International Journal of Communication 14(2020), 6090–6112 1932–8036/20200005

Shaping Regional Synergies: Digital Media, Investigative Reporting, and Collaboration for Improving Democracy and Accountability in Latin America

DOLORS PALAU-SAMPIO[1]
Universitat de València, Spain

Media from various Latin American countries have joined forces in the past few years to work together in cross-border investigative reporting. This article analyzes how the impetus of organizations such as the Institute of Press and Society (IPYS) and the Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism (FNPI) have helped to weave networks and associations since the 1990s to shape regional synergies that have made possible the building of media alliances from different countries, the purpose of which is to address common issues from a regional perspective. The collaborative initiatives are being coordinated by a new generation of digital media outlets led by experienced reporters and funded by various foundations. In addition to focusing on political wrongdoing, these articles also examine business interests, which is a new concept, considering the history of investigative journalism in the region.

Keywords: investigative journalism, Latin America, digital media, collaborative reporting, regional alliances

Problems such as corruption, organized crime, tax evasion, and drug dealing entail transnational challenges that often require cross-border journalistic coverage (Alfter, 2016; Heft, Alfter, & Pfetsch, 2019; Hellmueller, Cheema, & Zhang, 2017). As the world is becoming increasingly globalized, national issues can be mirrored beyond domestic borders as part of criminal networks that spread their tentacles through several countries. Likewise, human rights abuses and environmental misdeeds require complex approaches that can be faced more effectively through combined media-based efforts. Latin America offers "an excellent setting" for this—as highlighted by Carlos E. Huertas, director of Connectas, a nonprofit organization that supports transnational journalism: "Not only because of the obvious advantages of having a common language, history and culture, but because many of the things that are changing the reality on the continent are cross-border issues" (Looney, 2014, para. 8).

Over the past decade, the region has witnessed the birth of a new generation of media organizations that have played a major role in facilitating the creation of transborder partnerships, even if

Dolors Palau-Sampio: dolors.palau@uv.es
Date submitted: 2019–03–24

[1] I would like to sincerely thank the reviewers for their helpful comments that have strengthened this article.

not exclusively. Created as digital, nonprofit entities, and embracing investigative or in-depth journalism, a significant number of these new digital media (Huertas, 2013; Meléndez, 2016; Requejo-Alemán & Lugo-Ocando, 2014) share "the willingness and ability to collaborate" (Looney, 2014, para. 7). Technology has played a crucial role in shaping networks of investigative reporters who defy geographical boundaries, and allow for large amounts of data to be managed, which is required by these projects (Carson & Farhall, 2018; Heft et al., 2019).

One of the most significant aspects of the new media ecosystem in Latin America (Mochkofsky, 2011) is the implementation of collaborative strategies and regional synergies that are shaping new ways of improving democracy and media accountability, particularly at a moment when journalism is facing the most dramatic consequences of the financial and business model crisis, and a growing loss of credibility (Carson & Farhall, 2018; Franklin, 2014). These new digital media organizations "illustrate a shift in the practice of investigative reporting" (Carson & Farhall, 2018, p. 1), in a region that has traditionally faced problems of democracy in the media (Fox & Waisbord, 2002).

Cases like the Swiss Leaks, Paradise Papers, and Panama Papers (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists [ICIJ], 2018) represent a sample paradigm of how the findings of journalists around the globe can achieve an extraordinary impact if they work together toward a common goal. Even if these cases have inspired the most recent cross-border initiatives, in addition to considering the foundations of the current projects and the willingness to collaborate with Latin American concerns, attention should also be paid to the strategies deployed by some organizations that have been working in the region since the 1990s. This article combines a journalistic and sociological approach, considering the logic of the journalistic role in a transnational environment (Hanitzsch, 2007; Mellado, 2015) together with the Political Economy of the Communication field (Hardy, 2019), to explore the dynamics of investigative cross-border collaboration.

Literature Review

Investigative Journalism in the Digital Ecosystem

The digital environment has brought about new opportunities for investigative reporting in Latin America. This area has gained remarkable strength as one of the expressions of a new digital media generation hosted over the past decade (Meléndez, 2016; Sembra Media, 2018). Even while the number of entrepreneurial news projects has increased worldwide (Robinson, Grennan, & Schiffrin, 2015; Wagemans, Witschge, & Deuze, 2016), this region has experienced a particularly "vibrant" expansion with the structuring of "a new ecosystem of solid journalistic initiatives" (Huertas, 2013, p. 63). Mochkofsky (2011) refers to a radical change in the media landscape driven by a "wave of independent, innovative, and critical journalistic practices that has spread across the continent" (p. 15).

The new media outlets rely on alternative storytelling techniques (Mioli & Nafría, 2017 to narrate realities that often escape the attention of the traditional media: complex situations resulting from corruption, organized violence, drug trafficking, environmental governance and mass migration, among others. They portray themselves as being editorially independent (Harlow & Salaverría, 2016) and committed to news coverage that is free from the pressures of owners or advertisers. In fact, these media

"expressed dissatisfaction with traditional media in their countries for colluding with vested interests, failing to report on sensitive topics, and ignoring provincial and rural areas" (Sembra Media, 2018, p. 25). This led them to create start-ups to serve as a counterforce in the pursuit of professional values that has emerged from discontent and the demise of traditional media outlets (Naldi & Picard 2012; Sirkkunen & Cook, 2012; Wagemans et al., 2016). These new media are focused on investigative reporting (De Burgh, 2008) to expose wrongdoing and to hold institutions of power accountable for the improvement of democracy, as well as on narrative and explanatory journalism (Carey, 1974) to allow in-depth understanding and interpretation of complex events and phenomena in social, political, and cultural contexts. That was the aim of *El Faro,* the first Latin American digital native (1998), when it launched the *Sala Negra* section in 2010 in response to the need to find other ways to explain the crisis of violence in Central America (Dada, 2011).

The "renaissance" of investigative journalism in Latin America (Schmitz, De Macedo, Saldaña, & Alves, 2017, p. 1), a highly demanding modality in terms of time and resources, has been supported by philanthropy, which has occurred in other latitudes as well (Hume & Abbott, 2017). However, as they are funded by grants and donations (Meléndez, 2016; Requejo-Alemán & Lugo-Ocando, 2014), these outlets cope with significant risk in terms of viability and sustainability (Mitchell, Jurkowitz, Holcomb, & Anderson, 2013; Schmitz, De Macedo, Harlow, & Alves, 2018). Most of them perceive the need to diversify the income of economic resources as the top priority to avoid dependence on a single benefactor who might "put conditions on the media's functioning" (Meléndez, 2016, p. 70).

