

# The Milieu of a Magazine: *Tempo* as an Exponent of German New Journalism

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*From 1986 to 1996 the magazine Tempo was a central organ of German-language New Journalism. Its history and its objectives reveal essential features of the German version.*

There are always key stories that explain the culture of a publication. Some are true, some not, and some vacillate between truth and falsehood. One example of the latter is an episode reported by Christian Kracht in which one does not know whether it is an intentionally invented anecdote or a mildly scandalous self-revelation. The place of action is New Delhi where Kracht—having already become a well-known writer in the German-speaking world—is working as the special India correspondent for the magazine *Der Spiegel*, the central news magazine of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the late summer of 1997 Mother Teresa died and Kracht received the news from one of his assistants. According to the report he filed with the magazine, he said he received the news “sitting on his terrace in New Delhi, enjoying a cup of Orange Pekoe tea,”<sup>1</sup> and that he felt bothered and annoyed and had therefore decided not to inform the chief editor’s office. Obviously, this did not pass unnoticed and the India correspondent was sacked due to his irresponsible lack of respect for the conventions of topic selection and the rules of the game of news journalism.

“Today I am furious” [at himself], Kracht is quoted as saying, “about this clumsy attempt [on his part] to play a trick on that great news magazine.”<sup>2</sup>

The episode is a key story in several respects—quite apart from the question of its factual substance. Foremost, its truth status is insecure, and it

illustrates central features of the German-language New Journalism at the magazine *Tempo*: radical subjectivity ready to abandon classical thematic relevance, and the dominant presence of the author, i.e., the journalistic Ego.

The protagonist of the story who was so keen—as he affirmed—to conceal “the wretched death of Mother Teresa,”<sup>3</sup> had been, for a considerable length of time, one of the best-known writers for *Tempo*, which was a major magazine, if not the major magazine, for introducing an *irreverent* New Journalism style into German journalism practice in the 1980s. It would bear many of the hallmarks of that American New Journalism variant known as Gonzo journalism. Thus, when one takes a closer look at the years during which Kracht was training to become a journalist, he, in a sense, appears to be the product of *Tempo*, and the subjective journalism it promoted—with all the risks and side effects relating to the credibility and the appeal to seriousness of the profession as a whole. He worked as a trainee and finally as a consultant in the chief editorial office of *Tempo* where he published his prize-winning reportage, and where he wrote the bestseller *Faserland* (1995), his first literary book, a work of fiction, on the office computer.

The magazine to which he owed his journalistic training existed from 1986 to 1996 and for a decade was—above all in the eyes of its makers—the central organ of German-language New Journalism, or at least of the irreverent variety. The reconstruction of its editorial program, and in particular the description of the techniques of presentation primarily used by the magazine, reveal that this German variant may be understood as a kind of applied, practice-oriented media criticism: here the hierarchies of the classical news reporting business were playfully varied and challenged, unveiling the ironies implicit to the ambition of traditional journalism practice.

After providing an outline of the magazine’s history, this examination will explore the philosophy—the cultural mindset and program—that drove the magazine.<sup>4</sup> The examination then builds on that critical groundwork, examining those features or consequences that distinguished *Tempo* as an exponent of an irreverent New Journalism.<sup>5</sup>

While New Journalism is an American term, it remains unclear how it worked its way into the German language. It would be all too easy to conclude that because of the terminology’s American origins, the New Journalism was another American import, like corn flakes, to Germany. However, that would be an erroneous assumption because the German version is very much a home-grown variant. To be sure, there were undoubtedly transatlantic influences. After all, the American New Journalism of the 1960s and 1970s, because it was so controversial, could not help but be noted in

the other Western democracies at a time of Cold War when the United States loomed so large to its allies as the champion of democratic capitalism. This would have been especially true in a divided country like Germany. But in acknowledging the transatlantic influences, one should also note that those influences can travel in both directions. Only recently has the important influence of German literary reportage on the proletarian writers' movement in the U.S. during the 1930s been acknowledged.<sup>6</sup> What we see, then, is that the example of the American may well have contributed some to the revitalizing of the German, just as the German helped to revitalize the American in the 1930s. In the case of *Tempo* it was a revitalization that is a result most importantly of the compelling historical and cultural circumstances prevalent at the time in Germany, Western Europe more widely, and even in the United States.

