UNIVERSITAT RAMON LLULL

Slow Media and Religion. The New New Journalism as an Agora for Understanding

Alba Sabaté Gauxachs

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Slow Media and Religion

The New New digital Journalism as an Agora for Understanding

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Slow Media and Religion

The new new digital journalism as an agora for understanding

Alba Sabaté Gauxachs

PhD Thesis

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The research in hand, which talks about stories, is nevertheless a story in itself. The greatest part of it is the people involved. That is why I would like to acknowledge and highlight here the help, collaboration and support given by each and every one of them.

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Abstract

Understand and be understood. This is one of the challenges of today's, globalized, digitized society in a continuous state of flux. In fulfilling its social function, media are an agora – a meeting place and mixing pot of different ideas, thoughts, mentalities and interests that deploy dialogue to understand each other. Journalism's traditional role has been controversial since the late 1990s with the advent of Internet. Transformations in routines and business models, together with the appearance of new platforms, have spawned a rebellious paradigm, with momentous and far-ranging consequences. This includes fake news and hate speech towards the Other, which already recurrently appear as keywords in many headlines. In this environment, narrative journalism has not lost its essence. It has sidestepped the prerogatives of the digital world, and avoided being trapped in the informative journalism past. It has successfully remained focused on the norms of the New Journalism that well-known authors such as Lillian Ross, Tom Wolfe, Joan Didion and Gay Talese established; they explain reality using the tools of literature. They broadcast human stories, put a face to the concepts and arouse the public's empathy towards the topics they deal with, especially the more complex ones. Religions and intercultural and interreligious dialogue are among these. In this sense, the differences between cultures, nationalities and religions manifest themselves socially, politically and economically. Stereotypes and prejudices are negative driving forces behind human relationships with considerable consequences, not only on a personal level.

This doctoral thesis analyses, on one hand, the characteristics of narrative, slow and literary journalism, adapted to the fast, ephemeral and liquid digital world. It ponders how it develops, how it is able to survive, thrive and create new business models in breach of the rules of the digital world. Just as importantly, it deliberates on those who are responsible for such practices: narrative journalists. On the other hand, this genre is tested as a space for activism through knowledge. Can narrative journalism help us know the Other better? Do the techniques of this genre allow the public at large to be interested in, and empathize with, the topics discussed? How does digitalization influence this function? Are we dealing with a genre that underlines the social function of journalism and encourages dialogue? These questions are answered through 38 in-depth interviews with narrative journalists such as Leila Guerriero, Ted Conover, Jon Lee Anderson and Larissa MacFarquhar, 75 content analysis of the magazines chosen as sample -*Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*- as well as the study of the 19 most influential Catholic websites according to the Alexa ranking. Nevertheless, it is a thesis that unites two seemingly distant worlds, builds bridges and suggests that narrative journalism is an apt space for getting to know the Other better, contributing knowledge and thus promoting encounter and dialogue for a better world.

Resumen

Entenderse. Este es uno de los retos de la sociedad actual, globalizada, digitalizada y en continuo flujo de movimientos. Cumpliendo su función social, los medios de comunicación son el ágora de encuentro de ideas, pensamientos, mentalidades e intereses distintos que precisamente entran en diálogo para entenderse. Sin embargo, el papel tradicional del periodismo está en controversia desde finales de la década de los noventa con la llegada de la red. Cambios en rutinas, modelos de negocio, nuevas plataformas han abierto un paradigma revolucionario, que conlleva también, graves consecuencias. Así, las *fake news* y los discursos de odio hacia el Otro ya son palabras clave recurrentes en muchas cabeceras. En este entorno, el periodismo narrativo no ha perdido su esencia. Deja de lado las prerrogativas del mundo digital, obvia las bases del periodismo informativo y pone el foco en las normas del Nuevo Periodismo que nombres como Lillian Ross, Tom Wolfe, Joan Didion o Gay Talese establecieron; explican la realidad con las herramientas de la literatura. Dan a conocer las historias humanas, ponen rostro a los conceptos y despiertan la empatía del público hacia los temas que tratan, especialmente, aquellos más complejos. Las religiones, el diálogo intercultural e interreligioso están entre ellos. En este sentido, las diferencias entre culturas, nacionalidades y confesiones se manifiestan social, política y económicamente. Estereotipos y prejuicios están detrás de relaciones humanas y conllevan consecuencias a nivel personal, pero también a nivel político e internacional.

Esta tesis doctoral analiza, por un lado, las características del periodismo narrativo, lento y literario, adaptadas al mundo digital rápido, efímero y líquido. Se pregunta cómo se desarrolla, por qué puede sobrevivir y crear nuevos modelos de negocio incumpliendo las normas del mundo digital y quiénes son y cómo son los responsables de semejante práctica: los periodistas narrativos. Por el otro, se pone a prueba este género como espacio de activismo a través del conocimiento. ¿Puede el periodismo narrativo hacernos conocer mejor al Otro? ¿Las técnicas de este género permiten que el público se interese y empatice con los temas tratados? ¿Cómo influye la digitalización en esta función? ¿Estamos ante un género que subraya la función social del periodismo y fomenta el diálogo? Estas preguntas se responden a través de 38 entrevistas en profundidad a periodistas narrativos como Leila Guerriero, Ted Conover, Jon Lee Anderson o Larissa MacFarquhar, 75 análisis de contenido de las revistas escogidas como muestra —*Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*— así como el estudio de las 19 webs católicas más influyentes según el ránquing Alexa. Con todo, se trata de una disertación que une dos mundos aparentemente alejados, tiende puentes y sugiere que el periodismo narrativo es un espacio para conocer mejor al Otro, aportando conocimiento y abriendo así el encuentro y el diálogo para promover un mundo mejor.

Resum

Entendre'ns. Aquest és un dels reptes de la societat actual, globalitzada, digitalitzada i en continu flux de moviments. Tot complint la seva funció social, els mitjans de comunicació són l'àgora de trobada d'idees, pensaments, mentalitats i interessos diferents que precisament entren en diàleg per entendre's. Malgrat tot, el paper tradicional del periodisme està en controvèrsia des de finals de la dècada dels noranta amb l'arribada de la xarxa. Canvis en rutines, models de negoci, noves plataformes han obert un paradigma revolucionari, que comporta també greus conseqüències. Així, les *fake news* i els discursos d'odi cap a l'Altre ja són paraules clau recurrents a moltes capçaleres. En aquest entorn, el periodisme narratiu no ha perdut la seva essència. Deixa de banda les prerrogatives del món digital, obvia les bases del periodisme informatiu i posa el focus en les normes del Nou Periodisme que noms com Lillian Ross, Tom Wolfe, Joan Didion o Gay Talese van establir; expliquen la realitat amb les eines de la literatura. Donen a conèixer les històries humanes, posen cara als conceptes i desperten l'empatia del públic cap als temes que tracten, especialment, aquells més complexos. Les religions, el diàleg intercultural i interreligiós estan entre aquests. En aquest sentit, les diferències entre cultures, nacionalitats i confessions es manifesten socialment, política i econòmica. Estereotips o prejudicis estan darrere de relacions humanes i comporten conseqüències a nivell personal, però també a nivell polític i internacional.

Aquesta tesi doctoral analitza, per un costat, les característiques del periodisme narratiu, lent i literari, adaptades al món digital ràpid, efímer i líquid. Es pregunta com es desenvolupa, per què pot sobreviure i crear nous models de negoci tot incomplint les normes del món digital i qui són i com són els responsables de tal pràctica: els periodistes narratius. D'altra banda, es posa a prova aquest gènere com a espai d'activisme a través del coneixement. Pot el periodisme narratiu fer-nos conèixer millor l'Altre? Les tècniques d'aquest gènere permeten que el públic s'interessi i empatitzi amb els temes tractats? Com influeix la digitalització en aquesta funció? Som davant un gènere que subratlla la funció social del periodisme i fomenta el diàleg? Aquestes preguntes es responen a través de 38 entrevistes en profunditat a periodistes narratius com Leila Guerriero, Ted Conover, Jon Lee Anderson o Larissa MacFarquhar, 75 anàlisis de contingut de les revistes triades com a mostra —*Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*— així com l'estudi de les 19 webs catòliques més influents segons el rànquing Alexa. Amb tot plegat, es tracta d'una dissertació que apropa dos móns aparentment allunyats, basteix ponts i suggereix que el periodisme narratiu és un espai per conèixer millor l'Altre, tot aportant coneixement i obrint així la trobada i el diàleg per a un món millor.

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Part I. Introduction

Stories have power. To tell a story is powerful. (Le Masurier, 2020; Kraus and Rucker, 2020; Kang, Hong and Hubbard 2020). Storytelling lets humans explain reality in all its complexity (Payne, 2002) and connect with the Other (Arendt, 1968). Since the Bible, (Herrscher, 2012) and even before (Chillón, 1999), stories have been a tool for education, information and entertainment. In modern times, the real stories that journalism tells still have these main three functions (Sánchez Vega, 2015). Nevertheless, the main outcome that journalism strives for -which is to try to be as true and objective as possible- has demarcated a clear, strict and scrupulous line between facts and fiction, a rigorous response to the 5Ws, so they seemingly live separate lives. However, this paper is about those who attempt to bring them closer, mixing them together, but respecting their limits (Guerriero, 2017). This dissertation is about those who dare to start with the essence of each one and create a powerful journalism capable of improving the world. How? Recounting facts using the tools of fiction, creating journalism with literary instruments (Herrscher, 2012), using journalism to build bridges between faiths and cultures.

During the sixties, when authors such as Jane Grant, Lillian Ross, Tom Wolfe and Truman Capote in New York blended facts and literature in their articles, it was considered "parajournalism" (Wolfe, 1973). That was because of the many centuries-old dichotomies: fact vs. fiction, media vs. literature, slow vs. fast, religion vs. secularism. However, these binomials are no longer valid, particularly at a moment in which multi-faceted plurality (Jonkers and Wiertz, 2020) reigns around the globe. Nothing is now completely black or white – the post-polar hybrid movements that have emerged have created anything between controversy up to outright rejection.

Human beings need to structure their world, to put order where there is chaos, to select and organize their ideas (Dalal, 2013; Baron and Byrne, 2005; Barthes, 1984). Confrontation appears when people try to separately box a world that is obviously interconnected and intertwined in every sense (Castells, 2001). This human need to structure clashes at a moment when juxtaposition is the rule (Saphiro, Albanese and Doyle, 2006). The digital era makes this situation more and more manifest.

What is a fact? What is fiction? What is virtual? Is virtual more or less real than fiction? Is memory fact or fiction? These are indeed mammoth issues, considering that, although journalists do take voluminous notes, pictures, record images… but, in the end, their own memory is their notebook. Several authors, such as Sharlet (2014), have tried to give an answer to these questions.

> Maybe the distinction is this: Fiction's first move is imagination, non-fiction's perception. But the story, the motive and doubt, everything we believe -what's that? Imagination? Or perception? Art? Or information? D'Agata achieves paradoxical precision when he half-jokingly proposes a broader possibility: the genre known sometimes as something else. (Sharlet, 2014).

In the same way, the research at hand adds some questions to this list: How to report about "something else"? How to relate complex issues that sometimes go beyond mere facts? Religion is one of these complex issues (Díez Bosch, Melloni and Micó, 2020; Sharlet, 2018; Griswold, 2018). How to cover it avoiding the prejudices and stereotypes that could lead to conflict? As regards this matter, the goal of the journalist becomes something higher (Pou Amérigo, 2008).

The investigation at hand addresses this issue by approaching it through the lens of New New Digital Journalism, a hybrid journalistic evolutionary trend that unites innovation with tradition -of both New Journalism (Wolfe, 1973) and New New Journalism (Boynton, 2012)-, that has become a genre (Puerta, 2011) breaking with the rules and dichotomies of traditional journalism (Kramer, 1995), whilst enhancing the main social function of this profession, which is relating reality with all its nuances to move towards an informed citizenry and improve democracy (Schudson, 2011; Tocqueville, 1835), this being a guarantee for peaceful societies and for fulfilling fundamental human rights (Trindade and Inácio, 2017).

However, it is important to remember that the last two decades have been significant for the journalistic world in many ways. The New New Digital Journalism that is the centre of the research at hand emerges again in a moment when society and -according to it- journalism are experiencing a change of paradigm (Le Masurier, 2020; Anderson, Bell and Shirky, 2012) driven by the 2008 economic crisis and the arrival and consolidation of the digital era, on a global scale (Herrscher, 2014). Particularly these two phenomena changed the way how journalism (and a many fields and professions) function and move forward, the logic of the different relationships and dynamics that make it happen, the way how it maintains its sustainability and even its social role (Salaverría, 2019; Peters and Broersma, 2013). In parallel, barriers to the creation of new media start to disappear, making journalism simpler, easier and cheaper than ever before. At the present, everyone in the communications stream has more freedom (Anderson, Bell and Shirky, 2012). That is why multiple new business models have emerged, making the global media map more plural, horizontal, democratic and accessible (Castells, 2001). At the same time, it has massively transformed the capture, production and dissemination of news and stories in a fragmented an episodic format (Palau Sampio, 2019).

This massification promotes and intensifies the competition for audience. Following on from traditional media business models, the critical competitive criteria is immediacy (Drok and Hermans, 2015; Mattelart and Mattelart, 1997), to be the first to publish a story has become the priority of most of the media. The search for new business models (Rosenberg, 2018; Neveu, 2016) made media attempt to combine formats, routines and freemium models that co-perform on a continuous casting stage. In the meantime, the race to be the first to publish drives media to practice what has been called fast journalism (Le

Masurier, 2015; Greenberg, 2015), which at the same time, obeys liquid flow (Bauman, 2013; Ray, 2007) and accelerates society (Rosa, 2019; Durham Peters, 2018). Taking into account the influence media have on society (Sorice, 2014; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996) the impositions of this quest for speed come at the expense of quality and rigour and could lead to misunderstandings with unfortunate social consequences, at many levels. In this sense, journalists' trustworthiness has been increasingly regarded with growing scepticism (Neveu, 2019).

Changes in modern times are as brisk as they are continuous (Bauman, 2013) in an incessantly expanding capitalist society, we must grow more, innovate more, produce more, consume more, and of course, interconnect more (Rosa, 2019). If this social and economic development is achieved with the use of information and knowledge (Bell, 1973), which space does knowledge have to consolidate in this context? For Durham Peters (2018), the slow movement (Barranquero-Carretero, 2013) materialised as a reaction to this reality (Benaissa, 2017), calling for slowness to show and assert itself in a space normally reserved for the new-found velocity of knowledge.

Knowledge is indeed needed (Luo, 2019) at a moment when population movements are increasing globally (United Nations Refugee Agency, 2018) and although being different is the natural way of the world (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017), different races, mindsets, cultures and religions are sometimes used as reasons to justify conflicts. Media play a crucial role in this matter (Mussolff, 2011; Cisneros, 2008), as the digital sphere provides fertile ground for stereotypes and their prejudices to global breed and propagate. The rise of online hate discourses (Parekh, 2019; Gagliardone et al., 2015), fake news (Kedar, 2020; Quandt et. al, 2019) and the rise of populist storylines by political organisations (De Blasio and Sorice, 2018) in recent years highlight the worst consequences of, among other factors, the lack of knowledge (Sloman and Fernbach, 2017). Huntington (1996) already predicted that future conflicts would be more driven by cultural factors than by economic ones. Consequently, the search for a coexistence model is one of the most pressing challenges of our times (Fahy and Bock, 2019; Ratzmann, 2019; Ahmed, 2018; Ares, 2017).

In this context, according to Candidatu et al. (2019) and Volf (2015) the global population create spaces for coexistence in the digital world. Cultural and religious communities have an essential role in this regard by promoting proper values (Hutchings, 2015; Campbell, 2015; Campbell and Golan, 2011; Pou Amérigo, 2008). However, despite their simultaneous offline influence and online digital presence, many of these cultural and denominational communities face several communication challenges: lack of media presence, biased coverage of multifaced religious realities and low digital maturity (Díez Bosch et al., 2018). In this way, media as a knowledge container becomes here a platform, an agora, given that knowledge is the base of a peaceful present and future (Lederach, 1999; Abu-Nimer, 1996; Johnston and Sampson, 1994). In this sense, New New Digital Journalism assumes a particularly relevant role in explaining a reality that has a different pace, slower than the digital one (Braybrooke, 1992).

New New Digital Journalism could be considered as an effective space to ruminate over religions and address the challenge of intercultural and interfaith understanding. Because of its unique techniques (Neveu, 2016; Boynton, 2012; Sims, 1996; Wolfe 1973), it could help illuminate the most complex and relevant topics (Palau Sampio, 2019; Nalbone and Puliafito, 2019; Benaissa, 2017), and appeal to the audience's empathy (Ameseder, 2019). These techniques break the rules (Kramer, 1995) of fast journalism (Le Masurier, 2015), and promote a rigorous and balanced practice of the journalistic profession.

According to Palau Sampio (2018), literary journalism gives "voice to the voiceless, zooms in on oft-ignored issues, prioritizes social responsibility over objectivity, in addition to the challenges in terms of speed and length". Even in our current world of immediacy, devotees spend the necessary research, preparation and production time (Restrepo, 2019; Lee Anderson, 2018; Burstein, 2018; Le Masurier, 2015; Guerriero, 2014), with no concern for being the first to publish a story (Le Masurier, 2020; Díaz Caviedes, 2014). Furthermore, the number of literary journalism media has grown globally since the nineties (Albalad, 2018). At present, the increasing number of new media working in this field has been considered a "boom" (Albalad and Rodríguez, 2012). Thus, New New Digital Journalism could possibly embody a space for knowledge, meeting and dialogue (Restrepo, 2019; Ahmed, 2018; Benton, 2018; Bowden, 2018; Griswold, 2018; Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Sharlet, 2018) and one of the objectives of the research at hand is to assess this proposition.

The reason is that religions are key players in the contemporary world, not only as a driving force for peace, but also to counter conflicts based on ignorance, fear of the Other and the impossibility empathising with those considered "different" (Fazzini, 1995). (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017). Given that at the present time all religions are mediated (Hjavard, 2011; Einstein, 2007; Hoover and Lundby, 1997), the format that best fits the specifics of coverage needs to have quite concrete qualities.

> (...) This is the reason why it is so advisable to regard religious reality from viewpoints other than mere news or mere information, such as interpretive reporting, personality interviews and, above all, the chronicle. These genres provide spaces that clues which delve into spiritual experience, into human beings' internal and intimate elements, into interpretations that introduce the reader to the complex world of belief. (Pou Amérigo, 2008).[1]

It is also relevant to highlight that the relationship between religion and communication goes deeper than the coverage and the media. According to Sharlet (2014) and Didion (1979), from an anthropological point of view, journalism and religion share a similar function. Similar, but not equal, as Guerriero (2017) and Pou Amérigo (2008) remind

[1] (…) Por eso es tan recomendable el tratamiento de la realidad religiosa desde formatos distintos a la mera noticia o a la mera información, como el reportaje interpretativo, la entrevista de personalidad y, sobre todo, la crónica. Estos géneros proporcionan un espacio para ofrecer claves que ahonden en la vivencia espiritual, en elementos internos e íntimos del ser humano, en interpretaciones que introduzcan al lector en el complejo mundo de las creencias. (Pou Amérigo, 2008).

us, underlining that journalism is not an evangelization tool and should always keep a critical eye open. Specifically in literary journalism, Herrscher (2012) talks about the four evangelists -especially Mark- as literary reporters of the Gospel, "the story that most influenced the Occidental conscience", which is the birth, life and death of Jesus. For the author, this is a paradigmatic case among the different sacred texts. Torah, Quran, Bhagavad Gita and Popol Vuh tell a story from a particular point of view. What is unique in the Gospel is that it uses a literary journalism technique by telling the story from four different points of view, all of them perfectly linked and together having a greater effect (Herrscher, 2012).

Theologically, these episodes refer to God communicating through Revelation (Saldanha, 2005). The journalistic dimension appears here in two senses: the transmission of revealed information that has to be communicated, and the Revelation understood as an interpersonal encounter "God is not only revealing truth as something of him, but also he is revealing himself, understood as one person to another, subject to subject, an "I to Thou" encounter (Eilers, 1994; Soukup, 1983; O'Collins, 1981).

According to Eilers (1994), this Revelation is understood as a form of dialogue. Viganò (2017) reminds that communication requires encountering and understanding the Other, to overcome the hurdles of diversity. According to this author, citing Pope Francis' words, this is not a Revelation, as it comes directly from the Gospel. In this sense, Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011) consider narration as one of the seven forms of dialogue. At the same time, Tolentino de Mendonça (2019) reminds us of the importance of literature -and literary techniques- for religions, not only when explaining themselves, but also when understanding themselves.

> One of the tragedies of Christianity and of the religions of our time is the growing dislocation of its self-understanding outside the horizon of literature: contemporary religious practice increasingly uses literature to articulate its representations of faith, and resorts to less and less literature in their discourse as an expression of meaning. (Tolentino de Mendonça, 2019).[2]

In this way, literature helps religion understand and communicate: communication is intrinsically within religion (La Porte, 2012) and religion find in communication a space for dialogue and encounter. This triangulation also drives the research at hand to delve into the relationship between literary journalism and religion, and its consequences. Furthermore, this investigation has a special interest in what happens to this triangle when digitalisation comes into play. As the digital sphere influences religion and the way people comprehend them, practice them and even more, the way people believe (Campbell, 2018), we ponder: is the digital sphere already a place where fully living faith resides, or simply a tool to

[2] Uno dei drammi del cristianesimo e delle religioni del nostro tempo, è la crescente dislocazione della sua autocomprensione al di fuori dall'orizzonte della letteratura: sempre meno la pratica religiosa contemporanea ricorre alla letteratura per articolare le proprie rappresentazioni di fede, e sempre meno la letteratura ricorre al loro discorso come risorsa di senso. (Tolentino de Mendonça, 2019).

advertise the activity of religious institutions? (Helland, 2000). How do digital communities construct themselves from their offline origins? Does literary journalism and its traditional techniques enhance community-building and promote encounters in the present and in the future?

All these conundrums inaugurate a PhD paper that, for all the reasons mentioned, dares to point out a hybridization between the fields of slow media and religion. As hybridization, it shies away from absolute and polarised viewpoints, listens actively, and evolves progressively with dialogue as its seed. For the research at hand, dialogue is more than a topic, rather a method. Through dialogue, we argue that this hybridization is symbiotic; through this dialogue, we argue that the journalism of yesterday is the journalism of tomorrow.

1.1 Research goals

The above-mentioned framework sets out several challenges for the research at hand and its methodology. Currently, this context, which has also been dynamic throughout the development of this paper, has been a contributing factor to the evolution in the initial investigation goals. This progression traces a new horizon for the research, which, in the social function of journalism (Schudson, 2011), finds the prime issue to discuss: focusing the debate on community engagement and dialogue by means of New New Digital Journalism.

The initial research goals were specifically focused on the field of the New New Digital Journalism and the professional figure of the journalists working on it in this online era (Neveu, 2019; Albalad, 2018; Le Masurier, 2015; Neveu 2016; Berning, 2011). As the research advanced, a new dimension appeared and gained traction: the capacity of this type of journalism to become a space for community building, social engagement and multi-faceted dialogue (Ameseder, 2019; Palau Sampio, 2019; Sharlet, 2018; Griswold, 2018). For these reasons, the research goals proposed in the initial stages of this paper matured through the readings, interviews and conferences -detailed in the chapter about methodology- that contributed to consolidate the research at hand and, as its main goals, establish the following ones:

Goal 1: To study how the slow, literary and longform New New Journalism fits in the fast, immediate and ephemeral digital world.

The research at hand aims to answer how something slow (Barranquero-Carretero, 2013) can be successful in a fluctuating and fluid world (Bauman, 2013), how knowledge through journalism could leave a mark in a dynamic and accelerated society (Rosa, 2019). Where are the nodes of knowledge (Durham Peters, 2018) that could be consolidated at this moment in time? These questions are answered through the study of the New New Digital Journalism in terms of platforms, formats, characteristics, contents, literary resources used, and issues treated.

The aim here is to comprehend how the New New Digital Journalism characteristics fit into, and are adapted to, a digital sphere that seems to promote all the values that literary journalism avoids, based on speedy processes and simple structures (Greenberg, 2015; Herrscher, 2012). Is the New New Digital Journalism more literary or more digital? Which rules does it obey? On this matter, the research at hand also wants to highlight the business model (Neveu, 2014) deployed by this kind of media, how it has evolved, and how digitalisation has forced it to rethink and reinvent itself.

Goal 2: To analyse and characterise the professional figure of the new new digital journalist.

To study and characterise the journalistic profiles of those who work in this kind of media. The aim is to comprehend how literary journalists go about their work (Herrscher, 2014): in the context of its models, routines, contexts, production plans and timetable; also the working conditions they have in the new business models implemented by new media; also the transformed models of traditional media (Abramson, 2019; Shim, 2014). In this sense, educational issues (Belt and South, 2016) are also contemplated and how these journalists acquire the necessary skills to practice professionally the New New Digital Journalism (Banaszynski, 2018). This research also takes into account their character and personal abilities, considering a specific identity as being a necessary part of the job (Wilentz, 2014).

Given that the emergence of these professionals has created a genre of its own (Herrscher, 2014; Boynton, 2012), it is also a goal of the research at hand to assess if they could be considered a specific consolidated community (Tarrow, 1997). This research also contemplates the challenge of describing and distinguishing the role and work of those new new digital journalists who specifically work on religion (Sharlet, 2018; Griswold, 2018).

Goal 3: To evaluate New New Digital Journalism as a space for community engagement to achieve impact through social activism.

To find out which elements of social engagement, community building, and understanding are present and promoted in both the content and the practice of the New New Digital Journalism. The research at hand asks itself if this kind of journalism could be considered to be a type of activism, within both social and journalistic fields, covering complex topics that have social impact.

This goal will be the subject of a specific analysis using a case study that comes from the field of religion, given that it is a complex issue for media to cover, with considerable social impact and strong community links (Díez Bosch, Micó and Carbonell, 2015; Campbell and Golan, 2011); also as a matter that influences many social, political and economic fields globally. The research at hand aims to detect what helps and what hinders rigorous general media coverage of the phenomena of religion by studying how religions express themselves digitally. The goal is later assessing if New New Digital Journalism could improve it.

Goal 4: To discern if New New Digital Journalism might serve as a tool for interfaith and intercultural understanding.

Aims at identifying if this possible function of slow journalism as a tool, path and space for interfaith and intercultural dialogue (Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011). At this stage, the objective is to first analyse the content of the genre and the role of religions within it (Díez Bosch et al., 2018; Pou Amérigo, 2008; Eilers, 1994). The research at hand strives to detect how the main characteristics of New New Digital Journalism could better call for audience's understanding (Ameseder, 2019), knowledge and empathy on religious issues. This study also assesses the main characteristics of narrative journalists who work on religion (Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). It is therefore about discovering which elements are bridges between slow media (Le Masurier, 2020) and religions and how to let them influence each other for the sake of achieving better understanding through intercultural and interreligious dialogue.

1.2 Hypothesis

Based on the aforementioned research goals, the main hypotheses to confirm or reject through the research at hand are:

Hypothesis 1: The New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.

From the main articles read and magazines studied, the trends perceived seem to be more loyal to the traditional techniques of literary journalism (Rauch, 2018; Herrscher, 2014; Boynton, 2012) than to the new and disruptive digital practices that could be linked to them (Neveu, 2019; Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche, 2016; Lassila-Merisalo, 2014; Berning, 2011). There are examples of the New New Journalism getting the most out of the digital sphere by maintaining their trust in narrative quality (Guerriero, 2017).

Hypothesis 2: The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.

The new new digital journalist is a unique professional figure that is closer to being a writer than to being a so-called informative or fast journalist (Neveu, 2016; Le Masurier, 2015; Greenberg, 2015; Boynton, 2012; Wolfe, 1973). Being a literary journalist holds more prestige and value (Neveu, 2019). They become professional figures with more authority (Luo, 2019) derived from the rigorous process that their profession demands of them. New new digital journalists find that their job in this genre gains more prestige (Díaz Caviedes, 2014; Guerriero, 2014).

Hypothesis 3: The New New Digital Journalism has characteristics that enhance and reinforce community engagement and building and promotes activism and social impact within journalism.

The New New Digital Journalism has elements and characteristics that let it to be identified as a social action community (Nalbone and Puliafito, 2019; Tarrow, 1997). New

new digital journalists are part of a fellowship comprising unique figures of professionals with very specific characteristics (Banaszynski 2018; Schultz, 2018). It is a privileged journalism (Albalad, 2018) that has created its own genre (Puerta, 2011) by breaking the rules (Kramer, 1995) of accepted journalistic traditions, and that has proved effective in promoting social change (Luo, 2019) and achieving impact through a slow (Craig, 2015), complete, rigorous and balanced journalistic coverage, especially for complex situations and issues, such as religions is (Díez Bosch, Melloni and Micó, 2020; Nalbone and Puliafito, 2019; Palau Sampio, 2019). At the same time, the work of the new new digital journalists is not made easier by religion (Díez Bosch et al., 2018; Pou Amérigo, 2008) and they still need to be more communicative and mature digitally (Campbell, 2018, Arasa and Milán, 2010).

Hypothesis 4: New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue.

Among the many complex issues we face (Pauli, 2016; Fink and Schudson, 2014), religions and the lack of understanding and dialogue between them (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017), even in the digital world, has become a challenge that has considerable consequences for society as a whole (Palau Sampio, 2019; Sharlet, 2018; Griswold, 2018). Does technology connect or isolate? Are our differences getting less or greater? The practice of the New New Digital Journalism creates spaces for encounter, knowledge and understanding, whilst other journalistic genres have intrinsic limitations (Sloman and Fernbach, 2017) that drive misunderstanding and therefore distrust, and, in the case of religion, can lead to conflict (Pou Amérigo, 2008).

Goals	Hypothesis
Goal 1: To study how the slow, literary and longform New New Journalism fits in the fast, immediate and ephemeral digital world.	**Hypothesis 1**: The New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.
Goal 2: To analyse and characterise the professional figure of the new new digital journalist.	**Hypothesis 2**: The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.
Goal 3: To evaluate New New Digital Journalism as a space for community engagement to achieve impact through social activism.	**Hypothesis 3**: The New New Digital Journalism has characteristics that enhance and reinforce community engagement and building and promotes activism and social impact within journalism.
Goal 4: To discern if New New Digital Journalism might serve as a tool for interfaith and intercultural understanding.	**Hypothesis 4**: New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue.

Table 1. Alignment between goals and hypothesis. Source: Own drafting (2020).

1.3 Main contribution and singularity of the research at hand

Literary journalism and religion are two fields that have been studied in-depth academically, but nevertheless, separately. The main contribution and singularity of the research at hand is to consider them together to analyse how the bridges between them might help us, whether online or off, move towards better understanding and dialogue between different beliefs.

It is significant to observe and highlight that the path projected by the research at hand is rather unusual and unique. This trajectory was established during a PhD research

period following the logical steps that the research indicated naturally, emanating from the field of communication and digitalisation and constituting an extraordinary contribution to the combined discipline of media, religion and culture.

This research started out by strictly studying the characteristics of New New Journalism, the professionals working within it, and their adaptation to the digital sphere. Through readings and interviews, and following the methodology detailed in the next chapter, the hypothesis of New New Journalism as an activist community with social impact appeared. One part of the research identified Tarrow's (1997) characteristics of social movements in New New Journalism and the researcher decided to check this hypothesis by the in-depth study of one of the main and most consolidated offline communities in the world, the Catholic Church (Díez Bosch, Micó and Carbonell, 2015). This part of the research was done to determine which elements constitute a consolidated community, how they are implemented and how they are performed in the new digital sphere. Now, this offline-online translation has been especially important for the research team, as the adaptation of the New New Journalism to the online world is one of the challenges of the main body of the research at hand. This information was expected to be useful in pinpointing the main elements of community engagement, also including the elements used to be visible and be at hand as regards communications.

When taking religion and religious communities into account in the research as case studies, a new research question linking both disciplines (slow media and religion) appeared. How does this journalistic genre cover complex issues such as religion? The processes and methods described during the interviews started to take form, being similar to the dynamics of promoting and enhancing dialogue between different groups. Is literary journalism an opportunity to get to know the Other better? Through its implementation in the coverage of religion, do journalists accomplish the main social role of journalism? Is the New New Journalism an opportunity for religions to better explain themselves and avoid prejudices? It shows signs of possibly being an appropriate space for encounter, knowledge, and dialogue, allowing understanding and approaching others.

The evolution of the investigation is represented thus:

Figure 1. Research process. Source: Own drafting.

There are some limitations that the present approach has, and that should be mentioned here. It is important to highlight that all the conclusions and results obtained in the research at hand take the producers' viewpoint. The main information sources were journalists and media experts, all of them linked to the selected media analysed. Future investigations may consider taking into account the audience's viewpoint, implementing methodological techniques to incorporate the opinion of those who are on the receiving end of this New

New Journalism. On this matter, it will be as relevant as it is essential to include the perspective of those engaged in practicing religion and religious leaders.

As journalism responds the need of a public to be informed, and theological scripts respond to the need of scribers to broadcast a message they have received, journalism and religion share a similar function (Sharlet, 2014; Didion, 1979). The main contribution of the research at hand is that, following the spirit of its protagonists, it ventures to break the rules of what is expected, and attempts to build bridges between two disciplines that seem distant from each other. There is only goal and it is clear: to prove that journalism is still capable of making the world better. This PhD research has also its roots on the Master's thesis presented by the candidate, which started addressing the same issues in the same field of research.

1.4 Methodology

The crucial methodological decision in this PhD research was to carry it out through a compendium of publications. This decision, taken during the investigation period, was justified by obtaining acceptances on behalf of several necessary publications during its course. Given that all of them are the output of the main research conducted, the candidate decided to present a compendium of them as the main discussion of this PhD paper. All of them have previously been peer-reviewed and published in international journals, indexed in Journal Citation Reports, Arts and Humanities Citation Reports and Scopus. This proposal was opportunely presented to the Academic Commission of the Doctoral Program in which the PhD candidate is registered, and was accepted.

The methodology used for the research at hand is mainly comprised of two main research techniques: content analysis (Van Dijk, 2013) and in-depth interviews (Voutsina, 2018; Elliott, 2005; Johnson, 2002). It was deployed on a selected sample of three magazines working in New New Digital Journalism: *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*.

Name: *Jot Down*.
Headquarters: Seville, Spain.
Editions: Digital. Paper.
Company: Wabi Sabi Investments.
Audience: 500.000 daily users / month. 45.000 printed copies every three months.
Social Media Presence: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter.
Main sections: Art & literature, Science, Cinema & television, Sports, Interviews, Music, Leisure & vice, Politics, Society.

Figure 2. Details about *Jot Down*. Source: *Jot Down* (2020).

	Name: *Gatopardo*.
	Headquarters: Mexico DF, Mexico.
	Editions: Digital. Paper.
	Company: Travesías Media.
	Audience: 209.550 daily users / month. 60.000 printed copies.
	Social Media Presence: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, You Tube.
	Main sections: Reports, News, Opinion, Profiles, Culture, Style, Special topics.

Figure 3. Details about *Gatopardo*. Source: *Gatopardo* (2020).

	Name: *The New Yorker*.
	Headquarters: New York, United States.
	Editions: Digital. Paper.
	Company: Condé Nast.
	Audience: 12.100.000 daily users / month. 5.300.000 printed copies.
	Social Media Presence: Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter, You Tube.
	Main sections: News, Books & Culture, Fiction & poetry, Humour & cartoons, Magazine, Crosswords, Video, Podcasts, Archives, What's on.

Figure 4. Main details about *The New Yorker*. Source: *The New Yorker* (2020).

This selected sample was chosen as representing three different realities at different levels of the literary journalism studied, being specific but at the same time broad enough to permit the researcher reaches meaningful and representative conclusions. This sample was selected because:

- New New Digital Journalism practice: the three magazines use New New Digital Journalism as their main technique, as the analysed articles prove, and as their main articles define (Herrscher, 2012). Currently, they all use the techniques that Wolfe (1973) described as being necessary for a text to be considered literary journalism[3].
- Different geographical origin: *Jot Down* is Spanish; *Gatopardo* started in Colombia and has its headquarters in Mexico; and *The New Yorker* is from the United States, specifically, started in Manhattan. It should be highlighted that the three locations are linked to the origins of the practice in question and, in particular, the United States and Latin America are two of the main backdrops where literary journalism media have recently emerged and consolidated themselves (Albalad, 2018; Herrscher, 2014; Chillón, 1999).

[3] Scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, status details and interior point of view.

- Different age: *The New Yorker* was created in 1925, *Gatopardo* in 2001 and *Jot Down* in 2011, so they come from different mediatic generations.
- Different original platform: While *The New Yorker* and *Gatopardo* started on paper support, *Jot Down* was first created digitally and when the sustainability of the magazine became clear, they launched the paper version.
- Born in controversial contexts: what the three selected media have in common is that they were created in moments of social crisis and controversy in their different settings. *Jot Down* was born in the same month (May 2011) of the activist movement 15-M in Spain, when people started to demonstrate in principal Spanish cities against the economic, political and social crisis that was affecting the country due to the 2008 recession. In Colombia, the year that *Gatopardo* was created, a terrible flood affected the country and took many lives. *The New Yorker* appeared in 1925 after the Great Depression in New York. For Hartsock (2000), this practice emerged as a critical social thinking reaction to this event, providing a means of reporting about reality in moments of profound change.

These two principal research methods -in-depth interviews and content analysis- have been complemented with an in-depth review of the available literature, and a partial non-participant observation (Busquet, Medina and Sort, 2006). Conover (2016) considers the non-participant observation an ethnographic term that describes the process of scrutinising a foreign culture but standing outside of it, observing, taking in what can be discerned from distance (books, articles, films, language study, other's stories). For him, the limit is reached when the researcher collides with the culture in question and reveals his own opinions. This limit has been not breached in this study.

Authors such as Voutsina (2018), Elliott (2005) and Johnson (2002) were chosen because of their set of consolidated publications about in-depth interviewing techniques, which constitute a solid background leading to a scientific guarantee of rigour for the research. Voutsina (2018) studied semi-structured interviews, the type of interview used in this investigation; Johnson (2002) assessed different types of in-depth interviewing and the different results possible that this researcher might obtain depending on several factors; Elliott (2005) used narrative as a tool to explore the boundaries between qualitative and quantitative research.

All these selected authors have accurately considered all the ethical aspects of the methods they analysed, so are also an ethical guarantee for the research that deploy this methodology. Therefore, the method developed in the research at hand can be said to conform to these authors' approach. It is also important to take into account that the publications considered are from the last twenty years, so the evolution that these techniques may have had is also taken into account. Following these authors' conclusions about these techniques, and having identified the effectiveness of in-depth interviews and content analyses, it is also important to itemise the other contributory reasons that inclined this researcher towards these techniques.

First of all, the possibility of combining qualitative and quantitative research. This use of multiple methods to analyse the same dimension of a research problem (Jick, 1979) is considered a "between or across method" and also a "triangulation" (Denzin, 1978). According to Bouchard (1976), "the convergence or agreement between two methods enhances our belief that the results are valid and not a methodological artefact".

The second essential reason is the example of similar research carried out previously in the same fields, of internationally-recognised authority, rigour and prestige. In-depth interviews have been used by other researchers dealing with New New Journalism, digital journalism and also religion and media. This technique provides context to help understand the attitudes and motivations of the subjects (Voutsina, 2018). According to these authors, in-depth interviews help compile in-depth data and thus approach the global data reflexively; with this technique, the discourse benefits from added nuances (Voutsina, 2018). Contact through real experiences also adds to in-depth interviews (Johnson, 2002).

In the field of New New Journalism, Albalad (2018), Berning (2011) or Yagoda (2000) used in-depth interviews of new new journalists, media managers, and other professionals and experts in the field, most of them related to the sample selected. For instance, in the case of Albalad (2018), the author analysed the models of *Anfibia*, *Narratively* and *FronteraD* through in-depth interviews and literary reviews. In addition, Ben Yagoda (2000) used this technique during his vast investigation about *The New Yorker*. Nora Berning interviewed Mark Bowden and Paula Delgado-Kling as the authors of two digital literary articles she was analysing. In the field of digital journalism, the in-depth interview is a technique that has indeed been used to analyse the dynamics of newsrooms after digitalisation. Some examples are Cohen (2019), interviewing self-identified digital journalists, Ferrucci and Vos (2017), who interviewed 53 of them, and Lamot and Paulussen (2019). As regards religion and media specifically, research featuring in-depth interviews is exemplified by Schofield Clark (2003), Campbell (2007), Hoover (2006) and Mitchell and Marriage (2006) when dealing with research about the religious identity in the digital age.

In this investigation, in-depth interviews were carried out on 37 professionals and experts in New New Digital Journalism who were linked to the three sample publications selected (See Annex II). The real total number of interviews is 38, as Robert Boynton was interviewed twice (in 2015 and in 2018). These interviews were carried out in person (23), by telephone (5), by video conference (8) and by e-mail (2). All of them authorized this researcher to mention their name and accepted being quoted in this paper. The interviews took place in four countries: Spain, the United States, Mexico and Canada. This researcher travelled from Spain to the United States and Canada for this purpose. Partial non-participant observation only could happen in *The New Yorker*'s headquarters, given that is the only one of the three media studied which concentrates the majority of its journalists in a news office. The roster of the people interviewed is as follows:

Name	Position	Date
Jacqui Banaszynski	Editor of the Nieman Storyboard at Harvard University	July 17th, 2018
Joshua Benton	Director of the Nieman Lab of Journalism at Harvard University	September 13th, 2018
Carla Blumenkranz	Online director of *The New Yorker*	October 16th, 2018
Mark Bowden	Writer and narrative journalist	September 26th, 2018
Robert S. Boynton	Journalist at *The New Yorker* and Professor of Journalism at The New York University	September 19th, 2018 June 18th, 2014
Nathan Burstein	Managing editor of *The New Yorker*	October 16th, 2018
Joshua Clover	Professor of non-fiction writing at University of California, Davis	July 27th, 2018
Lauren Collins	Journalist at *The New Yorker*	September 6th, 2018
Ted Conover	Freelance writer at *The New Yorker* and Professor of Journalism at The New York University	October 16th, 2018
Rubén Díaz Caviedes	Associate director of *Jot Down*	July 28th, 2014
John Durham Peters	Professor of media studies at Yale University	August 11th, 2018
Carles Foguet	Communications director of *Jot Down*	July 16th, 2014
Ángel Luis Fernández	Managing director of *Jot Down*	May 30th, 2014
Zoe Greenberg	Long-form reporter at *The New York Times*	September 15th, 2018
Eliza Griswold	Journalist at *The New Yorker*, expert in religion issues. Pulitzer Prize Awarded 2019	September 18th, 2018
Leila Guerriero	Editor of *Gatopardo*	April 29th, 2014
Roberto Herrscher	Collaborator of *Gatopardo*	July 25th, 2014
Ricardo Jonás	Co-founder of *Jot Down*	June 30th, 2014
Carolyn Kormann	Editor of *The New Yorker*	October 16th, 2018
Jon Lee Anderson	Journalist at *The New Yorker*	September 19th, 2018
Ramón Lobo	Freelance journalist and writer for *Jot Down*	May 8th, 2018
Larissa MacFarquhar	Journalist at *The New Yorker*	September 20th, 2018
Monica Račić	Multimedia editor at *The New Yorker*	September 20th, 2018
Evan Ratliff	Journalist and co-founder of *The Atavist Magazine*	November 8th, 2018
Felipe Restrepo	Director and editor of *Gatopardo*	May 16th, 2019
William Reynolds	President of the International Association for Literary Journalism	October 26th, 2018
Noah Rosenberg	Director of *Narratively*	September 15th, 2018
Carlo Rotella	Freelance editor of *The New Yorker*	October 3rd, 2018
Emiliano Ruiz Parra	Freelance journalist for *Gatopardo*	July 22nd, 2014
Alberto Salcedo Ramos	Narrative journalist and professor at the Gabriel García Márquez Foundation for New Ibero-American Journalism	November 7th, 2018
Susy Schultz	Director of *Public Narrative*	July 20th, 2018
Jeffrey Sharlet	Narrative journalist specialised in religion, professor at Dartmouth University	October 30th, 2018
Norman Sims	Former president of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies	September 6th, 2018
McKenna Stayner	Journalist at *The New Yorker*	September 20th, 2018
Gay Talese	Journalist at The *New Yorker* and "father" of the new journalism	March 31th, 2019
Marcela Vargas	Digital editor of *Gatopardo*	May 20th, 2014
Julio Villanueva Chang	Director of *Etiqueta Negra*	February 1st, 2017

Figure 5. List of interviewed professionals and experts and their positions. Source: Own drafting.

Moreover, all these interviews were made possible because of the research stop-over in the United States during the research carried out at Boston College between July and October 2018. This stay enables the PhD candidate to contact most of the American professionals interviewed, carry out face-to-face interviews with them, obtain new documentation and bibliography regarding the field studied, present the initial results at international conferences and be given advice, suggestions and knowledge from a considerable number of experts and researchers from all around the globe. All the mentioned interviews have been triangulated with content analyses of the articles from the selected sample publications.

Regarding the content analysis, the research considers Van Dijk (2013) as a reference author in this technique, who focused specifically on the analysis of news discourses. The use of content analysis is also supported by previous studies on literary and digital journalism, such as those by Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2016), Gillespie (2015), Guo (2014) and Larssen and Hornmoen (2013). In the field of the digital media analysis, Russell (2019), Shu, Bernard and Liu (2018), Domingo and Heinonen (2008), Paulussen (2004) and Quandt et al. (2003), all examples of authors taking it into account. In the case of the research at hand, content analysis was carried out on a total of 75 articles. The first comprised the analysis of 45 articles, 15 from each of the three sample publications selected. Each individual article comes from a different section in each one of the publications. This first stage served to obtain macro-results. The questionnaire created comprises the following four sections: identification, form, content, and audience. The first part locates the piece according to its section, author, and title. In the second one, the elements, report, and structure of each piece of news are taken into account, while also considering the presence and appearance in both digital form and on paper. The fields that are specified correspond to the elements that are to be analysed: subtitles, multimedia complements, images, positioning and extension strategies, measured as the number of screen-page-scrolls, or physical paper pages. Regarding the content, the questionnaire delves deeper into narrative techniques. For this reason, the subject and tense are identified. The audience factor is treated based on the interactions with each one of the pieces on the social networks on which they have been published (See Annex I).

On completion of the first stage, the second devoted itself to the analysis of the slow media coverage of religion. The form of analysis used in this case was the same. A new part called “Religion” was added. It includes nine new data fields that allowed this researcher to study the selected pieces to answer specific questions about religion. The form records is: the faith to which each story refers, the role of religion in the piece, the tone used to treat it, the presence or absence of leaders, the presence or absence of quotes by these leaders, and the existence of informative and substantive elements on the faith in question. The questionnaire also detects if the piece promotes prejudices or helps to avoid or eliminate them. This last section of the questionnaire was applied following the example of media analysis carried out by the World Association for Christian Communication (2017) in its research on the coverage of migration in Europe, projects in which the author of this study collaborated.

This second section included the evaluation of 30 articles about religion from the three selected publications: 10 from each one of them. This selection applied a single basic criterion: the appearance or coverage of religions. It is also worth pointing out that none of the magazines analysed has a section dedicated to religion. For this reason, the articles studied were located and selected using the search engines of the magazines' digital versions through the keyword "religion". The criterion that prevailed in the selection was current validity; thus, the ten most recent articles from each one of the magazines were chosen at the time of making the selection, specifically in April 2019. Taking into account the first and second phase of content analysis for the research at hand, a total of 75 articles were analysed, 25 from each of the publications that the sample comprises: *The New Yorker*, *Gatopardo* and *Jot Down*. (See Annex I).

Deploying all the techniques that the research at hand comprises, the main investigation and study launches the issue of the links and relationship between slow journalism and religions. The convergence of both subjects when studying how an online community is constructed naturally appeared, and the decision to highlight this possibility was made. The research introduces the context of this relationship and shows how the content of literary journalism takes religion into account from a journalistic approach, through the mentioned interviews and content analysis. It was decided to first examine the journalistic agents in question to better comprehend the presence of religion in literary journalism. The present research has also been analysed, studied and positively passed by the Ethical Research Committee of Ramon Llull University, who in March 2018, assessed the methodology, the research plan, the content and the main goals and hypothesis presented.

1.4.1 The online communities case study

These two techniques described (in-depth interviews and content analysis) were used in the main and parallel linked study that comprise the research at hand, and a second-stage study on communities is included in this paper. This parallel case study was made necessary to address the challenge of Goal 3 and Goal 4. The purpose was to detect, in the case of an actual community, the elements that it comprises and how they are digitally united. The community chosen for this analysis was the Catholic Church as it is one of the largest and most consolidated in the world (Pew Research Centre, 2013).

The major specific goals of the case study were: to understand how Catholic websites construct a sense of community in the digital sphere, to explore the extent to which digital Catholic communities are created according to specific skills and are similar to other virtual communities, and to identify the common tools used by the main Catholic websites when they build online communities. To fulfil these goals, the methodology selected, also based in content analysis (Van Dijk, 2013) and in-depth interviews (Voutsina, 2018; Johnson, 2002), was deployed through a unique and adapted process to select the sample.

The process first considered how many Roman Catholics there are in the world. According to Vatican figures (2019) the estimated number is 1.2 billion. More than 40% of them live in Latin America, but Africa has witnessed the largest growth in Catholic

congregations in recent years. According to the Pontifical Yearbook 2019 and the *Annuarium Statiscum Ecclesiae*, the number of Catholics in the world increased in the nine years between 2005 and 2014 from 1,115 million to 1,272 million, which is a growth respectively from 17.3 to 17.8 per cent of the world's population. Considering that the Catholic religion has spread all over the world, the criteria for establishing a representative pattern for the research at hand was the language used. The idea was to find the five languages most spoken by Catholic people.

Data from Pew Research Centre (2013) show that these languages are: English, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Italian. Then, the subsequent query concerned the countries where there are more Catholic believers, taking into account the official language of each country according to the previously found data. With these criteria, the pattern was considered representative enough because in the case of the three most spoken languages -English, Spanish and Portuguese- the percentage of Catholic people speaking them is higher than 10% in each case. If we look at French and Italian, more than 5% of Catholic people speak them all over the world. These inclusion of these languages means that the research at hand includes more than 50% of the speakers of these languages. Other detected languages spoken by Catholics (e.g., Polish) have a lower number of speakers. This methodology allows us to select, through Alexa's ranking (2017), the 19 Catholic websites with most traffic: 5 websites in English (catholic.com, catholic.org, gloria.tv, usccb.org and vatican.va), 5 websites in Spanish (aciprensa.com, aleteia.org, catholic.net, corazones.org and religionenlibertad.com), 5 websites in Portuguese (bibliacatolica.com.br, cancaonova.com, cnbb.org.br, ecclesia.pt and zenit.org), 2 websites in French (catholique.fr and laprocure.com) and 2 websites in Italian (chiesacattolica.it and news.va). The number of chosen websites in each language is justified by the proportion of its global consumption. In total, the analysis included 19 sites from Peru, United States, Mexico, Vatican, Austria, Brazil, Portugal, France and Italy. They were analysed during three years, from 2014 to 2016, with an analysis form that contemplated the following fields: general website data, online interactions, offline interactions, technical characteristics and visibility.

In-depth interviews (Voutsina, 2018) of the following experts were conducted. All of them were semi-structured (See Annex II) and took place during the research period mentioned, between 2014 and 2016:

Name	Position
Jesús Colina	Editorial director at Aleteia.org
Álex Rosal	Religionenlibertad.com
Alejandro Bermúdez	Aciprensa.com
Wellington Campos Pinho	Bibliacatolica.com.br
Macu López	Catholic.net
Willieny Casagrande	Cançaonova.com
Reto Nay	Gloria.tv

Figure 6. List of interviewed professionals and experts and their positions. Source: Own drafting.

1.5 The publications. Thematic justification

The publications that this compendium comprises have been published internationally in journals present in indexes as Journal Citation Reports, Arts and Humanities Citation Index and Scopus. All of them together trace the path the research followed. In terms of content, they illustrate the evolution of the investigation and how and why it has arrived at a quite unique and specific field.

Article 1

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down y Gatopardo*. *Transinformação*, 30(3), pp. 299-313. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2318-08892018000300003

The first article addresses the Goal 1 set out in the research at hand. It studies the main constituent elements of slow journalism in the digital era, assessing how the conditions for being considered literary journalism are accomplished in comparison with the digital journalism rules. This publication mainly aims to resolve if the New New Digital Journalism is more literary or more digital. In this case, specifically in the Iberoamerican context, given that the article considers the cases of *Jot Down* and *Gatopardo*. A first stage of in-depth analysis of these two media allowed the research be prepared and consolidated with some results to be compared later with the third and oldest magazine, *The New Yorker*. The comparison between the three cases starts in the second article.

Quality Index: This paper has a factor of 0.255 (2017) in Journal Citation Reports (JCR), appears in the fourth quartile (Q4) of the Social Sciences Area. It has a factor of 0.209 (2018) in Scopus (SJR), where it also has an h-index of 5. In SJR it appears in the third quartile (Q3) of the Communication area, in the third quartile (Q3) of Information Systems, in the third quartile (Q3) in the Library and Information Sciences area and in the second quartile (Q2) of Museology.

Contribution of the PhD candidate: conceptualisation, research design and development, methodology design and development, formal analysis, interviews, results analysis, writing (original draft and editing), project administration, funding acquisition.

Article 2

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). Los periodistas *slow* en el espacio digital. Los modelos de *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*. In J. L. Zurita, J. Serrano-Puche and M. Gil Ramírez (Ed.), *Comunicación periodística ante los nuevos retos* (pp. 421-434). Barcelona: Gedisa.

This second publication addresses Goal 1 and Goal 2 of the research at hand. The publication focuses its attention on two aspects. The first one is in describing how the New New Journalism evolves in the digital sphere, not only in Latin America, but also in the United States, where the three selected media analysed here are from. The second one is to describe the professional figure of literary journalists. It reveals their rhythms, routines,

characteristics, skills and education. It also debates whether literary journalism is a job or an identity.

Index of quality: Editorial indexed in the ranking SPI Scholarly Publishers Indicators. Position 25. ICEE 202.000 (2018).

Contribution of the PhD candidate: conceptualisation, research design and development, methodology design and development, formal analysis, interviews, results analysis, writing (original draft and editing), project administration, funding acquisition.

Article 3

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An analysis of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. *Communication and Society*, 32(4), pp. 173-191. doi: https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.4.173-191

This article addresses Goal 3 of the research at hand. This publication assesses how the literary journalism movement could be identified as a community, taking into account Tarrow's (1997) conditions. It also contemplates the genre as a form of activism and approaches the practice as a way to tackle difficult and controversial times. This article also sets these ideas in the digital context and opens the door to a new question. How New New Digital Journalism could produce greater social impact by covering complex issues, making them comprehensible and using this created knowledge to improve society in general.

Quality Index: This paper has a factor of 0.33 (2018) in Scopus (SJR), where it also has an h-index of 12. In SJR it appears in the second quartile (Q2) of the Communication area. Indexed in the Emerging Sources Citation Index of Web of Science.

Contribution of the PhD candidate: conceptualisation, research design and development, methodology design and development, formal analysis, interviews, results analysis, writing (original draft and editing), project administration, funding acquisition.

Article 4

Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2018). Construcción de comunidades *online* a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet. *El profesional de la información*, 27(6), pp. 1257-1268. doi: https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.09

The fourth article presented addresses Goal 3 of the research at hand. It specifically analyses a quite unique online and offline community, the Catholic one, to discover the elements that constitute this consolidated group digitally and its social impact. The intention of including this article in the compendium in the research at hand is to put the focus in one well-known and complex community with social impact to identify its communicative habits and to assess its online presence as regards its journalistic work, in terms of being visible and widely known. This article has already given rise to the issue of religion in the research

at hand. The community that started as an example led to paths that link religions and slow journalism through this community and the social impact approach. This led to Goal 4 being included in the research at hand.

Quality Index: This paper has a factor of 1,318 (2017) in the Journal Citation Reports (JCR), listed in the second quartile (Q2) of the Social Sciences Area. It has a factor of 0.601 (2018) in Scopus (SJR), where it also has an h-index of 22. In SJR it appears in the second quartile (Q2) in the Communication area, in the second quartile (Q2) of Information Systems and in the first quartile (Q1) in the Library and Information Sciences area.

Contribution of the PhD candidate: conceptualisation, research design and development, methodology design and development, formal analysis, interviews, results analysis, writing (original draft and editing), project administration.

Article 5

Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L., Carbonell Abelló, J.M., Sánchez Torrents, J. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2017). Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities. *Prisma Social,* 19, pp. 298-323.

This paper reviews the content and the elements of the previous one. It is the presentation of the first results which are expounded and detailed in Article 4. It has been included in the compendium as it clearly shows the results obtained and put the focus on the online-offline relationship and management that Catholic online communities have, influencing this practice in society and spreading confessional knowledge about it, essential for being understood by people who are external to this community.

Quality Index: This paper has a factor of 0.122 (2017) in SJR, where it also has an h-index of 3. In SJR it appears in the fourth quartile (Q4) of the Social Sciences area. It is also indexed in Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI), ProQuest - Social Science Database, EBSCO Publishing - Academic Plus Source and Premier Academic Source, CSIC Bibliographic Databases - CC Magazines. Social Sciences and Humanities, IndexCopernicus - Journal Application Form, Integrated Classification of Scientific Journals (CIRC), Redalyc Scientific Information System, CABI-CAB Abstracts.

Contribution of the PhD candidate: conceptualisation, research design and development, methodology design and development, formal analysis, interviews, results analysis, writing (original draft and editing), project administration.

Article 6

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue, *Religions*, 10(8), 485, pp. 1-24. doi: https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10080485

This last publication addressees Goal 4 by summarizing and linking the results obtained in all the other papers presented. This paper shows the relationship between the

two fields studied, assessing how New New Digital Journalism could be a community with social impact and influence the relationship and knowledge among different faiths and cultures. The term Slow Religion represents this link and the results and conclusions open a new field of research in which New New Journalism appears as a practice to improve the coverage of perplexing issues, while benefiting society.

Quality Index: Arts and Humanities Citation Index. This paper has a factor of 0.22 (2018) in Scopus (SJR), where it also has an h-index of 18. In SJR is appears in the first quartile (Q1) in the Religious Studies area.

Contribution of the PhD candidate: conceptualisation, research design and development, methodology design and development, formal analysis, interviews, results analysis, writing (original draft and editing), project administration, funding acquisition.

Goals	Hypothesis	Articles
Goal 1: To study how the slow, literary and longform New New Journalism fits in the fast, immediate and ephemeral digital world.	Hypothesis 1: New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.	Article 1 El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo*.
Goal 2: To analyse and characterise the professional figure of the new new digital journalist.	Hypothesis 2: The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.	Article 2 Los periodistas *slow* en el espacio digital. Los modelos de *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*.
Goal 3: To evaluate New New Digital Journalism as a space for community engagement to achieve impact through social activism.	Hypothesis 3: New New Digital Journalism has characteristics that enhance and reinforce community engagement and builds and promotes activism and achieves social impact within journalism.	Article 3 Is new new digital journalism a type of activism? An analysis of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. Article 4 Construcción de comunidades *online* a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet. Article 5 Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities.
Goal 4: To discern if New New Digital Journalism might serve as a tool for interfaith and intercultural understanding.	Hypothesis 4: New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue.	Article 6 Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue.

Figure 7. Alignment between goals, hypothesis and presented articles. Source: Own drafting.

Part II. State of the art

2.1 The term

Large-scale controversy was served from the very inception of this genre. During the research, up to 14 different designations of it were found. What for Wolfe (1973) was "new journalism", for Capote (1965) was "non-fiction novel". In 1980, the National Endowment of Arts in the United Stated termed it "creative non-fiction"; however, it this was seen as bureaucratic and it became "narrative non-fiction", although this last term was considered obtuse (Sharlet, 2014). "Non-fiction story" was the name given to the genre by Franklin (1996), while D'Agata and Tall (1997) dubbed it "lyrical essay". For Sims (1996) and Sharlet (2014), it was "literary journalism", for Kirtz (1998) "longform journalism", for Hartsock (2000) "narrative literary journalism". Boynton (2012) redefined the term adapted to the contemporary era and called it "New New Journalism", which, according to the author, incorporates elements of social sciences. Vanoost (2013) called it "narrative journalism". Furthermore, Barranquero-Carretero and Rosique-Cedillo (2015) and Greenberg (2007) linked it to the slow movement (David, Blumtritt, and Köhler, 2010), to describe the genre as storytelling that gives equal value to narrative and factual discovery. In accordance with this philosophy, the slow media or slow journalism "advocates for an unhurried, thoughtful and sustainable approach to human, mediated and digital communication".

It is also important to take into account the concept "crónica", which describes this genre in Latin America but has other nuances in Spain (Grijelmo, 2014), more linked to immediacy. For Caparrós (2015), it "is very specifically an always failed attempt to capture the fugitive character of the time in which one lives". He renamed it as "lacrónica", as he considered that the concept of "crónica" was overused and confusing. Some authors studying it in the online platform consider the genre to be "digital longform" (Dowling and Vogan, 2015).

It is also important to underline that, by and large, in both Spain and Latin America, the genre is mostly called "narrative journalism" while in the United States it is more known as "literary journalism" (Palau Sampio, 2019; Angulo, 2013; Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2012), which should not be confused with journalism about literature (Bak and Reynolds, 2011). Both terms -narrative journalism and literary journalism- are accepted by the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies (2006), the institution that also opened the door to other possible terms that referred to the same genre.

The Nieman Foundation at Harvard University (2013) defined narrative journalism as the genre that takes the techniques of fiction and applies them to non-fiction. The narrative

form requires profound and sophisticated reporting, an knack for storytelling, a departure from the structural conventions of daily news, and an imaginative use of language. At the same time, the term narrative journalism is sometimes controversial as being redundant, given that the narrative element is in any case a characteristic present in all journalistic genres (Chillón, 2014). For Contursi and Ferro (2000), the notion of narrative is presented in a form which involves the use of a particular form of language, linked to a notion of the passage of time and what the main characters want to do that produce changes. For the authors, narrative is a story built along a timeline. For Ricoeur (1999), the configuration of the narrative defines historical reality and is what constitutes the notion of society. Barthes and Duisit (1975) argue that there cannot be people without stories, so for them, the notion of narrative has a dominant character. For Borrat (2000), "understand" and "tell" are verbs that address temporality, so they address the main way of presenting it: narrating it. For Arendt (1968), when we tell a story, it is deploying, or objectifying, our own experience in ways that others can relate to through experiences of their own (Jackson, 2013). For Benjamin (1968), it is necessary to distinguish "between immediate experiences that have been directly undergone and experiences that have been thought through in ways that render them comprehensible to, and shareable with others". According to Martínez (2002), narration is inexorably linked with knowing, as both verbs have the same origin in a Sanskrit word, *gnâ*.

The research at hand considers the term "New New Digital Journalism" as referring to the genre adapted and developed in the digital sphere, taking a further step forward in the contemporary era, with the elements already considered by Boynton (2012) (implementing elements from social sciences) but taking into account digitalization and its effects.

2.2 The New Journalism

The origin of the genre analysed goes further back than the New York of the sixties. (Albalad, 2018; Sims, 2018; Chillón, 2014). According to Herrscher (2012) and Chillón (1999), the first publication considered to be an example of literary journalism is *A Journal of a Plague Year*, published by Daniel Defoe in 1722. Bak and Reynolds (2011) and Sims (1996) identify some roots decades and even centuries before. Dingemanse and de Graaf (2011) talk about the Dutch pamphlets of the 1600's. Albalad (2018), Herrscher (2012) and Chillón (2014) consider the chronicles of the indies as an antecedent, whilst Puerta (2011) sets it in the *Book of the Genesis*, Mesopotamia and even in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Zola, Balzac, Dickens and Shakespeare theatre plays also feature among these roots (Albalad, 2018; Herrscher, 2012). For Chillón (2014), the European novel of the nineteenth century had an essential and featured realistic approach, looked for authenticity and wanted to reflect social complexities. For the author, Stendhal or Flaubert are examples of this desire, responding to the high standards of reporting, investigation and documentation that this authenticity demands. In North America, Whitman and Thoreau contemplate the basis of contemporary literary journalism. Whitman's references are those that he considered to best gather together the experiences of humanity: *The Old and New Testaments*, Homer,

Aeschylus and Plato. Palau Sampio (2017) and Boynton (2015) consider the journalism practiced by the so-called “muckrakers”, also as an effluent of the New Journalism. Well-known authors such as Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens John Reed, George Orwell, Albert Londres, Upton Sinclair, Rodolfo Walsh and Hunter S. Thompson wanted to entirely report a story from a humane standpoint with the goal that the audience put themselves in the shoes of others.

Bak and Reynolds (2011) collect the main and essential manifestations of literary journalism at a global level with the aim of rejecting the hypothesis that this genre was only present in some parts of the world, such as in the United States. These authors show how far the roots of the literary journalism go back in terms of times and also now wide in terms of places. Albalad (2018) additionally reviews the different evolution of the literary journalism in the different three contexts of Spain, Latin America and the United States. According to him, Guerriero (2017) and Chillón (2014), since this kind of journalism emerged again in the sixties in the United States, many new publications in Latin America have followed the same path. However, Spain did not enter into this market for literary journalism magazines again until the onset of digitalization, when new media emerged. Before that, literature and journalism enjoyed a close relationship in Spanish newspapers, especially during the nineteenth century (Parratt, 2011). In effect, the predominant form of journalism at that time in Spain was more literary than informative, and moreover, informative writings were placed in specific sections in the newspapers to distinguish them from the literary ones. According to Parratt (2011), authors at that time were both writers and journalists in parallel, and most of them were more well-known for the journalistic articles than for their books. Josep Pla, Miguel de Unamuno and José Ortega y Gasset are some examples of this generation of authors, who wanted to change society and in journalism found the way to reach the public at large. This generation was distinguished by well-known authors such as Camilo José Cela (Nobel Prize in Literature), Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Maruja Torres and Javier Marías. Their practice, which Parratt (2011) dubbed “reportagization”, is based on the idea that natural complexity of, together with the changes in society, need to be explained through high-quality, unconventional news writing.

Herrscher (2012) also reviews the origins, emergence and development of the genre, and focuses on its routines, formats and practices, especially in the same three geographical contexts: Spain, Latin America and the United States. He highlights how the stories related to the world round us and major life topics are just as emotive as the literary ones already known to the audience.

Weingarten (2013) reviews the emergence of the New Journalism as a journalistic response to better cover the social changes that where taking place in the sixties. In parallel with their analysis, the author tells the story of the main authors and media of that moment, such as Lillian Ross, William Shawn, Jimmy Breslin, Joan Didion, Harold Ross, Norman Mailer, Hunter S. Thompson and Gay Talese. The author directly connects each one of these well-known authors to the real historical events they covered, recounts how and justifies why the New Journalism once more emerged at that moment and in which context.

Hartsock (2000) points to it as proof of critical social thinking, and moreover as a way to relating reality at moments of change.

The New Journalism has also been characterised by the techniques it deploys. Both Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996) established the conditions necessary for any given text to be considered narrative journalism. For the former author, there are four requisites that need to be present: scene-by-scene narration, the use of dialogue, the use of the third person and detailed and exhaustive descriptions. Sims (1996) speaks in terms of structure, responsibility, voice and details. What Wolfe considers to be scene-by-scene writing is structure according to Sims. Dialogue and responsibility are linked concepts for a particular reason: the controversial use of dialogue in a non-fiction text, coupled with the level of responsibility shouldered by the journalist. For Wolfe (1973), it is about spending enough time with people who the journalist is talking about to be able to properly deploy this dialogue. What Sims considers to be voice corresponds to Wolfe's use of the third person; moreover, both share the term details regarding the required completeness of the descriptions in a literary journalism text. Sims (1996) added two more conditions to the list: symbolic realities and immersion. Sharlet (2014) defines these symbolic realities as life metaphors told through literary techniques transforming them into stories.

Immersion is also a concept analysed by Uskali, Gynnild, Jones and Sirkkunen (2020), Angulo (2017) and Conover (2016). This last author defined New Journalism as a style of research where the journalist didn't simply observe with professional detachment: rather, they journey alongside their subjects, engaging with them over an extended period. Angulo (2017) distinguishes between immersive journalism -that nowadays might involve virtual experiences for the audience- and the immersive journalistic process, which involves a reporting that focus on the context of a history and takes part in it, being an active mediator between society and public discourse. Furthermore, the author also focuses on the concept of the point of view in literary journalism and considers it as the main key to its uniqueness. Neveu (2016) also lists conditions to recognise slow journalism, which for him, is a polysemic term: slowness, investigative, selective and explanatory, narrative and longform, fairness, community service participation, and profound, untold, backstage stories. Abrahamson (2006) suggests six analytic instruments for this genre: character, setting, plot, theme, voice, and structure.

Palau Sampio (2019; 2017) reminds us of these characteristics and examines how an ethnographic and analytical approach together with narrative techniques can improve the coverage of complex issues. According to her, this kind of journalism is capable of providing more detailed information than conventional media. She analyses the coverage of migration and considers that New Journalism reframes it in a "radically different" way. This is because media very often dehumanize migrants with their coverage, revealing the deficiencies of a fragmented, episodic and immediate journalism (Suro, 2011; Fazzini, 1995). Jeff Sharlet (2014) specifically focuses on the practice of literary journalism in the field of religion, being one of the main authors working on it, together with other well-known authors such as Eliza Griswold (2018).

Beyond new journalism, these coverages are a representation of what Robert Boynton (2012) defines as "New New Journalism", considering it to the evolution of New Journalism to conform to the present moment in time. The author interviews well-known authors that, according to him, represent the "continuous maturing" of the genre, as do Adrian LeBlanc, Jon Krakauer, Ted Conover and Susan Orlean. For him, the main difference between New Journalism and New New Journalism is that the latter tackles the social and political interests of writers as Lincoln Steffens and Jacob Riis, who belong to a generation previous to this New Journalism. In France, Emmanuel Carrère (Mason, 2017) is also an example of this situation. For Boynton (2012), contemporary New New Journalism synthetizes these two previous traditions. The author affirms that New New Journalism explores the methods and techniques of the New Journalism, and takes up the legacy from its previous generation.

> New new journalists bring a different set of cultural and social concerns to their work. Being neither frustrated novelists nor misguided reporters, they are rather writers of magazines and books that have benefited greatly, both from the legitimacy that Wolfe's legacy conferred on literary nonfiction, and the coincidental dismissal of the novel as the most prestigious form of literary expression. (Boynton, 2012).[4]

The genre has also been studied from the standpoint of the specific models and media within it. There are authors more focused on Iberoamerican or Anglosaxon New New Journalism and others still that are more focused on specific authors and media.

For instance, Yagoda (2000), Kunkel (1995) and Thurber (1957) are considered the authors that have been subjected to the deepest external study in *The New Yorker*. Historically, its routines and essential messages have been related in the first person by journalists working there, such as its cofounder Jane Grant (1968), the journalist Lillian Ross (1998) and more recently, David Remnick (2015), its director. However, these publications describe the routines, dynamics and contents of the publication during its history and link it with the unique identity and skills sets of the journalists behind its creation, management and production. All of them agree that the profile of the magazine is aligned with its founders' characters -Jane Grant and Harold Ross- and it has progressed in quite a unique way, becoming the sophisticated origin of the writings of immense stature by authors such as John Hersey, Truman Capote, Vladimir Nabokov, Carson McCullers and Ernest Hemingway.

Latin America is also a land prolific in terms of New Journalism and New New Journalism. From the seed sowed by Gabriel García Márquez, some authors have continued its practice, such as Alma Guillermoprieto, Jon Lee Anderson, Juan Villoro, Julio

[4] Los nuevos nuevos periodistas aportan una serie distinta de inquietudes culturales y sociales a su trabajo. Ni novelistas frustrados ni reporteros descarriados, son más bien escritores de revistas y de libros que se han beneficiado enormemente, tanto de la legitimidad que el legado de Wolfe confirió a la no ficción literaria, como de la coincidente destitución de la novela como forma más prestigiosa de la expresión literaria. (Boynton, 2012).

Villanueva Chang, Leila Guerriero, Alberto Salcedo Ramos and Martín Caparrós. Most of them are also involved in to teaching it, particularly under the guarantee of the Fundación Gabriel García Márquez para el Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano. Guerriero (2017) warns about the lack of investment in these stories that sometimes exists in media at large. The author denounces that there are more workshops on New journalism and New New Journalism than stories in these genres published in general media. Some researches in this same context are based themselves on only one author, as is the case of Puerta (2019), with his in-depth assessment of the work of Alberto Salcedo Ramos.

López Hidalgo (2018) studies the contemporary Latin American slow journalists and defends that their practice builds on the legacy of the previous generation of the North American ones, such as Truman Capote, Gay Talese and Hunter S. Thompson. The author compares slow journalism in North America and in Latin America, and discusses the possibilities the new platforms present to literary narratives.

> There is much talk about the chronicle, and it is true that the chronicle is still nurtured. But even more true is that these authors probe the possibilities of new narratives that lead them to construct first-person texts, in which these journalists empathise with the reality they dissect and describe, where the differentiation between opinion and information is a line in the water that neither author nor reader dare to alter, although perhaps they neither want nor are able to elucidate. These new narratives are multi-genre in which we find chronicles, essays, profiles, interviews and autobiographies. (López Hidalgo, 2018).[5]

Palau Sampio and Cuartero Naranjo (2018) detect that there is no reciprocity between Spanish and Latin American literary journalism, since the difference of generation leads to the Latin American authors being recognised in Spain, whilst in contrast, the Spanish authors are not widely known in Latin America. They also detect differences in the techniques and process of literary journalism. According to them, the Latin American ones treat stories from the planned and structured viewpoint whereas the Spanish tend to be more spontaneous.

Some other studies in this field and genre are focused on specific national and cultural traditions. The main focus of these investigations are the unique characteristics of the New journalism and the New New Journalism in each country and its historical evolution. Palau Sampio and Naranjo (2018) compare the presence and evolution of the genre in Latin America and Spain, Pereira Lima and Martínez (2017) in Brazil, Salvatierra (2017) in Argentina, Van Krieken and Sanders (2016) in The Netherlands, Gillespie (2015) in Canada, Guo (2014) in China, Lassila-Merisalo (2014) in Finland, Larssen and Hornmoen (2013) in

[5] Se habla mucho de la crónica, y es cierto que se sigue cultivando la crónica. Pero más cierto aún es que estos autores indagan en las posibilidades de nuevas narrativas que les llevan a construir textos en primera persona, en los que estos periodistas empatizan con la realidad que diseccionan y describen, donde la diferenciación entre opinión e información es una raya en el agua que ni autor ni lector se atreven a enmendar, aunque quizás tampoco quieren ni son capaces de dilucidar. Estas nuevas narrativas son plurigéneros en los que tienen cabida la crónica, el ensayo, el perfil, la entrevista o la autobiografía. (López Hidalgo, 2018).

