Page 1 of 31 Zabalondo, B., Aiestaran, A., & Peñafiel, C. (2022). On digital slow journalism in Spanish: An overview of ten media cases from Argentina, Colombia, Mexico and Spain. **Journalism**, 23(11), 2380-2399. Copyright © 2021 The Author(s) published by Sage. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849211007034.

INTRODUCTION

 The world of information is living through fluctuating times - through profound changes which affect the world media ecosystem, the internal structure of each media outlet and also their users. The (latest) journalistic crisis that began to raise its head back at the beginning of 2000 was made worse by the world financial crisis of 2008 (Ramírez de la Piscina et al., 2015). But the transitional shifts experienced 'in the media of news transmission', are not new: they are produced 'whenever significant social, economic and technological changes take place' (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2003: 22).

Haste and speed in dealing with information, competition among journalists and/or media entities to be the first to break the news - even at the cost of a lack of precision and concern about the interests of the audience - were the initial ways that the print media attempted to adapt to digital formats (López, 2004), but these have been reinforced and have become integrated into our daily lives over the last 15-20 years...Relevant information and treating it in all its complexity is too inconvenient in the productive routine and gives way to simplicity and an unvaried treatment of the daily agenda. So in daily practice the usual journalistic procedures do not allow for an in-depth analysis of the subject in question and this hinders the journalistic treatment of this complexity (Gómez-Mompart, 2013: 222).

Romero-Rodríguez et al. (2021) have pointed out the 'pseudo-information' nature of media 'related to infotainment, sensationalism, tabloidization and the " pink press" (...) that 'try to survive in an ocean of entertainment options'. These outlets concentrate their task more on overstimulating the audiences than on providing accurate pieces of information.

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Journalism

Journalism's drift not only affects its production conditions (including the ethics of its professionals), it is also important to consider the reception of the news, where significant changes have occurred in relation to previous eras. We have produced more information in the last 30 years than in 500 years of history (Sauvajol-Rialland, mentioned in Demuyter, 2019); this author also talks about *info-obesity* and Gottfried (2020) of the *news fatigue* of readers in the U.S. who feel overwhelmed by the huge amount of information they receive every day and are unable to 'digest'.

In this damaged media sector, the general public is also distrustful of journalists and the media (Rodríguez-Hidalgo et al., 2020). This has been corroborated by a number of studies, such as that of the *Digital News Report 2020* (conducted by the Reuters Institute) that summarises the opinions of 233 digital experts; or *The 32 percent project 2018* (conducted by the University of Oregon) that collates the opinions of citizens in the U.S.A. about their confidence in journalists.

Reactions to this panorama are being produced in all fields of the news chain. In this sense, Romero-Rodríguez et al. (2021) believe it necessary to reformulate communication from two viewpoints. On the one hand journalism must be given its corresponding role and the social function inherent to the media must be revised and remembered; it is also necessary to put quality before quantity, enabling it to recuperate its credibility and public trust. On the other hand, the aforementioned authors insist on appealing to user responsibility in communication; they underline that it is necessary to educate future generations in the critical spirit in order to have an audience capable of a high degree of reflection and autonomy of thought.

Tejedor-Calvo et al. (2020) speak of 'immersive journalism' as that which, relying on interactive and visual narrative techniques, produces a sensation in the user of being total absorbed in the information. These authors have highlighted the great advantages involved in using augmented reality (AR) in the treatment of journalistic content, since it will result in the user being able to take on a more central role in interactive communication.

Currently, the meeting point between the conscientious professionals and their work, and users may be *slow journalism*.

ON SLOW JOURNALISM AND QUALITY

According to Nic Newman (2019) trust and quality go hand in hand, they are two sides of the same coin: he considers that it is not enough to renovate and diversify news desks, widen the media agenda and modernise the appearance of the media to attract more users and improve the business; according to this expert, the real challenge for the future of the news industry lies in a commitment to quality.

Many intellectuals and professionals worried about the loss of direction within journalism and the precariousness of the profession have attempted to tackle the subject of quality, underlying the gaps in the news' production and presentation (Amado, 2007; De Pablos and Mateos, 2004; Deuze, 2005; Gripsrud and Weibull, 2010; Gómez-Mompart et al., 2015; González-Gorosarri, 2011; Pellegrini and Múgica, 2006; Ramírez de la Piscina et al., 2015).

David et al. (2010), authors of the *Slow Media Manifesto*, also specifically mention quality. From 14 observations or characteristics that they attribute to slow media, quality is an indicator of the high standard to which these

Journalism

publications should conform (both in their content and aesthetic form). Quality would mean creating a more sincere and lasting media-user relationship, rather than a mere perishable product.