### History and Concept

The basic history of the magazine *Tempo* has been explored elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> But for those unfamiliar with its roots, especially outside Germany, a historical outline is necessary for understanding the kind of cultural mindset that created it. The specific roots of the magazine are to be found in Austria, more precisely in Vienna. In the 1980s, the young journalists Markus Peichl and Michael Hopp, together with the art director Lo Breier made the magazine *Wiener*, which focused on the city and its cultural scene, a success story. Starting publication in 1982, they had increased circulation figures to over 80,000 copies by 1985, thus arousing the attention and interest of publishers and magazine journalists in the Federal Republic of Germany for a glossy magazine directed toward consumerist young adults. The photographic style, which was informed by the aesthetics of advertising, and the irreverent and radically subjective kind of journalism, attracted attention, incited controversies, and was eagerly and frequently copied.<sup>8</sup> After negotiations with various parties, Peichl, chief editor of the *Wiener*, and Austrian publisher Hans Schmid finally managed to win Hamburg publisher Thomas Ganske (Jahreszeiten-Verlag) over to the project. Under the enormous pressure of time, and keeping a watchful eye on possible competitors, a team of editors and an editorial office were organized and the art director Lo Breier was lured to Hamburg. At the end of 1985 a pilot issue of *Tempo* was produced, and in the last week in January 1986 the first issue appeared with a print run of 400,000, despite the fact that there had been no readership research and no extended test phase. The goal was to produce a general-interest illustrated magazine for a relatively narrow target group, and to sever all the local ties with the original *Wiener* magazine. As Peichl recalled in a 1989 interview: "We

do general interest for a special public that moves in a critical [politically] alternative, and Green spectrum, but rejects the stick-in-the-mud, streamlined thinking of the Old Left.”<sup>9</sup> In doing so, Peichl and his co-editors were repudiating the leftist literary reportage promoted by the German journalist Egon Erwin Kisch that became the model for so much of this kind of writing during the 1920s and 1930s in the international proletarian writers’ movement. But in the repudiation also lay a rediscovery of that tradition, one in which the polemics of a sanctimonious ideology were rejected—and often challenged.

Primarily twenty to thirty year olds were projected as buyers of the periodical—un-ideological, successful, and engagé, ecologically interested but without a fixed worldview, not really at home anywhere, and always strangely ambivalent in their commentaries on the status quo. *Tempo* attempted to position itself as the journal and organ of self-exploration for a “generation of contradictions,” a generation, as its inventor Peichl formulated, that knows “no truth” and “no ideal,” and simultaneously and ironically “far too many” institutionalized truths and ideals of which they had become sceptical.<sup>10</sup> The magazine lacked a definable identity, at least by the standards of conventional journalism practice. Presumably such a specification of a target group is nothing more than the “assertion of a generation,”<sup>11</sup> or the unconscious, if not conscious, transfer of postmodern thought to the world experience of intelligent and career-oriented young professionals and educated adults. It is remarkable that, in this case, a magazine was developed not according to the current practice of focusing primarily on the advertising market, but based on a diagnosis of the times carried out by a chief editor who was just twenty-eight years old.

The response by the established media during the first few years was huge by any reckoning—and negative as a rule: *Tempo* was considered to preach arbitrariness and consumerism, to be apolitical, infantile, and simply downright stupid.<sup>12</sup> However, the criticism of the established media and the malice displayed by journalists in the more established media probably only resulted in strengthening the cohesion of *Tempo*’s editorial team. They all believed themselves, with considerable self-assurance, to be the avant-garde. Photographers like Wolfgang Tillmanns, and authors, copywriters, and trend researchers (like Christian Kracht, Otmar Jenner, and Matthias Horx), some of whom became well known and even famous later on, had their first work printed in the magazine. For many years, *Tempo* attracted a generation of young writers who were able to develop their exclusive personal style within the magazine’s milieu. They succeeded in transforming their personal experience of the world into an illustrated magazine, and giving themselves a voice.