Norway, Boynton (2012) in the United States, Hessell (2011) in New Zealand, Parratt (2011) in Spain, Soares (2011) in Portugal, Zdovc (2011) in Slovenia and McKay (2011) in the United Kingdom. Some of the more recent ones put the focus on how the New New Journalism copes with the digital sphere.

2.3 The New New Digital Journalism

How can the New New Journalism texts exist and evolve in the digital sphere? This question is crucial for New New Journalism, as its essential characteristics seem hard to attune to the rules of the online world. In reality, the history of New New Journalism started a new chapter with the advent of digitalization, when online platforms became its natural refuge (Albalad, 2018). Several authors, some of them under the umbrella of the International Association of Literary Journalism Studies, have concentrated their efforts on describing the process of adapting the traditional practice to the digital environment to delve deeper into how this New New Digital Journalism is, and which essential elements of the genre have been kept or rethought in this transcendental moment.

Lassila-Merisalo (2014) studies if multimedia and digital elements improve the narrative of a given literary journalism text. Dowling and Vogan (2015) assess the effects of digitalization on the so-called longform articles. Specifically, these authors work on the case of “Snowfall”, published in 2012 in *The New York Times*. Belt and South (2016) study the case of the National Geographic’s *Out of Eden Walk* as a journalistic teaching tool. Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2015) examine 50 digital longform articles to detect their main characteristics and show how literary techniques are put into effect through multiple media. Jacobson, Marino, Gutsche and Reynolds (2018) additionally analyse the role and effect of interactive applications with longform news stories. Hiippala (2017) emphasizes which elements integrate what the author calls “multimodal” digital longform texts, in terms of videos, images and graphics. Jones (2017) and Dowling and Vogan (2015) study the (technologically) immersive journalism and assess the effects of what it calls “immersive storytelling”. Wolf and Godulla (2016) assess the experience of the digital longform format on mobile devices. Van Krieken (2019), the evolution of the genre on the new platforms, in terms of style, structure and impact of these techniques.

Berning (2011) tackles the techniques used by authors to enhance authenticity in New New Digital Journalism texts. She differs from Bowden on how these articles are easier to verify as they add details and elements that reinforce the clarity of the narrative. She considers that this high level of detail which New New Digital Journalism articles contain give them “hypertextuality”. Berning (2011) argues that hipertextuality in New New Journalism is something that occurred before digitalization. Spadaro (2006), mentioning the Ignatian approach, affirming this:

> [...] The Ignatian perspective generates an idea of reading according to which the relationship between text and reader is very different from that between an object and an observer: the work has a "virtual" character, because it cannot be reduced, neither to the reality of the text nor to the subjectivity of the reader. (Spadaro, 2006).

Berning (2011) considers an advantage and a problem in this matter: the article is the most versatile format to adapt to the digital sphere (Chillón, 1999; Vivaldi, 1999) but at the same time, the intrinsic hipertextuality of these texts carries the risk of the reader breaking the flow of the narrative by exiting it via a link. For Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2016) and Lassila-Merisalo (2014), multimedia elements reinforce the sense of authenticity.

The business of the New New Digital Journalism is another topic assessed in the field, given the changing context of the mediatic map. Dowling (2015) studies the situation and how media working in this genre are opposing a model based only on advertising. The author studies the cases of *Delayed Gratification*, *De Correspondent*, *Narratively*, and *The Big Roundtable* and argues that their "alternative" business models could be commercial viable in the framework of the generalised efforts of media to reinvent themselves in order to survive. Neveu (2014) studies the business model of the literary journalism in the digital sphere and highlights how it breaks accepted rules of capitalism. The author assesses if the costs of this journalism justify its returns, and if what he calls this "back to basics" approach is indeed unique and involves changes in the way reporting is done. Abramson (2019) advocates a business model that promotes "quality news", one that, according the author, involves original reporting, combines crowdsourcing and databases with shoe-leather techniques to report, is brilliantly edited, takes advantage of digital technology, and produces stories made to "honour the intelligence of readers rather than exploit their emotions".

Ameseder (2019) studies the effects of narrative techniques on audience comprehension and interest. Narratives have a favourable effect on information recognition. Marino (2016) assesses how the audience consume digital longform products in terms of contents and platforms, specifically among young audience, through an eye-tracking technique. Drok and Hermans (2015) wonder if the new digital generation will be interested in slow journalism by analysing the genre as a reaction to the speed of modern society. For Shim (2014), the storytelling format, which has been considered inappropriate for objectivity, is indeed competitive in contemporary media.

Le Masurier (2020; 2015) studies slow journalism on paper support, specifically assessing the term slow journalism and considering it a new alternative emerging on the mediascape. He also contemplates what it looks like in practice, taking into account these other temporalities of production, in comparison to the digital journalism. The author also discovers what youth preferences are in this regard, and point towards a two-speed journalism, where fast journalism will be related to free journalism and slow journalism to the genre that will have to be paid for (cf. Erbsen et al., 2012). For Craig (2015), journalism operates at particular speeds and aligns itself with the current needs of the institutional fields on which it reports. Neveu (2017) argues that there would be a risk that New New Journalism stories might be seen as soft news, while informative ones could be considered harder.

The authors researching this genre also contemplate the figure of the journalists working in these media, and what their education and skills are. Johnston and Wallace (2016) study the working conditions of journalists. Wilentz (2014) analyses the role of this

professional in what she considers the “post-paper” era. Boynton (2012) and Herrscher (2012) describe the profiles of the new new journalists they talk about. Gönden (2019) works on how literary journalism and its emergence in media could become an opportunity for the journalists’ education process; in terms of relevant literature, development of the genre, examples and the aspects that distinguish it from the dominant news reporting. Le Cam et al. (2019), Cohen (2019), Sherwood and O’Donnell (2018) consider journalism an identity more than a job, focusing also in the digital sphere. Sánchez and Micó (2014) and Kolodzy (2013) discuss the concept of polyvalence in the journalist profile.

Strictly in this digital background, the research at hand takes into account the authors that contribute on the digitalization of journalistic texts and contents. Mainly, the research in this field has been centred on five areas: historical context, innovation process, changes in journalistic routines, challenges in the established professional dynamics and contents (Salaverría, 2019). How contents are adapted to technologically innovative frameworks is one of the main focuses in this regard.

Manovich (2002) studies the narrative forms used by digital journalism and the characteristics of the digital journalism language. For the author, digital media are based on narrative forms that come from previous paper media. Deuze (2004) considers immediacy as one of the five central values of journalism, next to objectivity, autonomy, public service and ethics. Micó (2006) details the characteristics of the digital journalism style: exactitude, clarity, conciseness, density, precision, simplicity, naturalness, originality, brevity, variety, attraction, rhythm, colour, sonority, detail and property.

Hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity (Salaverría, 2005; Nielsen, 1995) are the three main characteristics that digital text possesses. Some authors such as Canavilhas (2013), Scolari (2013), Doyle (2010) and Singer and Quandt (2009) talked about convergence to a multiplatform journalism. For Díaz Noci and Salaverría (2003), the digital text is deeper than it is long, but for them, this depth should not be a barrier for an optimal understanding of the content. According to Larrondo (2009), hypertextuality is the most relevant element in the construction of the digital narrative and the article is the genre most adaptable to the digital sphere (Berning, 2011; Martín Vivaldi, 1999). Stroud, Scacco and Curry (2016) detect interactive sources in journalistic websites. Paulussen and Ugille (2008) deal with the journalistic routines and their adaptation to the digital sphere. Authors such as Palacio (2018) and Casero-Ripollés (2010) assess business models in digital media at large, tackling the issues of paywalls, membership, crowdfunding and freemium. Domingo, Quandt, Heinonen, Paulussen, Singer and Vujnovic (2008) discussed participatory journalism and found that in Europe, some media take online user participation mainly as an opportunity for their readers to debate current events, while others encourage citizen involvement in the news production process.

The more recent investigations on the field are in terms of smartphones and journalism, apps, (Schnauber, 2015; Westlund, 2013), journalism with drones (Holton; Lawson; Love, 2015) and location journalism (Nyre et al., 2012), immersive journalism and augmented reality (Biocca, 2018) and machine learning (Boumans; Trilling, 2016). However, according to Salaverría (2019), the fundamental ideas of relevant journalism and public

opinion remain the same, as authors such as Walter Lippmann, Marshall McLuhan, Paul Lazarsfeld, Harold Lasswell, Umberto Eco and Jürgen Habermas concur.

2.4 Media, Religion and Culture

According to White (2007), Lövheim and Linderman (2005) and Hoover and Lundby (1997), media and religion influence each other, and the reciprocity between the two spaces become evident. Zito (2008) analyses the reciprocity between media and religion and argues that an imagined subjective interiorness can be accessed only via the exteriorness of mediated materiality. Furthermore, she considers that religion and media can be seen to function in "surprisingly intimate ways as they both involve epistemological and cosmological matters in the construction of the real. Sumiala (2013) highlights that the imagined world is created by and lives in communication, which is built around certain shared symbols. Díez Bosch (2014) highlights that religious faith is expressed in public, so it becomes a newsworthy fact for media. For Pou Amérigo (2008), to be worthy of media coverage, religion needs to be visible, and faith needs to be visualized.

Hjarvard (2011) considers that the concept of mediatisation itself captures the spread of technologically-based media in society and how these media shape different social domains. After digitalization, some authors such as Hepp et al. (2018) mention the need to talk about the term deep mediatisation, as the online sphere brings about an intensified state of mediatisation.

Mediatisation of religion is the process by which core elements of a social and cultural activity assume mediatic forms (Hjarvard, 2004), so that media becomes the main source of information about religious issues and religious information and experiences become moulded according to the demands of popular media genres (Lövheim and Lynch, 2011). According to Hjarvard's theory, contemporary religion is mediated through secular and autonomous media institutions and is shaped according to the logics of this kind of media. Evolvi (2018) delves into the hypermediated religious spaces and, building on the theory of mediation, highlights that hypermediation defines contemporary times in which the emergence of digital technology intensifies human interactions in terms of speed and emotions. According to her, when individuals have access to digital technology, they approach daily life in a networked way. For Evolvi (2018), this situation reflects the fluid relationship between religion, the secular and the post-secular.

Sumiala (2006) discusses the sacred in the context of what the authors call postmodern media. The author delves into how mediatisation affects the categories and the process of setting apart the sacred from the profane in different mediated contexts. This research bridges the gap between the realms of sacred and media studies.

Lövheim (2019) assesses the coverage of religion from the specific approach of the daily press and analyses the key themes through which religion becomes related to issues of international politics, national identity, democracy, and individual rights in a context of secular media engaging in broader public debates. The author also focuses on the

construction of the religious identity in the online sphere, specifically in the case of women and youth.

Campbell (2010) leads the studies on how religion deals with digital media. According to her, religions negotiate complex relationships with technologies according their history and specific beliefs. The author highlights the existent of a dichotomy between some religious communities that see communication technology as a threat and take a critical view of it, whilst others historically have appropriated these technologies for propagating their faiths. Campbell (2012) also assesses the construction of digital religious communities studying the relationship between both their online and offline dimensions. Campbell and Golan (2011) explore the motivations behind the creation of these communities.

Hutchings (2010; 2017) examines online churches and Internet-based religious communities and identifies their common features in the current framework of mediated religions. From these models, the author detects trends on religious online communities, their identity, rituals and also a range of approaches to institutional authority. Helland (2005) distinguishes between "religion online" and "online religion" and argues that the former concept refers to the digital sphere understood as a tool by religious communities, which is only used as an instrument. The author considers that the latter term defines an evolution of this situation, in which the digital sphere is considered a space rather than a technological tool. Díez Bosch, Soukup, Micó and Zsupan-Jerome (2017) analysed the concept of religious authority and leadership in the digital age and enquire into terms such as power, legitimacy, solemnity and prestige. Lövheim and Lundmark (2019) treat how women's authority to speak about religion is constructed in digital media.

Pou Amérigo (2008) studied how Catholicism is mediated and the main challenges of this coverage, not only from the journalists' point of view but also from the Church's point of view institutionally. The author analyses the limitations that traditional journalistic practice has when covering religion. She concludes that religion has a coverage based on irregularity and negativity for two main reasons: the different speeds of media and religions and the lack of communication directors in religious institutions. Cebrián (2009), Díez Bosch (2006) and Dardelet (1998) analyse specifically the Catholic Church's communications strategy, identify deficiencies and proposes new communicative methods. For Díez Bosch (2006), this communication is not communicative, presents weaknesses and should leave apologetic practices behind.

Arasa and Milán (2010), Mora, Contreras and Carroggio (2007), Martínez (1997) and Vassallo (1998) argue that to respond to the Church's communication demands means to have multi-disciplinary knowledge about institutional communication, management, the cultural context and the essence of the Christian message. Pompili (2011) and Nicoletti, Donelli, Somalvico, Zavattaro and Giuliodori (2000) analyse the possibilities and risks of Internet for the Church. Tridente and Mastroianni (2016) and Stenico (2001) assess the Church's communication on social media and study how the institution is contributing to global online dialogue, highlighting that new technologies are no longer new, and that communication is no longer only for professionals.

> In the digital age and of the Internet, the Church has nothing to fear. It has known how to communicate for a long time. Is liturgy not a place of Communication where true interactivity is practiced? The fact remains that in our society, with today's media, the Church must continue to embody the Good News. (Dardelet, 1998).[6]

In the field of religion, Díez Bosch (2014) analysed the profile of journalists who specialized in religion, specifically in Catholicism. The author detects that there is also a challenge of differing speeds in this context. While the Church asks for professionalism, sensibility, *finezza* and care, from the institution journalists need clarity, immediacy and a dynamic information flow. The author argues that journalism is immediacy and the Church is eternity, and a balance is needed between the two for the sake of mutual understanding. Tridente (2017) studies what it means to be a Vaticanist in the digital age and argues that reporting on the Catholic Church requires certain features that go beyond classical journalism, because "its social projections are inseparably linked to its spiritual nature".

2.5 Dialogue and interfaith perspectives through slow media

> […] literary journalism, no matter in which language it appears, has remained loyal to its commitment to inform the world accurately and honestly about the magical in the mundane, the great in the small, and above all, the us in the them. (Bak and Reynolds, 2011).

According to Grung (2011), interreligious dialogue is defined as organized encounters between people belonging to different religious traditions, but it is also a field that addresses the premises for and the content of such organized encounters. The research at hand is not about encounters caused by literary journalism but rather to do with how this genre could contribute, particularly through knowledge, to transform the premises into reality.

Among the authors tackling the debate on the role of religions in media and digital media, and, at the same time, the their coverage and peculiarities, challenges, complexities and opportunities, there are a number of well-known authors and investigators assessing how the elements of slow media could become opportunities for religions.

Christians and Nordenstreng (2014) highlight the need for communicators to be educated and respect the diversity of the world. Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011) identify the seven main forms of dialogue -narration being one of them- together with conversation, discussion, deliberation, debates, interviews and panels. Storytelling appears as a space for the expression of identity and demonstrates the effectiveness of what in psychology is considered narrative therapy (Salmon, 2008; Payne, 2002).

[6] À l'heure du numérique et de l'Internet, l'Église n'a rien à craindre. Elle sait communiquer depuis longtemps. La liturgie n'est-elle pas un lieu de Communication où se développe une véritable interactivité? Il n'en reste pas moins que dans notre société, avec les médias d'aujourd'hui, l'Église doit continuer d'incarner la Bonne Nouvelle. (Dardelet, 1998).

Hoover and Clark (2007) write that people practice religion and speak of the sacred in an openly secular but inexorably commercial media context, so media determines religious experience and defines the sacred and the limits between "us" and "them" (Knott and Pole, 2013; Couldry, 2003; Couldry, 2000).

Conover (2016) highlights that good reporting is slow by its intrinsic nature. According to Craig (2015), slowness is necessary in the representations and understandings of diverse identities, value systems and cultural practices. According to Palau Sampio (2019), the problem is that media produces "digestible" versions of social reality and sometimes reduces complexity to present newsworthy issues within a particular framework. Pauli (2016) points out that these media prioritise breaking news over other genres that provide better conditions to explain reality in-depth. For the author, all this brings about arbitrary coverage. According to Newport (2019), this coverage leads to an exposure to the online torrent of "incomplete, redundant, an often contradictory" information subsequent to a major news event. Luo (2019) asserts that this is counterproductive and leaves audiences less informed. Sloman and Fernbach (2017) contend that these situations lead to superficial knowledge, which has the risk of people overestimating what they really know. According to the authors, this causes their unjustifiably strong opinions being reinforced by people who are similarly poorly informed, creating self-reinforcing communities of misinformation. This phenomenon is not a trivial one, if we take into account the influence that media have on the public's perceptions and attitudes. (Sorice, 2014; Martí, 2003; Gomis, 1990; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

> The media are the custodians of a new culture to the extent that their operating methods and languages inevitably have an anthropological and social impact, that is to say, they condition the mentality and relationships of people living in society at large, leading them to modify their traditional relationship with reality and with other people and, therefore, to welcome new models and paradigms of existence. (Valli and Ronconi, 2009).[7]

Ameseder (2019) reminds us that comprehension and interest in engagement are the main effects of a journalistic message. Dowling (2016) and Neveu (2014) argue that slow journalism demands that audiences be willing to increase their knowledge and invest time in it. For Kramer (2002), readers of slow journalism are more than a mere receiver of a text, as the objective of this genre is to create an intellectual and emotional experience for its audience. For Hartsock (2002), good storytelling involves its readers, activates their neural circuits, and helps captivate them. Guerriero (2017) reminds us that the basis of the journalist's job is to decode a complex reality and bring it to the audience to make them feel sad, happy, have contrary opinions and so on, but never to leave them indifferent. Luo

[7] I media sono portatori di una nuova cultura nella misura in cui le loro modalità di funzionamento e i loro linguaggi hanno, inevitabilmente, una ricaduta antropologica e sociale, ossia condizionano la mentalità e le relazioni delle persone che vivono nella società, conducendole a modificare il loro tradizionale rapporto con la realtà e con le altre persone e, quindi, ad accogliere nuovi modelli e paradigmi di esistenza. (Valli and Ronconi, 2009).

(2019) highlights that general media could do more to engage with complexity, but at the same time, readers should realise that they are not well-served by the current "media cacophony". On this matter, the author holds that a journalism that engages with complexity and offers their public a rigorous analysis can lead to a more informed and less polarized citizenry. Nevertheless, predisposition and proactivity are needed to be optimally informed (Luo, 2019; Schudson, 2011). Furthermore, according to Rauch (2018), a new relationship with news is necessary, which should be both slower and more sustainable, both in its production and at the moment of consumption.

Trinidade and Inácio (2017) highlight the appropriateness of literary journalism strategies to deal with human rights and integration issues. The authors examine the transformational dimension of journalism and argue that slow journalism implies the recognition, by editors, journalists, and readers, of the interest in the journalistic treatment of new realities, often far removed from the prevailing interests of the moment, responding to the social interest in the interpretation of aspects of their contemporary cultures. These authors build on the theory of Pauly (2011), who affirms that this genre aspires to social ends by engendering broad understanding. Nonetheless, he believes that a wholly satisfactory way of doing so has not yet been found. Slow journalism allows a clear commitment to the context, offering analysis and focusing on the big picture, going beyond the event-centred journalism and looking to social phenomena to help readers better understand complicated issues and show change over time on matters of public interest (Fink and Schudson, 2014), such as religions and their interaction. According to Díez Bosch, Melloni and Micó (2020), religions cause perplexity, as they continue to make sense to thousands of people around the world, while other millions of bystanders look on dubiously.

Davis (2016) sets out this kind of journalism through the theories of the Chicago School of Sociology. The author considers that slow journalism has the time and the space to produce "news as a form of knowledge". Park (1940) suggested that there are two types of coverage, "knowledge of" and "knowledge about". The former is referred to the production of deeper understanding about people through life stories, extensive oral interviews and participant observation. The latter corresponds to the triangulation of ethnographic information holding theoretical positions. Both authors assess how slow journalism could serve as a sociological tool by offering a complex of issues that could trigger the dismantling of stereotypes that often colour how audiences understand issues such as immigration and poverty.

Braybrooke (1992) argues that one of the rules of intercultural and interreligious dialogue is that it takes time, given that it requires patience and continuity to build trust - conditions familiar to slow journalism. At the same time, dialogue is one of the supporting pillars of literary journalism, according to Conover (2016), Sims (1996) and Wolfe (1973). Conover (2016) reminds us that how we think about the "strangers" is one of the enigmas of human existence, given that since childhood, our existence becomes a continuous immersion among other contemporaries and highlights that "we are slow to put ourselves out there, wary of entanglements or rejection, as we hang out with our own kind".

According to Pauly (2011), literary journalism has the potential to overcome individual characters and interpersonal relations to produce a more nuanced understanding of group conflict within communitised life. Literary techniques and strategies can enrich non-fiction stories (Abrahamson, 2006; Kramer, 1995). By using descriptions and providing a fuller profile of the characters, reconstructing dialogues, and recreating scenes (Wolfe, 1973) journalists can bring forth in-depth knowledge of the situations. In this genre, the journalist depicts the scene to the reader, transforming the unseen into the visible (Neveu, 2017).

Some authors examining literary journalism as a space for empathy also mention the controversy created by some of the techniques used, such as dialogue. Authors such as Conover (2016) and Wolfe (1973) respond to this kind of scepticism by affirming that by spending time with people and standing by their sides in challenging situations, journalists learn more about them than they might do by only conducting interviews. By eating with them, travelling with them, breathing the same air as them, journalists get more than just information – they also profit from shared experiences, and often are party to powerful true stories. Wolfe (1973) considers that this technique also makes his characters more accessible and sympathetic.

> In other words, neither pole (observer or participant) is where you want to be; it's the tension between them, the being partly in your group and partly outside, changed by the experience, thinking about them not purely as "them" but also to some degree as "us", that is fruitful intellectually (if not always comforting emotionally). (Ted Conover, 2016).

Specifically, in terms of immersion, the author categorises contemporary American slow journalists into two groups: those who keep themselves out of the story – John McPhee, Tracy Kidder, Adrian Nicole LeBlanc and Katherine Boo – and those who include themselves: Jon Krakauer, Sebastian Junger, Barbara Ehrenreich, Jeff Sharlet, Tony Horwitz, Lis Harris and Ted Conover himself. López Hidalgo (2018) also identifies the immersion aspect in Latin American slow journalism. He regards this immersion as being inevitable, given that journalists want to live the stories for themselves, and tell them according their own perspective rather than through repeating interview quotes. Vanoost (2013) also enters the immersion debate and probes the dichotomy of objectivity versus empathy and honesty in slow journalism. According to the author, journalists provide much information to help the reader get closer to the events and respects what is left undetermined in a story as a means of making the audience think for themselves. At the same time, some literary journalists include their feelings and sensitivities in their stories for the sake of the honesty and as evidence of a detailed and comprehensive reporting process. Do these attributes guarantee a rigorous journalism? Could having empathy obscure objectivity? Sierra Caballero and López Hidalgo (2016) consider this controversy to be positive.

> From now on, it is possible that the distance between information professionals and events narrows, such that the objectivity flag has fallen into disuse, motivated precisely by its misuse, and that, beyond any imaginable bet, the current narrative journalism in

> Latin America is a safety valve for a profession in permanent crisis. (Sierra Caballero and López Hidalgo, 2016)[8]

Sharlet (2018; 2014), who both practices and studies slow journalism about religion, points out that this genre needs to be loyal only to the facts as best the journalist can perceive them; not structure or antistructure or tradition or innovation. Only perception. He highlights that a story only exists when it is constructed, as most of us do not notice stories happening round us. Sharlet (2014) and Zito (2008) consider that every fact can be both real and imaginary, given that it must pass through the lenses of perception and imagination of a journalist's memory. According to Wolbert (1998), "il reale è il reale del medium". Sharlet (2014) considers that literary journalism is not the product of a technique but rather the documentation of a tension between fact and art, *belles lettres* vs. the who-what-where-when-why. Sharlet (2014) considers that Matthew Arnold already described this genre as a new journalism as being full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy and generous instincts. For Flannery O'Connor (1960), writers do not begin a story with a system, neither is it based on pure objectivity; "you forget about the system. These are things that you believe; they may affect your writing unconsciously".

[8] A partir de ahora, es posible que la distancia entre los profesionales de la información y los acontecimientos se estreche, que la bandera de la objetividad haya caído en desuso motivada precisamente por su mal uso, y que, más allá de cualquier apuesta imaginable, el periodismo narrativo actual en América Latina sea una válvula de salvación a un oficio en permanente crisis. (Sierra Caballero and López Hidalgo, 2016)

Part III. Discussion

On this third part of the doctoral dissertation, the research deals with the published articles integrating this compendium. The six of them, issued internationally in several indexed journals during the last five years, are considered as the main discussion, following this established order:

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down y Gatopardo*. *Transinformação*, 30(3), pp. 299-313. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2318-08892018000300003

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). Los periodistas *slow* en el espacio digital. Los modelos de *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*. In J. L. Zurita, J. Serrano-Puche and M. Gil Ramírez (Ed.), *Comunicación periodística ante los nuevos retos* (pp. 421-434). Barcelona: Gedisa.

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An analysis of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. *Communication and Society*, 32(4), pp. 173-191. doi: https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.4.173-191

- Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2018). Construcción de comunidades *online* a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet. *El profesional de la información*, 27(6), pp. 1257-1268. doi: https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.09

- Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L., Carbonell Abelló, J.M., Sánchez Torrents, J. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2017). Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities. *Prisma Social,* 19, pp. 298-323.

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue, *Religions*, 10(8), 485, pp. 1-24. doi: https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10080485

1. El periodismo slow digital de Jot Down y Gatopardo

ARTICLE:

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down y Gatopardo*. *Transinformação*, 30(3), pp. 299-313. doi:

http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2318-08892018000300003

Resumen

Descubrir el éxito de la combinación entre tradición e innovación. Este es el propósito del presente artículo, dedicado a analizar las claves del periodismo narrativo en el entorno digital a partir de los modelos de las revistas *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo*. Ante la inmediatez de la digitalización, los medios dedicados al periodismo narrativo rompen con las normas del espacio *online* y apuestan por el periodismo *slow*, basado en las técnicas tradicionales de los padres de este periodismo, como Tom Wolfe. Se estudian sus contenidos, técnicas, formatos y se examina cómo un periodismo centrado en la esencia del papel está disfrutando de una consolidada presencia y audiencia en el mundo digital. Al mismo tiempo, la propuesta es conocer la situación y reconocimiento de los periodistas en este tipo de medios; sus rutinas, procesos y condiciones laborales. Para ello se emplea una metodología basada en entrevistas en profundidad, análisis de contenido, observación no participante y revisión de la literatura. Las principales conclusiones muestran que, ante la situación actual del periodismo y de los medios de comunicación, priorizar la calidad a la inmediatez e hibridar la tradición con la innovación puede ser clave como garantía de futuro.

Palabras clave: innovación, periodismo, periodismo digital, periodismo literario, tradición.

1.1 Introducción

Los avances tecnológicos y la crisis económica han obligado al periodismo a reinventarse. El oficio ha vivido el lanzamiento de distintos modelos formales, de contenido y empresariales (Neveu, 2014). Han emergido medios que, con la filosofía y formato del periodismo literario (Bak y Reynolds, 2011), se desarrollan en el entorno digital. Ante la inmediatez, reporteo; ante la velocidad, calma; ante la brevedad, literatura (Boynton, 2012). Así se presenta el periodismo narrativo digital (Berning, 2011). Ajeno a la programación y calendarización, sigue el ritmo de las personas (Herrscher, 2012) y no el de la tecnología.

El periodismo narrativo es la especialidad que, con un método *slow*, explica historias reales con herramientas de la literatura (Le Masurier, 2015). No es el primero en dar la noticia, pero sí el único en explicarla en profundidad. El mundo iberoamericano ha vivido una emergencia de este tipo de medios durante la última década. El llamado big-bang (Albalad y Rodríguez, 2012) ha consolidado publicaciones en formato digital y papel.

Esta investigación estudia las claves de un periodismo que, rompiendo las normas digitales, demuestra que puede sostenerse bajo sus modelos empresariales. El objetivo es analizar rutinas y contenidos y examinar cómo adaptan el formato digital al papel y viceversa. La atención se focaliza en *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo*, modelos que hibridan tradición e innovación.

La muestra la configuran estos medios por varias similitudes que permiten trazar un hilo conductor, y diferencias que llevan a observar un marco de amplio alcance. *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo* tienen en común que trabajan en periodismo narrativo, en formato digital y en papel, y se sostienen económicamente. Además, comparten lengua y fidelidad al nuevo periodismo. Así, combinan elementos del periodismo digital con técnicas de la práctica tradicional de la profesión y de la literatura. La diferencia más clara es su origen. Ambas vienen de entornos distintos, teniendo en cuenta la localización y el soporte de nacimiento. *Jot Down* es española y surge como medio digital que posteriormente aparece en papel. *Gatopardo* nace en Colombia en papel y hace después el salto *online*. La revista colombiana surge en 2001; la española en 2011.

1.2 La novedad de lo no tan nuevo

Periodismo y literatura comparten objetivo: explicar una historia. La simbiosis entre ambos es el periodismo narrativo (Sims, 1996). Original de los sesenta en Estados Unidos (Wolfe, 1973), ha sido polémico desde su nacimiento, empezando por su denominación. Marsh (2010) habla de siete nombres para la narrativa de no ficción: Nuevo periodismo (Wolfe, 1973), novela de no ficción (Capote, 1965), relato corto de no ficción (Franklin, 1986), periodismo literario (Sims, 1990), periodismo narrativo (Franklin, 1996), periodismo de formato largo (Kirtz, 1998), periodismo literario narrativo (Hartsock, 2001) y nuevo nuevo periodismo (Boynton, 2005). Aunque todos presentan matices, según Albalad (2018) la denominación más presente en el mundo anglosajón es periodismo literario y la expresión es sinónima de la española periodismo narrativo (Gutiérrez Palacio, 2009; López Pan, 2010). Para Albert Chillón en una entrevista con Mejía (2017), el concepto periodismo narrativo es un pleonasmo. La International Association for Literary Journalism Studies (2006) acepta las dos acepciones en su *Mission Statement*. La controversia también se ha generado por el debate ético que levanta este periodismo al intentar trazar los límites entre reportaje y novela.

Chillón (1999), Bak y Reynolds (2011), Boynton (2012), Herrscher (2012), Angulo (2013) o Palau (2017) son autores que reflexionan sobre este periodismo. Chillón y Palau desde una perspectiva histórica y formal. Boynton (2012) y Bak (2011) con la visión estadounidense y tratando el contenido; Herrscher enfoca su análisis desde una óptica iberoamericana.

Wolfe (1973) es considerado por sus pares uno de los padres del nuevo periodismo. En *El Nuevo Periodismo* realiza un análisis teórico y es uno de los primeros en estudiar un periodismo que al mismo tiempo ejercía. Según Wolfe, las características del periodismo narrativo son: construcción escena por escena, diálogo, punto de vista en tercera persona y detallismo. Sims (1996) habla en los mismos términos de estructura, exactitud, voz y responsabilidad.

Lo que Sims llama estructura se puede considerar la construcción escena por escena de Wolfe (1973); el objetivo, evitar que el texto sea cronológico. Ambos hablan de detallismo y exactitud en las descripciones de personajes y ambientes. Esta característica, según Herrscher (2012), es una herencia de la novela realista y de su evolución al naturalismo y al positivismo de Zola o Balzac. El periodismo de observación de Dostoievski o Chéjov es otro afluente del periodismo narrativo (Herrscher, 2012); también el teatro de Shakespeare. Esta es la voz de la que habla Sims (1996) y el punto de vista de Wolfe (1973); tanto en tercera como en primera persona, se trata de conseguir que el lector empatice. Así, el narrador omnisciente abunda en periodismo narrativo. Al usar la primera persona, el periodista marca su presencia. Ejemplos en esta práctica son Hemingway o Fallaci.

El concepto de diálogo de Wolfe está en la línea de lo que Sims denomina responsabilidad. El diálogo en periodismo narrativo ha levantado polémica, sobre todo, vinculada a las escenas explicadas en narrador omnisciente, por el nivel de responsabilidad que asume el autor y la adecuación ética de la situación. Para Sims se trata de responsabilidad con las personas de las que se habla. Según Wolfe (1973), se debe vivir el tiempo suficiente con ellas para presenciar las situaciones descritas. Para el autor, el diálogo es una técnica que se remonta a Balzac o Joyce. La prosa testimonial es otro afluente del periodismo narrativo (Angulo, 2013). Wolfe (1973) habla de figuras de finales del siglo XVII como Boswell. Reconoce *A Journal of a Plague Year* (1722) de Defoe, como el primer reportaje novelado.

Para Chillón (1999), la mayoría de edad del reportaje novelado llega a finales del siglo XIX, coincidiendo con el nacimiento de la prensa de masas. El periodismo como negocio y la necesidad de anuncios y lectores lleva a esta forma de narrar, que practican, durante los treinta, autores como Hersey. *The New Yorker* aparece como escuela (Herrscher, 2012) en la que firmas como Capote publicaron *non-fiction novel*. Wolfe o Talese forman la siguiente generación de autores de *human interest stories* (Chillón, 1999). También Kapuscinski o Guillermoprieto. Actualmente, Conover, Orlean o Bowden son periodistas narrativos. Hacen nuevo nuevo periodismo (Boynton, 2012) e incorporan elementos de las ciencias sociales.

1.3 Del periodismo digital al periodismo narrativo digital

El reportaje se ha estudiado exhaustivamente por su versatilidad. Larrondo (2009) señala cómo, a pesar de las posibilidades que el medio digital ofrece a los géneros periodísticos, éstos se ven obligados a acomodarse a ciertas particularidades.

Según Micó (2006), el estilo del periodismo digital se basa en: exactitud, claridad, concisión, densidad, precisión, sencillez, naturalidad, originalidad, brevedad, variedad, atracción, ritmo, color, sonoridad, detalle y propiedad. En 2001 se publicaron en *Communication et langages*, dos artículos que identificaban las características del ciberperiodismo, de Cotte (2001), Jeanne-Perrier (2001) y (Masip et al., 2010) que coinciden con las enunciadas por Micó (2006).

Este autor enumera también las propiedades del periodismo digital: datos actualizados, información universal, simultaneidad, versatilidad, proceso interactivo, multimedialidad e hipertextualidad. Deuze (2001), Pavlik (2001) o Rost (2006) han analizado el proceso interactivo y la participación. La hipertextualidad ha sido identificada como la característica más influyente en la construcción de discursos digitales (Larrondo, 2009).

Díaz Noci y Salaverría (2003) señalan que el texto digital es más profundo que largo, pero destacan que esta profundidad no debe afectar a la comprensión. Cabe diferenciar, según Larrondo (2009), un texto hipertextual de uno hipermedia. El primero contiene nódulos a otros textos; el segundo integra enlaces a elementos multimedia. La integración de estos elementos al periodismo narrativo es un tema de análisis académico, por las causas y consecuencias de esta hibridación de un género tradicional con otro innovador.

Albalad (2018) es uno de los autores que ha reflexionado sobre la versatilidad del reportaje de periodismo narrativo *online* en español en "Periodismo *Slow* o cómo se cuecen las historias en los fogones de *Anfibia*, *Narratively* y *FronteraD*", similar al presente. Albalad (2015), también ha analizado *Longform.org* basándose sobre todo en la entrevista como principal metodología. Con Rodríguez (Albalad y Rodríguez, 2012), estudia el llamado boom de revistas de periodismo narrativo y su rol digital.

En Iberoamérica, análisis semejantes son los de Puerta Molina (2016) en su estudio "La crónica latinoamericana actual: lo maravilloso real. Análisis del periodismo narrativo de Alberto Salcedo Ramos" o Salvatierra (2017) en "Notas para la investigación del periodismo literario en publicaciones digitales argentinas". En ambos casos, el tema de la investigación es parecido al de este artículo, aunque en el primer caso el análisis se centra en un solo autor, Alberto Salcedo, y en el segundo en un contexto, Argentina. Se detecta que los estudios más próximos lo son o bien porque analizan periodismo narrativo digital en otros contextos y a partir del análisis de otros medios o bien porque, a partir de una metodología similar a la presente, se habla del periodismo narrativo en un contexto concreto.

Entre las investigaciones similares en otras lenguas se detectan en Estados Unidos las aportaciones de Berning (2011) sobre las técnicas de los periodistas literarios en formato digital para crear verosimilitud. Bowden, en una entrevista con la autora, destaca cómo los reportajes de periodismo narrativo *online* son "verificablemente auténticos", porque añaden elementos complementarios que dan transparencia al relato. Berning (2011) añade que el nuevo periodismo era hipertextual antes de internet. Según la autora, el nivel de detalle al que llegan los escritores de periodismo narrativo les da hipertextualidad. El riesgo de que un enlace rompa la linealidad de la narración no es

nuevo, una descripción detallada ya podía provocarlo. Berning confirma que el reportaje es de los géneros más adaptables al espacio digital.

También destacan en este campo las contribuciones de Dowling y Vogan (2015) sobre los efectos de la digitalización del reportaje *longform* a partir del referente *Snowfall*, de *The New York Times* (2012). Jacobson, Marino y Gutsche (2016) utilizan el análisis de contenido para evaluar el periodismo narrativo digital como género emergente. Le Masurier (2015), Belt y South (2016), Greenberg (2016), Neveu (2016) tratan el *slow journalism*.

En Finlandia, Lassila-Merisalo (2014), analiza en qué medida los recursos multimedia mejoran la narración entrevistando a periodistas de *Narratively*, *Longreads*, *Informant*, *Zetland* y *Long Play* en su estudio sobre el periodismo narrativo en el citado país. Van Krieken y Sanders (2016) utilizan el *frame analysis* y la entrevista para examinar el periodismo narrativo en los Países Bajos. En el mismo país, Drok y Hermans (2016) exploran el interés de los jóvenes por el *slow journalism* utilizando encuestas y el análisis cuantitativo. En Noruega, Larssen y Hornmoen (2013), estudian el contenido de dos novelas de no ficción para especificar las características del periodismo literario del país. En Canadá, Gillespie (2015) habla del periodismo narrativo a partir del análisis exhaustivo de una autora, Edna Staebler. En China, Guo (2014) examina el contenido de un reportaje de periodismo literario para localizar las particularidades del modelo en el país.

Además, autores como los siguientes repasan la evolución histórica del periodismo narrativo en distintos espacios geográficos. En Reino Unido Mckay (2011), Zdovc (2011) en Eslovenia, Soares (2011) en Portugal, Pereira Lima (2011) y Martínez (2017) en Brasil, y Hessell (2011) en Nueva Zelanda.

1.4 Procedimientos metodológicos

La metodología de este estudio se basa en análisis de contenido, entrevista y observación. La elección la avalan técnicas utilizadas por investigaciones cercanas referentes. Las entrevistas en profundidad se han realizado a profesionales de medios de periodismo narrativo. Se ha hablado con responsables, redactores, colaboradores y expertos para estudiar el funcionamiento de estas publicaciones. Han sido entrevistas dirigidas.

La entrevista se ha utilizado en investigaciones cercanas por temática. Algunos ejemplos son Berning (2011) o Albalad y Rodríguez (2012). Además, la avalan los estudios de ciberperiodismo de Singer (1997) y Quandt, T. et al. (2003). Berning (2011) y Albalad y Rodríguez (2012) han analizado los portales de las revistas que configuran su muestra. El análisis de contenido lo han realizado autores como Paulussen (2004), Domingo y Heinonen (2008), y Jacobson, Marino y Gutsche (2016).

La relación de entrevistas llevadas a cabo es: Robert Boynton, periodista en *The New Yorker*; Rubén Díaz, redactor de Jot Down; Ángel Fernández, director de *Jot Down*; Carles Foguet, director de comunicación de *Jot Down*; Leila Guerriero, editora de *Gatopardo*; Roberto Herrscher, experto en periodismo narrativo y colaborador de *Gatopardo*; Ricardo Jonás, subdirector de *Jot Down*; Emiliano Ruiz, redactor *freelance* de

Gatopardo; Marcela Vargas, editora Web de *Gatopardo*; Julio Villanueva Chang, director de *Etiqueta Negra*. La selección de entrevistados se ha basado en el equilibrio entre medios y la variedad de cargos en cada uno de ellos. El objetivo ha sido contar con la máxima simetría de criterios a la vez que con una amplia variedad de puntos de vista sobre la temática. En este artículo se presenta una selección de las respuestas obtenidas con el consentimiento de todos los entrevistados. Se ha incorporado una síntesis de las más significativas y obviado las más particulares.

Se ha analizado una muestra de 30 artículos, 15 de *Jot Down* y 15 de *Gatopardo*. La selección se ha realizado de forma premeditada con el objetivo de que en la muestra fuera representativa y de que hubiera equilibro de artículos procedentes de distintas secciones y de distintos autores de cada uno de los medios. Se ha llegado a la cifra de 15 de cada uno teniendo en cuenta una media del número de secciones total. Todos son cercanos temporalmente. La Tabla 2 muestra el equilibrio mencionado:

Artículo	Medio	Sección	Autor
El reloj de Hildy	*Jot Down*	Opinión, Sociedad, Claroscuros, Columna	Enric González
La luminosa magnesia de Manuel Alcántara	*Jot Down*	Columna, Opinión, ¿Qué tramáis morenos?	Jorge Bustos
El misterio de Arnolfini, la joya robada	*Jot Down*	Arte y Letras	Dolores González Pastor
Las astutas y (perversas) tretas de los inquisidores para lograr la confesión	*Jot Down*	Arte y Letras, Historia	Javier Bilbao
Little Britain y el problema de la preposición	*Jot Down*	Cine y TV	Rubén Díaz Caviedes
Sintonías que marcaron mi infancia	*Jot Down*	Cine y TV	Emilio De Gorgot
Vincenzo Nibali y la sombra del dopaje en el tour 2014	*Jot Down*	Deportes	Guillermo Ortiz
Brasil no se merecía esto	*Jot Down*	Deportes	Manuel de Lorenzo
¿Has visto mis gafas?	*Jot Down*	Ciencias, Ya lo veo	Pablo Artal
Robocop y el desguace de la conciencia humana	*Jot Down*	Ciencias	José Valenzuela
¿Quién mató a Michael Hutchence?	*Jot Down*	Música	Jorge M. Molinero
Julio Iglesias, el embajador universal	*Jot Down*	Música, Sociedad	Duncan Wheeler
La enredadera de los muertos	*Jot Down*	Ocio y Vicio	Josep Lapidario
Ada Colau: “Lo mejor que puede hacer el PSOE como estructura es desaparecer”	*Jot Down*	Entrevistas, Política y Economía	Cristian Campos
Peio Ruiz Cabestany: “Pasé el primero por el Tourmalet y bajé llorando”.	*Jot Down*	Deportes, Entrevistas	Ander Izaguirre
La construcción de Golondrinas	*Gatopardo*	Reportajes	Emiliano Ruiz Parra
Los señores de la costa	*Gatopardo*	Reportajes	Carlos Tello Díaz
El hombre que fue Cantinflas	*Gatopardo*	Reportajes	Javier Molina
The last ship	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Medios	Marcela Vargas
Tipografía en escena	*Gatopardo*	Arquitectura y Diseño	Maru Aguzzi
Todo menos “estándar”	*Gatopardo*	Estilos de vida, Viajes	Redacción
El dragón blanco	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Tragos	Guillermo Sánchez Cervantes
¿Quién le teme a Avelina?	*Gatopardo*	Arte	Guillermo Sánchez y Regina Sienra
Mercado gourmet	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Comida	Alejandra González Romo
Pequeño pero poderoso	*Gatopardo*	Tecnología	Redacción
Teatro para esperar y ser consolados	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Escena	Isabel Ibáñez de la Calle

L.12.12 by Malafacha	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Moda	Alejandra González Romo
Corazón de Florencia	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Compras	Redacción
Cambio de paradigma	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Autos	Fabrizio Pozo
Los números al poder	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Libros	Guillermo Sánchez Cervantes

Table 2. Classification of analysed articles by media, section and author. Source: Own elaboration.

Estas piezas han servido para recabar información sobre formato, uso de herramientas literarias, digitales, presencia en la red, además de para corroborar que la actividad corresponde con la planificación que anuncian en las entrevistas. Para ello, se ha utilizado una ficha que cuenta con cuatro partes: Identificación, Forma, Contenido y Audiencia. El primer apartado ubica la pieza dentro del medio, su sección, autor y titular. En el segundo se analizan los elementos, parte y estructura de cada pieza teniendo en cuenta la presencia y aspecto digital y en papel. Los campos que se detallan corresponden a los elementos a estudiar y son: subtítulos, complementos multimedia, imágenes, estrategias de posicionamiento y extensión, manifestada en número de *scrolls* y de páginas en papel. En cuanto al Contenido, en la ficha se profundiza en la narración. Por este motivo se identifica el tema y el tiempo verbal. Además, se revisa la presencia de las características principales que definen el periodismo narrativo: uso del diálogo, construcción escena por escena, descripciones realistas, uso de la primera/tercera persona, así como la presencia del periodista. Esta presencia se mide a partir de gradaciones: elevada (cuando la característica se repite reiteradamente en el texto), parcial (se repite más de cinco veces, pero no está presente en la mayoría de párrafos) o baja (se detecta sólo en algún párrafo). La parte de la ficha (Tabla 3) que estudia la Audiencia registra el impacto de los artículos a partir de las reacciones provocadas en redes.

IDENTIFICACIÓN			
Número		Titular	
Autor			
Sección			
FORMA			
Subtítulos			
Elementos multimedia			
Imagen			
Elementos de posicionamiento			
Scrolls			
Páginas en papel			
Caracteres			
CONTENIDOS			
Tema			
Persona			
Tiempo verbal			
Diálogo			
Presencia del periodista			
Punto de vista			

Descripción	
Uso de adjetivos	
Construcción escena por escena	
Otros detalles	
AUDIDENCIA	
Comentario	
Redes en los que ha estado publicado	

Table 3. Content analysis form. Source: Own elaboration.

1.5 Resultados y discusión

La llegada del periodismo narrativo a internet ha supuesto una emergencia de medios nuevos en un momento muy próximo y por motivos que lo han facilitado:

1) Falta de cobertura de temas: estas revistas aparecen respondiendo a la insatisfacción con la oferta mediática. Lo confirman Foguet y Guerriero.

2) Facilidades tecnológicas: se han creado medios nuevos. Según Boynton, "the digital format is a great future for narrative journalism because the main problem for digital journalism has been how expensive it is to produce in the sense of reporting and research, so if you can cut the distribution costs it would help".

3) Internacionalización: el castellano une Latinoamérica y España y hace que el público potencial se amplíe.

4) Crisis económica: e inestabilidad política en ambos contextos, por las que la sociedad demanda medios independientes.

5) Cambio de paradigma comunicativo: los nuevos soportes suponen un reto.

1.5.1 Contra la corriente digital

El periodismo narrativo siempre ha sido polémico por romper normas (Wolfe, 1973). Muchas características de estilo del periodismo informativo se incumplen en estos reportajes; también las convenciones de la redacción *online*. Estos medios presentan formatos y rutinas que van contra lo óptimo en ciberperiodismo. Estos son los requerimientos del periodismo digital (Micó, 2006); se analiza en qué medida se incumplen:

1) Datos actualizados: el periodismo narrativo los utiliza, aunque su objetivo no es ser el primero en presentarlos (Herrscher, 2012).

2) Información universal: a pesar de que ambos medios tienen un público hispano, tratan temas universales (Guerriero, 2014).

3) Simultaneidad: no es una prioridad. Los periodistas tienen tiempo para elaborar los reportajes (Herrscher, 2012) y lo agradecen porque lucen su obra (Díaz Caviedes, 2014).

4) Interactividad: estos medios tienen contacto con el público y presencia en redes. La producción de contenidos no es interactiva. Según Foguet, el público interviene después, en la elaboración sólo se implican profesionales.

5) Multimedia: los medios de periodismo narrativo en formato digital no explotan al máximo los recursos multimedia (Berning, 2011). Para Herrscher, la protagonista es la narración.

6) Hipertexto: es de los más utilizados en los medios generalistas (Deuze, 2001). Los reportajes analizados de periodismo narrativo no lo usan frecuentemente. De los 30 artículos estudiados, 10 lo aplican.

7) Versatilidad: contribuye a la sostenibilidad del modelo, como explica Fernández. La aprovechan para promocionar otros productos vinculados a su cabecera.

Sobre las normas de estilo del periodismo digital (Micó, 2006), el periodismo narrativo cumple: exactitud, claridad, concisión, densidad, precisión, naturalidad, originalidad, variedad, atracción, ritmo, color, sonoridad, detalle y propiedad. Sin embargo, no es breve ni sencillo. Según Foguet y Guerriero, el criterio es la elaboración literaria.

Artículo	Medio	Persona	Diálogo	Presencia periodista	Punto de vista	Detalles simbólicos	Presencia adjetivos	Construcción escena por escena
El reloj de Hildy	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y plural	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
La luminosa magnesia de Manuel Alcántara	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y plural	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
El misterio de Arnolfini, la joya robada	*Jot Down*	Primera plural y Tercera singular	Parcial	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Las astutas y (perversas) tretas de los inquisidores para lograr la confesión	*Jot Down*	Tercera singular y plural y Segunda plural	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	Elevada
Little Britain y el problema de la preposición	*Jot Down*	Tercera singular y plural y Segunda plural	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Sintonías que marcaron mi infancia	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Parcial	Parcial	Elevada
Vincenzo Nibali y la sombra del dopaje en el tour 2014	*Jot Down*	Tercera singular	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Brasil no se merecía esto	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
¿Has visto mis gafas?	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Robocop y el desguace de la conciencia humana	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y plural y Tercera singular	Sí	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	Elevada
¿Quién mató a Michael	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	No	Parcial	Narrador omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Parcial

Hutchence?		y Tercera singular			y externo			
Julio Iglesias, el embajador universal	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
La enredadera de los muertos	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y Tercera singular y plural	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Ada Colau: "Lo mejor que puede hacer el PSOE como estructura es desaparecer"	*Jot Down*	Segunda singular y Tercera singular	Sí	Parcial	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	No
Peio Ruiz Cabestany: "Pasé el primero por el Tourmalet y bajé llorando".	*Jot Down*	Segunda singular y Tercera singular	Sí	Parcial	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Baja	Parcial
La construcción de Golondrinas	*Gatopardo*	Primera singular y tercera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista y omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Los señores de la costa	*Gatopardo*	Tercera plural	Parcial	Baja	Narrador externo y omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
El hombre que fue Cantinflas	*Gatopardo*	Primera singular y Tercera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
The last ship	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	Sí	Parcial	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Tipografía en escena	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Todo menos "estándar"	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Baja
El dragón blanco	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Parcial
¿Quién le teme a Avelina?	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	Parcial	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Parcial
Mercado gourmet	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular y plural	No	Parcial	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Pequeño pero poderoso	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular y primera plural	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	No
Teatro para esperar y ser consolados	*Gatopardo*	Primera singular	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Parcial	Parcial
L.12.12 by Malafacha	*Gatopardo*	Tercera plural	No	No	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	No
Corazón de Florencia	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular y plural	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	No

Cambio de paradigma	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	No	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	No
Los números al poder	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	Baja	Narrador omnisciente	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial

Table 4. Articles analysed considering literary journalism criteria. Source: Own elaboration.

1.5.2 De fast journalism a slow journalism

El periodismo narrativo incumple también la norma de inmediatez de las publicaciones digitales. La base del periodismo narrativo digital es la filosofía *slow*, que defiende una producción y consumo tecnológicos reflexivos y humanos (Barranquero-Carretero, 2013). Este ritmo se aplica a la producción de contenidos y a la actualización digital. Boynton asegura: "We are trained to instant production. My definition of narrative journalism is something that takes a long time". Los editores de *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo* son conscientes de que su papel no es publicar primicias.

Se da un enfoque de reflexión para analizar las consecuencias de los hechos. Esta postura respecto a la actualidad se muestra también en la ausencia de la fecha en los artículos. Guerriero asegura que estos medios pueden tomarse estas licencias porque el lector es consciente de esta temporalidad. Existe un pacto con el público; los lectores obtienen calidad y los periodistas, unas condiciones de trabajo sin prisas.

Esta voluntad de frenar el *fast journalism* digital se refleja también en el rol de las redes sociales en estos medios. Son un espacio donde difundir y medir el éxito de los contenidos se consideran parte integral del medio y una vía de contacto con los lectores. Los seguidores comparten y comentan los contenidos, pero no intervienen en la producción.

1.5.3 Fidelidad al Nuevo Periodismo

A pesar de romper moldes del periodismo informativo y del ciberperiodismo, el periodismo narrativo digital es fiel al periodismo narrativo tradicional. Las características de este tipo de periodismo son inherentes al reportaje, el género más maleable ante este tipo de narración (Chillón, 1999). Vivaldi (1999) lo define como: "Una información de altos vuelos, con más libertad expositiva [...]. El reportaje es un relato informativo, una narración más o menos noticiosa en donde la visión personal del periodista, su modo de enfocar el asunto, influyen en la concepción del trabajo". Sin citar el periodismo narrativo, el autor lo define al explicar el reportaje: libertad expositiva, narración noticiosa y visión personal del periodista. Los artículos analizados en esta investigación son una prueba de lo enunciado. En ellos, se encuentran los elementos del nuevo periodismo según Wolfe (1973):

1) Construcción escena por escena: en 25 de los 30 artículos analizados. En 13 a un nivel elevado, en 11 parcial y en 1 bajo. Esta característica es la más vinculada al hipertexto, pues rompe una narración lineal (Berning, 2011).

2) Diálogo realista: en 16 de 30 artículos. Esta característica es representativa del periodismo narrativo y la que ha creado más polémica.

3) Detalles simbólicos: las descripciones detalladas presentan debate ético pero permiten introducir al lector en la narración. Se encuentran en los 30 artículos. En 21 aparecen en un grado elevado y en 9 parcial.

4) Tercera persona: mayoritaria junto con la primera en todos los artículos; en singular y en plural como en omnisciente. Guerriero y Herrscher defienden esta técnica como el modo de ofrecer al lector un punto de vista nuevo.

1.5.4 Papelización de la Web

Más allá de las rutinas que el periodismo narrativo rompe en el medio digital, el análisis permite comprobar el desaprovechamiento que hace de los recursos digitales. Albalad y Rodríguez (2012) lo aprecian en su análisis de Frontera D. Deuze (2001), Canavilhas (2007) y (Masip et al. (2010), señalan que algunos elementos multimedia complementan el texto por yuxtaposición.

La papelización de la Web (Rodríguez; Albalad, 2013) es un fenómeno que resume esta fidelidad a la tradición por parte del periodismo narrativo. Se da en *Jot Down* y en *Gatopardo*, a pesar de que la primera naciera en el medio digital y se editara después en papel y la segunda hiciera lo contrario. Para Foguet esta papelización es intencionada. Las principales características de esta papelización son:

1) Protagonismo del texto: por el uso de la narración como protagonista y una ausencia de complementos multimedia. Éstos no suelen estar integrados en los temas. Así, en *Gatopardo* existe la sección "Multimedia" en la que se sitúan los artículos que se trabajan con más complementos digitales.

2) Portada papel: la maquetación de estas revistas digitales está muy vinculada a la versión papel. El ejemplo es la portada digital de *Gatopardo*, con el mismo formato que en papel.

3) Estructura numerada: a pesar de no detallar la fecha de publicación, los artículos de estas revistas en formato digital dejan entrever a qué número del papel pertenece cada publicación. En *Jot Down*, los situados en la sección "Lo más nuevo", son los publicados en el número en papel más reciente.

4) Referencias al papel: con secciones como la hemeroteca o elementos a la venta como complementos al papel.

5) Reconocimiento del autor: a diferencia de los medios informativos en formato digital, en estos medios el autor tiene relevancia.

En los medios de periodismo narrativo digital se refleja que el papel no queda atrás. En ambas publicaciones, además de la papelización de la Web, la edición en papel adopta un rol superior. Con un formato elaborado, se aporta valor al contenido. Este valor se traduce en su precio, cercano al de un libro. Los dos formatos ofrecen valor añadido al público: el papel, la elaboración y la Web, la gratuidad.

1.5.5 Periodismo narrativo digital: la empresa

Los medios de periodismo narrativo digital se integran en la empresa en modelos de negocio híbridos. *Jot Down* o *Gatopardo* necesitan formar parte de una empresa que cuente con más vías de ingreso. *Gatopardo* está dentro de Travesías Media, una empresa que tiene más publicaciones y que ofrece servicios de comunicación.

Guerriero señala que es complejo que una revista así sea viable por ella misma. *Jot Down*, es un producto de la 309 empresa Wabi Sabi Investments; cuenta con la editorial Jot Down Books, por la cual distribuyen productos propios y de otras editoriales. Realizan también servicios de gestión cultural bajo la marca Tanyible y venden contenidos a revistas internacionales. Desde 2015, tienen un acuerdo con *El País*, por el cual mensualmente se publica *Jot Down Smart*, una versión reducida con contenidos disponibles en digital pero editados para papel.

Este modelo se traduce en una situación laboral específica para los periodistas. Por un lado, se abren las puertas a nuevos profesionales gracias al medio digital; este hecho facilita el descubrimiento de firmas nuevas (Guerriero, 2014). Para el profesional trabajar en estas plataformas supone un reconocimiento. Las condiciones, según Emiliano Ruiz, son flexibles. Trabajo a fuego lento, sin presiones y amplia difusión. Sin embargo, las plantillas de los medios analizados están formadas por periodistas freelance. La estructura logística central la configuran un número reducido de profesionales contratados. En *Gatopardo*, éstos cuentan con una localización física. En *Jot Down* la redacción no existe. Para Julio Villanueva, de *Etiqueta Negra* se puede vivir del periodismo narrativo, aunque sólo algunos son capaces de hacerlo porque "es una competencia muy exigente y los más conmovedores, inteligentes, comprometidos y arriesgados son una minoría de la minoría" (Tabla 5).

	Periodismo narrativo	Periodista narrativo	Papel vs. Online	Elementos multimedia	Elemento característico de su medio	Interacción lectores	Viabilidad
Robert Boynton	La forma siempre es lo primero.	Curiosidad y resistencia	La plataforma *online* ayuda a difundir los contenidos y elimina costes.	Pueden ser una distracción.			En este momento la gran mayoría de periodistas narrativos tienen que trabajar en algo más.
Rubén Díaz Caviedes	Elaboración literaria, contar las cosas de manera distinta.		Los contenidos web los contenidos son más accesibles.	Bajo, la importancia está en el texto.	Una de las cosas que más le gustan en periodismo es poder tardar.	Tiene en cuenta las opiniones del público depende de quién vengan.	Si no cobrara no le podría dedicar el tiempo necesario.
Ángel Luis Fernández							Ajustan en gastos a lo que tienen de ingresos.

Carles Foguet	Rechazo a la superficialidad y cariño por la calma. Se publica todo lo que se explique con vocación de calidad literaria, con pasión de quien escribe.	Amplitud de miras, profundidad de conocimiento y pasión por lo que se escribe.	Los contenidos digitales no son los mismos que los de papel. La actualidad no es un valor.	Conscientes de no explotar las posibilidades del medio, son la translación del papel a la red.	La revista es una macedonia, un mosaico de contenido.	A través de las redes sociales. Atentos a la suma de interacciones que llegan por distintos canales.	Si *Jot Down* no fuera viable no existiría.
Leila Guerriero	Singularidad universal.	Capacidad de reporteo, mirada propia y escritura excelente.	Mensual en papel, temas atemporales conviven con temas más actuales en la versión digital. Los temas largos en ambos soportes.		Sofisticación de contar las historias bien contadas.	Sólo a través de email y redes sociales, no en los procesos de producción.	Es difícil que la revista funcione sola, se sostiene dentro de un esquema de negocio.
Roberto Herrscher	Estas revistas cumplen dos normas del buen periodismo: novedad y profundidad, explicar algo que el lector sabía, pero no que no entendía.	Es un desafío que lleva a investigar mucho, a auto editar.	Uno busca una historia bien contada en palabras.	Considera el multimedia irse por las ramas.	Tiene ambición de calidad, vocación de permanencia.		
Ricardo Jonás	Que el tema sea interesante y esté bien escrito.		En web la ve más gente, en papel sólo las personas que compran la revista. La edición web es más rápida que en papel.		Mucha importancia a la forma y a que el contenido esté bien escrito.	En las redes sociales hay muchos lectores habituales que de vez en cuando comentan un artículo.	
Emiliano Ruiz Parra		Es un espacio donde puede tratar prácticamente cualquier tema con total libertad.	Para él placer es publicar en revista impresa.	La apuesta es la fortaleza del texto y la belleza de las fotografías.	*Gatopardo* es un espacio de lucimiento.	A través de Twitter y de los comentarios que dejan los lectores.	Uno debe tener dos empleos, el que le permita comer y el que le permita escribir.
Marcela Vargas	En la versión digital de *Gatopardo* son los mismos que en la versión en papel.		La web tiene contenido exclusivo, que por formato o temporalidad no cabe en la versión impresa. Las secciones culturales y de estilo de vida se actualizan			Los comentarios de los lectores permiten tomar la temperatura de los temas.	

			cada día. El reportaje o crónica de portada se actualiza la penúltima semana de mes.				
Julio Villanueva Chang	Trabajo de investigación, intelectual y de interpretación.	Curiosidad, ganas de conocer el mundo y a la gente.	No tienen versión digital porque la consideran una distracción.	No tienen versión digital.	Publican grandes temas que adoptan mil caras.	No influye.	Sólo pueden vivir del periodismo narrativo una minoría.

Table 5. Comparison of the opinions of people interviewed. Source: Own elaboration.

1.6 Conclusión

El periodismo narrativo digital es efectivo y permite tener lectores. Su emergencia ha abierto la puerta a nuevos medios en el mundo iberoamericano y en el espacio mediático anglosajón. Éstos han aparecido para ocupar nichos temáticos y gracias a las facilidades de las plataformas digitales. Con el paso a formato digital de medios tradicionales, estos nuevos medios aparecen como un concepto distinto ante el lector. Se basan en la voluntad de calidad literaria y en soportes elaborados que contribuyen a crear una marca consolidada que quiere llegar mucho más allá que la cabecera de un medio.

Jot Down y *Gatopardo* son muestras de esta situación. Ambos han creado una simbiosis entre sus versiones digital y papel. En el espacio digital, estas revistas ponen en práctica el nuevo periodismo. Destacan a su autor como el artista que está detrás de una obra que tiene la voluntad de ser literaria.

Las rutinas que siguen este tipo de medios se pueden englobar en el movimiento *slow*. Sus vínculos son más fuertes con las humanidades que con la tecnología, aunque los periodistas narrativos son conscientes de que no pueden desarrollarse sin ella. El reportaje digital se presenta como un espacio en el que caben elementos digitales combinados con un periodismo narrativo austero en el uso de éstos e infiel a las normas del ciberperiodismo; a la vez, sigue las características del periodismo literario tradicional: construcción escena por escena, diálogo realista, detalles simbólicos, narrador en primera o tercera persona. El análisis de 30 artículos y las entrevistas realizadas lo demuestran.

Se detecta una papelización de la Web que se muestra en las versiones digitales de los medios analizados. Protagonismo del texto, portada papel, estructura numerada, referencias al papel y reconocimiento del autor son los elementos de esta papelización. Por ahora, los medios de periodismo narrativo digital no son viables individualmente; se desarrollan bajo estructuras empresariales más amplias que comercializan productos relacionados, como libros. Son empresas que ofrecen condiciones laborales flexibles, pero poco estables; gran parte de los autores de los reportajes son *freelance* que trabajan desde cualquier parte del mundo.

Así, se identifica una evolución del nuevo periodismo de Wolfe y del nuevo nuevo periodismo de Boynton, que se presenta con un equilibrio entre tradición e innovación;

tiene en cuenta humanidades y ciencias sociales en un entorno digital que incorpora las características del papel. Al mismo tiempo, tiene la voluntad de incrementar el prestigio del papel y del periodista, a quien reconoce como autor. Así, el nuevo nuevo nuevo periodismo ha realizado su revolución y los primeros resultados demuestran que viene para quedarse.

2. Los periodistas slow en el espacio digital. Los modelos de Jot Down, Gatopardo y The New Yorker

ARTICLE:

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). Los periodistas *slow* en el espacio digital. Los modelos de *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*. In J. L. Zurita, J. Serrano-Puche and M. Gil Ramírez (Ed.), *Comunicación periodística ante los nuevos retos* (pp. 421-434). Barcelona: Gedisa.

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3. Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An Analysis of Jot Down, Gatopardo and The New Yorker

ARTICLE:

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An analysis of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. *Communication and Society*, 32(4), pp. 173-191. doi: https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.4.173-191

Abstract

Digitization and the economic crisis have led journalism to a new paradigm (Albalad, 2018). Contents and customs have changed, supporting media has changed, new journalistic models are hybrids and the mainstream media do not always deal with the issues that society demands (Sims, 2018). With a knowledge of tradition, but following the path of innovation, narrative journalism emerges as a possible response to this state of affairs. The objective of this analysis is to identify the challenges facing narrative journalism and narrative journalists themselves in this regard. We analyze their formats, routines and content, study how their digitally existence (Drok and Hermans, 2016) and ask ourselves if they constitute a platform for journalistic activism. Three magazines were identified for the selection of case studies: *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. Their digital models, content and literary quality are the principal reasons for their selection, in addition to their different seniorities, geographical backgrounds and formats. By deploying a qualitative research methodology based on content analysis (Voutsina, 2018), in-depth interviews (Johnson, 2002), non-participant observation and document review, this analysis suggests that the new new digital journalism is a kind of activist journalism that upholds the traditions of reporting, narrative journalism and literary quality. This study is based on two theoretical premises: narrative journalism, exemplified by authors such as Sims (1996) and Herrscher (2012) and digital journalism, represented by writers such as Rost (2006) and Domingo and Heinonen (2008).

Keywords: narrative journalism, digital journalism, activism, Jot Down, Gatopardo, The New Yorker.

3.1 Introduction

In the New York of the nineteen sixties, the highest aspiration of a journalist with a proven track record was to become a member of the literary elite by writing the novel that would catapult them to fame (Weingarten, 2013; Yagoda, 2000; Ross 1998; Kunkel, 1995; Wolfe, 1973; Grant, 1968). However, when we began to think that journalism could read like a novel, journalism and literature began to become mutually suspicious of each other. It was labelled a "bastard form" and dubbed "parajournalism" (Wolfe, 1973).

What was branded as new journalism was not in fact new (Bak and Reynolds, 2011). Using literary devices to recounting reality (Herrscher, 2014; Schudson, 2003) is a practice that emerged from the realist novels by Zola and Balzac, stories from the Americas (originally called "The Indias" in Spanish), observational journalism, Shakespeare's Theatre (Herrscher, 2012; Chillón, 2014) and Chinese social movements behind the *baogao wenxue*, the type of Chinese literary reporting journalism that simultaneously demanded reporting faithful to the truth as well as literature faithful to the art (Bak and Reynolds, 2011). As Wolfe (1973) describes:

> And so all of a sudden, in the mid-Sixties, here comes a bunch of these lumpen proles, no less, a bunch of slick-magazine and Sunday supplement writers with no literary credentials whatsoever, in most cases –only they are using the techniques of the novelists, even the most sophisticated ones– and on top of that they're helping themselves to the insights of the men of Charts while they're at it –and at the same time they're still doing their low-life legwork, their "digging", their hustling, their damnable Locker Room Genre reporting– they're taking of all of these roles at the same time –in other words, they're ignoring literary class lines that were almost a century in the making (Tom Wolfe, 1973).

Among the authors who joined this tendency at the time were Talese, Didion, Breslin and Mailer, and this type of journalism also has its successors: Susan Orlean, Ted Conover and John McPhee (Boynton, 2012; Herrscher, 2012). Beyond working in a genre that created controversy by breaking the news reporting rules and trying to dethrone novels (Wolfe, 1973), the challenge of current narrative journalists is to exercise a journalism that also defies the rules of digitization. Given the brevity and immediacy required by *online* platforms (Micó, 2006), the new new journalism (Boynton, 2012) format remains lengthy and invokes slow journalism (Albalad, 2018).

Against this backdrop, our objective was to analyze journalism in the digital context, observe how it has grown within a social movement optic (Tarrow, 1997) and detect whether activist journalism has a resisted the world of immediacy –in favor of a journalism based on research and literary quality.

The case studies were selected from *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. Case studies in communication have been used as a technique that is well-adapted to the constraints of our investigation, given that it is a contemporary phenomenon and contributes to knowledge about an individual, group, or organization (Yin, 2014). The case studies are set in different geographical contexts –Spain, Mexico and the United States, respectively. Their publishers were established in different epochs, as *The New Yorker* in 1925, *Gatopardo* in 2001 and *Jot Down* in 2011. In addition, their origins vary depending on the

type of media they are. *The New Yorker* and *Gatopardo* were created as paper publications, but *Jot Down* started life as digital and the paper edition appeared later. All-in-all, it is a question of investigating the practice of some journalists, not only of simply resisting conventions, but also going further and challenging them.

3.2 The current state of the art

We have identified seven characterisations (Albalad, 2018; Marsh, 2010) referring to the kind of journalism analysed. For Wolfe (1973), it is new journalism which for Capote (1965) is the nonfiction novel. Franklin calls it narrative nonfiction (1986) and narrative journalism (1996); Sims (1996) considers it to be literary journalism. Kirtz (1998), longform journalism and Hartsock (2000), narrative literary journalism.

The most recent terminology is new new journalism, a concept coined by Boynton (2012) after comparing it to the American new journalism of the sixties, analyzing authors such as Lillian Ross, Gay Talese and Tom Wolfe, in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first, with names such as Susan Orlean, Ted Conover and Adrien Nicole LeBlanc. For this particular author, a key difference is that the new new journalism incorporates elements of social sciences. According to Boynton (2012), this evolution of new journalism is noteworthy for being rigorously reported, psychologically astute, sociologically sophisticated and politically aware.

The techniques it deploys also defines narrative journalism. According to Wolfe (1973), there are four facets to a narrative journalism text: dialogue, detail, first/third person narrator and scene-by-scene construction. Sims (1996) goes further and states that the required features are: immersion, structure, rigor, voice, accountability and symbolic realities. According to Sharlet (2014), these are metaphors of life explained using literary techniques to transform them into stories.

Contursi and Ferro (2000) address these two questions when studying narratives. On one hand, there are differing opinions on what it is; on the other hand, we have become used to a specific meaning associated with it. According to these two authors, the notion of narrative is presented in a form which involves the use of a particular type of language, linked to a notion of the passage of time and to what the protagonists want to do that produce changes; in this way, they define a narrative as a story built along a timeline. According to Polkinghorne (1988), narrative is something in which a protagonist ties together logically –and chronologically– related events that some protagonists cause or experience when shifting from one state to another. Barthes and Duisit (1975) argue that narrative has a dominant character because there cannot be people without stories, while Polkinghorne (1988) defines it as the most significant element required to give meaning to human experience. According to Ricoeur (1999), the configuration of the narrative defines historical reality and is what constitutes the notion of society. Bal and Van Boheemen (2009) define narration as the set of theories of narrative texts, images, displays and cultural artefacts that tell a story. Defining the idea of storytelling in this manner facilitates the analysis of narratives. Bakhtin differentiates between monologues and dialogues and treats

them as separate aspects of literature. Propp (1998) analyzes the structure of stories and reveals recurring attributes that characterise them.

Nevertheless, we need to distinguish between plain narrative ("storytelling" in its simplest form) and the text's intrinsic narrative quality. Pier and García Landa (2008) consider that narrative quality is the set of characteristics that bestow storytelling status on a text. There is academic debate about the definition of this concept. On one hand, we consider that stories "are narratives," but on the other hand, they may or may not "have narrative quality." Phelan and Rabinowitz (2005) point out that narrative quality is the set of formal and contextual features that distinguishes narrative from non-narrative. Toolan and Cobley (2001) talk about the experience of narrative quality, relating it to the reading process itself rather than the reader's reaction to the text.

There are several distinct groups involved with the study of narrative journalism in the digital era. The International Association for Literary Journalism incorporates the multidisciplinary analysis of the new new Anglo-Saxon journalism. In this group, Bak and Reynolds (2011) review the origins of the genre and point out that its roots go beyond the United States and the sixties (Sims, 2018; Chillón, 2014). In this framework, the contributions of Abrahamson (2006), Berning (2011) and Dowling and Vogan (2015), deal with the digitization of narrative journalism; Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2016) consider it to be an emerging genre. Belt and South (2016), Drok and Hermans (2016) and Le Masurier (2015) expand on the slow journalism concept. Neveu (2016) studies the business models used and stresses that they contravene the rules of capitalism. Sharlet (2014) and Palau (2017) discuss its application in topics such as religion and migration and highlight the empathy that it can create. According to Hartsock (2000), good storytelling involves people, activates their thinking and ensnares them. Palau (2019), Albalad (2018), Angulo (2013), Herrscher (2012) and Chillón (2014) analyze new journalism in Spanish. The Foundation of New Latin American Journalism, promoted by García Márquez, focuses on its practical aspects.

In digital journalism, this research at hand takes into account the contributions of Micó (2006) on digital journalism, Deuze (2001), Pavlik (2001) and Rost (2006) on interactivity and contributions to the figure of the digital journalist of Cohen (2019), Sherwood and O'Donnell (2018), Johnston and Wallace (2017) and Wilentz (2014).

Broersma and Eldridge (2019) address the challenge of new trends in digital journalism and the rise of social networks, particularly in terms of dynamic information and authority. Lewis and Molyneux (2018) examine the influence of networks in journalistic practice. Pavlik, Dennis, Mersey and Gengler (2019) state that the shifting media environment promotes continuous adaptation to different platforms and also deploy techniques beyond networks, such as augmented reality. Hermida and Young (2019) and Zamith (2019) discuss data journalism. Novak (2018) analyzes the participation and co-creation of content.

These practices co-exist alongside slow journalism and furthermore go in search of committed readership. Broersma (2019) studies the concept of engaged audiences, referring to the cognitive, emotional and affective experience that users have with the

content or recognised brands; this phenomenon can result in increased consumption of news, more interaction with the content and greater purchasing of products. Clickbait, on the contrary, (Bazaco, Redondo & Sánchez-García, 2019) is a strategy to increase the viral nature of the content.

According to Pew Research (2018), 7 out of 10 Americans are conscious of saturation, given the immediacy and volume of the news to which they are exposed. Bathke (2019) talks about the frustration that instant news can generate and defends slow digital journalism.

