

The concept of the New Journalism and its adaptation to narrative journalism in Spain¹

El concepto de Nuevo Periodismo y su encaje en las prácticas periodísticas narrativas en España

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Abstract:

The New Journalism generates massive terminological confusion regarding what it represents. In general, it is usually associated with any stylistic innovation in journalism, which leads to numerous errors and confusion in the field of communication. As a result, specialized researchers or students do not have a clear idea of what the New Journalism constitutes. In this research, we try to answer the question of what the New Journalism is, what its origins are, the time period during which this phenomenon existed, if it had any influence in Spain, and as such, whether or not we can talk about the New Journalism in Spain. In order to obtain answers, we investigated the narrative journalism phenomenon, which has given us a wider view of the issue in order to put the New Journalism in context and provide a clear classification of this phenomenon.

Keywords:

Narrative journalism; Literary journalism; New Journalism; journalism and literature; journalistic genres.

Resumen:

El Nuevo Periodismo genera una enorme confusión terminológica en cuanto a qué representa. En líneas generales se suele asociar a cualquier innovación estilística en periodismo. Esto conlleva numerosos errores y confusiones en el ámbito comunicativo, y por ende, investigadores especializados o estudiantes en formación no reciben una imagen clara de lo que representa. En esta investigación planteamos dar respuesta a qué podemos denominar, con propiedad, Nuevo Periodismo, cuál fue su origen y qué periodo temporal abarca este fenómeno y si tuvo alguna influencia en España y por tanto podemos hablar de un Nuevo Periodismo español. Para obtener estas respuestas recurriremos al fenómeno del periodismo narrativo, que nos dará una visión más global para poder ubicar el Nuevo Periodismo en su contexto y aportar una clasificación coherente sobre este fenómeno.

Palabras Clave:

Periodismo narrativo; Periodismo literario; Nuevo Periodismo; periodismo y literatura; géneros periodísticos.

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1. Introduction

In this article, we try to explain our understanding of the journalistic phenomenon known as the “New Journalism”, a name that derives from its English origins. Many works have been published within the world of communication that causes confusion regarding this term, trying to define other communicative concepts with this label or extending the shadow of the New Journalism to phenomena that are not the same. These errors are also frequent in the written press, literature, or the publishers of nonfiction works, the latter due to their close relationship with this question, although this proximity does not exempt them from making the same mistake.

At present, the most widely used and accepted term to speak of this communicative phenomenon² is narrative journalism, although this term is still controversial to this day (Angulo Egea, 2014: 27). There is no consensus, and virtually every researcher or author who has addressed this phenomenon has made use of a different term. Even the very concept of this phenomenon is a social and cultural construction, so depending on the country or the journalistic culture (Bak, 2011: 130), the concept will be understood differently (Joseph & al., 2009). This situation has led to a huge amalgamation of terms with different connotations, of which we will mention in more detail more than 30 in the text; one of the most used phrases and the one that generates more confusion is the one known as the New Journalism.

Therefore, the majority of the public that is not related to these areas understands the New Journalism as any stylistic innovation that is made in journalism. A more rhetorical use of language, the inclusion of dialogues or any text that is a bit more creative. In this way, a journalistic text that does not follow the established rules is automatically labelled as New Journalism. In general terms, this is the ordinary concept that is usually understood and applied.

Thus, with this article our intention is to answer the key aspects to understand exactly what the New Journalism is and when it ended in order to know the appropriate terminology to use in naming trends before and after the New Journalism, and to explain whether this phenomenon occurred in Spain, and its subsequent influence. Furthermore, we would like to point out that there were Spanish language authors before the New Journalism movement who had a similar level of quality and used the same journalistic and literary techniques.

² We understand or define narrative journalism as a journalistic phenomenon that mixes journalism and literature, as well as history, essays, sociology and documentation, and which, without abandoning its purpose of informing and telling a true story, does so by using various tools in a way that constructs a narrative structure as attractive as any fictional text, but always without giving up its truthful principles.

2. Methodology

In order to study the difficulty raised with regard to the concept of New Journalism, we have carried out a bibliographic meta-analysis, detecting the main discourses, interpretations, analyses and reflections surrounding this concept in order to be able to properly respond to what the New Journalism is, and what it is not. Thus, this research has a defining character relative to the question raised.

Bibliographic meta-analysis is a methodology used for the systematic and quantitative review of the critical literature of an issue. It is a tool that tries to put order to a concept about which there is an enormous amount of information. Letón Molina and Pedromingo Mariano define this tool as “a set of techniques that allow for the revision and combination of results from different previous studies in order to answer the same scientific question” (Latón Molina and Pedromingo Mariano, 2001: 3) In the end, it is a tool that combines information from diverse sources that usually have contradictory conclusions, with the aim of trying to clarify a specific aspect (Chalmers, Hedges and Cooper, 2002: 31-32).