Together with their main role as nonprofit entities that use digital technology, Houston (2010) points out that the rise of networks is one of the most significant aspects in creating a future for investigative journalism. The Panama Papers case, unveiled by the ICIJ, verifies the dimensions involved in terms of contributing journalists and the possible impact of collaboration (Pitt & Green-Barber, 2018).

Cross-Border Collaborative Environments

Alfter (2016) defines "cross-border journalism" as a combination of four elements: (a) "journalists from different countries"; (b) who "collaborate to investigate a shared topic or story"; (c) and "compile, mutually cross-check, and merge their findings to (d) do fact-checking and divulge the findings to their individual target groups at the regional, national or local level" (p. 300). In many ways, it involves a challenge. First, competition for news in a "traditional newsroom [with] Balkanized production" (Howe, Bajak, Kraft, & Wihbey, 2017, p. 3) and exclusivity (Sambrook, 2018, p. 26) have been "an elemental feature of the institutionalized, objective journalism of the 20th century" (Graves & Konieczna, 2015, p. 1970). Collaboration forces a "decisive shift" (Carson & Farhall, 2018, pp. 2–3) for journalists accustomed to rivalry and the role of being lone wolves (Alfter, 2016; Salamanca, Sierra, & Huertas, 2017). Second, cross-border journalism is carried out in a framework that is either transnational or global, and involves crossing borders to investigate cases that demand collaboration (Howe et al., 2017). This implies "multiple newsrooms (and countries) sharing information to expose wrongdoing" (Carson & Farhall, 2018, pp. 2–3).

Cases of media collaboration started in the middle of the 19th century when four New York based newspapers joined forces to send a reporter to cover the Mexican–American war, an initiative that led to the creation of the Associated Press (Lewis, 2018, p. 5). Researchers (e.g., Graves & Konieczna, 2015) refer

to cases of investigative journalism collaboration in the past few decades, mainly as a reaction against the attempt to stop the press from publishing—after the filtering of 7,000 documents to *The New York Times* revealed the American government's untruths about the Vietnam War in 1971 (Sampedro, López-Ferrández, & Carretero, 2018)—or to continue the interrupted work of investigative reporters who were assassinated. Some examples include The Arizona Project in the USA (1976) or in Colombia (2002), when journalist Orlando Sierra was murdered (Lewis, 2013; Salamanca et al., 2017).

However, the main shift in collaboration has been fueled by the progression "from occasional initiatives as a reaction against critical situations to systematic efforts with a constructive aim" (as cited in Salamanca et al., 2017, p. 8). The Center for Public Integrity (CPI), funded by Charles Lewis, pioneered this new direction in 1989 when it began exploring the possibility of journalistic collaborations with news organizations. Posterior to the projects carried out to investigate records of legislative campaign contributions in some U.S. states (Lewis, 2018, pp. 6–9), the CPI brought together a consortium of 50 leading newspapers in 50 states to launch a "national investigation of conflicts of interest by state lawmakers" (Lewis, 2018, p. 10).

Initiatives such as the American Newspaper Group (http://gda.com) created in 1992 by five leading Latin American newspapers to share content represented one of the first attempts at collaboration in Latin America. Cross-border research collaboration has increased since the late 1990s in different European countries (Alfter, 2016; Heft et al., 2019), with projects such as the FarmSubsidy, started in 2005 by a group of Danish journalists to analyze EU agricultural policy; the European Investigative Collaborations (EIC), a network launched in 2015 by *Der Spiegel*; or among others, Investigate Europe, which is a group of nine individual journalists from eight countries (Alfter, 2019; Candea, 2016). Regional projects have gained momentum since the 2000s, not only in Europe but in America as well, where ICIJ supported several initiatives involving Latin American countries, though only very occasionally did the organization focus entirely on this area. In addition, the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP), created in 2006, operated in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Central America, even though other organizations were established in Africa and Asia more than a decade later (Bromley, 2019; Kayser-Bril, 2018, p. 61). These collaborative experiences verified not only the benefits of mutual fact-checking, but also the value of having partners from other countries who "hold a crucial key to a research puzzle, thus unlocking an entire investigation" (Alfter, 2019, p. 9).

The qualitative leap in terms of impact and audience share took place when digitization furnished the infrastructure of managing a large amount of data and reporting. This is not only creating networks of newsrooms for information sharing, teamwork, and cooperation across borders but also allowing the process to be more cost effective (Graves & Konieczna, 2015; Houston, 2010; Hume & Abbott, 2017). The LuxLeaks case corroborated these advantages when the ICIJ took action in late 2013 to prompt a stronger impact from a breaking story published in 26 countries simultaneously, and thereafter the issue was established on the international agenda (Alfter, 2019, p. 11). Three years later, the ICIJ increased this achievement with the online publication of the Panama Papers, with WikiLeaks and Edward Snowden's leaks, one of the "three largest, most complex, most controversial, secretly-leaked 'Big Data' projects" (Lewis, 2018, p. 15) uncovered by investigative collaboration.

The context that has made cross-border investigative journalism possible is the result of a combination of circumstances, including the effects of a "perfect storm of economic crisis, technological transition, and cultural change" (Stearns, 2012, para. 3). The consequence has been newsroom cutbacks and "frustration with traditional journalism," that has encouraged professionals to develop new strategies of collaboration to "provide high-quality journalism and hold politics to account" (Heft et al., 2019, p. 1187), and to overcome national bias (Alfter, 2019, p. 15). As Graves and Konieczna (2015) point out, "just as important as the trend itself is how journalists seem to be talking about it: the open embrace of 'collaborative journalism' as a way of fulfilling journalism's mission in the face of profound economic challenges" (p. 1967). Although transnational journalistic networks can be established in various fields, news journalists and investigative reporters are the most significant (Heft et al., 2019, p. 1187).

Media Concentration

Cross-border collaboration in investigative journalism involves a unique challenge to the Latin American media. Although media systems differ among countries (Kitzberger, 2017), a map of the region has been defined in terms of conglomerate concentration, lack of public service (Becerra, 2014), and limited pluralism (Segura & Waisbord, 2016). In the past 30 years, "the media system in the region has consolidated a structure concentrated in the hands of large multimedia conglomerates" (Becerra & Wagner, 2018, p. 95) that are geographically centralized, particularly in the broadcasting sector. Mastrini and Becerra (2006) documented the extreme concentration of the infocommunication segment in 10 Latin American countries: on average, the first four operators in each market once dominated 80% of that market. The "oligarchic ownership of television," the region's dominant medium, is one of the five barriers to the creation of "independent, pluralistic, and assertive media systems in the region," as identified by Hughes and Lawson (2004, pp. 9–10), and suggests legal reforms as a way of encouraging different ownership patterns. Over the past decade, various Latin American countries have boosted fundamental modifications to regulate private commercial media (Becerra & Wagner 2018; Campo & Crowder-Taraborrelli, 2018), and media activism has achieved particular importance through organizations and networks calling for media policy reforms and public access (Segura & Waisbord, 2016). This activism is rooted in the alternative or indigenous media movement that pioneered community broadcasting associations such as "miner radio" in Bolivia and Colombia, or the NGO movement supported by the international development aid (Ganter, 2018; Segura & Waisbord, 2016).