On the other hand, the conditions that Tarrow (1997) establishes as basic to social movements serve to analyze narrative journalism through the lens of sociology. The types of activism that Yang (2009) classifies as: cultural, social, political and nationalistic. Mishra and Anant (2006) define activism as a fourth institutional power that extends its mechanisms into decision-making. Cammaerts and Carpenter (2007) describe it as the ability to act to change history; this has been studied according to the theory of social movements, of social changes, and linked to the concepts of resistance and protest (Kling and Posner, 1990; Goodwin and Jasper, 2003). According to Butler (2011), it is about social movements organized in defense of an ideology, philosophy and strategy. According to the author and also to Bennett (2010), new communication channels have transformed the notion of activism. Butler (2011) and Lee and Hsieh (2013) compare the concept with slacktivism. Russell (2017) describes how, with digitalization, the boundaries between activism and journalism have become blurred and analyzes the concepts of power and authority of digital journalism. Bolaños (2017) and Olesen (2008) compare investigative journalism and activism.

3.3 Methodology

Qualitative research techniques were used in this study: content analysis, in-depth interviews, non-participant observation and literature review (Busquet, Medina and Sort, 2006). Content analysis was applied to a total of 45 articles in the 3 selected media: *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. The case study of these media was made in this manner. Case study in communication was used because we are investigating a contemporary phenomenon to contribute to the knowledge about an individual, group, organization and their associated elements. This involved focusing on three cases and establishing a holistic perspective from them (Yin, 2014).

We defend our selection particularly because of their diversity: they were created in different places, in different epochs and in different formats. *Jot Down* is Spanish, created in 2011 and is a digital native. *Gatopardo* is Mexican, born in Colombia in 2001 on paper. Also created on paper, in 1925 and in New York is *The New Yorker*. This variety of origins allows our research to contemplate the evolution of three different cultural aspects of narrative journalism, by geography, generation and format. Their comparison allows the character of each medium to be differentiated and how they foster their narrative journalism according to this.

As regards the content analysis, a piece from each of the sections of each medium was chosen to have a selection of case studies representative of all the topics covered. In total, 15 pieces from each medium were examined. The selection of pieces was based on a table of characteristics that included the main categories of analysis to detect the elements of narrative journalism and digital journalism that appeared in the pieces. The purpose was to detect to what extent these types of articles and the journalists who wrote them exert resistance that could be construed as activism within journalism.

These aforementioned categories were grouped into four parts: identification, form, content and audience. The first part places the piece according to its section, author and publisher. In the second part, the elements, part and structure of each piece of news are evaluated, taking into account its presence and its aspect digitally and on paper. The specified fields correspond to the elements to be analysed: subtitles, multimedia complements, images, positioning and volume strategies (measured by the number of online page scrolls or physical paper pages). As regards the content, in the table the typology and appearance of the narrative are deepened, and the four main elements that Wolfe (1973) considered that a text should possess to be considered narrative journalism: dialogue, use of the first or third person singular, detail and scene-by-scene construction. Wolfe (1973) proposes a hybrid profile. He is not a narrative theorist, although his work The New Journalism describes the foundations of a genre that he, and others such as Breslin or Talese, put into practice. This research takes into account the contributions mentioned in a theoretical framework, although it takes this particular work of Wolfe (1973) as a reference for content analysis as it is a reflection from a practical point of view, establishing patterns for classifying texts, and also takes into account that he is considered to be the founding author of the genre (Chillón, 2014; Herrscher, 2012).

In addition to the four mentioned, the content category includes an analysis of the presence of the journalist, the use of adjectives, the narrative point of view and the verb tense. Accordingly, topic and tense are identified separately. Audience identification is based on the interactions with the pieces on the social networks in which it was published, and the comments obtained. Examining each of these categories allows us to ascertain to what extent the elements of narrative journalism and those of digital journalism are present in each piece, and to analyse which are the dominant ones (see Annex I).

Content analysis (Van Dijk, 2013) is supported by research on narrative journalism such as that of Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2016) and Domingo and Heinonen (2008).

In-depths interviews (Voutsina, 2018; Johnson, 2002) contribute by providing context and also help us understand the attitudes and motivations of the subjects. This technique was used in similar research such as Albalad (2018), Angulo (2013) and Berning (2011). In-depth interviews were held with 34 narrative journalism professionals, related to any of the three journals that are part of the case studies selection, or were associated with an academic institution. Of the 34 interviews, 22 were conducted in person, the rest by videoconference or telephone. The face-to-face interviews were held in the workplaces of the narrative journalists consulted. In the case of the editors of *The New Yorker*, we visited the publisher in person for interviews and non-participant observation. Questionnaires were

designed to answer the questions that this research raises from an individual point of view. The questionnaire consisted of fifteen questions; some were common for all interviewees, but others were customised according to the interviewee's career, medium and position. The issues were classified into three groups: individual experience of the journalist in the media, writing dynamics and analysis of narrative journalism. A broad variety of profiles was chosen in an attempt to ensure that all criteria produced a statistically significant number of results. The list of journalists interviewed is as follows:

1. Jacqui Banaszynski, editor of the Nieman Storyboard (Harvard University).
2. Joshua Benton, director of the Nieman Lab (Harvard University).
3. Carla Blumenkranz, online director of *The New Yorker*.
4. Mark Bowden, writer and narrative journalist.
5. Robert Boynton, journalist at *The New Yorker* (interviewed in 2014 and 2018).
6. Nathan Burstein, managing editor of *The New Yorker*.
7. Joshua Clover, professor of non-fiction (University of California Davis).
8. Lauren Collins, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
9. Ted Conover, freelance writer and contributor at *The New Yorker*.
10. Rubén Díaz, deputy director of *Jot Down*.
11. John Durham Peters, Professor of Media Studies (Yale University).
12. Carles Foguet, communication director of *Jot Down*.
13. Ángel Fernández, director of *Jot Down*.
14. Zoe Greenberg, longform journalist at *The New York Times*.
15. Eliza Griswold, editor of *The New Yorker*.
16. Leila Guerriero, editor of *Gatopardo*.
17. Roberto Herrscher, collaborator at *Gatopardo*.
18. Ricardo Jonás, co-founder of *Jot Down*.
19. Carolyn Kormann, editor of *The New Yorker*.
20. Jon Lee Anderson, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
21. Ramón Lobo, freelance journalist, writer at *Jot Down*.
22. Larissa MacFarquhar, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
23. Monica Račić, multimedia editor at *The New Yorker*.
24. William Reynolds, president of the International Association for Literary Journalism.
25. Noah Rosenberg, director of *Narratively*.
26. Carlo Rotella, freelance writer at *The New Yorker*.
27. Emiliano Ruiz, freelance journalist for *Gatopardo*.
28. Alberto Salcedo Ramos, professor at the Gabriel García Márquez Foundation of New Ibero-American Journalism.
29. Susy Schultz, director of *Public Narrative*.
30. Jeffrey Sharlet, narrative journalist, professor at Dartmouth University.
31. Norman Sims, former president of the International Association for Literary Journalism.
32. McKenna Stayner, editor of *The New Yorker.*
33. Marcela Vargas, digital ex-editor of *Gatopardo*.
34. Julio Villanueva Chang, director of *Etiqueta Negra.*

The analytical processing of the interviews was carried out in three sequential stages: (1) transcription, (2) classification of answers by topics and (3) definition of results. These steps allowed the answers from the in-depth interviews to be sorted and individual criteria counted. The transcription phase was carried out as interviews progressed. Because of this, the most recent interviews obtained more concrete answers than the initial ones, as in the life cycle of in-depth interviews (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001). The classification and drafting of results phases are presented combined, based on the results obtained during all interviews. The number of respondents and the volume of accumulated material obliged the research to select only the essential aspects; otherwise, the total number of responses obtained would have exceeded the length of the usual results dissemination formats.

As regards the non-participative observation, this was undertaken in only one of the media, *The New Yorker*, being the only one that has permanent staff with many of its writers working there physically. *Gatopardo* has writers at the Travesías Media headquarters, where the professionals in charge of management and administration are located, although many of the journalists work externally (Vargas, 2014). *Jot Down* has no physical office at all and all its professionals, including administrative staff, work on their own. Because of this, the non- participant observation was conducted only in *The New Yorker*. This non-participant observation took place after the in-depth interviews and was carried out on three different days. The results of this technique allow the conclusions of the interviews to be contrasted and reinforced, particularly as regards the writing routines and the role of narrative journalists in their organisations. The observation time did not extend beyond these three days, being what the medium accepted as a maximum for allowing the presence of researchers on their facilities.

3.4 Results

The principal result of this research is that contemporary media is a phenomenon that incites new models in narrative journalism (new new digital journalism) to emerge because of:

- Economic crises: –and also political instability– in their own environment, one of the reasons why the general public demand independent media (Foguet, 2014).

- The lack of knowledgeable voices: causing people to demand coverage of issues that are not always present in the general media (Jonás, 2014).

- Digitization: which has facilitated a broader media reach (Herrscher, 2014) and has given rise to a new platform in which citizen activism has broadened and combined with journalism (Russell, 2017).

- Languages: in the case of the media analysed, written in English and Spanish, two of the three most spoken languages globally. Together with digitalization, this factor makes it easier for new narrative journalism media to broadcast farther, specifically, to all Anglo-Saxon and Spanish-speaking countries everywhere (Herrscher, 2014). This condition allows the creation of large communities centred on these particular media and their publications.

- Changes in the accepted concept of communicative: as a direct consequence of digitalization, increasing interactivity and the emergence of new business models (Albalad, 2018; Schultz, 2018).

In this regard, narrative journalism appeared as a new type of activism within the professional world. The media dedicated to it sprang up in response to moments of economic, political and social crises (Durham Peters, 2018; Benton, 2018). Given the complex realities that need to be explained in detail, crises engender new means of narrative journalism. The more the public know about the world, the better they can understand and empathize with it (Griswold, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). Given that narrative journalism is more necessary in times of crises, this type of media often emerges in convulsed contexts. The content of magazines analysed corroborate this.

The New Yorker dates from 1925 and started out in a New York prior to the Great Depression, by the hand of a group of intellectuals who wanted to embrace new media spaces (Weingarten, 2013; Kunkel, 1995; Yagoda, 2000). *Gatopardo* comes from Colombia. It was founded in 1999, in the midst of a social crisis caused by the effects of the earthquake that wiped out 2,000 lives. *Jot Down* dates from May 2011, when Spanish society had a need to express its outrage at the country's social and economic crisis. *Jot Down* thus emerged hand- in-hand with the 15M movement (of citizens indignant with the economic crisis, imbued with the spirit of this movement, avowing to change the established order and give a voice to those who did not have one (Foguet, 2014; Jonás, 2014).

Digitalization has blurred the lines between journalism and activism (Russell, 2017) and on both sides, particularly the information professionals that strive to set themselves apart from the rest. Narrative journalism is not social activism as such (Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). Nevertheless, reporting does have an agenda-setting effect (Olesen, 2008). The activism exercised by narrative journalism can be considered as activism within journalism.

It has a cause, followers and militants, platforms on which it broadcasts, a history that it maintains, in addition to an on-going action on which it is based.

This type of journalism and the individuals that practice it appear as a social movement that exercises a specific journalistic activism and exhibits the following properties that Tarrow (1997) established as the basis of social movements:

- Collective challenge: the author talks about disruptive actions characterized by the obstruction of activities of others, which might be groups of leaders or other cultural groups or codes. Narrative journalism has been disruptive since its inception (Benton, 2018; Ruiz, 2014). The main disruptive action of this genre is to break with the classical norms of news journalism, and currently, of digital journalism. The conditions expounded by Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996) are based more on literary writing techniques rather than on journalist's manuals on how to write. This format is indeed disruptive, although it does not go so far as to obstruct the activity of the majority groups of informative journalism. The digital journalism case is the same.

> [...] We were moving beyond the conventional limits of journalism, but not merely in terms of technique. The kind of reporting we were doing struck us as far more ambitious, too. It was more intense, more detailed, and certainly more time-consuming than anything that newspaper or magazine reporters, including investigative reporters, were accustomed to... (Tom Wolfe, 1973).

- Common objective: according to Tarrow (1997), this is about a statement of demands made of the "opponents" that has a straightforward purpose. Excellent reporting and writing are an absolute requirement in narrative journalism. It is the defence of these journalistic values that defines narrative journalism and becomes the way for it to differentiate itself from instant journalism (Le Masurier, 2015). Not only is quality a requisite, but also narrative journalism has the mundane objective of gaining readership, making their publisher profitable, that is to say, the means by which narrative journalists get paid a salary. Beyond this goal, the objective is to make complex realities understood by giving the public the necessary elements to do so (Griswold, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Sharlet, 2018).

- Solidarity: this is the recognition of a convergence of interests that incites the prospective movement into collective action. Tarrow (1997) emphasizes that leaders can only create social movements when deeply rooted feelings of solidarity or identity burst out. These are reliable bases on which to organise social movements. In this respect, narrative is identity journalism (Banaszynski, 2018; Benton, 2018) and even constituting an elite (Albalad, 2018) of people with the ability to exercise it (Blumenkranz, 2018; Lee Anderson, 2018; Lobo, 2018).

- Persistence over time: this is about the collective action of this social movement being sustained despite the opposition to it in an environment of contrary values. In this case, the resistance in an environment saturated with instant news options and the full democratization of journalism in an era of citizen journalism. In this regard, narrative journalism not only survives, but indeed flourishes. In recent decades, above all in the Latin American and North American settings, there has been a boom in the creation of these media (Albalad & Rodríguez, 2012). Collins (2018) and Albalad (2018) talk about a balanced media diet, in which informational journalism and narrative journalism are consumed at different times. This need, together with the complexity of the environment (Reynolds, 2018), explains that fact that narrative journalism developed as an alternative journalistic movement. According to Salcedo Ramos (2018), the chronicles of narrative journalism allow us to understand reality.

This socio-journalistic movement that we have presented, which additionally also displays the characteristics of a social movement (Tarrow, 2017), takes on a role of journalistic activism in defence of its own cause. Compared to informational and digital journalism, narrative journalism exercises the following types of activism within journalism:

3.4.1 Formal activism

The form of the media analyzed was compared to that of generalist media, detecting formal activism expressing itself in the following ways and means:

- Thematic sections: their section structure does not conform to standard news media classifications. This is demonstrated by those that comprise the media analyzed (see Table 8) and are testimony to one type of this movement's activism. "We created *Jot Down* to write about the topics we wanted to read about," says Foguet (2014). Rosenberg (2018) reiterates the same thing about *Narratively*.

Jot Down	Gatopardo	The New Yorker
Art and literature	Articles	News
Science	Current affairs	Culture
Cinema-TV	Opinion	Books
Sports	Culture	Business & Tech
Interviews	Artist's studios	Humour
Music	Drinks	Cartoons
Leisure and Vice	Cars	Magazine
Politics	Newsletter	Video
Society		Podcasts
		Archives
		What's On

Table 8. Sections of the media analysed. Source: Own elaboration.

- Images: their use is not simply informative, but also forms a part of the medium's identity (Díaz Caviedes, 2014). In *Jot Down*, they are in black and white. *Gatopardo* combines black and white with colour to highlight prominent themes. *The New Yorker* frequently uses illustrations.

- Multimedia elements: the use of infographics, interactive graphics and audios is sparse. Video is the only item detected in the articles. It is a sought-after feature (Foguet, 2014), in the conviction that too many multimedia elements could detract from the reader's immersion (MacFarquhar, 2018; Schultz, 2018).

- Role of the web: at a time when the media is working towards its own digital adaptation, narrative journalism works the other way around, adapting web formats to paper (Albalad and Rodríguez, 2012). In *Jot Down*, this role is intentional. It manifests itself in: sparse use of multimedia resources, references to paper publications (with sections such as the newspaper's past editions library), formal elements similar to the printed version (such as the digital cover of *Gatopardo*), numbered structure (the digital article numbering is identical to that on paper) and author acknowledgement (who usually has a relevant presence).

- Length: the customary brevity of digital journalism style (Micó, 2006) is not maintained in the texts we analyzed. Specific piece lengths are not stipulated through an editorial standard, but rather depends on what each topic requires (Burstein, 2018; Račić, 2018). Of the 45 texts studied, 19 have more than 10,000 characters; The range of lengths varies between 1,062 characters to 67,634.

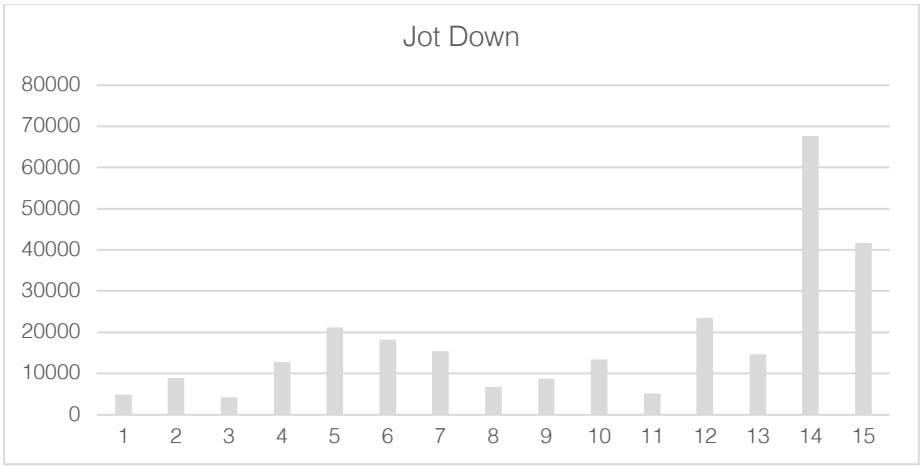

Figure 8. Length in characters of the articles analysed in *Jot Down*. Source: Own elaboration.

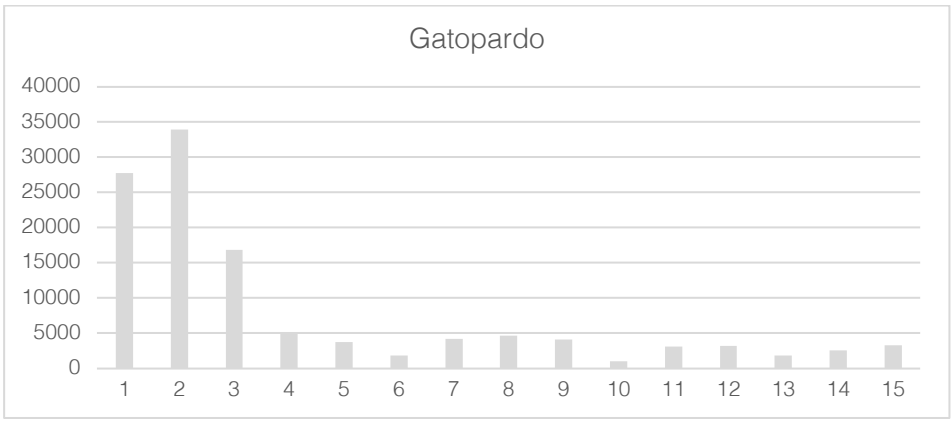

Figure 9. Length in characters of the articles analysed in *Gatopardo*. Source: Own elaboration.

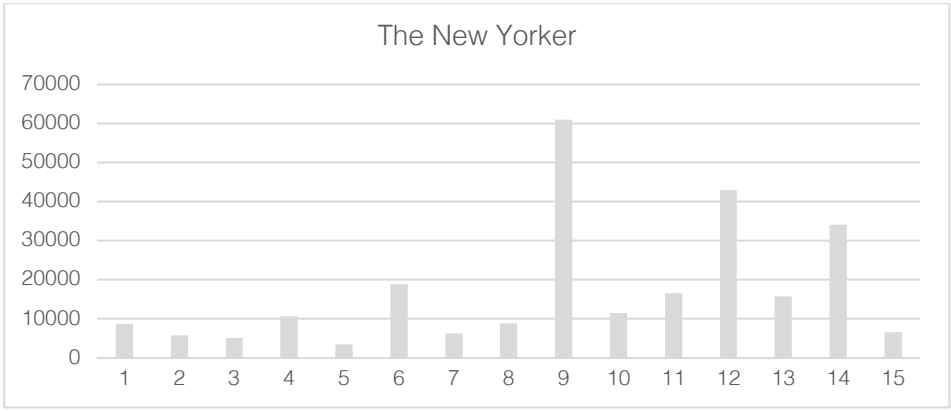

Figure 10. Length of the articles analysed in *The New Yorker*. Source: Own elaboration.

3.4.2 Activism in the content

The section titles mentioned previously reveal that the informative spaces covered by this type of journalism do not always coincide with those of the generalist media. We detected a thematic specialization that would result in a segmentation of the public (see Table 8).

Beyond the specific theme in question, content activism is also perpetrated in using literary resources to talk about non-fiction issues. According to Wolfe (1973), the main ones

are: dialogue, detail, scene-by-scene construction and use of the first/third person. In the articles studied, 32 use scene-by-scene construction, 19 use dialogue, 43 use detail and in 36 of them, the narration is in the first or third person singular. The use of literary tools has called the objectivity and rigour of narrative journalism into question. According to Salcedo Ramos (2018), this journalism combines narration and interpretation: the former allows the facts to be recounted, the latter allows the author's vision to be expressed.

In parallel, the articles studied did not conform to the digital journalism standards as defined by Micó (2006). According to him, they are: accuracy, clarity, conciseness, density, precision, simplicity, naturalness, originality, brevity, variety, attraction, rhythm, colour, resonance, detail and property.

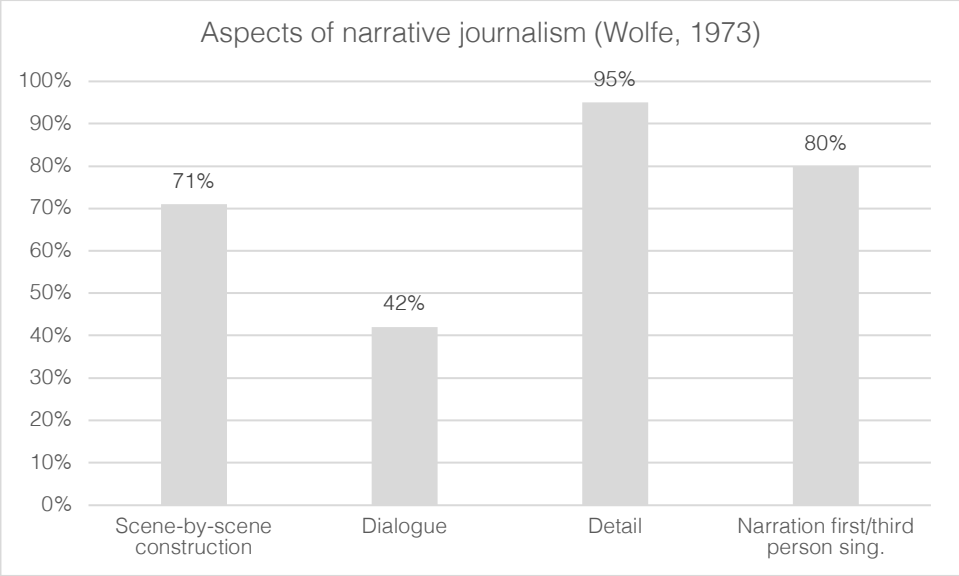

Figure 11. Presence of the elements of narrative journalism. Source: Own elaboration.

Some of the digital features do indeed coincide with narrative journalism: accuracy, originality, attraction, rhythm, colour, resonance and detail. However, the differences between narrative journalism and digital journalism are to be found in the ways used to achieve them. In digital journalism, multimedia elements cohabit with the written word, whereas in narrative journalism, words alone are everything. Aspects that differ between models were detected. Narrative journalism is not characterized by its brevity (see Figures 1, 2 and 3), neither simplicity, neither conciseness nor clarity (MacFarquhar, 2018; Vargas, 2014).

3.4.3 Activism in the professional figure

The digital narrative journalist is the figure that responds to the demands of this type of journalism. The narrative journalism movement comprises professionals with specific characteristics (Reynolds, 2018; Guerriero, 2014). According to the interviews we held, the specific characteristics that define the narrative journalist are currently:

- Own point of view: this is about telling the stories differently from standard news reporting, (Díaz Caviedes, 2014), through the narrator's eyes (Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Herrscher,

2014). This is where the originality of the narrative journalist comes into play, the narrator own vision which they use to define their own reality (Angulo, 2013).

-Patience: in the modern context based on immediacy (instant everything), narrative journalists are regarded as rebels (Reynolds, 2018) who dedicate whatever amount of time the piece requires (Račić, 2018). According to Bowden (2018), Conover (2018) and Guerriero (2014), writing a particular piece might take months. According to Boynton (2018), this is the challenge of our instant world. Burstein (2018), Kormann (2018) of *The New Yorker* and Greenberg (2018), of *The New York Times* (2018), began as fact-checkers at their publishers; they emphasize that it is a common assignment for young journalists and during which they develop the necessary resistance to be able to report rigorously.

- Curiosity: this is defined as an obsessive interest in what is going on round them (Banaszynski, 2018; Collins, 2018; Lee Anderson, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018) and people "in action" (Salcedo Ramos, 2018). According to Sharlet (2018), the peculiarity of narrative journalism is that it demands a level of fidelity to the subject in professionals that is comparable to that of people who have religious faith. Some of the authors interviewed speak of passion (Collins, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018).

- Writing excellence: the form has to be without reproach (Kormann, 2018; Sims, 2018; Guerriero, 2014) and the vocabulary precise, to ensure that the reader sticks with the text (Banaszynski, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017). According to Lobo (2018), good reporting is in itself not enough if the writing is less than perfect.

- Presence of the journalist: this aspect is not always invoked, although it may be necessary in some stories to legitimize the voice of the journalist and give value to the chronicle's composition (Salcedo Ramos, 2018). According to Schultz (2018), journalism has to be transparent in its processes, to reinforce the authority of its voice among the public, and more so in our digital era. Lobo (2018) differentiates the United States and Latin America in this regard. He points out that in North America, this is a more accepted practice. In fact, the journalist has presence in 50% of the *The New Yorker* articles analysed.

-Specialized versatility: in the 34 interviews held, the journalists were asked what the characteristics that digital narrative journalism requires were. Technical knowledge and digital tools were not mentioned by the respondents. The versatility (Sánchez & Micó, 2014) demanded in the generalist media is not required in narrative journalism - specialization is preferred (Bowden, 2018; Conover, 2018; MacFarquhar, 2018).

The abovementioned characteristics produce professionals who are more narrative than digital, few in number and belong to a select group to which only those having the requisite abilities belong. Not all narrative journalism skills can be learned (Banaszynski, 2018; Lobo, 2018).

3.4.4 Activism in the writing

As a social movement, narrative journalism is also disruptive in its writing processes. In this respect, it is part of the "slow movement" (David, Blumtritt and Köhler, 2010), whose promulgation turned out to be a turning point in the digital informative debauchery.

However, this movement does not contend that journalism must always be slow; it vindicates the public's freedom to choose the rhythm appropriate to them at all times (Albalad, 2018; Collins, 2018). In narrative journalism, writing stints are variable (Guerriero, 2014); they might be months or years (Rotella, 2018; Račić, 2018; Stayner, 2018). The time devoted to a topic is not determined by the journalist, rather, by the topic itself and the demands it entails. Quality, reporting, substantiation and literary composition are not enemies of deadlines. A text would only be published when all of these conditions had been satisfied (Blumenkranz, 2018; Conover, 2018). This pace is advantageous for the journalist, but it is a privilege that not all professionals are able to enjoy (Rotella, 2018; Díaz Caviedes, 2014). Nevertheless, there is a tacit agreement (Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017) in narrative journalism in which the reader accepts having to wait, in exchange for feeling privileged to obtain a quality product.

This slow pace also translates into adding new content on the websites of the magazines analyzed. None exceeds ten new digital pieces daily. Therefore, time is not the main concern, nor the fact that something is happening right now a criterion of newsworthiness (Craig, 2015). In fact, the publication date is not shown in most of the articles examined. This non-time- determined search is something the theme itself permits, so long as it is within the limits of the writing world (Guerriero, 2014).

Durham Peters (2018) defends narrative journalism as a "consecrated space" of knowledge concentration. For the teacher, slow journalism is a type of activism because it is "shock absorbing" for a complex society in which immediacy abounds.

Boynton's (2018) judgement is: "When you sit down and write something over a long period of time and dedicate yourself to it and to the importance of it, you know that importance in your own mind and you are kind of resisting the larger society and the pace of that society".

3.4.5 Activism in business models

The media companies analyzed go about their business following hybrid business models. These are deployed as an alternative to the publicity-based model prevailing in previous decades (Albalad, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017; Fernández, 2014). Rosenberg (2018) talks about possible alternative ways of financing that are explored in *Narratively*, related to communication and culture –podcasts, videos, advert copywriting...

The magazines analyzed are encased within profitable business models, although with different income sources. *Jot Down* belongs to Wabi Sabi Investments, which also markets books and organizes events. *Gatopardo* is owned by Travesías Media, which also publishes travel guides. *The New Yorker* is part of Condé Nast, a long-standing holding company, now owned by Advance Publications which also publishes *Vogue* or *Wired*.

All converge in a structure composed of staff narrative journalists together with freelance associates. Of the 34 journalists interviewed, only the editors of *The New Yorker* admit to being able to subsist solely on the income from narrative journalism. Therefore, most professionals combine this type of writing with other activities (Salcedo Ramos, 2018)

to reach a combined income that allows them to survive (Rotella, 2018; Ruiz, 2014; Vargas, 2014).

In this aspect, the activism is the resistance of those professionals who are able to exercise a journalism that they believe in, despite the occupational difficulties caused. Thus, activism is not deployed so much in the hybrid business model with a profitability-centered purpose. Rather, it is more to be found in the working conditions afforded to their journalists. In *Jot Down* and *Gatopardo*, narrative journalists have flexible schedules and are integrated into horizontal structures. *Jot Down* does not have a headquarters, *Gatopardo* has the administrative portion of its staff located in the Travesías Media offices, and *The New Yorker* is the only one of the three that does have editorial offices where most of its journalists work. Moreover, this particular American publication does have a vertical-pyramidal structure, in which each group of writers report to an editor; together the individual editors report to the director (Blumenkranz, 2018; Kormann, 2018; MacFarquhar, 2018; Stayner, 2018). It is here where the generational differences between the media analyzed manifests themselves.

The pro-profession activism in the business model also appears at the time when these conditions facilitate the integration of new authors who otherwise could not have written for the media in question (Díaz Caviedes, 2014; Fernández, 2014; Jonás, 2014). Above all, this case occurs in the digital hybrid models of *Jot Down* and *Gatopardo*. According to Banaszynski (2018) and Greenberg (2018), this type of structure does not make it easy for young journalists to work together in person with experienced experts.

3.5 Conclusions

The new new digital journalism brings about journalistic activism on Internet, promoting the rigorous, profound and well-written content that narrative journalism has implemented since its inception. The digital era, in addition to the challenge of sustainability, has given rise to this type of journalism and to the movement of professionals who act as a new “resistance” (Tarrow, 1997).

If in the mid-twentieth century, the “resistance” was against news and novels, currently this resistance is directed against digitalization and the immediacy of news in a society characterised by postmodern fluency (Clover, 2018; Durham Peters, 2018).

In this research, we asked the question whether or not the new new journalism is a form of journalistic activism. One of the factors supporting the media dedicated to this type of journalism is the social context appears that it contains. In this respect, the emergence of digital narrative journalism publishers during the last few decades is related to the social and economic crises in the countries in which they appeared at particular moments in time, during which society had a need for media spokespeople on issues that did not always exist on generalists platforms. *Jot Down* is an example of this situation, created as a response to the 15M movement in Spain. Prior to digitalization, *The New Yorker* was created in a similar context, before the Great Depression (Yagoda, 2000; Gill, 1975).

Being conceived in convulsed contexts and creating new means to respond to them, narrative journalism can be regarded as activism for journalism in general. According to

Tarrow (1997), the narrative journalists' movement exhibits the same basic characteristics that define a social movement. They are: collective challenge, common objective, solidarity and persistence over time. This movement brings to bear several types of activism simultaneously:

- In its appearance: as explained in previous sections, the use of images, sparseness of multimedia elements, unspecified length and moving from web- to paper-based (Albalad, 2018).

- In its content: by covering topics that are not found in the ordinary media (Fernández, 2014; Foguet, 2014) and doing so with a style more based on narrative journalism than on digital.

- In the figure of the professional writer: that responds to the traditional requirements of narrative journalism and not to the versatility demanded in the digital world (Burstein, 2018; Clover, 2018).

- In the mechanism of writing: the routines of the new digital journalism are an example of "slow activism" within journalism. Immediacy is not a priority and issues are matured during whatever time may be necessary (Burstein, 2018; Račić, 2018).

- In the business model: narrative journalism journals make use of business models that do not depend on income from publicity. These are publishers that diversify their sources of revenue and endow job flexibility on their journalists, if not job stability. *The New Yorker* is the exception in this regard. Its editors are among the few who can subsist only from narrative journalism income (Collins, 2018; Račić, 2018; Stayner, 2018). Thus, although journalists who work in new media need to find more sources of income in addition to narrative journalism, in recompense they enjoy increased flexibility in working conditions (Herrscher, 2014; Ruiz, 2014). In contrast, journalists who do have stable conditions, such as at *The New Yorker*, work within more traditional employment structures. Only a few, such as Lee Anderson (2018) and Collins (2018), claim to have both flexibility and the ability to survive only on narrative journalism.

As a result, we have revealed how narrative journalism has the greater goal of promoting and opting for a journalism of quality and rigor. This has attracted a select group of allies, narrative journalists, who robustly resist traditional journalism. Nonetheless, the resources available to this movement to stay the course and move forward are not available to everyone (Boynton, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017). The narrative journalists movement pursues this path despite its difficulties (Salcedo Ramos, 2018). Future analyses might pose the question whether, given its slower pace and its other constraints, public demand encourages this narrative journalism, and if it represents a way forward which the general media might adopt, and to which more resources should be dedicated. Narrative journalism activism has existed for centuries, and recently its own intrinsic values and digitalization have only strengthened it.

3.6 Appendix. Form of analysis

ID			
Number		Headline	
Author			
Section			
FORM			
Subtitle			
Multimedia elements			
Image			
Positioning elements			
Scroll pages			
Paper pages			
Characters			
CONTENTS			
Theme			
Person			
Verb tense			
Dialogue			
Presence of journalist			
Point of view			
Description			
Use of adjectives			
Scene-by-scene construction			
Other details			
AUDIENCE			
Comments			
Social media where published			

Table 9. Form of analysis. Source: Own elaboration.

4. Construcción de comunidades online a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet

ARTICLE:

Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2018). Construcción de comunidades *online* a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet. *El profesional de la información*, 27(6), pp. 1257-1268. doi: https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.09

Resumen

En la era digital el concepto de comunidad se ha ampliado. Los factores de espacio y tiempo ya no influyen en la construcción de grupos de personas reunidas en torno a un interés común. ¿Qué elementos facilitan que se creen las comunidades digitales? ¿Cómo se mantienen? ¿Cómo compaginan su existencia digital con su posible presencia en el mundo real? El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la construcción de comunidades digitales consolidadas, estudiar los elementos que hacen posible mantenerlas y desvelar cómo comunidades afianzadas en el mundo físico gestionan su presencia digital. El caso estudiado es la comunidad católica global, observada a partir de las 19 webs que reciben más visitas en las cinco lenguas más habladas por los católicos, monitorizadas durante tres años.

Palabras clave: comunidad online, comunidad digital, comunidad presencial, construcción de comunidad, catolicismo, webs católicas, comunidad digital católica.

4.1 Introducción

La digitalización de la comunicación y los medios (Heinonen, 1999; Pavlik, 2001; Deuze, 2004; Salaverría, 2005; Domingo, 2008; Quandt, 2008; Díaz-Noci, 2009; Paulussen, 2012) así como la creación y evolución de la comunidad virtual (Rheingold, 1993; Schuler, 1996; Jones, 1998; Powazek, 2002; Koh; Kim, 2003) han sido objeto de estudio desde muchas perspectivas. Se ha examinado qué lógica relacional digital siguen los grupos de personas que se reúnen en torno a intereses distintos. Se puede distinguir entre

comunidades nativas *online* y comunidades presenciales que han llevado su rutina al espacio digital (Caldwell; Bugby, 2018). El objetivo de este artículo es estudiar la configuración y actividad del segundo tipo de comunidades y su traslado al mundo virtual. Se trata de describir cómo crean sensación de comunidad digitalmente los grupos físicos consolidados.

La muestra la integra una comunidad numerosa y consolidada, el catolicismo. Esta investigación pretende reflexionar sobre las comunidades católicas *online*, ver en qué medida están creadas para perfiles y habilidades concretos, además de identificar los métodos comunes utilizados por las páginas católicas más destacadas para crear comunidad. La esfera digital es más que un instrumento, es un espacio de comunicación en el que los usuarios participan en muchos aspectos (McLoughlin et al., 2018) y utilizan para distintas actividades, también para la religión (Wagner, 2012; Brasher, 2001).

El Vaticano ha sido siempre una de las primeras instituciones en adoptar las tecnologías de comunicación, desde la prensa a la radio y la televisión. En 2002 se publicó el documento *The Church and internet* (2002), reconociendo que la interactividad de la Red había roto el antiguo paradigma comunicativo. Los católicos han visto las potencialidades digitales y han aterrizado en este terreno para exportar su concepto de comunidad. ¿Qué mecanismos se necesitan para crearla digitalmente? Esta aportación se basa en la sistematización de portales católicos de acuerdo con sus distintas técnicas de *engagement* y examina su evolución durante tres años (2014, 2015 y 2016). Se trata de explorar cómo las tendencias tecnológicas se pueden transformar en la llamada *online religion* (Helland, 2005; Campbell, 2012).

4.2 Estado del arte

El marco teórico de esta investigación se basa en los autores que reflexionan sobre construcción digital de comunidad (Rheingold, 1993; Jones, 1998; Kim, 2000; Hercheui, 2010) y en los que han realizado contribuciones sobre las comunidades religiosas *online* (Hoover; Kaneva, 2009; Campbell, 2012). Las discusiones van desde la redefinición del concepto de comunidad a las características de estas comunidades en crecimiento, cómo están evolucionando, interactuando y qué retos tienen. También se habla de las distinciones entre comunidades virtuales y físicas en términos de posibilidades espaciales y temporales.

Gupta y Kim (2004) definen las comunidades virtuales como colectividades basadas en un espacio web con vínculos entre sus miembros. Según los autores, las comunidades virtuales han evolucionado y presentan ventajas respecto a las comunidades físicas: pueden ser mayores, más variadas y dispersas geográficamente y la comunicación puede archivarse. Gupta y Kim (2004) hablan también de los principales objetivos por los que se forma una comunidad virtual: transacción, fantasía, interés y relación.

Los primeros estudios sobre comunidades *online* exploraron cuestiones que surgían sobre el tema de las desdibujadas fronteras entre los espacios *online* y presencial con relación a la creación de comunidad: quién participaba y cómo se creaba. Baym (1995) es

uno de los autores en tratarlo. Mako-Hill y Shaw (2017) y Mnookin (1996) se centran en el tipo de población que interviene en estas comunidades. Koh y Kim (2003) han demostrado empíricamente la creación de la sensación de comunidad. Blanchard y Markus (2004) identifican los distintos roles y estructuras creados dentro de las comunidades *online* y reflexionan alrededor de los grados de anexión a ellos. Negroponte (1995), Schuler (1996) y Rheingold (1993) examinan el cambio en las relaciones y la interacción social:

> "Las relaciones sociales y profesionales se están redefiniendo a medida que las lealtades a los grupos de referencia se mueven del dominio de los grupos familiares unidos, los vecindarios comunitarios físicos, y las escuelas y entornos profesionales a comunidades virtuales y relaciones *online*" (Ebo, 1998).

Smith y Kollock (1999) tratan las comunidades virtuales como un espacio en el que los prejuicios se difuminan pues el género, la edad o la raza no influyen de una manera determinada en la interacción *online* entre personas que pueden no explicitar algunas de sus características identitarias. Khalid (2018) se focaliza en la relevancia de la identidad y Jenkins y Wolfgang (2018) se basan en el rol de la mujer en las comunidades digitales. Caldwell y Bugby (2018) o McLoughlin et al. (2018) describen el papel de estas comunidades en la educación, la política o la salud.

Powazek (2002) reflexiona sobre el diseño de las comunidades virtuales y asegura que la construcción de comunidad es un proceso subjetivo. Algunos deterministas tecnológicos argumentan que la tecnología marca los aspectos de la vida de los individuos (Kitchin, 1998). Ven el espacio digital como una causa de cambios antropológicos. Para ellos, el ciberespacio lleva a la formación de nuevas comunidades. Según Dodge y Kitchin (2001) son lugares inauténticos. Augé (1994) los define como no lugares.

Wilbur (1996) considera las comunidades virtuales una ilusión en la que no hay personas reales ni comunicación real. En el debate sobre la pérdida de la comunidad real también entran Jones (1998) o Kiesler (1997). Arthur (1993) reflexiona sobre la doble vertiente de los medios, y de cómo pueden convertirse a la vez en un elemento de aislamiento y de comunicación. En la misma línea Ebo (1998) diferencia entre cybertopia, o la creencia de que la era digital puede crear una sociedad más igualitaria y cyberghetto, la idea de que internet retendrá los vestigios de las comunidades tradicionales con vínculos sociales similares y estructuras de clases.

La investigación sobre religión e internet emergió en los noventa, cuando académicos como O'Leary y Brasher (1996) o Ess (1999) reflexionaron sobre cómo utilizaban internet los usuarios en el campo de la religión. Zaleski (1997) y Brasher (2001) se centraron en cómo gestionaban el paso a *online* diversas confesiones. Houston (1998) y Wolf (2003) examinaron los retos éticos de la cuestión. Hoover y Kaneva (2009) tratan el rol de las comunidades cristianas digitales y su presencia en internet. Spadaro (2012) estudia el efecto digital en el cristianismo y Comodo (2006) en el catolicismo.

La construcción de comunidad centra las contribuciones de académicos de la religión digital. Bunt (2000) estudia las formas de socialización de las comunidades digitales musulmanas, y Taylor (2003) de las budistas. Inicialmente estas investigaciones describían las comunidades, después se encargaron de explorar las motivaciones de los

miembros para participar o la influencia de las comunidades *online* en sus homólogas reales. Young (2004) analiza los cambios en los rituales cristianos cuando se trasladan al espacio *online*.

La interacción mundo *online*-mundo físico de estas comunidades la estudian Piff y Warburg (2005), Campbell (2005) y Helland (2005), autor que ve internet como un espacio social en el que las instituciones religiosas pueden llevar a cabo su actividad. Con él coincide Fiorentini (2012), que valora el estadio digital en el que se encuentran algunas instituciones religiosas.

Campbell (2012) se da cuenta de que la tendencia de los usuarios es combinar formas nuevas de engagement social y espiritual con otras más tradicionales. Centrada en el análisis de la religion *online*, esta autora revela las áreas que emergen de este concepto vinculadas a prácticas sociales, identidad y autoridad digital. Hutchings (2015) evalúa los usos que los católicos dan a los nuevos medios. Díez Bosch, Micó Sanz y Carbonell (2015) argumentan que entre las formas más entusiastas de engagement que han emergido en el catolicismo, la digital es una de las más prominentes.

Más allá de las comunidades esta investigación tiene en cuenta la mediatización de la religión como concepto clave. Acuñado por Hjarvard (2011), señala cómo los medios se han convertido en sustitutos de las instituciones religiosas en referencia a la información sobre asuntos relacionados con las distintas confesiones. Aportaciones de Lövheim y Axner (2015) así como de Lundby et al. (2018) profundizan en el concepto y reflexionan sobre la mediatización de la religión en tres esferas: periodismo generalista, cultura y medios especializados.

4.3 Metodología

Según el Vaticano hay 1,3 mil millones de católicos en el mundo. El *Anuario Pontificio* 2016 y el *Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae* detallan que la cifra representa el 17,8% de la población mundial. Teniendo en cuenta la extensión mundial del catolicismo, en esta investigación se ha elegido la lengua como factor para establecer un patrón representativo a considerar. Según el Pew Research Center (2013) en su estudio sobre el catolicismo global, las lenguas más habladas por personas católicas son inglés, español, portugués, francés e italiano. Los datos se han ubicado buscando los países en los que viven más católicos y seleccionando las lenguas oficiales de cada zona.

Con este criterio, la muestra es representativa, ya que en el caso de las tres lenguas seleccionadas con más hablantes (inglés, español y portugués), el porcentaje de católicos que las hablan es superior al 10%. En el caso del francés y el italiano, más del 5% del total de hablantes son católicos. A partir de este método se han escogido las webs católicas más visitadas en cada una de las cinco lenguas según el *ranking* Alexa. Son:

Inglés: Catholic.com, Catholic.org, Gloria.tv, Usccb.org y Vatican.va.

Español: Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Catholic.net, Corazones.org y Religionenlibertad.com.

Portugués: BibliaCatolica.com.br, Cançaonova.com, Cnbb.org.br, Ecclesia.pt y Zenit.org.

Francés: Catholique.fr, LaProcure.com.

Italiano: ChiesaCattolica.it y News.va.

El número de webs seleccionadas en cada lengua se justifica por la proporción de sus visitas a escala global. Es decir, se han seleccionado más webs en aquellas lenguas que reciben un número más alto de visitas desde todas las procedencias, más allá de sus países de origen. Para escoger cada uno de los portales se ha utilizado Alexa, una aplicación de Amazon que monitoriza la relevancia de los portales web. Las palabras clave para encontrarlas fueron *catholic*, *catholic church* y *catholicism*. Entre los resultados obtenidos se han escogido los portales más visitados en cada una de las lenguas seleccionadas.

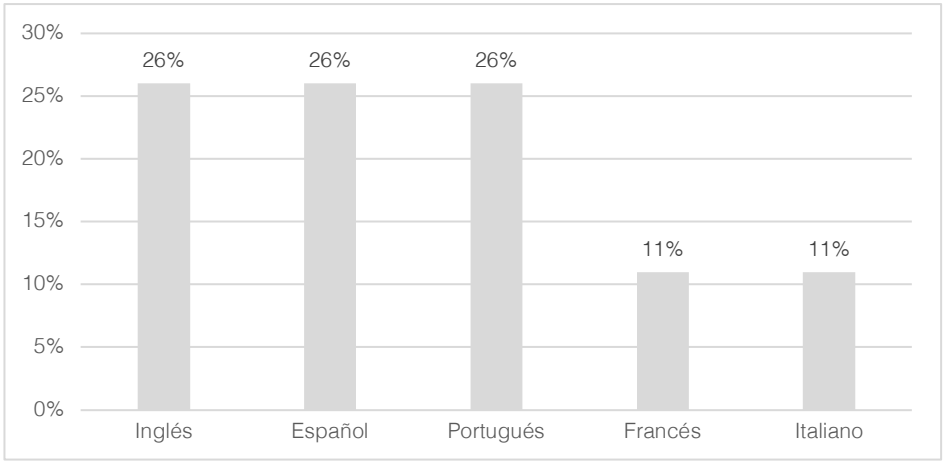

Figure 12. Percentage of selected websites in each language. Source: Own elaboration.

Una vez escogidos los portales, se ha diseñado un formulario para analizarlos. Este cuestionario (ver anexo) contiene los mismos campos en todos los casos, para realizar el estudio con la máxima simetría de resultados posible. Estos campos se dividen en secciones:

- Información general.

- Interacción.

- Interacción offline.

- Características técnicas.

- Visibilidad.

Cada una se refiere a un elemento que podría contribuir a crear comunidad.

Tras haber diseñado el formulario, los autores realizaron un *pretest* inspeccionando un número menor de portales y comparando los resultados, que mostraron estar alineados. Los mismos investigadores no estuvieron de acuerdo en un pequeño porcentaje de los casos, inferior al 10%. Investigaciones como las de Micó Sanz y Carbonell (2017), Vásquez Rodríguez (2017), Herrero Curiel (2015), Flavián Blanco y Gurrea Sarasa (2007) muestran un porcentaje de no coincidencia en fase pretest similar en una metodología próxima a la presentada. Las diferencias se debatieron hasta llegar a una conclusión

conjunta para realizar la investigación desde la misma perspectiva y habiendo chequeado el formulario. Tras el debate, los elementos sobre los que los investigadores no estaban alineados se modificaron y se volvió a probar el cuestionario. En este segundo proceso de chequeo, los investigadores examinaron otro grupo de portales, acción que sirvió para verificar que todos los autores aplican la misma interpretación. Los resultados obtenidos en ambos procesos no se incluyen en este artículo. Los datos presentados se han generado a partir del uso definitivo del formulario en el análisis de las 19 webs citadas.

Los datos se han recogido en tres oleadas, en tres fechas de tres años:

- 24 de febrero de 2014.

- 16 de noviembre de 2015.

- 23 de julio de 2016.

El objetivo es comparar datos de períodos consecutivos para determinar la evolución de los portales. Éstos se han clasificado en las siguientes categorías según su objetivo:

- Institucionales: pertenecen a una organización, presentan su información más destacada, misión, visión y valores;

- Informativos: se dedican a la información religiosa. Muchos son nativos digitales.

- Evangelizadores y apologéticos: creados para evangelizar y defender la fe.

- Espirituales: sobre grupos de oración, con reflexiones espirituales.

- Otras: referidas a fundaciones, tiendas *online* o portales dedicados al duelo.

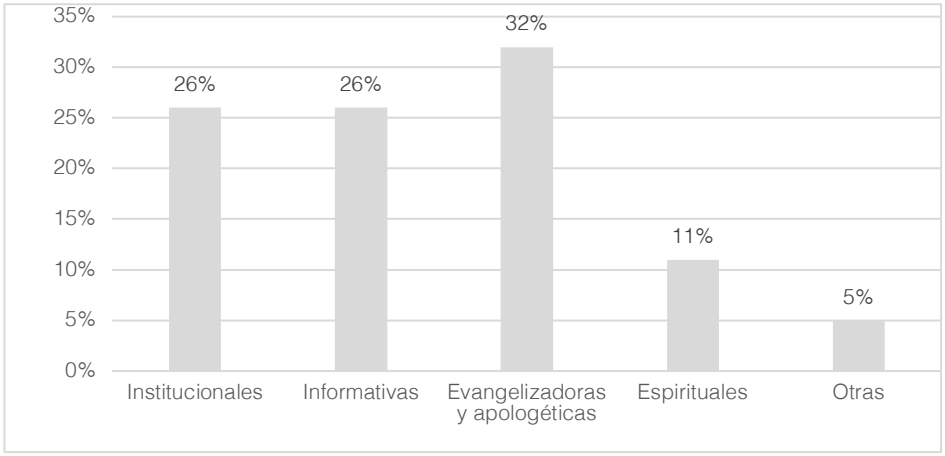

Figure 13. Classification of the analysed websites. Source: Own elaboration.

Lazar y Preece (1998) constituyeron una clasificación de comunidades digitales según sus atributos, software, vínculo a la comunidad presencial y límites. Helland (2005) estableció una clasificación de portales web sobre religión según la posibilidad de participación ofrecida por cada portal. Las categorías establecidas fueron *religion online*, en portales informativos; *online religion*, en webs más interactivas.

La entrevista en profundidad (Johnson, 2002; Minichiello; Aroni; Hays, 2008; Voutsina, 2018) también ha sido una técnica utilizada en esta investigación. Se ha realizado

a los responsables de algunos portales para profundizar en la información recopilada. Los entrevistados han sido:

- Jesús Colina, director editorial de Aleteia.org.

- Álex Rosal, de Religionenlibertad.com.

- Alejandro Bermúdez, de Aciprensa.com.

- Wellington Campos Pinho, de Bibliacatolica.com.br.

- Macu López de Catholic.net.

- Willieny Casagrande, de Cançaonova.com.

- Reto Nay, de Gloria.tv.

El análisis de contenido (Busquet Duran; Medina Cambrón; Sort Jané, 2006; Díaz, 2010) y la entrevista son técnicas que han aplicado investigaciones anteriores próximas a la presente. Un ejemplo que las avala es *Religion, media, and the digital turn*. A report for the *'Religion and the public sphere'* program. *Social Science Research Council* (Cantwell; Rashid, 2015). Campbell y Golan (2011) las utilizan en *Creating digital enclaves: Negotiation of the internet among bounded religious communities*, y Kawabata y Tamura (2007) en *Online-religion in Japan: Websites and religious counselling from a comparative cross-cultural perspective*.

Todas las entrevistas han sido estructuradas. Se ha preguntado a los citados responsables sobre las características presentes en la ficha de análisis para confirmar que los resultados coinciden con sus criterios. Además, se les ha cuestionado sobre la interacción. Las entrevistas también aportan información sobre el modelo de negocio.

4.4 Resultados y discusión

La era digital ha representado una oportunidad en muchos sectores. El esquema de la comunicación se ha transformado y se ha tratado de sacar partido a esta situación. El espacio digital está abierto a todos, con elementos gratuitos que amplían su alcance. Los resultados de esta investigación demuestran que la esfera digital se presenta también como una oportunidad para el catolicismo (Celli, 2013).

Esta religión se reúne basándose en el concepto griego de *koinonia* (Κοινωνία), que incluye dimensiones de participación necesarias para la creación de comunidades, tanto físicas como *online*. Este concepto teológico griego que significa comunión es un reclamo muy usado por las comunidades católicas, que consideran que comunicar no es una acción supletoria en sus organizaciones, sino una misión y una llamada identitaria. Existen para comunicar un mensaje, y el mensaje que comunican está llamado a crear comunión (*Pontificia Comisión para los Medios de Comunicación Social*, 1971).

La noción de comunidad implica que existe algo en las personas se reúnen. En la esfera digital este aspecto común se denomina confluencia de interés (Graham, 1999). En una comunidad digital, los contenidos y servicios que están relacionados con los valores compartidos de sus miembros pueden contribuir a obtener una sensación de pertenencia

que emerge del nexo entre todos los miembros. Según Campbell (2005), en el catolicismo el nexo es la fe. La autora incluye esta fe compartida entre las que considera características de las comunidades católicas *online*. Lo hace junto a otros elementos:

- la relación.

- el cuidado.

- el valor.

- la comunicación íntima.

Para ella, la fe y la visión de la vida desde una religión concreta es un motivo para empezar una conversación que pue- de convertirse en un debate más íntimo.

Más allá de la confluencia de interés, se detectan elementos relevantes que contribuyen a fortalecer la sensación de comunidad en los portales. Todos los espacios web están formados por contenidos, servicios y redes sociales. Los contenidos que encontramos en estos portales contribuyen a la creación de comunidad porque presentan estas características:

- Tema recurrente: el contenido publicado trata sobre catolicismo, asegurando el interés del usuario.

- Diversidad de formatos: mensajes disponibles en formato texto, vídeo e infografía, ampliando el alcance de público.

- Fáciles de compartir: por sus características y formato, pueden compartirse en redes, por correo electrónico y WhatsApp.

- Divulgativos: no se trata de reflexiones profundas ni se utiliza vocabulario científico.

- Se pueden comentar: se puede dar la opinión al final del artículo y debatir.

En los portales seleccionados hay además servicios relacionados con el tema central, el catolicismo. En su mayoría los servicios tienen el objetivo de gestionar de forma práctica la vida del católico. Según Kim (2000), para atraer personas y conseguir que vuelvan, una comunidad debe tener utilidad. Hay espacios para testimonios, mensajes religiosos diarios, funciones de donación, calendarios de gestión de la práctica religiosa y recomendaciones culturales. Catholic.com y Religionenlibertad.com tienen un servicio de *dating*, Cançaonova.com y Religionenlibertad.com incluyen una tienda *online*.

En estos portales los servicios son gratuitos (a excepción de la venta de productos en las tiendas *online*). En espacios no religiosos los servicios no sólo son un elemento que contribuye a crear comunidad, también son la puerta para monetizar el espacio y su contenido, de modo que muchos servicios se convierten en la base de nuevos modelos de negocio. Teniendo en cuenta que la comunidad creada alrededor de cada portal suele estar fidelizada, está interesada en el tema, el target de los servicios citados es alcanzable.

Más allá de los contenidos y servicios, la comunidad católica de estos portales se hace explícita en las redes sociales, el espacio donde más usuarios están presentes. Los responsables de los portales escogidos lo han detectado y en las entrevistas realizadas,

algunos como Wellington Campos, de Bibliacatolica.com.br, admiten que antes de integrar funcionalidades de interacción en sus portales crearon sus perfiles de redes; el 95% tienen cuenta de Facebook y el 89% perfil de Twitter. Las webs con más seguidores son:

-Aciprensa.com (Twitter).

-Aleteia.org (Google+).

-Vatican.va (YouTube).

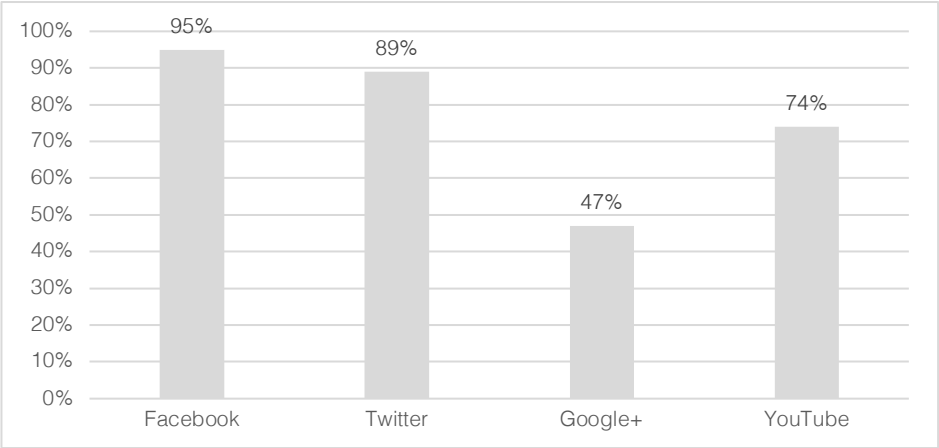

Figure 14. Social media activity of the studied websites. Source: Own elaboration.

En los portales la interacción se promueve con varios elementos. Por ejemplo:

- el 74% de estas webs tiene la opción de registrar al usuario para acceder a ciertos contenidos.

- el 79% da la posibilidad de que el lector participe en la diseminación del artículo;

- el 95% tiene elementos para ayudar a los usuarios en la navegación (formularios de contacto, preguntas frecuentes).

- el 63% envía una *newsletter*.

Algunos de los portales incluyen foros, pero no tienen el mismo grado de interacción que las redes sociales. Otros espacios de interacción son los formularios para comentar los contenidos. Esto favorece la apertura de debate. Corazones.org, News.va, Ecclesia.pt, Catholique.fr y LaProcure.com no utilizan ningún elemento de interacción ni de participación fuera de las redes sociales. En cambio, portales nativos digitales demuestran que la comunidad interna es posible. Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Cançaonova.com, Catholic.com y Religionenlibertad.com incluyen muchos elementos necesarios para conseguir interacción, como un espacio activo de comentarios o encuestas.

Jesús Colina, de Aleteia.org, plantea que se trata a la web como un nuevo canal junto con otros canales complementarios que actúan separadamente: Facebook y Twitter. Wellington Campos, de Bibliacatolica.com.br, admite que en su portal hay una falta de interacción, hecho que argumenta asegurando que él mismo es el único administrador. Álex Rosal, de Religionenlibertad.com, no tiene en cuenta la interacción al considerar una comunidad. En este portal todos los comentarios que dejan los usuarios demuestran que

existe esta comunidad; sin embargo, el espacio virtual donde pueden publicar sus opiniones no permite conseguir una interacción directa.

Esta investigación muestra que la mayoría de las webs son las plataformas digitales de comunidades presenciales ya existentes, como es el caso de Catholique.fr, Cnbb.org.br o Usccb.org. El portal es otro espacio para difundir sus actividades. La situación contraria es difícil de localizar en los portales nativos digitales, como Aleteia.org. Algunos de los responsables entrevistados (Jesús Colina, Alejandro Bermúdez y Wellington Campos) admiten que sus webs no han organizado ningún encuentro físico para los miembros de la comunidad digital, pero coinciden en que el motivo es la diversidad de espacios en los que se encuentran.

Lajoie (1996) remarca que las comunidades virtuales no deben construirse en oposición a lo que llama "realidad real" pero sí como una extensión de ella. Para Campbell (2012) estas comunidades se convierten en un suplemento de las relaciones reales más que una extensión de ellas; las considera un suplemento, no un sustituto. Helland (2007) lo mostró reflexionando sobre los miembros de comunidades hindúes en diáspora y Piff y Warburg (2005) lo aseguran con respecto a una comunidad virtual bahá'í. Muchos autores subrayan que en una comunidad *online* las fronteras con la comunidad física pueden ser muy difusas (Barker, 2005).

En el espacio digital, las personas católicas pueden participar en una comunidad y consumir contenidos con flexibilidad, sin dar importancia a los factores de tiempo y espacio. Los portales incluyen funciones informativas, pero también de oración, interacción y hasta de compra de productos o intercambio de servicios. En Cançaonova.com especifican que la comunidad virtual reduce las dificultades que imponen los mencionados factores de tiempo y espacio. Los miembros de la comunidad se sostienen en ella por su afinidad más que por proximidad geográfica (Gascue Quiñones, 2011).

Que no sean un elemento presente no significa que el tiempo y el espacio no jueguen un papel clave en la construcción de comunidades digitales y específicamente de las católicas, como lo demuestra la lengua. Los miembros de una comunidad *online* se conectan a aquellos espacios donde se pueden comunicar en su lengua; hablan con personas cercanas física o culturalmente. Las diferencias geográficas y físicas son explícitas digitalmente en algunos de los portales estudiados en los que el cambio de idioma modifica también la estructura de la web. Únicamente Vatican.va muestra el mismo contenido en todos los idiomas en los que está disponible. Alejandro Bermúdez asegura que Aciprensa.com no se encuentra localizado en ningún sitio, sólo en los lugares donde se hablan las lenguas en las que su portal está disponible. Para Wellington Campos la lengua dificulta que sean posibles encuentros reales de comunidades digitales nativas. El hecho de localizar servicios de *dating* en algunos de los portales prueba que los usuarios de estas comunidades pueden estar cercanos geográficamente. Además, los miembros de una comunidad digital nativa buscan personas con sus mismos intereses, por lo tanto, también están cercanos por temas o actividades que comparten. Así, la idea de comunidad digital global se ve truncada por barreras que la misma cultura impone.

La esfera digital da a las personas creyentes un nuevo espacio en el que compartir y consumir contenidos y añadirse a iniciativas con otras que también lo son. Encuentran una especie de afinidad, un espacio donde pueden añadirse a iniciativas y construir relaciones que pueden trasladarse al espacio real. La pregunta es si el espacio digital ayuda a conectar o a aislar a los individuos. Para Morgan (1994), la práctica de la religión se ha vuelto más individualizada al tiempo que ha crecido a nivel digital. El hecho de encontrar comunidades que hablen de los propios intereses y poder evitar los espacios donde se contradigan puede llevar al individualismo. Teniendo en cuenta que es más fácil construir una relación con personas con las que se comparten intereses, las nuevas generaciones deben plantearse si se corre el riesgo del aislacionismo digital en el que las personas vivan en cápsulas que sean zonas de confort incomunicadas eliminando todo tipo de debate crítico.

El análisis de los 19 portales demuestra que la comunidad digital católica no presenta unos niveles óptimos de madurez. El uso creativo de la comunicación religiosa implicaría mayor interacción, una actitud más propositiva, un mayor conocimiento y dominio de las herramientas y una aceptación de las reglas de la gestión de las redes sociales, especialmente con sus tiempos y sus dinámicas. La Iglesia Católica, incluso en su versión *online* en estas comunidades, no es una comunidad totalmente abierta 24 horas con disponibilidad total para compartir, acoger e interactuar. Las instituciones religiosas son conscientes de la oportunidad que la era digital supone. Se detecta una ligera estrategia de comunicación en su presencia digital. Se encuentran en una etapa preliminar de la digitalización, yuxtaponen contenidos y servicios y dan poco espacio a la interacción. Una prueba es que portales como Cançaonova.com o Bibliacatolica.com.br no dan la opción de registrarse.

Se han localizado dos tipos de portales católicos: desbordados y sencillos. Los desbordados se caracterizan por contener una cantidad ingente de elementos, en una estructura sui generis en la que difícilmente se puede navegar con agilidad. Carecen de una estética que ayude al usuario a localizar los contenidos y abundan los elementos decorativos, como iconos o *gifs* que no tienen ningún objetivo final ni en la navegación ni en la identificación del portal; ejemplos de este modelo entre los portales estudiados son Corazones.org, Catholic.org, Cançaonova.com o Cnbb.org.br.

En el otro extremo encontramos portales con pocos elementos y poco actualizados, como Bibliacatolica.com.br. Los portales católicos nativos digitales, por su parte, están algunas etapas más avanzados. Por ejemplo Aleteia.org y Zenit.org cuentan con versiones *responsive*. Se desarrolla pues la *religion online* y no se aplica el concepto *online religion*. Helland (2005) acuñó ambos términos para diferenciar las comunidades que consideran internet como una herramienta de las que consideran que es un nuevo espacio de vivencia y relación. Un aspecto sí está claro en las comunidades católicas *online*, la confluencia de interés. En el catolicismo, este elemento es fuerte y hace que las debilidades técnicas no perjudiquen la construcción y evolución de la comunidad.

4.5 Conclusiones

La era digital ha facilitado la creación de comunidades digitales en torno a muchos ámbitos de la vida (McLoughlin et al., 2018). Por ese motivo instituciones religiosas han visto en el espacio digital una oportunidad (Helland, 2005). Se han creado comunidades católicas alrededor de portales web muy visitados en esta confesión. Los tres elementos clave para construir una comunidad digital son contenidos, servicios y redes sociales. Una tríada que facilita la información y el conocimiento sobre la religión, el uso de servicios vinculados a ella y el debate abierto. Más allá de la esfera católica, los elementos que refuerzan las comunidades digitales son los mismos; algunas de ellas se sirven de estos elementos para sostenerse.

La interacción de la comunidad se hace más explícita en las redes sociales que en los apartados de los portales dedicados a la interacción. Se detectan elementos con este fin en las webs seleccionadas, como foros o formularios. Existe además una clara diferencia entre los portales nativos digitales y el resto. Igualmente, la interacción es mayor en las redes sociales.

Este estudio muestra que hay pocas comunidades católicas nativas digitales. La mayoría de las comunidades evaluadas pertenecen a grupos de interés existentes también en el entorno físico o real. Sobre esto, autores como Campbell (2012) y Helland (2005) dejan claro que se trata de extensiones de la comunidad física, nunca de sustitutos de ésta. En la investigación también se hace evidente que las comunidades no nativas digitalmente hacen un uso instrumental del espacio digital. Por su parte, las comunidades nativas digitales se desarrollan en el espacio *online* y difícilmente pueden encontrarse en el mundo presencial por el gran alcance geográfico que las caracteriza.

Por otra parte, se ha desvelado que las comunidades digitales pueden convertirse en una moneda de doble cara. Por un lado, sus miembros pueden estar en contacto directo con personas de sus mismos intereses, en este caso el catolicismo. Más allá de las ventajas, estas comunidades pueden convertirse en cápsulas y sus miembros aislarse y no pasar por aquellos espacios donde exista crítica a sus opiniones. Se detecta además cómo las barreras de tiempo y espacio se rompen en las comunidades digitales sólo teóricamente. Elementos como la lengua hacen que sus miembros se comuniquen sólo con personas cercanas por geografía o intereses.

Esta investigación también muestra el estado de digitalización en el que se encuentran las comunidades católicas globales. La conclusión es que están en su juventud. O bien existen portales con muchos contenidos y poca usabilidad, o bien webs sencillas con poco contenido, bajo nivel de actualización y de interacción. Se detecta ligeramente una estrategia de comunicación digital preparada. Las comunidades católicas *online* se enmarcan por tanto en el concepto *religion online*, en el que el mundo digital se utiliza como un instrumento. La situación contraria, la *online religion* (Helland, 2005) que concibe que el mundo *online* es un espacio de vivencia, se ve en el horizonte, pero como subraya Fiorentini (2012) y corrobora el presente artículo, queda camino por recorrer.

4.6 Anexo. Formularios de análisis

DATOS GENERALES
Nombre web/Entidad
Dirección web
Número de ránquing Alexa
Fecha de observación (dd/mm/año)
País de origen (sede física, si la hay)
Dirección email
¿En cuántos idiomas se pueden consultor la página?
Uno
Dos
Tres
Cuatro
Cinco
Más de cinco
¿En qué idiomas?
Tipología de página web
Institucional
Informativa
Evangelizadora y apologética
Espiritual
Otras
¿Es exclusivamente una plataforma digital?
Sí
No
¿Existe un entorno offline a la página web?
Sí
No
¿Hacen pública la política de participación en el medio -código, normas, pautas, principios-?
Sí
No

Table 10. Form of analysis part 1 “General Data”. Source: Own elaboration.

INTERACCIONES
Permiten comentarios de los usuarios.
Sí
No
Es necesario registrarse para ciertas áreas o servicios.
Sí
No
Disponen de consultorios o herramientas de ayuda al usuario
Sí
No
Permiten hacerse voluntario al servicio de la organización
Sí
No
Articulan mecanismos para que los usuarios intervengan en la elección, elaboración, edición y difusión de material
Sí
No
Tienen blog corporativo para ofrecer a los usuarios contenidos extra e interactuar con ellos
Sí
No
Tienen espacio para ofrecer o recibir ayuda -intenciones, plegarias, etc.-
Sí
No
Incluyen foros o espacios de discusión.
Sí
No
Formulan encuestas para los usuarios
Sí
No
Permiten que los usuarios envíen material -en cualquier formato- para ser publicado
Sí
No
Organizan actividades lúdicas *online* -sorteos, concursos, juegos, etc.-
Sí
No

Ofrecen servicio de dating
Sí
No
Disponen de tienda *online* propia
Sí
No

Table 11. Form of analysis part 2 "Interactions". Source: Own elaboration.

INTERACCIONES OFFLINE
Organizan actividades *offline* desde la página
Sí
No
Vinculan actividades que se inician en el entorno *offline* a su espacio *online*
Sí
No
Vinculan actividades que se inician en el entorno *online* al espacio *offline*
Sí
No
Ofrecen cursos y otras acciones formativas
Sí
No

Table 12. Form of analysis part 3 "Offline Interactions". Source: Own elaboration.

CAPACIDADES TÉCNICAS Y CONTENIDOS
Cuenta con una aplicación para dispositivos móviles
Sí
No
Tienen una versión diferente para móvil o iPad
Sí
No
Tiene RSS
Sí
No
Tiene eventos en *streaming* (celebraciones *online*, cámaras fijas)
Sí
No
Tiene eventos en *streaming* (celebraciones *online*, cámaras fijas)

Sí
No
Han habilitado un área para testimonios
Sí
No
Aloja blogs de usuarios
Sí
No
Permite compartir los contenidos con redes sociales o de correo electrónico
Sí
No
Tiene newsletter
Sí
No
En caso de que tenga newsletter, ¿con qué frecuencia?
Diaria
Semanal
Quincenal
Mensual
Anual
Otros
¿Utilizan imágenes?
Sí
No
En caso de que utilicen imágenes, ¿de qué tipo?
Fotografía
Infografía
Otros

Table 13. Form of analysis part 4 “Technical Skills and Content”. Source: Own elaboration.

VISIBILIDAD EN OTRAS PLATAFORMAS	
Están presentes en Facebook	¿Cuántos amigos o fans tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en Twitter	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	¿Cuántas cuentas siguen?
No	¿Cuántos tuits han publicado?
Están presentes en Google+	¿Cuántos amigos o fans tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en YouTube	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?

Sí	
No	
Están presentes en Instagram	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en otras redes	¿En qué otras redes están presentes?
Sí	
No	

Table 14. Form of analysis part 5 “Visibility in other platforms”. Source: Own elaboration.

5. Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities

ARTICLE:

Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L., Carbonell Abelló, J.M., Sánchez Torrents, J. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2017). Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities. *Prisma Social,* 19, pp. 298-323.

Abstract

The discussion regarding how global Catholic organizations have employed the new tools of digital media has become increasingly poignant and no longer focuses on liturgical limitations but on participation, social justice and new frameworks for reaching new targets. From the Vatican itself, specifically through the Pope's profiles on social media, Catholicism has proven to have an increasingly responsive presence on the web, although Catholics are usually creative without breaking the rules in the ways they extend their religiosity into new platforms. Newly born digital portals have embraced new participatory tools that shape other ways of understanding communion, which is a key concept among Christian communities. Rather than dwelling on whether Catholic portals are incorporating secular strategies to foster engagement, we explore the 19 most powerful Catholic websites according to Alexa ranking, and divide them into different categories that allow us to analyse how they build communities and thus foster the concept of belonging, which is one of the aims that they pursue. Data have been collected in three different moments (2014, 2015 and 2016) where these websites, belonging to 5 languages (Spanish, English, French, Portuguese and Italian) from 9 countries have been taken into account, according to Catholic population indexes.

Keywords: religion, digital religion, catholicism, online community, technology, participation

5.1 Introduction

In May 2011, the first Vatican meeting with bloggers was held in Rome (Wooden, 2011), and more than 150 Catholic and non-Catholic bloggers shared their tech experiences at the Holy See with Church officials and were able to listen to Pope Benedict's invitation to «inhabit» the digital world (Spadaro, 2014; Campbell, 2012). It was not the first

time that the Catholic Church addressed this issue, as the Vatican had already become one of the religious organizations that was a pioneer in embracing the possibilities of the internet by issuing the document «Church and Internet» in 2002. In this text, the Roman Catholic Church stated that the two-way interactivity of the internet is blurring the old distinction between those who communicate and those who receive what is communicated, which in turn is creating a situation in which everyone has at least the potential to do both. This is not the one-way, top-down communication of the past. As more and more people become familiar with this characteristic of the internet in other areas of their lives, they can be expected to also look for it in regard to religion and the Church. Those spheres include game and leisure time, which religion does not oppose (Wagner, 2012; Brasher, 2001).

5.2 Objectives

While previous research has focused on exploring religious communities online (Campbell, 2005), Religion and Cyberspace (Højsgaard-Warburg, 2005), on digital religious projects (Cantwell-Rashid, 2015) and on Christian uses of new media that also include recruitment and disaffiliation (Hutchings, 2015), our aim here is to focus on the top Catholic websites that manage to create digital communities. Catholics have seen the enormous potentialities of the internet and have been there soon trying to export the sense of community that is part of their identity. Scholars have examined Catholic conferences of bishops online (Arasa, 2008) and also Catholic social media (Tridente-Mastroianni, 2016), but none have explored the tools that are common for forming online communities among the most popular global Catholic websites. This study therefore aims to provide some empirical evidence on the shaping of digital Catholicism.

As Helland (2005) foresaw, the World Wide Web and internet communication continue to develop as a social space, making it very probable that organized religious institutions will begin to develop environments for online religion. Thus, «hierarchies and networks are two very different systems» (Helland, 2005). For this reason, and despite the fact that participation and listening are assets in the Catholic media strategy, hierarchical websites still struggle to be social spaces that accommodate participation. However, the increasing activity on social media challenges the still informative and static vision of some of the portals analyzed. Communities on the web lack physical contact and allow for «accelerated» building of relationships and elimination of social barriers (Vitullo, 2013).