In our case, we applied a bibliographic meta-analysis, systematically reviewing the three most relevant databases on scientific articles: Web of Science, Google Scholar and Dialnet. The search for articles has been done in English and Spanish using New Journalism as the keywords, and all works that directly address this issue have been selected, leaving aside other texts, especially monographs that devote a chapter or some paragraphs to this phenomenon. We have also filtered those works that use the term New Journalism with a technological focus, which has nothing to do with the objective we propose here. Finally, we have added an additional section, “others”, for those articles that do not appear in these databases. However, because of their special interest, relevance and impact on studies of narrative journalism, we find it essential to add them.

Table 1. Results Chart

DATABASES	SPANISH	ENGLISH	TOTAL
Web of Science	1	16	17
Google Academic	23	23	46
Dialnet	22	2	24
Others	5	3	8
TOTAL			95

Source: created by the author

The analysed works that we have obtained come to a total of 95 in number. It can be observed that in databases of Anglo-Saxon origin such as Web of Science, works in English predominate, and in database such as Dialnet, texts in Spanish

predominate. It should also be noted that all information obtained in our searches that was not directly related to what we were looking for, as well as any other kinds of works that did not directly address the issue we were analysing, have been filtered out.

In addition to these works, we have also included in the analysis many other academic articles that do not appear in these databases, but of which we did, in fact, have evidence, and because of their importance, we have decided to include them as well. With all these works, we have enough arguments to be able to answer the questions that we have raised. We would also like to point out that the bibliography does not include all the samples analysed, but the most relevant ones.

3. Results

3.1. State of the issue surrounding the label of New Journalism

Given the subject studied and the methodology used, we have included the development of the state of the issue within the results due to the fact that the definition of New Journalism is part of the meta-bibliographic analysis that supports the article.

To define exactly what the New Journalism is, we must begin our article with an explanation of the origin of this communicative phenomenon. First, the very term New Journalism is not so “new”. On the contrary, it was used previously. The critic and poet Matthew Arnold was the first to apply the term in 1880, designating, in a generic way, the spectacular transformations that the British and American press were beginning to experience during those years (Chillón, 1999: 221). Later, Tom Wolfe, with the publication of his work “The New Journalism” in 1973, was the one who labelled this phenomenon and who gave it voice and relevance. This work is the foundation of the concept of New Journalism. Moreover, even Wolfe himself offers his version of the origin of the term:

“I have no idea who created “The New Journalism” label, or when it was produced. Seymour Krim told me that he first heard about it in 1965 when he was editor-in-chief of *Nugget*, and Peter Hamill called him to commission an article entitled ‘The New Journalism’, which would report on people like Jimmy Breslin and Gay Talese” (Wolfe, 2012: 38).

*Although other authors had already used this term a couple of years before Wolfe, Joe David Bellamy prefers to mark the start in 1963 with Tom Wolfe and his report entitled *There goes (varoom! Varoom!) that kandy-kolored (thphhhhh!) tangerine-flake stream-line baby (brummmmmmmmmmm ...)*, later published as a book with the simplified title of *The kandy-kolored tangerin flake streamline baby*³. Finally, John Hellman and Terris Morris point out that the year was 1965, with Truman Capote and Tom Wolfe (Fernández Chapou, 2011: 11). John C. Harstcok, who saw it as the defining moment of*

³ In Spain, it was published with the title of *El coqueto aerodinámico rocanrol color caramelo de ron*.

the emergence of the New Journalism in the United States in response to the failure of rhetorical and objective journalism (Hartsock, 2000: 194), also agrees on this date.

It should be noted that the New Journalism was an eminently journalistic phenomenon, despite the use of different techniques, mostly from the literary field. The New Journalism was developed and forged within the field of the press (especially in magazines such as *Esquire*, *Rolling Stone*, *Harper's Magazine* and *The New Yorker*) and its best representatives⁴ were reporters, article writers and columnists who worked in newsrooms and magazines (González de la Aleja, 1990: 1).

However, it was also the product of many forces including changes in the media market, the dissatisfaction of some reporters with their work, and the collaboration between very talented reporters and writers and very imaginative editors, such as those of the aforementioned journals (Pauly, 2014: 591). It could also be called a journalistic movement, although we believe that the most correct terminology is journalistic phenomenon.

As there was no close relationship among the authors, we cannot use the word movement. Rather, it was a tendency to carry out journalism in a new which was adopted by a number of journalists (Weingarten, 2013: 8). Wolfe himself, in his work *The New Journalism*, explains that they were not starting a movement because there was no type of manifesto or meeting place (Wolfe, 2012: 38).

There were a number of socio-political and economic events (González de la Aleja, 1985: 68) in American journalism that would promote this phenomenon and would become the best scenario for these authors to develop their work. On one hand, the predominant mood in the sixties in North America was quite apocalyptic, and the media could be compared to an enormous speaker that caused a continuous state of alert in public opinion. There were many events that sparked this tension, but among the most important were President Kennedy's assassination, several mass murders by psychopaths, US intervention in the Vietnam War, large and sometimes violent demonstrations by young university students against this intervention, and the fight against racial discrimination or the struggle for the women's rights (Seisededos, 2013).

