth/facticity dimension contains quality criteria such as accuracy, fairness, diversity, and transparency. The relevance/context dimension includes the significance of topics and facts, originality, timeliness, attractiveness, and usefulness. The independence dimension accentuates organizational independence from economic and political influences and impartiality as balance and the separation of news/facts and comment/opinion.

Research on quality in journalism points out that these quality criteria “compete against one another and cannot all be achieved at the same time” (Meier 2019, 3). The question, therefore, arises not only as to which standards are strengthened by innovations but also which are weakened and whether new ones are added.

Truth/facticity: Undoubtedly, *fact-checking* has strengthened this quality dimension as a reaction of innovative journalism to the rapid spread of fake news, especially in social media. In a complex world, the *diversity* of an editorial offering strengthens the goal of coming as close as possible to a complex truth through a greater plurality of opinions, backgrounds, and knowledge to generate new perspectives and, e.g., address also the issues of marginalized groups. Certain new *storytelling formats* place the narrator/reporter at the center, who explains the ways of their reporting: The editorial approach is authentically disclosed, thereby strengthening transparency. However, when reporters bring their own position into the story, the norm of the separation of news/facts and comment/opinion could be violated. Within the umbrella term of objectivity, norms such as accuracy, diversity, impartiality, significance, and transparency traditionally merge and strengthen each other. Transparency has even been seen as “the new objectivity” (Weinberger 2009). But it is not only transparency that has been enhanced, and the question of whether objectivity is strengthened or weakened by innovations must remain open because it depends on how strongly individual norms as elements of objectivity are weighted.

Relevance/context: Strengthening *investigative journalism* through cross-border collaboration pays definitive dividends on this quality dimension. Complex *storytelling* allows in-depth coverage with individual ways of use with emotional and user-friendly entry points; a (young) audience is reached, which is rather discouraged by the classic presentation of news. *New organizational forms and teams* aim at identifying more relevant topics and bringing them quickly to different target groups via different channels. However, when restructuring is seen as a purely cost-cutting program, it is aimed only at economic value and not a journalistic one, and the quality of reporting is jeopardized.

Independence: In a time of economic pressure on media companies, several innovations aim to achieve greater (financial) independence. Subscriptions and other payment models (*membership, donations, and crowdfunding, etc.*) help to maintain journalism in economically difficult times and support more independence from advertising influence. In traditional business models, the influence of advertisers was seen as a threat to independence in that the audience was an anonymous mass, and increasing attention to the audience was often seen as clickbait journalism with sensational and misleading headlines. The innovations reverse this because complex editorial metrics perceive the audience as individuals with distinctive desires and needs. Indeed, membership models give the audience opportunities to have their say, and, consequently, they are editorially empowered. The audience is no longer sold as a mass to the advertiser. But this raises the question of new dependencies: if topics and access to news are structured according to audience wishes and their cooperation, suggestions, statements, and feedback, does not a danger for impartiality arise with a loss of balance? The louder audience voices would say where things are going if newsrooms follow them. In addition, some risk to independence exists for newsrooms that use *social media* to reach a wider audience. Journalism must follow the rules and standards of the platforms and adapt its own quality criteria to them.

In conclusion, we can say that innovations in journalism have not developed fundamentally new quality criteria, but they meet, expand, and shift several existing criteria (see Figure 29.2). The theoretical assumption that quality criteria compete against each other (Meier 2019) proves to be right for some innovations: strengthening certain norms may weaken others. The innovations selected for our study primarily strengthen norms that target the unique selling point of journalism in the digital media world with a multiplication of voices and the loss of the journalistic monopoly. In the days of gatekeeping journalism, the question was less about why society needed journalism, but today, journalism must repeatedly justify what makes journalism so special and distinguishes it from other forms of (public) communication. Obviously, this is done by boosting certain qualities through innovation: investigation, transparency, diversity, in-depth coverage, and a fostered relationship with the audience. However, this enhancing may lead to a redefinition of the umbrella term objectivity: transparency gains more weight in the achievement of objectivity, while balance and the separation of news and opinion may decrease in weight.

In our study, we were able to assess which quality criteria the people responsible for innovation projects might consider to be strengthened, and we collected numerous indications of this. To find out *to what extent* these were strengthened would require a different methodological design. Here, the field is wide open for future studies.