Theoretical frameworks for understanding the increased interplay between religion and media and how they are interconnected has been widely explored (Hjarvard, 2008). Lövheim and Linderman (2005) determined how religious identity is constructed on the internet, a view that Spadaro (2014) further analyses when calling «cybertheology» the new way of addressing the challenges that the internet poses to traditional Churches. Zaleski (1997) embraced this concept as «the soul of cyberspace» and explored how new technology changes the way spirituality is conceived. Dawson and Cowan (2004) advocate the religion online concept when they refer to people seeking and finding faith on the internet. Even if fragmentation is a core element of the postmodern society, we observe in our analysis that cohesion is also a factor that constitutes part of the narrative that the

internet helps to form. The new digital culture takes on a sense of narrative structure, weaving together stories about the world or about how the world interconnects. Not every website, Facebook page or Twitter post can be a narrative, but each of them fits into a larger narrative: the life of an individual on a Facebook timeline, observations in blog postings that attempt to make sense of a world unfolding before one's eyes, and even discussions of how people should understand their society (Soukup, 2015:12).

The articulation of online community has also been studied in depth (Rheingold, 1993; Gupta and Kim, 2004; Karaflogka, 2006). Nevertheless, not many projects commonly research how Catholic communities go online or how they achieve success by engaging in multiple and different ways. What tools and mechanisms are needed to create community beyond social networks? Is there any specific «Catholic» tool, issue or aspect to take into account when we deal with online platforms? This paper seeks to tackle those questions by applying them to religious websites (specifically, 19 of the top international Catholic websites).

In this article, we argue that Catholics do not differ from other organizations when it comes to forming digital communities, although they do have specific tools that make them recognizable among their faithful. The contribution of this research is that it systematizes Catholic websites according to their digital engagement techniques and then analyzes their evolution over 3 years, specifically regarding how these technological patterns have led to them evolving into religions online. No online religion in the sample we observed seems to be very developed; and as previous scholarship suggests, there is still much room for religion to develop its presence online.

5.3 Literature Review

For Catholic organizations, the web is a meaningful place where revelation also occurs. In this research we follow Burbules concept of web as a rhetorical place in the sense of its semantic implication. «But it also has a semantic dimension: it means something important to a person or a group of people, and this latter dimension may or may not be communicable to others.» (Burbules, 2002:78). The web means a lot to a group of people in our case study, since the web is not another place but a continuation of the same life that has expanded in new, fresh and innovative ways.

Valovic argues: «Perhaps the metaphysics of the Net theme that Wired support was created with the knowledge that for secular scientism to succeed, it would somehow have to fill the void left by spirituality and other systems of value that offered genuine transcendence. But if so, an important principle has been forgotten: Technological powers and capabilities are only truly successful to the extent that they are fully humanized. When the process is reversed and our technologies being to shape us in their image and likeness, we are heading in the wrong direction» (Valovic, 2002: 206). Gupta and Kim (2004) define Virtual Communities (VC) as: «a web-based community with bonding among the members of the community. VCs have evolved from simple exchange systems to the extant web-based communities. They have advantages over face-to-face communities in that they are larger and more dispersed in space, there is no turn taking in communication and

communication can be preserved for future reference. They are mainly formed for four purposes namely, transaction, fantasy, interest and relationship.» Technological determinists argue that the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of our lives are determined by technology: «technology is culture» (Kitchin, 1998: 57). In this vein, cyberspace is seen to directly cause changes in our everyday lives in fairly linear, simple cause and effect relationships. For example, for the determinists, cyberspace will lead to the formation of new communities. But Kitchin also argues that, according to another theory known as social constructivism, cyberspace is a social artefact, as it mediates a series of social interactions and is itself a product of social mediation. Other names have tried to embody virtual communities: «There's no there there. It only exists in some hard-to-define place somewhere inside the computer» – in what is called cyberspace (Holtzman, 1994: 197). The challenge is to integrate some meaningful personal responsibility in virtual environments. «Virtual environments are valuable as places where we can acknowledge our inner diversity. But we still want an authentic experience of self» (Turkle, 1995:254).

Membership, sharing, participation and belonging are the new names of affiliation. While undoubtedly some users of cyberspace consider themselves to be members of an authentic community, with a shared sense of place, many cyberspace users are transient, moving from space to space. As such, cyberspace for many users consists of inauthentic places (Dodge Kitchin, 2001:17). Gascue Quiñones put it this way: «It is a fact that members of Internet sustained social networks tend to group themselves more along lines of affinity than of geographical proximity. At present, diverse platforms capable of sustaining networks of personal interaction are associating with and complementing each other in a way heretofore unknown» (Gascue Quiñones, 2011:116). Virtual community was initially seen as the illusion of a community where there are no real people and no real communication. It is a term used by idealistic technophiles who fail to understand that the authentic cannot be engendered through technological means. «Virtual community flies in the face of a 'human nature' that is essentially, it seems, depraved» (Wilbur, 1997:14).

When digitalisation was still not common among religious communities, Babin recalled that the «affinity community» was the electronic version of the geographical community, a gathering of people who have chosen each other because of an affinity of character or interests or, in Christian terms, because of an «inner bond of calling and mission» (Babin, 1991:51). This idea of call and mission are present in all the portals we've taken into account. «Interaction does not work on its own. The resources on which participants draw between when they compose their messages and the rules that shape what they can do from a variety of outside sources» (Baym, 1995:161). These rules are changing, and the more one adapts and changes, the more rewarding it is in terms of participation. People on the internet are linked to people, not to a computer. «Instead of people talking to machines, computer networks are being used to connect people to people» (Wellman et al., 1996). The most optimistic proponents of the internet have argued that gender, race and age become unimportant in online interaction. «At the very least, many assume that the absence of these markers will provide the opportunity to explore and invent alternate identities» (Kollock and Smith, 1999:11). What does not seem unimportant in online interaction is religious belonging. Being Catholic has become more public, more

evident and more global than before the explosion of the internet. And now Catholics link themselves globally in new forms by following the key idea that the building of a community is a successful dimension for «selling» the idea of the religious path. It is evangelization in accordance with Catholic self-conception. Proselytism is not a shared concept among Catholic academicians. Evangelization is accepted more as the idea that bringing the gospel to the world is a mission. Church marketing authority Richard Reising (2006) advises that most churches should not practice promotion. Instead, they should focus on the preparation that will make members eager to invite others. Whether they do so aggressively, softly, explicitly or implicitly, all the Catholic pages analysed here have the purpose of bringing good news to a world that, according to all of them, need the gospel.

Effervescence in the digital world seems to accompany the Catholic Church in several places and in several languages. Nevertheless, Morgan (1994) affirms that it has been a commonplace in Western society and culture over the past three centuries that the grip of religious traditions and beliefs has weakened. Ritual life has changed in content and scope, and its hold on people's lives has become more restricted and less vigorous (Morgan, 1994). This rituality is more individualistic, although rituals in the digital place are growing – especially in moments of mourning, trouble and the need to pray. Furthermore, those rituals are connected to a collective sharing of authority. Today, as Conrad and Scott (2005) assess, «Power is not possessed by a person. It is granted to that person by others. [...] Power is a feature of interactions and interpersonal relationships, not of individuals or organizational roles».

Recent data show that, amongst the more enthusiastic forms of engagement that have recently emerged in the Catholic Church, the digital arena is one of the most interesting and prominent ways in which Catholics have found common ground to share and celebrate their world vision (Díez Bosch, Micó, Carbonell, 2015). «Many Christians are succumbing to the postmodern temptation to fragment or tribalize into smaller units within the Church» (Long, 1997:100). In this context many people today fear or deplore the loss of community and community spirit. «Rather than bringing people together, the mass media often isolate or divide them. Yet communication, including the use of alternative media, can revitalize communities and rekindle community spirit, because the model for genuine communication, like that for communities of all kinds, is open and inclusive, rather than unidirectional and exclusive» (Arthur, 1993:279).

«The ontological character of cyberspace also incorporates the elements of connectivity, accessibility, openness, experience, communication and contact» (Karaflogka, 2006:117). Connectivity is a key theme in Catholic self-understanding, and it evokes the etymology of the Latin word for religion, *religare*, which means «ties that bind». While trying to form community, Catholics know that they will compete in a myriad ocean of other communities. Catholic communities are aware of the tremendous challenges the internet poses to traditional Catholicism. As Hoover and Kaneva state, «Increasing personal autonomy in faith practice is an additional such pressure, encouraging religions to further relativize to compete in a secular-media-defined marketplace of ideas and discourses. The

development of social networking media and web 2.0 cannot help but further exacerbate this trend» (Hoover, Kaneva, 2009: 9).

5.4 Methodology

The findings presented here are based on data collected over three years, from February 2014 to July 2016. The data show how Catholic websites are looking forward to having a vibrant digital presence and activity as well as a strong community that is reinforced by continuous participatory and interactive activities. This desired interaction is obvious. About 74% of them registration on the website to access to some contents and services; 79% offer the possibility of being a part of both the publication and the dissemination process (for example, by use of the social media buttons at the end of each content page for easy sharing); and 95% have tools to help users (consultancy, FAQ sections, contact forms). Furthermore, 63% send a newsletter periodically, 95% have a Facebook profile (44% with a low number of followers at under 100,000) and 89% have a Twitter profile (only 4 of them have more than 100,000 followers).

Having seen the numbers presented above, it is important to show how interaction and participation take place on these sites. In this sense, only 7 of them (37%) allow users to comment on their content, 11% host a forum, 5% ask for the opinions of their users through surveys, and 9% organize games and other amusing online activities. Currently, 58% of the analysed sites are not exclusively offline.

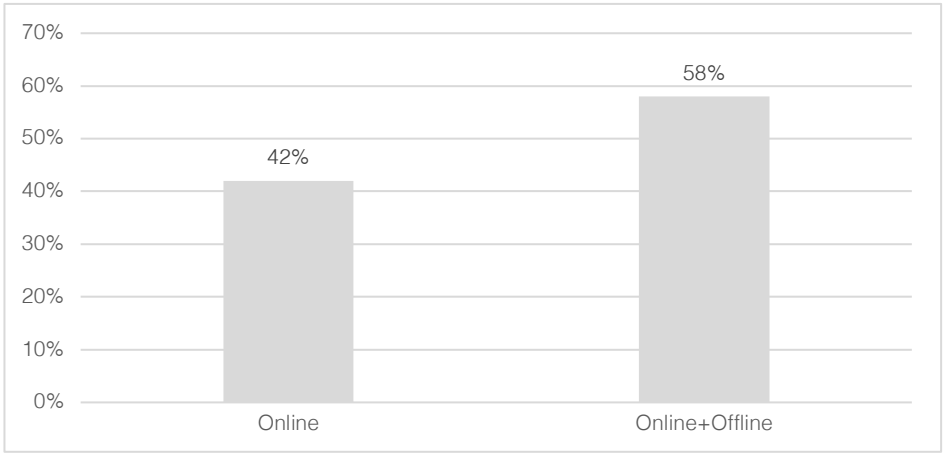

Figure 15. Platforms of the analysed sites. Source: Own elaboration.

This information introduces results obtained by an investigation that aims to fulfil three main goals. The first one is to understand how Catholic websites create a sense of community. Next, we also want to explore the extent to which online Catholic communities are created according to specific skills and are like other virtual communities in the digital place. Our third main goal is to identify the common tools used by top Catholic websites when building online communities. To achieve these goals, we followed a methodology that let us obtain the percentages presented above. The process helped us detect the most important Catholic communities online and also gave us objective criteria to determine how and why we considered them important.

There are an estimated 1.2 billion Roman Catholics in the world, according to Vatican figures. More than 40% of the world's Catholics live in Latin America, but Africa has seen the largest growth in Catholic congregations in recent years. According to the Pontifical Yearbook 2016 and the *Annuarium Statiscum Ecclesiae*, the number of Catholics in the world increased over nine years between 2005 and 2014 from 1,115 million to 1,272 million, which is a respective growth of 17.3 to 17.8 per cent of the world's population. Considering that Catholic religion has spread all over the world, we chose to use language as the primary factor for establishing a representative pattern. Our plan was to find which five languages are most spoken by Catholic people all over the world. Collecting data from Pew Research Center, we found that these languages are: English, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Italian. We searched these data looking for the countries where there are more Catholic people and noting the official language of each country. With these criteria, we consider our pattern representative enough because in the case of the three most spoken languages – English, Spanish and Portuguese – the percentage of Catholic people speaking them is higher than 10% in each case. If we look at French and Italian, more than the 5% of Catholic people speak them all over the world. These languages let us include in our pattern more than 50% of the speakers. Other detected languages spoken by Catholics (e.g., Polish) have a lower number of speakers. This methodology let us choose 5 websites in English (Catholic.com, Catholic. org, Gloria.tv, Usccb.org and Vatican.va), 5 websites in Spanish (Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Catholic.net, Corazones.org and Religionenlibertad.com), 5 websites in Portuguese (BibliaCatolica.com.br, Cancaonova.com, Cnbb.org.br, Ecclesia.pt and Zenit. org), 2 websites in French (Catholique.fr and LaProcure.com) and 2 websites in Italian (ChiesaCattolica.it and News.va). The number of chosen websites in each language is justified by the proportion of its global consumption. In total, we analysed 19 sites from the following countries:

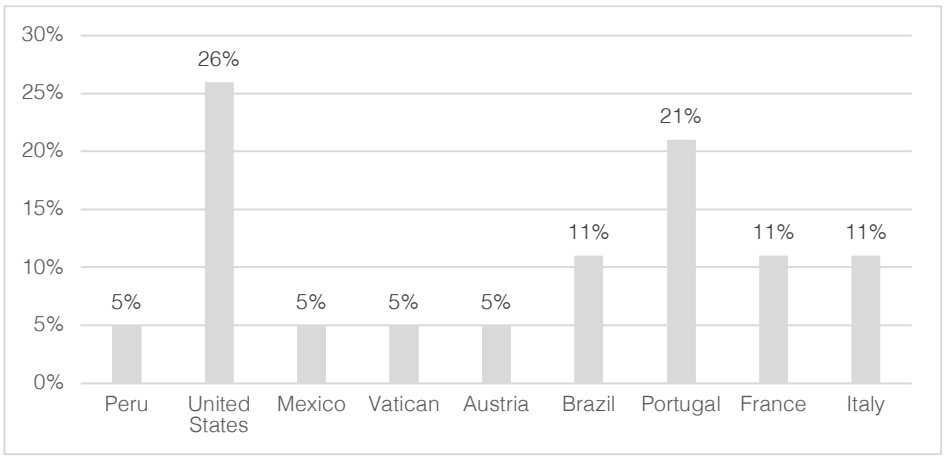

Figure 16. Countries where the analysed sites come from. Source: Own elaboration.

To choose each selected website, we used Alexa, which is a tool from an Amazon subsidiary company that tracks the digital ranking of websites. The keywords for finding them were Catholic, Catholic Church and Catholicism. Among all obtained results, we chose the most visited websites in each of the chosen languages. In those cases where a website had more than one version, we chose the most visited version. This selection let us obtain the main list of Catholic communities to be analysed. In this selection process, we

avoided the general media because their main goal is not to create online Catholic communities.

Once we found 19 online communities with this methodology, we compiled a questionnaire to obtain the data we needed for analysis, comparison and contrast. This questionnaire had the same fields – 53 in total – in all cases, so that we could obtain the same proportion of data in each case and also have the same parameters to study. It is important to stress that, after designing this questionnaire and its contents, it was checked through simple exploratory research in which scholars studied a lower number of selected websites. The results obtained from each researcher were compared and contrasted, and most of the obtained conclusions were in line. Nevertheless, scholars' results did not agree in a small percentage – less than 10%. Differences were debated until reaching a single and unequivocal conclusion. After discussion, those issues in the questionnaire that were not quite in line were modified and the questionnaire was checked again. In this second checking process, researchers studied another group of websites, which was useful for verifying that all the authors made the same interpretation. The results obtained in both checking processes are not included in this article. All the data we present was generated by the questionnaire implemented in the third phase. This final phase began when the interpretation of the questionnaire and gathering of information were unequivocal.

Using this methodology, we analysed these 19 sites with the questionnaire in three waves: 24th February 2014, 16th November 2015 and 23rd July 2016. We decided to register data on three occasions, because we wanted to compare the information in three different but consecutive years. Vatican.va is the highest ranked website on Alexa from among the 19 we analysed. The evolution shows that only one of them has a higher ranking in 2016 than in 2014: Aleteia.org.

Looking at their interaction level, the websites that offer the widest range of possibilities are Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Cancaonova.com, Catholic.com and Religionenlibertad.com. They include almost all the items considered essential for interaction, such as comments, surveys and sections for witnesses and for sending prayers and intentions. Currently, Catholic.com and Religionenlibertad.com have a dating service for their users. Cancaonova.com and Religionenlibertad.com also have an online shop as a service. Regarding offline interaction, we must emphasize those sites that are not only a digital platform, but which also organize offline activities on the website. In other words, the website is another place for announcing the organization of these activities. In this group we have ChiesaCattolica.it, Cnbb.org.br and Usccb.org. A few pages (5%) link their online activities to an offline context. In respect to pages that link offline activities to their online space, we could include here all informative sites. Formation and education are also an activity that these sites offer. Specifically, they are Catholic.net, Usccb.org and Cancaonova.com.

Approximately 68% of them have a mobile app, with the exceptions being Aleteia.org, Catholic.org, Corazones.org, Gloria.Tv, BibliaCatolica.com.br and Zenit.org. Despite this, Aleteia.org and Zenit.org have responsive versions of their sites. We detected several formats of text, images and video. The latter is the most used on Gloria.Tv.

Regarding social media, all of them are on Facebook except Corazones.org, although it is on Instagram. The sites with the most followers are Aciprensa.com on Twitter, Aleteia. org on Google+, and Vatican.va has the most fans on their YouTube channel. Regarding the pages Corazones.org, News.va, Ecclesia.pt, Catholique.fr and LaProcure.com, we found that they offer information but are still do not employ interaction and participation tools beyond social media; so, it is harder for them to build a strong community. Apart from the data collected by this analysis, we interviewed the people in charge of these websites and communities in order to delve deeper into the extracted information. Content analysis and interviews are two methodological techniques that have been used by Christopher D. Cantwell and Hussein Rashid in similar studies, such as Religion, Media, and the Digital Turn. A Report for the Religion and the Public Sphere Program Social Science Research Council (2015).

Once we obtained the 19 sites to study along with their digital evolution and rankings, we decided to classify them by their main goals. According to these criteria, we established five different categories:

a) Institutional. We define institutional websites as those belonging to an organization in which the main objective is to present its mission and values. It precludes other objectives such as merchandising, informing and gaming, which, if they exist, are put on other websites linked to the group. The classic example is the Vatican website (www.vatican.va), which is different from other portals hosted by the Holy See, such as www.news.va and www.vaticanradio.org.

b) Informative. In our classification, informative websites are those devoted to religious information. Most of them are digital originals, meaning that they are not copied from offline publications but exist only in digital form. We believe that the more the quality of religious information is improved, the more likely it is that this information will be transformed into 2.0 standards. Furthermore, it fulfils the need to help society understand religious facts as symbols of a reality that transcends them. One of the characteristics of the 2.0 era for religious claim is that the Church is finding more people who search, confront, and argue in their institutions, people who were previously not as active in public debates.

c) Evangelistic and Apologetic. Some of the pages are clearly created to evangelize and defend the faith. Of those that are explicitly created to spread the gospel and to declare the doctrine as the core message, we classify them as apologetic.

d) Spirituals. We place in this category the portals devoted to prayer chains, meditation and spiritual quotes, among other similar matters. Although other pages may have some spiritual tips or banners, these pages exist only for these purposes.

e) Others. Other pages that do not fit, such as libraries, foundations, online shops and mourning portals, among others.

From the ethnographic data we collected, we found that 26% of the samples are Institutional, 26% Informative, 32% Evangelistic and Apologetic, 11% Spiritual and 5% belong to the category Others.

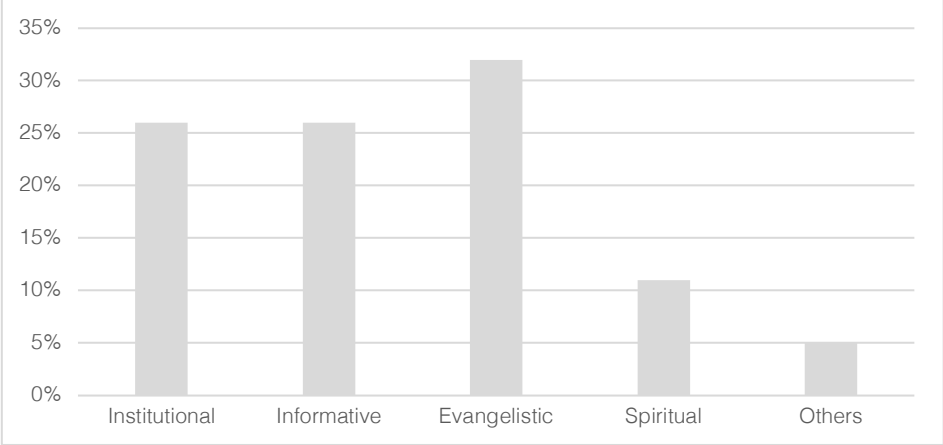

Figure 17. Classification of the analysed sites. Source: Own elaboration.

Having classified the websites, we filled out an exhaustive form that we prepared with 53 different fields structured into four sections: General Information, Interaction, Offline Interaction, Technical Facilities and Visibility. Using it while studying each website, we obtained a chart that let us collect, compare and contrast all data. Each field refers to a tool that could contribute to creating and strengthening the Catholic community on each site.

In our research, the analysis of these sites is complemented with a virtual interview with the person in charge of each website. Interviews were previously prepared and structured in depth. First, we asked the people in charge questions related to the fields that we answered in our analyses, just to confirm the information collected and to check that our perceptions of their sites coincide with their perspectives and criteria. Not only did we want to know their goals in deciding whether or not to include in their websites content, a service or a section, but we also wanted to know their views toward interaction and participation.

In this sense, Jesús Colina, the editorial director of Aleteia.org, explained their vision to us and described how they see their website as one more channel among the three other complimentary but separate channels of Facebook, Pinterest and Twitter. Wellington Campos Pinho, administrator of Biblia Catolica, admitted that there was a lack of interaction on his site, but rationalized this by explaining that it was developed and is maintained only by him. Some of them, like Alex Rosal, director of Religiónenlibertad.com, do not take interaction into account when considering a community. On this site, all comments that users leave demonstrate the existence of their community, although they are written on a virtual wall and not in response to each other. This information is complemented by the answers obtained to more questions about the platform and its strategy, mission and vision. In this sense, interviews revealed several business issues that are relevant for our investigation.

It is important to highlight the double-checking process we followed. Our analysis was deep, but we consider it necessary for presenting a balanced view by comparing our perspective with those who not only work on each site daily, but also have information about its past, present and future – specifically regarding its contents as well as its strategy. Nevertheless, we took into account the opinion of a third agent in this study: experts. Their perspectives are useful to us because they act as observers situated between us and the

website owners and employees. Lucio Ruiz, Secretary of Communication at the Vatican, suggests that Catholic communities are doing well in the sense that they are converting previously traditional and analogical aspects and realities into digital, for example: prayer, charity, information and dissemination of the magisterium, among others). Still, much remains to be done in regard to the new horizons presented by the "digital age". Creation of thought, network synergies and generating opinions are just a few. When asked about how he understands the Catholic formation of groups on the web, Robert A. White is not sure that Catholic communities are attempting to be online communities. In his own words: «Most of our communities are online, but how we get Catholic communities to communicate with each other is another issue».

When we asked the scholar Stewart M. Hoover for his thoughts on Catholics and digital communities, the Director of the Center for Media, Religion and Culture in Boulder, Colorado, answered that it depends on the community, specifically on whether members feel empowered to make their own online connections. Online media assumes that people will create their own opportunities, connections, and networks. They cannot look exactly like offline communities, as they do not have the same borders and boundaries and do not recognize the same sources of authority and power. Online communities are created by their practitioners and follow their patterns of interest and practice. A strong sense of community or need for community is of course required, but it is expressed according to the logic of digital spaces and practices.

Despite this, further research should also take into account the WhatsApp factor, a dimension that we did not explore here because of its reliance on smartphones and private numbers. Calvarese (2016) says that WhatsApp has turned into a point of reference for many Catholics. Through this app, they share the Saint of the Day, gospel comments, pictures with quotes and many prayer requests. It is also possible to read truly inspiring stories directly from those who experienced them. All of these features are incorporated into the websites analysed in our sample.

5.5 Results

As it has done in other subjects and contexts, the internet has challenged religious communities worldwide. Not only has it created a new means and process of communication among several stakeholders in each community, but it has also changed the entire context and created a new paradigm in which religions – as well as other sectors of society – try to make the most of it and take advantage of the new tools that are completely available and free to them. In this context, the results indicate that the Catholic Church views the digital sphere as an opportunity (Celli, 2013). All website managers that we interviewed regard evangelisation as the main goal of their digital spaces (Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Gloria.tv, Religionenlibertad.com, Cançaonova.com and BibliaCatolica.br). The new communication strategy carried out by the Vatican also demonstrates the Catholic Church's willingness to be digitally present and influential. The recently created Secretary of Communication was conceived along these lines.

This larger community joins together online based on the concept of koinonia. The classic understanding of koinonia includes dimensions of participation and interaction, which is needed in current online communities. After all, community implies that there is something that makes members meet each other and come together in a group, that they have something in common. As Campbell (2005:181) explains, in this case, it is faith. In the digital sphere, this common issue creates what Graham (1999) calls «confluences of interest», which is easier to find online than offline. Campbell (2005:181) refers to attributes that are considered important to online Catholic communities: relationship, care, value, intimate communication and shared faith.

While paying attention to the context and situation, we wondered how Catholic websites build up a sense of community. The research informed us that the two most important digital tools they use are languages and content, the second of which tends to be messages and perspectives that are available on several platforms (e.g., text, videos and infographics). These are easy to share, disseminate and edit as well as easy to understand, comment on and be debated. Services related to specific issues on their websites or linked to Catholicism in general are also available. Other functions such as prayer offerings, witness spaces, funding and daily lectures are an easier way for believers to experience faith. The sites also provide dating services and calendars in addition to recommended films, books and other suggestions from their fellow Catholics. Alejandro Bermúdez, Director of Aciprensa.com, argues that the community is a «natural consequence of our actions». He does not believe that a virtual community must be created or built, nor that it requires forums or regular meeting points.

Among the tools that top Catholic websites use for building online communities through contents and services, we must also highlight social media. Social media constitutes the largest, most potent and most transparent digital places where Catholic communities are present. Internal forums on websites do not have the same level of interaction nor the same number of members. Of the 19 studied sites, the highest ranked on Alexa are not those with the highest level of internal interaction; but all of them have a remarkable number of followers on platforms like Facebook or Twitter. Thus, the followers of these pages are growing daily. These Catholic communities have also understood that within a larger public structure such as social media, they can find more members and also spread their message further. What Wellington Campos Pinho (of Biblia Catolica) said about his community is that it had entered «the various channels of social networks that were created in order to generate discussions and interactions with the site content». So, owners like Wellington create community through social media before doing it through their sites. He admits that the site is not currently registering users, although he wants to do so in the future. Blogs are another tool that provides users with the possibility of publishing and editing contents. The content and services that are related to the values expressed by Campbell (2005:181) can provide a sense of community that arises specifically from this shared faith, which becomes a nexus among all the members. This faith and the vision of life that it embodies could be a reason to start a conversation will grow into a stronger and more intimate discussion.

The digital sphere is a window to world in which Catholic people can continue to practice and attend to their religion. Assuming that being part of a religious community may at times be socially unpopular, the internet offers people the opportunity to express themselves with total freedom and without prejudices. They can feel some kind of protection there, protection that is obtained by being in a virtual space not only where more people think and feel the same, but also where they can share and gain advantages like social recognition as well as new relationships that may grow closer and migrate offline. This protection, once found only in church, is now available outside, at any place and any time.

Nevertheless, some of the 19 studied websites are digital platforms for an offline Catholic community; therefore, time and place play some kind of role. The study has unveiled that most of the digital Catholic activity on these sites is linked directly or indirectly to physical offline spaces. Regarding this issue, it is important to stress that offline relationship with reality always occurs before the online, but not after. That is to say, it is difficult to find online communities that have physical meetings. Gloria.tv, Wellington Campos, Religionenlibertad.com, Alejandro Bermúdez from Aciprensa and Jesús Colina from Aleteia.org all acknowledge that their sites have not organized any offline meetings for their virtual community, and this is because of the diversity of users' locations. Here, it is important to stress again the role of time and place. Currently, Cancaonova.com specifies when talking about a virtual community that it «reduces difficulties imposed by time and physical space». Reduction does not mean elimination. According to this judgement, it is clear that Catholic communities are like other virtual communities in digital space. Lajoie (1996) shares this vision and justifies why virtual reality should not be constructed in opposition to «real reality», but rather as an extension of it. In this sense, we also detect on Catholic sites some virtual activities that are clear imitations of real activities, such as the digital act known as «light a candle».

Language is another element that shows us how geographical issues play a role in online communities. Some interviewed coordinators such as Wellington Campos said that this is another factor that makes a physical meeting difficult. People enter into an online community with other users who are Catholic and who are also physically near them; therefore, they speak the same language and share the same cultural issues. Thus, if we study all websites that are available in more than one language, we find differences in content and, in some cases, structure. Physical differences are also present and easy to identify in an online platform. Only the largest platform, Vatican.va, offers exactly the same content in all its available and different languages. In this case, it is remarkable that this site has a global vision while several of the other analysed websites have an international vision that still maintains a noticeable national character. «We are not located anywhere but in the places that speak the languages we make available», says Alejandro Bermúdez. Despite this, Campbell (2005:178) says that in some cases these communities become a supplement to offline relationships and not an extension. The author interviewed some members and found this case to be specifically true among those whose offline community was considered unbalanced or unable to meet certain needs that were being met online. In the digital sphere, Catholic people can live and practice faith more flexibly. In this sense, time and space are important but not quite so much if we note that virtual communities let

users play with their virtual presence so that they can choose whether or not to respond immediately or say the truth about their location, identity or other private information. Ethics and values are considered to be less strict in the digital sphere than in the real sphere, and this is a difference that must be stressed.

At this point, this shared faith that becomes a shared reason for being in the community could be at risk due to the flexibility and freedom of the internet. In our society and in the digital sphere too, it is easier to communicate with more people, but at the same time we have tools that let people be more individualist and share opinions with others that do not disagree with them. It is easier not to answer somebody if we do not want to and even delete or block contact with them if we do not want to talk about something –perhaps because they do not think as we do. In a pluralistic atmosphere, different thoughts inhabit complete isolation. This characteristic becomes a big barrier to achieving a society based on the values of respect and tolerance, but it also has some advantages. Although only some of the analysed pages (Catholic.com) provide a dating service, it is a good example for showing how close these communities can get and how time and place have a role. In this case, they have more than one thing in common: the Catholic faith and the will to date somebody with the same religious thoughts and values. Among all websites offering this service, the Catholic ones have a more segmented target; so, possibilities for people to have success in finding a partner are higher. In these cases, time and place play a remarkable role: people usually look for a partner of the same or similar age and living near them. Virtual barriers are broken by knowing that the relationship people want goes beyond the screen. This kind of service does not create a virtual community directly – as we understand the concept – but attract a loyal number of users interested in the space until they find a partner (if they finally do). So, indirectly, this service builds some kind of virtual community that creates bilateral relationships more than a solid community. There are several websites for finding a partner, but this service on a Catholic website gives the user previous information that others do not. Other users using the same service have some kind of Catholic interest, so it is easier for them to agree on several subjects and perspectives, which makes it easier for them to cultivate a friendship and perhaps even a relationship.

Despite this, online Catholic contents and services are not mature enough in terms of digitalization. The Church and different related organizations from all over the world have seen the internet as an opportunity, and the existence of these platforms is the best way to prove it. Despite this, a lack of communication and marketing strategy is detected in several of them. This is evidenced by the fact that sites such as Biblia Catolica or Cançao Nova, for example, are not registering their users. We have observed that websites are a frequent tool for Catholic organizations to reach their members, but they are in an early digital phase in which websites only juxtapose information and show few signs of interaction and participation, which are essential for building and strengthening a community. Websites become an advantage for these kinds of institutions. They have a new platform for spreading their messages and perspectives and staying active 24/7. Interviews show that they want their site to achieve this goal. In this sense, we can conclude that Catholic communities have understood that they have a digital role, but they are still trying to find it properly. We could differentiate them by their origins – online or offline – and by whether or

not they have an online platform. Digitally born platforms like Aciprensa.com and Aleteia.org obviously do not need to create a digital platform since they are already digital.

Thus, we detect a contrast between those platforms which include a lot of contents, services and community activities and those that offer only information. We discovered two kinds of online Catholic communities that we can organize in two groups: «overcomplete» and «simple». Although the former has the most complete spaces and are more attractive to users, it is sometimes really difficult for a user to navigate them comfortably. This is the case of Catholic.net, for example. The large amount of contents, categories and sections could overwhelm visitors. Regarding this issue, Alejandro Bermúdez from Aciprensa.com explains that one of the changes they are making to the website is related to design, usability and navigation. Nevertheless, simple pages are not as complete as the others, but their navigation is clear and easy to use. Some of them are not updated and exhibit an old design that, together with slow processing speed, could motivate users to leave a few seconds after having decided to visit them. Despite this, it is important to say that there is a trend of helping Catholic sites. Remembering that Mark 12:31 says in the gospel «Love thy neighbor as yourself», all the Catholic websites we studied have a space for helping users if they get lost or if they have any doubts or questions. Depending on the site, this space can be a FAQ section or a form to fill out. There are not yet any consultation sections via chat on these pages, although they are studying whether they can offer this service using volunteers.

Despite the low navigation quality in some cases, the studied websites build up a sense of community because of the subjects they talk about, which form the shared faith that is the center and basis of their community. 32% of them are apologetic and defend a specific way to live and manage different life issues in accordance with the Catholic religion. These kinds of arguments attract users in the same way that they annoy those who do not agree their statements. Community could also be created by disagreement, debate, discussion and some kind of conflict; but loyal users are those who share the same points of view, reminding us again of the risk detected in these kinds of communities and that were mentioned previously.

If we review the attributes that Campbell (2005:181) specified as those that differentiate online Catholic communities from other communities –remembering that these were attributes mentioned to the author by members of Catholic communities – they are: relationship, care, value, intimate communication and shared faith. The only difference is faith, which is the basis of all communities. The other attributes are easily identifiable in other kinds of communities. We also find hard to identify from among the analyzed websites those which can be called «online religion». This term was coined by Christopher Helland (2005) and refers to those sites in which the internet is not merely an instrument; it depends on the net, and religious experiences can only be lived through this digital sphere. Most of the sites are still what Helland calls «religion online», whereby the internet is used only as an instrument. As we stated, some of the website managers that we interviewed provided reasons for not achieving a high level of interaction; for example, Wellington Campos cited a lack of human resources.

5.6 Conclusions

Catholic communities worldwide have seen the opportunities that online platforms offer them, and they are more hopeful than fearful. Technology has changed society, and the Catholic Church has not fallen behind other large communities. We conclude first of all that digital Catholic communities are open wall churches for whom faith is their strongest foundation. What has bound Catholic people together since ancient times is faith. This powerful magnet has not disappeared; rather, it has become 2.0. The tool has not eliminated the feeling; it has become a place to live and to share it. The websites studied were created (as those in charge told us in our interviews) to evangelise. They are integrated with several sections and services that serve as tools, but what makes a user stay or leave a community is the confluence of interest (Graham 1999). In this case, everything involving the Catholic religion is present on sites such as Catholic.net and Catholic.com. Drawing on the research carried out, we also demonstrate that the large online Catholic community is integrated with other smaller Catholic communities made up of people that live in the same regions or who speak the same languages. This unveils the important role that time, and space still play in these kinds of communities. We could consider some of them to be virtual versions or extensions of reality. As Alejandro Bermúdez (Aciprensa.com) asserts, «barriers between virtual and real are artificial». Only 42% of the 19 analysed sites are exclusively digital platforms.

In this sense, age is also a key factor. Online is a new form of Catholicism for the youth, but older generations are not so easily persuaded, as they view the internet more as an isolated «other» place rather than a tool for building community. Related to the above argument, we have also revealed that this new sphere for faith could become a double-edged sword. Digital tools can be positive for Catholic people to experience their own faith, but the internet is possibly giving rise to homogeneous communities and networks that live parallel to others who do not think the same. And this could create an invisible but strong barrier to dialogue (Carbonell et al. 2013). Even if relationships on the web are not the main goal of the Catholic presence on the internet (belonging and sharing are more powerful than the mere fact of knowing people), we could also conclude that Catholicism online binds its members in a way that could be risky, in that it restricts them to those communities without the flexibility of visiting other communities outside this comfort zone. This is a possible disadvantage that should be considered fairly if we want to remember the freedom and flexibility that digital media provides Catholic people for experiencing and attending to their faith. Horsfield (2015) has shown that in many cases the smaller numbers of these groups allow for a type of experimentation and flexibility that is not possible in larger churches. This conclusion prompts us to state that Catholic communities develop similarly to other existing networks that are based on common interests and that use several tools to share everything about these interests with people both within and outside their own community. Alejandro Bermúdez stated that a virtual community must not be built, but instead that the tools let the community give birth to itself.

Furthermore, we have also discovered that the tools used to build community demonstrate that the Catholic communities are what we could call «in-line religion».

Between religion online and online religion, we could place some of the studied sites like Aciprensa. com, Aleteia.org, Catholic.net and Catholic.com. They use a wide range of tools to build the community and make it bigger and stronger. These are comprised of blogs (42% of them), forums (11%), newsletters (63%), apps (68%), witness spaces (26%), online shops (26%), dating services (16%) and surveys and games (9%). 32% allow users to send materials to be published. These tools are based on interaction and participation, but they do not achieve a high level of activity. According to Celli (2013), the channels that the Church can use have multiplied, and this revolution must not be understood only in instrumental terms. The author also adds that the Church and the various groups that are part of it have to redefine their approach in order to avoid doing «what we have always done, only with new technology». The Catholic Church has always shown great interest in communication, not only as a technique but as a means for dialogue and as a tool to shape meaning. Thus, digitalization could lead to new ways of establishing relationships and building communion (Sorice, 2012). This in-line religion is also evident in the large contrast we find among those that include a lot of different contents and services – sometimes with difficulties – (overcomplete websites) and those that only offer information on static platforms that are rarely updated (simple websites). Users can hardly understand the goals and intentions of these sites, and this situation could create some confusion in navigation by driving users only to contents and services that are easier to find. This characteristic explains why strong communities are sometimes created outside these web pages on social media platforms where users can navigate comfortably. As Wellington Campos explained to us, one example of this situation is Biblia Catolica.

Two limitations could arise and benefit from further research on this topic: concentrating on a less heterogeneous sample and choosing portals that have the same nature (e.g., informative or organizational) in order to arrive at specific conclusions about the different facets of each website. Here, we have focused on how those top 19 pages ranked by Alexa build community, and we did so by observing them in 3 waves over 3 different years, by interviewing their webmasters or editors and by analyzing them according to a set of questions we wanted answered. Still, our research had no interaction with the users of those communities, and a complete study should investigate their participation and measure their interaction. Further research could follow the lines indicated by Hutchings (2015a) regarding how the boundaries between leaders and followers are also renegotiated. The most effective online communicators are not necessarily those individuals who currently hold positions of authority within established religious organisations, and independent media producers can gain considerable attention.

We have observed that over last three years online Catholic communities are still not sufficiently digitally mature (they still struggle to incorporate interactive tools on a daily basis), but they are at a stage that could be considered their youth. They have members and know some people, but they are still learning, gaining experience and growing. Only hard work, determination, curiosity and their capacity to understand and make the most of their present context will make them successful. Their youth gives them every advantage; it depends on them not to miss the boat. The old captains should allow them to grow.

6. Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue

ARTICLE:

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Abstract

Intercultural and interfaith dialogue is one of the challenges faced by society. In a world marked by globalisation, digitisation, and migratory movements, the media is the agora for people of different faiths and beliefs. At the same time, the media is adapting to the online space. In this context, narrative journalism emerges, breaking the rules of technological immediacy and opting for a slow model based on the tradition of non-fiction journalism. With slow, background-based reporting and literary techniques, narrative journalism tells stories with all their aspects, giving voices to their protagonists. Is this genre a space in which to encounter the Other? Could narrative journalism be a tool for understanding? These are the questions that this research aims to investigate through the content analysis of 75 articles published in *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, and *The New Yorker*, along with 38 in-depth interviews with journalists associated to them.

Keywords: literary journalism, religion, slow journalism, slow religion, the new yorker, gatopardo, jot down

6.1 Introduction

Narration is one of the seven forms of dialogue between people (Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011). Stories allow individuals to explain the reality in which they live, with all its complexities (Payne 2002). From an anthropological point of view, journalism and religions share a similar function (Didion 1979; Sharlet 2014).

The social function of journalism is to improve democracy (Schudson, 2011; Tocqueville, 1835), a democracy in which societies coexist peacefully and have their fundamental rights guaranteed. In fact, information and knowledge have become key

factors for social and economic development (Bell, 1973). The past decade has been a turning point for the three social environments represented by the publications analysed in this research. Two key factors shaped an era, a society, and the media that emerges from it: the economic crisis of 2008 and the consolidation of the digital and global era (Herrscher, 2014). Both phenomena have forced journalism to reinvent itself (Greenberg, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018; Schudson, 2011), to look for new forms of power and, at the same time, fulfil its social function while also generating sufficient benefits for journalists to earn a living from their profession (Albalad, 2018; Benton, 2018; Sabaté et al., 2018b; Berning, 2011).

Multiple business models have emerged to seek this balance. Meanwhile, the world media map has multiplied (Albalad and Rodríguez, 2012), with the emergence of new publications that have contributed to the existence of a competition for exclusivity, for being the first to cover a story, achieve a greater audience, and continue to feed the advertising model that, in many cases, has stopped working (Neveu, 2016). This so-called fast journalism (Le Masurier, 2015; Greenberg, 2015) manifests the rhythm of a liquid modernity (Ray , 2007) in which knowledge needs somewhere to fit (Durham Peters, 2018). The concept of liquid modernity refers here to the Zygmunt Bauman (2013) term that emphasises that changes in modern society are rapid and continuous. The mentioned authors argued that fast journalism reflects this rapid and continuous change in which society lives. At the same time, Durham Peters (2018) wondered which is the place and the format to keep and consolidate knowledge in this context. For him, slow journalism appears as a reaction to this liquid modernity, as a claim for a slowness, a space where knowledge could be better kept and consolidated. This situation is taking place at the same time as population movements are increasing around the world (United Nations Refugee Agency, 2018). The global society has created new spaces of coexistence (Candidatu et al., 2019; Volf, 2015) in which the mutual knowledge between cultures, traditions, and religions is the path towards peace (Abu-Nimer, 1996; Johnston and Sampson, 1994; Lederach, 1999). Huntington (1996) predicted that future conflicts would be more driven by cultural factors than by economic ones. Therefore, a model for coexistence is one of the most important challenges (Fahy and Bock, 2019; Ratzmann, 2019; Ahmed, 2018; Ares, 2017) at a time in which, despite their digital presence, many cultural and denominational communities do not communicate with each other (Díez Bosch et al., 2018). In this sense, journalism acquires a relevant role (Pousá, 2016).

In this context, narrative journalism emerges as a space where it could be possible to address this twofold challenge. In the first case, the media space has given rise to new publications that are based on this technique, which break the rules of the digital world (Sabaté et al., 2018a) and is determined by a tradition loyal to the type of journalism practiced by Wolfe (1973). In the digital age, narrative journalism is considered a space for knowledge (Durham Peters, 2018), and contemporary society and its main challenges are reflected in it. Religions and interfaith dialogue are among the most complex topics covered by this type of publication (Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). Religious traditions are key actors in today's world, as a cause for peace but also of conflicts based on ignorance, fear of the Other, and the difficulty of empathising with that which is considered different (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017). The rise of fake news (Quandt et al., 2019) and hate speech

(Parekh, 2019; Gagliardone et al., 2015) on social networks is proof of the risks of the model followed thus far and of the massive promotion of prejudices (Restrepo, 2019; Durham Peters, 2018).

Narrative journalism may possibly reveal itself as a space for encounter, knowledge, and dialogue, which presents traditions, allowing understanding and approaching others (Ahmed, 2018; Benton, 2018; Bowden, 2018; Griswold, 2018; Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). According to Eilers (1994), one of the theological dimensions of communication, Revelation (considered as a collection of revealed facts that come from God and that pass from one person to the other), is understood as a form of dialogue. According to the author, from the first page of the Bible, God is a communicating God. However, this self-communication extends into a dialogue with human creatures whom he created in his image. The communicative and journalistic dimension takes place in two ways: in the passing of a revealed information and truth that has to be communicated and also in the revelation understood as an interpersonal encounter. In this sense, Eilers (1994), Soukup (1983), and O'Collins (1981) emphasised that "God is not only revealing truth as something of him, but he is revealing himself, understood as a person to person, subject to subject, I to Thou encounter". O'Collins (1981) also highlighted the effect of this revelation, the "saving power" of it. These described dimensions of Revelation analysed by the mentioned authors show the alignment of these theological scripts with journalism, particularly its aim and functions. Revelation is seen here as a synonym for communication, most precisely as a theology of communication. Journalism as a practice relies on a messenger and draws in narration. In Christian tradition, God is seen as a messenger with a desire to self-communicate (in the beginning, there was the Word). While journalism answers the need of a public to be informed, the theological scripts respond to the need of scribers to expand a message they have received. Thus, the aim of this investigation is to discover if narrative journalism could have this function, understand how it presents religion, conceptualise the influence that digital media has on this coverage, and outline the characteristics of a narrative journalist who covers religious issues. However, this research addresses the mentioned questions from the journalistic and journalists' approach, aiming to point out some initial evidence of this possible relationship between literary journalism and interfaith dialogue. This in-depth journalistic approach has been chosen for this stage of the research to first analyse the content of the genre and discover the role of religions in it. Future research may confirm with evidence from audiences, adherents of different traditions, and religious leaders if this genre could be considered a tool for interreligious dialogue. This research introduces and contextualises the issue, giving some first results on the content and coverage of religions in the described kind of media. It does not present evidence of readers of literary journalism engaging with several religious traditions. It is a matter that could also be addressed in coming times.

According to Grung (2011), interreligious dialogue is defined as organised encounters between people belonging to different religious traditions, but it is also a field that addresses the premises for and the content of such organised encounters. So, this research is not about encounters caused by literary journalism but about how this genre could contribute, through knowledge, to make the premises a reality.

The selected sample is made up of three magazines dedicated to narrative journalism in three contexts that, at the same time, are spaces where migratory phenomena take place (Ares, 2017) and where there is also an increase in diversity: Spain, Mexico, and the United States. The corresponding analysed publications are *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, and *The New Yorker*. These magazines have different origins, seeing as the first is a digital native, and the other two made the leap from paper to the Web. Additionally, their periods of existence are also different. *Jot Down* was created in 2011, *Gatopardo* in 2001, and *The New Yorker* in 1925. These divergences have been taken into consideration as elements that allow for a broader vision to be given to the research. It is also a question of studying whether the identity factors that these publications present affect the central theme that this analysis addresses. Could narrative journalism be considered a space for understanding between religions? Could this genre make visible the social function of journalism (Pousá, 2016; Schudson, 2011) in the current era? This research starts to address these questions, linking topics and spaces that, although apparently distant, seem to be a bridge to bring people closer to each other.

The contribution it could make is firstly, the existent relation between both fields: literary journalism and religion. The research fits in the field of media and religion, and the reciprocity they have, since both spaces influence the other (Campbell 2018; Hoover and Lundby 1997). Specifically, in this field, the present research highlights literary journalism dynamics and format for presenting religion. For religious scholars, this perspective could be enlightening; it could open a debate on how literary formats shape religion in modern society. In this sense, literary journalism presents a very unique way to cover religion. It is a genre that, breaking all digital media rules, has been successfully adapted to the digital world (Sabaté et al. 2018a). It follows high-quality standards, which is a rigorous process of elaboration that is distinguished by always giving voice to every part involved in a story (Restrepo 2019; Albalad 2018; Griswold 2018).

Unsurprisingly, the Constitution of the United States, one of the countries in which this genre has been developed the most, have religious freedom and freedom of the press and freedom of expression at the same level in the First Amendment (Sharlet 2014).

6.2 State of the art

First of all, the divergences that the concept of narrative journalism generates must be highlighted. Up to 14 different designations of the genre have been found (Albalad, 2018; Caparrós, 2015; Sharlet, 2014; Marsh, 2010). For Wolfe (1973), it was “new journalism”; for Capote (1965), it was the “non-fiction novel”. The National Endowment for the Arts (1980) decided to call it “creative non-fiction”, which is a description that was seen as bureaucratic and that became “narrative non-fiction”, although at the same time, this concept was branded obtuse (Sharlet, 2014). Franklin defined the form as “non-fiction story” (Franklin 1986) and “narrative journalism” (Franklin, 1996), until D’Agata and Tall (1997), paying homage to Montaigne, claimed that it was a “lyrical essay”. Sims (1996) and Sharlet (2014) considered it “literary journalism”, Kirtz (1998) considered it “long-form journalism”, while Hartsock (2000) called it “narrative literary journalism”.

In 2012, Boynton redefined and adapted it to the contemporary era, baptising the genre as "new new journalism". At present, and because it is identified with a social movement that opposes postmodern immediacy (Mattelart and Mattelart, 1997), the term "slow journalism" has appeared (Barranquero-Carretero, 2013). In Latin America, all of the aforementioned are considered "crónica" (feature), which is a name that, according to Caparrós (2015), already carries implicit connotations of its characteristic temporality. For the author, "a crónica is very specifically an always failed attempt to capture the fugitive character of the time in which one lives" (Caparrós, 2015). However, he himself decided that this concept is too ambiguous and overused, and that a word he considered more audacious, "lacrónica", best describes the genre.

Although the rise of narrative journalism in the contemporary era can be traced back to New York in the 1960s (Sharlet, 2014; Weingarten, 2013), through authors such as Tom Wolfe, Jane Grant, Jimmy Breslin, or Gay Talese, the first work to be considered narrative journalism is *A Journal of the Plague Year* by Daniel Defoe, published in 1722 (Herrscher, 2012; Chillón, 1999). However, other authors such as Sims (1996) or Bak and Reynolds (2011) detailed certain references previous to the aforementioned date. Another example is the case of Dingemanse and de Graaf (2011), who spoke of the Dutch pamphlets of the 1600s as a tributary of narrative journalism, or Albalad (2018), who put forth the Chronicles of the Indies as a still older antecedent of the genre. For Puerta (2011), the origin could be placed in the Book of Genesis, and even in Mesopotamia or in the discovery of the Epic of Gilgamesh. Other influences of narrative journalism are the realistic novels of Zola, Balzac, and Dickens (Sharlet, 2014; Herrscher, 2012) and Shakespeare's plays (Albalad, 2018; Herrscher, 2012). Whitman and Thoreau are considered the architects of North American narrative journalism, which was developed during the US Civil War in Walden Pond. Whitman sought his references in what he considered to be the best gathered experiences of humanity: The Old and New Testaments, Homer, Aeschylus, or Plato (Sharlet, 2014).

Authors who analysed the historical evolution of narrative journalism include Bak and Reynolds (2011), Chillón (1999), Herrscher (2012) and Albalad (2018). Except for the first two, the rest are from the school of thought that studies narrative journalism from the Ibero-American point of view. To this group, we can add Angulo (2013), who was dedicated to the analysis of the gaze and immersion in this genre; Palau (2018), who examined it in its various applications on specific issues, such as migration; Puerta (2019), who studied the work of Alberto Salcedo Ramos, as well as Palau and Naranjo (2018), who compared the genre in Spain and Latin America. These authors revolve around the Gabriel García Márquez Ibero-American Foundation for New Journalism. As part of it, Albalad and Rodríguez (2012) dedicated themselves to the study of digital narrative journalism.

In the English-speaking context, the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies focusses on what it calls literary journalism and on its digitisation. This group is made up of authors such as Sims (1996), Hartsock (2000), Berning (2011), or Weingarten (2013). Jacobson et al. (2015) wrote about the digital resources of slow journalism. Neveu (2016) focussed on the business of digital narrative journalism, while authors such as Wilentz (2014) studied the figure of the digital narrative journalist and their skills. Le Cam et

al. (2019), Cohen (2019), Sherwood and O'Donnell (2018), and Johnston and Wallace (2017) studied the working conditions of journalists following digitisation and agreed on journalism being an identity rather than a profession. In the field of religion, Díez Bosch (2014) analysed the profile of journalists who specialised in religion, specifically in Catholicism. The author pointed out that knowledge is what makes journalists consider themselves specialised in this subject, regardless of the publication for which they write. Carroggio (2009), La Porte (2012), Arasa and Milán (2010), Eilers (2006), Wilsey (2006), and Kairu (2003) also dealt with this profile. Cohen (2012) did so in the case of the coverage of Judaism.

Within the English-speaking field, this analysis also focusses on authors who have analysed some aspect of the publications that are part of the sample. This is the case of Yagoda (2000), Kunkel (1995), or Thurber (1957), who are the authors with the most material produced specifically about *The New Yorker*.

Although focussed on narrative journalism and its digital aspect, this study does not exclude authors who focus on digital journalism. In 2001, *Communication et langages* published two articles that identified the characteristics of cyber journalism, by Cotte (2001), Jeanne-Perrier (2001), and Masip et al. (2010), which coincided with those written by Micó (2006). Specifically, the author (Micó, 2006) detailed the characteristics of the style of digital journalism as well as its properties. For Díaz Noci and Salaverría (2003), digital text is deeper rather than long, but affirm that depth should not influence comprehension.

Larrondo (2009) highlighted hypertextuality as the most outstanding feature in the construction of digital discourse and pointed out that reporting is the most flexible genre for adapting to digital journalism. Herrscher (2012), Chillón (1999), and Vivaldi (1999) also focussed on this genre as being the most relevant in narrative journalism. Berning (2011) reiterated that reporting is the most malleable genre for the digital space, and also studied hypertextuality. For the author, narrative journalism was already hypertextual before the digital era, since detailed narration and scene by scene description (Wolfe, 1973) are already links that lead to other dimensions of the narration. The risk that Herrscher (2014) saw in digital hypertexts is that the reader can lose the narrative thread. Rost (2006), Deuze (2011), or Pavlik (2001) have studied other phenomena linked to digitisation, such as the interactive process or participation, which are outputs that Benton (2018) saw as applicable to narrative journalism.

Based on this genre, this study also expands on its link with existing literature on the mediatisation of religion and interfaith dialogue. The definition of mediatisation used is that established by Hjarvard (2011). The concept of mediatisation itself captures the spread of technologically-based media in society and how these media are shaping different social domains. In this sense, the urgency of the term deep mediatisation is also remarkable, describing a new and intensified stage of mediatisation caused by the wave of digitisation (Hepp et al., 2018). The mediatisation of religion (Hjarvard, 2011) defines the process in which media represents the main source of information about religious issues and in which, at the same time, religious information and experiences become moulded according to the demands of popular media genres (Lövheim and Lynch, 2011). Hjarvard's (2011) theory

argues that contemporary religion is mediated through secular and autonomous media institutions and is shaped according to the logics of those media. For White (2007), Sumiala (2006), Lövheim and Linderman (2005), the reciprocity between the media and religion is evident, since both spaces influence each other. It is also explained in this way by Hoover and Lundby (1997), Sumiala et al. (2006), or Zito (2008). For Hoover and Clark (2002), the paradox is that people practice religion and speak of the sacred in an openly secular and inexorably commercial media context. The media determines religious experience and defines the sacred, as well as the lines between "us" and "them" (Knott and Poole, 2013; Couldry, 2003; Couldry, 2000). Lövheim (2019) focussed on the role of identity and gender determined by this mediatisation of religion. Candidatu et al. (2019) analysed it in the diaspora situation of young migrants.

In this study, the concept of dialogue is taken into account. Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011) pointed out that narration is one of the seven synonyms of dialogue; that is, it is one of the forms of verbal exchange between humans, together with conversation, discussion, deliberation, debate, interview, and panel. For Braybrooke (1992), one of the ground rules of intercultural and interreligious/interfaith dialogue is that it takes time, because it implies trust, continuity, and patience, which are conditions common to the development of narrative journalism. At the same time, dialogue is one of the characteristics that Wolfe (1973) specified as a norm for a text to be considered narrative journalism. On the other hand, Eilers (1994) analysed the theological dimensions of communication, especially Revelation, which he treated as a form of dialogue. Abu-Nimer and Smith (2016) affirmed that interreligious and intercultural education are not a single curricular item; they need to become an "integral part of formal and informal educational institutions".

In this situation, the technique of storytelling (Salmon, 2008) appears as a space for the expression of one's own identity and shows the effectiveness of what in psychology is called narrative therapy (Payne, 2002). An experience that proves this hypothesis is the existence of initiatives such as MALA (Muslim American Leadership Alliance), which gives space to young American Muslims to explain their experiences, calling for the empathy of people of their same profile, but also that of people with different profiles. Thus, narrative emerges as dialogue (Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011). According to Hartsock (2000), good storytelling involves the reader, activates their neural circuits, and helps to captivate them.

Salmon (2008) warned of the risk of telling stories about current events. According to him, the art of storytelling can become the art of manipulation. This is discussed by Zito (2008) and Sharlet (2014), who made clear that every fact is both real and imaginary from the moment it passes through the lenses of perception and imagination of a journalist's memory. For Sharlet (2014), "the literary journalist needs to be loyal only to the facts as best as he or she can perceive them". Buxó (2015) highlighted the importance of taking into account the symbolic function of language. For this reason, Sharlet (2014) emphasised that "narrative journalism is not the product of a technique but the documentation of a tension between fact and art". Sharlet (2014) agreed with Sims (1996) in that it deals with the art of facts, art versus anti-art, belles-lettres versus the five Ws, literary piety versus ruthless journalism.

> Maybe the distinction is this: Fiction's first move is imagination, non-fiction's is perception. But the story, the motive and doubt, everything we believe—what's that? Imagination? Or perception? Art? Or information? D'Agata achieves paradoxical precision when he half-jokingly proposes a broader possibility: the genre known sometimes as something else. (Sharlet 2014).

Narrative journalism emerges as a possible call to understanding and empathy (Griswold, 2018; Salcedo Ramos, 2018), and arouses emotions (Salmon, 2008) that contrast with journalistic information. Could this effect be achieved by means of a collection of data? Do readers simply want to receive information, or do they want to feel an experience? (D'Agata, 2009). The description of the genre using the techniques that Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996) specified gives an answer to this question. The former speaks of the use of the first and third person, scene-by-scene construction, dialogue, and exhaustive detail. Sims (1996) referred to the same, calling it structure, rigor, voice, and responsibility. However, he adds immersion and symbolic realities (Buxó, 2015), the equivalent of Wolfe's (1973) attention to detail, elements that are presented as small truths and metaphors of daily life explained with literary techniques that allow for them to be converted into stories (Sharlet, 2014).

For Didion (1979), from an anthropological perspective, religions can be considered stories that society tells in order to live. The dilemma raised by Sharlet (2014), whereby the only essential truth of narrative journalism is the perfect representation of reality, is emphasised in this aspect. The dilemma is the same as that of religions, which makes this genre the most appropriate to document them (Sharlet, 2014). The author pointed out that understanding religions is key to understanding narrative journalism, because both explain stories and share the same paradox, the same dilemma; so, according to him, the problems inherent in talking about religions are linked to the development of narrative journalism. They share essential reality, the impossibility of representing reality, at the same time as the desire to explain it to improve the world.

Among all the diverse approaches to narrative journalism, there are some authors that better suit the data and research questions that this investigation sets out. The conditions that Tom Wolfe (1973) outlined for considering a text narrative journalism (which are scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, status details, and an interior point of view) are reflected in the analysed texts and highlighted in the interviews carried out in this study. The evolution that narrative journalism has had according to the results obtained by this research are aligned with Sims (1996), Herrscher (2014), and Albalad (2018).

Berning's analysis of digital narrative journalism is described by the practice of interviewed journalists and, again, in the analysed texts. The research also takes the perspective of Jeff Sharlet (2014), linking narrative journalism and religion, and highlighting the symbiotic role they have with each other.

6.3 Materials and Methods

The methodology for developing this research is based on in-depth interviews (Voutsina, 2018; Elliott, 2005; Johnson, 2002) and content analysis (Van Dijk, 2013). These

methodology authors were chosen for several reasons that aim to contribute to the rigor and scientific approach of the presented research. First of all, the four mentioned authors have a vast and consolidated set of publications about the mentioned techniques in social research, so they present them in different backgrounds and contexts and obtaining diverse kind of results depending on the objective of each research. For instance, Voutsina (2018) and Johnson (2002) thought about different types of in-depth interviewing and the different possibilities of results that the researcher can obtain according to several factors. Specifically, Voutsina (2018) focused on semi-structured interviews, which are the kind of interview carried out in this research. Elliott (2005) has been chosen because of the innovation of his approach. The author used narrative as a tool to explore the boundaries between qualitative and quantitative social research. Van Dijk (2013) is a referent by his specific analysis of the news discourse. So, these are authors that help us fit our method on their contributions and remain aware of the pros and contras of each technique. The publications considered are also from different moments during the last two decades, so the evolution that these techniques may have had has also been taken into account. These are also techniques and authors that have been used in similar research and by authors investigating in similar fields. The chosen authors are also featured for highlighting the ethical aspects of its methodology and taking them diligently into account.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with 37 professionals and experts in narrative journalism and linked to the publications that are part of the sample. All of them accepted being quoted and mentioned in this research. As mentioned in the introduction, this research includes the journalistic approach of the issue, so future stages of it would include evidence from audiences and people engaged in religious traditions and religious leaders. The total number of interviews is 38, because Robert Boynton was interviewed twice. The in-depth interviews have made it possible to provide context and have helped understand the attitudes and motivations of the subjects (Voutsina, 2018; Elliott, 2005; Johnson, 2002). The list of in-depth interviews conducted for the development of this research include the following:

1. Jacqui Banaszynski, editor of the Nieman Storyboard (Harvard University).
2. Joshua Benton, director of the Nieman Lab (Harvard University).
3. Carla Blumenkranz, online director of *The New Yorker*.
4. Mark Bowden, writer and narrative journalist.
5. Robert Boynton, journalist at *The New Yorker* (interviewed in 2014 and 2018).
6. Nathan Burstein, managing editor of *The New Yorker*.
7. Joshua Clover, professor of non-fiction writing (University of California, Davis).
8. Lauren Collins, journalist at *The New Yorker.*
9. Ted Conover, freelance writer and collaborator at *The New Yorker*.
10. Rubén Díaz, associate director of *Jot Down*.
11. John Durham Peters, professor of media studies at Yale University.
12. Carles Foguet, communications director of *Jot Down*.
13. Ángel Luis Fernández, managing director of *Jot Down*.
14. Zoe Greenberg, long-form reporter at *The New York Times*.

15. Eliza Griswold, journalist at *The New Yorker*, expert in religion issues. Pulitzer Prize 2019.
16. Leila Guerriero, editor of *Gatopardo*.
17. Roberto Herrscher, collaborator of *Gatopardo*.
18. Ricardo Jonás, co-founder of *Jot Down*.
19. Carolyn Kormann, editor of *The New Yorker*.
20. Jon Lee Anderson, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
21. Ramón Lobo, freelance journalist, writer for *Jot Down*.
22. Larissa MacFarquhar, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
23. Monica Račić, multimedia editor at *The New Yorker*.
24. Evan Ratliff, journalist, co-founder of *The Atavist Magazine*.
25. Felipe Restrepo, director and editor of *Gatopardo*.
26. William Reynolds, president of the International Association for Literary Journalism.
27. Noah Rosenberg, director of *Narratively*.
28. Carlo Rotella, freelance editor of *The New Yorker*.
29. Emiliano Ruiz Parra, freelance journalist for *Gatopardo*.
30. Alberto Salcedo Ramos, narrative journalist and professor at the Gabriel García Márquez Foundation for New Ibero-American Journalism.
31. Susy Schultz, director of Public Narrative.
32. Jeffrey Sharlet, narrative journalist specialised in religion, professor at Dartmouth University.
33. Norman Sims, former president of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies.
34. McKenna Stayner, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
35. Gay Talese, writer, journalist at *The New Yorker* and father of new American journalism.
36. Marcela Vargas, digital editor of *Gatopardo*.
37. Julio Villanueva Chang, director of *Etiqueta Negra.*

The choice of interviewees is based on their career, experience, and links to the publications studied.

In addition, people in different positions and from different generations and political views have been interviewed in order to obtain a global view on the subject, while obtaining results based on the symmetry of criteria and gender balance. The interviews were carried out in person (23), by telephone (5), by video conference (8), and by email (2). These conversations took place in four countries: Spain, the United States, Mexico, and Canada. The researchers travelled from Spain to the United States and Canada.

The witness and arguments expressed by experts and professors who are working in other institutions are used here to support and complement the opinions of those who express the vision of the analysed media. It has also been considered that external views from people working in prestigious institutions would enrich and make the research more critical.

The in-depth interviews have been useful for this analysis to confirm, check, and contrast the results obtained in the content analysis. The different explanations, opinions, and witnesses helped the team understand and give context to data, make it richer, and also clarify the differences and similarities among the media analysed. In this sense, and according to Voutsina (2018), in-depth interviews help collect in-depth data and approach the global data reflexively; with this technique, the discourse benefits from added nuances. The contact with the lived experience is also an added value of this technique (Johnson, 2002).

The content analysis was developed over 75 articles in two research phases. The first was made up of the analysis of 45 articles, 15 of each of the three publications selected for the sample. Each of them comes from a different section of each publication and deals with different themes. This first phase served to gather global results in the first instance, as well as test the questionnaire created to carry out the analysis. This questionnaire is made up of four parts: identification, form, content, and audience. The first places the piece according to its section, author, and title. In the second part, the elements, report, and structure of each piece of news are taken into account, while also considering the presence and appearance in both digital form and on paper. The fields that are specified correspond to the elements that are to be analysed: subtitles, multimedia complements, images, positioning and extension strategies, manifested in the number of scrolls and pages on paper. Regarding the content, the questionnaire delves into narration. For this reason, the subject and tense are identified. The audience is treated based on the interactions with each of the pieces on the social networks on which they have been published. The use of content analysis (Van Dijk 2013) as a technique for this research is supported by previous studies on narrative and digital journalism, such as those by Jacobson et al. (2015), and Domingo and Heinonen (2008). Authors such as Gillespie (2015), Guo (2014), or Larssen and Hornmoen (2013) also use this technique.

Once the first part of the content analysis was completed, the second and more specific part was devoted to the study on the coverage of religions in the media analysed. The same evaluation sheet was used, although it was extended with a new section titled “Religion”. It includes nine new fields that analyse the pieces in order to answer specific questions about religion in the publications. In this sense, what is detected is: the faith to which each story refers, the role of religion in the piece, the tone used to treat it, the presence or absence of leaders, the presence or absence of quotes by these leaders, and the existence of informative and substantive elements on the faith in question. The questionnaire also studies if the piece promotes prejudices or helps eliminate them. This last part of the questionnaire has been applied following the example of media analysis carried out by the World Association for Christian Communication (2017) in its research on the coverage of migration in Europe, projects in which the authors of this article have collaborated.

In this second part, 30 articles were evaluated, 10 from each of the publications analysed. The selection of these was carried out with a basic criterion: the appearance or coverage of religions. None of the magazines analysed has a section dedicated to religion;

therefore, the articles studied were located and selected using the search engines of the magazines' digital versions through the keyword "religion". The criterion of currency prevailed; for this reason, the 10 most recent articles from each of the magazines were chosen at the time of making the selection, in April 2019.

Thus, taking into account the first and second phase of content analysis for this research, a total of 75 articles were analysed, 25 from each of the publications that make up the sample: *The New Yorker*, *Gatopardo*, and *Jot Down*.

With the techniques carried out, the research introduces the issue of the relationship between literary journalism and religions, contextualises it, and shows how the content of this analysed genre takes into account religions—all from the journalistic approach, having analysed the content and interviewed professionals in the field. As mentioned, the possible interfaith function that literary journalism can have may be confirmed with further evidence than journalistic ones. The research decided to first study the journalistic agents of the research to better know the role and presence of religion in the literary journalism.

6.4 Results and Discussion

Narrative journalism is faithful to the norms of traditional literary journalism, even though it does not fulfil the characteristics established by digital journalism (Restrepo, 2019; Sabaté et al., 2018a). One of the main challenges of this investigation is to discover if narrative journalism about religion differs from these characteristics, as well as to unravel its particularities. Firstly, it is worth noting the analysis carried out on articles in general from the various sections of the three magazines. There was a total of 45 (15 from *Jot Down*, 15 from *Gatopardo*, and 15 from *The New Yorker*).

As shown in Figure 18, all the elements of narrative journalism are present in a high degree: above 40% in all the articles analysed. In this case, the least used element is dialogue. By focusing on the articles in which religion is present, most also fit into the four categories that Wolfe (1973) considered necessary for narrative journalism: scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, status details, and an interior point of view (Sims, 1996; Sharlet, 2014). In all the media analysed, these characteristics consistently appear in a percentage higher than 50% in articles on religion, as shown in Figure 19.

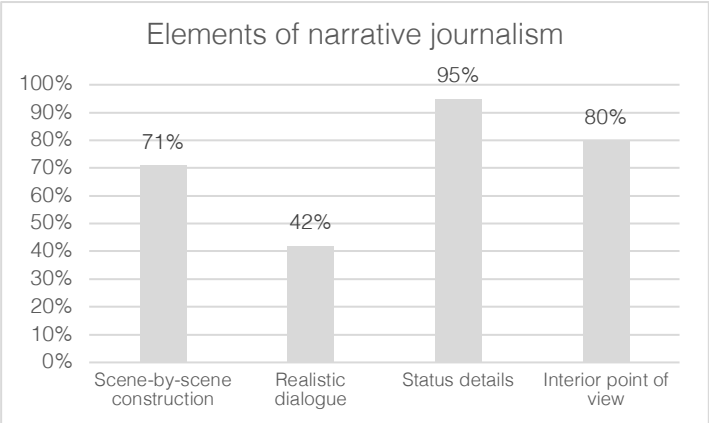

Figure 18. Presence of the elements of narrative journalism according to Tom Wolfe (1973) in the articles of the general analysis. Source: Own elaboration.

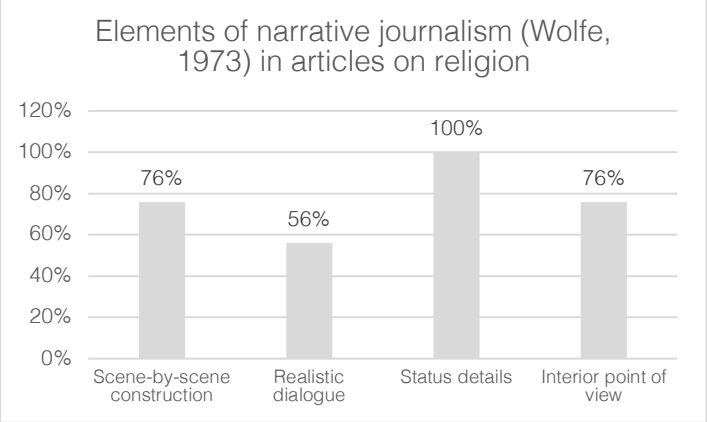

Figure 19. Presence of the elements of narrative journalism according to Tom Wolfe (1973) in the analysed on religion. Source: Own elaboration.

Comparing both series of data indicates that, in general, both the global articles and those dealing with religion fulfil, to a high extent, Wolfe's (1973) conditions of narrative journalism, as reiterated by Sims (1996). Focusing on each of the characteristics, status details are 100% present in the articles on religion, and 95% in the global articles. Regarding scene-by-scene construction, its percentage of usage is also higher in articles on religion (76%) than in global articles. Regarding the interior point of view, it is used more often in global articles (80%) than in those that address religion (76%), although the difference is minimal. The use of dialogue is higher in articles on religion (56%) than in articles on global issues (42%). This format, based on the Socratic method, incorporates the need for the reader to receive the content in a didactic way. It is based on the idea that through dialogue and encounter with the Other, people learn about this Other (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011). For Volf and McAnnally-Linz (2016), "When encounters with others go well, we become more ourselves. As people and communities, we are not created to have hermetically sealed identities."

According to Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011), in addition, narration is one of the forms of human dialogue and one of the ways in which people construct their beliefs and identities. It is significant that texts on religions use the technique of dialogue more than other types of texts. It is about offering the content about religions in an understandable way, one which through the stories appeals to the presumptions that the audience may have about a specific religious group (Restrepo, 2019; Griswold, 2018).

This research has also focussed on which faiths are addressed most in the narrative journalism media analysed. They are displayed in Figure 20.

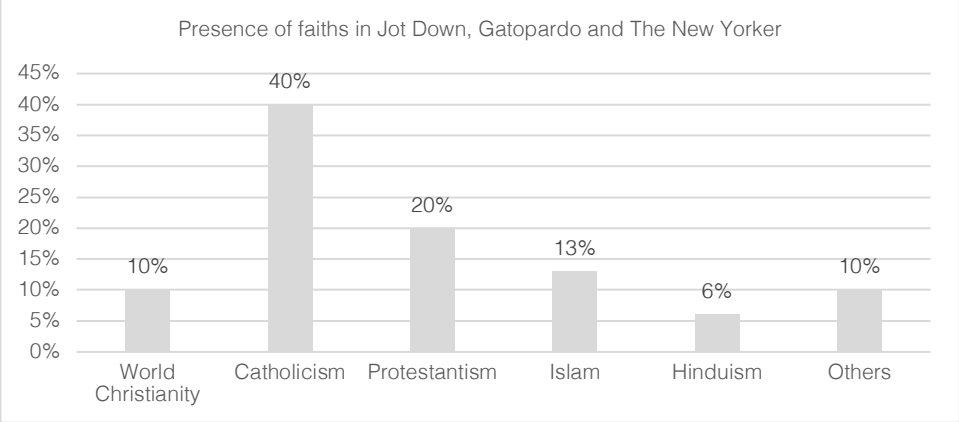

Figure 20. Presence of faiths in the articles analysed in *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, and *The New Yorker*. Source: Own elaboration.

Among the total of articles analysed, Catholicism is featured most, followed by Protestantism and Islam. It is a trend that is consistent with the figures of religious self-identification indicated by data found at a global level. This research also evaluated this phenomenon (Figure 21).