However, the most significant features of the New Journalism that caused it to become a phenomenon and to be imitated later by many authors were the following:

- On one hand, there was a change in the style and form of traditional journalism.
- On the other hand, so-called non-fiction novels reflected a changing relationship between the writer and the production of art in mass society.
- Finally, the choice of many writers to use documentary or journalistic forms and not to use fiction raised questions and doubts about the direction of American literature (Hollowel, 1979: 8)

⁴ A complete list of all the authors that are considered within the New American Journalism can be found in: *Literary Journalism: A Biographical Dictionary of Writers and Editors* (Applegate, 1996: XVII-XVIII).

These situations showed that the New Journalism was enclosed in a given space and context. Regarding the style of these authors commented upon by Hollowell, Chillón gives more importance to the following characteristics of the New Journalism:

“Theirs was not, in any case, just another style that was different from the majority while at the same time singular and homogeneous. Instead, it was an unprecedented stylistic attitude, unique by virtue of the great diversity of expressive uses it possessed, and which they adopted” (Chillón, 1999: 238).

The new journalists, rather than create a style, sought to free themselves from the narrowness of objectivist journalism in the United States. However, the development of journalism in other countries was quite different, and for that reason it is an error to use these concepts with regard to the Spanish situation or other countries, or other periods. Thus, the new journalists chose to use any expressive or technical procedure, or any other resource that would improve their work. However, this does not mean that these authors had a similar style. The style of the new journalists had little in common. Capote’s style has nothing in common with Wolfe’s, and the style of the latter hardly resembles that of Thompson, Didion, Mailer or Herr. That is why it is more important to emphasize the intention of these authors when they wrote their texts, rather than their own personal styles.

For many of these journalists who started or adopted this movement, journalism was a kind of school of writing and of life. They were simply waiting to escape to a cabin and write “the great novel”, as Tom Wolfe explains in *The New Journalism*. However, the events mentioned above undoubtedly offered great material to write about without having to turn to fiction. This feeling has always been present in many of these journalists who have worked with the information in hopes of obtaining the “inspiration” to write their “great work”. Moreover, as we will see, many of them ended up writing only works of fiction.

At this point, we can define the New Journalism as a journalistic phenomenon that is composed of a heterogeneous set of American works and authors (Tom Wolfe, Jimmy Breslin, Gay Talese, Hunter S. Thompson, Joan Didion, John Sack, and Michael Herr, who were among the most prominent). Their works were from the 60s and 70s of last century, and their common denominator was a more literary and innovative type of journalism outside the traditional American standards (Chillón and Bernal, 1985: 23). This is the general definition of what is the phenomenon of the New Journalism, although in his wisdom, Chillón further emphasizes this definition as follows:

“Devoid of either programmed manifestos or a desire for cohesion, the new journalism never acquired the dimensions of a movement or journalistic school, but rather of a trend or tendency composed of a highly heterogeneous set of works and authors who had in common two essential features: on one hand, the open rejection of predominant techniques, routines and prevalent styles in the written press of the United States during the

decade of the sixties; on the other hand, the addition of writing procedures typical of the realist novel, and to a lesser extent, other literary genres, both testimonial and fiction” (Chillon, 1999: 223).

Meanwhile, Marc Weingarten considers it a type of journalism that seems narrative yet at the same time displays the truth by using facts (Weingarten, 2013: 9). One of the reasons for its growth in the 1960s was the popularity of magazines that hosted these journalists: *Esquire*, *Rolling Stone* and *The New Yorker*, all of which had a number of innovative editors who shared the intention of renouncing the more objective model of journalism at that time, and who wanted to take advantage of and use the resources that literature (and other fields such as sociology or documentation) could offer them in creating a different type of journalism. The new journalists who participated in these publications were outside the orbit of the major national newspapers when they began their career, although they would later arrive at those organizations. However, it was in these places where they found a more welcoming and stimulating environment.

To this point, we have responded to the question, ‘what exactly is the New Journalism?’ We have done so through the development of this subject, but now we must answer the following question: When did this phenomenon end? Moreover, if it ended at an approximate date, we could thereby say that the New Journalism finished. However, another important question arises. What do we call these types of text, which continued after this phenomenon and that have one foot in journalism and another in literature?

Without doubt, these questions require more complex answers. However, in the next section we will attempt to define the boundaries of this concept, which is so overused in many fields.