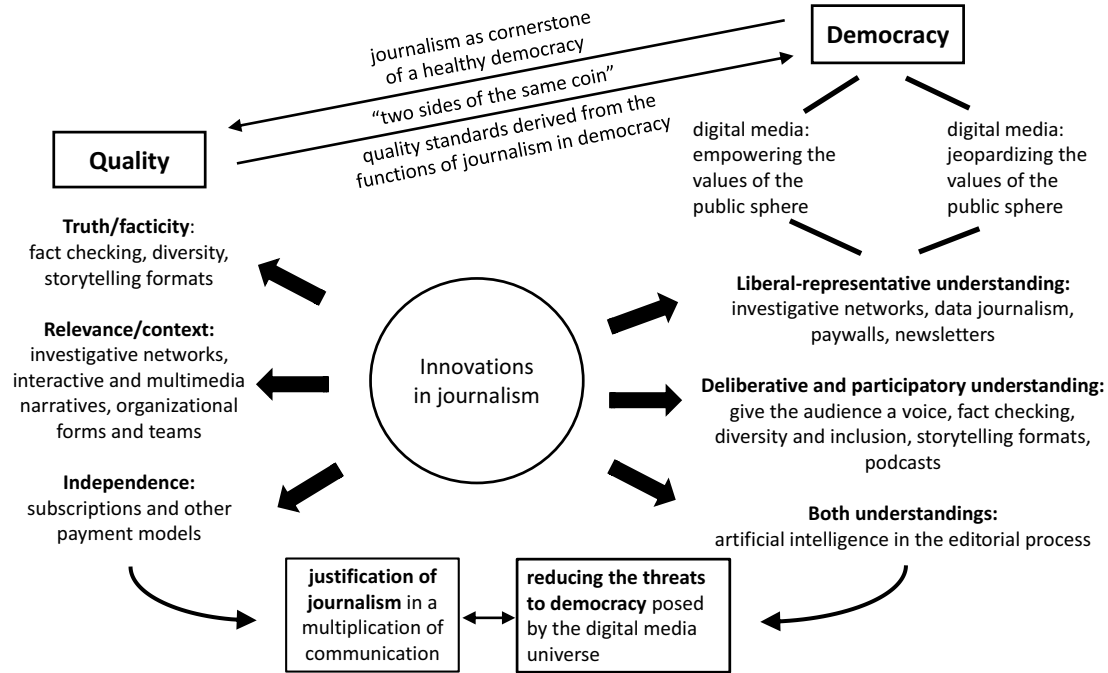


Figure 29.2 Interplays between democracy, journalistic quality, and innovations in journalism.

Source: Authors.

Innovation in journalism and democracy

Chapter 27 already summarized the societal impact of innovations in journalism from the perspective of the interviewees in the research project and the benefits of innovations for the democratic function of journalism mentioned by the interviewees. In this section, the aim is to classify the mentions in a theory-based manner and thus expand the theory of the interplay between journalism and democracy. For decades, a large body of literature has pointed out that journalism and democracy are two sides of the same coin (see Chapter 1). In recent years, it has often been stated that the ambivalence of the digital public sphere, on the one hand, fruitfully expands this interplay and, on the other hand, severely disturbs it. International research activities show that debates still range from optimistic views to skeptical or even dystopian perspectives. For example, one of the biggest problems is the division of society because of the increasing drifting apart of the different political factions. Indeed, political compromises can only be achieved with great difficulty in the public sphere if the divergent demands and interests are not accepted, or even known, and the will to reach agreement is lacking (Bennett and Pfetsch 2018; Palau-Sampio and López-García 2022).

Against this background, journalism is challenged to reposition itself. The question is to what extent innovations contribute to this repositioning and, from the perspective of a normative theory (Christians et al. 2009), whether they add to strengthening democracy or at least mitigating its weakening. In answering this complex question, however, we must keep in mind that there are varying conceptions of democracy, each of which leads to disparate concepts of the public sphere (Ferree et al. 2002). This theoretical approach to the political public sphere has been applied more often to the functions of journalism in democracy, for example, in elaborating the public value of journalism (Meier 2016) or analyzing news content diversity (Magin et al. 2023).

This theoretical approach essentially comprises two positions (Meier 2016, 68):

- The *liberal-representative model of democracy* sees journalism as a two-way intermediary between the political system and the citizens. High-quality reporting is required to be independent, fact-oriented, impartial, balanced, and diverse in relevant positions with almost exclusively voices from the government, parliament, and political parties. Solutions to social problems come predominantly from the executive and legislative powers; their decisions are to be made transparent by journalism, which at the same time must monitor and scrutinize the elites. Citizens are assigned a largely passive public role: they are informed so that they can make informed decisions in their essential active role, namely voting at the ballot box in the elections (“informed citizens”).