Becerra and Wagner (2018) point out that "between 2004 and 2015, a new paradigm with major structural inconsistencies developed" (p. 99). "Rather than structural reform," they continue, "a change [occurred] at the highest leadership levels of the media groups, which to this day remain highly concentrated" (pp. 98–99). "This is why," they add, "we have spoken of polarized concentration rather than deconcentration" (p. 99).

The policies of privatization have also engendered relationships of clientelism between public powers and media companies (Fox & Waisbord, 2002; Guerrero, 2014; Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002). This has allowed for permissive regulation in comparison with media systems in Europe or the U.S. (Becerra & Wagner, 2018; Fox & Waisbord, 2002). This liberal regulation for years had been mutually beneficial for both parties: "Public officials approached the politics of privatization as a way of gaining personal advantage,

both politically and economically, by accepting the demands of powerful media interests" (Fox & Waisbord, 2002, p. 10). From a journalistic perspective, clientelism breaks down professional autonomy (Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002), which clearly endangers the effective monitoring of political and economic powers (Fox & Waisbord, 2002).

Methodology and Research Questions

This article intends to outline the features of the media and organizations working together in Latin America and making regional cooperation possible. The objectives of the research appear detailed in the following questions, to cover the evaluative, performative, organizational, and transnational interconnectedness orientations (Hellmueller & Konow-Lund, 2019):

RQ1: Which organizations or entities helped build the networks to boost cooperation, and how do they work?

RQ2: Which media are collaborating more closely in investigative reporting projects? What are their characteristics and profiles, and the main issues covered?

RQ3: How do the media that promote cross-border journalism manage their projects?

This research is based on a qualitative methodology and has followed several steps, the first of which includes semi-structured interviews with 10 leading journalists from the following countries: Peru (3), Chile (3), Argentina (2), Mexico (1), and El Salvador (1). Selection of the interviewees (see Table 1) is consistent with a diversity of geographical origin as well as in involvement in the new media environment and the regional networks.

Table 1. Interviewees.

Journalist	Role	Media and country	Place and date of the interview
Pedro Ramírez	Former editor (now director)		Santiago (CH) 8/25/2015
Mónica González	Founder and former director		Santiago (CH) 1/21/2016
Juan Cristóbal Peña	Former journalist and Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism (FNPI) Prize winner	*Ciper* (Chile; CH)	Santiago (CH) 8/31/2016
Marcela Turati	Cofounder	*Periodistas de a Pie* (Mexico; ME)	Buenos Aires (Argentina; ARG) 4/4/2015
Jose Luis Sanz	Director	*El Faro* (El Salvador; ES)	Valencia (Spain) 1/15/2015
Josefina Licitra	Narrative journalist and FNPI Prize winner	Freelance (ARG)	Buenos Aires (ARG) 3/27/2015
Laura Zommer	Founder and executive director	*Chequeado* (ARG)	Buenos Aires (ARG) 8/31/2017
Milagros Salazar	Founder and director	*Convoca* (Peru; PE)	Lima (PE) 8/14/2018
David Hidalgo	Cofounder and director	*Ojo Público* (PE)	Lima (PE) 8/15/2018
Romina Mella	Cofounder	*IDL-Reporteros* (PE)	Lima (PE) 8/27/2018

The face-to-face interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2018, lasting between 75 and 120 minutes, and were carried out with the journalists having given their consent to be identified.

Given that there are no records of digital cross-border collaborative initiatives in the region, the second step entailed institutional research. Based on suggestions made by interviewees along with a literature review, a list of relevant projects was compiled using the archives of six organizations that act as networks or promoters of investigative journalism in the region: the IPYS, the FNPI, the Connectas Platform, the foundation InSight Crime, the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN), and the ICIJ. Afterward, a content analysis of the identified projects was carried out to answer RQ2.

Finally, three of the interviews with the Peruvian journalists (see Table 1), who head some of the most dynamic media, were selected to delve more deeply into cross-border project management.

Results

Building Networks

The emergence of projects aimed at producing quality independent journalism in Latin America over the past few years is far from mere coincidence, and more details will follow to answer RQ1. Huertas (2013) suggests it has resulted from "a process that has taken nearly two decades" (p. 14). Since the mid-1990s, two main organizations have been building the foundation for the current framework: the Peruvian IPYS, and FNPI. Their work has followed the path of the networking task carried out in the academic communication and social organization field in previous decades (Kitzberger, 2017; Segura, 2014).

IPYS was created in 1993 as a reaction from a group of Peruvian journalists and editors to attacks against free speech and freedom of the press by the authoritarian government of Alberto Fujimori (Institute for Press and Society, 2018). Their main achievements included not only the building of a network to protect local journalists under threat but also inspiration for the founding of other organizations in Latin America, as in the case of IPYS Venezuela (2002) and IPYS Colombia (2008). Beyond that, they endeavored to extend their mission throughout the region and to create "a network of correspondents in different countries" (Huertas, 2013, p. 14) to safeguard transparency, plurality, independence, and quality journalism. Together with International Transparency, IPYS in 2002 sponsored the Latin American Conference of Investigative Reporting (COLPIN), the most important meeting of its kind in the region. This conference represents an opportunity to publicize outstanding investigations carried out, and to openly converse with other authors about the topics covered and the most effective strategies to denounce corruption (Latin American Conference of Investigative Reporting, 2018). As noted by Pedro Ramírez, "The annual meeting of IPYS, where different experiences of investigative journalism are shared, has become a type of educational institution that supports our professional training" (director of the Chilean *Ciper*, 2015). This viewpoint has also been stressed by Romina Mella (cofounder of *IDL-Reporteros,* 2018) and Milagros Salazar (founder and director of *Convoca*, 2018).

The FNPI, promoted by Nobel Prize winner Gabriel García Márquez, was founded in Colombia in 1995, with the aim of encouraging high-quality independent journalism. Since 2008, its focus has been primarily on narrative journalism, ethics, investigative reporting, and innovation. The FNPI conducts workshops and training courses as a "pedagogical method" for completing the mission of "inspiring, creating incentive for, training, and connecting" (Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism, 2016, p. 62) journalists. National and transnational partnerships and collaborations are the key catalysts of the project (Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism, 2016). This approach has served as a framework for allowing the exchange of practices and working methods among journalists, and for establishing informal relationships that can quickly become highly productive (Alfter, 2016; Huertas, 2013). Similar to this measure, conferences organized by the GIJN since 2001, and previously by the Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), opened the path to transnational projects such as those developed by the ICIJ (Kaplan, 2013).