The “generation of contradictions” for whom the magazine was intended was certainly present in the editorial office.

Whether the concept of the magazine that was so massively supported financially by publisher Thomas Ganske really proved its mettle in economic terms is difficult to determine. It is impossible to recover precise data about advertising revenue; the published readership data are scarce and offer little substance. Moreover, the circulation can no longer be reconstructed exactly: Often the statistics that were distributed officially did not correspond with the correct figures, as several former editors confirm.<sup>13</sup>

When Thomas Ganske announced on 11 April 1996, to a horrified editorial team in the middle of the production phase for the May issue, that production would cease immediately due to continuing losses he was no longer prepared to carry, a momentous experiment came to an end. The experiment consisted in the self-defeating attempt to break with an apparently omnipotent tradition of an advertising-supported information journalism.

That is the basic history, one that consisted of an attempt to challenge the established media by employing a contradictory mixture of programmatic reflections, and novel presentation techniques. These will now be examined in detail.

### **Enemy Image and Self-image; Morality and Coolness**

The editorial program of the magazine *Tempo* was characterized by a specific conception of the journalism to be practiced, a robust separation from the established media, and a clearly defined image of what the journal opposed. Particular criticism was aimed at the so-called “68ers,” who had gone out on to the streets of Berlin, Paris, and Berkeley to oppose the war in Vietnam and advocate for a better world. Theirs was fundamentally a utopian impulse. This kind of open clamoring for moral concerns was ridiculed and rejected by *Tempo*. One suspected the “one-time 68ers” of operating in the “corridors of intellectual power.”<sup>14</sup> They were declared to be “fanatical life-cultural peasants,”<sup>15</sup> a German idiomatic expression that means the equivalent of “cultural idiots.” They were criticized in a spirit of moral outrage that was, however, articulated only indirectly. As Peichl notes:

What were we really up against when we began to brew the concept for our magazine? What and who decided at that time about the culture industry, the media, the universities, the schools—in brief: what were people thinking? It was the encrusted remnants of the 68ers [who decided]. They had gorged themselves solid and fat. They controlled all the switches of power but they no longer moved anything. They had degenerated into a status-quo community, and together with them their ideals had become rigid. Solidarity, engagement, authenticity, inwardness, idealism, and morality—everything

only served to secure their own position and consequently became hollow and hollower. Our generation, the *zeitgeist* generation, could not do anything with these concepts because the 68ers had destroyed them. We had never rejected their original meaning but we had to fight their perversion. The only suitable method was rigorous silence, conscious anti-intellectualism, and an excessive [preoccupation with] formalism in the sense of embracing consumerism, fashion, luxury, body consciousness, and design. When content dies, form must revitalize it. When inwardness wastes away, outwardness must protect it. Therefore, the emblems of the *zeitgeist*—hedonism, aestheticism, and individualism—were unquestionably rebellious, unquestionably moral, and unquestionably ideological.<sup>16</sup>

This position provided the reason for the magazine's existence. Intentionally, it was not a statement calling for an openly articulated utopia as the 68ers had wanted.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the emphasis was on a state of mind or an attitude for dealing with the world, not on an end result.