- A *deliberative and participatory understanding of democracy* follows the idea of involving as many citizens and civil society actors as possible in public discourse. The essential aspects, however, are not so much the participative, but the deliberative as “hearing of the other side” (Mutz 2006), and participation in a deliberative and not in a destructive sense. High-quality reporting is, therefore, additionally required to be dialogue-oriented and fundamentally open to voices that do not come from the pool of political professions, i.e., primarily from civil society. Political decisions should be grounded in rationality and not because of social power structures. Since, according to this model, alternative options should always be weighed and justified, journalism must present more contextual knowledge about problems, possible causes, assessments, and solutions. There is greater confidence in citizens that they can assemble a comprehensive communications repertoire for themselves and they also have greater accountability (“orienting and participating citizens”).

The areas of innovation of our study will now be sorted according to whether they are more likely to strengthen one or the other model:

A **liberal-representative understanding of democracy** is more likely to be strengthened by the following innovations: in monitoring elites through *investigative networks*, journalism acts on a mandate from citizens without involving them unless crowdsourcing models would intensively integrate citizens in the research. The same applies to *data journalism* in that if data from official sources of the state are used, it brings transparency into the relationship between the state and citizens. Only if citizens are involved in data collection (for example, through data donations) would this correspond to a participatory understanding of democracy. *Paywalls* tie citizens to the journalistic brand and can thus improve their information behavior; *newsletters* perform the same function. However, paywalls and fee-based newsletters exclude citizens who do not want or cannot afford the costs and thus limit an understanding of democracy that relies on the participation of many.

The following areas aim to strengthen a **deliberative and participatory understanding of democracy**: above all, innovations that give the audience a voice and step back from a sender-receiver mentality, in particular *fostering engagement*, *management of communities*, *membership models*, and *crowdfunding*. *Diversity and inclusion* in newsrooms and reporting force the input of civil society into the public sphere. *Social media*, as a challenging innovation for journalism, is fundamentally suited to acting at eye level with citizens and offering a wide range of rights, but it also represents the aforementioned ambivalence with its considerable downsides. *Fact-checking* attempts to minimize these downsides of a participatory public sphere and thus strengthens rational discourse in the deliberative sense. The innovative *podcast* format has the potential to include a range of voices as actors because the format is more open and flexible than classic radio news formats, which traditionally

focus on voices from the executive and legislative powers. *New digital storytelling* formats offer similar advantages in that they can go into greater depth to include more voices and actors than traditional presentation formats, whose space is limited.

The use of *AI in the editorial process* has the potential to strengthen the democratic functions of journalism in **both models**. On the one hand, it can support investigative research and data analysis and thus help to control the elites in a liberal-representative way and bring transparency into society. On the other hand, it can help make voices from civil society and the public in general more perceptible to editorial teams and thus strengthen diversity and a participatory public sphere.

Conclusion

The theoretical advance of our study lies in a deeper characterization of innovation, change, and transformation at various levels and an improved understanding of the interrelationships between innovation, quality, and democracy. We can show that it is primarily external drivers that push innovations in journalism at a triggering stage. That is why it makes more sense to speak of “innovations in journalism” rather than “journalism innovation,” and we were able to show the connections and impacts between the micro-, meso-, and macrolevels, which, for example, brings more insight into the journalistic innovation culture.

Journalistic practitioners and scholars quite often fear that innovations could damage the quality and normative function of journalism in democracy, especially if they are predominantly market-driven (Ferrucci and Perreault 2021). For example, studies have argued for “*normative failure* as a framework for understanding journalistic responses to change in their field” (Siegelbaum and Thomas 2016, 387). In our study, we were able to supplement and correct these observations. We prioritized innovations if they had a presumed social impact (in addition to other criteria like the degree of “innovativeness”), and we found a lot of evidence that innovations, in fact, can strengthen the democratic function of journalism. The analysis of the results has shown that, in some innovations, such as fact-checking, changes in the public sphere that could harm democracy have even been explicit triggers for the innovation to help heal the damage. Some innovations bring depth and variety instead of accelerating the insane speed of news; they emphasize original reporting instead of pushing the often-criticized churnalism (van Leuven, 2019) that only rehashes prepackaged material; new financing models focus on a stronger relationship with the audience instead of clickbait and also strengthen independent reporting.