The activity undertaken by IPYS and the FNPI has become an "inspirational reference point for journalistic quality in Latin America" (Huertas, 2013, p. 14), which has increased recognition of the region and fostered a change of journalistic mentality. Awards promoted by these organizations have also helped

to shape and acknowledge a sense of excellence (Lanosga, 2015), and have been a driving force in motivating transformation and engendering mutual awareness and strong relationships among professionals. Moreover, when professionals work in a context of extreme violence, such as that of El Salvador, awards can help to provide internal legitimization, "preventing or at least lowering criticism and threats," as José Luis Sanz (director of *El Faro,* 2015), explains. "The Institute for Press and Society (IPYS) and Inter American Press Association (SIP) Awards," he continues, "have consolidated us, and have been a tool that we use internally in terms of reaffirmation, as a support to build prestige. Although it doesn't guarantee funds, it opens the door wider for doing other things" (Sanz, 2015, personal communication).

Mexican journalist Marcela Turati emphasizes that FNPI's work has been crucial for her generation: "Thanks to the workshops, we came in contact with others, started to exchange work, visit each other, and collaborate on common projects" (Turati, cofounder of *Periodistas de a Pie* and *Quinto Elemento Lab*, 2015, personal communication). She also explains how important it was to rely on the experience of Colombian journalists in the coverage of the violence in that country. Chilean journalist Mónica González highlights the key contribution of the FNPI in boosting investigative journalism (founder and former director of *Ciper*, 2016). Argentinian Josefina Licitra, winner of the FNPI award in 2004, underscores how the FNPI accolade has "greatly encouraged and supported" narrative journalism, an example of which is the Latin American *Crónica* (leading narrative journalist, 2015). Chilean Juan Cristóbal Peña, winner of the FNPI award in 2008, observes the following: "The FNPI has been 'a beacon' in stressing the importance of the genre and its potential" (former *Ciper* journalist, 2016, personal communication).

The efforts of these organizations have been heightened by local initiatives in different countries of the region, particularly over the past decade. In 2002, a group of Brazilian journalists founded the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism with the aim of expanding this type of journalism in the country. That same year, the Argentinian Forum of Journalism was created to promote quality reporting, especially in the area of investigative journalism. The Colombian Editing Committee (*Consejo de Redacción*; CDR) started its activity in 2006 by focusing on investigative journalism as a key in fostering democracy. In 2007, a group of Mexican journalists set up *Periodistas de a Pie*, an organization that shares with the above groups not only the willingness to reinforce quality and investigative reporting, but also the goal of contributing to professional training and the exchange of experiences and strategies for reporters.

It is not mere chance that training was the core of the FNPI workshops, according to the original project of Gabriel García Márquez (Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism, 2016), and it was the main idea of the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas at the University of Texas. Created in Austin in 2002, the objective of the Center is to develop "professional training and an outreach program for journalists in Latin America and the Caribbean" (Knight Center, 2018, para. 1). Since 2010, it also has contributed to disseminating information related to professionals in the region, thus helping to reinforce a sense of community.

Together with the above, it is relevant to mention the role played by organizations such as Argentina's *Chequeado*, which have contributed to expanding and refining fact-checking activity in the region. Laura Zommer explains that courses and technical assistance are part of their own platform mission (founder and executive director of *Chequeado*, 2017). Likewise, the Peruvian digital outlets *Ojo Público* and

Convoca have launched their own labs dedicated to promoting training and the exchange of knowledge and skills among journalists and technology specialists.

Cross-Border and Investigative Experiences in the Region: Profiles and Characteristics

The online search of the archives of six organizations—detailed in the Methodology section—allowed for the compilation of a list of twenty reportage projects launched between 2012 and 2018 (see Table 2).

Table 2. Cross-Border Collaborative Projects in Latin America.

Project	Year/ prize	Issues	Partners	Countries covered
Slaves of Organized Crime in Latin America	2012 FNPI finalist	Organized crime (narcos, gangs)	*InSight Crime, Animal Político* (Mexico; ME), *Plaza Pública* (Guatemala; GUA), *Verdad Abierta* (Colombia; CO), and *El Faro* (El Salvador; ESV)	4
Displaced	2012	Organized crime (narcos, gangs)	*InSight Crime, Animal Político* (ME), *Plaza Pública* (GUA), *Verdad Abierta* (CO), *El Faro* (ESV)	4
La autopista de la selva (The Jungle Highway)	2012	Environmental crime	*Connectas Semana* (CO), *Emeequis* (ME), *Infos* (Peru; PE)	3
El saqueo de los mares (Looting the Seas)	2013 IRE finalist	Environmental crime	ICIJ, *Ciper* (Chile; CHI), *IDL-Reporteros* (PE)	2
El nuevo éxodo latino (The New Latin Exodus)	2014 SIP	Human rights	Connectas*, Vice* & *Agenda Propia* (CO), *El Mercurio de Antofagasta* (CHI), *Utero.Pe* (PE)	2
El desangre de dólares en Venezuela (The Bleeding of Dollars in Venezuela)	2015	Corruption (political)	*El Universo* (Ecuador, ECU), *El Nuevo Herald* (U.S.), *Armando.info* (Venezuela, VEN)	3
Uma estrada fantasma volta a assombrar a Bolívia	2015 SIP	Environmental crime	Brio Media (Brasil, BRA) & 17 Journalists from Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador,	7

(A Ghost Highway Surprises Again in Bolivia)			Panama, Peru and Venezuela	
Las últimas prisioneras de los nazis en América Latina (The Last Nazi Prisoners in Latin America)	2016 SIP mention	Organized crime (heritage)	*Connectas, AM* (ME), *El Mercurio* (CHI), *Estadão* (BRA), *Armando.Info* (VEN)	10
Memoria Robada (Stolen Memory)	2016 IPYS	Organized crime (heritage)	*Ojo Público* (PE), *Plaza Pública*, *Animal Político*, *Chequeado* (Argentina; ARG), *La Nación* (Costa Rica; CR)	5
Sin refugio para las trans (No Shelter for Transgender People)	2017	Human rights	*Connectas, Factum* (ESV), *Animal Político, Radio W* (ME)	5
Del sur al norte: la ruta del tráfico de madera del Amazonas (From South to North: The Route of the Amazon Wood Traffic)	2017	Environmental crime	*Connectas*, *Ojo Público, Radio W*	2
Mujeres y poder en América Latina (Women and Power in Latin America)	2017	Human rights	*Connectas*, *Chicas Poderosas* (CHI), *Convoca* (PE), *Plaza Pública, SoloLocal.info* (ARG)	3
The Big Pharma	2017 IPYS mention	Corruption (corporate)	*Ojo Público, El Tiempo* (CO), *El Universal* (ME), *Plaza Pública, Armando.info, Tiempo Argentino* (ARG)	5
Niños presos (Imprisoned Children)	2017 SIP	Human rights	*Factum, El Intercambio* (GUA)	3
Venezuela a la Fuga	2017 FNPI	Human rights	*El Tiempo* (CO), *Efecto Cocuyo* (VEN), IPYS	2