Barranquero-Carretero (2013); Juntunen (2010); Le Masurier (2015), Neveu (2016); Rauch (2011); Rosenberg and Feldman (2008); Rosique-Cedillo and Barranquero-Carretero (2015), Whitworth (2009), among others, have made reference to the need to practice this type of slow, quality journalism

Following the aforementioned academics and experts we specify below the most common guidelines that should channel the course of action of slow journalism, always taking as an unquestionable premise that 'the primary obligation of journalism is truth' (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2003).

-Employ the necessary time to guarantee inquiry and the elaboration process of the professional's informative piece, with the freedom to access the scene and/or the sources and attend to the contacts with due respect, without the obligation of staying in front of a computer and not leaving the news desk.

-Process and formulate the piece in context, with all the necessary data for providing good follow-up to the information, perfectly situated in time and space, incorporating diverse viewpoints — without leaving out that which 'isn't convenient' to the media outlet itself, to the authorities and to power in general — in order for the user to arrive at their own interpretation of events.

-Allow users to read unhurriedly: adequately provide informative, narrative and aesthetic resources for a meaningful reading of the information, without the audience feeling overwhelmed by the quantity of news and data each day.

-Do not contribute to an overload of informative channels, not use unnecessary formats, not least when dealing with sensationalist, gossip, or pieces focussed

Journalism

on celebrity news. Instead think about exemplary, educational and interesting, and above all instructive news for the reader. The time dedicated to this type of pseudo-news does not constitute the differentiation criteria for being considered slow journalism.

-Base the work on friendly, fair relationships with both work colleagues and sources. To be the voice of the voiceless, and co-assist in the formation of ecological relationships with the immediate environment, being responsible and empathising with the most disadvantaged social classes.

-Institute participative communities in the interest of sharing knowledge and resources, in order to encourage the idea of building a better and more democratic future together.

As can be seen, these quality criteria cover pre-production and production of information, but also include the user's role in the communicative chain.

We agree with Megan Le Masurier (2015) and Erik Neveu (2016) in that there is more than one journalism – journalism is a plural activity; it depends on context: different factors determine the shaping and activity of media in each society at different moments in time. That is why it is so difficult to classify, to submit it to the characteristics of a single taxonomy. Similarly, according to Salaverría et al. (2017), it is clear that not all the digital publications that have recently invaded the Latin American panorama can be classified within one single category.

There is an interesting work on assessing the quality of printed news media by Romero-Rodríguez and Aguaded (2017). The researchers tested this quantitave-qualitative method for assessing and evaluating the quality of media information in two Venezuelan media outlets. They concluded that the quality of information in the printed news media 'cannot only be evaluated and/or verified through the final product', because of the incidence of political-economic conditions within the journalistic context.

Romero-Rodríguez et al. (2016) have build up a taxonomy of 75 items covering three main aspects of journalism: the business dimension, the social-labour dimension and the content dimension. This system was firstly validated by 40 experts, and then has been tested in various works to evaluate information quality of digital media. That is the case of a partial analysis carried out on 20 Latin American digital native media (Rodríguez-Hidalgo et al., 2020). Only 10 items of the content part are considered in this analytical work. The authors recognise that more dimensions other than just those of the content part need to be assessed. Romero-Rodríguez et al. (2021) have also come to this conclusion.

At this point it is worth remembering here what the Argentinian journalist and writer Martin Caparrós stated in his column in *The New York Times* (2020): 'the crisis of journalism is a crisis of its readers'. He means that the journalist's effort does not always correspond to the real use that readers make of it (it is enough to track the list of most read articles in each publication). He appeals to the responsibility that readers/users have in current journalism.

We authors have also looked at the role and profile of the users of the digital publications studied in this study; we considered basic to achive the aims of this research.

METHODOLOGY

This research study was carried out using both qualitative and quantitative techniques, subjected to a process of triangulation to enrich the results (Ruiz

Journalism

Olabuénaga, 2012), and understand the plurality of content, characteristics and actions that lie beneath slow journalism.

In 2017, for the initial Media selection the researchers were guided by the existing relevant reference bibliography, using Google and the Scopus database (SJR), and taking into account classifications already in existence. Subsequently, from a core of the thirty most quoted magazines in the articles, an assessment was made based on the criteria derived from a direct observation study.