3.2. *The end of the New Journalism phenomenon*

If we look for an exact date for the ending of the New Journalism by using as a reference the trajectory that its authors followed it is surprising to find the great diversity of paths that each of them took. For example, after the enormous success of Tom Wolfe’s writings in which he used the New Journalism style, and for which his success was achieved both at the professional level as well as in the minds of the public, he devoted himself to literature, and since then he has been writing works with a strong social messages, but in the end, it remains literature. Marc Weingarten tells us the fate of these authors:

“Michael Herr published three minor works after his *“Dispatches”*. Since publishing *“Thy Neighbour’s Wife”* in the eighties (1981) on sexual habits in the United States, Gay Talese has written two books: *“Unto the Sons”*, an intergenerational saga about his own family, and *“A Writer’s Life”*, which is a collection of his own magazine articles entitled, *“The Gay Talese Reader: Portraits and Encounters”*, published in 2003. It is a must reading. John Sack continued travelling around the world looking for stories about the Chinese mafia, the holocaust and the My Lai massacre, until he died of cancer in 2004. Joan Didion is still one of the great figures of journalism and

continues to write remarkable texts. Norman Mailer also retired from press writing, though he did not completely abandon the practice. The executioner's song, his epic history about Gary Gilmore, the Utah killer, was the result of many hours of interviews that the author, together with his partner Lawrence Schiller, made with the murderer. Thanks to "*The Executioner's Song*", Mailer won his second Pulitzer Prize in 1980" (Weingarten, 2013: 357).

González de la Aleja places the end of New Journalism around the 70s, and defends this position as follows:

"The fact is, few authors have remained faithful to the practice of the New Journalism: most of them, including Tom Wolfe, have ended up opting for fiction and pursuing a parallel path followed by many of the great novelists, playwrights, and poets throughout the history of American literature" (González de la Aleja, 1990: 99-100).

Like every trend, at times it is a complex task to put an exact date on the end of a phenomenon, in this case the New Journalism, and even though perhaps the 1970s onward would be an approximate period, Weingarten limits this phenomenon specifically between the dates of 1962 and 1977. There are other reasons for the end of the New Journalism, such as the decline of the magazines that supported it, some of which were *Esquire*, *Rolling Stone* and *New Yorker*, the increase in television consumption (Weingarten, 2013: 355-356), and the abandonment of the practice by many of its authors. Although as we have seen Gay Talese or Joan Didion continue doing the same work from that date until today. Juan Cantavella is of the same opinion as the authors mentioned above:

"Although the peak of the New Journalism ended in the 1970s, much of its findings –the core of its contributions– have continued in ways that are more creative than ever with regard to texts written for the press" (Cantavella, 2002): 62).

We must not forget one of its most important achievements: *In cold blood*, by Truman Capote, was the first time a journalistic work ascended to the highest literary hierarchy. At publication, it was considered a literary work of great quality, although it was not fiction. This is something unusual in the history of literature, which has been based on works of fiction. Because of this, Wolfe predicted the death of the novel based on the journalism that they were practicing, although his prophecy was not fulfilled. Instead, this type of text was put on the map. Therefore, the trajectory of the authors, the decline of the most important journals that sustained the phenomenon, and a change of media consumption by their readers, can give us an approximate date of its end, which we could place in the middle of the 1970s.

3.3. *The error of using the New Journalism label in other contexts: the Spanish case*

The relationship between literature and journalism did not occur for the first time in the context of the New Journalism. Numerous authors and texts seem to put the starting point of these relationships in the phenomenon of New Journalism,

as if Tom Wolfe and company had used techniques and tools of literature to write journalism for the first time. However, even though it is a very established idea, it is a mistake to start from that premise, as the merging relationship between both fields is much older and more fruitful (Rebollo, 2011: 9). In this way, we can find authors and works that have characteristics very similar to those postulated by the new journalists, but with works published many years before, and in different geographical areas⁵.

An outstanding example of this blended relationship between journalism and literature in the realm of Spanish Literature⁶ are the works of the Spaniard Manuel Chaves Nogales, with *Juan Belmonte: matador de toros (Juan Belmonte: Bullfighter)* in 1935, or *A sangre y fuego. Heroes, Bestias y Mártires de España (Blood and Fire, Heroes, Beasts and Martyrs of Spain)* in 1937, among others. We have chosen this author because he shares many characteristics of the New Journalism: his own personal style, the use of literary tools (third and first person, use of dialogues, portrait of the characters, etc...) in addition to a strong vindictive and unconventional character toward the journalism practiced in his time. Although we do not intend to do an in-depth study of the works of such authors, we want to show examples of texts with the characteristics of the New Journalism, but that were written prior to the phenomenon. And although we have selected specific authors, the literary and journalistic history of nineteenth century in Spain is full of examples of fusions between journalism and literature, which show the novelty of these types of texts long before the appearance of the New Journalism⁷.

Manuel Chaves Nogales published a good number of texts that have characteristics similar to those of the New Journalism, but written much earlier than this phenomenon (Pérez Álvarez, 2013). His two most important works were *Juan Belmonte: matador de toros (Juan Belmonte: bullfighter)* in 1935, and *A sangre y fuego. Héroes, Bestias y Mártires de España (Blood and Fire, Heroes, Beasts and Martyrs of Spain)* in 1937, just to highlight two of his works, although his production was more extensive. Without doubt, the rediscovery of the works of Chaves Nogales, a very important journalist who for many years had been forgotten, has been made possible thanks to the work of researchers such as María Isabel Cintas Guillén and Pilar Bellido, or the publishing house Libros de Asteroides, who are retrieving his entire legacy (Bellido Navarro and

⁵ Andrew Griffiths has recently published a work analysing the relationship between New Journalism, New Imperialism, and fiction at the end of the nineteenth century, studying how the press of the time was acquiring novelistic features while novelists were incorporating characteristics of journalism. See: *The New Journalism, New Imperialism and the Fiction of Empire, 1870-1900*.