(Venezuela on the Run)				
Red de Investigaciones Periodísticas Estructuradas (Network of Structured Journalistic Investigations)	2017 GIJN	Corruption (political & corporate)	*IDL-Reporteros, Armando.info, La Nación* (ARG), *La Prensa* (PAN), *O'Globo* (BRA), *Sudestada* (Uruguay; UR), *Quinto Elemento* (MEX)	7
Investiga Lava Jato (Investigate Operation Car Wash)	2017 SIP	Corruption (political & corporate)	*Convoca, A Folha de Sao Paulo* (BRA), *Perfil* (ARG), *Consejo de Redacción* (CO), *Mil Hojas* (ECU), *El Faro*, *Plaza Pública, Mexicanos contra la Corrupción y la Impunidad* (MEX), ICFJ/*Connectas* (PAN), *Runrunes* & *El Pitazo* (VEN), *Jornal Verdade* (Mozambique), *El Informe* (Dominican Republic; DR), *Búsqueda* (UR), *El Deber* (BO), *Maka Angola* (Angola)	15
América Latina, región de carteles (Latin America, a Region of Cartels)	2018	Corruption (corporate)	*Connectas*, *IDL-Reporteros* (PE) & journalists from Chile, Colombia and Mexico	10
Los acuatenientes (The Water Barons)	2018	Environmental crime	*Ojo Público, Rutas del conflicto* & *Verdad Abierta* (CO)	2
Madera sucia (Dirty Wood)	2018	Environmental crime	*Connectas, Ojo Público, Mongabay Latam* (PE), *Semana* & *El Espectador* (CO), *El Deber, Infoamazonía* (BRA)	5

Moreover, seven of the journalist interviewees have participated in 60% of them. InSight Crime, a nonprofit journalistic and investigative platform focusing on organized crime in Latin America and the Caribbean, had inspired the first collaborative projects in 2012. The multimedia project known as "Slaves of Organized Crime in Latin America" involved digital media from four different countries with the aim of denouncing the atrocities perpetrated by organized crime against the most disadvantaged people. The same media team

launched the collaborative multimedia project entitled "Displaced" to highlight the way in which conflict and violence have forced the displacement of thousands of people.

The Connectas platform has become a fundamental element in the process of shaping alliances among Latin American media organizations since its founding in 2012, when it promoted The Jungle Highway. This nonprofit undertaking, founded by Carlos Eduardo Huertas in Colombia, provides technical support and consultancy to boost collaboration among media outlets and foster investigative reporting on a range of regional issues. The platform also serves to stimulate projects in addition to managing the allocation of funds provided by the ICIJ within the framework of the program entitled Investigative Reporting Initiative in the Americas. Under its umbrella, more than 50 multimedia projects have been developed, and at least 15% of them resulted from transnational cooperation.

Cross-border productions have attracted attention to basic concerns affecting the region. The content analysis undertaken clearly shows four main areas of interest in the collaborative projects in the region: organized crime, environmental crime, human rights, and corruption (both corporate and political). During the period analyzed, the tendency to focus on corruption gained momentum, whereas organized crime regarding violence showed a decline. By contrast, the human rights issue remained consistent in denouncing inequality (No Shelter for Transgender People; Imprisoned Children; Women and Power in Latin America), or migration issues (The New Latin Exodus; Venezuela on the Run).

Environmental crime, which includes the mining industry, building infrastructure, or damage to the ecosystem and the resulting illegal profits, has been a relevant topic from the beginning. Looting the Seas (2013), by ICIJ, *IDL-Reporteros,* and *Ciper,* highlighted overfishing practices.

The two digital media are participating in one of the most ambitious collaborative projects to date, known as the *ALiados* group, which is a network of ten Latin American digital media organizations consolidated in 2013 that has collaborated to republish reportage, among other activities.

The issue of organized crime linked to the illegal trafficking of art has been addressed in the two reportages launched in 2016. That year represented a change in trend toward an increasing number of collaborative projects in the region. In fact, more than half of the reportage listed was added in 2017 and 2018. Some of it, led by *Ojo Público,* denounced collusion in the pharmaceutical industry or focused on environmental crime.

The most direct effect of the Panama Papers was the launch in 2017 of some extraordinary networks in Latin America to investigate the Car Wash scandal. The first was the Network of Structured Journalistic Investigations, led by the Peruvian entity *IDL-Reporteros*, which involved media from seven different countries. The second was titled Investigate Car Wash, coordinated by Milagros Salazar (*Convoca*) and Flávio Ferreira (*A Folha de Sao Paulo*), which was composed of media groups from 15 different countries.

The 20 projects identified have had an average of five collaborators, and 15 Latin American countries have participated to varying degrees. According to the amount of reportage on which they have worked collaboratively, the most active participants in the region have been Colombia (14) and Peru (13).

The intense involvement of the Connectas platform in eight of the projects places it at the top, followed by the Peruvian organization *Ojo Público* (5), *IDL-Reporteros* (3) and *Convoca* (2) have promoted the two countries leadership.

Media organizations from Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and Brazil have also participated in projects ranging in number from five to ten. This listing shows the diversity of media systems, with some countries having implemented policy reforms aimed at democratic media governance, even though their consolidation has been uneven (Segura & Waisbord, 2016), and others lack the conditions for such reforms, which require a combination of domestic network mobilization, transnational activism, and changes in elite political alignments (Kitzberger, 2017).

Equally remarkable is the particular participation in collaborative initiatives carried out by Guatemala's *Plaza Pública* (6), Venezuela's *Armando.info* (4), Mexico's *Animal Político* (4), or Salvador's *El Faro* (3).

Identifying collaborative initiatives is just as important as defining which media entities are willing to participate in such endeavors, along with the main profiles of the organizations involved. The analysis shows that except for *El Faro,* some 30 native digital media created over the past decade have contributed to the projects listed (see Table 2), in partnership with 22 traditional media organizations. However, the promoters of the cross-border projects belong mainly to the first group, whose founding members are not young entrepreneurs from outside the media scope, but qualified journalists who provide their expertise to add value to the new organizations.

The leadership of the media involved in collaborative initiatives includes veterans such as Gustavo Gorriti (*IDL-Reporteros*) and Mónica González, but is mainly represented by journalists with an intermediate level of experience, as is in the case of those in charge of a dozen media. On this list, the presence of women either leading or coleading cross-border initiatives is remarkable and also reveals their level of prominence in heading some of the digital media organizations of the region.