The process began with the tracing of over 30 websites related to 'slow journalism', 'periodismo lento' ('unhurried journalism'), 'narrative journalism', 'digital narrative journalism' and 'slow media'. The following criteria were used: degree of content updating, presence of context in the published texts (about facts and/or protagonists), presence of narrative texts, plurality of genres used (feature, interview, report, profile, review, essay, opinion...), level of referentiality and/or influence of the website, be it outside of its own country or for its thematic field (certified readership, social media followers etc.) and, lastly, the quality of the website design. For the selection, each of the six sections was given a score between 0 (zero contribution) and 5 (maximum). The total maximum possible score was 30 points. Finally, the research team considered it very important for the sample to reflect a wide geographical and thematic balance. This led to the identification of ten referential websites within digital narrative journalism in Spanish, most of them created in the 21st Century (Table

1):

Table 1. Narrative journalism websites in Spanish. Score, country and thematic field.

Magazine (year of launching)	Score	Country	Predominant
			thematic field

<u>www.jotdown.es</u> (2011)	26,54	Spain	Culture
www.letraslibres.com (1999)	25,5	Mexico	Culture
www.revista5w.com (2015)	24,5	Spain	International
			politics
www.gatopardo.com (2000)	23,2	Mexico	Culture
http://ctxt.es (2015)	22,4	Spain	General
			(politics)
www.revistaanfibia.com (2012)	22,31	Argentina	General
			(politics)
www.lasillavacia.com (2009)	22	Colombia	Investigative
			journalism
www.revistaarcadia.com (2005)	21,88	Colombia	Culture
www.yorokobu.es (2009)	21,05	Spain	Creativity
www.panenka.org (2011)	20,88	Spain	Football culture
Source: Own creation			•

Source: Own creation.

 Beginning in 2018, a systematic study of these media was carried out using the case study method, ideal for compiling detailed, in-depth information about slow journalism and of the real practice of each media. Whilst recognising that this technique is not perfect, we can obtain 'a more systematic, in-depth and complete knowledge of reality than that which is observed' (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 2012: 125)-

This description was completed by 26 in-depth interviews carried out during the first semester of 2018 with journalistic, business and technological directors of the aforementioned publications: Ángel L. Fernández (*Jot Down*), Agus Morales, Maribel Izcue, Marta Arias and Quim Zudaire (*5W*), Miguel Mora and Vanesa Jiménez (*CTXT*), Mar Abad, Marcus Hurst, Juanjo Moreno and Fermin Abella (*Yorokobu*), Carlos Martín Río, Roger Xuriach, Álex López Vendrell and Marcel Beltrán (*Panenka*), Sara Malagón, Camilo Jiménez and Felipe Sánchez (*Arcadia*), Juanita León and Pablo Isaza (*La silla vacía*), Cristián Alarcón, Sol Garcia Dinesrsten and Tomás Pérez Vizzón (*Anfibia*), Eduardo Huchín, Leticia Gaona and Pablo Majluf (*Letras libres*), Felipe Restrepo (*Gatopardo*). With the

Journalism

exception of the directors of *Anfibia* (Argentina) and Juanjo Moreno (*Yorokobu*), the rest of the interviews were carried out in person and recorded.

Between 2018 and 2019 a study was done using the Delphi technique, in which a series of structured questions about slow journalism were drawn up and directed at a panel of international specialists including representatives of the countries where the analysed magazines are published. The reason for using this technique was to see whether there was a consensus within this group of informants (Juaristi, 2003), relating to the subject of quality within slow journalism.

Of the 29 experts who agreed to take part in the Delphi study, 28 completed the first round and 25 the second; the participants were from Australia, Europe, Latin America and the U.S. The final panel was made up of 48% women and 52% men; 35.71% were between 30 and 39 years of age; 39.28% between 40 and 49; and 25% were aged 50 or less.

Also within the research a survey was carried out among the readers by CIES S.L., to complete the description of the real situation of digital slow journalism in Spanish and discover at close quarters the opinion and habits of the readers of the digital press in the four countries where the headquarters of the digital media outlets studied are located.

The survey was carried out between the 16th and 23rd July 2019, via 2,000 questionnaires (500 in each country) distributed online in Argentina, Colombia, Spain and Mexico, among people from the ages of 18 to 65 who had at some time read the digital press. The research sample provided a confidence level of 95% and a maximum error margin of 2.2% for global results.

The main issues pertaining to this article were formulated in the following Research Questions:

RQ1: What differentiates the ten analysed digital slow journalism media in Spanish and what features do they share?

RQ2: Do users, academics and professionals have the same opinion about the quality of these slow journalism media?

RQ3: Do consumers agree with academics/professionals in that quality information should be paid for?

RQ4: What are reader usages and habits in relation to slow journalism in Spanish?