The extent to which certain innovations in journalism affect its democratic function, however, depends on the model of democracy: In a liberal-representative understanding of democracy, the strengths lie in those innovations that monitor and scrutinize the powers and shed more light on social

affairs, enhancing the performance of the intermediary between the political system and citizens. In a deliberative and participatory understanding of democracy, the innovations that are particularly valuable are those that allow diverse voices from civil society to have their say in reporting and to bring in rational and checked facts, arguments, and moderation in public debate, which is otherwise characterized by increasing polarization and the growth of ideological filter bubbles. Overall, it can be concluded, regardless of which model is used as a basis, that the democratic value of innovations in journalism lies in that they occasionally take advantage of the benefits that digital media have brought, but more often, they aim to reduce the threats to democracy posed by the digital media universe. This, in turn, is related to what we summarized earlier: innovations primarily strengthen those quality factors that make journalism so special and distinguish it from other multiple forms of public communication.

References

- Altmeppen, Klaus-Dieter. 2008. "The Structure of News Production: The Organizational Approach to Journalism Research." In *Global Journalism Research: Theories, Methods, Findings, Future*, edited by Martin Löffelholz, David Weaver, 52–64. Malden: Blackwell.
- Bennett, Lance, and Barbara Pfetsch. 2018. "Rethinking Political Communication in a Time of Disrupted Public Spheres." *Journal of communication* 68(2): 243–253. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqx017>
- Bisiani, Simona, Andrea Abellan, Félix Arias-Robles, and José Alberto García-Avilés. 2023. "The Data Journalism Workforce: Demographics, Skills, Work Practices, and Challenges in the Aftermath of the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Journalism Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2023.2191866>
- Bruns, Axel. 2014. "Media Innovations, User Innovations, Societal Innovations." *The Journal of Media Innovations* 1(1): 13–27.
- Buschow, Christopher. 2018. *Die Neuordnung des Journalismus. Eine Studie zur Gründung neuer Medienorganisationen*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Christians, Clifford G., Theodore L. Glasser, Denis McQuail, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Robert A. White. 2009. *Normative Theories of the Media. Journalism in Democratic Societies*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Dogrueel, Leyla. 2013. "Opening the Black Box. The Conceptualising of Media Innovation." In *Media Innovations. A Multidisciplinary Study of Change*, edited by Tanja Storsul, and Arne H. Krumsvik, 29–44. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Dogrueel, Leyla. 2014. "What Is so Special about Media Innovations? A Characterization of the Field." *The Journal of Media Innovations* 1(1): 52–69. <https://doi.org/10.5617/jmi.v1i1.665>
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002. "Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracy." *Theory and Society* 31(3): 289–324. <https://www.doi.org/10.1023/A:1016284431021>
- Ferrucci, Patrick, and Gregory Perreault. 2021. "The Liability of Newness: Journalism, Innovation and the Issue of Core Competencies." *Journalism Studies* 22(11): 1436–1449. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1916777>
- García-Avilés, José Alberto, Miguel Carvajal-Prieto, Alicia De Lara-González, and Félix Arias-Robles. 2018. "Developing an Index of Media Innovation in a National Market: The Case of Spain." *Journalism Studies* 19(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1161496>