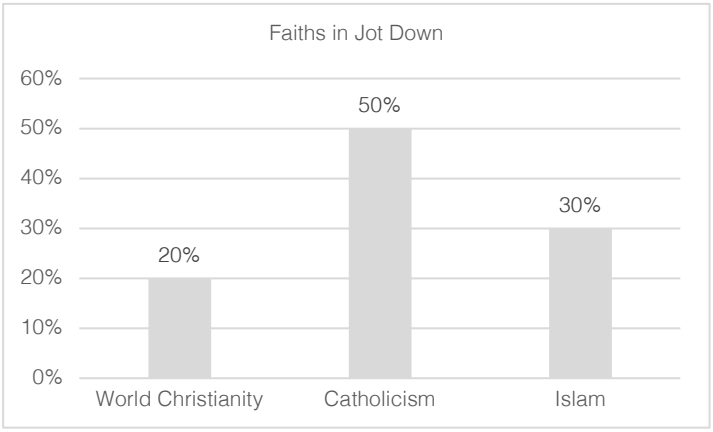

Figure 21. Predominant faiths in articles in *Jot Down*. Source: Own elaboration.

In *Jot Down*, the main faith detected is Catholicism, followed by Islam and Christianity in general. When comparing these results with demographic figures, it can be seen that 67.7% of Spaniards consider themselves Catholic (CIS, 2018), and that the second most popular faith in communities in Spain is Protestantism, followed by Islam (Observatory of the Religious Pluralism in Spain, 2019). Thus, the most covered faiths in *Jot Down* are also the most numerous in number of followers in Spain.

In *Gatopardo* (Figure 22), 60% of the pieces address Catholicism, 10% address Islam, another 10% address Hinduism, while 20% address other religions. In this last category, several stories are considered that address specific beliefs and spiritualities in some parts of the country. According to the National Survey on Religious Beliefs and Practices in Mexico (ENCREER/RIFREM website, 2016), in the Central American country, 85% of individuals identify as Catholic, 8% identify as Protestant Christian, and 0.1% identify as other religions. In this case, the results of the articles are again proportional to the representation that these confessions have in the country of the publication analysed.

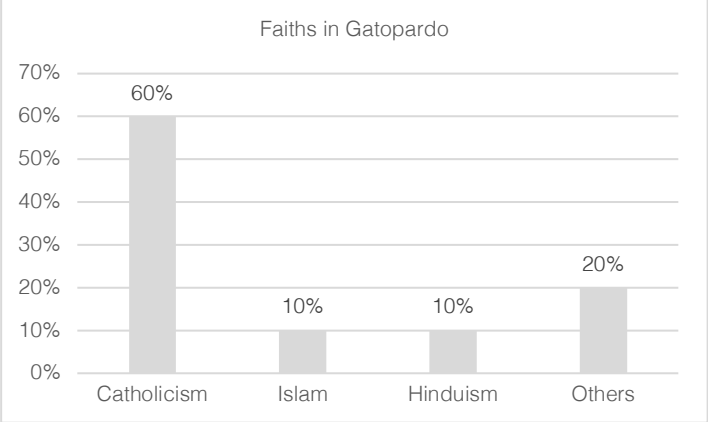

Figure 22. Predominant faiths in articles in *Gatopardo*. Source: Own elaboration.

In *The New Yorker* (Figure 23), Protestantism is the predominant faith (60%) among the topics in which religion is present. It is followed in a much smaller percentage (10%) by Christianity in general, Catholicism, Hinduism, and other religions. According to Gallup (website 2017), in the United States, 48.9% identify as Protestant Christian, 20.8% identify as Catholic, 0.7% identify as Hindu, 0.9% identify as Muslim, and 1.5% identify as other religions. These figures coincide with those presented by the Pew Research Center's Religious Landscape Study (Pew Research Centre, 2014).

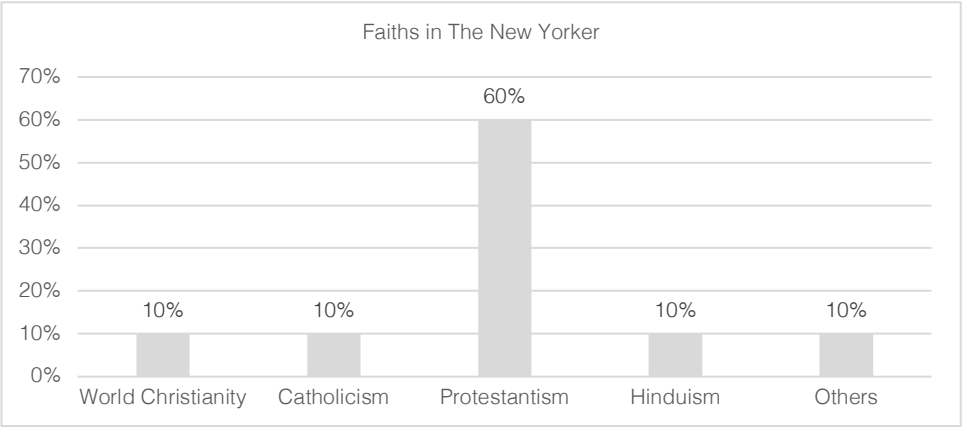

Figure 23. Predominant faiths in articles in *The New Yorker*. Source: Own elaboration.

In all three cases, the representation of religious faiths in the articles coincides with their presence in each of the countries of which the journals are native. The presence of religions corresponds to the national reality of each publication. This fact allows the research to detect a kind of social conscience of these narrative journalism magazines in regard to religion, and is an element that allows the investigation to sense that they may become a tool for interfaith dialogue, as they proportionally represent the faiths that are present in their surroundings. As *The New Yorker*, *Jot Down*, and *Gatopardo* covered these several confessions proportionally, their readers may be aware of their existence and reality, so they could become more informed, and thus obtain more knowledge about confessions that could be unknown for them and avoid prejudices. It is about knowledge that is predicated on promoting understanding (Ahmed, 2018). According to Abu-Nimer and Smith (2016), "a constructive contact with those who are different from 'us' requires having intercultural and interreligious competences as integral like skills in this increasingly

interconnected world. In the cases of *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*, it is also worth mentioning the presence of the category of other religions, which includes the possibility that their reader base may be familiar with realities that are not as popular as other religions present in the media. This is in fact one of the particularities of this type of publication: the presence of topics that do not usually get coverage in general media (Reynolds, 2018; Díaz Caviedes, 2014; Guerriero, 2014). The term "general media" is here understood as media that covers the traditional subjects (politics, society, sports, culture) globally and looks for a wide reach, generally nowadays combining information from press agencies and pieces written by their journalists. Narrative journalism media does not present this structure. They open new spaces for representations of topics overlooked elsewhere with several techniques: free sections (not following the traditional distribution), free timing (giving journalists the time that a subject need, that could be months or years), and reporting and practising investigative journalists, not to cover the same topics that mass media covers or cover it from a new and unexpected approach (Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014).

This study also questions how topics on religion are covered following the guidelines of media monitoring analysis in accordance with the methodology of the World Association for Christian Communication (2017). This entity measures the rigor of media coverage of certain issues, based on the extent to which people's freedom of expression and the different beliefs that appear in the media are respected. Among other points, it focusses on three main aspects: the presence of the people that are spoken about (in this case, religious leaders or people associated to religions), the number of quotes they publish, and the amount of background information on the subject (in this case about the religion itself). Taking this example, Figure 24 shows the appearance of each of these elements in the stories analysed:

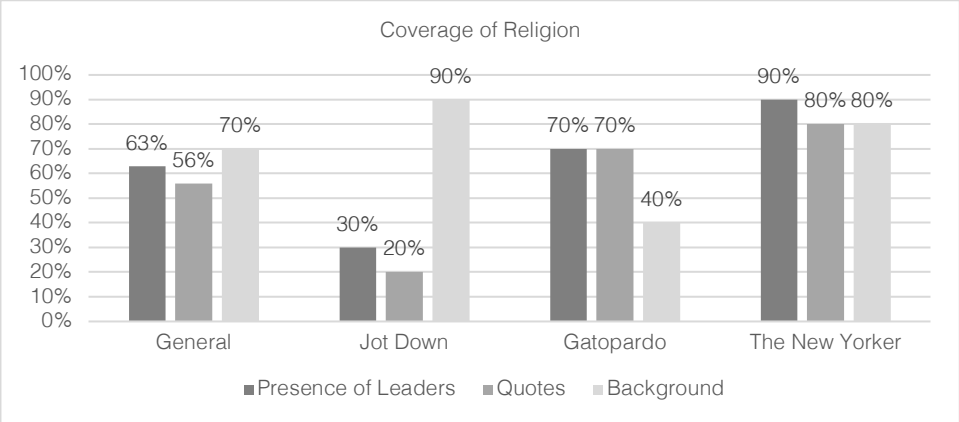

Figure 24. Specific coverage of religion in the publications analysed. Source: Own elaboration.

Generally, the three publications studied include the presence of religious leaders, statements or quotes by them, and background on the faith that is addressed in each story (a background that is linked to the high degree of status details that has been detected in the pieces about religion; see Figure 19). Thus, in a global way, another factor may be determined that could highlight the hypothesis that narrative journalism may be a possible space to contribute to interfaith dialogue, seeing as it uses the most representative aspects

that are considered for respecting the freedom of expression of the people spoken of in each story (World Association for Christian Communication, 2017).

When examining these results publication by publication, there are differences in some aspects. The presence of leaders is more evident in *The New Yorker* and in *Gatopardo* than in *Jot Down*, which is a publication that makes greater use of the study and analysis of background information when covering issues of religion. In relation to this aspect, there is a much smaller number of quotes in *Jot Down* (present in 20% of the articles studied) than in *Gatopardo* (70%) and *The New Yorker* (80%). In fact, overall, *The New Yorker* is the publication, among those analysed, that takes these elements into account the most.

On the coverage of religions, and also following part of the analysis methodology of the World Association for Christian Communication (2017), this study has also taken into account how the articles studied address the stereotypes related to some faiths (Figure 25).

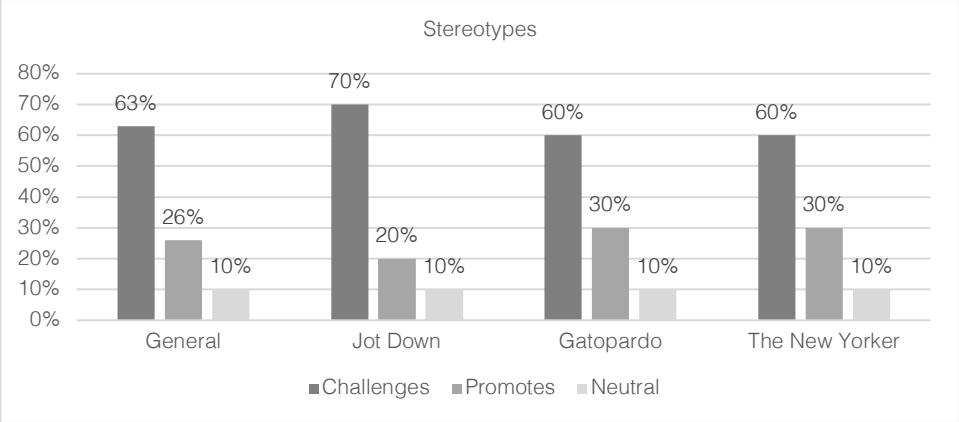

Figure 25. Analysis of the possible promotion or challenge of stereotypes about religions in the articles studied. Source: Own elaboration.

Overall, the results show that narrative journalism articles may possibly contribute to dismantling stereotypes; 63% of the pieces examined do so. However, 23% promote them, while 10% are considered neutral. The high use of the elements of narrative journalism in these articles could be related to their ability to challenge prejudices. At the same time, following this hypothesis, and as the research would introduce in the following points, the role of the journalist could be also linked with the role of the facilitator, in the sense of becoming a kind of mediator. Nevertheless, the existence of pieces that can promote stereotypes even when using narrative journalism leads to a reflection on the education, deontology, and professional practice of the people involved in narrative journalism. Future researches considering audiences' readings may be able to better confirm this aspect.

6.4.1 The Narrative Journalist that covers Religion

Curiosity (Restrepo, 2019; Conover, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017), perspective, resistance (Boynton, 2018; Lee Anderson, 2018; Guerriero, 2014; Yagoda 2000), and perfection in form (Lobo, 2018; Sims, 2018; Collins, 2018) are the main characteristics of a narrative journalist (Sabaté et al., 2018a). These relate directly to features that correspond to the demands of narrative journalism set forth by Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996). Sherwood

and O'Donnell (2018) spoke of identity journalism. MacFarquhar (2018), Blumenkranz (2018), Banaszynski (2018), Bowden (2018), and Guerriero (2014) argued that this profile is very specialised, that it requires both learned and innate skills, and that it is developed by a "chosen few". Weingarten (2013) and Yagoda (2000) highlighted this genre along the lines of what Albalad (2018) called "caviar journalism". With digitisation, the possibility of being considered for publication in this type of media has grown (Greenberg, 2018; Díaz Caviedes, 2014), although key elements for learning the trade have been lost, such as face-to-face contact between veteran professionals and students (Banaszynski, 2018).

For Griswold (2018) and Sharlet (2018), there is a distinction between narrative journalists and narrative journalists who cover religion: the ability to put aside one's beliefs and listen to the Other. This is one of the types of dialogue highlighted by Eck (1987)—the dialogue of life, which opens up the possibilities of visiting, participating, and sharing experiences with different local communities. Sharlet (2014) admitted that "as a writer, I practice participant observation, so, with as clear-as-can-be disclaimers—'Look, I do not really share your beliefs…'—I've often joined in". For Griswold (2018), "it is about suspending one's point of view in order to encounter the Other". According to the author:

> In covering religion, the skills are the same as covering any ideology. So, as a reporter, one has to be able to suspend one's point of view in order to encounter people who are really different. People who believe different things, who believe that certain people are going to hell, who may have different political views that for them are not political, they are religious. It is important as a reporter to be able to sit down and listen to all those people at great length, without passing judgement or feeling threatened by differences. (Griswold, 2018).

A sensibility is detected here beyond the characteristics that define narrative journalists. This sensibility leads the research to introduce the relation between the narrative journalist with the figure of the dialogue facilitator. According to Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017), the profile of a dialogue facilitator could be comparable to the guide of a journey, and specify that "no one can walk the path for another person, but a guide can make the journey meaningful and enjoyable, despite the challenges and rocky areas on the trail". For them, the facilitator does not direct, but makes the process of understanding possible. Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017) also pointed out that a facilitator is impartial, although aware that the reality they interpret is based on their own subjectivity. Therefore, they are at a certain distance from the actors and design the way for them to understand each other effectively.

Following this description and taking into account the definition of the narrative journalist of some authors (Sabaté et al., 2018a) and interviewees (Boynton, 2018; Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018), the role of the narrative journalist who covers issues of religion may be compared to the role of a facilitator. With curiosity, a gaze of their own, excellent writing form, and resistance (Restrepo, 2019; Boynton, 2018; Guerriero, 2014), this type of professional is also able to put their beliefs, convictions, and presumptions on hold, and position themselves face-to-face with an Other who is different (Griswold, 2018; Lee Anderson, 2018; Lévinas, 1985; Buber, 1923; Stein, 1916), in order to listen to them, understand them, and make themselves understood.

The importance of the use of the first person in this type of narrative journalism is detected in this aspect. This technique, which is ground-breaking in the face of traditional journalism, defines narrative journalism (Reynolds, 2018; Sims, 2018). For Sharlet (2014), when covering religions, this aspect becomes relevant, because according to him, literary journalism deals with perceptions, and a narrative journalist must be faithful to facts to the extent that they perceive them. In religion, "things unseen" are often documented; therefore, the demand for transparency in the process is even higher. In this regard, the research must take into account the symbolic function of language and the role that it plays in the production and reception of this type of texts (Buxó, 2015). The author (Sharlet, 2014) gave Whitman as an example, and outlined how this writer explained his method transparently and in the first person. Schultz (2018) defended this demand to explain to the reader how the facts have been established. For Clover (2018), the use of the first person creates the author's own style. However, according to Lobo (2018), this element is a clear distinction between narrative journalism in Latin America and North America, seeing as in the United States, the first person is more normalised in narrative journalism texts. It is also detected in *Gatopardo* and more in the two American magazines than in *Jot Down*. In this sense, Gay Talese (2019) was sceptical towards the idea that the emergence of digital space contributes to journalists' transparency.

> I practice the journalism of 'showing up'. It demands that the journalist deal with people face to face. Not Skype, no emailing back and forth—no, you must be there. You must see the person you are interviewing. You must also ask the same question a few times, to be sure the answer you are getting is the full and accurate one. (Gay Talese, 2019).

6.4.2 A Digitally Non-Digital Journalism

Talese's (2019) scepticism is not exceptional, and shows the relationship that this genre has with the digital world. The knowledge of digital tools is not enumerated among the capabilities of narrative journalists in any of the interviews. In fact, one of the main characteristics of digital narrative journalism is the non-fulfilment of digital journalism's rules of style and writing (Sabaté et al., 2018b; Albalad, 2018). According to Micó (2006), digital writing should have: updated data, universal information, simultaneity, interactivity, multimedia, hypertext, and versatility.

Although narrative journalism takes into account updated data, it does not aim to be the first to publish it (Restrepo, 2019; Blumenkranz, 2018; Burstein, 2018; Račić, 2018; Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014). "We want to tell stories through an approach that has never been addressed before, even they take longer time", affirmed Leila Guerriero (2014). In this sense, Marcela Vargas (2014) said that "the spirit of *Gatopardo* is not 'breaking news'". Global information is present in this type of journalism, which ends up dealing with major issues (Restrepo, 2019; Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Guerriero, 2014). On the other hand, the media outlets in which narrative journalism appears are not mainly interactive. They use some means of contact with the public, such as social media (Restrepo, 2019; Díaz Caviedes, 2014; Foguet, 2014), which measure the temperature of the evolution of topics. However, the audience does not intervene in the production of the texts (MacFarquhar, 2018; Stayner, 2018; Foguet, 2014; Ruiz Parra, 2014). In relation to the use of multimedia

resources, both global analysis and analysis of articles on religion show that narrative journalism media do not fully exploit the possibilities of the online environment (MacFarquhar, 2018; Ratliff, 2018; Fernández, 2014; Jonás, 2014; Vargas, 2014; Berning, 2011). Of the 30 articles on religion analysed, only one uses multimedia elements. In this sense, the consideration of the concept of "immersion" (Conover, 2018; Angulo, 2013) related to the effect of multimedia elements appears as a debate. Despite all the interviewed experts considering the text to be the main way for the audience to be immersed in the story, younger generations of professionals consider multimedia elements a useful complement for the text. According to Monica Račić (2018), "multimedia elements have to be present to give information that the text itself does not offer and that helps audience to better understand the story". For Roberto Herrscher (2014), "immersion can be only achieved by audience imagination when reading". This research has also looked at the positioning elements that have been used in the articles. These elements have been located in 23 of the 30 articles. However, the variety of these elements is limited. There is the use of bold text (in 11 articles), internal links (in seven articles), and links to related articles (in five articles). Therefore, digital positioning is taken into account in a subtle way. Finally, when studying versatility, it can be seen that in this type of journalism, it is mostly present in digital format, even though it is heavily influenced by the layout, structure, and format of the paper. Digital narrative journalism texts are proof of a certain "paperisation" of the internet (Albalad, 2018; Foguet, 2014). However, they are versatile in a specific aspect: length. Eliza Griswold (2018) said, "I write longer than my editor would like, but the fact of not having a limit to tell the story is something hugely enjoyable". It should be noted, before analysing this aspect, that Micó (2006) also detailed the style conditions of digital journalism: accuracy, clarity, conciseness, density, precision, simplicity, naturalness, originality, brevity, variety, appeal, colour, sonority, detail, and propriety. Narrative journalism is accurate, dense, precise, and original; it has colour, sound, detail, and propriety. However, it is not concise, simple, or brief. Narrative journalism seeks literary excellence (Kormann, 2018; Lobo, 2018; Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014) and does not set any limitations that may interfere with the achievement of this goal. In this way, it develops a type of journalism that has also been called longform (Boynton, 2018), that does not follow any canon except for that which each story requires (Račić, 2018; Herrscher 2014). This is displayed in the following figures (Figure 26, Figure 27 and Figure 28) on the length of the articles that cover religion:

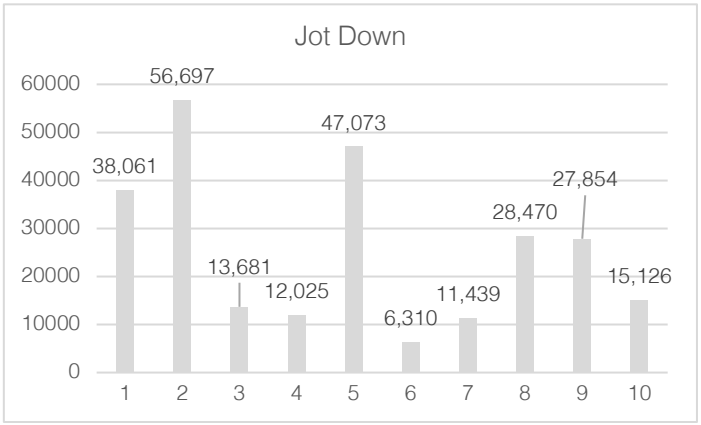

Figure 26. Length of articles on religion studied in *Jot Down*. Source: Own elaboration.

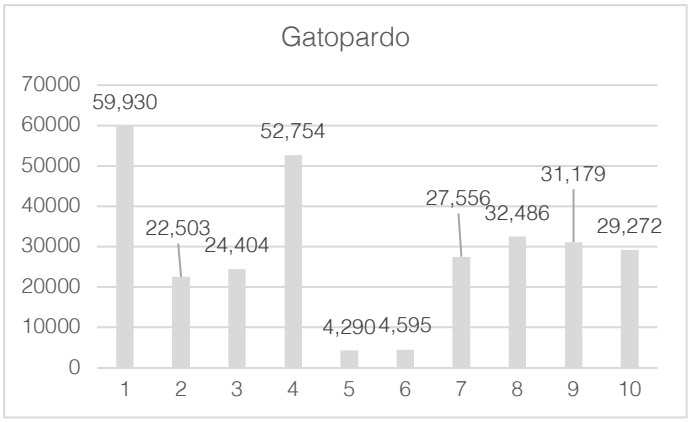

Figure 27. Length of articles on religion studied in *Gatopardo*. Source: Own elaboration.

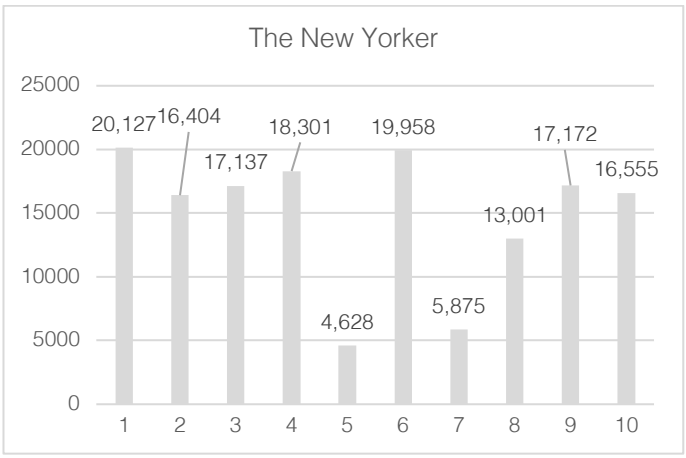

Figure 28. Length of articles on religion studied in *The New Yorker*. Source: Own elaboration.

Similar to Larrondo (2009), Díaz Noci and Salaverría (2003) emphasised that a digital text is deep rather than long, referring to the hypertextual depth of digital articles. In this respect, the will to break with what is established in narrative journalism (Restrepo, 2019; Reynolds, 2018; Sims, 2018) is denoted once again, seeing as it is longer than it is hypertextually deep.

This unlimited length also indicates how temporal flexibility is managed in these media (Burstein, 2018; Vargas, 2014). For Del Campo Guilarte (2006), the productivity of technologies cannot replace human slowness and imperfections. Precisely, slow journalism is the name given to this genre, which does not prioritise immediacy of publication and grants each topic the time it requires (Restrepo, 2019; Rotella, 2018; Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher 2014). A prior agreement is detected with a type of reader who prefers to wait to receive a product (Sabaté et al., 2018b) that provides all the elements for understanding a story. According to Rubén Díaz Caviedes (2014), “these conditions are a privilege for a journalist”.

This research questions to what extent this digital disloyalty influences that narrative journalism may be introduced as a possible tool for intercultural and interreligious dialogue. It stems from the need of some communities linked to specific faiths to get out of the bubble that digital space can represent. Although Castells (1996) pointed out that new media

technologies can contribute to the construction of networks between social groups, the creation of online communities (Dawson and Cowan, 2004) linked to religion is, in some cases, at a stage prior to maturity (Díez Bosch et al., 2018); thus, digital dialogue between different communities is still a distant reality (Díez Bosch et al., 2018; Leurs and Ponzanesi, 2018). One of the reasons for this is that many communities still do not consider the internet a space (Spadaro, 2014), but rather a tool or an instrument of communication, not considering the further possibilities it has. They are in the stage of "religion online", and not yet in the stage that Helland (2000) defined as "online religion". He distinguished communities that act with unrestricted freedom and a high level of interactivity (online religion) versus those who seem to provide only religious information and not interaction (religion online).

Dialogue requires conditions that are more linked to slow journalism than to digital immediacy, seeing as dialogue requires time and implies continuity, patience, and building trust (Braybrooke, 1992). According to Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017) and Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011), dialogue demands a safe space for participants to be able to overcome their assumptions and question their own previous perceptions and prejudices. Dialogue also requires a facilitator to guide it. According to the interview with Jeff Sharlet (2018), digital space appears here as a channel that allows elements of dialogue to have greater reach, but it is not digital dynamism that is going to foster it. It is here that narrative journalism may be seen as a safe space (Abu-Nimer and Smith, 2016) in which both the dynamics and content may become adequate for creating dialogue. In fact, dialogue helps to differentiate between the person and the subject, to see the individual within a large group that can be perceived as an adversary (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011). This is what narrative journalism aims to do: it talks about big issues based on individual stories (Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014), distinguishes people from concepts, and calls upon the reader to understand a specific reality from a different point of view (Díaz Caviedes, 2014) that makes them reconsider their previous ideas (Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014). For Eliza Griswold (2018), "the key is explaining how complex people are, how complex humanity is in a way that hopefully makes it possible for people to consider the way what they thought about others before they read". For Berning (2011), digitisation gives the journalists more sources for making it possible, for the audience to check and explore all the elements of a story.

In this context and taking these elements detected into account, the narrative journalist profile could be related to the role of the facilitator. These figures guide and mediate a process of dialogue that they have been a part of, suspending their own beliefs and actively listening to the Other (Sharlet, 2018; Griswold, 2018; Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011), leaving their comfort zone and inviting readers to also leave theirs. It is in this zone that dialogue could begin and allow people to put themselves in the place of the Other and understand them.

A narrative journalist could be able to make use of literary art to carry out their task, which could be related to the facilitator's one; this art, sown by precedents (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011), may reinforce the empathising effect of

the stories. Examples of articles analysed showing these conditions are “La gente piensa que el obispo no es católico” (*Gatopardo*. Authored by Emiliano Ruiz Parra (2019)) or “The renegade nuns who took on a pipeline” (*The New Yorker*. Authored by Eliza Griswold (2019)).

To confirm if this relationship between the two professional figures and the effect that this genre may have related to interfaith dialogue, future research may point out the approach of the audience, people involved with several religious traditions and also religious leaders. The aim of this investigation has been to introduce this possible relationship, put it in its contexts, and study in-depth the coverage and presence of religions in this kind of media.

6.5 Conclusions

This research introduces the possibility that narrative journalism could become a tool for interfaith dialogue. The results obtained based on the methodology, content analysis (Van and Adrianus, 2013), and in-depth interviews (Voutsina, 2018; Elliott, 2005; Johnson, 2002) allow us to determine that, with the present data, the main hypothesis has been pointed out with evidences from the in-depth interviews and the content analysis carried out. Results show that it covers the different religious realities of its surroundings in a proportional and representative way, detailing how the social presence of some faiths in different geographical contexts is proportional to the appearance of these faiths in the corresponding publications.

This representation is reinforced by the fulfilment of the rights of freedom of expression and communication of these religious communities (World Association for Christian Communication, 2017). In narrative journalism publications, religion is not spoken about without first talking with religion—that is, with the protagonists of the topics that are covered. The results of the content analysis show a high presence of these agents in the stories. In addition, the high level of detail required by narrative journalism (Sims, 1996; Wolfe, 1973) makes the background have an outstanding presence and effect in the articles on each faith. This background completes the information that the protagonists give and allows a better understanding of the different faiths. For the most part, all these reasons lead narrative journalism articles that cover religious topics to create conditions that have the potential to challenge religious stereotypes. However, the present investigation takes a very specific approach that shows the dynamics of literary journalism covering religion from the journalistic approach. Future related research may also consider evidence related to the religious leaders and audience.

In the same sense, the way that narrative journalists practice their profession is also a factor that could point out narrative journalism as a possible tool for interreligious dialogue. This study has detected that a narrative journalist’s abilities, processes, and knowledge could be related with those practiced by dialogue facilitators. They appear as the key figure in a process of understanding. They experience this process in each story they cover, leaving aside their prejudices (Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018) and listening actively: the two key actions of dialogue according to (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017).

Finally, the research points out how narrative journalism and dialogue require a slow rhythm that is detached from the speed of the online space (Braybrooke, 1992). In this sense, the digital disloyalty of narrative journalism adapts to the rhythm and dynamics that dialogue requires, since this genre appears as a safe space for understanding in the midst of postmodern acceleration (Durham Peters, 2018). Thus, digital space is simply a platform that can increase the reach of dialogue, but due to its rhythm, it does not contribute to it taking place. The main contribution could be made by narrative journalism, with its characteristics, and by narrative journalists, through the practice of their profession. They try to get the audience out of their comfort zone (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017), to go beyond their prejudices (Restrepo, 2019; Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018), and position themselves in this awkward space in which dialogue could take place (Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011). Future research may show, in this sense, the effect that this genre has on audience and the approach from people engaged with religions and from religious leaders in considering it a possible element to contribute to interfaith dialogue. It is about society feeling addressed in the encounter with the Other (Volf and McAnnally-Linz, 2016; Torralba, 2011; Lévinas, 1985), based on the narration and revelation of stories (Eilers, 1994). At a time of mass migration (United Nations Refugee Agency, 2018; Ares, 2017) and the rise of fake news (Quandt and Schatto-Eckrodt, 2019) and hate speech (Parekh, 2019; Gagliardone et al., 2015), the tools that promote and contribute to this encounter (Volf, 2015), such as narrative journalism, might be a guarantee for the future.

Part IV. Conclusions

With a background of 5 years, 6 articles, 38 conversations and 75 analysis, this research does not close a chapter, but rather opens up a new approach, both in the New New Journalism studies field, and in the religious studies field. It is a bridge that allows communication between these two areas, full of mutual benefits, knowledge and potential positive consequences. The pillars of this bridge are the series of conclusions that sustain it, constructed by means of this research. All of them have been oriented and organized to assess each one of the goals and hypothesis that were set out at the beginning of the study. Following the same structure, this last chapter develops the conclusions of the research regarding each one of these elements assessed.

Goal 1: To study how the slow, literary and longform New New Journalism fits in the fast, immediate and ephemeral digital world.

Hypothesis 1: New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.

Conclusion 1: New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.

First and foremost, this investigation permits the researcher to affirm that the New New Digital Journalism is indeed more literary than digital. According the investigation carried out and presented in the discussion, the genre remains more loyal to the legacy of the New Journalism and the New New Journalism than to the rules of the digital journalism. This loyalty is manifested in terms of techniques, contents, platforms and behaviour.

No matter the environment, New New Digital Journalism staunchly adheres to the rules that authors such as Wolfe (1973), Sims (1996) and Neveu (2016) establish as prerequisite for the practice of New New Journalism: scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, status details and interior point of view. The high rate of use of these practices has been aply demonstrated in this research, both in articles from different sections of the selected media -concerning art, history, politics, cinema, sports, and so on- and also in articles about religions. (See Articles 1, 3 and 6). The techniques, together with the content, create a mix that let the New New Journalism media be distinguished from general media, aim to invite and entice readers to stay with the text further than the first paragraph (Nalbone and Puliafito, 2019; Lobo, 2018; Sims, 2018). These researchers detect what Ricardo Jonás (2014) dubs “thematical niches”, covering issues that are not always present in general media. Carles Foguet (2014) points out, regarding the creation of *Jot Down*, “we did not find in media what we wanted to read, so we created this magazine”. Weingarten

(2013) highlights that behind New New Journalism there is the lack of capacity of conventional journalism to reflect on cultural and social changes.

Furthermore, the *tempos* followed by these media are out of sync with conventional online dynamics. Nathan Burstein (2018), Jon Lee Anderson (2018) and Carlo Rotella (2018) consider that, although the issues themselves might require more or less time to cover, time itself is not a priority. Of course, according to Leila Guerriero (2014), some of the published issues could be, in some way, linked to the current moment, but this is not an absolute requirement. However, in the end they are always related to one of the big literary issues (Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014), so independence of time is an inherent characteristic. As Augé (1994) identifies the online sphere as "no place", with New New Digital Journalism it would be possible to add that it is "no time" journalism. It is also noteworthy to highlight that, in the digital versions of the magazines studied, the date is not always present in the various articles. According to Robert Boynton (2018), "we are trained to instant production, but my definition of New New Journalism is something that takes a long time".

Nevertheless, according to Lauren Collins (2018), the mediatic diet does have different speeds (Craig, 2015). Audiences are able to consume fast journalism at some moments and slow journalism at other ones (Albalad, 2018), when they need to learn, understand, think, compare, remember and give their opinion. This critical kind of journalism demands time, not only for the journalist but also for the reader. According to Guerriero (2014), there is a kind of tacit agreement between the journalists and their readers, in which the latter do not mind waiting to get a detailed, meticulous and rigorous and journalistic content. Durham Peters (2018) considers that the new new journalists maintain their authority in the digital sphere at a moment when all knowledge is juxtaposed, and in a context of the so-called "promiscuity of knowledge", this genre acts as a "shock absorber".

In the digital context, these shock absorbers have become a means of guaranteeing a future for quality journalism, which adheres to its original function, taking the digital sphere into account to do so. Nevertheless, this genre resonates more with humanities rather than with technology, being, at the same time, aware that technology is *conditio sine qua non, not only* for the present, but also for future survival and development. These media are based on a "paperised" concept of websites, following the aesthetics and dynamics of the paper support on a digital platform. Felipe Restrepo (2019), from *Gatopardo*, Carla Blumenkranz (2018), from *The New Yorker* and Carles Foguet (2014), from *Jot Down* affirm that this is not a coincidence but rather done on purpose to give more space to the narrative than to any other element. The only multimedia element that is frequently used is hypertext, for the sake of authenticity (Herrscher, 2014; Berning, 2011) but taking into account the possible risk of distracting the attention of the readers (MacFarquhar, 2018).

This research identifies characteristics of this "paperised" web: pre-eminence of long texts with few multimedia elements, covers designed following the structure of a paper magazine, continuous references to the paper versions (with series numbers, sections, and so on.). Furthermore, the way the paper is presented, produced to exacting standards and

presented as a book, increases the prestige of this support, leaving behind any dystopic idea of paper as a platform threatened with extinction (Le Masurier, 2020; Boynton, 2018).

This kind of journalism analysed represents a step forward, both for the Wolfe's (1973) New Journalism and Boynton's (2012) New New Journalism. This is a New New Digital Journalism that upholds the legacy of both its predecessors, and seamlessly integrates the essential elements in the online sphere. Its reach is broadened and its quality improved through innovative ways to indicate authenticity and to make stories more impactful and empathic, to be able to involve the audience. Monica Račić (2018) considers that technology is useful to this genre in terms of immersion. Moreover, this is also a slow approach to implementing technology in these articles, as journalists and technicians also devote time to creating new new digital articles based on immersion.

In the end, this is a symbiosis between two platforms: paper and digital, combining them to achieve a balance in which the business model is adapted to respect the quality of the text. The situation could be called journalistic innovative nostalgia, a balance between tradition and innovation, humanities and social sciences in a digital environment by deploying paperised formats. Currently, the use of social media that this kind of genre uses constitutes a platform for broadcasting content and generating a community interested on them. According to Rubén Díaz Caviedes (2014), social media are a both a thermometer for measuring the success of the stories and a contact point with readers. Additionally, in all cases the audience itself is involved in the process of producing the contents.

This hybrid genre is also hybrid in terms of business model. Currently, these media are not cost-effective individually. They are published under the umbrella of bigger business models that produce other kind of related products (such as books, cultural events, and so on) that contribute to make the literary journalism business profitable as a whole. According to Noah Rosenberg (2018), it is necessary to continuously reinvent the model and to find related services that help to make this genre economically viable. The framework constructed by the satellite of related products under the same umbrella of this kind of magazine opens the door to the idea of the New New Digital Journalism as branded journalism. Behind the creation of this kind of media there is an aim of sophistication (Weingarten, 2013; Yagoda, 2000), a value with which some of its readers want to identify themselves. These publications achieve this sophistication by several means: New New Journalism techniques, the aesthetics of their spaces and platforms, the kind of advertising they carry and the coverage of issues that are not present in general media. This sophistication is a differentiation factor and, at the same time, is required to reach this specific public. As many people in the audience want themselves to be identified with the values of these media (Stayner, 2018), the genre goes further than texts and becomes a brand with the quite unique characteristics of its media and of its journalists.

Goal 2: To analyse and characterise the professional figure of the new new digital journalist.

Hypothesis 2: The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.

Conclusion 2: The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.

Curious, original, resistant, good reader, brilliant writer, a bit digital and a bit rebel. The demands that New New Digital Journalism make on the new new digital journalists that practice it are also more literary than digital, more related to the art of journalism than to the technology behind it.

According to the research carried out, there are four main characteristics that a new new digital journalist should have: curiosity, particular point of view, resistance and perfect form. Boynton (2018; 2015) considers that it is essential to talk to many people and to have great interest to get to know about the world and its complexities (Nalbone and Puliafito, 2019). This is not quick and fast but rather slow and gradual, so sustained stamina is needed, including the protracted process of fact-checking (Yagoda, 2000). Currently, training for new journalists in *The New Yorker*, and according to Zoe Greenberg (2018) also in *The New York Times*, consists of a period of time doing nothing but fact-checking, before starting to be a writer for these media. This characteristic of resistance, at a digital moment in which immediacy comes first, is even more difficult to achieve. Leila Guerriero (2014) considers that a text might be written in one month, three, six or even three years. In this regard, Carlo Rotella (2018) highlights the importance of respecting the *tempos* that this demands, being exaggeratedly patient.

The research at hand has also related these main characteristics detected with the conditions of New Journalism according to Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996) and found a direct correspondence (See Table 6). This is a genre that creates a certain kind of journalist, rather than a journalist creating a certain kind of journalism. Its exacting requirements to practice it are not withing reach of many. (Blumenkranz, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017). This signature is also stamped in the unique and personal point of view of the literary journalist. Angulo (2013) considers that it is the principle attribute needed, to be capable of telling facts in a different way, from a different place, approach and perspective, discovering a reality that general media might miss. Rubén Díaz Caviedes (2014) and Roberto Herrscher (2014) share this opinion and add the need of making audience look at reality from an approach that make them learn, be surprised and be engaged. Ramón Lobo (2018) considers that a good new new digital journalist should deploy literary mechanisms. This can be achieved through continuous reading (Banaszynski, 2018) as, according to Spivey (1995) “good writing springs not only from the author’s relationship with life but also from the intertextual connections with other authors”. This literary mechanism, rather than simply improving the aesthetics of the text, should enhance understanding, learning and increase the interest of the readers in the issue at hand. According to Julio Villanueva Chang (2017), it is a very demanding craft, and the most mobile, smart, involved, engaged and daring are the minority of the minority. That is why this is considered to be “caviar journalism” (Albalad, 2018; Schultz, 2018), only practiced by a few elite possessing the knowledge and developing the skills it demands, which are unique, and sometimes require something that goes beyond mere lessons learned. This is about natural talents. The new new digital journalist is more an identity and a way of life than just a job.

Additionally, this genre increases the recognition of the journalist who is devoted to it. New New Digital Journalism bestows these professionals with increased prestige as their unique values are directly aligned with the capacities of the journalist, who prove to be talented enough to practice this kind of journalism. Sometimes, this recognition goes beyond the signature at the end and it becomes translated into the presence of the professional themselves in the text; for instance, through the use of the first person. This is sometimes controversial, and the professional is seen as a rebel (Griswold, 2018). Ramón Lobo (2018) considers the American New Journalism is the "empire of the first person". Ted Conover (2017), talking about immersion, classifies journalists into two categories: those who decide to be involved in the story they are reporting, and those who do not. He considers himself one of those who, as Tom Wolfe (1973), finds it necessary to be part of the story to better understand it and to better communicate it; a condition that reinforces the credibility of the story (Palau Sampio, 2019). The debate that confronts Objectivity (achieved through pure reporting of facts) and Empathy (reached by human interest points of view and storytelling techniques) is open. Gay Talese (2019), in his answer to the interview posed by this research, affirms:

> I practice the journalism of "showing up". It demands that the journalist deal with people face to face. Not Skype, no emailing back and forth, no, you must be there. You must see the person you are interviewing. You must also ask the same question a few times, to be sure the answer you are getting is the most accurate one. (Gay Talese, 2019).

Larissa MacFarquhar (2018) has as a primary rule to remain apart from the people in her stories. In her case, being an expert on writing profiles, this is something quite unique in her writing. Banaszynski (2018) highlights the isolation and solitude in which most of the new new journalists learn their trade in this digital era, far from veterans in editorial offices. Clover (2018), Benton (2018) and Banaszynski (2018) consider that there is a risk of journalists losing the skill of the good writing for the sake of good technological knowledge. For Banaszynski (2018) and Schultz (2018), we need to have clear that traditional journalists have good ideas about how to function in the digital sphere; but the focus should not be technology, the focus must be always the text.

Nalbone and Puliafito (2019) asset "raccontare la realtà è un lavoro, una responsabilità, un privilegio, con tutto ciò che ne consegue". Accordingly, the new new digital journalist has a high responsibility and clear mission that not always carried out under the best working conditions. Most of them work as freelance professionals and need more than one professional activity to reach an income that they can live off (Restrepo, 2019; Ruiz Parra, 2014). Only a tiny minority (Collins, 2018; Stayner, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017) enjoy what in this research is called the triple honour of the new new digital journalist: to have the privileged skills it demands, to work towards a healthy democracy and peaceful society, and to enjoy a working condition to be able to live from journalism alone. In the case of the media analysed, only those journalists writing for *The New Yorker* enjoy these conditions; those who achieve the status of staff writers (Lee Anderson, 2018).

Goal 3: To evaluate New New Digital Journalism as a space for community engagement to achieve impact through social activism.

Hypothesis 3: New New Digital Journalism has characteristics that enhance and reinforce community engagement and builds and promotes activism and achieves social impact within journalism.

Conclusion 3: New New Digital Journalism reinforces community engagement and exercises activism within journalism and in society at large.

The rebelliousness of breaking the established rules (Kramer, 1995) has been always the essence of, and present at the core of the genre studied. Being loyal only to the story and making it work and engage readers has sometimes created a debate between the need of following the digital news rules versus the need to touch readers' souls. New new digital journalists' special abilities mean that they sometimes take the liberty of following their own instincts. This legacy is indeed present in new magazines such as *Jot Down*, where Carles Foguet (2014) affirms that "I do not really know if we are broad-minded or we suffer lack of criteria", but this model accomplishes this goal using literature techniques, tell facts that move feelings and could improve society (Schudson, 2011).

New New Digital Journalism has been identified as a type of activism within society at large and also in the professional world, through its techniques, practice, subjects and the issues treated, breaking the rules of informative journalism and of online journalism (Micó, 2006). In the digital framework, this genre acts as a new popular resistance, against immediacy and superficial knowledge (Luo, 2019; Clover, 2018), covering at all levels the complexities of a continuously changing society (Rosa, 2019).

> In a sense, being a Slow Journalist is a form of activism because this series of radical changes requires concrete action that can change the world in a positive way. (Nalbone and Puliafito, 2019).

Resistance and activism exerted by this genre have existed for centuries and digitalization has not made decreased its power, rather made it stronger. New New Digital Journalism has become a "shock absorber" (Durham Peters, 2018) in the midst of high-speed general journalism, and it has an agenda-setting effect (Olesen, 2008).

It is also considered to be activism within the journalism field because it has a cause, followers, platforms and a history, and thus a collective challenge, a common objective, solidarity and persistence over time, which are the conditions that according to Tarrow (1997) a social movement should fulfil. The New New Journalism has the tools and the character, and currently is a powerful platform on which to exercise its power of activism. Robert Boynton (2018) reflects: "when you sit down and write something over a long period of time and dedicate yourself to it and to the importance of it, you know that importance in your own mind and you are kind of resisting the larger society and the pace of that society". That is why this genre is considered also to be a promise of information and rigour in times of crisis. The creation of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker* in periods of upheaval in their respective countries is also evidence of this.

Nevertheless, despite New New Digital Journalism conforming to Tarrow's (1997) conditions for being considered a social movement, once again, it breaks the rules and conditions to become a digital social movement. Can a movement be digitally activist without being digital? This might seem a contradictory question, but in fact reflects the current situation of New New Digital Journalism as a social community, but not as a digital one. As seen, New New Digital Journalism is not online-centred, and in terms of social action, this is not an exception. Campbell (2012) and Lajoie (1996) highlight that online communities should not be constructed in opposition to the offline ones, but rather as an extension of them. In the case of New New Digital Journalism, the extension is as clear as it is explicit that the analogue level has more power than the digital one.

From the elements identified as being essential to a digital community —contents, services and interaction (Díez Bosch at al., 2018)—, New New Digital Journalism is strong in contents, services are something present in some of their business models and interaction is low even if they are in the main social platforms (MacFarquhar, 2018; Stayner, 2018; Díaz Caviedes, 2014). These ones become more of an instrument for advertising content than a space for reporting (Blumenkranz, 2018; Burstein, 2018; Stayner, 2018; Foguet, 2014). This is not explicit activism through campaigns, but rather activism through knowledge.

An online community demands that there is some confluence that makes members meet each other (Graham, 1999). In the case of New New Digital Journalism as a field and profession, this confluence is the will to deploy it to improve society (Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). However, this practice is spearheaded by individuals who act alone within a layered business structure. However, this is not a solitary activity, as new new journalists listen and talk to many different people during their work (Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018), but it nevertheless involves a high percentage of working on their own. Magazines became the only tangible confluence of this community, as space and time are relatively predominant in these environments. Currently, two out of the three magazines analysed do not have an official physical office. This "no place" "no time" community let the members focus on the main issue at hand, and empower them more to do so. The only element conditioning its functioning is language.

This work found a robust activism, that does not express itself through campaigns to influences the community at large, but rather is kind of individual (Kormann, 2014; Guerriero, 2014; Herrscher, 2014), that does reach the online world, but is not digital. Again, the uniqueness of the New New Digital Journalism also manifests itself in the kind of activism it exercises.

Is this knowledge activism a tool and a space for understanding in the current world? Could it be used in the interfaith field? The last conclusion answers these questions.

Goal 4: To discern if New New Digital Journalism might serve as a tool for interfaith and intercultural understanding.

Hypothesis 4: New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue.

Conclusion 4: New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue, but both the journalists and the communities' participation are needed.

Narration is one form of dialogue (Merdjanova and Brodeur, 2011; Arendt, 1968). After highlighting the characteristics and the activism practiced by the genre studied, this investigation opens the door to the possibility that the New New Digital Journalism could become a tool for intercultural and interfaith dialogue. Why would this be so? Because it has been identified, described and justified as a unique genre, created by a very special profile of journalist and considered a social community, exercising a "knowledge activism" with social impact, communicating reality, particularly in complex and changing times. The more public know about the world, the better they can understand and empathize with it (Griswold, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Sharlet, 2018).

Religions, and the dialogue between them, is a relevant, influential but complex issue to absorb and understand in the world of today (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi, 2017). Currently, New New Digital Journalism fulfils the conditions that covering these issues requires. They are complicated, in a state of flux and of public interest. New New Digital Journalism could be a means to rigorously cover this, as this genre makes society feel questioned by encounters with the Other (Volf and McAnnally-Linz, 2016; Torralba, 2011; Lévinas, 1985) through the revelation of stories (Eilers, 1994; Arendt, 1968) - knowledge through New New Digital Journalism as the step forward dialogue. Currently, dialogue requires the slow conditions that New New Digital Journalism has (Conover, 2016; Braybrooke, 1992), as this dialogue involves continuity and patience to build trust.

On this matter, the results of this research show that the magazines analysed cover different religious realities with the essential techniques of the New New Digital Journalism, which are intended to fully accomplish the rights of freedom of expression and communication (World Association for Christian Communication, 2017). This investigation reveals that new new digital journalists do not speak about religions without talking with those that practice them. This kind of practice could avoid prejudices and stereotypes.

In reaching this conclusion, the research also identifies the role of the new new digital journalists, through their task, as possible dialogue facilitators. They put their prejudices aside (Griswold, 2018; Sharlet, 2018) and listen actively (Nicoletti, Donelli, Somalvico, Zavattaro and Giuliodori, 2000), the two key actions for dialogue according to Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017). Hard work, curiosity, determination, and capacity to understand make them successful (Díez Bosch et al., 2017).

Taking these conclusions into account, the New New Digital Journalism could appear also a as a way to break the dichotomy of the digital sphere, as some authors have pointed out the possibility of it being a double-edged sword, being both a space not only for connection but also for isolation. In a pluralistic atmosphere, different thoughts and mindsets can cohabit in complete isolation, which could become an unbreakable barrier for understanding, respect and tolerance. Currently, practicing a religion has become more individual since digitalization (Morgan, 1994). Hence, religions can always find in the digital

world not only a space to practice but also to encounter each other. This genre has the characteristics to be able to resolve this situation.

Nevertheless, the case study on Catholic communities shows how the level of maturity in communication of the religious communities is diverse and sometimes, their same structure and disposition could make a rigorous coverage quite difficult. While New New Digital Journalism deploys its techniques, the role of religions (meaning, religious communities, religious leaders) should be to contribute to this knowledge by facilitating information, sources and being accessible to journalists. This is not always the reality, as revealed by Díez Bosch (2014), Arasa and Milán (2010) and Pou Amérigo (2008). In most cases, Catholic digital spaces are a collection of juxtaposed information that makes it difficult for journalists to get to know them and communicate with them (Díez Bosch et al., 2018). This should be highlighted, as communication is not a complementary action for religious communities but rather a mission. Religions exist to communicate, and their message is aimed at creating communion. (Pontifical Council for Social Communication, 1971).

This study highlights that digital religious communities are in their youth, not mature enough to take advantage of possibilities of both of the digital world and also of the New New Digital Journalism practices. Most of them are in the “religion online” stage (Helland, 2000), only using the digital sphere as a platform but not as a space, as the “online religion” ones do. This research reveals an “in-line religion”, in which there are some digital elements used by religions, but are not still effectively implemented, so could still cause confusion and misunderstanding.

The stage of religions regarding digitalization is very similar to the stage of the New New Digital Journalism. We would identify a “New New Journalism online” rather than an “online New New Journalism”. This is to say that both fields do not fully implement the technological options the digital space offer. The difference lies in the objective of this position. New New Digital Journalism does it on purpose, and future research may go deeper into the strategy behind the position of religions, taking into account the individual experiences of leaders and members of the communities themselves.

Hence, New New Digital Journalism is a way to reach understanding through knowledge and stories at a time of rampant fake news that could lead to stereotypes and prejudices. However, to challenge this, both the effort of this genre and of religions at large are necessary; both fields need to accomplish their essential mission of communicating. Both parts need to be aware that the responsibility to overcome prejudices and stereotypes is shared.

From now own, equally shared are the conclusions of the research undertaken. Having journeyed with it in all stages, and drawing from the methods implemented, this investigation concludes that tools that enhance encounter and promote dialogue through knowledge and putting humans in the centre, such as New New Digital Journalism has been proven to do to do, represents a path for a future of understanding and peace.

Goals	Hypothesis	Conclusions
Goal 1: To study how the slow, literary and longform New New Journalism fits in the fast, immediate and ephemeral digital world.	**Hypothesis 1**: New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.	**Conclusion 1:** New New Digital Journalism is more literary-based than digitally-based.
Goal 2: To analyse and characterise the professional figure of the new new digital journalist.	**Hypothesis 2**: The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.	**Conclusion 2:** The new new digital journalist is a unique and privileged figure encompassing skills that cannot always be learnt.
Goal 3: To evaluate New New Digital Journalism as a space for community engagement to achieve impact through social activism.	**Hypothesis 3**: New New Digital Journalism has characteristics that enhance and reinforce community engagement and builds and promotes activism and achieves social impact within journalism.	**Conclusion 3** New New Digital Journalism reinforces community engagement and exercises activism within journalism and in society at large.
Goal 4: To discern if New New Digital Journalism might serve as a tool for interfaith and intercultural understanding.	**Hypothesis 4**: New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue.	**Conclusion 4** New New Digital Journalism is a tool and a space for interfaith and intercultural understanding and dialogue, but both the journalists and the communities' participation are needed.

Table 15. Alignment among goals, hypothesis and conclusions. Source: Own drafting.

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Annex I. Content analysis forms

1.1 New New Digital Journalism Analysis

Number		Headline	
Author			
Section			
FORM			
Subtitle			
Multimedia elements			
Image			
Positioning elements			
Scroll pages			
Paper pages			
Characters			
CONTENTS			
Theme			
Person			
Verb tense			
Dialogue			
Presence of journalist			
Point of view			
Description			
Use of adjectives			
Scene-by-scene construction			
Other details			
AUDIENCE			
Comments			
Social media where published			
RELIGION			
Confession			
Role			
Tone			
Presence of leaders			
Quotes			
Background about the confession			
Related topics			
Challenges or Promotes stereotypes?			
Individual or Community centered?			

Table 16. New New Digital journalism form of analysis. Source: Own drafting.

Number	21	Headline	The Renegade Nuns who took on a Pipeline
Author		Eliza Griswold	
Section		On Religion	
FORM			
Subtitle		Without subtitle.	
Multimedia elements		Podcast.	
Image		1 picture.	
Positioning elements		Links and related articles.	
Scroll pages		10.	
Paper pages		13.	
Characters		20.127.	
CONTENTS			
Theme		The resistance movement of the nuns from the congregation Adorers of the Blood of Christ, against an energy company planned to build a pipeline on their land.	
Person		Singular first and third person.	
Verb tense		Past.	
Dialogue		Yes. High.	
Presence of journalist		Yes. High.	
Point of view		Third person omniscient.	
Description		Yes. High.	
Use of adjectives		Yes. High.	
Scene-by-scene construction		Yes. High.	
Other details			
AUDIENCE			
Comments		No comments available.	
Social media where published		Facebook and Twitter.	
RELIGION			
Confession		Christianism – Catholicism.	
Role		Context.	
Tone		Positive.	
Presence of leaders		Yes.	
Quotes		Yes.	
Background about the confession		Yes.	
Related topics		Climate change, Pipelines.	
Challenges or Promotes stereotypes?		Challenges.	
Individual or Community centered?		Community centered.	

Table 17. Example of the form implemented. Source. Own drafting.

1.2 The online communities case study

DATOS GENERALES
Nombre web/Entidad
Dirección web
Número de ránquing Alexa
Fecha de observación (dd/mm/año)
País de origen (sede física, si la hay)
Dirección email
¿En cuántos idiomas se pueden consultor la página?
Uno
Dos
Tres
Cuatro
Cinco
Más de cinco
¿En qué idiomas?
Tipología de página web
Institucional
Informativa
Evangelizadora y apologética
Espiritual
Otras
¿Es exclusivamente una plataforma digital?
Sí
No
¿Existe un entorno offline a la página web?
Sí
No
¿Hacen pública la política de participación en el medio -código, normas, pautas, principios-?
Sí
No

Table 18. Form of analysis part 1 “General Data”. Source: Own drafting.

INTERACCIONES
Permiten comentarios de los usuarios.
Sí
No
Es necesario registrarse para ciertas áreas o servicios.
Sí
No
Disponen de consultorios o herramientas de ayuda al usuario
Sí
No
Permiten hacerse voluntario al servicio de la organización
Sí
No
Articulan mecanismos para que los usuarios intervengan en la elección, elaboración, edición y difusión de material
Sí
No
Tienen blog corporativo para ofrecer a los usuarios contenidos extra e interactuar con ellos
Sí
No
Tienen espacio para ofrecer o recibir ayuda -intenciones, plegarias, etc.-
Sí
No
Incluyen foros o espacios de discusión.
Sí
No
Formulan encuestas para los usuarios
Sí
No
Permiten que los usuarios envíen material -en cualquier formato- para ser publicado
Sí
No
Organizan actividades lúdicas online -sorteos, concursos, juegos, etc.-
Sí
No

Ofrecen servicio de dating
Sí
No
Disponen de tienda online propia
Sí
No

Table 19. Form of analysis part 2 “Interactions”. Source: Own drafting.

INTERACCIONES OFFLINE
Organizan actividades *offline* desde la página
Sí
No
Vinculan actividades que se inician en el entorno *offline* a su espacio *online*
Sí
No
Vinculan actividades que se inician en el entorno *online* al espacio *offline*
Sí
No
Ofrecen cursos y otras acciones formativas
Sí
No

Table 20. Form of analysis part 3 “Offline Interactions”. Source: Own drafting.

CAPACIDADES TÉCNICAS Y CONTENIDOS
Cuenta con una aplicación para dispositivos móviles
Sí
No
Tienen una versión diferente para móvil o iPad
Sí
No
Tiene RSS
Sí
No
Tiene eventos en *streaming* (celebraciones online, cámaras fijas)
Sí
No
Tiene eventos en *streaming* (celebraciones

online, cámaras fijas)
Sí
No
Han habilitado un área para testimonios
Sí
No
Aloja blogs de usuarios
Sí
No
Permite compartir los contenidos con redes sociales o de correo electrónico
Sí
No
Tiene newsletter
Sí
No
En caso de que tenga newsletter, ¿con qué frecuencia?
Diaria
Semanal
Quincenal
Mensual
Anual
Otros
¿Utilizan imágenes?
Sí
No
En caso de que utilicen imágenes, ¿de qué tipo?
Fotografía
Infografía
Otros

Table 21. Form of analysis part 4 “Technical Skills and Content”. Source: Own drafting.

VISIBILIDAD EN OTRAS PLATAFORMAS	
Están presentes en Facebook	¿Cuántos amigos o fans tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en Twitter	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	¿Cuántas cuentas siguen?
No	¿Cuántos tuits han publicado?
Están presentes en Google+	¿Cuántos amigos o fans tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en YouTube	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?

Sí	
No	
Están presentes en Instagram	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en otras redes	¿En qué otras redes están presentes?
Sí	
No	

Table 22. Form of analysis part 5 “Visibility in other platforms”. Source: Own drafting.

Annex II. Interviews

2.1 Basic Questionnaire

- Which is the success of slow media in the digital era?
- Literary journalism allows a better understanding of the stories?
- With which capabilities and skills should literary journalists respond to them?
- A non-fiction writer must be a journalist?
- During your career, which things do you consider have changed in reporting?
- Is mainstream media using literary journalism techniques?
- How would you solve ethical concerns some people have about literary journalism?
- What do you think about the use of multimedia digital resources in literary journalism stories?
- Is it better for a literary journalist to publish online or in paper support?
- Who are your references?
- Which kind of contact do you have with readers? Do you use social media?
- Working conditions. A narrative journalist could live only from writing non-fiction stories?

2.1 Link to the Interviews

Listen to the interviews in the following link:

https://albasg8.wixsite.com/slowmediareligion

Password: TesiAlbaSabate

Annex III. Publications

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down y Gatopardo*. *Transinformação*, 30(3), pp. 299-313. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2318-08892018000300003

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). Los periodistas *slow* en el espacio digital. Los modelos de *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*. In J. L. Zurita, J. Serrano-Puche and M. Gil Ramírez (Ed.), *Comunicación periodística ante los nuevos retos* (pp. 421-434). Barcelona: Gedisa.

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An analysis of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. *Communication and Society*, 32(4), pp. 173-191. doi: https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.4.173-191

- Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2018). Construcción de comunidades *online* a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet. *El profesional de la información*, 27(6), pp. 1257-1268. doi: https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.09

- Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L., Carbonell Abelló, J.M., Sánchez Torrents, J. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2017). Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities. *Prisma Social,* 19, pp. 298-323.

- Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue, *Religions*, 10(8), 485, pp. 1-24. doi: https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10080485

1. El periodismo slow digital de Jot Down y Gatopardo

ARTICLE:

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down y Gatopardo*. *Transinformação*, 30(3), pp. 299-313. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2318-08892018000300003

El periodismo *slow* digital de *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo*

The digital slow journalism of Jot Down and Gatopardo

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Resumen

Descubrir el éxito de la combinación entre tradición e innovación. Este es el propósito del presente artículo, dedicado a analizar las claves del periodismo narrativo en el entorno digital a partir de los modelos de las revistas *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo*. Ante la inmediatez de la digitalización, los medios dedicados al periodismo narrativo rompen con las normas del espacio online y apuestan por el periodismo *slow*, basado en las técnicas tradicionales de los padres de este periodismo, como Tom Wolfe. Se estudian sus contenidos, técnicas, formatos y se examina cómo un periodismo centrado en la esencia del papel está disfrutando de una consolidada presencia y audiencia en el mundo digital. Al mismo tiempo, la propuesta es conocer la situación y reconocimiento de los periodistas en este tipo de medios; sus rutinas, procesos y condiciones laborales. Para ello se emplea una metodología basada en entrevistas en profundidad, análisis de contenido, observación no participante y revisión de la literatura. Las principales conclusiones muestran que, ante la situación actual del periodismo y de los medios de comunicación, priorizar la calidad a la inmediatez e hibridar la tradición con la innovación puede ser clave como garantía de futuro.

Palabras clave: Innovación. Periodismo. Periodismo digital. Periodismo literario. Tradición.

Abstract

To renew journalism without destroying tradition: this the goal of the article. It will analyze the main constituent elements of narrative journalism in the digital era using the models incorporated by the magazines Jot Down and Gatopardo. Challenged by the immediacy of the digital world, narrative journalism seems/appears to break the digital rules. Media working on this kind of journalism place their bets on a slow method, based on traditional, tried-and-tested techniques, typified by authors such as Tom Wolfe and other professionals of narrative journalism. The article will study contents, formats, and techniques of news reporting that not only retain the essence of support papers, but also enjoy a consolidated audience in the digital world. It will be necessary to acquire a deep understanding of the situation in general, and the role of journalists in particular, in this landscape. This research is, above all, interested in their routines, processes and ways of working. The methodology used to examine this model is based on in-depth interviews, content analysis, non-participant observation and literature review. With all this in mind, and taking into account the current state of the media and the profession of journalism, the main conclusions show that this hybridization between innovation and tradition could be a successful formula, not just for survival but also as a way forward.

Keywords: *Innovation. Journalism. Digital journalism. Literary journalism. Tradition.*

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Introducción

Los avances tecnológicos y la crisis económica han obligado al periodismo a reinventarse. El oficio ha vivido el lanzamiento de distintos modelos formales, de contenido y empresariales (Neveu, 2014). Han emergido medios que, con la filosofía y formato del periodismo literario (Bak; Reynolds, 2011), se desarrollan en el entorno digital. Ante la inmediatez, reporteo; ante la velocidad, calma; ante la brevedad, literatura (Boynton, 2012). Así se presenta el periodismo narrativo digital (Berning, 2011). Ajeno a la programación y calendarización, sigue el ritmo de las personas (Herrscher, 2012) y no el de la tecnología.

El periodismo narrativo es la especialidad que, con un método *slow*, explica historias reales con herramientas de la literatura (Le Masurier, 2015). No es el primero en dar la noticia, pero sí el único en explicarla en profundidad. El mundo iberoamericano ha vivido una emergencia de este tipo de medios durante la última década. El llamado *big-bang* (Albalad; Rodríguez, 2012) ha consolidado publicaciones en formato digital y papel.

Esta investigación estudia las claves de un periodismo que, rompiendo las normas digitales, demuestra que puede sostenerse bajo sus modelos empresariales. El objetivo es analizar rutinas y contenidos y examinar cómo adaptan el formato digital al papel y viceversa. La atención se focaliza en *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo*, modelos que hibridan tradición e innovación.

La muestra la configuran estos medios por varias similitudes que permiten trazar un hilo conductor, y diferencias que llevan a observar un marco de amplio alcance. *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo* tienen en común que trabajan en periodismo narrativo, en formato digital y en papel, y se sostienen económicamente. Además, comparten lengua y fidelidad al nuevo periodismo. Así, combinan elementos del periodismo digital con técnicas de la práctica tradicional de la profesión y de la literatura. La diferencia más clara es su origen. Ambas vienen de entornos distintos, teniendo en cuenta la localización y el soporte de nacimiento. *Jot Down* es española y surge como medio digital que posteriormente aparece en papel. *Gatopardo* nace en Colombia en papel y hace después el salto online. La revista colombiana surge en 2001; la española en 2011.

La novedad de lo no tan nuevo

Periodismo y literatura comparten objetivo: explicar una historia. La simbiosis entre ambos es el periodismo narrativo (Sims, 1996). Original de los sesenta en Estados Unidos (Wolfe, 1973), ha sido polémico desde su nacimiento, empezando por su denominación. Marsh (2010) habla de siete nombres para la narrativa de no ficción: Nuevo periodismo (Wolfe, 1973), novela de no ficción (Capote, 1965), relato corto de no ficción (Franklin, 1986), periodismo literario (Sims, 1990), periodismo narrativo (Franklin, 1996), periodismo de formato largo (Kirtz, 1998), periodismo literario narrativo (Hartsock, 2001) y nuevo nuevo periodismo (Boynton, 2005). Aunque todos presentan matices, según Albalad (2018) la denominación más presente en el mundo anglosajón es periodismo literario y la expresión es sinónima de la española periodismo narrativo (Gutiérrez Palacio, 2009; López Pan, 2010). Para Albert Chillón en una entrevista con Mejía (2017), el concepto periodismo narrativo es un pleonasmo. La *International Association for Literary Journalism Studies* (2006) acepta las dos acepciones en su *Mission Statement*. La controversia también se ha generado por el debate ético que levanta este periodismo al intentar trazar los límites entre reportaje y novela.

Chillón (1999), Bak y Reynolds (2011), Boynton (2012), Herrscher (2012), Angulo (2013) o Palau (2017) son autores que reflexionan sobre este periodismo. Chillón y Palau desde una perspectiva histórica y formal. Boynton (2012) y Bak (2011) con la visión estadounidense y tratando el contenido; Herrscher enfoca su análisis desde una óptica iberoamericana.

Wolfe (1973) es considerado por sus pares uno de los padres del nuevo periodismo. En *El Nuevo Periodismo* realiza un análisis teórico y es uno de los primeros en estudiar un periodismo que al mismo tiempo ejercía. Según Wolfe, las características del periodismo narrativo son: construcción escena por escena, diálogo, punto de vista en tercera persona y detallismo. Sims (1996) habla en los mismos términos de estructura, exactitud, voz y responsabilidad.

Trans**Informação**, Campinas, 30(3):299-313, set./dez., 2018 http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2318-08892018000300003

Lo que Sims llama estructura se puede considerar la construcción escena por escena de Wolfe (1973); el objetivo, evitar que el texto sea cronológico. Ambos hablan de detallismo y exactitud en las descripciones de personajes y ambientes. Esta característica, según Herrscher (2012), es una herencia de la novela realista y de su evolución al naturalismo y al positivismo de Zola o Balzac. El periodismo de observación de Dostoievski o Chéjov es otro afluente del periodismo narrativo (Herrscher, 2012); también el teatro de Shakespeare. Esta es la voz de la que habla Sims (1996) y el punto de vista de Wolfe (1973); tanto en tercera como en primera persona, se trata de conseguir que el lector empatice. Así, el narrador omnisciente abunda en periodismo narrativo. Al usar la primera persona, el periodista marca su presencia. Ejemplos en esta práctica son Hemingway o Fallaci.

El concepto de diálogo de Wolfe está en la línea de lo que Sims denomina responsabilidad. El diálogo en periodismo narrativo ha levantado polémica, sobre todo, vinculada a las escenas explicadas en narrador omnisciente, por el nivel de responsabilidad que asume el autor y la adecuación ética de la situación. Para Sims se trata de responsabilidad con las personas de las que se habla. Según Wolfe (1973), se debe vivir el tiempo suficiente con ellas para presenciar las situaciones descritas. Para el autor, el diálogo es una técnica que se remonta a Balzac o Joyce. La prosa testimonial es otro afluente del periodismo narrativo (Angulo, 2013). Wolfe (1973) habla de figuras de finales del siglo XVII como Boswell. Reconoce *A Journal of a Plague Year* (1722) de Defoe, como el primer reportaje novelado.

Para Chillón (1999), la mayoría de edad del reportaje novelado llega a finales del siglo XIX, coincidiendo con el nacimiento de la prensa de masas. El periodismo como negocio y la necesidad de anuncios y lectores lleva a esta forma de narrar, que practican, durante los treinta, autores como Hersey. *The New Yorker* aparece como escuela (Herrscher, 2012) en la que firmas como Capote publicaron *non-fiction novel*. Wolfe o Talese forman la siguiente generación de autores de *human interest stories* (Chillón, 1999). También Kapuscinski o Guillermoprieto. Actualmente, Conover, Orlean o Bowden son periodistas narrativos. Hacen nuevo nuevo periodismo (Boynton, 2012) e incorporan elementos de las ciencias sociales.

Del periodismo digital al periodismo narrativo digital

El reportaje se ha estudiado exhaustivamente por su versatilidad. Larrondo (2009) señala cómo, a pesar de las posibilidades que el medio digital ofrece a los géneros periodísticos, éstos se ven obligados a acomodarse a ciertas particularidades.

Según Micó (2006), el estilo del periodismo digital se basa en: exactitud, claridad, concisión, densidad, precisión, sencillez, naturalidad, originalidad, brevedad, variedad, atracción, ritmo, color, sonoridad, detalle y propiedad. En 2001 se publicaron en *Communication et langages*, dos artículos que identificaban las características del ciberperiodismo, de Cotte (2001), Jeanne-Perrier (2001) y (Masip *et al*., 2010) que coinciden con las enunciadas por Micó (2006).

Este autor enumera también las propiedades del periodismo digital: datos actualizados, información universal, simultaneidad, versatilidad, proceso interactivo, multimedialidad e hipertextualidad. Deuze (2001), Pavlik (2001) o Rost (2006) han analizado el proceso interactivo y la participación. La hipertextualidad ha sido identificada como la característica más influyente en la construcción de discursos digitales (Larrondo, 2009).

Díaz Noci y Salaverría (2003) señalan que el texto digital es más profundo que largo, pero destacan que esta profundidad no debe afectar a la comprensión. Cabe diferenciar, según Larrondo (2009), un texto hipertextual de uno hipermedia. El primero contiene nódulos a otros textos; el segundo integra enlaces a elementos multimedia. La integración de estos elementos al periodismo narrativo es un tema de análisis académico, por las causas y consecuencias de esta hibridación de un género tradicional con otro innovador.

Albalad (2018) es uno de los autores que ha reflexionado sobre la versatilidad del reportaje de periodismo narrativo online en español en "Periodismo *Slow* o cómo se cuecen las historias en los fogones de *Anfibia*, *Narratively* y *Frontera D*", similar al presente. Albalad (2015), también ha analizado *Longform.org* basándose sobre todo en la

entrevista como principal metodología. Con Rodríguez (Albalad; Rodríguez, 2012), estudia el llamado boom de revistas de periodismo narrativo y su rol digital.

En Iberoamérica, análisis semejantes son los de Puerta Molina (2016) en su estudio "La crónica latinoamericana actual: lo maravilloso real. Análisis del periodismo narrativo de Alberto Salcedo Ramos" o Salvatierra (2017) en "Notas para la investigación del periodismo literario en publicaciones digitales argentinas". En ambos casos, el tema de la investigación es parecido al de este artículo, aunque en el primer caso el análisis se centra en un solo autor, Alberto Salcedo, y en el segundo en un contexto, Argentina. Se detecta que los estudios más próximos lo son o bien porque analizan periodismo narrativo digital en otros contextos y a partir del análisis de otros medios o bien porque, a partir de una metodología similar a la presente, se habla del periodismo narrativo en un contexto concreto.

Entre las investigaciones similares en otras lenguas se detectan en Estados Unidos las aportaciones de Berning (2011) sobre las técnicas de los periodistas literarios en formato digital para crear verosimilitud. Bowden, en una entrevista con la autora, destaca cómo los reportajes de periodismo narrativo online son "verificablemente auténticos", porque añaden elementos complementarios que dan transparencia al relato. Berning (2011) añade que el nuevo periodismo era hipertextual antes de internet. Según la autora, el nivel de detalle al que llegan los escritores de periodismo narrativo les da hipertextualidad. El riesgo de que un enlace rompa la linealidad de la narración no es nuevo, una descripción detallada ya podía provocarlo. Berning confirma que el reportaje es de los géneros más adaptables al espacio digital.

También destacan en este campo las contribuciones de Dowling y Vogan (2015) sobre los efectos de la digitalización del reportaje *longform* a partir del referente *Snowfall*, de *The New York Times* (2012). Jacobson, Marino y Gutsche (2016) utilizan el análisis de contenido para evaluar el periodismo narrativo digital como género emergente. Le Masurier (2015), Belt y South (2016), Greenberg (2016), Neveu (2016) tratan el *slow journalism*.

En Finlandia, Lassila-Merisalo (2014), analiza en qué medida los recursos multimedia mejoran la narración entrevistando a periodistas de *Narratively*, *Longreads*, *Informant*, *Zetland* y *Long Play* en su estudio sobre el periodismo narrativo en el citado país. Van Krieken y Sanders (2016) utilizan el *frame analysis* y la entrevista para examinar el periodismo narrativo en los Países Bajos. En el mismo país, Drok y Hermans (2016) exploran el interés de los jóvenes por el *slow journalism* utilizando encuestas y el análisis cuantitativo. En Noruega, Larssen y Hornmoen (2013), estudian el contenido de dos novelas de no ficción para especificar las características del periodismo literario del país. En Canadá, Gillespie (2015) habla del periodismo narrativo a partir del análisis exhaustivo de una autora, Edna Staebler. En China, Guo (2014) examina el contenido de un reportaje de periodismo literario para localizar las particularidades del modelo en el país.

Además, autores como los siguientes repasan la evolución histórica del periodismo narrativo en distintos espacios geográficos. En Reino Unido Mckay (2011), Zdovc (2011) en Eslovenia, Soares (2011) en Portugal, Pereira Lima (2011) y Martínez (2017) en Brasil, y Hessell (2011) en Nueva Zelanda.