RESULTS

This article aims to answer the four questions above relating to digital slow journalism in Spanish practiced by the ten publications in our study: *5W*, *Anfibia*, *Arcadia*, *CTXT*, *Jotdown*, *Gatopardo*, *Letras libres*, *La silla vacía*, *Panenka* and *Yorokobu*. Using the previously outlined study techniques we have elucidated the following aspects:

1. Characteristics of Slow Journalism

The most outstanding common features of the ten digital publications can be gathered in the four following issues:

Content and elaboration

Despite covering a varied subject matter (culture, international politics, generalinterest politics, creativity, investigation and football culture), they each constitute, in their own field of dissemination, a reference model within quality digital journalism in Spanish. Their content sets itself apart from more

Journalism

immediate current affairs and their texts add context, in-depth information, didactic perspective and analysis. Similarly, they contrast sources and invite their readership to develop critical thought. The content of the magazines stands out for its careful editing and relevance of the design and photographic aesthetics. Ultimately, the results of our research coincide with other research such as that of Rosique and Barranquero, in which slow journalism is something that stands out 'for offering and producing rigorous, creative, quality information' (Rosique-Cedillo and Barranquero-Carretero, 2015: 453).

The results obtained via the Delphi study and the structured questionnaire outlined below point in the same direction. The characteristics of slow journalism mentioned by the Delphi participants refer to the time and distance needed to analyse the facts and their contexts, informative neutrality and audience collaboration. They also indicate that investigation is the most appropriate for going deeper into the facts and that this contributes to greater journalistic credibility.

The three most outstanding reasons given by those surveyed for valuing slow journalism are: critical opinion (61%), reflexive attitude (52%) and capacity for analysis (52%). In terms of the informative quality and clarity of this journalism, users place these 10 points below the previous reasons (41%), but this is not a figure to be ignored.

Journalistic genres

The data extracted from the case studies shows that in-depth articles, interview and feature sections are highly present in all the magazines, being, a priori, the most relevant and characteristic of slow journalism (Benaissa, 2017: 140; Rosique-Cedillo and Barranquero-Carretero, 2015: 254). However, each publication has its own unique aspects that distinguish it from the rest (in boldface, Table 2). In the following table we can see the percentage ranges obtained via direct observation and the in-depth interviews:

Table 2: The most notable journalistic genres in each publication.

MAGAZINES	Report	Interview	Feature	Profile	Analysis	Review and Essay	Other (hybridisation)
5W	35-40%	10-20%	40-50%	5-10%			5%
Anfibia			35-45%			35-45%	10%
Arcadia	20-30%	20-30%		5-10%	10-20%	10-20%	5%
CTXT	10-20%	40-50%	10-20%		25-35%		
Letras Libres	10-20%	10-20%	10-20%			40-50%	10-20%
Gatopardo	30-35%	20-30%	20-25%	10-15%	20-30%		10%
Jot Down	30-40%	40-50%			10-20%		
Panenka	40-45%	40-45%					10-20%
La Silla	30-40%	30-40%	10-15%		20-30%		10%
Vacía							
Yorokobu	20-30%	20-30%	10-15%		10-15%		20-30%
Fuentes Ou		1		1	1	1	1

Fuente: Own creation.

In general, the most characteristic genres of slow journalism are the most usual in each media; in addition it should be noted that in most outlets genre hybridisation and the search for new narrative forms – in some cases via all kinds of audiovisual material –, are increasingly more habitual.

The Delphi participants believe that the journalistic genres par excellence are in-depth articles, interview and feature sections. Similarly, they point out that audiovisual material has a great potential for accompanying the narrative, as long as it doesn't replace the text. They indicate that interpretive genres lend themselves best to the development of slow journalism and highlight the potential of hybrid genres and the use of technology.

As is reflected in the surveys carried out in the four Spanish speaking countries in this study, the journalistic genres preferred by the readers are analysis (30%) and feature sections (23%). In Spain, it is the article genre (33%) that stands out before analysis and feature.

Slow journalism professionals

The five Spanish magazines were born at a time when the traditional media, mainly the written press, was experiencing the hardest consequences of the 2008 economic crisis (a change in consumer habits, the collapse of advertising income, job losses, closure of media outlets...). What this shows, in most cases, is that they were clear examples of enterprising initiatives. Meanwhile, the origins of the Latin American magazines are connected to publishing groups, universities or political parties, and are not so clearly linked to teams of enterprising people. Romero-Rodríguez et al. (2021) also point to this idea.

The conclusions of the case studies reveal that these are small groups made up of an average of 15 workers with both full and part time contracts, with the exception of *Gatopardo* that employs 60 people full time.