⁶ We cannot fail to mention Gabriel García Márquez or other Latin American authors such as Tomás Eloy Martínez etc (Garza, 2010: 45). Moreover, Pablo Calvi identifies between 1955 and 1975 two types of literary journalism in Latin America and the United States that evolve in parallel. In the first stand the figures of Gabriel García Márquez, Rodolfo Walsh and Miguel Benet and in the second Truman Capote, Norman Mailer and Tom Wolfe. Although he points out that both convergent forms of literary journalism use the same techniques do not have the same origin or the same roots (Calvi, 2010).

⁷ María Gómez and Patiño add a new writer to the long list of Spanish authors who are literary journalists, and this one is Miguel Hernández along with his literary journalistic chronicle, "Defensa de Madrid. Madrid y las ciudades de Retaguardia" (Defending Madrid. Madrid and the cities of the rearguard) published during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) (Gómez and Patiño, 2015: 159).

Cintas Guillén, 2009: 35). Chaves Nogales was undoubtedly ahead of his time in utilizing the resources of journalism and literature. In his analysis of the author and the New Journalism, Pérez Álvarez had this to say:

“Chaves Nogales used techniques of the New Journalism 50 years before its birth, because the texts he wrote usually included the stylistic characteristics of that movement (stories built by scene, dialogues, use of the third person, and selection of significant details)” (Pérez Álvarez, 2013).

In *Juan Belmonte: Bullfighter*, he used the technique of narrator-protagonist, even though there are different names for this technique. To do this, he interviewed Juan Belmonte in depth in order to obtain that point of view, as if the work were narrated in first person by Belmonte himself telling us his life. A literary technique applied to journalism that reflects the clearest example of a hybrid situation between journalism and literature. This is a technique that Gonzalo Saavedra has called ‘discourse narration’; the author narrates a fact as done in novels, where the narrator can describe states of consciousness –feelings, thoughts, perceptions– as happens in novels that present a narrative situation commonly called omniscient, (Saavedra, 2011: 63). Some of the new journalists such as Wolfe would do the same thing later, or even other authors like Gabriel Garcia Márquez with *Relato de un Náufrago* (Story of a Shipwreck)⁸

Chaves Nogales was a writer who was an example of a different type of journalism, deeper, that uses techniques from literature, as did the new journalists years later. There are many other cases that oscillate in this midway point between literature and journalism, such as *Hiroshima* by John Hersey, published in 1946⁹. This is a journalistic-literary work of the highest quality, which has become a reference in this area, and was published before the phenomenon of New Journalism (Weingarten, 2013: 27). In his book entitled *The people of the abyss*, Jack London describes the underworld of London, or others by Orwell, such as *The Road to Wigan Pier* or *Down and Out in Paris and London*, are examples that we can name before the advent of the New Journalism in the English language.

⁸ *Relato de un naufrago* (Story of a Shipwreck) tells us the events that happened to Luis Alejandro Velasco, an individual who fell into the ocean from a Colombian navy destroyer because of a wave, and who remained on a raft for ten days in full sun and without any food or water until the sea finally threw him to the beach safe and sound. In this work, García Márquez describes the action in the first person to be able to immerse the reader even more in the story, as does Chaves Nogales. It is the so-called narrator-protagonist point of view (Borja Orozco, 2005: 58), or discourse narrativization as defined by Gonzalo Saavedra. To focus on this approach, García Márquez made a total of 16 interviews to get to know the smallest details of the adventure and be able to use this technique. The work was published in 1955 in the newspaper *El Espectador* in several chapters, as was common for this type of story, which later became books. Juan Cantavella explains the thoroughness of the work, which makes it “become” a novel and the fact that there is nothing invented in this book. It is a journalistic report that reproduces not only in general lines, but with a maniacal fidelity the reality. But this last one can also be seen by readers as a novel, and after the time since writing, that is precisely what is happening (Cantavella, 2002: 45).

⁹ The book was first published in New Yorker magazine in a single issue, and was an instant success. Its achievement was due to its being the first text that exposed the human consequences of launching the atomic bomb. Shortly after, the author published the work in book format.