Participating in Collaborative Projects

Peru is a leading country in cross-border journalistic projects in Latin America, often heading the investigative networks. To answer RQ3, we have focused on the experience of three Peruvian journalist interviewees (see Table 1) with the aim of delving deeper into the philosophy and management of nearly half of the initiatives (see Table 2).

Most of the collaborative projects listed are multimedia and entail the management of digital tools, particularly data journalism, visualization, and fact-checking. This means the sharing of knowledge is very important, as these initiatives rely on media partnerships that involve different domains of expertise. In this sense, Milagros Salazar highlights the importance of identifying the talents of each member to allow them to lead the different areas (*Convoca*, 2018). The ability to provide audiovisual or technological resources such as developing apps or building and managing big databases is the key. Salazar asserts that data-systemized investigation enabled the Investigate Operation Car Wash network to avoid "vulnerabilities" such

as "a dependence on information leaks," and allowed it to delve deeper into the monitoring and data cross-checking to follow the money trail (2018).

David Hidalgo emphasizes that transnational, collaborative journalism is trying to face the challenge of exposing the actions of international organized crime: "A trend at this time is to develop regional projects to optimize the resources of small organizations by taking advantage of technology" (*Ojo Público,* cofounder and director, 2018). Hidalgo reveals that technology can be used not only to analyze enormous amounts of data or to work in real time from different countries, but also to share information safely by using encrypted documents. Romina Mella adds the importance of protecting sources (*IDL-Reporteros,* 2018). In fact, online journalists are particularly exposed to attacks (Ganter & Paulino, 2020; Henrichsen, Betz, & Lisosky, 2015).

Most of the players involved in cross-border projects are nonprofit media. *Convoca* and *Ojo Público* estimate that 60% of their budget comes from international philanthropic organizations, mainly U.S.-based foundations. Regarding this influence, Hidalgo argues that "the funding option does not define the agenda," and ensures that *Ojo Público* continues to publish nonfunded issues if they are considered to be important; meanwhile, he appeals to the multiple "crossing of corporate interest" to avoid using advertising in the media outlet. Salazar affirms that the need for independence in carrying out investigative journalism was the main driving force in establishing *Convoca* in 2013. Even though some traditional media outlets have special units, Salazar and Hidalgo say that their multiple conflicts of interest prevented them from developing a genuine intention to disclose the factors that make what makes power uncomfortable.

Building reliable teams that work together as integrated newsrooms, even in covering ongoing issues such as the Operation Car Wash case, involves a great challenge to which "each group transfers its own personality," as highlighted by Salazar, when comparing the magnitude of the Panama Papers network with that of Investigate Operation Car Wash, which only had approximately 20 journalists. "We hold weekly meetings, each member shares his or her findings with others, and we follow a horizontal structure" (Salazar, 2018, personal communication).

Autonomy (Sjøvaag, 2020) and trust (Alfter, 2016, p. 301) are key points when merging a network of collaborators. Dependence on various partners also allows "to remain independent from powerful state and media owner interests" (Ganter & Paulino, 2020, p. 15). Salazar stresses that organizing the network was possible because their members were already "a community" that had collaborated on the ICIJ projects. Half of the media that took part in the network regularly attend the COLPIN conferences and stay in touch with each other through social networks (Salazar, 2018, personal communication). Hidalgo emphasizes that the professional rigor and shared working methods of the partners are highly valued in team building. He goes on to say that this situation makes it possible to accept commercial media as partners that unlike organizations similar to his are founded on advertising: "We only work with journalists and investigative teams that have no conflicts of interest" (Hidalgo, 2018, personal communication). This trend shows the mutual benefit of a partnership in intensifying the impact and scope of a report in terms of audience share (Benson, 2018). Mella explains that this is exactly what happened when the digital media began to cooperate with the Peruvian TV program *Cuarto Poder* (*IDL-Reporteros*).

Discussion and Conclusions

Cross-border media collaboration has become an increasingly widespread practice that has helped to conceptualize and foster global ICIJ investigations, seizing the opportunities of the digital environment in overcoming geographical distances and managing large amounts of data. This research has pointed out that this trend has become firmly rooted in Latin America, with some 20 regional projects having been developed over the past few years.

The implementation of cross-border projects has required, in the first place, the building of teams willing to work together, but also the establishment of mutual trust among the members, which is something that cannot be improvised. In this sense, the interviews carried out support the idea that the activity developed since the 1990s by organizations such as the FNPI and IPYS in weaving together regional networks has fostered synergies that have made such cooperation possible.

Second, the collaborative initiatives gathered since 2012 has been stimulated by a new generation of digital media outlets founded during the years of the 2010s, mostly by experienced journalists. This increase represents an important shift in terms of innovation and dynamism (Sembra Media, 2018), but also independence, as these new media organizations assert their independence from corporate and political interests (Huertas, 2013; Mochkofsky, 2011), especially in a region traditionally characterized by media concentration and clientelism. The list of issues regarding cross-border projects covers a broad spectrum, linked to problems endemic to the region—organized crime, human rights abuses—but there is an important trend toward economic crime, which requires examining business interests involved in the exploitation of natural resources as well as political and corporate corruption. In particular, the two networks created to investigate the Car Wash scandal represent a significant step forward in terms of scope, and it calls into question the status quo of regional practices of systemic corruption.

In contrast to traditional Latin American watchdog journalism that has focused mainly on government wrongdoing, these initiatives show significantly greater collaboration in bringing business irregularities to light. Having analyzed the cross-border projects, several factors have influenced this shift.

On the one hand, there is the adoption of data journalism techniques and news-gathering methods (Saldaña & Mourão, 2018) that allow other investigations to be carried out. The participation in workshops and in the ICIJ projects clearly demonstrates an increasing exchange with the tradition of U.S. investigative journalism over the past decade, mainly prompted by the new media ecosystem that has emerged in Latin America in the 2010s. On the other hand, from the point of view of political economy (Hardy, 2019), it should not be forgotten that most of the new digital media entities, as well as the cross-border projects listed, rely on philanthropic financing, mostly from U.S. foundations. While having shared sources of funding can be considered one factor bringing Latin American and North American investigative journalism closer together, more research is required to avoid possible influences on the issue selection and implementation, and on their sustainability (Benson, 2018; Schmitz et al., 2018).