Table 3: Number of permanent workers on staff in 2018.						
MAGAZINES	FULL TIME	PART TIME				
5W	5	~				
Anfibia	11					
Arcadia	4					
CTXT	3	2				
Letras Libres	15					
Gatopardo	60					
Jot Down	9	5				
Panenka	6					
La Silla Vacía	18					
Yorokobu	21					
Source: Own creat	ion					

Source: Own creation.

Despite the fact that the core staff is made up of both men and women, all the projects are led by men, who, in the cases of *Anfibia*, *Arcadia*, *Gatopardo*, *Letras Libres* and *La Silla Vacía* are recognised figures within the fields of journalism, culture and literature in their countries. Salaverría et al. (2018), in their article about New Digital Journalism in Latin America have also pointed out the lack of women in charge of these media outlets.

Journalism

 In order to guarantee quality content and thus attract the public's attention, all the magazines have opted for contracting prestigious names, and they draw on large groups of collaborators (100-200 people) among which are renowned professionals. This undoubtedly adds greater interest and attractiveness to the projects. As Romero-Rodríguez et al. (2021) show following an analysis of 12 slow media in Latin America, the majority of them opt for 'signature journalism'.

The profile of the professional who practices slow journalism should, according to the Delphi results, be that of someone with specialised qualifications and a knowledge of the basic rules of journalism: the art of writing, rigour, transparency, independence, contrasting of sources or the ethics and deontology of the profession.

However, those surveyed in Argentina, Colombia, Spain and Mexico did not think that the journalist's name was relevant when consuming the news. When asked about what they look for in the media, the least valued answer, with just 9% of the total, in all the countries, was that referring to 'admiration for the journalists who work (on that media publication)'. On the other hand, the most esteemed options for readers were 'Trust in or quality of certain media' (61%) and 'Subjects that don't appear in other media' (43%). Therefore, a priori, the readership appears to be more attracted by quality and subject matter than by the professional who produces the texts. Our interpretation of this 'discord' is that the readers are devoted to quality journalism without paying too much attention to the name of the professional behind the piece.

The future and challenges of slow journalism

Although all the analysed magazines are digital and most have a printed edition, none of them has implemented a specific mobile phone application. Albalad

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Journalism

(2018) already pointed this out as one of the challenges facing these media in a future which is now the present.

Among the challenges highlighted by the management teams of these magazines are the following: to continue practicing slow journalism without renouncing quality, to implement markedly innovative projects, to approach younger audiences, to increase digital subscriptions, examine new forms of financing apart from advertising and offer more audiovisual content of their own creation (without specifying more technological resource).

The Delphi participants think that there will always be a place for this journalism that they consider of quality, because the differences between it and the current hasty, rapidly consumed journalism will become more and more evident.

The majority believe that the future challenge will be to develop new content and increase readership and visibility in the digital field, and they point out that this evolution will happen at different rates, depending on each country and geographical reference zone.

In general, the people surveyed value slow journalism positively and they foresee its continuity in the future (giving it a score of 3.9 out of 5).

2. The Quality of Slow Journalism: opinions of experts and readers

Quality is one of the main conditions and characteristics highlighted by most writers (Albalad, 2018; Benaissa, 2017; David et al., 2010; Greenberg, 2007; Neveu, 2016; Rosique-Cedillo and Barranquero-Carretero, 2015), as a defining feature of slow journalism.

From the in-depth interviews carried out in the research, the managerial teams pointed the following reasons for launching the new digital outlets: there is a gap in the market; they cannot find cultural, political and sporting information on offer responding to their needs; they need to explain what is behind established power; they admit beeing dissatisfied with the dynamics of the traditional media (only covers the most immediate current events); they believe it vital to carry out quality journalism in order to cultivate thought and culture.

When those responsible for the studied publications speak about quality they are referring to: informative rigour, contrasting of data and sources, documentation for contextualising the facts, transparency of the information, elaboration of texts following the ethical and deontological rules of journalism, and writing excellence. In other words, they allude to the most basic and traditional values of journalism that appear to have been forgotten or are in need of recuperation (Arrese, 2016). In order to achieve all this, they point to time as a necessary requisite, essential for creating and elaborating news information and also for its consumption.

Even though the international panorama is diverse and casuistry varied, the Delphi study experts perceive a clear drop in the quality and credibility of journalism. However, they also believe that there is room for optimism, given that there is an increasing demand for quality, and the independent projects created on digital platforms can also be of quality.