We have discovered that the phenomenon that has come to be known as the New Journalism is not so new, and that there were previous authors before that time. Furthermore, we have presented several examples of these. Therefore, what Wolfe declared to be a milestone that was self-created by the authors themselves, and characteristic of this new type of journalism, was not exactly the case, although this does not detract from the merits of these works. In addition, as we will now present, giving the name New Journalism to the Spanish examples previously mentioned is a mistake. Our country has a great literary tradition in the written press, and from its beginnings, these two fields have been continuously linked. Therefore, this phenomenon was not a great novelty in parts of Europe and Latin America, “where journalism has always coexisted in a more or less explicit, friendly way with the resources of the fiction narrative in those genres such as the chronicle or article, which in the end are considered to have been written ‘by author’” (Angulo Egea, 2011: 112-113).

However, the definitive answer as to whether or not the New Journalism existed in Spain was given by Chillón and Bernal in their *Periodismo Informativo de Creación (Created Journalism)* on the incorrect use of the term New Journalism in Spain, including interviews with different Spanish authors such as Maruja Torres, Manuel Vicent, Rosa Montero and Francisco Umbral. These authors have generally been innovative in journalism and have made use of many literary tools. Moreover, they are clear examples of Spanish literary journalists. Not only because of their age, they are also the main recipients of the influences that the New Journalism movement may have caused in Spain, and they were convincing in the interviews conducted by Chillón and Bernal in the 1980s (Chillón and Bernal, 1985).

They explain in these interviews that they have had no influence from the works and authors of the New American Journalism, which actually arrived in Spain as early as the 80s, late and in a fragmentary way (Fernández del Moral, 1993: 87), and yes, they did admit to being influenced by authors such as Larra. This is a clear example of the premise that we mentioned above, that the fusion of journalism and literature is much older than the New Journalism, and the authors who used these techniques were prior to that movement. Furthermore, in Spain we have clear examples of these, as in the case of Chaves Nogales, mentioned above, or Mariano José de Larra.

This scarcity of New Journalism, to avoid using the term non-existence, has an explanation in our country. On one hand, the New Journalism emerged in the 1960s as a reaction to objective, dry journalism, which clearly separates facts from opinion. In the case of Spain, journalism has always coexisted more closely with literature, and the former has always been much less stylistically restrictive; the opinion column, article or chronicle are journalistic genres that have always offered journalists a large amount of freedom when it comes to doing journalism using other tools, and in Spain those genres have been widely used (Chillón, 1999: 356). Lopez Pan explains it this way:

“No reaction occurred in Spain, either in content or intensity, similar to that experienced by American journalism in the 1970s with the rise of the New Journalism. We did not find belligerent Spanish journalists toward conventionalisms, and especially not against news reported using the inverted pyramid method, nor the brief

and supposedly unbiased. There is no doubt on this point because Spanish journalism offered greater margins of stylistic freedom than the one on the other side of the Atlantic; and finally, because journalists always had an alternate route to channel their creative and literary dreams: the article and the chronicle, both are genres with great tradition” (López Pan, 1998: 16).

Cantavella also shares this same opinion about the non-influence of the New Journalism in Spain, since the principles of this phenomenon, as a whole, never arrived here, despite the fact that translations of these articles arrived in Spain within a few years (Cantavella, 2002: 63). Even Martínez Albertos has spoken about this aspect and explains why the New Journalism has not had a greater presence in Europe:

“The most useful aspect of the new revisionist attitude came to the United States as a reflection of very peculiar behaviours in European journalism –opinion journalism in a broad sense– and it would be most naive to import from the United States work procedures in the journalistic field that the Americans in turn had imitated from the models in force here” (Martínez Albertos, 1978: 217-218).

His citation is highly relevant considering the date it was written - 1978. This was precisely at the time when the phenomenon had finished, and in spite of this fact, his vision at that time was similar to that shared by other researchers years later. In short, there have been texts in Spain written with the quality of the works “penned by the new journalists” before, during and after this phenomenon in the United States, but we cannot use that term because it is not a correct representation, which leads to serious confusion. It is much clearer to use the terminology of narrative or literary journalism to refer to this phenomenon.

3.4. Narrative journalism as a unifying force of these phenomena

At this point, we respond to the question raised at the beginning of this article, where we asked ourselves how to name the journalistic style that has the features of the New Journalism but does not fit into its geographical and temporal location. In other words, we refer to texts with the same characteristics those of the New Journalism, but that were written before or after the new phenomenon.

The expression to describe these phenomena outside the scope of the New Journalism is narrative journalism, also known as literary journalism, which we can define as a fusion of journalism and literature understood as follows: without abandoning their intention to inform and tell a true story, those journalistic texts that do so using literary tools such as structure, tone, dialogue or literary scenes, and do it in such a way that they build a narrative framework as attractive as any fictional text, but that never abandon the principle of truth (Cuartero 2014: 14).