The emphasis at *Tempo* on the state of mind as opposed to utopian ambition is reflected in one of the few explicit political statements *Tempo* makes, in which the magazine adopts as its own, in an editorial, the quotes of demonstrators in the French student revolt of the year 1986. Once again students had taken to the streets in protest. A utopia is something, as one anonymous student said, that comes down to "what one has in one's head, what one carries in one's heart, not on a banner like a board in front of one's head." Another formulation in the same editorial was even more explicit:

It's an attitude. . . . I can demonstrate this attitude with regard to concrete things but apart from that it's nobody else's business. Only by keeping one's shitty utopias to oneself will you make it impossible for so-called democrats to steal them, will you prevent others from undertaking political action with or against them. Only in this way can you remain unpredictable, only in this way will you remain strong.<sup>18</sup>

### **Praise for the Surface; the Philosophy of Everyday Culture**

A central feature of the content design of the magazine *Tempo* was the lack of respect for the rigid division between lowbrow and highbrow culture, between trivial entertainment culture and the sophisticated culture of high-class education. Upon examination, the separation of the superficial from the profound, and of ordinary everyday culture from the sophisticated culture of high-class education and learning, did not seem relevant to the presentation of the topics—rather one tried to cultivate the "fun with the trivial"<sup>19</sup> that performed an observation of everyday culture that would help to decipher contemporary moods and to advance towards an enlightening *description* of the actual present while not providing a moral nostrum.

In the pages of *Tempo* one could find, for example, short stories on ciga-

rette lighters and fast food, features or articles on German Gummi bears, essays on pre-prime-time television serials, articles about trends in cigarette advertising, as well as texts about the aesthetics of gym shoes.<sup>20</sup> By treating them as serious topics for discussion, they served as a cultural provocation. These attempts to observe daily life succeeded in encouraging early forms and patterns of pop journalism, which is a form of journalism that attributes semiotic qualities to everyday culture and is thus able to derive illuminating diagnoses of the times from the arrangement of the materials of popular culture.<sup>21</sup>

### Aesthetics as Ethics: Morality and Brand Awareness

Part of the program of many *Tempo* authors was an equation that announced *aesthetics equals ethics*. Thus the external appearance of persons is correlated with their forms of behavior; the secrets of their character seem correspondingly to be coded in clothes consisting of articles with superior brand names as well as the stylistically adequate adjustment to a given situation. Such a provocative identification of appearance and attitude is probably due to the intensive reading of the works of American author Bret Easton Ellis, who is cited in numerous *Tempo* texts, by part of the editing team.<sup>22</sup>

I shall quote just two contrasting examples where aesthetics equal ethics. In a large-scale “Lexikon der neuen rechten Subkulturen” [Lexicon of new right-wing cultures], Neonazis with previous convictions for pertinent offences are presented and belittled primarily with reference to their cultural rituals. The outcome of the criticism of their style leads unequivocally to a political assessment, but one by means of indirection:

Neonazis are the last product of the 80s. They maintain a subculture consisting in a virtually multicultural stylistic muddle. Unscrupulously they plunder the subcultures of the 70s and the 80s. They tinker their group Egos together according to the maxim: if others manage to do their own thing, why can't we too? *Anything goes*, from the infantry drill of the DDR [East German] army, to indulging in sloppy sentimentality with regard to a mythical Teutonic past. They hardly ever construct their Nazi image with the help of an ideology but primarily from makeshift set pieces, from quotations and quotations of quotations. The extreme Right of our time is no longer capable of shoring up power. Therefore its hatred is certainly ugly but it remains harmless and without danger.<sup>23</sup>

In the second example, one where the emphasis is clearly on description, former *Tempo* reporter Christian Kracht offers a positive assessment of the achievements of Uwe Timm, a German novelist, by interweaving an analysis of the shoes of this author in a page-long text with the critical review of a book by Timm that had just been published:

I saw you once, and that was at the main railway station of Frankfurt am Main. You were standing there, watching what was going on, eating chocolate with nuts, stuffing it into your mouth one candy after the other. Your shoes struck me at the time. They were nut-brown and slightly chafed on the sides. Solid lace-up shoes, probably English and probably twenty years old. And then I thought: whoever wears such shoes has the right to claim of himself that he has understood quite a few things. Then I read your new book *Kopffäger—Bericht aus dem Inneren des Landes* [“Headhunters—report from the inner country”] and while reading it I kept switching back and forth in my head between your shoes and your book, between what I knew about you and what I was reading of your work. When I had finished reading it had become clear to me: you have control of yourself and your language. Like hardly any other author in Germany, you wield power over the word. You are aware of what associations words and sentences may elicit. . . . Sometimes you manage to raise memories in the reader by means of a single precisely placed word. Then the time of childhood returns, or a smell or a view that one enjoyed once at the age of nine. And if it has at all ever been possible to infer the creative qualities of a writer from his shoes then it was in your case. You have style. You are no Thorsten Becker who wears new-wave idiot glasses, [and] a black writer’s shirt together with jackboots. You do not wear dungarees either like Bodo Kirchoff.<sup>24</sup>