Some believe it appropriate to distinguish between quality information and the credibility of the media. The participants who disagreed with the subject of quality underline that the profession's most important problem lies in the crisis within the news companies, while others see a financing opportunity through subscriptions, and the growth of the slow culture encouraged and practiced by younger generations as ensuring quality.

Table 4 shows that quality is an essential element that all those surveyed

demand from the media, regardless of gender, age or country of residence.

	Total		COUNT	IRY	1	C	GENDEI	र	AGE (years)			
VERTICAL % with Jhi ² score		Argentin a	Colombia	Spain	Méxic o	Male	Female	Non binary	18_3 4	35_49	50_65	
Total	2000	500	500	500	500	946	959	95	854	581	565	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
1	61	58	65	59	62	61	60	73	65	59	58	
2	43	36	52	34	50	43	44	35	48	39	38	
3	21	20	22	19	23	23	19	24	23	23	17	
4	17	18	20	17	16	21	13	22	14	16	24	
5	11	16	13	6	9	10	11	16	13	10	11	
6	9	10	7	8	10	9	8	12	8	8	10	

Table 4. What do you look for in the media?

3. A specific media.

4. Editorial line.

5. Feeling part of a community.

6. Admiration for the journalists who work on it.

In general, for every 10 readers, more than 6 look for informative quality. The youngest readers are the ones who demand the most quality, and at the same time, are most prepared to pay for that guality, as can be seen below, in Table 5. By country, users in Colombia are the most demanding of media quality and those who demand the most trust (even above the average).

Readers in Mexico and Colombia are the most interested in subjects outside the daily agenda, specifically those between the ages of 18 and 34. They look to satisfy their thirst for information above and beyond the mainstream news.

The editorial line is not a decisive factor when it comes to choosing one media publication or another in any of the countries where the survey was carried out. However, the percentage of men who consider it important (21%) is almost twice that of women (13%). Age is also a variable to be taken into account: those in the 50-65 age bracket give most importance to the editorial line.

3. Paid Quality Digital Information?

According to the data extracted from this study, the observed user tendency does not coincide with the opinion of the experts (academics and professionals).

Table 5. Willingness to pay more for the quality offered by slow	N
journalism.	

% Horizontals	Tota	Willingness to pay more for the quality offered by slow journalism					
with Jhi ² score	1	Yes (%)	No (%)				
	200						
Total	0	37	63				
COUNTRY							
Argentina	500	25	75				
Colombia	500	49	51				
Spain	500	27	73				
Mexico	500	47	53				
GENDER							
Male	946	35	65				
Female	959	38	62				
Non binary	95	42	58				
AGE (years)	-						
18_34	854	39	61				
35_49	581	33	67				
50_65	565	37	63				
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL							
Compulsory Education or less	178	27	73				
Further Education	660	30	70				
University degree	938	43	57				
Post grad studies	224	39	61				
ACTIVITY							
	169						
ACTIVE POPULATION	9	37	63				
INACTIVE POPULATION	301	35	65				
HABITAT							
<50.000	391	27	73				
50.000-500.000	814	38	62				
OVER 500.000	795	40	60				
READERS OF SLOW JOURNAL	ISM						
YES	718	54	46				
NO	128	27	73				

Page 19 of 31

Journalism

	2				
There is no doubt about the da	ata reflect	ed in Table	5: The majo	rity of the	ose
surveyed do not see a need to	pay for qu	ality informa	ition (Table <mark>5)</mark>	. Some 6	3%
would not pay, against 37%	who woul	d. Readers	in Colombia	(49%) a	and
Mexico (47%) would be most	willing to	pay. Despite	e there being	no relev	ant
differences, women and non-bir	hary gende	er individual	s would be mo	ore willing	j to
pay than men. In general, mic	dle aged	people, wit	h a lower lev	el of forr	mal
education, living in small towns	and who	are not con	sumers of slov	<i>w</i> journali	ism
show a lower disposition to payi	ng for the	quality of slo	ow journalism.		
Running parallel to this, there i	is another	data in the	survey that c	confirms t	this
preference for cost-free status,	and it is t	hat 76% of	those surveye	d has ne	ver
been subscribed to a digital nev	vs media (66% doesn'	t have or has	never ha	d a
subscription to a printed news r	nedia), an	d 85% does	n't have or ha	is never h	nad
a subscription to any digital slow	v journalis	n media.			
The Delphi participants conside	r that sub	scriptions, c	rowdfunding, p	oatronage	e or
donations can form part of sl	low media	financing,	as long as t	they do	not
condition the independence of the	he profess	ionals or the	e legitimacy of	their worl	k.
All this corroborates even furthe	er the resi	ults obtained	d in previous r	esearch.	As
AUTHOR (2016) point out, 55	% of use	s claimed t	o be unwilling	g to pay	for
quality content in the press -	just the c	pposite of	most of the p	rofession	als

(57%) who believed that citizens would be willing to pay.