From this point of view, the New Journalism is a trend within the umbrella of narrative journalism, and the former, as explained above, took place during the 1960s and 1970s of the last century in the United States. The phenomenon joined together a number of authors and specific works, some of whom have been mentioned above. This has been explained by John C. Hartsock, who considers the New Journalism to be a chapter in the long history of narrative journalism (Hartsock, 2011: 24)

The fusion of writings that involve journalism and literature, known as narrative journalism, makes it easier for us to analyse New Journalism as a branch of narrative journalism. Thus, the New Journalism did not invent or create a new way of carrying out journalism, but it recovered those tools that had been used before. The manifesto that was the work of Wolfe, entitled *The New Journalism*, achieved a certain unity and was, as a consequence, a hallmark of its own. This phenomenon ended in the 1970s, even though today there are authors doing the same type of work. Evidently, there were other authors outside the United States, some of whom were contemporaries of the new journalists and some of whom worked before them, as we have pointed out; e.g. Manuel Chaves Nogales, and many others. Norman Sims in 1984 used the term *literary journalists* to name the heirs of the new journalists (Sims and Kramer, 1995: 21). Moreover, he did so by relying on the development of American journalism itself.

In the history of American narrative or literary journalism, five key moments can be distinguished; the increase in the print run of newspapers in 1890, the coverage of the First World War, the trips of expatriates in Europe after that war, the Great Depression of 1930, and finally the New Journalism of 1960 (Bak and Reynolds, 2011: 85). Here Sims supports our theory that the New Journalism is a branch of the grand tree of narrative or literary journalism, but as an exclusive phenomenon of North America¹⁰. Therefore, any text written before or after this phenomenon, which is not framed within the dates indicated, nor from the United States, would be erroneously labelled by us as the New Journalism, since it would in reality be a manifestation of narrative journalism.

From this point of view, errors in the use of the label “New Journalism” become more evident. Thus, we can understand one of the most frequent confusions in the use of this term: it is about labelling any journalistic innovation, whether or not it is from a narrative journalistic point of view, as New Journalism. By the 1990s, González de la Aleja had already warned of these problems:

¹⁰ Sims' opinion is the general trend followed by leading American researchers in literary journalism. John C. Hartsock published in 2000 one of the first compilations on the history of American journalism under the title *A history of American Literary Journalism*, pointing out a series of periods, among which is included the New Journalism, as part of a whole that is Literary Journalism. Other researchers have followed him, such as Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, who published *The art of Fact. A historical Anthology of Literary Journalism* which is a compilation of literary journalism that extends from the eighteenth century with Daniel Defoe to contemporary authors such as David Simon, Ryszard Kapuscinski or Joan Didion. Another work by Sims that also bears mentioning is *True Stories. A century of Literary Journalism*, which follows along these same lines.

“The ‘New American Journalism’ is a very complex phenomenon, and the intention has been traditionally to not only include any kind of innovation in the journalistic world, but also any variant of the novel as a genre that explicitly makes reference to facts related to history, journalism, or even to the personal biography of the author” (González de la Aleja, 1990: 99).

It is also a common mistake to label some journalistic-literary works of recent publication with different terms, or even to classify them erroneously, when they are merely examples of narrative journalism. For example, the work *Sólo para gigantes* (*Only for Giants*), by Gabi Martínez, which is an excellent novel about the murder of zoologist Jordi Magraner, was published by Alfaguara within its narrative collection and even the reviews it received considered it a novel (Sanz Villanueva, 2011), when in reality it was an in-depth journalistic work in which everything stated was real.

However, although we are using the label of narrative journalism to describe this broad phenomenon, this term is not without problems, as we outline below.

One of the biggest problems is the definition, and what is implied by one label or another. Among the most notable names for this phenomenon are Literary Journalism and the New Journalism (a confusion that we try to clarify in this investigation). There are also others, such as Highbrow Essay Journalism, Journalistic Literature, Slow Journalism (Greenberg, 2012: 381) and Literary News writing (Parratt 2003: 96-100). Or names referring to specific fusion genres, such as the following: the non-fiction novel, novel testimony, novel report, fiction report, roman-vérité, documentary novel, romanzo-inchiesta (research novel) or docudrama that reveal the various attempts of express this phenomenon (Chillón 1999: 185-186).

New denominations have recently emerged, such as one initiated by Robert S. Boynton, director of the program on journalism in magazines offered by the University of New York. Robert S. Boynton interviewed new literary journalist authors and published a compilation under the title *The New, New Journalism* in 2005, showing how this series of authors he compiled had revived American literary journalism (Boynton 2005: XXX). It seems to us an error to use this denomination, as it causes even more confusion to associate it with the term New Journalism, when Narrative Journalism or Literary Journalism is much more coherent and clear. To us, *The New, New journalism* seems to be a provocative title that is focused on placing this phenomenon within a historical American perspective. Chillón points out that the denomination is more opportunistic than foundational (Chillón, 2014: 40).

The evolution of Literary Journalism is broader, more complex, and deeper in the context of the global communication scene, beyond the New Journalism and the United States (Vanoost, 2013: 146). Furthermore, in 1995 Norman Sims had the idea of publishing a collection similar to that of Boynton, but under the label of *Literary Journalism: A New Collection of the Best American Non-fiction*, and he chose the term Literary Journalism. Moreover, from that point onward, this term has been the most widely accepted to describe this phenomenon (Herrscher, 2014: 62).