Procedimientos Metodológicos

La metodología de este estudio se basa en análisis de contenido, entrevista y observación. La elección la avalan técnicas utilizadas por investigaciones cercanas referentes. Las entrevistas en profundidad se han realizado a profesionales de medios de periodismo narrativo. Se ha hablado con responsables, redactores, colaboradores y expertos para estudiar el funcionamiento de estas publicaciones. Han sido entrevistas dirigidas.

La entrevista se ha utilizado en investigaciones cercanas por temática. Algunos ejemplos son Berning (2011) o Albalad y Rodríguez (2012). Además, la avalan los estudios de ciberperiodismo de Singer (1997) y Quandt, T. *et al.* (2003). Berning (2011) y Albalad y Rodríguez (2012) han analizado los portales de las revistas que configuran su muestra. El análisis de contenido lo han realizado autores como Paulussen (2004), Domingo y Heinonen (2008), y Jacobson, Marino y Gutsche (2016).

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La relación de entrevistas llevadas a cabo es: Robert Boynton, periodista en *The New Yorker*; Rubén Díaz, redactor de *Jot Down*; Ángel Fernández, director de *Jot Down*; Carles Foguet, director de comunicación de *Jot Down*; Leila Guerriero, editora de *Gatopardo*; Roberto Herrscher, experto en periodismo narrativo y colaborador de *Gatopardo*; Ricardo Jonás, subdirector de *Jot Down*; Emiliano Ruiz, redactor *freelance* de *Gatopardo*; Marcela Vargas, editora *Web* de *Gatopardo*; Julio Villanueva Chang, director de *Etiqueta Negra*. La selección de entrevistados se ha basado en el equilibrio entre medios y la variedad de cargos en cada uno de ellos. El objetivo ha sido contar con la máxima simetría de criterios a la vez que con una amplia variedad de puntos de vista sobre la temática. En este artículo se presenta una selección de las respuestas obtenidas con el consentimiento de todos los entrevistados. Se ha incorporado una síntesis de las más significativas y obviado las más particulares.

Se ha analizado una muestra de 30 artículos, 15 de *Jot Down* y 15 de *Gatopardo*. La selección se ha realizado de forma premeditada con el objetivo de que en la muestra fuera representativa y de que hubiera equilibro de artículos procedentes de distintas secciones y de distintos autores de cada uno de los medios. Se ha llegado a la cifra de 15 de cada uno teniendo en cuenta una media del número de secciones total. Todos son cercanos temporalmente. El Cuadro 1 muestra el equilibrio mencionado:

Cuadro 1. Clasificación de artículos analizados según medio, sección y autor.

Artículo	Medio	Sección	Autor
El reloj de Hildy	*Jot Down*	Opinión, Sociedad, Claroscuros, Columna	Enric González
La luminosa magnesia de Manuel Alcántara	*Jot Down*	Columna, Opinión, ¿Qué tramáis morenos?	Jorge Bustos
El misterio de Arnolfini, la joya robada	*Jot Down*	Arte y Letras	Dolores González Pastor
Las astutas y (perversas) tretas de los inquisidores para lograr la confesión	*Jot Down*	Arte y Letras, Historia	Javier Bilbao
Little Britain y el problema de la preposición	*Jot Down*	Cine y TV	Rubén Díaz Caviedes
Sintonías que marcaron mi infancia	*Jot Down*	Cine y TV	Emilio Gorgot
Vincenzo Nibali y la sombra del dopaje en el tour 2014	*Jot Down*	Deportes	Guillermo Ortiz
Brasil no se merecía esto	*Jot Down*	Deportes	Manuel de Lorenzo
¿Has visto mis gafas?	*Jot Down*	Ciencias, Ya lo veo	Pablo Artal
Robocop y el desguace de la conciencia humana	*Jot Down*	Ciencias	José Valenzuela
¿Quién mató a Michael Hutchence?	*Jot Down*	Música	Jorge M. Molinero
Julio Iglesias, el embajador universal	*Jot Down*	Música, Sociedad	Duncan Wheeler
La enredadera de los muertos	*Jot Down*	Ocio y Vicio	Josep Lapidario
Ada Colau: "Lo mejor que puede hacer el PSOE como estructura es desaparecer"	*Jot Down*	Entrevistas, Política y Economía	Cristian Campos
Peio Ruiz Cabestany: "Pasé el primero por el Tourmalet y bajé llorando".	*Jot Down*	Deportes, Entrevistas	Ander Izaguirre
La construcción de Golondrinas	*Gatopardo*	Reportajes	Emiliano Ruiz Parra
Los señores de la costa	*Gatopardo*	Reportajes	Carlos Tello Díaz
El hombre que fue Cantinflas	*Gatopardo*	Reportajes	Javier Molina
The last ship	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Medios	Marcela Vargas
Tipografía en escena	*Gatopardo*	Arquitectura y Diseño	Maru Aguzzi
Todo menos "estándar"	*Gatopardo*	Estilos de vida, Viajes	Redacción
El dragón blanco	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Tragos	Guillermo Sánchez Cervantes
¿Quién le teme a Avelina?	*Gatopardo*	Arte	Guillermo Sánchez y Regina Sienra
Mercado gourmet	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Comida	Alejandra González Romo
Pequeño pero poderoso	*Gatopardo*	Tecnología	Redacción
Teatro para esperar y ser consolados	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Escena	Isabel Ibáñez de la Calle
L.12.12 by Malafacha	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Moda	Alejandra González Romo
Corazón de Florencia	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Compras	Redacción
Cambio de paradigma	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Autos	Fabrizio Pozo
Los números al poder	*Gatopardo*	Estilo de vida, Libros	Guillermo Sánchez Cervantes

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

Estas piezas han servido para recabar información sobre formato, uso de herramientas literarias, digitales, presencia en la red, además de para corroborar que la actividad corresponde con la planificación que anuncian en las entrevistas. Para ello, se ha utilizado una ficha que cuenta con cuatro partes: Identificación, Forma, Contenido y Audiencia. El primer apartado ubica la pieza dentro del medio, su sección, autor y titular. En el segundo se analizan los elementos, parte y estructura de cada pieza teniendo en cuenta la presencia y aspecto digital y en papel. Los campos que se detallan corresponden a los elementos a estudiar y son: subtítulos, complementos multimedia, imágenes, estrategias de posicionamiento y extensión, manifestada en número de scrolls y de páginas en papel. En cuanto al Contenido, en la ficha se profundiza en la narración. Por este motivo se identifica el tema y el tiempo verbal. Además, se revisa la presencia de las características principales que definen el periodismo narrativo: uso del diálogo, construcción escena por escena, descripciones realistas, uso de la primera/tercera persona, así como la presencia del periodista. Esta presencia se mide a partir de gradaciones: elevada (cuando la característica se repite reiteradamente en el texto), parcial (se repite más de cinco veces pero no está presente en la mayoría de párrafos) o baja (se detecta sólo en algún párrafo).

La parte de la ficha (Cuadro 2) que estudia la Audiencia registra el impacto de los artículos a partir de las reacciones provocadas en redes.

Cuadro 2. Ficha de análisis de los artículos.

Identificación	
Número	Titular
Autor	
Sección	
Forma	
Subtítulos	
Elementos multimedia	
Imagen	
Elementos de posicionamiento	
Scrolls	
Páginas en papel	
Caracteres	
Contenidos	
Tema	
Persona	
Tiempo verbal	
Diálogo	
Presencia del periodista	
Punto de vista	
Descripción	
Uso de adjetivos	
Construcción escena por escena	
Otros detalles	
Audiencia	
Comentario	
Redes en las que ha estado publicado	

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

Resultados y Discusión

La llegada del periodismo narrativo a internet ha supuesto una emergencia de medios nuevos en un momento muy próximo y por motivos que lo han facilitado:

1) Falta de cobertura de temas: estas revistas aparecen respondiendo a la insatisfacción con la oferta mediática. Lo confirman Foguet y Guerriero.

2) Facilidades tecnológicas: se han creado medios nuevos. Según Boynton, *"the digital format is a great future for narrative journalism because the main problem for digital journalism has been how expensive it is to produce in the sense of reporting and research, so if you can cut the distribution costs it would help"*.

3) Internacionalización: el castellano une Latinoamérica y España y hace que el público potencial se amplíe.

4) Crisis económica: e inestabilidad política en ambos contextos, por las que la sociedad demanda medios independientes.

5) Cambio de paradigma comunicativo: los nuevos soportes suponen un reto.

Contra la corriente digital

El periodismo narrativo siempre ha sido polémico por romper normas (Wolfe, 1973). Muchas características de estilo del periodismo informativo se incumplen en estos reportajes; también las convenciones de la redacción online. Estos medios presentan formatos y rutinas que van contra lo óptimo en ciberperiodismo. Estos son los requerimientos del periodismo digital (Micó, 2006); se analiza en qué medida se incumplen:

1) Datos actualizados: el periodismo narrativo los utiliza, aunque su objetivo no es ser el primero en presentarlos (Herrscher, 2012).

2) Información universal: a pesar de que ambos medios tienen un público hispano, tratan temas universales. (Guerriero).

3) Simultaneidad: no es una prioridad. Los periodistas tienen tiempo para elaborar los reportajes (Herrscher, 2012) y lo agradecen porque lucen su obra (Rubén Díaz).

4) Interactividad: estos medios tienen contacto con el público y presencia en redes. La producción de contenidos no es interactiva. Según Foguet, el público interviene después, en la elaboración sólo se implican profesionales.

5) Multimedia: los medios de periodismo narrativo en formato digital no explotan al máximo los recursos multimedia (Berning, 2011). Para Herrscher, la protagonista es la narración.

6) Hipertexto: es de los más utilizados en los medios generalistas (Deuze, 2001). Los reportajes analizados de periodismo narrativo no lo usan frecuentemente. De los 30 artículos estudiados, 10 lo aplican.

7) Versatilidad: contribuye a la sostenibilidad del modelo, como explica Fernández. La aprovechan para promocionar otros productos vinculados a su cabecera.

Sobre las normas de estilo del periodismo digital (Micó, 2006), el periodismo narrativo cumple: exactitud, claridad, concisión, densidad, precisión, naturalidad, originalidad, variedad, atracción, ritmo, color, sonoridad, detalle y propiedad. Sin embargo, no es breve ni sencillo. Según Foguet y Guerriero, el criterio es la elaboración literaria.

Cuadro 3. Resumen del análisis de los artículos según los criterios del periodismo narrativo [[Q1: Q1]]. 1 del 2

Artículo	Medio	Persona	Diálogo	Presencia periodista	Punto de vista	Detalles simbólicos	Presencia adjetivos	Construcción escena por escena
El reloj de Hildy	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y plural	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
La luminosa magnesia de Manuel Alcántara	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y plural	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
El misterio de Arnolfini, la joya robada	*Jot Down*	Primera plural y Tercera singular	Parcial	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Las astutas y (perversas) tretas de los inquisidores para lograr la confesión	*Jot Down*	Tercera singular y plural y Segunda plural	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	Elevada
Little Britain y el problema de la preposición	*Jot Down*	Tercera singular y plural y Segunda plural	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Sintonías que marcaron mi infancia	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Parcial	Parcial	Elevada
Vincenzo Nibali y la sombra del dopaje en el tour 2014	*Jot Down*	Tercera singular	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Brasil no se merecía esto	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
¿Has visto mis gafas?	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Robocop y el desguace de la conciencia humana	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y plural y Tercera singular	Sí	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	Elevada
¿Quién mató a Michael Hutchence?	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y Tercera singular	No	Parcial	Narrador omnisciente y externo	Elevada	Elevada	Parcial
Julio Iglesias, el embajador universal	*Jot Down*	Primera singular	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
La enredadera de los muertos	*Jot Down*	Primera singular y Tercera singular y plural	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Ada Colau: "Lo mejor que puede hacer el PSOE como estructura es desaparecer	*Jot Down*	Segunda singular y Tercera singular	Sí	Parcial	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Elevada	No
Peio Ruiz Cabestany: "Pasé el primero por el Tourmalet y bajé llorando"	*Jot Down*	Segunda singular y Tercera singular	Sí	Parcial	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Baja	Parcial
La construcción de Golondrinas	*Gatopardo*	Primera singular y tercera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador protagonista y omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Los señores de la costa	*Gatopardo*	Tercera plural	Parcial	Baja	Narrador externo y omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

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Cuadro 3. Resumen del análisis de los artículos según los criterios del periodismo narrativo [[Q1: Q1]] 2 del 2

Artículo	Medio	Persona	Diálogo	Presencia periodista	Punto de vista	Detalles simbólicos	Presencia adjetivos	Construcción escena por escena
El hombre que fue Cantinflas	*Gatopardo*	Primera singular y Tercera singular	Parcial	Elevada	Narrador omnisciente	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
The last ship	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	Sí	Parcial	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial
Tipografía en escena	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Todo menos "estándar"	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Baja
El dragón blanco	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	Parcial	Parcial	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Parcial
¿Quién le teme a Avelina?	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	Parcial	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Parcial
Mercado gourmet	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular y plural	No	Parcial	Narrador externo	Elevada	Elevada	Elevada
Pequeño pero poderoso	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular y primera plural	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	No
Teatro para esperar y ser consolados	*Gatopardo*	Primera singular	No	Elevada	Narrador protagonista	Elevada	Parcial	Parcial
L.12.12 by Malafacha	*Gatopardo*	Tercera plural	No	No	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	No
Corazón de Florencia	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular y plural	No	Baja	Narrador externo	Parcial	Parcial	No
Cambio de paradigma	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	No	Narrador externo	Elevada	Parcial	No
Los números al poder	*Gatopardo*	Tercera singular	No	Baja	Narrador omnisciente	Parcial	Parcial	Parcial

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

De *fast journalism* a *slow journalism*

El periodismo narrativo incumple también la norma de inmediatez de las publicaciones digitales. La base del periodismo narrativo digital es la filosofía *slow*, que defiende una producción y consumo tecnológicos reflexivos y humanos (Barranquero-Carretero, 2013). Este ritmo se aplica a la producción de contenidos y a la actualización digital. Boynton asegura: *"We are trained to instant production. My definition of narrative journalism is something that takes a long time"*. Los editores de *Jot Down* y *Gatopardo* son conscientes de que su papel no es publicar primicias.

Se da un enfoque de reflexión para analizar las consecuencias de los hechos. Esta postura respecto a la actualidad se muestra también en la ausencia de la fecha en los artículos. Guerriero asegura que estos medios pueden tomarse estas licencias porque el lector es consciente de esta temporalidad. Existe un pacto con el público; los lectores obtienen calidad y los periodistas, unas condiciones de trabajo sin prisas.

Esta voluntad de frenar el *fast journalism* digital se refleja también en el rol de las redes sociales en estos medios. Son un espacio donde difundir y medir el éxito de los contenidos se consideran parte integral del medio y una vía de contacto con los lectores. Los seguidores comparten y comentan los contenidos, pero no intervienen en la producción.

Fidelidad al Nuevo Periodismo

A pesar de romper moldes del periodismo informativo y del ciberperiodismo, el periodismo narrativo digital es fiel al periodismo narrativo tradicional. Las características de este tipo de periodismo son inherentes al reportaje, el género más maleable ante este tipo de narración (Chillón, 1999). Vivaldi (1999) lo define como: "Una información de altos vuelos, con más libertad expositiva […]. El reportaje es un relato informativo, una narración más o menos

noticiosa en donde la visión personal del periodista, su modo de enfocar el asunto, influyen en la concepción del trabajo". Sin citar el periodismo narrativo, el autor lo define al explicar el reportaje: libertad expositiva, narración noticiosa y visión personal del periodista. Los artículos analizados en esta investigación son una prueba de lo enunciado. En ellos, se encuentran los elementos del nuevo periodismo según Wolfe (1973):

1) Construcción escena por escena: en 25 de los 30 artículos analizados. En 13 a un nivel elevado, en 11 parcial y en 1 bajo. Esta característica es la más vinculada al hipertexto, pues rompe una narración lineal (Berning, 2011).

2) Diálogo realista: en 16 de 30 artículos. Esta característica es representativa del periodismo narrativo y la que ha creado más polémica.

3) Detalles simbólicos: las descripciones detalladas presentan debate ético pero permiten introducir al lector en la narración. Se encuentran en los 30 artículos. En 21 aparecen en un grado elevado y en 9 parcial.

4) Tercera persona: mayoritaria junto con la primera en todos los artículos; en singular y en plural como en omnisciente. Guerriero y Herrscher defienden esta técnica como el modo de ofrecer al lector un punto de vista nuevo.

Papelización de la *Web*

Más allá de las rutinas que el periodismo narrativo rompe en el medio digital, el análisis permite comprobar el desaprovechamiento que hace de los recursos digitales. Albalad y Rodríguez (2012) lo aprecian en su análisis de *Frontera D*. Deuze (2001), Canavilhas (2007) y (Masip *et al.* (2010), señalan que algunos elementos multimedia complementan el texto por yuxtaposición.

La papelización de la *Web* (Rodríguez; Albalad, 2013) es un fenómeno que resume esta fidelidad a la tradición por parte del periodismo narrativo. Se da en *Jot Down* y en *Gatopardo*, a pesar de que la primera naciera en el medio digital y se editara después en papel y la segunda hiciera lo contrario. Para Foguet esta papelización es intencionada. Las principales características de esta papelización son:

1) Protagonismo del texto: por el uso de la narración como protagonista y una ausencia de complementos multimedia. Éstos no suelen estar integrados en los temas. Así, en *Gatopardo* existe la sección "Multimedia" en la que se sitúan los artículos que se trabajan con más complementos digitales.

2) Portada papel: la maquetación de estas revistas digitales está muy vinculada a la versión papel. El ejemplo es la portada digital de *Gatopardo*, con el mismo formato que en papel.

3) Estructura numerada: a pesar de no detallar la fecha de publicación, los artículos de estas revistas en formato digital dejan entrever a qué número del papel pertenece cada publicación. En *Jot Down*, los situados en la sección "Lo más nuevo", son los publicados en el número en papel más reciente.

4) Referencias al papel: con secciones como la hemeroteca o elementos a la venta como complementos al papel.

5) Reconocimiento del autor: a diferencia de los medios informativos en formato digital, en estos medios el autor tiene relevancia.

En los medios de periodismo narrativo digital se refleja que el papel no queda atrás. En ambas publicaciones, además de la papelización de la *Web*, la edición en papel adopta un rol superior. Con un formato elaborado, se aporta valor al contenido. Este valor se traduce en su precio, cercano al de un libro. Los dos formatos ofrecen valor añadido al público: el papel, la elaboración y la *Web*, la gratuidad.

Periodismo narrativo digital: la empresa

Los medios de periodismo narrativo digital se integran en la empresa en modelos de negocio híbridos. *Jot Down* o *Gatopardo* necesitan formar parte de una empresa que cuente con más vías de ingreso. *Gatopardo* está dentro de Travesías Media, una empresa que tiene más publicaciones y que ofrece servicios de comunicación.

Guerriero señala que es complejo que una revista así sea viable por ella misma. *Jot Down*, es un producto de la empresa *Wabi Sabi Investments*; cuenta con la editorial *Jot Down Books*, por la cual distribuyen productos propios y de otras editoriales. Realizan también servicios de gestión cultural bajo la marca Tanyible y venden contenidos a revistas internacionales. Desde 2015, tienen un acuerdo con *El País*, por el cual mensualmente se publica *Jot Down Smart*, una versión reducida con contenidos disponibles en digital pero editados para papel.

Este modelo se traduce en una situación laboral específica para los periodistas. Por un lado, se abren las puertas a nuevos profesionales gracias al medio digital; este hecho facilita el descubrimiento de firmas nuevas (Guerriero). Para el profesional trabajar en estas plataformas supone un reconocimiento. Las condiciones, según Emiliano Ruiz, son flexibles. Trabajo a fuego lento, sin presiones y amplia difusión. Sin embargo, las plantillas de los medios analizados están formadas por periodistas *freelance*. La estructura logística central la configuran un número reducido de profesionales contratados. En *Gatopardo*, éstos cuentan con una localización física. En *Jot Down* la redacción no existe. Para Julio Villanueva, de *Etiqueta Negra* se puede vivir del periodismo narrativo, aunque sólo algunos son capaces de hacerlo porque "es una competencia muy exigente y los más conmovedores, inteligentes, comprometidos y arriesgados son una minoría de la minoría" (Cuadro 4).

Cuadro 4. Comparación de las opiniones de los entrevistados. 1 del 3

Autores	Periodismo narrativo	Periodista narrativo	Papel vs. Online	Elementos multimedia	Elemento característico de su medio	Interacción lectores	Viabilidad
Robert Boynton	La forma siempre es lo primero.	Curiosidad y resistencia.	La plataforma online ayuda a difundir los contenidos y elimina costes.	Pueden ser una distracción.			En este momento la gran mayoría de periodistas narrativos tienen que trabajar en algo más.
Rubén Díaz Caviedes	Elaboración literaria, contar las cosas de manera distinta.		Los contenidos *Web* los contenidos son más accesibles.	Bajo, la importancia está en el texto.	Una de las cosas que más le gustan en periodismo es poder tardar.	Tiene en cuenta las opiniones del público dependiendo de quién vengan.	Si no cobrara no le podría dedicar el tiempo necesario.
Ángel Luis Fernández							Ajustan en gastos a lo que tienen de ingresos.
Carles Foguet	Rechazo a la superficialidad y cariño por la calma. Se publica todo lo que se explique con vocación de calidad literaria, con pasión de quien escribe.	Amplitud de miras, profundidad de conocimiento y pasión por lo que se escribe.	Los contenidos digitales no son los mismos que los de papel. La actualidad no es un valor.	Conscientes de no explotar las posibilidades del medio, son la translación del papel a la red.	La revista es una macedonia, un mosaico de contenido.	A través de las redes sociales. Atentos a la suma de interacciones que llegan por distintos canales.	Si *Jot Down* no fuera viable no existiría.

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

Cuadro 4. Comparación de las opiniones de los entrevistados. 2 del 3

Autores	Periodismo narrativo	Periodista narrativo	Papel vs. Online	Elementos multimedia	Elemento característico de su medio	Interacción lectores	Viabilidad
Leila Guerriero	Singularidad universal.	Capacidad de reporteo, mirada propia y escritura excelente.	Mensual en papel, temas atemporales conviven con temas más actuales en la versión digital. Los temas largos en ambos soportes.		Sofisticación de contar las historias bien contadas.	Sólo a través de email y redes sociales, no en los procesos de producción.	Es difícil que la revista funcione sola, se sostiene dentro de un esquema de negocio.
Roberto Herrscher	Estas revistas cumplen dos normas del buen periodismo: novedad y profundidad.	Es un desafío que lleva a investigar mucho, a auto editar.	Uno busca una historia bien contada en palabras.	Considera el multimedia irse por las ramas.	Tiene ambición de calidad, vocación de permanencia.		
Ricardo Jonás	Que el tema sea interesante y esté bien escrito.		En *Web l*a ve más gente, en papel sólo las personas que compran la revista. La edición *Web* es más rápida que en papel.		Mucha importancia a la forma y a que el contenido esté bien escrito.	En las redes sociales hay muchos lectores habituales que de vez en cuando comentan un artículo.	
Emiliano Ruiz Parra		Es un espacio donde puede tratar prácticamente cualquier tema con total libertad.	Para él, placer es publicar en revista impresa.	La apuesta es la fortaleza del texto y la belleza de las fotografías.	*Gatopardo* es un espacio de lucimiento.	A través de Twitter y de los comentarios que dejan los lectores.	Uno tiene que tener dos empleos, el que le permita comer y el que le permita escribir.
Marcela Vargas	En la versión digital de *Gatopardo* son los mismos que en la versión en papel.		La *Web* tiene contenido exclusivo, que por formato o temporalidad no cabe en la versión impresa. Las secciones culturales y de estilo de vida se actualizan cada día. El reportaje o crónica de portada se actualiza la penúltima semana de mes.			Los comentarios de los lectores permiten tomar la temperatura de los temas.	

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

Cuadro 4. Comparación de las opiniones de los entrevistados. 2 del 3

Autores	Periodismo narrativo	Periodista narrativo	Papel vs. Online	Elementos multimedia	Elemento característico de su medio	Interacción lectores	Viabilidad
Julio Villanueva Chang	Trabajo de investigación, intelectual y de interpretación.	Curiosidad, ganas de conocer el mundo y a la gente.	No tienen versión digital porque la consideran una distracción.	No tienen versión digital.	Publican grandes temas que adoptan mil caras.	No influye.	Sólo puede vivir del periodismo narrativo una minoría.

Fuente: Elaborada por los autores (2018).

Conclusión

El periodismo narrativo digital es efectivo y permite tener lectores. Su emergencia ha abierto la puerta a nuevos medios en el mundo iberoamericano y en el espacio mediático anglosajón. Éstos han aparecido para ocupar nichos temáticos y gracias a las facilidades de las plataformas digitales. Con el paso a formato digital de medios tradicionales, estos nuevos medios aparecen como un concepto distinto ante el lector. Se basan en la voluntad de calidad literaria y en soportes elaborados que contribuyen a crear una marca consolidada que quiere llegar mucho más allá que la cabecera de un medio.

Jot Down y *Gatopardo* son muestras de esta situación. Ambos han creado una simbiosis entre sus versiones digital y papel. En el espacio digital, estas revistas ponen en práctica el nuevo periodismo. Destacan a su autor como el artista que está detrás de una obra que tiene la voluntad de ser literaria.

Las rutinas que siguen este tipo de medios se pueden englobar en el movimiento *slow*. Sus vínculos son más fuertes con las humanidades que con la tecnología, aunque los periodistas narrativos son conscientes de que no pueden desarrollarse sin ella. El reportaje digital se presenta como un espacio en el que caben elementos digitales combinados con un periodismo narrativo austero en el uso de éstos e infiel a las normas del ciberperiodismo; a la vez, sigue las características del periodismo literario tradicional: construcción escena por escena, diálogo realista, detalles simbólicos, narrador en primera o tercera persona. El análisis de 30 artículos y las entrevistas realizadas lo demuestran.

Se detecta una papelización de la *Web* que se muestra en las versiones digitales de los medios analizados. Protagonismo del texto, portada papel, estructura numerada, referencias al papel y reconocimiento del autor son los elementos de esta papelización. Por ahora, los medios de periodismo narrativo digital no son viables individualmente; se desarrollan bajo estructuras empresariales más amplias que comercializan productos relacionados, como libros. Son empresas que ofrecen condiciones laborales flexibles pero poco estables; gran parte de los autores de los reportajes son *freelance* que trabajan desde cualquier parte del mundo.

Así, se identifica una evolución del nuevo periodismo de Wolfe y del nuevo nuevo periodismo de Boynton, que se presenta con un equilibrio entre tradición e innovación; tiene en cuenta humanidades y ciencias sociales en un entorno digital que incorpora las características del papel. Al mismo tiempo, tiene la voluntad de incrementar el prestigio del papel y del periodista, a quien reconoce como autor. Así, el nuevo nuevo nuevo periodismo ha realizado su revolución y los primeros resultados demuestran que viene para quedarse.

Colaboradores

Todos los autores han contribuido en todas las etapas de la investigación, explotación y análisis de datos y redacción final.

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2. Los periodistas slow en el espacio digital. Los modelos de Jot Down, Gatopardo y The New Yorker

ARTICLE:

Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2018). Los periodistas *slow* en el espacio digital. Los modelos de *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* y *The New Yorker*. In J. L. Zurita, J. Serrano-Puche and M. Gil Ramírez (Ed.), *Comunicación periodística ante los nuevos retos* (pp. 421-434). Barcelona: Gedisa.

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3. Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An Analysis of Jot Down, Gatopardo and The New Yorker

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Sabaté Gauxachs, A., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Díez Bosch, M. (2019). Is the new new digital journalism a type of activism? An analysis of *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. *Communication and Society*, 32(4), pp. 173-191. doi: https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.4.173-191

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Abstract

Digitization and the economic crisis have led journalism to a new paradigm (Albalad, 2018). Contents and customs have changed, supporting media has changed, new journalistic models are hybrids and the mainstream media do not always deal with the issues that society demands (Sims, 2018). With a knowledge of tradition, but following the path of innovation, narrative journalism emerges as a possible response to this state of affairs. The objective of this analysis is to identify the challenges facing narrative journalism and narrative journalists themselves in this regard. We analyse their formats, routines and content, study how their digitally existence (Drok & Hermans, 2016) and ask ourselves if they constitute a platform for journalistic activism. Three magazines were identified for the selection of case studies: *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. Their digital models, content and literary quality are the principal reasons for their selection, in addition to their different seniorities, geographical backgrounds and formats. By deploying a qualitative research methodology based on content analysis (Voutsina, 2018), in-depth interviews (Johnson, 2002), non-participant observation and document review, this analysis suggests that the new *new digital journalism* is a kind of activist journalism that upholds the traditions of reporting, narrative journalism and literary quality. This study is based on two theoretical premises: narrative journalism, exemplified by authors such as Sims (1996) and Herrscher (2012) and digital journalism, represented by writers such as Rost (2006) and Domingo & Heinonen (2008).

Keywords
Narrative journalism, digital journalism, activism, *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, *The New Yorker*.

1. Introduction

In the New York of the nineteen sixties, the highest aspiration of a journalist with a proven track record was to become a member of the literary elite by writing the novel that would catapult them to fame (Weingarten, 2013; Yagoda, 2000; Ross 1998; Kunkel, 1995; Wolfe, 1973; Grant, 1968). However, when we began to think that journalism could read like a novel,

journalism and literature began to become mutually suspicious of each other. It was labelled a "bastard form" and dubbed "parajournalism" (Wolfe, 1973).

What was branded as *new journalism* was not in fact new (Bak & Reynolds, 2011). Using literary devices to recounting reality (Herscherr, 2014; Schudson, 2003) is a practice that emerged from the realist novels by Zola and Balzac, stories from the Americas (originally called "The Indias" in Spanish), observational journalism, Shakespeare's Theatre (Herrscher, 2012; Chillón, 2014) and Chinese social movements behind the *baogao wenxue*, the type of Chinese literary reporting journalism that simultaneously demanded reporting faithful to the truth as well as literature faithful to the art (Bak & Reynolds, 2011). As Wolfe (1973) describes:

> And so all of a sudden, in the mid-Sixties, here comes a bunch of these lumpen proles, no less, a bunch of slick-magazine and Sunday supplement writers with no literary credentials whatsoever, in most cases –only they are using the techniques of the novelists, even the most sophisticated ones– and on top of that they're helping themselves to the insights of the men of Charts while they're at it –and at the same time they're still doing their low-life legwork, their "digging", their hustling, their damnable Locker Room Genre reporting– they're taking of all of these roles at the same time –in other words, they're ignoring literary class lines that were almost a century in the making (Tom Wolfe, 1973).

Among the authors who joined this tendency at the time were Talese, Didion, Breslin and Mailer, and this type of journalism also has its successors: Susan Orlean, Ted Conover and John McPhee (Boynton, 2012; Herrscher, 2012). Beyond working in a genre that created controversy by breaking the news reporting rules and trying to dethrone novels (Wolfe, 1973), the challenge of current narrative journalists is to exercise a journalism that also defies the rules of digitization. Given the brevity and immediacy required by on-line platforms (Micó, 2006), the new *new journalism* (Boynton, 2012) format remains lengthy and invokes slow journalism (Albalad, 2018).

Against this backdrop, our objective was to analyze journalism in the digital context, observe how it has grown within a social movement optic (Tarrow, 1997) and detect whether activist journalism has a resisted the world of immediacy –in favour of a journalism based on research and literary quality.

The case studies were selected from *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. Case studies in communication have been used as a technique that is well-adapted to the constraints of our investigation, given that it is a contemporary phenomenon and contributes to knowledge about an individual, group, or organization (Yin, 2014). The case studies are set in different geographical contexts –Spain, Mexico and the United States, respectively. Their publishers were established in different epochs, as *The New Yorker* in 1925, *Gatopardo* in 2001 and *Jot Down* in 2011. In addition, their origins vary depending on the type of media they are. *The New Yorker* and *Gatopardo* were created as a paper publications, but *Jot Down* started life as digital and the paper edition appeared later. All-in-all, it is a question of investigating the practice of some journalists, not only of simply resisting conventions, but also going further and challenging them.

2. The current state of the art

We have identified seven characterisations (Albalad, 2018; Marsh, 2010) referring to the kind of journalism analyzed. For Wolfe (1973), it is *new journalism* which for Capote (1965) is the *nonfiction novel*. Franklin calls it *narrative nonfiction* (1986) and *narrative journalism* (1996); Sims (1996) considers it to be *literary journalism*. Kirtz (1998), *long-form journalism* and Hartsock (2000), *narrative literary journalism*.

The most recent terminology is *new new journalism*, a concept coined by Boynton (2012) after comparing it to the American *new journalism* of the sixties, analyzing authors such as Lillian Ross, Gay Talese and Tom Wolfe, in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first, with names such as Susan Orlean, Ted Conover and Adrien Nicole LeBlanc. For this particular

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author, a key difference is that the *new new journalism* incorporates elements of social sciences. According to Boynton (2012), this evolution of *new journalism* is noteworthy for being rigorously reported, psychologically astute, sociologically sophisticated and politically aware.

The techniques it deploys also defines narrative journalism. According to Wolfe (1973), there are four facets to a narrative journalism text: dialogue, detail, first/third person narrator and scene-by-scene construction. Sims (1996) goes further and states that the required features are: immersion, structure, rigour, voice, accountability and symbolic realities. According to Sharlet (2014), these are metaphors of life explained using literary techniques to transform them into stories.

Contursi & Ferro (2000) address these two questions when studying narratives. On one hand, there are differing opinions on what it is; on the other hand, we have become used to a specific meaning associated with it. According to these two authors, the notion of narrative is presented in a form which involves the use of a particular type of language, linked to a notion of the passage of time and to what the protagonists want to do that produce changes; in this way, they define a narrative as a story built along a timeline. According to Polkinghorne (1988), narrative is something in which a protagonist ties together logically –and chronologically– related events that some protagonists cause or experience when shifting from one state to another. Barthes & Duisit (1975) argue that narrative has a dominant character because there cannot be people without stories, while Polkinghorne (1988) defines it as the most significant element required to give meaning to human experience. According to Ricoeur (1999), the configuration of the narrative defines historical reality and is what constitutes the notion of society. Bal & Van Boheemen (2009) define narration as the set of theories of narrative texts, images, displays and cultural artefacts that tell a story. Defining the idea of story-telling in this manner facilitates the analysis of narratives. Bakhtin differentiates between monologues and dialogues and treats them as separate aspects of literature. Propp (1998) analyzes the structure of stories and reveals recurring attributes that characterise them.

Nevertheless, we need to distinguish between plain narrative ("storytelling" in its simplest form) and the text's intrinsic narrative quality. Pier and García Landa (2008) consider that narrative quality is the set of characteristics that bestow storytelling status on a text. There is academic debate about the definition of this concept. On one hand, we consider that stories "are narratives," but on the other hand, they may or may not "have narrative quality." Phelan & Rabinowitz (2005) point out that narrative quality is the set of formal and contextual features that distinguishes narrative from non-narrative. Toolan & Cobley (2001) talk about the experience of narrative quality, relating it to the reading process itself rather than the reader's reaction to the text.

There are several distinct groups involved with the study of narrative journalism in the digital era. The International Association for Literary Journalism incorporates the multidisciplinary analysis of the new *new Anglo-Saxon journalism*. In this group, Bak & Reynolds (2011) review the origins of the genre and point out that its roots go beyond the United States and the sixties (Sims, 2018; Chillón, 2014). In this framework, the contributions of Abrahamson (2006), Berning (2011) and Dowling and Vogan (2015), deal with the digitization of narrative journalism; Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2016) consider it to be an emerging genre. Belt and South (2016), Drok and Hermans (2016) and Le Masurier (2015) expand on the *slow journalism* concept. Neveu (2016) studies the business models used and stresses that they contravene the rules of capitalism. Sharlet (2014) and Palau (2017) discuss its application in topics such as religion and migration, and highlight the empathy that it can create. According to Hartsock (2000), good storytelling involves people, activates their thinking and ensnares them. Palau (2019), Albalad (2018), Angulo (2013), Herrscher (2012) and Chillón (2014) analyze *new journalism* in Spanish. The Foundation of New Latin American Journalism, promoted by García Márquez, focuses on its practical aspects.

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In digital journalism, this research at hand takes into account the contributions of Micó (2006) on digital journalism, Deuze (2001), Pavlik (2001) and Rost (2006) on interactivity and contributions to the figure of the digital journalist of Cohen (2018), Sherwood and O'Donnell (2018), Johnston and Wallace (2017) and Wilentz (2014).

Broersma and Eldridge (2019) address the challenge of new trends in digital journalism and the rise of social networks, particularly in terms of dynamic information and authority. Lewis and Molyneux (2018) examine the influence of networks in journalistic practice. Pavlik, Dennis, Mersey and Gengler (2019) state that the shifting media environment promotes continuous adaptation to different platforms and also deploy techniques beyond networks, such as augmented reality. Hermida and Young (2019) and Zamith (2019) discuss data journalism. Novak (2018) analyzes the participation and co-creation of content.

These practices co-exist alongside *slow journalism* and furthermore go in search of committed readership. Broersma (2019) studies the concept of engaged audiences, referring to the cognitive, emotional and affective experience that users have with the content or recognised brands; this phenomenon can result in increased consumption of news, more interaction with the content and greater purchasing of products. *Clickbait*, on the contrary, (Bazaco, Redondo & Sánchez-García, 2019) is a strategy to increase the viral nature of the content.

According to Pew Research (2018), 7 out of 10 Americans are conscious of saturation, given the immediacy and volume of the news to which they are exposed. Bathke (2019) talks about the frustration that instant news can generate and defends slow digital journalism.

On the other hand, the conditions that Tarrow (1997) establishes as basic to social movements serve to analyze narrative journalism through the lens of sociology. The types of activism that Yang (2009) classifies as: cultural, social, political and nationalistic. Mishra and Anant (2006) define activism as a fourth institutional power that extends its mechanisms into decision-making. Cammaerts and Carpenter (2007) describe it as the ability to act to change history; this has been studied according to the theory of social movements, of social changes, and linked to the concepts of resistance and protest (Kling and Posner, 1990; Goodwin and Jasper, 2003). According to Butler (2011), it is about social movements organized in defence of an ideology, philosophy and strategy. According to the author and also to Bennett (2010), new communication channels have transformed the notion of activism. Butler (2011) and Lee and Hsieh (2013) compare the concept with *slacktivism*. Russell (2017) describes how, with digitalization, the boundaries between activism and journalism have become blurred and analyzes the concepts of power and authority of digital journalism. Bolaños (2017) and Olesen (2008) compare investigative journalism and activism.

3. Methodology

Qualitative research techniques were used in this study: content analysis, in-depth interviews, non-participant observation and literature review (Busquet, Medina & Sort, 2006). Content analysis was applied to a total of 45 articles in the 3 selected media: *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*. The case study of these media was made in this manner. Case study in communication was used because we are investigating a contemporary phenomenon to contribute to the knowledge about an individual, group, organization and their associated elements. This involved focusing on three cases and establishing a holistic perspective from them (Yin, 2014).

We defend our selection particularly because of their diversity: they were created in different places, in different epochs and in different formats. *Jot Down* is Spanish, created in 2011 and is a digital native. *Gatopardo* is Mexican, born in Colombia in 2001 on paper. Also created on paper, in 1925 and in New York is *The New Yorker*. This variety of origins allows our research to contemplate the evolution of three different cultural aspects of narrative journalism, by geography, generation and format. Their comparison allows the character of

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each medium to be differentiated and how they foster their narrative journalism according to this.

As regards the content analysis, a piece from each of the sections of each medium was chosen to have a selection of case studies representative of all the topics covered. In total, 15 pieces from each medium were examined. The selection of pieces was based on a table of characteristics that included the main categories of analysis to detect the elements of narrative journalism and digital journalism that appeared in the pieces. The purpose was to detect to what extent these types of articles and the journalists who wrote them exert resistance that could be construed as activism within journalism.

These aforementioned categories were grouped into four parts: identification, form, content and audience. The first part places the piece according to its section, author and publisher. In the second part, the elements, part and structure of each piece of news are evaluated, taking into account its presence and its aspect digitally and on paper. The specified fields correspond to the elements to be analyzed: subtitles, multimedia complements, images, positioning and volume strategies (measured by the number of on-line page scrolls or physical paper pages). As regards the content, in the table the typology and appearance of the narrative are deepened, and the four main elements that Wolfe (1973) considered that a text should possess to be considered narrative journalism: dialogue, use of the first or third person singular, detail and scene-by-scene construction. Wolfe (1973) proposes a hybrid profile. He is not a narrative theorist, although his work *The New Journalism* describes the foundations of a genre that he, and others such as Breslin or Talese, put into practice. This research takes into account the contributions mentioned in a theoretical framework, although it takes this particular work of Wolfe (1973) as a reference for content analysis as it is a reflection from a practical point of view, establishing patterns for classifying texts, and also takes into account that he is considered to be the founding author of the genre (Chillón, 2014; Herrscher, 2012).

In addition to the four mentioned, the content category includes an analysis of the presence of the journalist, the use of adjectives, the narrative point of view and the verb tense. Accordingly, topic and tense are identified separately. Audience identification is based on the interactions with the pieces on the social networks in which it was published and the comments obtained. Examining each of these categories allows us to ascertain to what extent the elements of narrative journalism and those of digital journalism are present in each piece, and to analyze which are the dominant ones (see Annex 1).

Content analysis (Van Dijk, 2013) is supported by research on narrative journalism such as that of Jacobson, Marino and Gutsche (2016) and Domingo and Heinonen (2008).

In-depths interviews (Voutsina, 2018; Johnson, 2002) contribute by providing context and also help us understand the attitudes and motivations of the subjects. This technique was used in similar research such as Albalad (2018), Angulo (2013) and Berning (2011). In-depth interviews were held with 34 narrative journalism professionals, related to any of the three journals that are part of the case studies selection, or were associated with an academic institution. Of the 34 interviews, 22 were conducted in person, the rest by videoconference or telephone. The face-to-face interviews were held in the workplaces of the narrative journalists consulted. In the case of the editors of *The New Yorker*, we visited the publisher in person for interviews and non-participant observation. Questionnaires were designed to answer the questions that this research raises from an individual point of view. The questionnaire consisted of fifteen questions; some were common for all interviewees, but others were customised according to the interviewee's career, medium and position. The issues were classified into three groups: individual experience of the journalist in the media, writing dynamics and analysis of narrative journalism. A broad variety of profiles was chosen in an attempt to ensure that all criteria produced a statistically significant number of results. The list of journalists interviewed is as follows:

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1. Jacqui Banaszynski, editor of the Nieman Storyboard (Harvard University).
2. Joshua Benton, director of the Nieman Lab (Harvard University).
3. Carla Blumenkranz, online director of *The New Yorker*.
4. Mark Bowden, writer and narrative journalist.
5. Robert Boynton, journalist at *The New Yorker* (interviewed in 2014 and 2018).
6. Nathan Burstein, managing editor of *The New Yorker*.
7. Joshua Clover, professor of non-fiction (University of California Davis).
8. Lauren Collins, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
9. Ted Conover, freelance writer and contributor at *The New Yorker*.
10. Rubén Díaz, deputy director of *Jot Down*.
11. John Durham Peters, Professor of Media Studies (Yale University).
12. Carles Foguet, communication director of *Jot Down*.
13. Ángel Fernández, director of *Jot Down*.
14. Zoe Greenberg, long-form Journalist at The New York Times.
15. Eliza Griswold, editor of *The New Yorker*.
16. Leila Guerriero, editor of *Gatopardo*.
17. Roberto Herrscher, collaborator at *Gatopardo*.
18. Ricardo Jonás, co-founder of *Jot Down*.
19. Carolyn Kormann, editor of *The New Yorker*.
20. Jon Lee Anderson, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
21. Ramón Lobo, freelance journalist, writer at *Jot Down*.
22. Larissa MacFarquhar, journalist at *The New Yorker*.
23. Monica Račić, multimedia editor at *The New Yorker*.
24. William Reynolds, president of the International Association for Literary Journalism.
25. Noah Rosenberg, director of *Narratively*.
26. Carlo Rotella, freelance writer at *The New Yorker*.
27. Emiliano Ruiz, freelance journalist for *Gatopardo*.
28. Alberto Salcedo Ramos, professor at the Gabriel García Márquez Foundation of New Ibero-American Journalism.
29. Susy Schultz, director of *Public Narrative*.
30. Jeffrey Sharlet, narrative journalist, professor at Dartmouth University.
31. Norman Sims, former president of the International Association for Literary Journalism.
32. McKenna Stayner, editor of *The New Yorker*.
33. Marcela Vargas, digital ex-editor of *Gatopardo*.
34. Julio Villanueva Chang, director of *Black Label*.

The analytical processing of the interviews was carried out in three sequential stages: (1) transcription, (2) classification of answers by topics and (3) definition of results. These steps allowed the answers from the in-depth interviews to be sorted and individual criteria counted. The transcription phase was carried out as interviews progressed. Because of this, the most recent interviews obtained more concrete answers than the initial ones, as in the life cycle of in-depth interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). The classification and drafting of results phases are presented combined, based on the results obtained during all interviews. The number of respondents and the volume of accumulated material obliged researchers to select only the essential aspects; otherwise, the total number of responses obtained would have exceeded the length of the usual results dissemination formats.

As regards the non-participative observation, this was undertaken in only one of the media, *The New Yorker*, being the only one that has permanent staff with many of its writers working there physically. *Gatopardo* has writers at the Travesías Media headquarters, where the professionals in charge of management and administration are located, although many of the journalists work externally (Vargas, 2014). *Jot Down* has no physical office at all and all its

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professionals, including administrative staff, work on their own. Because of this, the non-participant observation was conducted only in *The New Yorker*. This non-participant observation took place after the in-depth interviews and was carried out on three different days. The results of this technique allow the conclusions of the interviews to be contrasted and reinforced, particularly as regards the writing routines and the role of narrative journalists in their organisations. The observation time did not extend beyond these three days, being what the medium accepted as a maximum for allowing the presence of researchers on their facilities.

4. Results

The principal result of this research is that contemporary media is a phenomenon that incites new models in narrative journalism (*New new digital journalism*) to emerge because of:

- Economic crises: –and also political instability– in their own environment, one of the reasons why the general public demand independent media (Foguet, 2014).
- The lack of knowledgeable voices: causing people to demand coverage of issues that are not always present in the general media (Jonás, 2014).
- Digitization: which has facilitated a broader media reach (Herrscher, 2014) and has given rise to a new platform in which citizen activism has broadened and combined with journalism (Russell, 2017).
- Languages: in the case of the media analyzed, written in English and Spanish, two of the three most spoken languages globally. Together with digitalization, this factor makes it easier for new narrative journalism media to broadcast farther, specifically, to all Anglo-Saxon and Spanish-speaking countries everywhere (Herrscher, 2014). This condition allows the creation of large communities centred on these particular media and their publications.
- Changes in the accepted concept of communicative: as a direct consequence of digitalization, increasing interactivity and the emergence of new business models (Albalad, 2018; Schultz, 2018).

In this regard, narrative journalism appeared as a new type of activism within the professional world. The media dedicated to it sprang up in response to moments of economic, political and social crises (Durham Peters, 2018; Benton, 2018). Given the complex realities that need to be explained in detail, crises engender new means of narrative journalism. The more the public know about the world, the better they can understand and empathize with it (Griswold, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). Given that narrative journalism is more necessary in times of crises, this type of media often emerges in convulsed contexts. The content of magazines analyzed corroborate this.

The New Yorker dates from 1925 and started out in a New York prior to the Great Depression, by the hand of a group of intellectuals who wanted to embrace new media spaces (Weingarten, 2013; Kunkel, 1995; Yagoda, 2000). *Gatopardo* comes from Colombia. It was founded in 1999, in the midst of a social crisis caused by the effects of the earthquake that wiped out 2,000 lives. *Jot Down* dates from May 2011, when Spanish society had a need to express its outrage at the country's social and economic crisis. *Jot Down* thus emerged hand-in-hand with the 15M movement (of citizens indignant with the economic crisis, imbued with the spirit of this movement, avowing to change the established order and give a voice to those who did not have one (Foguet, 2014; Jonás, 2014).

Digitalization has blurred the lines between journalism and activism (Russell, 2017) and on both sides, particularly the information professionals that strive to set themselves apart from the rest. Narrative journalism is not social activism as such (Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Sharlet, 2018). Nevertheless, reporting does have an agenda-setting effect (Olesen, 2008). The activism exercised by narrative journalism can be considered as activism within journalism.

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It has a cause, followers and militants, platforms on which it broadcasts, a history that it maintains, in addition to an on-going action on which it is based.

This type of journalism and the individuals that practice it appear as a social movement that exercises a specific journalistic activism and exhibits the following properties that Tarrow (1997) established as the basis of social movements:

- **Collective challenge:** the author talks about disruptive actions characterized by the obstruction of activities of others, which might be groups of leaders or other cultural groups or codes. Narrative journalism has been disruptive since its inception (Benton, 2018; Ruiz, 2014). The main disruptive action of this genre is to break with the classical norms of news journalism, and currently, of digital journalism. The conditions expounded by Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996) are based more on literary writing techniques rather than on journalist's manuals on how to write. This format is indeed disruptive, although it does not go so far as to obstruct the activity of the majority groups of informative journalism. The digital journalism case is the same.

  > [...] We were moving beyond the conventional limits of journalism, but not merely in terms of technique. The kind of reporting we were doing struck us as far more ambitious, too. It was more intense, more detailed, and certainly more time-consuming than anything that newspaper or magazine reporters, including investigative reporters, were accustomed to... (Tom Wolfe, 1973).

- **Common objective:** according to Tarrow (1997), this is about a statement of demands made of the "opponents" that has a straightforward purpose. Excellent reporting and writing are an absolute requirement in narrative journalism. It is the defence of these journalistic values that defines narrative journalism and becomes the way for it to differentiate itself from instant journalism (Le Masurier, 2015). Not only is quality a requisite, but also narrative journalism has the mundane objective of gaining readership, making their publisher profitable, that is to say, the means by which narrative journalists get paid a salary. Beyond this goal, the objective is to make complex realities understood by giving the public the necessary elements to do so (Griswold, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Sharlet, 2018).
- **Solidarity:** this is the recognition of a convergence of interests that incites the prospective movement into collective action. Tarrow (1997) emphasizes that leaders can only create social movements when deeply rooted feelings of solidarity or identity burst out. These are reliable bases on which to organise social movements. In this respect, narrative is identity journalism (Banaszynski, 2018; Benton, 2018) and even constituting an elite (Albalad, 2018) of people with the ability to exercise it (Blumenkranz, 2018; Lee Anderson, 2018; Lobo, 2018).
- **Persistence over time:** this is about the collective action of this social movement being sustained despite the opposition to it in an environment of contrary values. In this case, the resistance in an environment saturated with instant news options and the full democratization of journalism in an era of citizen journalism. In this regard, narrative journalism not only survives, but indeed flourishes. In recent decades, above all in the Latin American and North American settings, there has been a boom in the creation of these media (Albalad & Rodríguez, 2012). Collins (2018) and Albalad (2018) talk about a balanced media diet, in which informational journalism and narrative journalism are consumed at different times. This need, together with the complexity of the environment (Reynolds, 2018), explains that fact that narrative journalism developed as an alternative journalistic movement. According to Salcedo Ramos (2018), the chronicles of narrative journalism allow us to understand reality.

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This socio-journalistic movement that we have presented, which additionally also displays the characteristics of a social movement (Tarrow, 2017), takes on a role of journalistic activism in defence of its own cause. Compared to informational and digital journalism, narrative journalism exercises the following types of activism within journalism:

4.1. *Formal activism*

The form of the media analyzed was compared to that of generalist media, detecting formal activism expressing itself in the following ways and means:

- Thematic sections: their section structure does not conform to standard news media classifications. This is demonstrated by those that comprise the media analyzed (see Table 1) and are testimony to one type of this movement's activism. "We created *Jot Down* to write about the topics we wanted to read about," says Foguet (2014). Rosenberg (2018) reiterates the same thing about *Narratively*.

Table 1: Sections of the media analyzed.

Jot Down	*Gatopardo*	*The New Yorker*
Art and literature	Articles	News
Science	Current affairs	Culture
Cinema-TV	Opinion	Books
Sports	Culture	Business & Tech
Interviews	Artist's studios	Humour
Music	Drinks	Cartoons
Leisure and Vice	Cars	Magazine
Politics	Newsletter	Video
Society		Podcasts
		Archives
		What's On

Source: Own elaboration.

- Images: their use is not simply informative, but also forms a part of the medium's identity (Díaz Caviedes, 2014). In *Jot Down*, they are in black and white. *Gatopardo* combines black and white with colour to highlight prominent themes. *The New Yorker* frequently uses illustrations.

- Multimedia elements: the use of infographics, interactive graphics and audios is sparse. Video is the only item detected in the articles. It is a sought-after feature (Foguet, 2014), in the conviction that too many multimedia elements could detract from the reader's immersion (MacFarquhar, 2018; Schultz, 2018).

- Role of the web: at a time when the media is working towards its own digital adaptation, narrative journalism works the other way around, adapting web formats to paper (Albalad & Rodríguez, 2012). In *Jot Down*, this role is intentional. It manifests itself in: sparse use of multimedia resources, references to paper publications (with sections such as the newspaper's past editions library), formal elements similar to the printed version (such as the digital cover of *Gatopardo*), numbered structure (the digital article numbering is identical to that on paper) and author acknowledgement (who usually has a relevant presence).

- Length: the customary brevity of digital journalism style (Micó, 2006) is not maintained in the texts we analyzed. Specific piece lengths are not stipulated through an editorial standard, but rather depends on what each topic requires (Burstein, 2018; Račić, 2018). Of the 45 texts studied, 19 have more than 10,000 characters; The range of lengths varies between 1,062 characters to 67,634.

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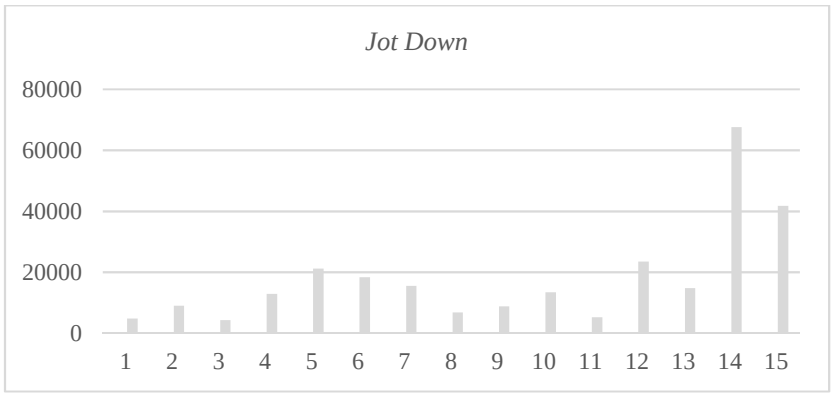
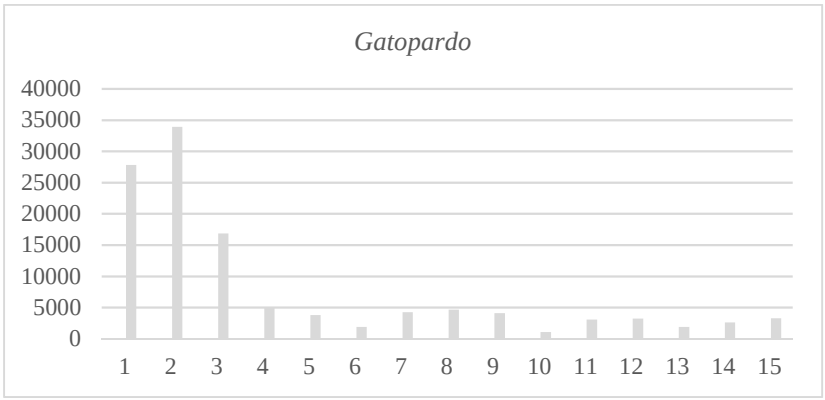
Figure 1: Length in characters of the articles analyzed in *Jot Down*.



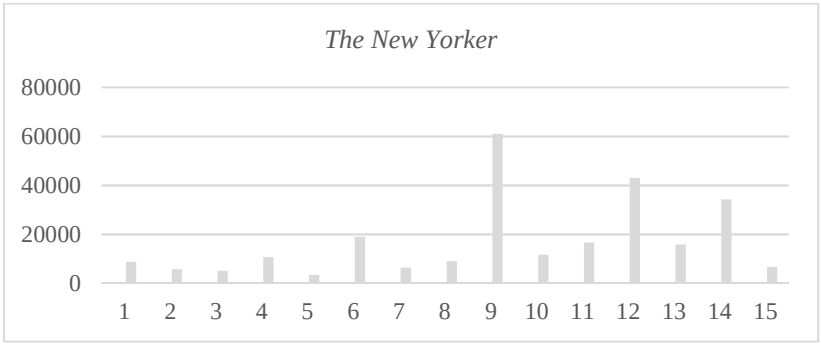
Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 2: Length in characters of the articles analyzed in *Gatopardo*.



Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 3: Length in characters of the articles analyzed in *The New Yorker*.



Source: Own elaboration.

4.2. *Activism in the content*

The section titles mentioned previously reveal that the informative spaces covered by this type of journalism do not always coincide with those of the generalist media. We detected a thematic specialization that would result in a segmentation of the public (see Table 1).

Beyond the specific theme in question, content activism is also perpetrated in using literary resources to talk about non-fiction issues. According to Wolfe (1973), the main ones are: dialogue, detail, scene-by-scene construction and use of the first/third person. In the articles studied, 32 use scene-by-scene construction, 19 use dialogue, 43 use detail and in 36 of them, the narration is in the first or third person singular. The use of literary tools has

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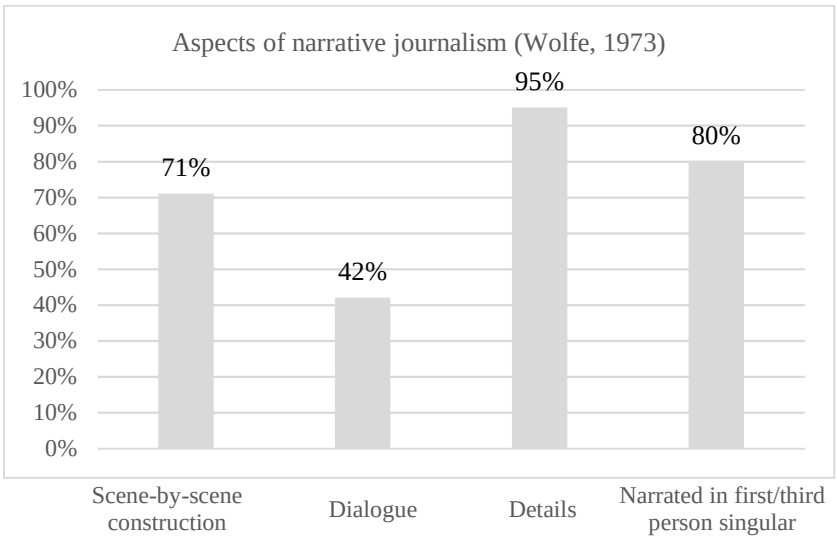
called the objectivity and rigour of narrative journalism into question. According to Salcedo Ramos (2018), this journalism combines narration and interpretation: the former allows the facts to be recounted, the latter allows the author's vision to be expressed.

In parallel, the articles studied did not conform to the digital journalism standards as defined by Micó (2006). According to him, they are: accuracy, clarity, conciseness, density, precision, simplicity, naturalness, originality, brevity, variety, attraction, rhythm, colour, resonance, detail and property.

Figure 4: Presence of the elements of narrative journalism according to Wolfe (1973).



Source: Own elaboration.

Some of the digital features do indeed coincide with narrative journalism: accuracy, originality, attraction, rhythm, colour, resonance and detail. However, the differences between narrative journalism and digital journalism are to be found in the ways used to achieve them. In digital journalism, multimedia elements cohabit with the written word, whereas in narrative journalism, words alone are everything. Aspects that differ between models were detected. Narrative journalism is not characterized by its brevity (see Figures 1, 2 and 3), neither simplicity, neither conciseness nor clarity (MacFarquhar, 2018; Vargas, 2014).

4.3. *Activism in the professional figure*

The Digital narrative journalist is the figure that responds to the demands of this type of journalism. The narrative journalism movement comprises professionals with specific characteristics (Reynolds, 2018; Guerriero, 2014). According to the interviews we held, the specific characteristics that define the narrative journalist are currently:

- Own point of view: this is about telling the stories differently from standard news reporting, (Díaz Caviedes, 2014), through the narrator's eyes (Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Herrscher, 2014). This is where the originality of the narrative journalist comes into play, the narrator own vision which they use to define their own reality (Angulo, 2013).

-Patience: in the modern context based on immediacy (*instant everything*), narrative journalists are regarded as rebels (Reynolds, 2018) who dedicate whatever amount of time the piece requires (Račić, 2018). According to Bowden (2018), Conover (2018) and Guerriero (2014), writing a particular piece might take months. According to Boynton (2018), this is the challenge of our instant world. Burstein (2018), Kormann (2018) of *The New Yorker*, and Greenberg (2018), of *The New York Times* (2018), began as fact-checkers at their publishers; they emphasize that it is a common assignment for young journalists and during which they develop the necessary resistance to be able to report rigorously.

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- Curiosity: this is defined as an obsessive interest in what is going on round them (Banaszynski, 2018; Collins, 2018; Lee Anderson, 2018; Reynolds, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018) and people "in action" (Salcedo Ramos, 2018). According to Sharlet (2018), the peculiarity of narrative journalism is that it demands a level of fidelity to the subject in professionals that is comparable to that of people who have religious faith. Some of the authors interviewed speak of passion (Collins, 2018; Rosenberg, 2018).

- Writing excellence: the form has to be without reproach (Kormann, 2018; Sims, 2018; Guerriero, 2014) and the vocabulary precise, to ensure that the reader sticks with the text (Banaszynski, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017). According to Lobo (2018), good reporting is in itself not enough if the writing is less than perfect.

- Presence of the journalist: this aspect is not always invoked, although it may be necessary in some stories to legitimize the voice of the journalist and give value to the chronicle's composition (Salcedo Ramos, 2018). According to Schultz (2018), journalism has to be transparent in its processes, to reinforce the authority of its voice among the public, and more so in our digital era. Lobo (2018) differentiates the United States and Latin America in this regard. He points out that in North America, this is a more accepted practice. In fact, the journalist has presence in 50% of the *The New Yorker* articles analyzed.

-Specialized versatility: in the 34 interviews held, the journalists were asked what the characteristics that digital narrative journalism requires were. Technical knowledge and digital tools were not mentioned by the respondents. The versatility (Sánchez & Micó, 2014) demanded in the generalist media is not required in narrative journalism - specialization is preferred (Bowden, 2018; Conover, 2018; MacFarquhar, 2018).

The abovementioned characteristics produce professionals who are more narrative than digital, few in number and belong to a select group to which only those having the requisite abilities belong. Not all narrative journalism skills can be learned (Banaszynski, 2018; Lobo, 2018).

4.4. *Activism in the writing*

As a social movement, narrative journalism is also disruptive in its writing processes. In this respect, it is part of the "*slow movement*" (David, Blumtritt & Köhler, 2010), whose promulgation turned out to be a turning point in the digital informative debauchery. However, this movement does not contend that journalism must always be slow; it vindicates the public's freedom to choose the rhythm appropriate to them at all times (Albalad, 2018; Collins, 2018). In narrative journalism, writing stints are variable (Guerriero, 2014); they might be months or years (Rotella, 2018; Račić, 2018; Stayner, 2018). The time devoted to a topic is not determined by the journalist, rather, by the topic itself and the demands it entails. Quality, reporting, substantiation and literary composition are not enemies of deadlines. A text would only be published when all of these conditions had been satisfied (Blumenkranz, 2018; Conover, 2018). This pace is advantageous for the journalist, but it is a privilege that not all professionals are able to enjoy (Rotella, 2018; Díaz Caviedes, 2014). Nevertheless, there is a tacit agreement (Salcedo Ramos, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017) in narrative journalism in which the reader accepts having to wait, in exchange for feeling privileged to obtain a quality product.

This slow pace also translates into adding new content on the websites of the magazines analyzed. None exceeds ten new digital pieces daily. Therefore, time is not the main concern, nor the fact that something is happening right now a criterion of newsworthiness (Craig, 2015). In fact, the publication date is not shown in most of the articles examined. This non-time-determined search is something the theme itself permits, so long as it is within the limits of the writing world (Guerriero, 2014).

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Durham Peters (2018) defends narrative journalism as a "consecrated space" of knowledge concentration. For the teacher, slow journalism is a type of activism because it is "shock absorbing" for a complex society in which immediacy abounds.

Boynton's (2018) judgement is: "When you sit down and write something over a long period of time and dedicate yourself to it and to the importance of it, you know that importance in your own mind and you are kind of resisting the larger society and the pace of that society".

4.5. Activism in business models

The media companies analyzed go about their business following hybrid business models. These are deployed as an alternative to the publicity-based model prevailing in previous decades (Albalad, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017; Fernández, 2014). Rosenberg (2018) talks about possible alternative ways of financing that are explored in *Narratively*, related to communication and culture –podcasts, videos, advert copywriting...

The magazines analyzed are encased within profitable business models, although with different income sources. *Jot Down* belongs to Wabi Sabi Investments, which also markets books and organizes events. *Gatopardo* is owned by Travesías Media, which also publishes travel guides. *The New Yorker* is part of Condé Nast, a long-standing holding company, now owned by Advance Publications which also publishes *Vogueo Wired*.

All converge in a structure composed of staff narrative journalists together with freelance associates. Of the 34 journalists interviewed, only the editors of *The New Yorker* admit to being able to subsist solely on the income from narrative journalism. Therefore, most professionals combine this type of writing with other activities (Salcedo Ramos, 2018) to reach a combined income that allows them to survive (Rotella, 2018; Ruiz, 2014; Vargas, 2014).

In this aspect, the activism is the resistance of those professionals who are able to exercise a journalism that they believe in, despite the occupational difficulties caused. Thus, activism is not deployed so much in the hybrid business model with a profitability-centred purpose. Rather, it is more to be found in the working conditions afforded to their journalists. In *Jot Down* and *Gatopardo*, narrative journalists have flexible schedules and are integrated into horizontal structures. *Jot Down* does not have a headquarters, *Gatopardo* has the administrative portion of its staff located in the Travesías Media offices, and *The New Yorker* is the only one of the three that does have editorial offices where most of its journalists work. Moreover, this particular American publication does have a vertical-pyramidal structure, in which each group of writers report to an editor; together the individual editors report to the director (Blumenkranz, 2018; Kormann, 2018; MacFarquhar, 2018; Stayner, 2018). It is here where the generational differences between the media analyzed manifests themselves.

The pro-profession activism in the business model also appears at the time when these conditions facilitate the integration of new authors who otherwise could not have written for the media in question (Díaz Caviedes, 2014; Fernández, 2014; Jonás, 2014). Above all, this case occurs in the digital hybrid models of *Jot Down* and *Gatopardo*. According to Banaszynski (2018) and Greenberg (2018), this type of structure does not make it easy for young journalists to work together in person with experienced experts.

5. Conclusions

The new *new digital journalism* brings about journalistic activism on Internet, promoting the rigorous, profound and well-written content that narrative journalism has implemented since its inception. The digital era, in addition to the challenge of sustainability, has given rise to this type of journalism and to the movement of professionals who act as a new "resistance" (Tarrow, 1997).

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If in the mid-twentieth century, the "resistance" was against news and novels, currently this resistance is directed against digitalization and the immediacy of news in a society characterised by postmodern fluency (Clover, 2018; Durham Peters, 2018).

In this research, we asked the question whether or not the new *new journalism* is a form of journalistic activism. One of the factors supporting the media dedicated to this type of journalism is the social context appears that it contains. In this respect, the emergence of digital narrative journalism publishers during the last few decades is related to the social and economic crises in the countries in which they appeared at particular moments in time, during which society had a need for media spokespeople on issues that did not always exist on generalists platforms. *Jot Down* is an example of this situation, created as a response to the 15M movement in Spain. Prior to digitalization, *The New Yorker* was created in a similar context, before the Great Depression (Yagoda, 2000; Gill, 1975).

Being conceived in convulsed contexts and creating new means to respond to them, narrative journalism can be regarded as activism for journalism in general. According to Tarrow (1997), the narrative journalists' movement exhibits the same basic characteristics that define a social movement. They are: collective challenge, common objective, solidarity and persistence over time. This movement brings to bear several types of activism simultaneously:

- In its appearance: as explained in previous sections, the use of images, sparseness of multimedia elements, unspecified length and moving from web- to paper-based (Albalad, 2018).

- In its content: by covering topics that are not found in the ordinary media (Fernández, 2014; Foguet, 2014) and doing so with a style more based on narrative journalism than on digital.

- In the figure of the professional writer: that responds to the traditional requirements of narrative journalism and not to the versatility demanded in the digital world (Burstein, 2018; Clover, 2018).

- In the mechanism of writing: the routines of the new digital journalism are an example of "slow activism" within journalism. Immediacy is not a priority and issues are matured during whatever time may be necessary (Burstein, 2018; Račić, 2018).

- In the business model: narrative journalism journals make use of business models that do not depend on income from publicity. These are publishers that diversify their sources of revenue and endow job flexibility on their journalists, if not job stability. *The New Yorker* is the exception in this regard. Its editors are among the few who can subsist only from narrative journalism income (Collins, 2018; Račić, 2018; Stayner, 2018). Thus, although journalists who work in new media need to find more sources of income in addition to narrative journalism, in recompense they enjoy increased flexibility in working conditions (Herrscher, 2014; Ruiz, 2014). In contrast, journalists who do have stable conditions, such as at *The New Yorker*, work within more traditional employment structures. Only a few, such as Lee Anderson (2018) and Collins (2018), claim to have both flexibility and the ability to survive only on narrative journalism.

As a result, we have revealed how narrative journalism has the greater goal of promoting and opting for a journalism of quality and rigour. This has attracted a select group of allies, narrative journalists, who robustly resist traditional journalism. Nonetheless, the resources available to this movement to stay the course and move forward are not available to everyone (Boynton, 2018; Villanueva Chang, 2017). The narrative journalists movement pursues this path despite its difficulties (Salcedo Ramos, 2018). Future analyses might pose the question whether, given its slower pace and its other constraints, public demand encourages this narrative journalism, and if it represents a way forward which the general media might adopt, and to which more resources should be dedicated. Narrative journalism activism has existed for centuries, and recently its own intrinsic values and digitalization have only strengthened it.

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Appendix 1

ID			
Number		Headline	
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Section			
FORM			
Subtitle			
Multimedia elements			
Image			
Positioning elements			
Scroll pages			
Paper pages			
Characters			
CONTENTS			
Theme			
Person			
Verb tense			
Dialogue			
Presence of journalist			
Point of view			
Description			
Use of adjectives			
Scene-by-scene construction			
Other details			
AUDIENCE			
Comments			
Webs where published			

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4. Construcción de comunidades online a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet

ARTICLE:

Díez Bosch, M., Micó Sanz, J.L. and Sabaté Gauxachs, A. (2018). Construcción de comunidades *online* a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la Iglesia Católica en internet. *El profesional de la información*, 27(6), pp. 1257-1268. doi: https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.09

CONSTRUCCIÓN DE COMUNIDADES ONLINE A PARTIR DE COMUNIDADES PRESENCIALES CONSOLIDADAS. EL CASO DE LA *IGLESIA CATÓLICA* EN INTERNET

Construction of online communities based on consolidated face-to-face communities. The case of *Catholic Church* on the internet

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Resumen

En la era digital el concepto de comunidad se ha ampliado. Los factores de espacio y tiempo ya no influyen en la construcción de grupos de personas reunidas en torno a un interés común. ¿Qué elementos facilitan que se creen las comunidades digitales? ¿Cómo se mantienen? ¿Cómo compaginan su existencia digital con su posible presencia en el mundo real? El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la construcción de comunidades digitales consolidadas, estudiar los elementos que hacen posible mantenerlas y desvelar cómo comunidades afianzadas en el mundo físico gestionan su presencia digital. El caso estudiado es la comunidad católica global, observada a partir de las 19 webs que reciben más visitas en las cinco lenguas más habladas por los católicos, monitorizadas durante tres años.

Palabras clave

Comunidad online; Comunidad digital; Comunidad presencial; Construcción de comunidad; Catolicismo; Webs católicas; Comunidad digital católica.

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Abstract

The concept of community has broadened since the emergence of the digital era. Factors of time and space are no longer influential in the process of building a digital common interest group. What do we need to create digital communities? How do they maintain themselves? How do they combine their digital existence with their possible real presence? The main goal of this article is to analyze the process of building consolidated digital communities. This will require close study of the elements required to start them up and keep them going, eventually revealing how strong real communities manage to exist in the digital sphere. Our sample is the global catholic community. We will analyze the 19 most relevant websites dealing with this religion, which have been monitored during three years.

Keywords

Online community; Digital community; Face-to-face community; Community building; Catholicism; Catholic websites; Digital catholic community.

Díez-Bosch, Míriam; **Micó-Sanz, Josep-Lluís**; **Sabaté-Gauxachs, Alba** (2018). "Construcción de comunidades online a partir de comunidades presenciales consolidadas. El caso de la *Iglesia Católica* en internet". *El profesional de la información*, v. 27, n. 6, pp. 1257-1268.

https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.09

1. Introducción

La digitalización de la comunicación y los medios (**Heinonen**, 1999; **Pavlik**, 2001; **Deuze**, 2004; **Salaverría**, 2005; **Domingo**, 2008; **Quandt**, 2008; **Díaz-Noci**, 2009; **Paulussen**, 2012) así como la creación y evolución de la comunidad virtual (**Rheingold**, 1993; **Schuler**, 1996; **Jones**, 1998; **Powazek**, 2002; **Koh**; **Kim**, 2003) han sido objeto de estudio desde muchas perspectivas. Se ha examinado qué lógica relacional digital siguen los grupos de personas que se reúnen en torno a intereses distintos. Se puede distinguir entre comunidades nativas online y comunidades presenciales que han llevado su rutina al espacio digital (**Caldwell**; **Bugby**, 2018). El objetivo de este artículo es estudiar la configuración y actividad del segundo tipo de comunidades y su traslado al mundo virtual. Se trata de describir cómo crean sensación de comunidad digitalmente los grupos físicos consolidados.