4. The Slow Journalism Audience

The profile of a user who reads the slow media could be defined as that of someone who demands quality products (Albalad, 2015; Rosique-Cedillo and Barrenquero-Carretero, 2015), who is curious, critical, with an interest in

discovering things not previously published that offer analysis and are distanced from the mainstream (Benaissa, 2017: 142).

The responses of the Delphi participants support what has been outlined so far, given that they consider that the person who consumes slow journalism is more attracted by quality than by the rapid consumption of the news. They point to a well-educated reader, with curiosity, a capacity for analysis, sensitive to certain subjects and with the necessary time for reading at their disposal.

Likewise, the experts think that contact between the media and its audience is fundamental since it contributes to improving results and to the creation of reader communities. Some of the Delphi participants qualified their comments by indicating that 'It is not journalism for majorities' (Participant 16). Others refer to the plurality of the audience: 'A large part of the readers come from the traditional media with interest in a particular subject, a greater depth or a style' (Participant 3). Some, however, point out that it is 'A readership that cannot cope with a journalism of more than 5,000 words or more than two minutes on the same page' (Participant 22).

	Т	otal	COUNTRY						GENDER						AGE(years)							
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 Table 6. Knowledge of Slow Journalism.

Table 6 is proof of participant 16's comment in the Delphi study: slow journalism is a journalism of minorities. In the survey carried out among people aged 18 to

Journalism

65 who have consumed the digital press at some time, only 16% had heard of the terms *slow journalism*, *unhurried journalism*, *narrative journalism*. As can be seen in Table 6, those most familiar with these terms are Colombians and young people.

After informing those surveyed of what is meant by slow journalism and giving them the names of some of the magazines that practice this type of journalism, just 36% confessed to having read the slow media at some time. This proportion is significantly higher in Colombia (56%) in comparison to the other countries. It is also the case among people who do not identify as gender binary and in the youngest age group. In general, people with a university degree (41%), a post grad qualification (49%), those who live in big cities (39%) and those who are members of the active population (37%) are those who have most read the slow media.

Half of those who read the slow media do so at least once a week, and 52% spend between 15 and 30 minutes each time.

Almost all (91%) of the people surveyed use a digital device, mainly a smartphone (80%), to read the slow media. Some 90% of these are young people between the ages of 18 and 34. Social media (71%) are the platforms most used to access this type of news media.

Slow journalism is highly valued among the people who consume it, and proof of this is the score of 4 out of 5 that they give it. Above all, it is the quality and its future possibilities that are most valued.

Some 47% of those who responded to our survey think that journalism should redirect itself towards slow journalism on the Internet. As with previous questions, the percentages are higher in Colombia (57%) and in Mexico (56%),

https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/journalism

Journalism

and among readers of slow journalism (59%). These people argue in favour of this as a way to attract more readers and because it is more easily accessed from different places (37%). The quality argument is the second reason for this: 15% of the responses point to the higher quality offered by slow journalism on the Internet (more truthful and capable of counteracting fake news). It is surprising that, in order to justify this redirection towards slow journalism, those surveyed practically ignored the characteristics mentioned in this article as belonging to it: 'understanding of the events' was only chosen by 6%; 'depth and development of the information', also only mentioned by 6%; 'aids reflection and the formation of own criteria', again just 6%; 'It is a more interesting journalism', a mere 3%, and 'allows interaction', only noted by 1%.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The differences between the 10 magazines studied for this article can be seen fundamentally in the main subjects covered by them – ranging from culture, international politics, general-interest politics, creativity, to investigation and football culture. Likewise, each one stands out for using its own journalistic genres, both interpretative and of opinion and which make them unique and of reference.

Despite the mentioned differences, these 10 publications have more things in common: their content is in line with slow journalism – they are not subject to the most urgent current affairs, the texts they publish contextualise the facts, they are profound, they use a variety of contrasted sources and encourage the reader to reflect in a critical way.

Although we have mentioned some singularities in the journalistic genres that

Journalism

each of these magazines uses, what predominates in all of them are in-depth articles and interviews, feature sections and genre hybridisation.

The staff of these projects are characterised by their reduced size – around 10-15 employees, all led by men. However, all the magazines draw from a wide pool of prestigious, recognised collaborators. From now on, women working on this media should be identified in their professions (Salaverría et al., 2016) and also should be encouraged and empowered to take charge of these media outlets.