Therefore, why have we chosen the name of narrative journalism and not the others mentioned, especially the name of literary journalism? We cannot answer this question clearly, and here we present a series of advantages and disadvantages of the two most common labels: literary journalism and narrative journalism. Although we prefer the first one, we are open to any kind of contribution on this point.

On one hand, there is broad consensus among researchers regarding this phenomenon when using the label Literary Journalism. Above all, in the field of Anglo-American and American journalism, the label *Literary Journalism*¹¹ has been used; recently some Spanish researchers have also used it (Rodríguez Rodríguez and Angulo Egea 2010: 16). In addition, along with the label of narrative journalism, it is one of the most used.

However, the use of the narrative journalism label has wide acceptance in Latin America where this journalistic style is experiencing huge growth thanks to the creation of excellent magazines such as *Etiqueta Negra*, *Gatopardo*, *El Malpensante*, *Marcapasos*, and *Anfibia*, and also due to the great work that the New Journalism Foundation is carrying out. Although we are aware that the term narrative journalism is definitely redundant, as journalism itself is narrative, it has greater advantages over other names. On one hand, the redundancy that we have mentioned as a disadvantage in the use of this term can also be viewed as something positive due to the fact that it makes the expressive nature of this type of text more evident. In addition, this term makes it easier to use this terminology with other types of written journalistic works such as interactive web reports, comic-journalism, etc., which makes it possible to expand the term in order to analyse these new hybrid forms of journalism. On the other hand, the term “narrative” also has less symbolic significance than the term “literary”, which in many cases leads us to think that what is being read is not a real story (Vanoost, 2013: 147).

Albert Chillón has also answered this question in the later edition of his work and points out his disagreement with the label of narrative journalism.

“With everything considered, I believe it is essential to point out that the expression ‘narrative journalism’ does not clarify the matter, and it is obviously preferable to continue using ‘literary journalism’ (Chillón, 2014: 33).

However, the name Literary Journalism also has its drawbacks. It causes confusion both inside and outside the communications field. On one hand, these can be seen as journalistic news stories about literature that are published in newspapers (cultural journalism), but on the other hand, it might be mistaken for literature (stories, poems, serial novels) that are published in the press, which would correctly be called journalistic literature. Finally, and even more serious, it could be mistaken for journalism that makes use of fiction, as we traditionally associate the term literature with fiction, when in reality literature includes works of fiction as well as nonfiction, such as biographies, testimonies, diaries, autobiographies,

¹¹ One of the clearest examples is the creation of the IALJS (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies), which promotes the study of literary Journalism throughout the world. <http://www.ialjs.org/>

essays, etc. Mark Kramer, a well-known American journalist and director of the Neiman Literary Journalism program, believes that the “literary” part of the name sounds pedantic and the “journalistic” part masks the creative possibilities of the form, but that in the end, the term Literary Journalism is more or less accurate (Kramer, 2001).

Currently, due to the enormous transformation this journalistic style is undergoing, it is too early to risk establishing an absolute term that defines this hybrid with precision. We have decided to choose “narrative journalism”, as we believe it to be the one that best fits what we have investigated for its clarity, for the fact that it points out a fundamental characteristic of the phenomenon, and finally, for the reason that to a certain extent it causes less confusion, although we understand the motivations of those who support other options.

4. Conclusions

The New Journalism was a journalistic phenomenon that occurred in the 60s and 70s of the last century and was practiced by a number of authors mentioned earlier who shared some general characteristics, although they had very different styles, and the focus was on the United States. It has been verified that it ended approximately around the year 1975 due to the increase in television consumption by spectators, the decline of the principal magazines that supported the phenomenon, and the different directions taken by its most important representatives.

The connection between journalism and literature, which at the time was called the New Journalism by Wolfe, is nothing more than a branch of narrative (or literary) journalism, which existed long before the new journalists appeared, with very clear examples having been given, such as Chaves Nogales in Spain or Walsh in Argentina, and which delineates as closely as possible this hybrid. There are other terminologies, but with the explanation given above, narrative journalism is the most correct term and more widely accepted in the scientific community. Therefore, we are committed to the use of this terminology in defining and differentiating the phenomena explained. There has been an enormous amount of misunderstanding and confusion about the concept of New Journalism, and the best way to obtain a more global view is to clarify the differences between the New Journalism and narrative journalism.

In the Spanish case, these differences and misunderstandings are even stronger. It is a mistake to speak of the New Journalism in Spain, since this is confined to a space-time context and specific authors. In addition, the relationship between journalism and literature has been very productive in Spain, and from this connection some of our highest exponents (previously mentioned) have emerged and declared the non-existent influence of that phenomenon. Therefore, it is more correct to use the terminology of narrative journalism in Spain when we refer to a phenomenon of this type.

This contribution provides the tools to label and mark the boundaries of highly variable journalistic manifestations, allows for a better use of journalistic terminology, and helps to clarify the relations between journalism and literature.

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