Third, the 20 collaborative projects identified demonstrate the potential of cross-border journalism in the region, with more than 50 media from 15 countries participating. These organizations belong to

different media systems, which allows journalism to be seen as something beyond a nation-state profession (Hellmueller & Konow-Lund, 2019, p. 1564), and reveals the transversal nature of cross-border projects, especially noticeable in the two networks created to investigate the Car Wash corruption affair. As highlighted by the journalists interviewed, this has been possible due to cooperative influences at different stages. The collaborative methods described and shared work (Deuze 2011) enhance journalistic independence (Mills & Sarisakis, 2019), through mutual fact-checking and investigative standards required for partnership to prevent conflicts of interest of commercial media, all of which increases media accountability. Networked investigations serve as a mechanism to protect journalists (Alfter, 2019) as they enable a "positive dependence" (Ganter & Paulino, 2020) and reinforce their task of denouncing corruption, which is especially important in a region where a third of the countries lack media independence from government to truly work autonomously (Freedom House, 2020).

The watchdog role (Mellado, 2015) is the one that is most emphasized by the directors of the three Peruvian media when defining their professional performance in the collaborative projects in terms of scrutinizing powers and carrying out investigative reporting to consolidate democracy. However, it is significant that some of the cross-border reportage listed also reveals a civic dimension, a commitment to social and human rights issues, and often the use of narrative techniques to give a voice to citizens.

The result of this collaboration has been reflected in the quality of the projects identified, since half of them have won some of the most prestigious investigative awards in the region. This will not only encourage new initiatives but also set standards for a quality model of journalism in the region (Lanosga, 2015).

This initial approach to cross-border, regional, collaborative journalism in Latin America deserves to be investigated further in several stages. First, future research should consider national characteristics and their expression in transnational projects by increasing the number and origin of the journalists interviewed who participate in such endeavors. The purpose would be to delve more deeply into the potential differences between countries. Second, analyses should be carried out at the organizational level by using qualitative techniques such as ethnography to more fully understand its use, in addition to regional particularities, if any exist. Finally, it is essential for future studies to verify the impact of these projects on the political and social agenda of the different countries involved to evaluate their achievement in terms of democracy and holding institutions of power accountable.

References

Alfter, B. (2016). Cross-border collaborative journalism: Why journalists and scholars should talk about an emerging method. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, *5*(2), 297–311. doi:10.1386/ajms.5.2.297_1

Alfter, B. (2019). *Cross-border collaborative journalism: A step-by-step guide*. London, UK: Routledge.

Becerra, M. (2014). Medios de comunicación: América Latina a contramano [Media: Latin America against the grain]. *Nueva Sociedad*, *249*, 61–74.

Becerra, M., & Wagner, C. M. (2018). Crisis of representation and new media policies in Latin America. *Latin American Perspectives*, *45*(3), 86–102. doi:10.1177/0094582X18766895

Benson, R. (2018). Can foundations solve the journalism crisis? *Journalism*, *19*(8), 1059–1077. doi:10.1177/1464884917724612

Bromley, M. (2019). Transnational investigative journalism and scandal. In H. Tumber & S. Waisbord (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to media and scandal* (pp. 225–235). New York, NY: Routledge.

Campo, J., & Crowder-Taraborrelli, T. (2018). Media, politics, and democratization in Latin America. *Latin American perspectives*, *45*(3), 4–15. doi:10.1177/0094582X18768905

Candea, S. (2016). *Making a network—The European Investigative Collaborations* (EIC). Retrieved from https://eic.network/blog/making-a-network

Carey, J. W. (1974). The problem of journalism history. *Journalism History*, *1*, 3–27.

Carson, A., & Farhall, K. (2018). Understanding collaborative investigative journalism in a "post-truth" age. *Journalism Studies, 19*(4)*,* 1–13. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2018.1494515

Dada, C. (2011). *El Faro*: Online media and a response to violence. *Harvard Review of Latin America*, *X*(2), 41–42.

De Burgh, H. (2008). *Investigative journalism*. London, UK: Routledge.

Deuze, M. (2011). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. In D. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Cultural meanings of news* (pp. 17–31). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Foundation for a New Ibero-American Journalism. (2016). *Y pensar que todo estaba escrito en nuestra imaginación* [And to think that everything was written in our imagination]. Cartagena de Indias, Colombia: Author.

Fox, E., & Waisbord, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Latin politics, global media*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Franklin, B. (2014). The future of journalism: In an age of digital media and economic uncertainty. *Journalism Studies, 15*(5), 481–499. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.930254

Freedom House. (2020). *Freedom in the world research*. Retrieved from https://freedomhouse.org/reports/freedom-world/freedom-world-research-methodology

Ganter, S. A. (2018). International development aid beyond money: The push and pull of media democracy promotion in three Mercosur countries. *Journal of Latin American Communication Research*, *6*(1/2), 116–134.

Ganter, S. A., & Paulino, F. O. (2020). Between attack and resilience: The ongoing institutionalization of independent digital journalism in Brazil. *Digital Journalism,* 1-20. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/21670811.2020.1755331

Graves, L., & Konieczna, M. (2015). Sharing the news: Journalistic collaboration as field repair. *International Journal of Communication*, *9,* 1966–1984.

Guerrero, M. A. (2014). The "captured liberal" model of media systems in Latin America. In M. Guerrero & M. Márquez-Ramírez (Eds.), *Media systems and communication policies in Latin America* (pp. 43–65). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hallin, D. C., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2002). Political clientelism and the media: Southern Europe and Latin America in comparative perspective. *Media, Culture & Society*, *24*(2), 175–195.

Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory*, *17*(4), 367–385.

Hardy, J. (2019). Political economy of news. *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, 1–8. Advance online publication. doi:10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0028

Harlow, S., & Salaverría, R. (2016). Regenerating journalism: Exploring the "alternativeness" and "digital-ness" of online-native media in Latin America. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(8), 1001–1019. doi:10.1080/21670811.2015.1135752

Heft, A., Alfter, B., & Pfetsch, B. (2019). Transnational journalism networks as drivers of Europeanisation. *Journalism*, *20*(9), 1183–1202. doi:10.1177/1464884917707675

Hellmueller, L., Cheema, S. E., & Zhang, X. (2017). The networks of global journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(1), 45–64. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1215254

Hellmueller, L., & Konow-Lund, M. T. (2019). Transnational journalism. *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, 1560–1567. doi:10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0179

Henrichsen, J. R., Betz, M., & Lisosky J. M. (2015). *Building digital safety for journalism: A survey of selected issues*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Houston, B. (2010). The future of investigative journalism. *Daedalus*, *139*(2), 45–56.

Howe, J., Bajak, A., Kraft, D., & Wihbey, J. (2017). *Collaborative, open, mobile: A thematic exploration of best practices at the forefront of digital journalism*. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3036984

Huertas, C. E. (2013). Strength in numbers. In C. Lewis (Ed.), *Muckraking goes global: The future of cross-border investigative journalism* (pp. 14–16). Retrieved from https://niemanreports.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/muckraking_goes_global1.pdf

Hughes, S., & Lawson, C. (2004). Propaganda and crony capitalism. *Latin American Research Review*, *39*(3), 81–105.