In terms of the most immediate aims and future challenges, they all opt for slow journalism, quality, innovation, attracting younger readers, gaining more subscribers and new sources of financing. In agreement with Tejedor-Calvo et al. (2020) the use of augmented reality (AR) should be promoted, both 'for the design and the production of new content and formats', and incorporated as soon as possible into university curricula.

The concept of slow journalism is quite a widespread term amongst academics and professional experts, but readers are not aware of the reach of its meaning: 84% of those surveyed had never heard of the terms slow journalism, and just 36% admitted to having read the slow media after being told the definition and the names of some magazines. Colombian readers are most familiar with slow journalism, which seems logical given that Colombia was a pioneer of this journalistic current in Latin America with the publication of *Malpensante* in 1996. Whilst the experts did identify what slow journalism is, they were reluctant to propose a specific definition. It is not easy to suggest a canonical definition, and even if one existed it is not sufficiently well known outside academic and professional circles, thus making it difficult to speak to readers about slow journalism.

Nevertheless, experts and readers coincide in highlighting quality as one of the characteristics that defines slow journalism. The Delphi participants underline the deterioration of the quality and credibility of journalism in general, but they point out that readers increasingly demand it, as is reflected in the data produced by the survey carried out in the research. Over half of the people surveyed (61%) in the four Spanish speaking countries demand trust and quality from the media.

When referring to the quality of their projects, the directors interviewed underline the following: informative rigour, contrasting of data and sources, the necessary documentation work for contextualising the facts, transparency of the information and text elaboration following the ethical and deontological rules of journalism, together with a scrupulous correction of the writing. Their aim is for readers to have a more meaningful experience of the information they read and to be able to cultivate a critical spirit and communicative competence. Nevertheless, the quality of media information 'cannot only be evaluated and/or verified through the final product' (Romero-Rodríguez and Aguaded, 2017; Rodríguez-Hidalgo et al., 2020).

Slow journalism obtains a score of 4 out of 5 from its readers and, fundamentally, they value its quality and future possibilities. Likewise, the experts believe that the reader of slow journalism is more concerned with quality than quantity, but they warn that it is a minority journalism.

Despite the majority of those surveyed being of the opinion that quality is a feature that defines slow journalism, when it comes to the possibility of paying

Journalism

to consume quality information, the data is quite revealing: 63% of those surveyed do not consider it necessary to pay for quality. The most reluctant are the Argentines (75%) and the Spanish (73%), distantly followed by the Colombians (51%) and Mexicans (53%). Young people demand informative quality and appear to be the sector of the population most willing to pay for it (39%), although the cost-free culture is alive and well in all reader age groups.

As far as Spain is concerned, the tendency was very similar in 2013 when a survey was carried out in Germany, UK, Italy, France and Spain (Ramírez de la Piscina et al., 2015). On that occasion, Spain headed the ranking with 64% of those surveyed being unwilling to pay to consume quality information on the Internet.

It seems difficult to change a habit that, in less than two decades, has taken root in Western societies. In the Spanish and Latin American context it is also an extended practice throughout all age sectors, and apparently widely accepted culturally.

In terms of the habits and routines of the readers of slow journalism in Spanish, it is worth pointing out that the reading frequency of 50% of readers is once a week, whilst the time spent on it is 15-30 minutes. The majority of those surveyed (91%) read in digital format and 80% use a smartphone to consume slow journalism.

The reader profile is almost entirely (90%) a young person (ages 18-34) that uses social media (70%) to access slow journalism news outlets. Similarly, the questionnaires reflect that those who most consume slow journalism are people with a university degree or postgraduate studies, who live in big cities and are active members of society. As is widely accepted, the social service of journalism is crucial for giving citizens confidence; journalists have a duty to their readers. In the current uncertain times the media must provide the population with crucial support so that they are able to determine for themselves the destiny, environment and culture in which they wish to live. This will only be possible if the citizenship is assured access to a media which offers independent, quality information, unquestionable in its character and worked by professionals who constantly renew their commitment to their readers. On the other hand, readers must be conscientious of their role in the communicative activity: they are not mere users in the news media; they are citizens contributing to the future informative health of societies and democracies.

Further studies have to be done on audiences in different places, not only in order to know their reception habits and content preferences, but to study how to provide them with the resources necessary to have independent criteria in order to assess quality information in the digital world. The aim should be to create a critical mass of more and better educated citizens.

It is equally important to study the role of the Latin American woman in these media: what kind of jobs do they do and what are their aspirations.

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