La muestra la integra una comunidad numerosa y consolidada, el catolicismo. Esta investigación pretende reflexionar sobre las comunidades católicas online, ver en qué medida están creadas para perfiles y habilidades concretos, además de identificar los métodos comunes utilizados por las páginas católicas más destacadas para crear comunidad. La esfera digital es más que un instrumento, es un espacio de comunicación en el que los usuarios participan en muchos aspectos (**McLoughlin** *et al.*, 2018) y utilizan para distintas actividades, también para la religión (**Wagner**, 2012; **Brasher**, 2001)**.**

El Vaticano ha sido siempre una de las primeras instituciones en adoptar las tecnologías de comunicación, desde la prensa a la radio y la televisión. En 2002 se publicó el documento *The Church and internet* (2002), reconociendo que la interactividad de la Red había roto el antiguo paradigma comunicativo. Los católicos han visto las potencialidades digitales y han aterrizado en este terreno para exportar su concepto de comunidad. ¿Qué mecanismos se necesitan para crearla digitalmente? Esta aportación se basa en la sistematización de portales católicos de acuerdo con sus distintas técnicas de *engagement* y examina su evolución durante tres años (2014, 2015 y 2016). Se trata de explorar cómo las tendencias tecnológicas se pueden transformar en la llamada *online religion* (**Helland**, 2005; **Campbell**, 2012).

2. Estado del arte

El marco teórico de esta investigación se basa en los autores que reflexionan sobre construcción digital de comunidad (**Rheingold**, 1993; **Jones**, 1998; **Kim**, 2000; **Hercheui**, 2010) y en los que han realizado contribuciones sobre las comunidades religiosas online (**Hoover**; **Kaneva**, 2009; **Campbell,** 2012). Las discusiones van desde la redefinición del concepto de comunidad a las características de estas comunidades en crecimiento, cómo están evolucionando, interactuando y qué retos tienen. También se habla de las distinciones entre comunidades virtuales y físicas en términos de posibilidades espaciales y temporales.

Gupta y **Kim** (2004) definen las comunidades virtuales como colectividades basadas en un espacio web con vínculos entre sus miembros. Según los autores, las comunidades virtuales han evolucionado y presentan ventajas respecto a las comunidades físicas: pueden ser mayores, más variadas y dispersas geográficamente y la comunicación puede archivarse. **Gupta** y **Kim** (2004) hablan también de los principales objetivos por los que se forma una comunidad virtual: transacción, fantasía, interés y relación.

Los primeros estudios sobre comunidades online exploraron cuestiones que surgían sobre el tema de las desdibujadas fronteras entre los espacios online y presencial con relación a la creación de comunidad: quién participaba y cómo se creaba. **Baym** (1995) es uno de los autores en tratarlo. **Mako-Hill** y **Shaw** (2017) y **Mnookin** (1996) se centran en el tipo de población que interviene en estas comunidades. **Koh** y **Kim** (2003) han demostrado empíricamente la creación de la sensación de comunidad. **Blanchard** y **Markus** (2004) identifican los distintos roles y estructuras creados dentro de las comunidades online y reflexionan alrededor de los grados de anexión a ellos. **Negroponte** (1995), **Schuler** (1996) y **Rheingold** (1993) examinan el cambio en las relaciones y la interacción social:

> "Las relaciones sociales y profesionales se están redefiniendo a medida que las lealtades a los grupos de referencia se mueven del dominio de los grupos familiares unidos, los vecindarios comunitarios físicos, y las escuelas y entornos profesionales a comunidades virtuales y relaciones online" (**Ebo**, 1998).

Smith y **Kollock** (1999) tratan las comunidades virtuales como un espacio en el que los prejuicios se difuminan pues el género, la edad o la raza no influyen de una manera determinada en la interacción online entre personas que pueden no explicitar algunas de sus características identitarias. **Khalid** (2018) se focaliza en la relevancia de la identidad y **Jenkins** y **Wolfgang** (2018) se basan en el rol de la mujer en las comunidades digitales. **Caldwell** y **Bugby** (2018) o **McLoughlin** *et al.* (2018) describen el papel de estas comunidades en la educación, la política o la salud.

Powazek (2002) reflexiona sobre el diseño de las comunidades virtuales y asegura que la construcción de comunidad es un proceso subjetivo. Algunos deterministas tecnológicos argumentan que la tecnología marca los aspectos de la vida de los individuos (**Kitchin**, 1998). Ven el espacio digital como una causa de cambios antropológicos. Para ellos, el ciberespacio lleva a la formación de nuevas comunidades. Según **Dodge** y **Kitchin** (2001) son lugares *inauténticos*. **Augé** (1994) los define como *no lugares*.

Wilbur (1996) considera las comunidades virtuales una ilusión en la que no hay personas reales ni comunicación real. En el debate sobre la pérdida de la comunidad real también entran **Jones** (1998) o **Kiesler** (1997). **Arthur** (1993) reflexiona sobre la doble vertiente de los medios, y de cómo pueden convertirse a la vez en un elemento de aislamiento y de comunicación. En la misma línea **Ebo** (1998) diferencia entre *cybertopia*, o la creencia de que la era digital puede crear una sociedad más igualitaria y *cyberghetto*, la idea de que internet retendrá los vestigios de las comunidades tradicionales con vínculos sociales similares y estructuras de clases.

La investigación sobre religión e internet emergió en los noventa, cuando académicos como **O'Leary** y **Brasher** (1996) o **Ess** (1999) reflexionaron sobre cómo utilizaban internet los usuarios en el campo de la religión. **Zaleski** (1997) y **Brasher** (2001) se centraron en cómo gestionaban el paso a online diversas confesiones. **Houston** (1998) y **Wolf** (2003) examinaron los retos éticos de la cuestión. **Hoover** y **Kaneva** (2009) tratan el rol de las comunidades cristianas digitales y su presencia en internet. **Spadaro** (2012) estudia el efecto digital en el cristianismo y **Comodo** (2006) en el catolicismo.

La construcción de comunidad centra las contribuciones de académicos de la religión digital. **Bunt** (2000) estudia las formas de socialización de las comunidades digitales musulmanas, y **Taylor** (2003) de las budistas. Inicialmente estas investigaciones describían las comunidades, después se encargaron de explorar las motivaciones de los miembros para participar o la influencia de las comunidades online en sus homólogas reales. **Young** (2004) analiza los cambios en los rituales cristianos cuando se trasladan al espacio online.

La interacción mundo online-mundo físico de estas comunidades la estudian **Piff** y **Warburg** (2005), **Campbell** (2005) y **Helland** (2005), autor que ve internet como un espacio social en el que las instituciones religiosas pueden llevar a cabo su actividad. Con él coincide **Fiorentini** (2012), que valora el estadio digital en el que se encuentran algunas instituciones religiosas.

Campbell (2012) se da cuenta de que la tendencia de los usuarios es combinar formas nuevas de *engagement* social y espiritual con otras más tradicionales. Centrada en el análisis de la religion online, esta autora revela las áreas que emergen de este concepto vinculadas a prácticas sociales, identidad y autoridad digital. **Hutchings** (2015) evalúa los usos que los católicos dan a los nuevos medios. **Díez-Bosch**, **Micó-Sanz** y **Carbonell** (2015) argumentan que entre las formas más entusiastas de *engagement* que han emergido en el catolicismo, la digital es una de las más prominentes.

> "Los católicos han aterrizado en este terreno digital para exportar el sentido de comunidad que es parte de su identidad"

Más allá de las comunidades esta investigación tiene en cuenta la mediatización de la religión como concepto clave. Acuñado por **Hjarvard** (2011), señala cómo los medios se han convertido en sustitutos de las instituciones religiosas en referencia a la información sobre asuntos relacionados con las distintas confesiones. Aportaciones de **Lövheim** y **Axner** (2015) así como de **Lundby** *et al.* (2018) profundizan en el concepto y reflexionan sobre la mediatización de la religión en tres esferas: periodismo generalista, cultura y medios especializados.

3. Metodología

Según el Vaticano hay 1,3 mil millones de católicos en el mundo. El *Anuario Pontificio* 2016 y el *Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae* detallan que la cifra representa el 17,8% de la población mundial. Teniendo en cuenta la extensión mundial del catolicismo, en esta investigación se ha elegido la lengua como factor para establecer un patrón representativo a considerar. Según el *Pew Research Center* (2013) en su estudio sobre el catolicismo global, las lenguas más habladas por personas católicas son inglés, español, portugués, francés e italiano. Los datos se han ubicado buscando los países en los que viven más católicos y seleccionando las lenguas oficiales de cada zona.

Con este criterio, la muestra es representativa, ya que en el caso de las tres lenguas seleccionadas con más hablantes (inglés, español y portugués), el porcentaje de católicos que las hablan es superior al 10%. En el caso del francés y el italiano, más del 5% del total de hablantes son católicos. A partir de este método se han escogido las webs católicas más visitadas en cada una de las cinco lenguas según el ranking *Alexa*. Son:

Inglés: *Catholic.com*, *Catholic.org*, *Gloria.tv*, *Usccb.org* y *Vatican.va*.

Español: *Aciprensa.com*, *Aleteia.org*, *Catholic.net*, *Corazones.org* y *Religionenlibertad.com*.

Portugués: *BibliaCatolica.com.br*, *Cançaonova.com*, *Cnbb.org.br*, *Ecclesia.pt* y *Zenit.org*.

Francés: *Catholique.fr*, *LaProcure.com*.

Italiano: *ChiesaCattolica.it* y *News.va*.

El número de webs seleccionadas en cada lengua se justifica por la proporción de sus visitas a escala global. Es decir, se han seleccionado más webs en aquellas lenguas que reciben un número más alto de visitas desde todas las procedencias, más allá de sus países de origen. Para escoger cada uno de los portales se ha utilizado *Alexa*, una aplicación de *Amazon* que monitoriza la relevancia de los portales web. Las palabras clave para encontrarlas fueron *catholic*, *catholic church* y *catholicism*. Entre los resultados obtenidos se han escogido los portales más visitados en cada una de las lenguas seleccionadas.

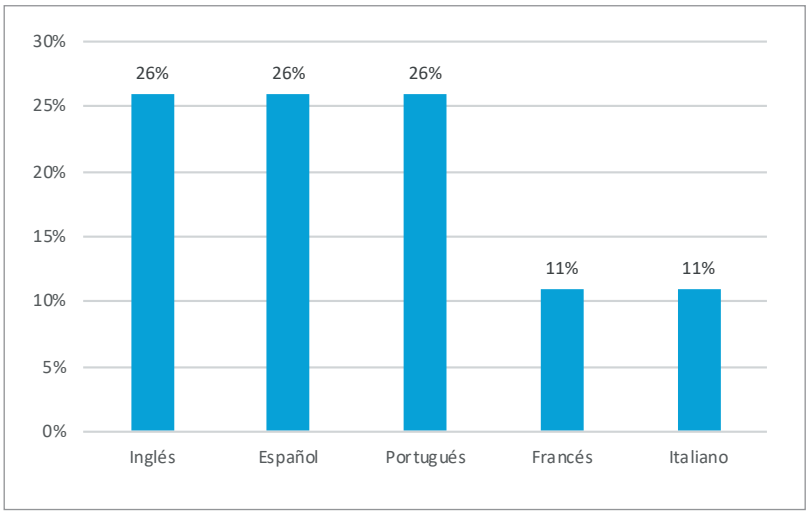

Figura 1. Porcentaje de portales seleccionados en cada lengua respecto al total

Una vez escogidos los portales, se ha diseñado un formulario para analizarlos. Este cuestionario (ver anexo) contiene los mismos campos en todos los casos, para realizar el estudio con la máxima simetría de resultados posible. Estos campos se dividen en secciones:

- Información general
- Interacción
- Interacción offline
- Características técnicas
- Visibilidad.

Cada una se refiere a un elemento que podría contribuir a crear comunidad.

Tras haber diseñado el formulario, los autores realizaron un *pretest* inspeccionando un número menor de portales y comparando los resultados, que mostraron estar alineados. Los mismos investigadores no estuvieron de acuerdo en un pequeño porcentaje de los casos, inferior al 10%. Investigaciones como las de **Micó-Sanz** y **Carbonell** (2017), **Vásquez-Rodríguez** (2017), **Herrero-Curiel** (2015), **Flavián-Blanco** y **Gurrea-Sarasa** (2007) muestran un porcentaje de no coincidencia en fase *pretest* similar en una metodología próxima a la presentada. Las diferencias se debatieron hasta llegar a una conclusión conjunta para realizar la investigación desde la misma perspectiva y habiendo chequeado el formulario. Tras el debate, los elementos sobre los que los investigadores no estaban alineados se modificaron y se volvió a probar el cuestionario. En este segundo proceso de chequeo, los investigadores examinaron otro grupo de portales, acción que sirvió para verificar que todos los autores aplican la misma interpretación. Los resultados obtenidos en ambos procesos no se incluyen en este artículo. Los datos presentados se han generado a partir del uso definitivo del formulario en el análisis de las 19 webs citadas.

Los datos se han recogido en tres oleadas, en tres fechas de tres años:

- 24 de febrero de 2014
- 16 de noviembre de 2015
- 23 de julio de 2016.

El objetivo es comparar datos de períodos consecutivos para determinar la evolución de los portales. Éstos se han clasificado en las siguientes categorías según su objetivo:

- Institucionales: pertenecen a una organización, presentan su información más destacada, misión, visión y valores;
- Informativos: se dedican a la información religiosa. Muchos son nativos digitales;
- Evangelizadores y apologéticos: creados para evangelizar y defender la fe;
- Espirituales: sobre grupos de oración, con reflexiones espirituales;
- Otras: referidas a fundaciones, tiendas online o portales dedicados al duelo.

Lazar y **Preece** (1998) constituyeron una clasificación de comunidades digitales según sus atributos, software, vínculo a la comunidad presencial y límites. **Helland** (2005) estableció una clasificación de portales web sobre religión según la posibilidad de participación ofrecida por cada portal. Las

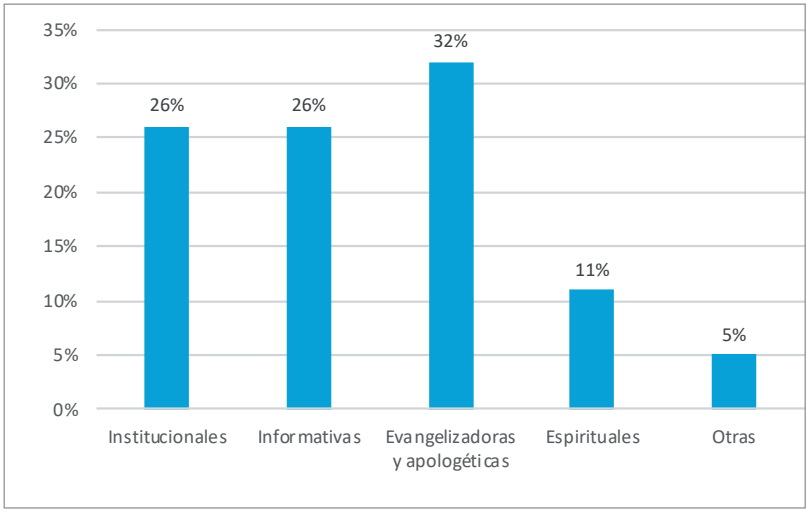

Figura 2. Clasificación de las webs analizadas

categorías establecidas fueron *religion online*, en portales informativos; *online religion*, en webs más interactivas.

La entrevista en profundidad (**Johnson**, 2002; **Minichiello**; **Aroni**; **Hays**, 2008; **Voutsina**, 2018) también ha sido una técnica utilizada en esta investigación. Se ha realizado a los responsables de algunos portales para profundizar en la información recopilada. Los entrevistados han sido:

- Jesús Colina, director editorial de *Aleteia.org*;
- Álex Rosal, de *Religionenlibertad.com*;
- Alejandro Bermúdez, de *Aciprensa.com*;
- Wellington Campos Pinho, de *Bibliacatolica.com.br*;
- Macu López de *Catholic.net*;
- Willieny Casagrande, de *Cançaonova.com*;
- Reto Nay, de *Gloria.tv*.

El análisis de contenido (**Busquet-Duran**; **Medina-Cambrón**; **Sort-Jané**, 2006; **Díaz**, 2010) y la entrevista son técnicas que han aplicado investigaciones anteriores próximas a la presente. Un ejemplo que las avala es *Religion, media, and the digital turn. A report for the 'Religion and the public sphere' program. Social Science Research Council* (**Cantwell**; **Rashid**, 2015). **Campbell** y **Golan** (2011) las utilizan en *Creating digital enclaves: Negotiation of the internet among bounded religious communities*, y **Kawabata** y **Tamura** (2007) en *Online-religion in Japan: Websites and religious counselling from a comparative cross-cultural perspective*.

> Los contenidos, servicios y redes sociales relacionados con los valores compartidos de los miembros de una comunidad contribuyen a fortalecerla

Todas las entrevistas han sido estructuradas. Se ha preguntado a los citados responsables sobre las características presentes en la ficha de análisis para confirmar que los resultados coinciden con sus criterios. Además se les ha cuestionado sobre la interacción. Las entrevistas también aportan información sobre el modelo de negocio.

4. Resultados y discusión

La era digital ha representado una oportunidad en muchos sectores. El esquema de la comunicación se ha transformado y se ha tratado de sacar partido a esta situación. El espacio digital está abierto a todos, con elementos gratuitos que amplían su alcance. Los resultados de esta investigación demuestran que la esfera digital se presenta también como una oportunidad para el catolicismo (**Celli**, 2013).

Esta religión se reúne basándose en el concepto griego de *koinonia* (Κοινωνία), que incluye dimensiones de participación necesarias para la creación de comunidades, tanto físicas como online. Este concepto teológico griego que significa comunión es un reclamo muy usado por las comunidades católicas, que consideran que comunicar no es una acción supletoria en sus organizaciones, sino una misión y una llamada identitaria. Existen para comunicar un mensaje, y el mensaje que comunican está llamado a crear comunión (*Pontificia Comisión para los Medios de Comunicación Social*, 1971).

La noción de comunidad implica que existe algo en las personas se reúnen. En la esfera digital este aspecto común se denomina confluencia de interés (**Graham**, 1999). En una comunidad digital, los contenidos y servicios que están relacionados con los valores compartidos de sus miembros pueden contribuir a obtener una sensación de pertenencia que emerge del nexo entre todos los miembros. Según **Campbell** (2005), en el catolicismo el nexo es la fe. La autora incluye esta fe compartida entre las que considera características de las comunidades católicas online. Lo hace junto a otros elementos:

- la relación
- el cuidado
- el valor
- la comunicación íntima.

Para ella, la fe y la visión de la vida desde una religión concreta es un motivo para empezar una conversación que puede convertirse en un debate más íntimo.

Más allá de la confluencia de interés, se detectan elementos relevantes que contribuyen a fortalecer la sensación de comunidad en los portales. Todos los espacios web están formados por contenidos, servicios y redes sociales. Los contenidos que encontramos en estos portales contribuyen a la creación de comunidad porque presentan estas características:

- Tema recurrente: el contenido publicado trata sobre catolicismo, asegurando el interés del usuario;
- Diversidad de formatos: mensajes disponibles en formato texto, vídeo e infografía, ampliando el alcance de público;
- Fáciles de compartir: por sus características y formato, pueden compartirse en redes, por correo electrónico y *WhatsApp*;
- Divulgativos: no se trata de reflexiones profundas ni se utiliza vocabulario científico;
- Se pueden comentar: se puede dar la opinión al final del artículo y debatir.

En los portales seleccionados hay además servicios relacionados con el tema central, el catolicismo. En su mayoría los servicios tienen el objetivo de gestionar de forma práctica la vida del católico. Según **Kim** (2000), para atraer personas y conseguir que vuelvan, una comunidad debe tener utilidad. Hay espacios para testimonios, mensajes religiosos diarios, funciones de donación, calendarios de gestión de la práctica religiosa y recomendaciones culturales. *Catholic.com* y *Religionenlibertad.com* tienen un servicio de *dating*, *Cançaonova.com* y *Religionenlibertad.com* incluyen una tienda online.

En estos portales los servicios son gratuitos (a excepción de la venta de productos en las tiendas online). En espacios no religiosos los servicios no sólo son un elemento que contribuye a crear comunidad, también son la puerta para monetizar el espacio y su contenido, de modo que muchos servicios se convierten en la base de nuevos modelos de negocio. Teniendo en cuenta que la comunidad creada alrededor de cada portal suele estar fidelizada, está interesada en el tema, el *target* de los servicios citados es alcanzable.

Más allá de los contenidos y servicios, la comunidad católica de estos portales se hace explícita en las redes sociales, el

espacio donde más usuarios están presentes. Los responsables de los portales escogidos lo han detectado y en las entrevistas realizadas, algunos como Wellington Campos, de *Bibliacatolica.com.br*, admiten que antes de integrar funcionalidades de interacción en sus portales crearon sus perfiles de redes; el 95% tienen cuenta de *Facebook* y el 89% perfil de *Twitter*. Las webs con más seguidores son:

-*Aciprensa.com* (*Twitter*)
-*Aleteia.org* (*Google+*)
-*Vatican.va* (*YouTube*).

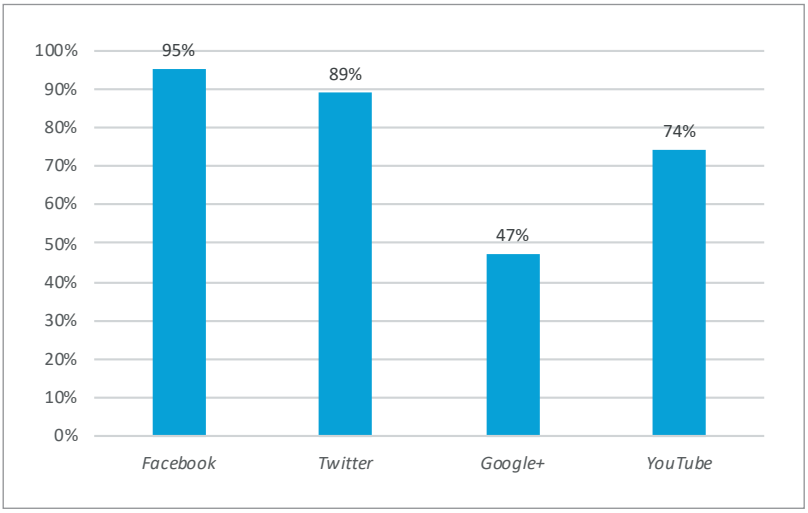

Figura 3. Presencia en redes sociales de los portales estudiados

En los portales la interacción se promueve con varios elementos. Por ejemplo:

- el 74% de estas webs tiene la opción de registrar al usuario para acceder a ciertos contenidos;
- el 79% da la posibilidad de que el lector participe en la diseminación del artículo;
- el 95% tiene elementos para ayudar a los usuarios en la navegación (formularios de contacto, preguntas frecuentes);
- el 63% envía una *newsletter*.

Algunos de los portales incluyen foros, pero no tienen el mismo grado de interacción que las redes sociales. Otros espacios de interacción son los formularios para comentar los contenidos. Esto favorece la apertura de debate. *Corazones.org*, *News.va*, *Ecclesia.pt*, *Catholique.fr* y *LaProcure.com* no utilizan ningún elemento de interacción ni de participación fuera de las redes sociales. En cambio, portales nativos digitales demuestran que la comunidad interna es posible. *Aciprensa.com*, *Aleteia.org*, *Cançaonova.com*, *Catholic.com* y *Religionenlibertad.com* incluyen muchos elementos necesarios para conseguir interacción, como un espacio activo de comentarios o encuestas.

> La mayoría de las webs son las plataformas digitales de comunidades ya existentes

Jesús Colina, de *Aleteia.org*, plantea que se trata a la web como un nuevo canal junto con otros canales complementarios que actúan separadamente: *Facebook* y *Twitter*.

Wellington Campos, de *Bibliacatolica.com.br*, admite que en su portal hay una falta de interacción, hecho que argumenta asegurando que él mismo es el único administrador.

Álex Rosal, de *Religionenlibertad.com*, no tiene en cuenta la interacción al considerar una comunidad. En este portal todos los comentarios que dejan los usuarios demuestran que existe esta comunidad; sin embargo, el espacio virtual donde pueden publicar sus opiniones no permite conseguir una interacción directa.

Esta investigación muestra que la mayoría de las webs son las plataformas digitales de comunidades presenciales ya existentes, como es el caso de *Catholique.fr*, *Cnbb.org.br* o *Usccb.org*. El portal es otro espacio para difundir sus actividades. La situación contraria es difícil de localizar en los portales nativos digitales, como *Aleteia.org*. Algunos de los responsables entrevistados (Jesús Colina, Alejandro Bermúdez y Wellington Campos) admiten que sus webs no han organizado ningún encuentro físico para los miembros de la comunidad digital, pero coinciden en que el motivo es la diversidad de espacios en los que se encuentran.

Lajoie (1996) remarca que las comunidades virtuales no deben construirse en oposición a lo que llama "realidad real" pero sí como una extensión de ella. Para **Campbell** (2012) estas comunidades se convierten en un suplemento de las relaciones reales más que una extensión de ellas; las considera un suplemento, no un sustituto. **Helland** (2007) lo mostró reflexionando sobre los miembros de comunidades hindúes en diáspora y **Piff** y **Warburg** (2005) lo aseguran con respecto a una comunidad virtual *bahá'í*. Muchos autores subrayan que en una comunidad online las fronteras con la comunidad física pueden ser muy difusas (**Barker**, 2005).

En el espacio digital, las personas católicas pueden participar en una comunidad y consumir contenidos con flexibilidad, sin dar importancia a los factores de tiempo y espacio. Los portales incluyen funciones informativas pero también de oración, interacción y hasta de compra de productos o intercambio de servicios. En *Cançaonova.com* especifican que la comunidad virtual reduce las dificultades que imponen los mencionados factores de tiempo y espacio. Los miembros de la comunidad se sostienen en ella por su afinidad más que por proximidad geográfica (**Gascue-Quiñones**, 2011).

Que no sean un elemento presente no significa que el tiempo y el espacio no jueguen un papel clave en la construcción de comunidades digitales y específicamente de las católicas, como lo demuestra la lengua. Los miembros de una comunidad online se conectan a aquellos espacios donde se pueden comunicar en su lengua; hablan con personas cercanas física o culturalmente. Las diferencias geográficas y físicas son explícitas digitalmente en algunos de los portales estudiados en los que el cambio de idioma modifica también la estructura de la web. Únicamente *Vatican.va* muestra el

mismo contenido en todos los idiomas en los que está disponible. Alejandro Bermúdez asegura que *Aciprensa.com* no se encuentra localizado en ningún sitio, sólo en los lugares donde se hablan las lenguas en las que su portal está disponible. Para Wellington Campos la lengua dificulta que sean posibles encuentros reales de comunidades digitales nativas. El hecho de localizar servicios de *dating* en algunos de los portales prueba que los usuarios de estas comunidades pueden estar cercanos geográficamente. Además, los miembros de una comunidad digital nativa buscan personas con sus mismos intereses, por lo tanto también están cercanos por temas o actividades que comparten. Así, la idea de comunidad digital global se ve truncada por barreras que la misma cultura impone.

La esfera digital da a las personas creyentes un nuevo espacio en el que compartir y consumir contenidos y añadirse a iniciativas con otras que también lo son. Encuentran una especie de afinidad, un espacio donde pueden añadirse a iniciativas y construir relaciones que pueden trasladarse al espacio real. La pregunta es si el espacio digital ayuda a conectar o a aislar a los individuos. Para **Morgan** (1994), la práctica de la religión se ha vuelto más individualizada al tiempo que ha crecido a nivel digital. El hecho de encontrar comunidades que hablen de los propios intereses y poder evitar los espacios donde se contradigan puede llevar al individualismo. Teniendo en cuenta que es más fácil construir una relación con personas con las que se comparten intereses, las nuevas generaciones deben plantearse si se corre el riesgo del aislacionismo digital en el que las personas vivan en cápsulas que sean zonas de confort incomunicadas eliminando todo tipo de debate crítico.

El análisis de los 19 portales demuestra que la comunidad digital católica no presenta unos niveles óptimos de madurez. El uso creativo de la comunicación religiosa implicaría mayor interacción, una actitud más propositiva, un mayor conocimiento y dominio de las herramientas y una aceptación de las reglas de la gestión de las redes sociales, especialmente con sus tiempos y sus dinámicas. La *Iglesia Católica*, incluso en su versión online en estas comunidades, no es una comunidad totalmente abierta 24 horas con disponibilidad total para compartir, acoger e interactuar. Las instituciones religiosas son conscientes de la oportunidad que la era digital supone. Se detecta una ligera estrategia de comunicación en su presencia digital. Se encuentran en una etapa preliminar de la digitalización, yuxtaponen contenidos y servicios y dan poco espacio a la interacción. Una prueba es que portales como *Cançaonova.com* o *Bibliacatolica.com.br* no dan la opción de registrarse.

Se han localizado dos tipos de portales católicos: desbordados y sencillos. Los desbordados se caracterizan por contener una cantidad ingente de elementos, en una estructura *sui generis* en la que difícilmente se puede navegar con agilidad. Carecen de una estética que ayude al usuario a localizar los contenidos y abundan los elementos decorativos, como iconos o gifs que no tienen ningún objetivo final ni en la navegación ni en la identificación del portal; ejemplos de este modelo entre los portales estudiados son *Corazones.org*, *Catholic.org*, *Cançaonova.com* o *Cnbb.org.br*.

En el otro extremo encontramos portales con pocos elementos y poco actualizados, como *Bibliacatolica.com.br*. Los portales católicos nativos digitales, por su parte, están algunas etapas más avanzados. Por ejemplo *Aleteia.org* y *Zenit.org* cuentan con versiones *responsive*. Se desarrolla pues la *religion online* y no se aplica el concepto *online religion*. **Helland** (2005) acuñó ambos términos para diferenciar las comunidades que consideran internet como una herramienta de las que consideran que es un nuevo espacio de vivencia y relación. Un aspecto sí está claro en las comunidades católicas online, la confluencia de interés. En el catolicismo, este elemento es fuerte y hace que las debilidades técnicas no perjudiquen la construcción y evolución de la comunidad.

> La esfera digital da a los creyentes un nuevo espacio en el que vivir su fe con personas que la comparten; pueden expresarse con libertad y sin prejuicios sobre su confesión

5. Conclusiones

La era digital ha facilitado la creación de comunidades digitales en torno a muchos ámbitos de la vida (**McLoughlin** *et al.*, 2018). Por ese motivo instituciones religiosas han visto en el espacio digital una oportunidad (**Helland**, 2005). Se han creado comunidades católicas alrededor de portales web muy visitados en esta confesión. Los tres elementos clave para construir una comunidad digital son contenidos, servicios y redes sociales. Una tríada que facilita la información y el conocimiento sobre la religión, el uso de servicios vinculados a ella y el debate abierto. Más allá de la esfera católica, los elementos que refuerzan las comunidades digitales son los mismos; algunas de ellas se sirven de estos elementos para sostenerse.

La interacción de la comunidad se hace más explícita en las redes sociales que en los apartados de los portales dedicados a la interacción. Se detectan elementos con este fin en las webs seleccionadas, como foros o formularios. Existe además una clara diferencia entre los portales nativos digitales y el resto. Igualmente, la interacción es mayor en las redes sociales.

Este estudio muestra que hay pocas comunidades católicas nativas digitales. La mayoría de las comunidades evaluadas pertenecen a grupos de interés existentes también en el entorno físico o real. Sobre esto, autores como **Campbell** (2012) y **Helland** (2005) dejan claro que se trata de extensiones de la comunidad física, nunca de sustitutos de ésta. En la investigación también se hace evidente que las comunidades no nativas digitalmente hacen un uso instrumental del espacio digital. Por su parte, las comunidades nativas digitales se desarrollan en el espacio online y difícilmente pueden encontrarse en el mundo presencial por el gran alcance geográfico que las caracteriza.

Por otra parte, se ha desvelado que las comunidades digitales pueden convertirse en una moneda de doble cara. Por un lado sus miembros pueden estar en contacto directo con

personas de sus mismos intereses, en este caso el catolicismo. Más allá de las ventajas, estas comunidades pueden convertirse en cápsulas y sus miembros aislarse y no pasar por aquellos espacios donde exista crítica a sus opiniones. Se detecta además cómo las barreras de tiempo y espacio se rompen en las comunidades digitales sólo teóricamente. Elementos como la lengua hacen que sus miembros se comuniquen sólo con personas cercanas por geografía o intereses.

Esta investigación también muestra el estado de digitalización en el que se encuentran las comunidades católicas globales. La conclusión es que están en su juventud. O bien existen portales con muchos contenidos y poca usabilidad, o bien webs sencillas con poco contenido, bajo nivel de actualización y de interacción. Se detecta ligeramente una estrategia de comunicación digital preparada. Las comunidades católicas online se enmarcan por tanto en el concepto *religion online*, en el que el mundo digital se utiliza como un instrumento. La situación contraria, la *online religion* (**Helland**, 2005) que concibe que el mundo online es un espacio de vivencia, se ve en el horizonte, pero como subraya **Fiorentini** (2012) y corrobora el presente artículo, queda camino por recorrer.

> El catolicismo es una confluencia de interés tan fuerte para una comunidad digital que hace que las debilidades técnicas no la perjudiquen

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Anexo. Formulario de análisis

1. Datos generales

Datos generales
Nombre web/Entidad
Dirección web
Número de ranking *Alexa*
Fecha de observación (dd/mm/año)
País de origen (sede física, si la hay)
Dirección email
¿En cuántos idiomas se puede consultar la página?
Uno
Dos
Tres
Cuatro
Cinco
Más de cinco
¿En qué idiomas?
Tipo de página web
Institucional
Informativa
Evangelizadora y apologética
Espiritual
Otras
¿Es exclusivamente una plataforma digital?
Sí
No
¿Existe un entorno offline a la página web?
Sí
No
¿Hacen pública la política de participación en el medio -código, normas, pautas, principios-?
Sí
No

2. Interacciones

Interacciones
Permiten comentarios de los usuarios.
Sí
No
Es necesario registrarse para ciertas áreas o servicios.
Sí
No
Disponen de consultorios o herramientas de ayuda al usuario
Sí
No
Permiten hacerse voluntario al servicio de la organización
Sí
No
Articulan mecanismos para que los usuarios intervengan en la elección, elaboración, edición y difusión de material
Sí
No
Tienen blog corporativo para ofrecer a los usuarios contenidos extra e interactuar con ellos
Sí
No
Tienen espacio para ofrecer o recibir ayuda -intenciones, plegarias, etc.-
Sí
No
Incluyen foros o espacios de discusión.
Sí
No
Formulan encuestas para los usuarios
Sí
No
Permiten que los usuarios envíen material -en cualquier formato- para ser publicado
Sí
No
Organizan actividades lúdicas online -sorteos, concursos, juegos, etc.-
Sí
No
Ofrecen servicio de *dating*
Sí
No
Disponen de tienda online propia
Sí
No

3. Interacciones offline

Interacciones offline
Organizan actividades offline desde la página
Sí
No
Vinculan actividades que se inician en el entorno offline a su espacio online
Sí
No
Vinculan actividades que se inician en el entorno online al espacio offline
Sí
No
Ofrecen cursos y otras acciones formativas
Sí
No

4. Características técnicas

Capacidades técnicas y contenidos
Cuenta con una aplicación para dispositivos móviles
Sí
No
Tienen una versión diferente para móvil o *iPad*
Sí
No
Tiene RSS
Sí
No
Tiene eventos en streaming (celebraciones online, cámaras fijas)
Sí
No
Han habilitado un área para testimonios
Sí
No
Aloja blogs de usuarios
Sí
No
Permite compartir los contenidos con redes sociales o de correo electrónico
Sí
No
Tiene *newsletter*
Sí
No
En caso de que tenga *newsletter*, ¿con qué frecuencia?
Diaria
Semanal
Quincenal
Mensual
Anual
Otros
¿Utilizan imágenes?
Sí
No
En caso de que utilicen imágenes, ¿de qué tipo?
Fotografía
Infografía
Otros

5. Visibilidad

Visibilidad en otras plataformas	
Están presentes en *Facebook*	¿Cuántos amigos o fans tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en *Twitter*	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	¿Cuántas cuentas siguen?
No	¿Cuántos tuits han publicado?
Están presentes en *Google+*	¿Cuántos amigos o fans tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en *YouTube*	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en *Instagram*	¿Cuántos seguidores tienen?
Sí	
No	
Están presentes en otras redes	¿En qué otras redes están presentes?
Sí	
No	

5. Open Wall Churches. Catholic Construction of Online Communities

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OPEN WALL CHURCHES. CATHOLIC CONSTRUCTION OF ONLINE COMMUNITIES

IGLESIAS EN ABIERTO. LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE COMUNIDADES CATÓLICAS ONLINE

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RESUMEN

El debate sobre cómo las instituciones católicas globales han utilizado las nuevas herramientas digitales ha adquirido un rol relevante que va más allá de las limitaciones litúrgicas. Se basa en la participación, la justicia social y los nuevos contextos en los que alcanzar un nuevo target. Desde el mismo Vaticano, a través de los perfiles del Papa en las redes sociales, el catolicismo ha demostrado tener una destacada presencia en la web. A pesar de que los católicos no rompen las normas, son creativos cuanto a los formatos con los que extender su religiosidad a las nuevas plataformas. Los portales nacidos recientemente han implantado nuevas herramientas participativas que plantean nuevas formas de entender el concepto de comunión, clave para las comunidades cristianas. Más allá de detenernos en si los portales católicos incorporan estrategias seculares para promover la participación, exploramos las 19 webs católicas más relevantes según el ranking Alexa. Las dividimos en diferentes categorías que nos permiten analizar cómo construyen comunidades e impulsan el concepto de pertenencia. Los datos se han recogido en tres momentos distintos (2014, 2015 y 2016). Las webs localizadas son en 5 lenguas (español, inglés, francés, portugués e italiano) y provienen de 9 países diferentes.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Religión; religión digital; catolicismo; comunidad online; tecnología; participación.

ABSTRACT

The discussion regarding how global Catholic organizations have employed the new tools of digital media has become increasingly poignant and no longer focuses on liturgical limitations but on participation, social justice and new frameworks for reaching new targets. From the Vatican itself, specifically through the Pope's profiles on social media, Catholicism has proven to have an increasingly responsive presence on the web, although Catholics are usually creative without breaking the rules in the ways they extend their religiosity into new platforms. Newly born digital portals have embraced new participatory tools that shape other ways of understanding communion, which is a key concept among Christian communities. Rather than dwelling on whether Catholic portals are incorporating secular strategies to foster engagement, we explore the 19 most powerful Catholic websites according to Alexa ranking, and divide them into different categories that allow us to analyse how they build communities and thus foster the concept of belonging, which is one of the aims that they pursue. Data have been collected in three different moments (2014, 2015 and 2016) where these websites, belonging to 5 languages (Spanish, English, French, Portuguese and Italian) from 9 countries have been taken into account, according to Catholic population indexes.

KEYWORDS

Religion; digital religion; Catholicism; on-line community; technology; participation.

1. INTRODUCTION

In May 2011, the first Vatican meeting with bloggers was held in Rome (Wooden 2011), and more than 150 Catholic and non-Catholic bloggers shared their tech experiences at the Holy See with Church officials and were able to listen to Pope Benedict's invitation to «inhabit» the digital world (Spadaro 2014, Campbell 2012). It was not the first time that the Catholic Church addressed this issue, as the Vatican had already become one of the religious organizations that was a pioneer in embracing the possibilities of the internet by issuing the document «Church and Internet» in 2002. In this text, the Roman Catholic Church stated that the two-way interactivity of the internet is blurring the old distinction between those who communicate and those who receive what is communicated, which in turn is creating a situation in which everyone has at least the potential to do both. This is not the one-way, top-down communication of the past. As more and more people become familiar with this characteristic of the internet in other areas of their lives, they can be expected to also look for it in regard to religion and the Church. Those spheres include game and leisure time, which religion does not oppose (Wagner 2012, Brasher 2001).

2. OBJECTIVES

While previous research has focused on exploring religious communities online (Campbell 2005), *Religion and Cyberspace* (Højsgaard-Warburg 2005), on digital religious projects (Cantwell-Rashid 2015) and on Christian uses of new media that also include recruitment and disaffiliation (Hutchings 2015), our aim here is to focus on the top Catholic websites that manage to create digital communities. Catholics have seen the enormous potentialities of the internet and have been there soon trying to export the sense of community that is part of their identity. Scholars have examined Catholic conferences of bishops online (Arasa 2008) and also Catholic social media (Tridente-Mastroianni 2016), but none have explored the tools that are common for forming online communities among the most popular global Catholic websites. This study therefore aims to provide some empirical evidence on the shaping of digital Catholicism.

As Helland (2005) foresaw, the World Wide Web and internet communication continue to develop as a social space, making it very probable that organized religious institutions will begin to develop environments for online religion. Thus, «hierarchies and networks are two very different systems» (Helland 2005). For this reason, and despite the fact that participation and listening are assets in the Catholic media strategy, hierarchical websites still struggle to be social spaces that accommodate participation. However, the increasing activity on social media challenges the still informative and static vision of some

of the portals analyzed. Communities on the web lack physical contact and allow for «accelerated» building of relationships and elimination of social barriers (Vitullo 2013).

Theoretical frameworks for understanding the increased interplay between religion and media and how they are interconnected has been widely explored (Hjarvard 2008). Lövheim and Linderman (2005) determined how religious identity is constructed on the internet, a view that Spadaro (2014) further analyses when calling «cybertheology» the new way of addressing the challenges that the internet poses to traditional Churches. Zaleski (1997) embraced this concept as «the soul of cyberspace» and explored how new technology changes the way spirituality is conceived. Dawson and Cowan (2004) advocate the religion online concept when they refer to people seeking and finding faith on the internet. Even if fragmentation is a core element of the postmodern society, we observe in our analysis that cohesion is also a factor that constitutes part of the narrative that the internet helps to form. The new digital culture takes on a sense of narrative structure, weaving together stories about the world or about how the world interconnects. Not every website, Facebook page or Twitter post can be a narrative, but each of them fits into a larger narrative: the life of an individual on a Facebook timeline, observations in blog postings that attempt to make sense of a world unfolding before one's eyes, and even discussions of how people should understand their society (Soukup 2015:12).

The articulation of online community has also been studied in depth (Rheingold 1993, Gupta & Kim 2004, Karaflogka 2006). Nevertheless, not many projects commonly research how Catholic communities go online or how they achieve success by engaging in multiple and different ways. What tools and mechanisms are needed to create community beyond social networks? Is there any specific «Catholic» tool, issue or aspect to take into account when we deal with online platforms? This paper seeks to tackle those questions by applying them to religious websites (specifically, 19 of the top international Catholic websites).

In this article, we argue that Catholics do not differ from other organizations when it comes to forming digital communities, although they do have specific tools that make them recognizable among their faithful. The contribution of this research is that it systematizes Catholic websites according to their digital engagement techniques and then analyzes their evolution over 3 years, specifically regarding how these technological patterns have led to them evolving into religions online. No online religion in the sample we observed seems to be very developed; and as previous scholarship suggests, there is still much room for religion to develop its presence online.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

For Catholic organizations, the web is a meaningful place where revelation also occurs. In this research we follow Burbules concept of web as a rhetorical place in the sense of its semantic implication. «But it also has a semantic dimension: it means something important to a person or a group of people, and this latter dimension may or may not be communicable to others.» (Burbules 2002:78). The web means a lot to a group of people in our case study, since the web is not another place but a continuation of the same life that has expanded in new, fresh and innovative ways.

Valovic argues: «Perhaps the metaphysics of the Net theme that Wired support was created with the knowledge that for secular scientism to succeed, it would somehow have to fill the void left by spirituality and other systems of value that offered genuine transcendence. But if so, an important principle has been forgotten: Technological powers and capabilities are only truly successful to the extent that they are fully humanized. When the process is reversed and our technologies being to shape us in their image and likeness, we are heading in the wrong direction» (Valovic 2002: 206). Gupta and Kim (2004) define Virtual Communities (VC) as: «a web-based community with bonding among the members of the community. VCs have evolved from simple exchange systems to the extant web-based communities. They have advantages over face-to-face communities in that they are larger and more dispersed in space, there is no turn taking in communication and communication can be preserved for future reference. They are mainly formed for four purposes namely, transaction, fantasy, interest and relationship.» Technological determinists argue that the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of our lives are determined by technology: «technology is culture» (Kitchin 1998: 57). In this vein, cyberspace is seen to directly cause changes in our everyday lives in fairly linear, simple cause and effect relationships. For example, for the determinists, cyberspace will lead to the formation of new communities. But Kitchin also argues that, according to another theory known as social constructivism, cyberspace is a social artefact, as it mediates a series of social interactions and is itself a product of social mediation. Other names have tried to embody virtual communities: «[T]here's no there there. It only exists in some hard-to-define place somewhere inside the computer» – in what is called cyberspace (Holtzman 1994: 197). The challenge is to integrate some meaningful personal responsibility in virtual environments. «Virtual environments are valuable as places where we can acknowledge our inner diversity. But we still want an authentic experience of self» (Turkle 1995:254).

Membership, sharing, participation and belonging are the new names of affiliation. While undoubtedly some users of cyberspace consider themselves to be members of an authentic community, with a shared sense of place, many cyberspace users are transient,

moving from space to space. As such, cyberspace for many users consists of inauthentic places (Dodge - Kitchin 2001:17). Gascue Quiñones put it this way: «It is a fact that members of Internet sustained social networks tend to group themselves more along lines of affinity than of geographical proximity. At present, diverse platforms capable of sustaining networks of personal interaction are associating with and complementing each other in a way heretofore unknown» (Gascue Quiñones 2011:116). Virtual community was initially seen as the illusion of a community where there are no real people and no real communication. It is a term used by idealistic technophiles who fail to understand that the authentic cannot be engendered through technological means. «Virtual community flies in the face of a 'human nature' that is essentially, it seems, depraved» (Wilbur 1997:14).

When digitalisation was still not common among religious communities, Babin recalled that the «affinity community» was the electronic version of the geographical community, a gathering of people who have chosen each other because of an affinity of character or interests or, in Christian terms, because of an «inner bond of calling and mission» (Babin 1991:51). This idea of call and mission are present in all the portals we've taken into account. «Interaction does not work on its own. The resources on which participants draw between when they compose their messages and the rules that shape what they can do from a variety of outside sources» (Baym 1995:161). These rules are changing, and the more one adapts and changes, the more rewarding it is in terms of participation. People on the internet are linked to people, not to a computer. «Instead of people talking to machines, computer networks are being used to connect people to people» (Wellman et al. 1996). The most optimistic proponents of the internet have argued that gender, race and age become unimportant in online interaction. «At the very least, many assume that the absence of these markers will provide the opportunity to explore and invent alternate identities» (Kollock and Smith 1999:11). What does not seem unimportant in online interaction is religious belonging. Being Catholic has became more public, more evident and more global than before the explosion of the internet. And now Catholics link themselves globally in new forms by following the key idea that the building of a community is a successful dimension for «selling» the idea of the religious path. It is evangelization in accordance with Catholic self-conception. Proselytism is not a shared concept among Catholic academicians. Evangelization is accepted more as the idea that bringing the gospel to the world is a mission. Church marketing authority Richard Reising (2006) advises that most churches should not practice promotion. Instead, they should focus on the preparation that will make members eager to invite others. Whether they do so aggressively, softly, explicitly or implicitly, all the Catholic pages analysed here have the purpose of bringing good news to a world that, according to all of them, need the gospel.

Effervescence in the digital world seems to accompany the Catholic Church in several places and in several languages. Nevertheless, Morgan (1994) affirms that it has been a commonplace in Western society and culture over the past three centuries that the grip of religious traditions and beliefs has weakened. Ritual life has changed in content and scope, and its hold on people's lives has become more restricted and less vigorous (Morgan 1994). This rituality is more individualistic, although rituals in the digital place are growing – especially in moments of mourning, trouble and the need to pray. Furthermore, those rituals are connected to a collective sharing of authority. Today, as Conrad and Scott (2005) assess, «Power is not possessed by a person. It is granted to that person by others. [...] Power is a feature of interactions and interpersonal relationships, not of individuals or organizational roles».

Recent data show that, amongst the more enthusiastic forms of engagement that have recently emerged in the Catholic Church, the digital arena is one of the most interesting and prominent ways in which Catholics have found common ground to share and celebrate their world vision (Díez, Micó, Carbonell 2015). «Many Christians are succumbing to the postmodern temptation to fragment or tribalize into smaller units within the Church» (Long 1997:100). In this context many people today fear or deplore the loss of community and community spirit. «Rather than bringing people together, the mass media often isolate or divide them. Yet communication, including the use of alternative media, can revitalize communities and rekindle community spirit, because the model for genuine communication, like that for communities of all kinds, is open and inclusive, rather than unidirectional and exclusive» (Arthur 1993:279).

«The ontological character of cyberspace also incorporates the elements of connectivity, accessibility, openness, experience, communication and contact» (Karaflogka 2006:117). Connectivity is a key theme in Catholic self-understanding, and it evokes the etymology of the Latin word for religion, *religare*, which means «ties that bind». While trying to form community, Catholics know that they will compete in a myriad ocean of other communities. Catholic communities are aware of the tremendous challenges the internet poses to traditional Catholicism. As Hoover and Kaneva state, «[I]ncreasing personal autonomy in faith practice is an additional such pressure, encouraging religions to further relativize to compete in a secular-media-defined marketplace of ideas and discourses. The development of social networking media and web 2.0 cannot help but further exacerbate this trend» (Hoover, Kaneva, 2009: 9).

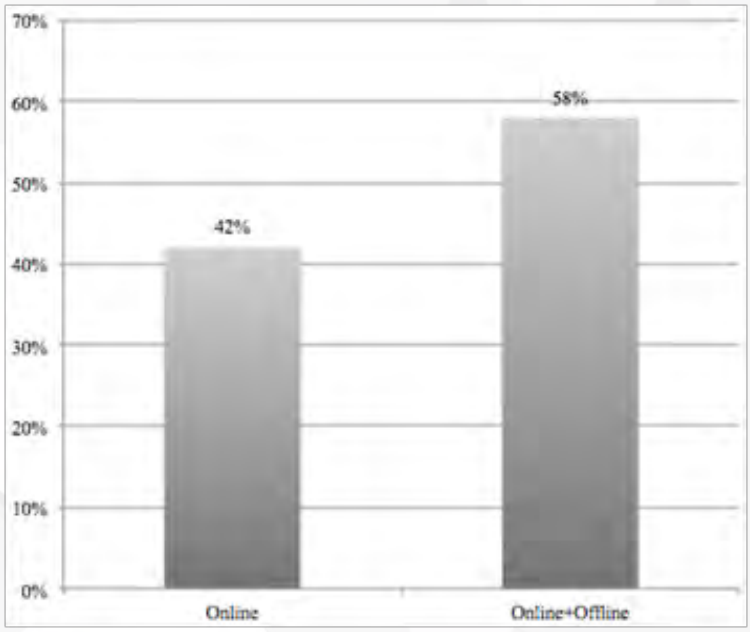
4. METHODOLOGY

The findings presented here are based on data collected over three years, from February 2014 to July 2016. The data show how Catholic websites are looking forward to having

a vibrant digital presence and activity as well as a strong community that is reinforced by continuous participatory and interactive activities. This desired interaction is obvious. About 74% of them registration on the website to access to some contents and services; 79% offer the possibility of being a part of both the publication and the dissemination process (for example, by use of the social media buttons at the end of each content page for easy sharing); and 95% have tools to help users (consultancy, FAQ sections, contact forms). Furthermore, 63% send a newsletter periodically, 95% have a Facebook profile (44% with a low number of followers at under 100,000) and 89% have a Twitter profile (only 4 of them have more than 100,000 followers).

Having seen the numbers presented above, it is important to show how interaction and participation take place on these sites. In this sense, only 7 of them (37%) allow users to comment on their content, 11% host a forum, 5% ask for the opinions of their users through surveys, and 9% organize games and other amusing online activities. Currently, 58% of the analysed sites are not exclusively offline.

Figure 1



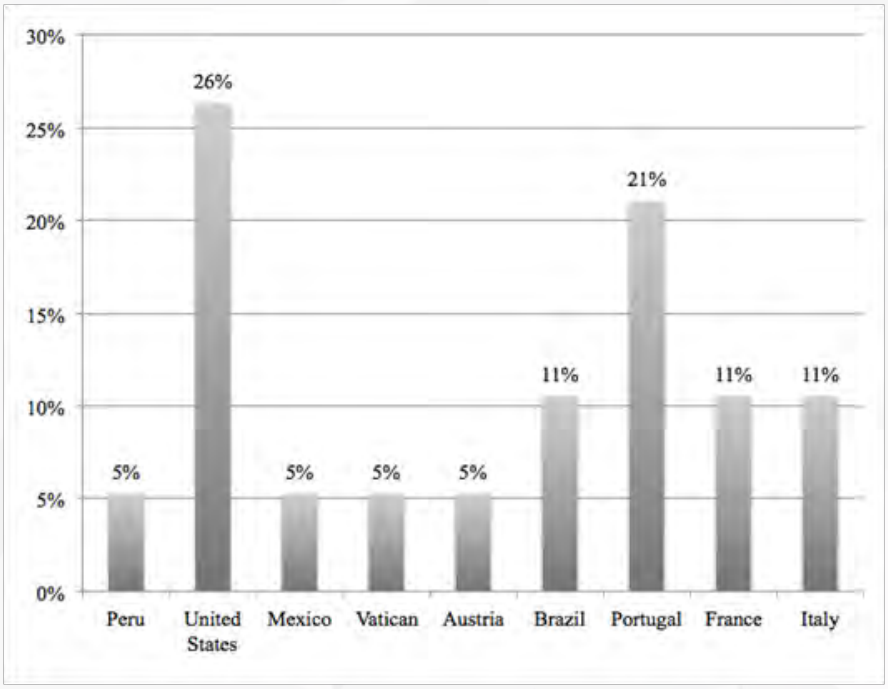
Source: Blanquerna Observatory

This information introduces results obtained by an investigation that aims to fulfil three main goals. The first one is to understand how Catholic websites create a sense of community. Next, we also want to explore the extent to which online Catholic communities are created according to specific skills and are like other virtual communities in the digital place. Our third main goal is to identify the common tools used by top Catholic websites when building online communities. To achieve these goals, we followed a methodology that let us obtain the percentages presented above. The process helped us

detect the most important Catholic communities online and also gave us objective criteria to determine how and why we considered them important.

There are an estimated 1.2 billion Roman Catholics in the world, according to Vatican figures. More than 40% of the world's Catholics live in Latin America, but Africa has seen the largest growth in Catholic congregations in recent years. According to the Pontifical Yearbook 2016 and the Annuarium Statiscum Ecclesiae, the number of Catholics in the world increased over nine years between 2005 and 2014 from 1,115 million to 1,272 million, which is a respective growth of 17.3 to 17.8 per cent of the world's population. Considering that Catholic religion has spread all over the world, we chose to use language as the primary factor for establishing a representative pattern. Our plan was to find which five languages are most spoken by Catholic people all over the world. Collecting data from Pew Research Center, we found that these languages are: English, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Italian. We searched these data looking for the countries where there are more Catholic people and noting the official language of each country. With these criteria, we consider our pattern representative enough because in the case of the three most spoken languages – English, Spanish and Portuguese – the percentage of Catholic people speaking them is higher than 10% in each case. If we look at French and Italian, more than the 5% of Catholic people speak them all over the world. These languages let us include in our pattern more than 50% of the speakers. Other detected languages spoken by Catholics (e.g., Polish) have a lower number of speakers. This methodology let us choose 5 websites in English (Catholic.com, Catholic.org, Gloria.tv, Usccb.org and Vatican.va), 5 websites in Spanish (Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Catholic.net, Corazones.org and Religionenlibertad.com), 5 websites in Portuguese (BibliaCatolica.com.br, Cancaonova.com, Cnbb.org.br, Ecclesia.pt and Zenit.org), 2 websites in French (Catholique.fr and LaProcure.com) and 2 websites in Italian (ChiesaCattolica.it and News.va). The number of chosen websites in each language is justified by the proportion of its global consumption. In total, we analyzed 19 sites from the following countries:

Figure 2



Source: Blanquerna Observatory

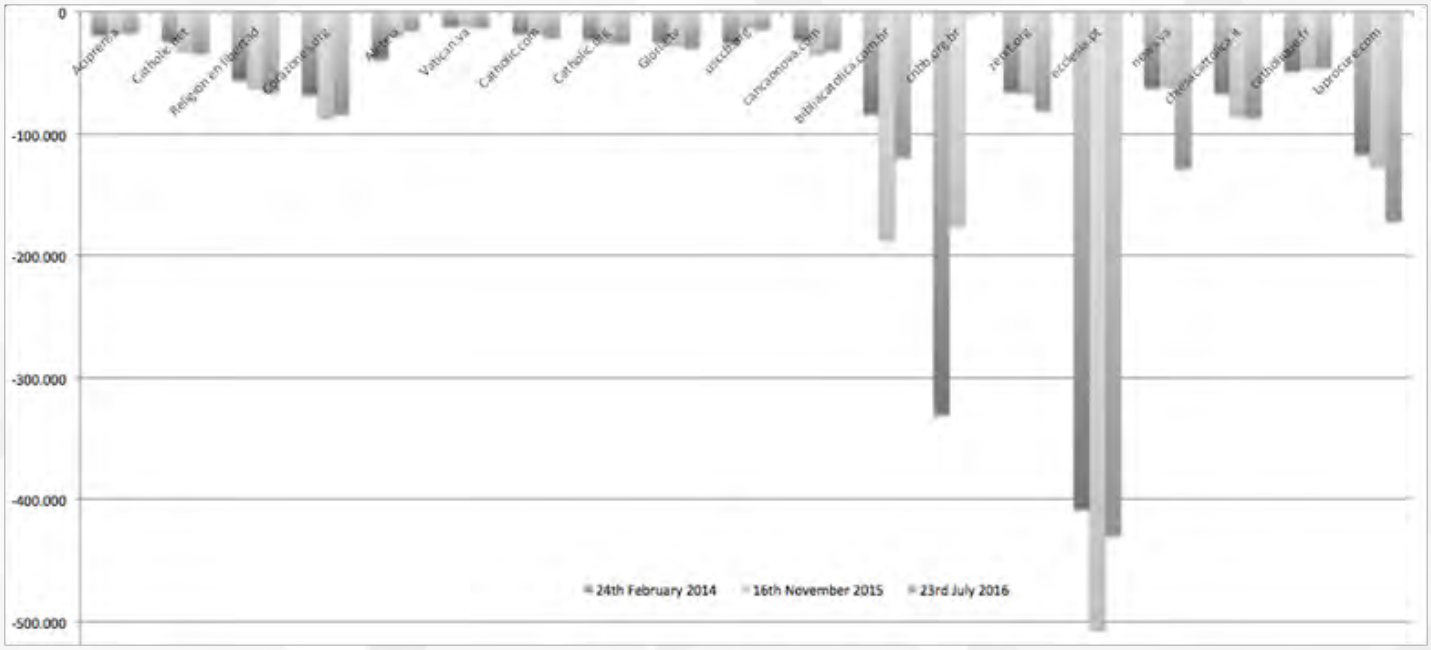
To choose each selected website, we used Alexa, which is a tool from an Amazon subsidiary company that tracks the digital ranking of websites. The keywords for finding them were *Catholic*, *Catholic Church* and *Catholicism*. Among all obtained results, we chose the most visited websites in each of the chosen languages. In those cases where a website had more than one version, we chose the most visited version. This selection let us obtain the main list of Catholic communities to be analyzed. In this selection process, we avoided the general media because their main goal is not to create online Catholic communities.

Once we found 19 online communities with this methodology, we compiled a questionnaire to obtain the data we needed for analysis, comparison and contrast. This questionnaire had the same fields – 53 in total – in all cases, so that we could obtain the same proportion of data in each case and also have the same parameters to study. It is important to stress that, after designing this questionnaire and its contents, it was checked through simple exploratory research in which scholars studied a lower number of selected websites. The results obtained from each researcher were compared and contrasted, and most of the obtained conclusions were in line. Nevertheless, scholars' results did not agree in a small percentage – less than 10%. Differences were debated until reaching a single and unequivocal conclusion. After discussion, those issues in the questionnaire that were not quite in line were modified and the questionnaire was checked again. In this second checking process, researchers studied another group of websites, which was useful for verifying that all the authors made the same interpretation. The results obtained

in both checking processes are not included in this article. All the data we present was generated by the questionnaire implemented in the third phase. This final phase began when the interpretation of the questionnaire and gathering of information were unequivocal.

Using this methodology, we analysed these 19 sites with the questionnaire in three waves: 24th February 2014, 16th November 2015 and 23rd July 2016. We decided to register data on three occasions, because we wanted to compare the information in three different but consecutive years. Vatican.va is the highest ranked website on Alexa from among the 19 we analysed. The evolution shows that only one of them has a higher ranking in 2016 than in 2014: Aleteia.org.

Figure 3



Source: Blanquerna Observatory

Looking at their interaction level, the websites that offer the widest range of possibilities are Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Cancaonova.com, Catholic.com and Religionenlibertad.com. They include almost all the items considered essential for interaction, such as comments, surveys and sections for witnesses and for sending prayers and intentions. Currently, Catholic.com and Religionenlibertad.com have a dating service for their users. Cancaonova.com and Religionenlibertad.com also have an online shop as a service. Regarding offline interaction, we must emphasize those sites that are not only a digital platform but which also organize offline activities on the website. In other words, the website is another place for announcing the organization of these activities. In this group we have ChiesaCattolica.it, Cnbb.org.br and Usccb.org. A few pages (5%) link their online activities to an offline context. In respect to pages that link offline activities to

their online space, we could include here all informative sites. Formation and education is also an activity that these sites offer. Specifically, they are Catholic.net, Usccb.org and Cancaonova.com.

Approximately 68% of them have a mobile app, with the exceptions being Aleteia.org, Catholic.org, Corazones.org, Gloria.Tv, BibliaCatolica.com.br and Zenit.org. Despite this, Aleteia.org and Zenit.org have responsive versions of their sites. We detected several formats of text, images and video. The latter is the most used on Gloria.Tv. Regarding social media, all of them are on Facebook except Corazones.org, although it is on Instagram. The sites with the most followers are Aciprensa.com on Twitter, Aleteia.org on Google+, and Vatican.va has the most fans on their YouTube channel. Regarding the pages Corazones.org, News.va, Ecclesia.pt, Catholique.fr and LaProcure.com, we found that they offer information but are still do not employ interaction and participation tools beyond social media; so it is harder for them to build a strong community. Apart from the data collected by this analysis, we interviewed the people in charge of these websites and communities in order to delve deeper into the extracted information. Content analysis and interviews are two methodological techniques that have been used by Christopher D. Cantwell and Hussein Rashid in similar studies, such as *Religion, Media, and the Digital Turn. A Report for the Religion and the Public Sphere Program Social Science Research Council* (2015).

Once we obtained the 19 sites to study along with their digital evolution and rankings, we decided to classify them by their main goals. According to these criteria, we established five different categories:

a) Institutional. We define institutional websites as those belonging to an organization in which the main objective is to present its mission and values. It precludes other objectives such as merchandising, informing and gaming, which, if they exist, are put on other websites linked to the group. The classic example is the Vatican website (www.vatican.va), which is different from other portals hosted by the Holy See, such as www.news.va and www.vaticanradio.org.

b) Informative. In our classification, informative websites are those devoted to religious information. Most of them are digital originals, meaning that they are not copied from offline publications but exist only in digital form. We believe that the more the quality of religious information is improved, the more likely it is that this information will be transformed into 2.0 standards. Furthermore, it fulfils the need to help society understand religious facts as symbols of a reality that transcends them. One of the characteristics of the 2.0 era for religious claim is that the Church is finding more people who search,

confront, and argue in their institutions, people who were previously not as active in public debates.

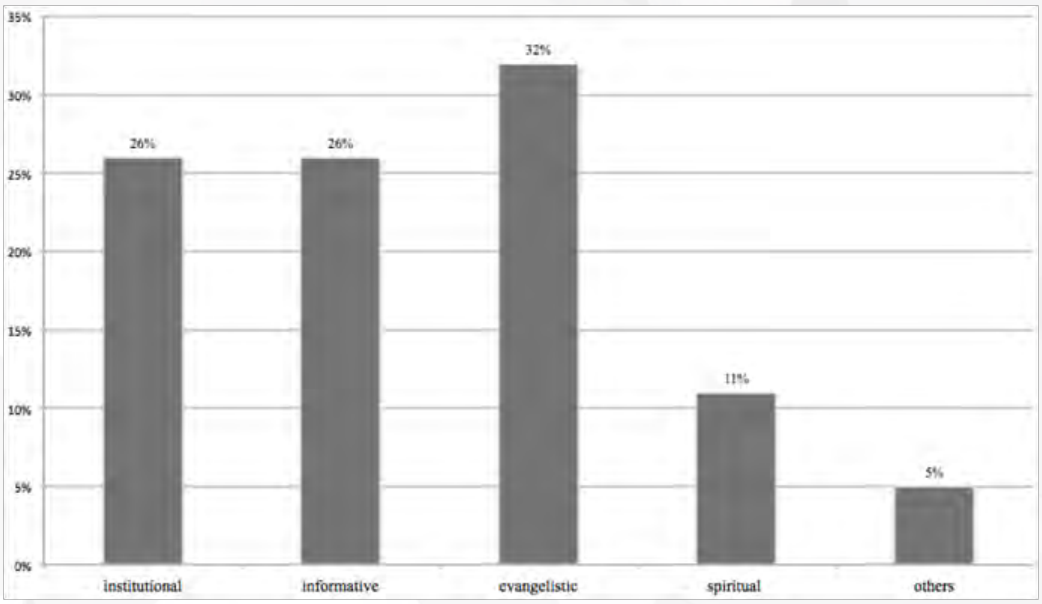
c) Evangelistic and Apologetic. Some of the pages are clearly created to evangelize and defend the faith. Of those that are explicitly created to spread the gospel and to declare the doctrine as the core message, we classify them as apologetic.

d) Spirituals. We place in this category the portals devoted to prayer chains, meditation and spiritual quotes, among other similar matters. Although other pages may have some spiritual tips or banners, these pages exist only for these purposes.

e) Others. Other pages that do not fit, such as libraries, foundations, online shops and mourning portals, among others.

From the ethnographic data we collected, we found that 26% of the samples are Institutional, 26% Informative, 32% Evangelistic and Apologetic, 11% Spiritual and 5% belong to the category Others.

Figure 4



Source: Blanquerna Observatory

Having classified the websites, we filled out an exhaustive form that we prepared with 53 different fields structured into four sections: General Information, Interaction, Offline Interaction, Technical Facilities and Visibility. Using it while studying each website, we obtained a chart that let us collect, compare and contrast all data. Each field refers to a tool that could contribute to creating and strengthening the Catholic community on each site.

In our research, the analysis of these sites is complemented with a virtual interview with the person in charge of each website. Interviews were previously prepared and structured in depth. First we asked the people in charge questions related to the fields that we answered in our analyses, just to confirm the information collected and to check that our perceptions of their sites coincide with their perspectives and criteria. Not only did we want to know their goals in deciding whether or not to include in their websites content, a service or a section, but we also wanted to know their views toward interaction and participation.

In this sense, Jesús Colina, the editorial director of Aleteia.org, explained their vision to us and described how they see their website as one more channel among the three other complimentary but separate channels of Facebook, Pinterest and Twitter. Wellington Campos Pinho, administrator of Biblia Catolica, admitted that there was a lack of interaction on his site, but rationalized this by explaining that it was developed and is maintained only by him. Some of them, like Alex Rosal, director of Religiónenlibertad.com, do not take interaction into account when considering a community. On this site, all comments that users leave demonstrate the existence of their community, although they are written on a virtual wall and not in response to each other. This information is complemented by the answers obtained to more questions about the platform and its strategy, mission and vision. In this sense, interviews revealed several business issues that are relevant for our investigation.

It is important to highlight the double-checking process we followed. Our analysis was deep, but we consider it necessary for presenting a balanced view by comparing our perspective with those who not only work on each site daily, but also have information about its past, present and future – specifically regarding its contents as well as its strategy. Nevertheless, we took into account the opinion of a third agent in this study: experts. Their perspectives are useful to us because they act as observers situated between us and the website owners and employees. Lucio Ruiz, Secretary of Communication at the Vatican, suggests that Catholic communities are doing well in the sense that they are converting previously traditional and analogical aspects and realities into digital, for example: prayer, charity, information and dissemination of the magisterium, among others). Still, much remains to be done in regard to the new horizons presented by the "digital age". Creation of thought, network synergies and generating opinions are just a few. When asked about how he understands the Catholic formation of groups on the web, Robert A. White is not sure that Catholic communities are attempting to be online communities. In his own words: «Most of our communities are online, but how we get Catholic communities to communicate with each other is another issue.»

When we asked the scholar Stewart M. Hoover for his thoughts on Catholics and digital communities, the Director of the Center for Media, Religion and Culture in Boulder, Colorado, answered that it depends on the community, specifically on whether members feel empowered to make their own online connections. Online media assumes that people will create their own opportunities, connections, and networks. They cannot look exactly like offline communities, as they do not have the same borders and boundaries and do not recognize the same sources of authority and power. Online communities are created by their practitioners and follow their patterns of interest and practice. A strong sense of community or need for community is of course required, but it is expressed according to the logic of digital spaces and practices.

Despite this, further research should also take into account the WhatsApp factor, a dimension that we did not explore here because of its reliance on smartphones and private numbers. Calvarese (2016) says that WhatsApp has turned into a point of reference for many Catholics. Through this app, they share the Saint of the Day, gospel comments, pictures with quotes and many prayer requests. It is also possible to read truly inspiring stories directly from those who experienced them. All of these features are incorporated into the websites analysed in our sample.

5. RESULTS

As it has done in other subjects and contexts, the internet has challenged religious communities worldwide. Not only has it created a new means and process of communication among several stakeholders in each community, but it has also changed the entire context and created a new paradigm in which religions – as well as other sectors of society – try to make the most of it and take advantage of the new tools that are completely available and free to them. In this context, the results indicate that the Catholic Church views the digital sphere as an opportunity (Celli, 2013). All website managers that we interviewed regard evangelisation as the main goal of their digital spaces (Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Gloria.tv, Religionenlibertad.com, Cançaonova.com and BibliaCatolica.br). The new communication strategy carried out by the Vatican also demonstrates the Catholic Church's willingness to be digitally present and influential. The recently created Secretary of Communication was conceived along these lines.

This larger community joins together online based on the concept of *koinonia*. The classic understanding of *koinonia* includes dimensions of participation and interaction, which is needed in current online communities. After all, community implies that there is something that makes members meet each other and come together in a group, that they have something in common. As Campbell (2005:181) explains, in this case, it is faith. In the digital sphere, this common issue creates what Graham (1999) calls «confluences

of interest», which is easier to find online than offline. Campbell (2005:181) refers to attributes that are considered important to online Catholic communities: relationship, care, value, intimate communication and shared faith.

While paying attention to the context and situation, we wondered how Catholic websites build up a sense of community. The research informed us that the two most important digital tools they use are languages and content, the second of which tends to be messages and perspectives that are available on several platforms (e.g., text, videos and infographics). These are easy to share, disseminate and edit as well as easy to understand, comment on and be debated. Services related to specific issues on their websites or linked to Catholicism in general are also available. Other functions such as prayer offerings, witness spaces, funding and daily lectures are an easier way for believers to experience faith. The sites also provide dating services and calendars in addition to recommended films, books and other suggestions from their fellow Catholics. Alejandro Bermúdez, Director of Aciprensa.com, argues that the community is a «natural consequence of our actions». He does not believe that a virtual community must be created or built, nor that it requires forums or regular meeting points.

Among the tools that top Catholic websites use for building online communities through contents and services, we must also highlight social media. Social media constitutes the largest, most potent and most transparent digital places where Catholic communities are present. Internal forums on websites do not have the same level of interaction nor the same number of members. Of the 19 studied sites, the highest ranked on Alexa are not those with the highest level of internal interaction; but all of them have a remarkable number of followers on platforms like Facebook or Twitter. Thus, the followers of these pages are growing daily. These Catholic communities have also understood that within a larger public structure such as social media, they can find more members and also spread their message further. What Wellington Campos Pinho (of Biblia Catolica) said about his community is that it had entered «the various channels of social networks that were created in order to generate discussions and interactions with the site content». So, owners like Wellington create community through social media before doing it through their sites. He admits that the site is not currently registering users, although he wants to do so in the future. Blogs are another tool that provides users with the possibility of publishing and editing contents. The content and services that are related to the values expressed by Campbell (2005:181) can provide a sense of community that arises specifically from this shared faith, which becomes a nexus among all the members. This faith and the vision of life that it embodies could be a reason to start a conversation will grow into a stronger and more intimate discussion.

The digital sphere is a window to world in which Catholic people can continue to practice and attend to their religion. Assuming that being part of a religious community may at times be socially unpopular, the internet offers people the opportunity to express themselves with total freedom and without prejudices. They can feel some kind of protection there, protection that is obtained by being in a virtual space not only where more people think and feel the same, but also where they can share and gain advantages like social recognition as well as new relationships that may grow closer and migrate offline. This protection, once found only in church, is now available outside, at any place and any time.

Nevertheless, some of the 19 studied websites are digital platforms for an offline Catholic community; therefore, time and place play some kind of role. The study has unveiled that most of the digital Catholic activity on these sites is linked directly or indirectly to physical offline spaces. Regarding this issue, it is important to stress that offline relationship with reality always occurs before the online, but not after. That is to say, it is difficult to find online communities that have physical meetings. Gloria.tv, Wellington Campos, Religionenlibertad.com, Alejandro Bermúdez from Aciprensa and Jesús Colina from Aleteia.org all acknowledge that their sites have not organized any offline meetings for their virtual community, and this is because of the diversity of users' locations. Here, it is important to stress again the role of time and place. Currently, Cancaonova.com specifies when talking about a virtual community that it «reduces difficulties imposed by time and physical space». Reduction does not mean elimination. According to this judgement, it is clear that Catholic communities are like other virtual communities in digital space. Lajoie (1996) shares this vision and justifies why virtual reality should not be constructed in opposition to «real reality», but rather as an extension of it. In this sense, we also detect on Catholic sites some virtual activities that are clear imitations of real activities, such as the digital act known as «light a candle».

Language is another element that shows us how geographical issues play a role in online communities. Some interviewed coordinators such as Wellington Campos said that this is another factor that makes a physical meeting difficult. People enter into an online community with other users who are Catholic and who are also physically near them; therefore, they speak the same language and share the same cultural issues. Thus, if we study all websites that are available in more than one language, we find differences in content and, in some cases, structure. Physical differences are also present and easy to identify in an online platform. Only the largest platform, Vatican.va, offers exactly the same content in all its available and different languages. In this case, it is remarkable that this site has a global vision while several of the other analysed websites have an international vision that still maintains a noticeable national character. «We are not located anywhere but in the places that speak the languages we make available», says

Alejandro Bermúdez. Despite this, Campbell (2005:178) says that in some cases these communities become a supplement to offline relationships and not an extension. The author interviewed some members and found this case to be specifically true among those whose offline community was considered unbalanced or unable to meet certain needs that were being met online. In the digital sphere, Catholic people can live and practice faith more flexibly. In this sense, time and space are important but not quite so much if we note that virtual communities let users play with their virtual presence so that they can choose whether or not to respond immediately or say the truth about their location, identity or other private information. Ethics and values are considered to be less strict in the digital sphere than in the real sphere, and this is a difference that must be stressed.