Hume, E., & Abbott, S. (2017). *The future of investigative journalism: Global, networked and collaborative.* Retrieved from https://cmds.ceu.edu/sites/cmcs.ceu.hu/files/attachment/article/1129/humeinvestigativejournalismsurvey_0.pdf

Institute for Press and Society. (2018). *Quiénes somos* [Who we are]. Retrieved from http://www.ipys.org/quienes-somos

International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. (2018). *Investigations*. Retrieved from https://www.icij.org/journalists

Kaplan, D. E. (2013). *Global investigative journalism: Strategies for support.* http://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/CIMA-Investigative%20Journalism%20-%20Dave%20Kaplan.pdf

Kayser-Bril, N. (2018). Collaboration—One tool among many. In R. Sambrook (Ed.), *Global teamwork: The rise of collaboration in investigative journalism* (pp. 59–63). Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Kitzberger, P. (2017). Against the current: The emergence of a media democratization policy agenda in Latin America. *Global Media and Communication*, *13*(3), 229–248. doi:10.1177/1742766517734253

Knight Center. (2018). *What we do*. Retrieved from https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/about/

Lanosga, G. (2015). The power of the prize: How an emerging prize culture helped shape journalistic practice and professionalism, 1917–1960. *Journalism*, *16*(7), 953–967. doi:10.1177/1464884914550972

Latin American Conference of Investigative Reporting. (2018). *Nuestra historia* [Our history]. Retrieved from http://colpin.ipys.org/que-es-colpin#

Lewis, C. (2013). Investigative reporting's international impact. In C. Lewis (Eds.), *Muckraking goes global: The future of cross-border investigative journalism* (pp. 4–9). Cambridge, UK: The Nieman Foundation for Journalism.

Lewis, C. (2018). Tear down these walls: Innovations in collaborative accountability research and reporting. In R. Sambrook (Ed.), *Global teamwork: The rise of collaboration in investigative journalism* (pp. 5–25). Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Looney, M. (2014). *Spurring cross-border collaboration on journalism investigations in Latin America* (Interview with Carlos Eduardo Huertas). Retrieved from https://ijnet.org/en/blog/spurring-cross-border-collaboration-journalism-investigations-latin-america

Mastrini, G., & Becerra, M. (2006). *Periodistas y magnates: Estructura y concentración de las industrias culturales en América Latina* [Journalists and magnates: Structure and concentration of cultural industries in Latin America]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prometeo.

Meléndez, J. (2016). *Primer estudio de medios digitales y periodismo en América Latina. Iniciativas, modelos de negocio y buenas prácticas* [First study of digital media and journalism in Latin America. Initiatives, business models and good practices]. Retrieved from https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B56C_0nwzk1HSHpsMUZpb0tQamM/view

Mellado, C. (2015). Professional roles in news content: Six dimensions of journalistic role performance. *Journalism Studies*, *16*(4), 596–614. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.922276

Mills, A., & Sarikakis, K. (2019). Autonomy: Independence from market forces. In *The international encyclopedia of journalism studies* (pp. 1–9). New York, NY: John Wiley. doi:10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0079

Mioli, T., & Nafría, I. (2017). *Innovative journalism in Latin America*. Retrieved from https://live-journalismcourses.pantheonsite.io/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/IJENGLISH1.pdf

Mitchell, A., Jurkowitz, M., Holcomb, J., & Anderson, M. (2013). *Nonprofit journalism: A growing but fragile part of the U.S. news system.* Retrieved from http://www.journalism.org/2013/06/10/nonprofit-journalism

Mochkofsky, G. (2011). *What's new in Latin American journalism: An overview.* Retrieved from http://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/book/whats-new-latin-american-journalism

Naldi, L., & Picard, R. G. (2012). "Let's start an online news site": Opportunities, resources, strategy, and formational myopia in startups. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, *9*(4), 69–97.

Pitt, F., & Green-Barber, L. (2018). *The case for media impact: A case study of ICIJ's radical collaboration strategy*. Retrieved from https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:jdfn2z34w2

Requejo-Alemán, J. L., & Lugo-Ocando, J. (2014). Assessing the sustainability of Latin American investigative non-profit journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(5), 522–532. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.885269

Robinson, J. J., Grennan, K., & Schiffrin, A. (2015). *Publishing for peanuts: Innovation and the journalism start-up*. New York, NY: Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs.

Salamanca, N., Sierra, J. L., & Huertas, C. E. (2017). El periodista de investigación latinoamericano en la era digital [The Latin American investigative journalist in the digital age]. Bogotá, Colombia: Connectas & ICIJ.

Saldaña, M., & Mourão, R. R. (2018). Reporting in Latin America: Issues and perspectives on investigative journalism in the region. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(3), 299–323. doi:10.1177/1940161218782397

Sambrook, R. (2018). Introduction. In R. Sambrook (Ed.), *Global teamwork: The rise of collaboration in investigative journalism* (pp. 1–4). Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Sampedro, V., López-Ferrández, F. J., & Carretero, Á. (2018). Leaks-based journalism and media scandals: From official sources to the networked Fourth Estate? *European Journal of Communication*, *33*(3), 255–270. doi:10.1177/0267323118763907

Schmitz, A., De Macedo, V., Harlow, S., & Alves, R. (2018). Innovation and sustainability: A relationship examined among Latin American entrepreneurial news organizations. *Cuadernos.info*, *42*, 87–100. doi:10.7764/cdi.42.1266

Schmitz, A., De Macedo, V., Saldaña, M., & Alves, R. (2017). Latin American investigative journalism education: Learning practices, learning gaps. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *72*(3), 334–348. doi:10.1177/1077695817711611

Segura, M. S. (2014). La sociedad civil y la democratización de las comunicaciones en Latinoamérica [Civil society and the democratization of communications in Latin America]. *Íconos*, *49*, 65–80.

Segura, M. S., & Waisbord, S. (2016). *Media movements: Civil society and media policy reform in Latin America*. London, UK: Zed.

Sembra Media. (2018). *Inflection point: Impact, threats, and sustainability.* Retrieved from http://data.sembramedia.org

Sirkkunen, E., & Cook, C. (2012). *Chasing sustainability on the Net*. Tampere, Finland: University of Tampere.

Sjøvaag, H. (2020). Journalistic autonomy: Between structure, agency and institution. *Nordicom Review*, *34*(s1), 155–166. doi:10.2478/nor-2013-0111

Stearns, J. (2012, April 20). *Catalysts of collaboration: What motivates new journalism partnerships*. Retrieved from http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2012/04/catalysts-of-collaboration-what-motivates-new-journalism-partnerships111/

Wagemans, A., Witschge, T., & Deuze, M. (2016). Ideology as resource in entrepreneurial journalism: The French online news startup Mediapart. *Journalism Practice*, *10*(2), 160–177.