In such provocations, where the style makes the man, aesthetics provide the basis for ethical points of view.

The philosophy of the program that drove the magazine, the way aesthetics became the basis for ethics, provides the intellectual and cultural milieu—as well as a critical groundwork—for understanding *Tempo*’s place in the German New Journalism. From that milieu one can detect specific features that emerged that in turn help to characterize *Tempo*’s contribution to the genre. These include how the journal consistently broke taboos, served as a cultural irritant, engaged in social—and not-so-social—intervention, and how its journalists became participants in their own stories. There is one further feature or consequence, too, that reveals just how fragile was the German New Journalism (although no *irreverent* New Journalism is immune to this): It could easily slip into outright fabrication and forgery.

### **Provocation and the Breaking of Taboos**

The provocative gesturing that was systematically displayed by the editorial team of *Tempo* could only result in the planned breaking of taboos as well as in verbal aggression: in a programmatic statement, the journalist and writer Maxim Biller declared enmity itself to be a knowledge-enhancing category.<sup>25</sup> Correspondingly, his column in *Tempo* was entitled: “100 lines of hatred.” His contrarian attitude is reflected, for example, in the following. At a time when the former Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker had

reached the peak of his public reputation, one could read the following lead text entitled “The Saint”: “he is inflatable, washable, wonderful. He delivers nice speeches, has a nice smile, and does not hurt a fly. Everybody loves Richard von Weizsäcker. Except Maxim Biller.”<sup>26</sup> Among still other examples, the author used the publication of his short essays and glosses in book form to attack the highly regarded journalist Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, who wrote about the filmmaker Woody Allen.

Biller was not the only representative of such wilfully practiced abusive criticism. Purposeful sallies against and infringements of taboos can also be found in numerous other texts. One could read stories in *Tempo* that dealt with the assumed or factual sex lives of well-known politicians, chief editors, and publishers. However, you could also read highly serious accounts that testified once again to a sort of hidden moral rigor. When the former *Spiegel*-editor Christian Schultz-Gerstein was found dead in his apartment in March 1987, the May issue of *Tempo* carried an article whose massive re-writing by chief editor Peichl effectively delayed its delivery for as much as two weeks. The article’s author was Jochen Siemens. The title of his media-critical parable was “The Slow Death of a Journalist.” The tale revealed how Schultz-Gerstein, a brilliantly eloquent moralist, built himself a successful career, then fell out with an omnipotent editor because of a love affair, then went into a decline because of a mixture of unprofessional passion and job-conditioned alcoholism, and finally took his own life. “His story,” according to the text’s introduction, “is a story of the power and the powerlessness of journalism.”<sup>27</sup>

It requires moral rigor for a journalist to admit just how powerless his profession can be.

### **Irritation as Editorial Program; Modification of the Conventional**

Examining the various issues of the magazine and analysing the mixture presented by each particular issue in the overall context of the magazine’s total history makes one realize that a principle of irritating and attention-generating presentation is at work here: it is the modification of the conventional, which can be found to apply in equal measure to the language, the images, and the content. This kind of distancing alienation arises through the provocative combination of styles, the combining of what was previously separate, and the disappointment of expectations that might create an aesthetically pleasing effect. In concrete terms this means the juxtaposition of tough investigative stories with fashion editorials in one and the same issue; the playful use of the aesthetics of advertising in the domain of social photography, and generally in the visual style of the magazine; the use of different font sizes and unusual image sections in one and the same text<sup>28</sup>; lifting the boundary between sensationalist tabloid journalism and quality

journalism by means of an intelligent and serious debate about the traditional variety of topics in tabloid journalism; the attempt to generate friction by subjecting politicians to a rigorous test of their lifestyles, and questioning fashion designers and comic authors about genuine political topics.