- García-Avilés, Jose A. 2021. "Review Article: Journalism Innovation Research, a Diverse and Flourishing Field (2000-2020)." *Profesional de la Información* 30(1): 1–33. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2021.ene.10>
- Graßl, Michael, Jonas Schützeneder, and Klaus Meier. 2022. "Artificial Intelligence as a Tool of Assistance. A Scientific and Practical Perspective on AI in Journalism." *Journalism Research* 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.1453/2569-152X-12022-12049-en>
- Graßl, Michael, Rosanna Planer, Jonas Schützeneder, and Korbinian Klinghardt. 2023. "Dependent on the Platform? Discussing Journalistic Transformation Levels on and through Instagram." In *Digital Disruption and Media Transformation: How Technological Innovation Shapes the Future of Communication*, edited by Alexander Godulla and Stephan Böhm, 147–149. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Guo, Lei, and Yong Volz. 2019. "(Re)defining Journalistic Expertise in the Digital Transformation: A Content Analysis of Job Announcements." *Journalism Practice* 13(10): 1294–1315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1588147>
- Hanusch, Folker. 2021. *Comparing Journalistic Cultures*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Hogh-Janovsky, Isabell, and Klaus Meier. 2021. "Journalism Innovation Labs 2.0 in Media Organizations: A Motor for Transformation and Constant Learning." *Journalism and Media* 2(3): 361–378. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia2030022>
- Kaltenbrunner, Andy, Renée Lugschitz, Matthias Karmasin, Sonja Luef, and Daniela Kraus. 2020. *Der Österreichische Journalismus-Report. Eine empirische Erhebung und eine repräsentative Befragung*. Vienna: Facultas.
- Küng, Lucy. 2015. *Innovators in Digital News*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Klinghardt, Korbinian, Michael Graßl, and Jonas Schützeneder. 2022. "Evolution trifft Innovation: Podcasts als Trendformat in Journalismus und Medien." In *Podcasts: Perspektiven und Potenziale eines digitalen Mediums*, edited by Vera Katzenberger, Jana Keil, and Michael Wild. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-38712-9_9
- Loosen, Wiebke, Julius Reimer, and Fenja De Silva-Schmidt. 2017. "Data-Driven Reporting: An Ongoing (r)evolution? An Analysis of Projects Nominated for the Data Journalism Awards 2013–2016." *Journalism. Theory, Practice & Criticism* 21(9): 1246–1263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917735691>
- Magin, Melanie, Birgit Stark, Olaf Jandura, Linards Udris, Andreas Riedl, Miriam Klein, Mark Eisenegger, Raphael Kösters, and Brigitte Hofstetter Furrer. 2023. "Seeing the Whole Picture. Towards a Multi-perspective Approach to News Content Diversity based on Liberal and Deliberative Models of Democracy." *Journalism Studies*, online first. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2023.2178248>
- McQuail, Denis. 1992. *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. London: Sage.
- Meier, Klaus. 2016. "Unser aller Rundfunk im digitalen Zeitalter." In *Public Social Value. Public Value Studie 2015/16. ORF-Jahresstudie in Kooperation mit SRG, BR und EBU*, 66–88. Wien. https://zukunft.orf.at/show_content.php?sid=147&pvi_id=1684&pvi_medientyp=t&oti_tag=studie
- Meier, Klaus. 2019. "Quality in Journalism." In *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, edited by Tim P. Vos, and Folker Hanusch. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0041>
- Meier, Klaus, Jonas Schützeneder, José Alberto García Avilés, José María Valero-Pastor, Andy Kaltenbrunner, Renée Lugschitz, Colin Porlezza, Giulia Ferri, Vinzenz Wyss, and Mirco Saner. 2022. "Examining the Most Relevant Journalism Innovations: A Comparative Analysis of Five European Countries from 2010 to 2020." *Journalism and Media* 3(4): 698–714. <https://doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia3040046>
- Mutz, Diana C. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Palau-Sampio, Dolors, and Guillermo López-García. 2022. "Communication and Crisis in the Public Space: Dissolution and Uncertainty." *Profesional de la información* 31(3). <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2022.may.16>
- Pavlik, John V. 2021. *Disruption and Digital Journalism Assessing News Media Innovation in a Time of Dramatic Change*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Porlezza, Colin, and Giulia Ferri. 2022. "The Missing Piece: Ethics and the Ontological Boundaries of Automated Journalism." *ISOJ Journal* 12(1): 71–98.
- Scheuer, Jeffrey. 2008. *The Big Picture: Why Democracies Need Journalistic Excellence*. New York: Routledge.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Siegelbaum, Sasu, and Ryan J. Thomas. 2016. "Putting the Work (back) into Newswork. Searching for the Sources of Normative Failure." *Journalism Practice* 10(3): 387–404. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1025415>
- Storsul, Tanja, and Arne H. Krumsvik 2013. "What Is Media Innovation?" In *Media Innovations. A Multidisciplinary Study of Change*, edited by Tanja Storsul and Arne H. Krumsvik, 13–26. Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- Van Leuven, Sarah. 2019. "Churnalism." In *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, edited by Tim P. Vos, and Folker Hanusch. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0083>
- Weinberger, David. 2009. "Transparency: The New Objectivity." <https://www.kmworld.com/Articles/Column/David-Weinberger/Transparency-the-new-objectivity-55785.aspx>