At this point, this shared faith that becomes a shared reason for being in the community could be at risk due to the flexibility and freedom of the internet. In our society and in the digital sphere too, it is easier to communicate with more people, but at the same time we have tools that let people be more individualist and share opinions with others that do not disagree with them. It is easier not to answer somebody if we do not want to and even delete or block contact with them if we do not want to talk about something – perhaps because they do not think as we do. In a pluralistic atmosphere, different thoughts inhabit complete isolation. This characteristic becomes a big barrier to achieving a society based on the values of respect and tolerance, but it also has some advantages. Although only some of the analysed pages (Catholic.com) provide a dating service, it is a good example for showing how close these communities can get and how time and place have a role. In this case, they have more than one thing in common: the Catholic faith and the will to date somebody with the same religious thoughts and values. Among all websites offering this service, the Catholic ones have a more segmented target; so possibilities for people to have success in finding a partner are higher. In these cases, time and place play a remarkable role: people usually look for a partner of the same or similar age and living near them. Virtual barriers are broken by knowing that the relationship people want goes beyond the screen. This kind of service does not create a virtual community directly – as we understand the concept – but attract a loyal number of users interested in the space until they find a partner (if they finally do). So, indirectly, this service builds some kind of virtual community that creates bilateral relationships more than a solid community. There are several websites for finding a partner, but this service on a Catholic website gives the user previous information that others do not. Other users using the same service have some kind of Catholic interest, so it is easier for them to agree on several subjects and perspectives, which makes it easier for them to cultivate a friendship and perhaps even a relationship.

Despite this, online Catholic contents and services are not mature enough in terms of digitalization. The Church and different related organizations from all over the world have

seen the internet as an opportunity, and the existence of these platforms is the best way to prove it. Despite this, a lack of communication and marketing strategy is detected in several of them. This is evidenced by the fact that sites such as Biblia Catolica or Cançao Nova, for example, are not registering their users. We have observed that websites are a frequent tool for Catholic organizations to reach their members, but they are in an early digital phase in which websites only juxtapose information and show few signs of interaction and participation, which are essential for building and strengthening a community. Websites become an advantage for these kinds of institutions. They have a new platform for spreading their messages and perspectives and staying active 24/7. Interviews show that they want their site to achieve this goal. In this sense, we can conclude that Catholic communities have understood that they have a digital role, but they are still trying to find it properly. We could differentiate them by their origins – online or offline – and by whether or not they have an online platform. Digitally born platforms like Aciprensa.com and Aleteia.org obviously do not need to create a digital platform since they are already digital.

Thus, we detect a contrast between those platforms which include a lot of contents, services and community activities and those that offer only information. We discovered two kinds of online Catholic communities that we can organize in two groups: «overcomplete» and «simple». Although the former have the most complete spaces and are more attractive to users, it is sometimes really difficult for a user to navigate them comfortably. This is the case of Catholic.net, for example. The large amount of contents, categories and sections could overwhelm visitors. Regarding this issue, Alejandro Bermúdez from Aciprensa.com explains that one of the changes they are making to the website is related to design, usability and navigation. Nevertheless, simple pages are not as complete as the others, but their navigation is clear and easy to use. Some of them are not updated and exhibit an old design that, together with slow processing speed, could motivate users to leave a few seconds after having decided to visit them. Despite this, it is important to say that there is a trend of helping Catholic sites. Remembering that Mark 12:31 says in the gospel «Love thy neighbour as yourself», all the Catholic websites we studied have a space for helping users if they get lost or if they have any doubts or questions. Depending on the site, this space can be a FAQ section or a form to fill out. There are not yet any consultation sections via chat on these pages, although they are studying whether they can offer this service using volunteers.

Despite the low navigation quality in some cases, the studied websites build up a sense of community because of the subjects they talk about, which form the shared faith that is the centre and basis of their community. 32% of them are apologetic and defend a specific way to live and manage different life issues in accordance with the Catholic religion. These kinds of arguments attract users in the same way that they annoy those who do

not agree their statements. Community could also be created by disagreement, debate, discussion and some kind of conflict; but loyal users are those who share the same points of view, reminding us again of the risk detected in these kinds of communities and that were mentioned previously.

If we review the attributes that Campbell (2005:181) specified as those that differentiate online Catholic communities from other communities –remembering that these were attributes mentioned to the author by members of Catholic communities – they are: relationship, care, value, intimate communication and shared faith. The only difference is faith, which is the basis of all communities. The other attributes are easily identifiable in other kinds of communities. We also find hard to identify from among the analyzed websites those which can be called «online religion». This term was coined by Christopher Helland (2005) and refers to those sites in which the internet is not merely an instrument; it depends on the net, and religious experiences can only be lived through this digital sphere. Most of the sites are still what Helland calls «religion online», whereby the internet is used only as an instrument. As we stated, some of the website managers that we interviewed provided reasons for not achieving a high level of interaction; for example, Wellington Campos cited a lack of human resources.

6. CONCLUSION

Catholic communities worldwide have seen the opportunities that online platforms offer them, and they are more hopeful than fearful. Technology has changed society, and the Catholic Church has not fallen behind other large communities. We conclude first of all that digital Catholic communities are open wall churches for whom faith is their strongest foundation. What has bound Catholic people together since ancient times is faith. This powerful magnet has not disappeared; rather, it has become 2.0. The tool has not eliminated the feeling; it has become a place to live and to share it. The websites studied were created (as those in charge told us in our interviews) to evangelise. They are integrated with several sections and services that serve as tools, but what makes a user stay or leave a community is the confluence of interest (Graham 1999). In this case, everything involving the Catholic religion is present on sites such as Catholic.net and Catholic.com. Drawing on the research carried out, we also demonstrate that the large online Catholic community is integrated with other smaller Catholic communities made up of people that live in the same regions or who speak the same languages. This unveils the important role that time and space still play in these kinds of communities. We could consider some of them to be virtual versions or extensions of reality. As Alejandro Bermúdez (Aciprensa.com) asserts, «barriers between virtual and real are artificial». Only 42% of the 19 analysed sites are exclusively digital platforms.

In this sense, age is also a key factor. Online is a new form of Catholicism for the youth, but older generations are not so easily persuaded, as they view the internet more as an isolated «other» place rather than a tool for building community. Related to the above argument, we have also revealed that this new sphere for faith could become a double-edged sword. Digital tools can be positive for Catholic people to experience their own faith, but the internet is possibly giving rise to homogeneous communities and networks that live parallel to others who do not think the same. And this could create an invisible but strong barrier to dialogue (Carbonell et al. 2013). Even if relationships on the web are not the main goal of the Catholic presence on the internet (belonging and sharing are more powerful than the mere fact of knowing people), we could also conclude that Catholicism online binds its members in a way that could be risky, in that it restricts them to those communities without the flexibility of visiting other communities outside this comfort zone. This is a possible disadvantage that should be considered fairly if we want to remember the freedom and flexibility that digital media provides Catholic people for experiencing and attending to their faith. Horsfield (2015) has shown that in many cases the smaller numbers of these groups allow for a type of experimentation and flexibility that is not possible in larger churches. This conclusion prompts us to state that Catholic communities develop similarly to other existing networks that are based on common interests and that use several tools to share everything about these interests with people both within and outside their own community. Alejandro Bermúdez stated that a virtual community must not be built, but instead that the tools let the community give birth to itself.

Furthermore, we have also discovered that the tools used to build community demonstrate that the Catholic communities are what we could call «in-line religion». Between religion online and online religion, we could place some of the studied sites like Aciprensa.com, Aleteia.org, Catholic.net and Catholic.com. They use a wide range of tools to build the community and make it bigger and stronger. These are comprised of blogs (42% of them), forums (11%), newsletters (63%), apps (68%), witness spaces (26%), online shops (26%), dating services (16%) and surveys and games (9%). 32% allow users to send materials to be published. These tools are based on interaction and participation, but they do not achieve a high level of activity. According to Celli (2013), the channels that the Church can use have multiplied, and this revolution must not be understood only in instrumental terms. The author also adds that the Church and the various groups that are part of it have to redefine their approach in order to avoid doing «what we have always done, only with new technology». The Catholic Church has always shown great interest in communication, not only as a technique but as a means for dialogue and as a tool to shape meaning. Thus, digitalization could lead to new ways of establishing relationships and building communion (Sorice 2012:137). This in-line religion is also evident in the

large contrast we find among those that include a lot of different contents and services – sometimes with difficulties – («overcomplete websites») and those that only offer information on static platforms that are rarely updated («simple websites»). Users can hardly understand the goals and intentions of these sites, and this situation could create some confusion in navigation by driving users only to contents and services that are easier to find. This characteristic explains why strong communities are sometimes created outside these web pages on social media platforms where users can navigate comfortably. As Wellington Campos explained to us, one example of this situation is Biblia Catolica.

Two limitations could arise and benefit from further research on this topic: concentrating on a less heterogeneous sample and choosing portals that have the same nature (e.g., informative or organizational) in order to arrive at specific conclusions about the different facets of each website. Here, we have focused on how those top 19 pages ranked by Alexa build community, and we did so by observing them in 3 waves over 3 different years, by interviewing their webmasters or editors and by analyzing them according to a set of questions we wanted answered. Still, our research had no interaction with the users of those communities, and a complete study should investigate their participation and measure their interaction. Further research could follow the lines indicated by Hutchings (2015a) regarding how the boundaries between leaders and followers are also renegotiated. The most effective online communicators are not necessarily those individuals who currently hold positions of authority within established religious organisations, and independent media producers can gain considerable attention.

We have observed that over last three years online Catholic communities are still not sufficiently digitally mature (they still struggle to incorporate interactive tools on a daily basis), but they are at a stage that could be considered their youth. They have members and know some people, but they are still learning, gaining experience and growing. Only hard work, determination, curiosity and their capacity to understand and make the most of their present context will make them successful. Their youth gives them every advantage; it depends on them not to miss the boat. The old captains should allow them to grow.

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6. Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue

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Slow Religion: Literary Journalism as a Tool for Interreligious Dialogue

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Abstract: Intercultural and interfaith dialogue is one of the challenges faced by society. In a world marked by globalisation, digitisation, and migratory movements, the media is the agora for people of different faiths and beliefs. At the same time, the media is adapting to the online space. In this context, narrative journalism emerges, breaking the rules of technological immediacy and opting for a slow model based on the tradition of non-fiction journalism. With slow, background-based reporting and literary techniques, narrative journalism tells stories with all their aspects, giving voices to their protagonists. Is this genre a space in which to encounter the Other? Could narrative journalism be a tool for understanding? These are the questions that this research aims to investigate through the content analysis of 75 articles published in *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, and *The New Yorker*, along with 38 in-depth interviews with journalists associated to them.

Keywords: literary journalism; religion; slow journalism; slow religion; *The New Yorker*; *Gatopardo*; *Jot Down*

1. Introduction

Narration is one of the seven forms of dialogue between people (Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011). Stories allow individuals to explain the reality in which they live, with all its complexities (Payne 2002). From an anthropological point of view, journalism and religions share a similar function (Didion 1979; Sharlet 2014).

The social function of journalism is to improve democracy (Schudson 2011; Tocqueville 1835), a democracy in which societies coexist peacefully and have their fundamental rights guaranteed. In fact, information and knowledge have become key factors for social and economic development (Bell 1973). The past decade has been a turning point for the three social environments represented by the publications analysed in this research. Two key factors shaped an era, a society, and the media that emerges from it: the economic crisis of 2008 and the consolidation of the digital and global era (Herrscher 2014). Both phenomena have forced journalism to reinvent itself (Greenberg 2018; Rosenberg 2018; Schudson 2011), to look for new forms of power and, at the same time, fulfil its social function while also generating sufficient benefits for journalists to earn a living from their profession (Albalad 2018; Benton 2018; Sabaté et al. 2018b; Berning 2011).

Multiple business models have emerged to seek this balance. Meanwhile, the world media map has multiplied (Albalad and Rodríguez 2012), with the emergence of new publications that have contributed to the existence of a competition for exclusivity, for being the first to cover a story, achieve a greater audience, and continue to feed the advertising model that, in many cases, has stopped working (Neveu 2016). This so-called fast journalism (Le Masurier 2015; Greenberg 2015) manifests the rhythm of a liquid modernity (Ray 2007) in which knowledge needs somewhere to fit (Durham Peters 2018). The concept of liquid modernity refers here to the Zygmunt Bauman (2013) term that

emphasises that changes in modern society are rapid and continuous. The mentioned authors argued that fast journalism reflects this rapid and continuous change in which society lives. At the same time, Durham Peters (2018) wondered which is the place and the format to keep and consolidate knowledge in this context. For him, slow journalism appears as a reaction to this liquid modernity, as a claim for a slowness, a space where knowledge could be better kept and consolidated. This situation is taking place at the same time as population movements are increasing around the world (United Nations Refugee Agency 2018). The global society has created new spaces of coexistence (Candidatu et al. 2019; Volf 2015) in which the mutual knowledge between cultures, traditions, and religions is the path towards peace (Abu-Nimer 1996; Johnston and Sampson 1994; Lederach 1999). Huntington (1996) predicted that future conflicts would be more driven by cultural factors than by economic ones. Therefore, a model for coexistence is one of the most important challenges (Fahy and Bock 2019; Ratzmann 2019; Ahmed 2018; Ares 2017) at a time in which, despite their digital presence, many cultural and denominational communities do not communicate with each other (Díez Bosch et al. 2018). In this sense, journalism acquires a relevant role (Pousá 2016).

In this context, narrative journalism emerges as a space where it could be possible to address this twofold challenge. In the first case, the media space has given rise to new publications that are based on this technique, which break the rules of the digital world (Sabaté et al. 2018a) and is determined by a tradition loyal to the type of journalism practiced by Wolfe (1973). In the digital age, narrative journalism is considered a space for knowledge (Durham Peters 2018), and contemporary society and its main challenges are reflected in it. Religions and interfaith dialogue are among the most complex topics covered by this type of publication (Griswold 2018; Sharlet 2018). Religious traditions are key actors in today's world, as a cause for peace but also of conflicts based on ignorance, fear of the Other, and the difficulty of empathising with that which is considered different (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017). The rise of fake news (Quandt et al. 2019) and hate speech (Parekh 2019; Gagliardone et al. 2015) on social networks is proof of the risks of the model followed thus far and of the massive promotion of prejudices (Restrepo 2019; Durham Peters 2018).

Narrative journalism may possibly reveal itself as a space for encounter, knowledge, and dialogue, which presents traditions, allowing understanding and approaching others (Ahmed 2018; Benton 2018; Bowden 2018; Griswold 2018; Salcedo Ramos 2018; Sharlet 2018). According to Eilers (1994), one of the theological dimensions of communication, Revelation (considered as a collection of revealed facts that come from God and that pass from one person to the other), is understood as a form of dialogue. According to the author, from the first page of the Bible, God is a communicating God. However, this self-communication extends into a dialogue with human creatures whom he created in his image. The communicative and journalistic dimension takes place in two ways: in the passing of a revealed information and truth that has to be communicated and also in the revelation understood as an interpersonal encounter. In this sense, Eilers (1994), Soukup (1983), and O'Collins (1981) emphasised that "God is not only revealing truth as something of him, but he is revealing himself, understood as a person to person, subject to subject, I to Thou encounter". O'Collins (1981) also highlighted the effect of this revelation, the "saving power" of it. These described dimensions of Revelation analysed by the mentioned authors show the alignment of these theological scripts with journalism, particularly its aim and functions. Revelation is seen here as a synonym for communication, most precisely as a theology of communication. Journalism as a practice relies on a messenger and draws in narration. In Christian tradition, God is seen as a messenger with a desire to self-communicate (in the beginning, there was the Word). While journalism answers the need of a public to be informed, the theological scripts respond to the need of scribers to expand a message they have received. Thus, the aim of this investigation is to discover if narrative journalism could have this function, understand how it presents religion, conceptualise the influence that digital media has on this coverage, and outline the characteristics of a narrative journalist who covers religious issues. However, this research addresses the mentioned questions from the journalistic and journalists' approach, aiming to point out some initial evidence of this possible relationship between literary journalism and interfaith dialogue. This

in-depth journalistic approach has been chosen for this stage of the research to first analyse the content of the genre and discover the role of religions in it. Future research may confirm with evidence from audiences, adherents of different traditions, and religious leaders if this genre could be considered a tool for interreligious dialogue. This research introduces and contextualises the issue, giving some first results on the content and coverage of religions in the described kind of media. It does not present evidence of readers of literary journalism engaging with several religious traditions. It is a matter that could also be addressed in coming times.

According to Grung (2011), interreligious dialogue is defined as organised encounters between people belonging to different religious traditions, but it is also a field that addresses the premises for and the content of such organised encounters. So, this research is not about encounters caused by literary journalism but about how this genre could contribute, through knowledge, to make the premises a reality.

The selected sample is made up of three magazines dedicated to narrative journalism in three contexts that, at the same time, are spaces where migratory phenomena take place (Ares 2017) and where there is also an increase in diversity: Spain, Mexico, and the United States. The corresponding analysed publications are *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, and *The New Yorker*. These magazines have different origins, seeing as the first is a digital native, and the other two made the leap from paper to the Web. Additionally, their periods of existence are also different. *Jot Down* was created in 2011, *Gatopardo* in 2001, and *The New Yorker* in 1925. These divergences have been taken into consideration as elements that allow for a broader vision to be given to the research. It is also a question of studying whether the identity factors that these publications present affect the central theme that this analysis addresses. Could narrative journalism be considered a space for understanding between religions? Could this genre make visible the social function of journalism (Pousá 2016; Schudson 2011) in the current era? This research starts to address these questions, linking topics and spaces that, although apparently distant, seem to be a bridge to bring people closer to each other.

The contribution it could make is firstly, the existent relation between both fields: literary journalism and religion. The research fits in the field of media and religion, and the reciprocity they have, since both spaces influence the other (Campbell 2018; Hoover and Lundby 1997). Specifically, in this field, the present research highlights literary journalism dynamics and format for presenting religion. For religious scholars, this perspective could be enlightening; it could open a debate on how literary formats shape religion in modern society. In this sense, literary journalism presents a very unique way to cover religion. It is a genre that, breaking all digital media rules, has been successfully adapted to the digital world (Sabaté et al. 2018a). It follows high-quality standards, which is a rigorous process of elaboration that is distinguished by always giving voice to every part involved in a story (Restrepo 2019; Albalad 2018; Griswold 2018).

Unsurprisingly, the Constitution of the United States, one of the countries in which this genre has been developed the most, have religious freedom and freedom of the press and freedom of expression at the same level in the First Amendment (Sharlet 2014).

2. State of the Art

First of all, the divergences that the concept of narrative journalism generates must be highlighted. Up to 14 different designations of the genre have been found (Albalad 2018; Caparrós 2015; Sharlet 2014; Marsh 2010). For Wolfe (1973), it was "new journalism"; for Capote (1965), it was the "non-fiction novel". The National Endowment for the Arts (1980) decided to call it "creative non-fiction", which is a description that was seen as bureaucratic and that became "narrative non-fiction", although at the same time, this concept was branded obtuse (Sharlet 2014). Franklin defined the form as "non-fiction story" (Franklin 1986) and "narrative journalism" (Franklin 1996), until D'Agata and Tall (1997), paying homage to Montaigne, claimed that it was a "lyrical essay". Sims (1996) and Sharlet (2014) considered it "literary journalism", Kirtz (1998) considered it "long-form journalism", while Hartsock (2000) called it "narrative literary journalism".

In 2012, Boynton redefined and adapted it to the contemporary era, baptising the genre as "new new journalism". At present, and because it is identified with a social movement that opposes postmodern immediacy (Mattelart and Mattelart 1997), the term "slow journalism" has appeared (Barranquero-Carretero 2013). In Latin America, all of the aforementioned are considered "crónica" (feature), which is a name that, according to Caparrós (2015), already carries implicit connotations of its characteristic temporality. For the author, "a crónica is very specifically an always failed attempt to capture the fugitive character of the time in which one lives" (Caparrós 2015). However, he himself decided that this concept is too ambiguous and overused, and that a word he considered more audacious, "lacrónica", best describes the genre.

Although the rise of narrative journalism in the contemporary era can be traced back to New York in the 1960s (Sharlet 2014; Weingarten 2013), through authors such as Tom Wolfe, Jane Grant, Jimmy Breslin, or Gay Talese, the first work to be considered narrative journalism is *A Journal of the Plague Year* by Daniel Defoe, published in 1722 (Herrscher 2012; Chillón 1999). However, other authors such as Sims (1996) or Bak and Reynolds (2011) detailed certain references previous to the aforementioned date. Another example is the case of Dingemanse and de Graaf (2011), who spoke of the Dutch pamphlets of the 1600s as a tributary of narrative journalism, or Albalad (2018), who put forth the Chronicles of the Indies as a still older antecedent of the genre. For Puerta (2011), the origin could be placed in the Book of Genesis, and even in Mesopotamia or in the discovery of the Epic of Gilgamesh. Other influences of narrative journalism are the realistic novels of Zola, Balzac, and Dickens (Sharlet 2014; Herrscher 2012) and Shakespeare's plays (Albalad 2018; Herrscher 2012). Whitman and Thoreau are considered the architects of North American narrative journalism, which was developed during the US Civil War in Walden Pond. Whitman sought his references in what he considered to be the best gathered experiences of humanity: The Old and New Testaments, Homer, Aeschylus, or Plato (Sharlet 2014).

Authors who analysed the historical evolution of narrative journalism include Bak and Reynolds (2011), Chillón (1999), Herrscher (2012) and Albalad (2018). Except for the first two, the rest are from the school of thought that studies narrative journalism from the Ibero-American point of view. To this group, we can add Angulo (2013), who was dedicated to the analysis of the gaze and immersion in this genre; Palau (2018), who examined it in its various applications on specific issues, such as migration; Puerta (2019), who studied the work of Alberto Salcedo Ramos, as well as Palau and Naranjo (2018), who compared the genre in Spain and Latin America. These authors revolve around the Gabriel García Márquez Ibero-American Foundation for New Journalism. As part of it, Albalad and Rodríguez (2012) dedicated themselves to the study of digital narrative journalism.

In the English-speaking context, the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies focusses on what it calls literary journalism and on its digitisation. This group is made up of authors such as Sims (1996), Hartsock (2000), Berning (2011), or Weingarten (2013). Jacobson et al. (2015) wrote about the digital resources of slow journalism. Neveu (2016) focussed on the business of digital narrative journalism, while authors such as Wilentz (2014) studied the figure of the digital narrative journalist and their skills. Le Cam et al. (2019), Cohen (2018), Sherwood and O'Donnell (2018), and Johnston and Wallace (2016) studied the working conditions of journalists following digitisation and agreed on journalism being an identity rather than a profession. In the field of religion, Díez Bosch (2013) analysed the profile of journalists who specialised in religion, specifically in Catholicism. The author pointed out that knowledge is what makes journalists consider themselves specialised in this subject, regardless of the publication for which they write. Carroggio (2009), La Porte (2012), Arasa and Milán (2010), Eilers (2006), Wilsey (2006), and Kairu (2003) also dealt with this profile. Cohen (2012) did so in the case of the coverage of Judaism.

Within the English-speaking field, this analysis also focusses on authors who have analysed some aspect of the publications that are part of the sample. This is the case of Yagoda (2000), Kunkel (1995), or Thurber (1957), who are the authors with the most material produced specifically about *The New Yorker*.

Although focussed on narrative journalism and its digital aspect, this study does not exclude authors who focus on digital journalism. In 2001, *Communication et langages* published two articles

that identified the characteristics of cyber journalism, by Cotte (2001), Jeanne-Perrier (2001), and Masip et al. (2010), which coincided with those written by Micó (2006). Specifically, the author (Micó 2006) detailed the characteristics of the style of digital journalism as well as its properties. For Díaz Noci and Salaverría (2003), digital text is deeper rather than long, but affirm that depth should not influence comprehension.

Larrondo (2009) highlighted hypertextuality as the most outstanding feature in the construction of digital discourse and pointed out that reporting is the most flexible genre for adapting to digital journalism. Herrscher (2012), Chillón (1999), and Vivaldi (1999) also focussed on this genre as being the most relevant in narrative journalism. Berning (2011) reiterated that reporting is the most malleable genre for the digital space, and also studied hypertextuality. For the author, narrative journalism was already hypertextual before the digital era, since detailed narration and scene by scene description (Wolfe 1973) are already links that lead to other dimensions of the narration. The risk that Herrscher (2014) saw in digital hypertexts is that the reader can lose the narrative thread. Rost (2006), Deuze (2011), or Pavlik (2001) have studied other phenomena linked to digitisation, such as the interactive process or participation, which are outputs that Benton (2018) saw as applicable to narrative journalism.

Based on this genre, this study also expands on its link with existing literature on the mediatisation of religion and interfaith dialogue. The definition of mediatisation used is that established by Hjarvard (2011). The concept of mediatisation itself captures the spread of technologically-based media in society and how these media are shaping different social domains. In this sense, the urgency of the term deep mediatisation is also remarkable, describing a new and intensified stage of mediatisation caused by the wave of digitisation (Hepp et al. 2018). The mediatisation of religion (Hjarvard 2011) defines the process in which media represents the main source of information about religious issues and in which, at the same time, religious information and experiences become moulded according to the demands of popular media genres (Lövheim and Lynch 2011). Hjarvard's (2011) theory argues that contemporary religion is mediated through secular and autonomous media institutions and is shaped according to the logics of those media. For White (2007), Sumiala (2006), Lövheim and Linderman (2005), the reciprocity between the media and religion is evident, since both spaces influence each other. It is also explained in this way by Hoover and Lundby (1997), Sumiala et al. (2006), or Zito (2008). For Hoover and Clark (2002), the paradox is that people practice religion and speak of the sacred in an openly secular and inexorably commercial media context. The media determines religious experience and defines the sacred, as well as the lines between "us" and "them" (Knott and Poole 2013; Couldry 2003; Couldry 2000). Lövheim (2019) focussed on the role of identity and gender determined by this mediatisation of religion. Candidatu et al. (2019) analysed it in the diaspora situation of young migrants.

In this study, the concept of dialogue is taken into account. Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011) pointed out that narration is one of the seven synonyms of dialogue; that is, it is one of the forms of verbal exchange between humans, together with conversation, discussion, deliberation, debate, interview, and panel. For Braybrooke (1992), one of the ground rules of intercultural and interreligious/interfaith dialogue is that it takes time, because it implies trust, continuity, and patience, which are conditions common to the development of narrative journalism. At the same time, dialogue is one of the characteristics that Wolfe (1973) specified as a norm for a text to be considered narrative journalism. On the other hand, Eilers (1994) analysed the theological dimensions of communication, especially Revelation, which he treated as a form of dialogue. Abu-Nimer and Smith (2016) affirmed that interreligious and intercultural education are not a single curricular item; they need to become an "integral part of formal and informal educational institutions".

In this situation, the technique of storytelling (Salmon 2008) appears as a space for the expression of one's own identity and shows the effectiveness of what in psychology is called narrative therapy (Payne 2002). An experience that proves this hypothesis is the existence of initiatives such as MALA (Muslim American Leadership Alliance), which gives space to young American Muslims to explain

their experiences, calling for the empathy of people of their same profile, but also that of people with different profiles. Thus, narrative emerges as dialogue (Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011). According to Hartsock (2000), good storytelling involves the reader, activates their neural circuits, and helps to captivate them.

Salmon (2008) warned of the risk of telling stories about current events. According to him, the art of storytelling can become the art of manipulation. This is discussed by Zito (2008) and Sharlet (2014), who made clear that every fact is both real and imaginary from the moment it passes through the lenses of perception and imagination of a journalist's memory. For Sharlet (2014), "the literary journalist needs to be loyal only to the facts as best as he or she can perceive them". Buxó (2015) highlighted the importance of taking into account the symbolic function of language. For this reason, Sharlet (2014) emphasised that "narrative journalism is not the product of a technique but the documentation of a tension between fact and art". Sharlet (2014) agreed with Sims (1996) in that it deals with the art of facts, art versus anti-art, belles-lettres versus the five Ws, literary piety versus ruthless journalism.

> *Maybe the distinction is this: Fiction's first move is imagination, non-fiction's is perception. But the story, the motive and doubt, everything we believe—what's that? Imagination? Or perception? Art? Or information? D'Agata achieves paradoxical precision when he half-jokingly proposes a broader possibility: the genre known sometimes as something else.* (Sharlet 2014).

Narrative journalism emerges as a possible call to understanding and empathy (Griswold 2018; Salcedo Ramos 2018), and arouses emotions (Salmon 2008) that contrast with journalistic information. Could this effect be achieved by means of a collection of data? Do readers simply want to receive information, or do they want to feel an experience? (D'Agata 2009). The description of the genre using the techniques that Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996) specified gives an answer to this question. The former speaks of the use of the first and third person, scene-by-scene construction, dialogue, and exhaustive detail. Sims (1996) referred to the same, calling it structure, rigor, voice, and responsibility. However, he adds immersion and symbolic realities (Buxó 2015), the equivalent of Wolfe's (1973) attention to detail, elements that are presented as small truths and metaphors of daily life explained with literary techniques that allow for them to be converted into stories (Sharlet 2014).

For Didion (1979), from an anthropological perspective, religions can be considered stories that society tells in order to live. The dilemma raised by Sharlet (2014), whereby the only essential truth of narrative journalism is the perfect representation of reality, is emphasised in this aspect. The dilemma is the same as that of religions, which makes this genre the most appropriate to document them (Sharlet 2014). The author pointed out that understanding religions is key to understanding narrative journalism, because both explain stories and share the same paradox, the same dilemma; so, according to him, the problems inherent in talking about religions are linked to the development of narrative journalism. They share essential reality, the impossibility of representing reality, at the same time as the desire to explain it to improve the world.

Among all the diverse approaches to narrative journalism, there are some authors that better suit the data and research questions that this investigation sets out. The conditions that Tom Wolfe (1973) outlined for considering a text narrative journalism (which are scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, status details, and an interior point of view) are reflected in the analysed texts and highlighted in the interviews carried out in this study. The evolution that narrative journalism has had according to the results obtained by this research are aligned with Sims (1996), Herrscher (2014), and Albalad (2018).

Berning's analysis of digital narrative journalism is described by the practice of interviewed journalists and, again, in the analysed texts. The research also takes the perspective of Jeff Sharlet (2014), linking narrative journalism and religion, and highlighting the symbiotic role they have with each other.

3. Materials and Methods

The methodology for developing this research is based on in-depth interviews (Voutsina 2018; Elliott 2005; Johnson 2002) and content analysis (Van Dijk 2013). These methodology authors were chosen for several reasons that aim to contribute to the rigour and scientific approach of the presented research. First of all, the four mentioned authors have a vast and consolidated set of publications about the mentioned techniques in social research, so they present them in different backgrounds and contexts and obtaining diverse kind of results depending on the objective of each research. For instance, Voutsina (2018) and Johnson (2002) thought about different types of in-depth interviewing and the different possibilities of results that the researcher can obtain according to several factors. Specifically, Voutsina (2018) focussed on semi-structured interviews, which are the kind of interview carried out in this research. Elliott (2005) has been chosen because of the innovation of his approach. The author used narrative as a tool to explore the boundaries between qualitative and quantitative social research. Van Dijk (2013) is a referent by his specific analysis of the news discourse. So, these are authors that help us fit our method on their contributions and remain aware of the pros and contras of each technique. The publications considered are also from different moments during the last two decades, so the evolution that these techniques may have had has also been taken into account. These are also techniques and authors that have been used in similar research and by authors investigating in similar fields. The chosen authors are also featured for highlighting the ethical aspects of its methodology and taking them diligently into account.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with 37 professionals and experts in narrative journalism, and linked to the publications that are part of the sample. All of them accepted being quoted and mentioned in this research. As mentioned in the introduction, this research includes the journalistic approach of the issue, so future stages of it would include evidence from audiences and people engaged in religious traditions and religious leaders. The total number of interviews is 38, because Robert Boynton was interviewed twice. The in-depth interviews have made it possible to provide context and have helped understand the attitudes and motivations of the subjects (Voutsina 2018; Elliott 2005; Johnson 2002). The list of in-depth interviews conducted for the development of this research include the following:

1. Jacqui Banaszynski, editor of the Nieman Storyboard (Harvard University)
2. Joshua Benton, director of the Nieman Lab (Harvard University)
3. Carla Blumenkranz, online director of *The New Yorker*
4. Mark Bowden, writer and narrative journalist
5. Robert Boynton, journalist at *The New Yorker* (interviewed in 2014 and 2018)
6. Nathan Burstein, managing editor of *The New Yorker*
7. Joshua Clover, professor of non-fiction writing (University of California, Davis)
8. Lauren Collins, journalist at *The New Yorker*
9. Ted Conover, freelance writer and collaborator at *The New Yorker*
10. Rubén Díaz, associate director of *Jot Down*
11. John Durham Peters, professor of media studies at Yale University
12. Carles Foguet, communications director of *Jot Down*
13. Ángel Luis Fernández, managing director of *Jot Down*
14. Zoe Greenberg, long-form reporter at *The New York Times*
15. Eliza Griswold, journalist at *The New Yorker*, expert in religion issues. Pulitzer Prize 2019
16. Leila Guerriero, editor of *Gatopardo*
17. Roberto Herrscher, collaborator of *Gatopardo*
18. Ricardo Jonás, co-founder of *Jot Down*
19. Carolyn Kormann, editor of *The New Yorker*
20. Jon Lee Anderson, journalist at *The New Yorker*

21. Ramón Lobo, freelance journalist, writer for *Jot Down*
22. Larissa Macfarquhar, journalist at *The New Yorker*
23. Monica Račić, multimedia editor at *The New Yorker*
24. Evan Ratliff, journalist, co-founder of *The Atavist Magazine*
25. Felipe Restrepo, director and editor of *Gatopardo*
26. William Reynolds, president of the International Association for Literary Journalism
27. Noah Rosenberg, director of Narratively
28. Carlo Rotella, freelance editor of *The New Yorker*
29. Emiliano Ruiz Parra, freelance journalist for Gatopardo
30. Alberto Salcedo Ramos, narrative journalist and professor at the Gabriel García Márquez Foundation for New Ibero-American Journalism
31. Susy Schultz, director of Public Narrative
32. Jeffrey Sharlet, narrative journalist specialised in religion, professor at Dartmouth University
33. Norman Sims, former president of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies
34. McKenna Stayner, journalist at *The New Yorker*
35. Gay Talese, writer, journalist at *The New Yorker* and father of new American journalism
36. Marcela Vargas, digital editor of Gatopardo
37. Julio Villanueva Chang, director of Etiqueta Negra

The choice of interviewees is based on their career, experience, and links to the publications studied. In addition, people in different positions and from different generations and political views have been interviewed in order to obtain a global view on the subject, while obtaining results based on the symmetry of criteria and gender balance. The interviews were carried out in person (23), by telephone (5), by video conference (8), and by email (2). These conversations took place in four countries: Spain, the United States, Mexico, and Canada. The researchers travelled from Spain to the United States and Canada.

The witness and arguments expressed by experts and professors who are working in other institutions are used here to support and complement the opinions of those who express the vision of the analysed media. It has also been considered that external views from people working in prestigious institutions would enrich and make the research more critical.

The in-depth interviews have been useful for this analysis to confirm, check, and contrast the results obtained in the content analysis. The different explanations, opinions, and witnesses helped the team understand and give context to data, make it richer, and also clarify the differences and similarities among the media analysed. In this sense, and according to Voutsina (2018), in-depth interviews help collect in-depth data and approach the global data reflexively; with this technique, the discourse benefits from added nuances. The contact with the lived experience is also an added value of this technique (Johnson 2002).

The content analysis was developed over 75 articles in two research phases. The first was made up of the analysis of 45 articles, 15 of each of the three publications selected for the sample. Each of them comes from a different section of each publication and deals with different themes. This first phase served to gather global results in the first instance, as well as test the questionnaire created to carry out the analysis. This questionnaire is made up of four parts: identification, form, content, and audience. The first places the piece according to its section, author, and title. In the second part, the elements, report, and structure of each piece of news are taken into account, while also considering the presence and appearance in both digital form and on paper. The fields that are specified correspond to the elements that are to be analysed: subtitles, multimedia complements, images, positioning and extension strategies, manifested in the number of scrolls and pages on paper. Regarding the content, the questionnaire delves into narration. For this reason, the subject and tense are identified. The audience is treated based on the interactions with each of the pieces on the social networks on which they have been published. The use of content analysis (Van Dijk 2013) as a technique for this research

is supported by previous studies on narrative and digital journalism, such as those by Jacobson et al. (2015), and Domingo and Heinonen (2008). Authors such as Gillespie (2015), Guo (2014), or Larssen and Hornmoen (2013) also use this technique.

Once the first part of the content analysis was completed, the second and more specific part was devoted to the study on the coverage of religions in the media analysed. The same evaluation sheet was used, although it was extended with a new section titled "Religion". It includes nine new fields that analyse the pieces in order to answer specific questions about religion in the publications. In this sense, what is detected is: the faith to which each story refers, the role of religion in the piece, the tone used to treat it, the presence or absence of leaders, the presence or absence of quotes by these leaders, and the existence of informative and substantive elements on the faith in question. The questionnaire also studies if the piece promotes prejudices or helps eliminate them. This last part of the questionnaire has been applied following the example of media analysis carried out by the World Association for Christian Communication (2017) in its research on the coverage of migration in Europe, projects in which the authors of this article have collaborated.

In this second part, 30 articles were evaluated, 10 from each of the publications analysed. The selection of these was carried out with a basic criterion: the appearance or coverage of religions. None of the magazines analysed has a section dedicated to religion; therefore, the articles studied were located and selected using the search engines of the magazines' digital versions through the keyword "religion". The criterion of currency prevailed; for this reason, the 10 most recent articles from each of the magazines were chosen at the time of making the selection, in April 2019.

Thus, taking into account the first and second phase of content analysis for this research, a total of 75 articles were analysed, 25 from each of the publications that make up the sample: *The New Yorker*, *Gatopardo*, and *Jot Down*.

With the techniques carried out, the research introduces the issue of the relationship between literary journalism and religions, contextualises it, and shows how the content of this analysed genre takes into account religions—all from the journalistic approach, having analysed the content and interviewed professionals in the field. As mentioned, the possible interfaith function that literary journalism can have may be confirmed with further evidence than journalistic ones. The research decided to first study the journalistic agents of the research to better know the role and presence of religion in the literary journalism.

4. Results and Discussion

Narrative journalism is faithful to the norms of traditional literary journalism, even though it does not fulfil the characteristics established by digital journalism (Restrepo 2019; Sabaté et al. 2018a). One of the main challenges of this investigation is to discover if narrative journalism about religion differs from these characteristics, as well as to unravel its particularities. Firstly, it is worth noting the analysis carried out on articles in general from the various sections of the three magazines. There were a total of 45 (15 from *Jot Down*, 15 from *Gatopardo*, and 15 from *The New Yorker*).

As shown in Figure 1, all the elements of narrative journalism are present in a high degree: above 40% in all the articles analysed. In this case, the least used element is dialogue. By focusing on the articles in which religion is present, most also fit into the four categories that Wolfe (1973) considered necessary for narrative journalism: scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, status details, and an interior point of view (Sims 1996; Sharlet 2014). In all the media analysed, these characteristics consistently appear in a percentage higher than 50% in articles on religion, as shown in Figure 2.

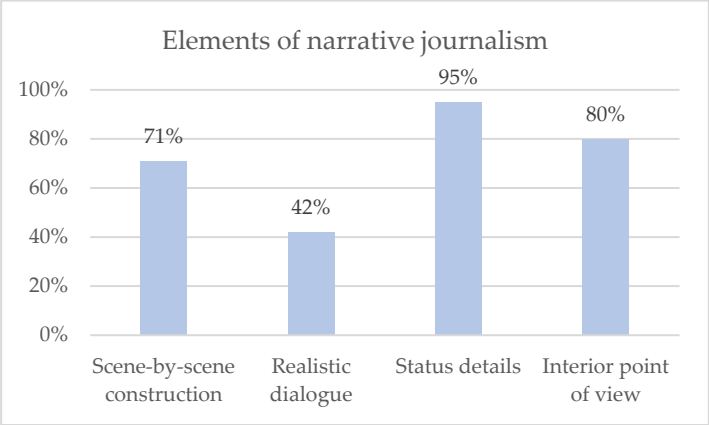

Figure 1. Presence of the elements of narrative journalism according to Tom Wolfe (1973) in the articles of the general analysis.

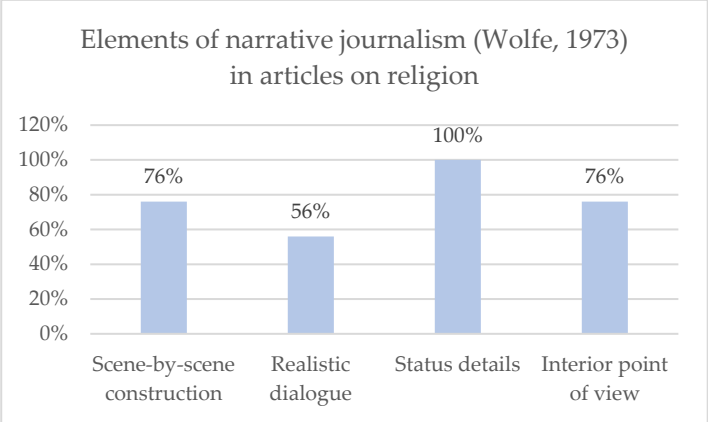

Figure 2. Presence of the elements of narrative journalism according to Tom Wolfe (1973) in the analysed articles on religion.

Comparing both series of data indicates that, in general, both the global articles and those dealing with religion fulfil, to a high extent, Wolfe's (1973) conditions of narrative journalism, as reiterated by Sims (1996). Focusing on each of the characteristics, status details are 100% present in the articles on religion, and 95% in the global articles. Regarding scene-by-scene construction, its percentage of usage is also higher in articles on religion (76%) than in global articles. Regarding the interior point of view, it is used more often in global articles (80%) than in those that address religion (76%), although the difference is minimal. The use of dialogue is higher in articles on religion (56%) than in articles on global issues (42%). This format, based on the Socratic method, incorporates the need for the reader to receive the content in a didactic way. It is based on the idea that through dialogue and encounter with the Other, people learn about this Other (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011). For Volf and McAnnally-Linz (2016), "When encounters with others go well, we become more ourselves. As people and communities, we are not created to have hermetically sealed identities."

According to Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011), in addition, narration is one of the forms of human dialogue and one of the ways in which people construct their beliefs and identities. It is significant that texts on religions use the technique of dialogue more than other types of texts. It is about offering the content about religions in an understandable way, one which through the stories appeals to the presumptions that the audience may have about a specific religious group (Restrepo 2019; Griswold 2018).

This research has also focussed on which faiths are addressed most in the narrative journalism media analysed. They are displayed in Figure 3.

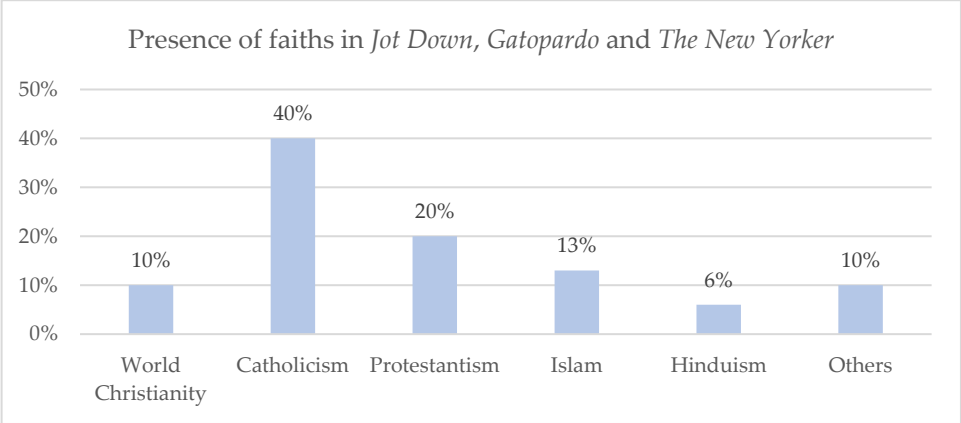

Figure 3. Presence of faiths in the articles analysed in *Jot Down*, *Gatopardo*, and *The New Yorker*.

Among the total of articles analysed, Catholicism is featured most, followed by Protestantism and Islam. It is a trend that is consistent with the figures of religious self-identification indicated by data found at a global level. This research also evaluated this phenomenon (Figure 4).

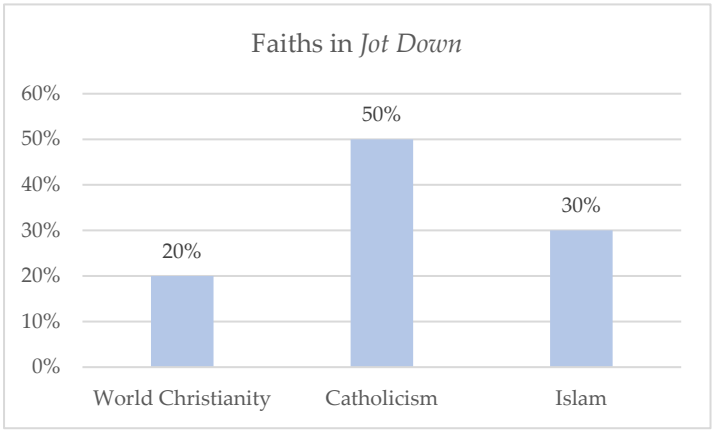

Figure 4. Predominant faiths in articles in *Jot Down*.

In *Jot Down*, the main faith detected is Catholicism, followed by Islam and Christianity in general. When comparing these results with demographic figures, it can be seen that 67.7% of Spaniards consider themselves Catholic (CIS 2018), and that the second most popular faith in communities in Spain is Protestantism, followed by Islam (Observatory of the Religious Pluralism in Spain 2019). Thus, the most covered faiths in *Jot Down* are also the most numerous in number of followers in Spain.

In *Gatopardo* (Figure 5), 60% of the pieces address Catholicism, 10% address Islam, another 10% address Hinduism, while 20% address other religions. In this last category, several stories are considered that address specific beliefs and spiritualities in some parts of the country. According to the National Survey on Religious Beliefs and Practices in Mexico (ENCREER/RIFREM website 2016), in the Central American country, 85% of individuals identify as Catholic, 8% identify as Protestant Christian, and 0.1% identify as other religions. In this case, the results of the articles are again proportional to the representation that these confessions have in the country of the publication analysed.

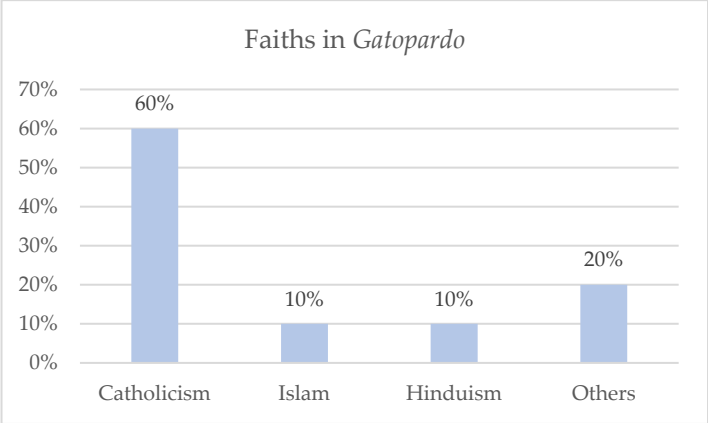

Figure 5. Predominant faiths in articles in *Gatopardo*.

In *The New Yorker* (Figure 6), Protestantism is the predominant faith (60%) among the topics in which religion is present. It is followed in a much smaller percentage (10%) by Christianity in general, Catholicism, Hinduism, and other religions. According to Gallup (website 2017), in the United States, 48.9% identify as Protestant Christian, 20.8% identify as Catholic, 0.7% identify as Hindu, 0.9% identify as Muslim, and 1.5% identify as other religions. These figures coincide with those presented by the Pew Research Center's Religious Landscape Study (Pew Research Centre 2014).

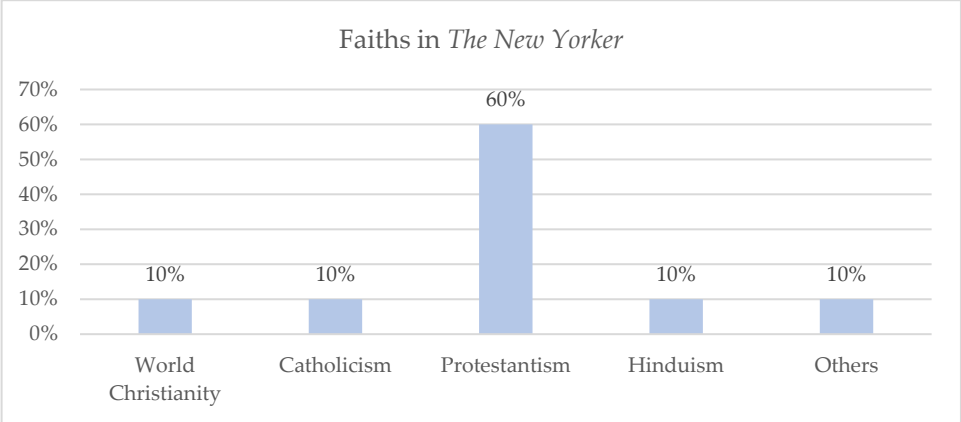

Figure 6. Predominant faiths in articles in *The New Yorker*.

In all three cases, the representation of religious faiths in the articles coincides with their presence in each of the countries of which the journals are native. The presence of religions corresponds to the national reality of each publication. This fact allows the research to detect a kind of social conscience of these narrative journalism magazines in regard to religion, and is an element that allows the investigation to sense that they may become a tool for interfaith dialogue, as they proportionally represent the faiths that are present in their surroundings. As *The New Yorker, Jot Down*, and *Gatopardo* covered these several confessions proportionally, their readers may be aware of their existence and reality, so they could become more informed, and thus obtain more knowledge about confessions that could be unknown for them and avoid prejudices. It is about knowledge that is predicated on promoting understanding (Ahmed 2018). According to Abu-Nimer and Smith (2016), "a constructive contact with those who are different from 'us' requires having intercultural and interreligious competences as integral like skills in this increasingly interconnected world. In the cases of *Gatopardo* and *The New Yorker*, it is also worth mentioning the presence of the category of other religions, which includes the possibility that their reader base may be familiar with realities that are not as popular as other religions present in the media. This is in fact one of the particularities of this type of publication: the presence of topics that

do not usually get coverage in general media (Reynolds 2018; Díaz Caviedes 2018; Guerriero 2014). The term "general media" is here understood as media that covers the traditional subjects (politics, society, sports, culture) globally and looks for a wide reach, generally nowadays combining information from press agencies and pieces written by their journalists. Narrative journalism media does not present this structure. They open new spaces for representations of topics overlooked elsewhere with several techniques: free sections (not following the traditional distribution), free timing (giving journalists the time that a subject need, that could be months or years), and reporting and practising investigative journalists, not to cover the same topics that mass media covers or cover it from a new and unexpected approach (Guerriero 2014; Herrscher 2014).

This study also questions how topics on religion are covered following the guidelines of media monitoring analysis in accordance with the methodology of the World Association for Christian Communication (2017). This entity measures the rigor of media coverage of certain issues, based on the extent to which people's freedom of expression and the different beliefs that appear in the media are respected. Among other points, it focusses on three main aspects: the presence of the people that are spoken about (in this case, religious leaders or people associated to religions), the number of quotes they publish, and the amount of background information on the subject (in this case about the religion itself). Taking this example, Figure 7 shows the appearance of each of these elements in the stories analysed:

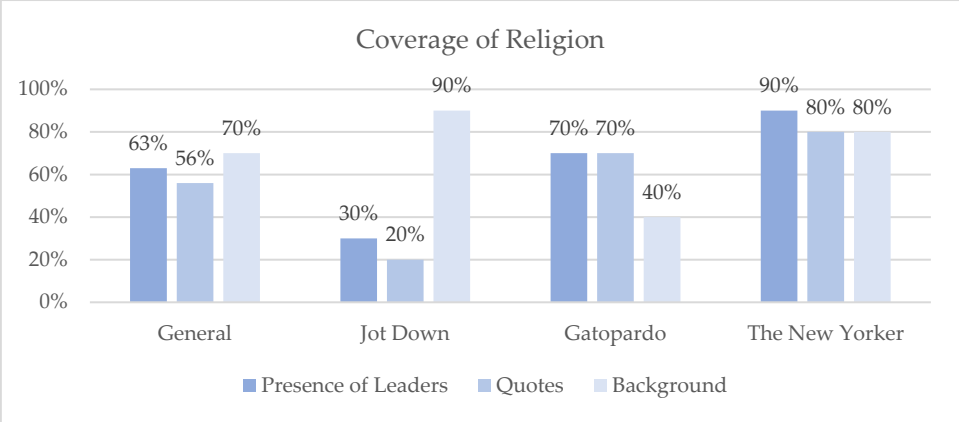

Figure 7. Specific coverage of religion in the publications analysed.

Generally, the three publications studied include the presence of religious leaders, statements or quotes by them, and background on the faith that is addressed in each story (a background that is linked to the high degree of status details that has been detected in the pieces about religion; see Figure 2). Thus, in a global way, another factor may be determined that could highlight the hypothesis that narrative journalism may be a possible space to contribute to interfaith dialogue, seeing as it uses the most representative aspects that are considered for respecting the freedom of expression of the people spoken of in each story (World Association for Christian Communication 2017).

When examining these results publication by publication, there are differences in some aspects. The presence of leaders is more evident in *The New Yorker* and in *Gatopardo* than in *Jot Down*, which is a publication that makes greater use of the study and analysis of background information when covering issues of religion. In relation to this aspect, there is a much smaller number of quotes in *Jot Down* (present in 20% of the articles studied) than in *Gatopardo* (70%) and *The New Yorker* (80%). In fact, overall, *The New Yorker* is the publication, among those analysed, that takes these elements into account the most.

On the coverage of religions, and also following part of the analysis methodology of the World Association for Christian Communication (2017), this study has also taken into account how the articles studied address the stereotypes related to some faiths (Figure 8).

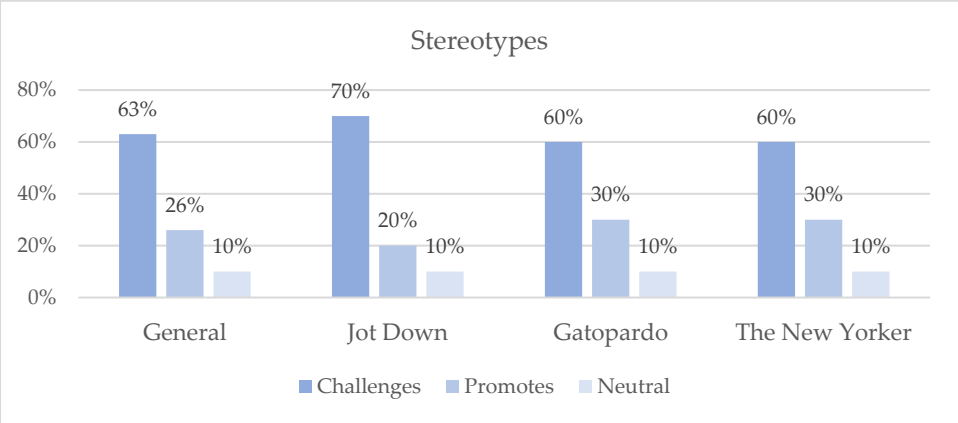

Figure 8. Analysis of the possible promotion or challenge of stereotypes about religions in the articles studied.

Overall, the results show that narrative journalism articles may possibly contribute to dismantling stereotypes; 63% of the pieces examined do so. However, 23% promote them, while 10% are considered neutral. The high use of the elements of narrative journalism in these articles could be related to their ability to challenge prejudices. At the same time, following this hypothesis, and as the research would introduce in the following points, the role of the journalist could be also linked with the role of the facilitator, in the sense of becoming a kind of mediator. Nevertheless, the existence of pieces that can promote stereotypes even when using narrative journalism leads to a reflection on the education, deontology, and professional practice of the people involved in narrative journalism. Future researches considering audiences' readings may be able to better confirm this aspect.

4.1. The Narrative Journalist that Covers Religion

Curiosity (Restrepo 2019; Conover 2018; Villanueva Chang 2017), perspective, resistance (Boynton 2018; Lee Anderson 2018; Guerriero 2014; Yagoda 2000), and perfection in form (Lobo 2018; Sims 2018; Collins 2018) are the main characteristics of a narrative journalist (Sabaté et al. 2018a). These relate directly to features that correspond to the demands of narrative journalism set forth by Wolfe (1973) and Sims (1996). Sherwood and O'Donnell (2018) spoke of identity journalism. MacFarquhar (2018), Blumenkranz (2018), Banaszynski (2018), Bowden (2018), and Guerriero (2014) argued that this profile is very specialised, that it requires both learned and innate skills, and that it is developed by a "chosen few". Weingarten (2013) and Yagoda (2000) highlighted this genre along the lines of what Albalad (2018) called "caviar journalism". With digitisation, the possibility of being considered for publication in this type of media has grown (Greenberg 2018; Díaz Caviedes 2018), although key elements for learning the trade have been lost, such as face-to-face contact between veteran professionals and students (Banaszynski 2018).

For Griswold (2018) and Sharlet (2018), there is a distinction between narrative journalists and narrative journalists who cover religion: the ability to put aside one's beliefs and listen to the Other. This is one of the types of dialogue highlighted by Eck (1987)—the dialogue of life, which opens up the possibilities of visiting, participating, and sharing experiences with different local communities. Sharlet (2014) admitted that "as a writer, I practice participant observation, so, with as clear-as-can-be disclaimers—'Look, I do not really share your beliefs . . . '—I've often joined in". For Griswold (2018), "it is about suspending one's point of view in order to encounter the Other". According to the author:

> *In covering religion, the skills are the same as covering any ideology. So, as a reporter, one has to be able to suspend one's point of view in order to encounter people who are really different. People who believe different things, who believe that certain people are going to hell, who may have different political views that for them are not political, they are religious. It is important as a reporter to be*

> *able to sit down and listen to all those people at great length, without passing judgement or feeling threatened by differences.* (Griswold 2018).

A sensibility is detected here beyond the characteristics that define narrative journalists. This sensibility leads the research to introduce the relation between the narrative journalist with the figure of the dialogue facilitator. According to Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017), the profile of a dialogue facilitator could be comparable to the guide of a journey, and specify that "no one can walk the path for another person, but a guide can make the journey meaningful and enjoyable, despite the challenges and rocky areas on the trail". For them, the facilitator does not direct, but makes the process of understanding possible. Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017) also pointed out that a facilitator is impartial, although aware that the reality they interpret is based on their own subjectivity. Therefore, they are at a certain distance from the actors and design the way for them to understand each other effectively.

Following this description and taking into account the definition of the narrative journalist of some authors (Sabaté et al. 2018a) and interviewees (Boynton 2018; Griswold 2018; Sharlet 2018), the role of the narrative journalist who covers issues of religion may be compared to the role of a facilitator. With curiosity, a gaze of their own, excellent writing form, and resistance (Restrepo 2019; Boynton 2018; Guerriero 2014), this type of professional is also able to put their beliefs, convictions, and presumptions on hold, and position themselves face-to-face with an Other who is different (Griswold 2018; Lee Anderson 2018; Lévinas 1985; Buber 1923; Stein 1916), in order to listen to them, understand them, and make themselves understood.

The importance of the use of the first person in this type of narrative journalism is detected in this aspect. This technique, which is ground-breaking in the face of traditional journalism, defines narrative journalism (Reynolds 2018; Sims 2018). For Sharlet (2014), when covering religions, this aspect becomes relevant, because according to him, literary journalism deals with perceptions, and a narrative journalist must be faithful to facts to the extent that they perceive them. In religion, "things unseen" are often documented; therefore, the demand for transparency in the process is even higher. In this regard, the research must take into account the symbolic function of language and the role that it plays in the production and reception of this type of texts (Buxó 2015). The author (Sharlet 2014) gave Whitman as an example, and outlined how this writer explained his method transparently and in the first person. Schultz (2018) defended this demand to explain to the reader how the facts have been established. For Clover (2018), the use of the first person creates the author's own style. However, according to Lobo (2018), this element is a clear distinction between narrative journalism in Latin America and North America, seeing as in the United States, the first person is more normalised in narrative journalism texts. It is also detected in *Gatopardo* and more in the two American magazines than in *Jot Down*. In this sense, Gay Talese (2019) was sceptical towards the idea that the emergence of digital space contributes to journalists' transparency.

> *I practice the journalism of 'showing up'. It demands that the journalist deal with people face to face. Not Skype, no emailing back and forth—no, you must be there. You must see the person you are interviewing. You must also ask the same question a few times, to be sure the answer you are getting is the full and accurate one.* (Gay Talese 2019).

4.2. A Digitally Non-Digital Journalism

Talese's (2019) scepticism is not exceptional, and shows the relationship that this genre has with the digital world. The knowledge of digital tools is not enumerated among the capabilities of narrative journalists in any of the interviews. In fact, one of the main characteristics of digital narrative journalism is the non-fulfilment of digital journalism's rules of style and writing (Sabaté et al. 2018b; Albalad 2018). According to Micó (2006), digital writing should have: updated data, universal information, simultaneity, interactivity, multimedia, hypertext, and versatility.

Although narrative journalism takes into account updated data, it does not aim to be the first to publish it (Restrepo 2019; Blumenkranz 2018; Burstein 2018; Račić 2018; Guerriero 2014; Herrscher 2014).

"We want to tell stories through an approach that has never been addressed before, even they take longer time", affirmed Leila Guerriero (2014). In this sense, Marcela Vargas (2014) said that "the spirit of *Gatopardo* is not 'breaking news'". Global information is present in this type of journalism, which ends up dealing with major issues (Restrepo 2019; Salcedo Ramos 2018; Guerriero 2014). On the other hand, the media outlets in which narrative journalism appears are not mainly interactive. They use some means of contact with the public, such as social media (Restrepo 2019; Díaz Caviedes 2018; Foguet 2014), which measure the temperature of the evolution of topics. However, the audience does not intervene in the production of the texts (MacFarquhar 2018; Stayner 2018; Foguet 2014; Ruiz Parra 2014). In relation to the use of multimedia resources, both global analysis and analysis of articles on religion show that narrative journalism media do not fully exploit the possibilities of the online environment (MacFarquhar 2018; Ratliff 2018; Fernández 2014; Jonás 2014; Vargas 2014; Berning 2011). Of the 30 articles on religion analysed, only one uses multimedia elements. In this sense, the consideration of the concept of "immersion" (Conover 2018; Angulo 2013) related to the effect of multimedia elements appears as a debate. Despite all the interviewed experts considering the text to be the main way for the audience to be immersed in the story, younger generations of professionals consider multimedia elements a useful complement for the text. According to Monica Račić (2018), "multimedia elements have to be present to give information that the text itself does not offer and that helps audience to better understand the story". For Roberto Herrscher (2014), "immersion can be only achieved by audience imagination when reading".

This research has also looked at the positioning elements that have been used in the articles. These elements have been located in 23 of the 30 articles. However, the variety of these elements is limited. There is the use of bold text (in 11 articles), internal links (in seven articles), and links to related articles (in five articles). Therefore, digital positioning is taken into account in a subtle way.

Finally, when studying versatility, it can be seen that in this type of journalism, it is mostly present in digital format, even though it is heavily influenced by the layout, structure, and format of the paper. Digital narrative journalism texts are proof of a certain "paperisation" of the internet (Albalad 2018; Foguet 2014). However, they are versatile in a specific aspect: length. Eliza Griswold (2018) said, "I write longer than my editor would like, but the fact of not having a limit to tell the story is something hugely enjoyable".

It should be noted, before analysing this aspect, that Micó (2006) also detailed the style conditions of digital journalism: accuracy, clarity, conciseness, density, precision, simplicity, naturalness, originality, brevity, variety, appeal, colour, sonority, detail, and propriety. Narrative journalism is accurate, dense, precise, and original; it has colour, sound, detail, and propriety. However, it is not concise, simple, or brief. Narrative journalism seeks literary excellence (Kormann 2018; Lobo 2018; Guerriero 2014; Herrscher 2014) and does not set any limitations that may interfere with the achievement of this goal. In this way, it develops a type of journalism that has also been called long-form (Boynton 2018), that does not follow any canon except for that which each story requires (Račić 2018; Herrscher 2014). This is displayed in the following figures (Figures 9–11) on the length of the articles that cover religion:

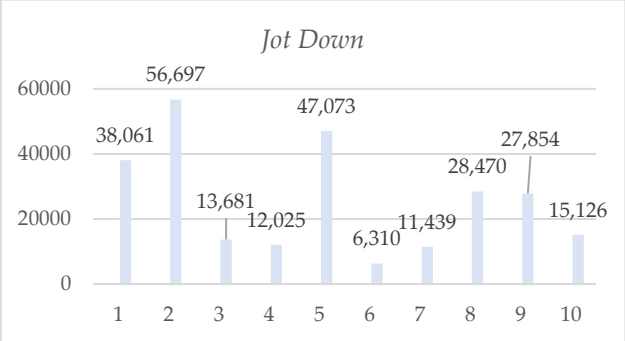

Figure 9. Length of articles on religion studied in *Jot Down*.

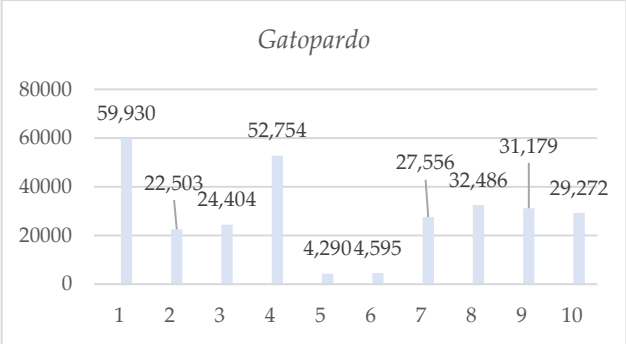

Figure 10. Length of articles on religion studied in *Gatopardo*.

Similar to Larrondo (2009), Díaz Noci and Salaverría (2003) emphasised that a digital text is deep rather than long, referring to the hypertextual depth of digital articles. In this respect, the will to break with what is established in narrative journalism (Restrepo 2019; Reynolds 2018; Sims 2018) is denoted once again, seeing as it is longer than it is hypertextually deep.

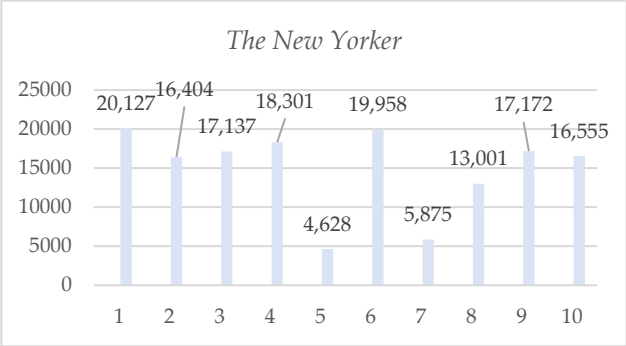

Figure 11. Length of articles on religion studied in *The New Yorker*.

This unlimited length also indicates how temporal flexibility is managed in these media (Burstein 2018; Vargas 2014). For Del Campo Guilarte (2006), the productivity of technologies cannot replace human slowness and imperfections. Precisely, slow journalism is the name given to this genre, which does not prioritise immediacy of publication and grants each topic the time it requires (Restrepo 2019; Rotella 2018; Guerriero 2014; Herrscher 2014). A prior agreement is detected with a type of reader who prefers to wait to receive a product (Sabaté et al. 2018b) that provides all the elements for understanding a story. According to Rubén Díaz Caviedes (2018), "these conditions are a privilege for a journalist".

This research questions to what extent this digital disloyalty influences that narrative journalism may be introduced as a possible tool for intercultural and interreligious dialogue. It stems from the need of some communities linked to specific faiths to get out of the bubble that digital space can represent. Although Castells (1996) pointed out that new media technologies can contribute to the construction of networks between social groups, the creation of online communities (Dawson and Cowan 2004) linked to religion is, in some cases, at a stage prior to maturity (Díez Bosch et al. 2018); thus, digital dialogue between different communities is still a distant reality (Díez Bosch et al. 2018; Leurs and Ponzanesi 2018). One of the reasons for this is that many communities still do not consider the internet a space (Spadaro 2014), but rather a tool or an instrument of communication, not considering the further possibilities it has. They are in the stage of "religion online", and not yet in the stage that Helland (2000) defined as "online religion". He distinguished communities that act with unrestricted freedom and a high level of interactivity (online religion) versus those who seem to provide only religious information and not interaction (religion online).

Dialogue requires conditions that are more linked to slow journalism than to digital immediacy, seeing as dialogue requires time and implies continuity, patience, and building trust (Braybrooke 1992).

According to Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi (2017) and Merdjanova and Brodeur (2011), dialogue demands a safe space for participants to be able to overcome their assumptions and question their own previous perceptions and prejudices. Dialogue also requires a facilitator to guide it. According to the interview with Jeff Sharlet (2018), digital space appears here as a channel that allows elements of dialogue to have greater reach, but it is not digital dynamism that is going to foster it. It is here that narrative journalism may be seen as a safe space (Abu-Nimer and Smith 2016) in which both the dynamics and content may become adequate for creating dialogue. In fact, dialogue helps to differentiate between the person and the subject, to see the individual within a large group that can be perceived as an adversary (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011). This is what narrative journalism aims to do: it talks about big issues based on individual stories (Guerriero 2014; Herrscher 2014), distinguishes people from concepts, and calls upon the reader to understand a specific reality from a different point of view (Díaz Caviedes 2018) that makes them reconsider their previous ideas (Guerriero 2014; Herrscher 2014). For Eliza Griswold (2018), "the key is explaining how complex people are, how complex humanity is in a way that hopefully makes it possible for people to consider the way what they thought about others before they read". For Berning (2011), digitisation gives the journalists more sources for making it possible, for the audience to check and explore all the elements of a story.

In this context and taking these elements detected into account, the narrative journalist profile could be related to the role of the facilitator. These figures guide and mediate a process of dialogue that they have been a part of, suspending their own beliefs and actively listening to the Other (Sharlet 2018; Griswold 2018; Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011), leaving their comfort zone and inviting readers to also leave theirs. It is in this zone that dialogue could begin and allow people to put themselves in the place of the Other and understand them.

A narrative journalist could be able to make use of literary art to carry out their task, which could be related to the facilitator's one; this art, sown by precedents (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017; Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011), may reinforce the empathising effect of the stories. Examples of articles analysed showing these conditions are "La gente piensa que el obispo no es católico" (*Gatopardo*. Authored by Emiliano Ruiz Parra (2019)) or "The renegade nuns who took on a pipeline" (*The New Yorker*. Authored by Eliza Griswold (2019)).

To confirm if this relationship between the two professional figures and the effect that this genre may have related to interfaith dialogue, future research may point out the approach of the audience, people involved with several religious traditions and also religious leaders. The aim of this investigation has been to introduce this possible relationship, put it in its contexts, and study in-depth the coverage and presence of religions in this kind of media.

5. Conclusions

This research introduces the possibility that narrative journalism could become a tool for interfaith dialogue. The results obtained based on the methodology, content analysis (Van Dijk 2013), and in-depth interviews (Voutsina 2018; Elliott 2005; Johnson 2002) allow us to determine that, with the present data, the main hypothesis has been pointed out with evidences from the in-depth interviews and the content analysis carried out. Results show that it covers the different religious realities of its surroundings in a proportional and representative way, detailing how the social presence of some faiths in different geographical contexts is proportional to the appearance of these faiths in the corresponding publications.

This representation is reinforced by the fulfilment of the rights of freedom of expression and communication of these religious communities (World Association for Christian Communication 2017). In narrative journalism publications, religion is not spoken about without first talking with religion—that is, with the protagonists of the topics that are covered. The results of the content analysis show a high presence of these agents in the stories. In addition, the high level of detail required by narrative journalism (Sims 1996; Wolfe 1973) makes the background have an outstanding presence and

effect in the articles on each faith. This background completes the information that the protagonists give and allows a better understanding of the different faiths. For the most part, all these reasons lead narrative journalism articles that cover religious topics to create conditions that have the potential to challenge religious stereotypes. However, the present investigation takes a very specific approach that shows the dynamics of literary journalism covering religion from the journalistic approach. Future related research may also consider evidence related to the religious leaders and audience.

In the same sense, the way that narrative journalists practice their profession is also a factor that could point out narrative journalism as a possible tool for interreligious dialogue. This study has detected that a narrative journalist's abilities, processes, and knowledge could be related with those practiced by dialogue facilitators. They appear as the key figure in a process of understanding. They experience this process in each story they cover, leaving aside their prejudices (Griswold 2018; Sharlet 2018) and listening actively: the two key actions of dialogue according to (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017).

Finally, the research points out how narrative journalism and dialogue require a slow rhythm that is detached from the speed of the online space (Braybrooke 1992). In this sense, the digital disloyalty of narrative journalism adapts to the rhythm and dynamics that dialogue requires, since this genre appears as a safe space for understanding in the midst of postmodern acceleration (Durham Peters 2018). Thus, digital space is simply a platform that can increase the reach of dialogue, but due to its rhythm, it does not contribute to it taking place. The main contribution could be made by narrative journalism, with its characteristics, and by narrative journalists, through the practice of their profession. They try to get the audience out of their comfort zone (Abu-Nimer and Alabbadi 2017), to go beyond their prejudices (Restrepo 2019; Griswold 2018; Sharlet 2018), and position themselves in this awkward space in which dialogue could take place (Merdjanova and Brodeur 2011). Future research may show, in this sense, the effect that this genre has on audience and the approach from people engaged with religions and from religious leaders in considering it a possible element to contribute to interfaith dialogue. It is about society feeling addressed in the encounter with the Other (Volf and McAnnally-Linz 2016; Torralba 2011; Lévinas 1985), based on the narration and revelation of stories (Eilers 1994). At a time of mass migration (United Nations Refugee Agency 2018; Ares 2017) and the rise of fake news (Quandt et al. 2019) and hate speech (Parekh 2019; Gagliardone et al. 2015), the tools that promote and contribute to this encounter (Volf 2015), such as narrative journalism, might be a guarantee for the future.

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Aquesta Tesi Doctoral ha estat defensada el dia ____ d_____ de 201__

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