“Aesthetics and information, lifestyle and politics, form and spirit,” the former *Tempo* editor Oliver Hergesell writes in a review:

[A]ll of that was inseparable. Investigative stories should look good, fashion editorials were presented cleverly. *Tempo* turned fun into seriousness and vice versa. Suspense arose from contradictions: next to the dioxin revelation stood a report about the aristocracy, [Herbert] Wehner’s reckonings appear next to a chronicle of punk.<sup>29</sup> Both prudence and banality were legitimate. . . .<sup>30</sup>

### Variants Shaping Linguistic Form

Tom Wolfe, the American protagonist of New Journalism, identified in an interview four central techniques of writing that are applied within this framework of news reporting:

The first technique is to build scene upon scene. In other words, telling the whole story through a sequence of scenes instead of simple historical narration. The second technique is to use genuine dialogues—the more the better. The third and least understood technique consists in using status details. This implies mentioning pieces of clothing, describing forms of behavior or the treatment of children or service personnel—everything that indicates where people think their place in society is or what social position they hope to attain. The fourth technique is the use of the point of view, i.e. the depiction of the scenes as seen through a particular pair of eyes.<sup>31</sup>

All these classical techniques of writing placed within the framework of journalistic reporting can be shown to exist in a panopticon of different forms. In *Tempo* there were reportages and portraits, interviews and conversations, essays and columns, commentaries and glosses, reviews, and feuilletonistic reflections that betray the literary ambitions of the authors. Among the rather unconventional media genres—and this is also a specific feature of the American New Journalism<sup>32</sup>—are narrative, dramatically shaped interviews, mixed forms comprising of conversations and reportages, quotations, and atmospheric sketches.<sup>33</sup>

### Intervening Journalism; Experiment and Disclosure

*Tempo* demonstrably uses a form of news reporting that one might call “intervening journalism.”<sup>34</sup> This is certainly something new—something which was unusual in German journalism. Its characteristic is undercover investigation; the procedure is of an experimental kind. The point of departure is a hypothesis that one seeks to corroborate through personal involvement or intervention, and that one then markets in the form of a revelatory story as spectacularly as possible.

As an example, two female members on the magazine's staff "prove" that it is in many cases impossible to obtain attractive residences on the housing market without granting sexual favors in return; they go out and pretend to be looking for a suitable dwelling and report the corresponding sexual solicitations.<sup>35</sup> In another example, a team of journalist researchers smuggle pistols and fake explosives on board several airliners—and want to show in this way how easy it is to seize and even blow up such an airliner.<sup>36</sup> In still another, a female editor under false pretences offers her services as a surrogate mother in order to disclose "how unborn life is bartered in Germany."<sup>37</sup>

In these examples, the "intervening" journalists produce the result whose existence they presuppose by masquerading and shamming to enable them to perform a reality check. In the course of the investigations the very reality is created that one wishes to reveal—and the story that is subsequently written usually takes the form of a sort of step-by-step verification.

A public outcry occurred from one investigative account that was published under the title "42 Years after Auschwitz: How We Found Eight Building Sites for an AIDS Camp."<sup>38</sup> The *Tempo* journalists pretended to be employees of an investment society. They rented a Mercedes Benz car and searched in ten different communities for sites on which to build "a closed institution for HIV-infected persons" together with a labor camp with patrol guards and an electric fence.<sup>39</sup> The newly drawn-up construction plan, which the journalists submitted together with pretentiously decorated visiting cards, was essentially identical with the layout of the concentration camp Sachsenhausen; and the journalists "merely used contemporary concepts for the old installations."<sup>40</sup> The lure consisted in investment money and 700 jobs for nurses, doctors, and patrol guards. The result of this undercover investigation was that in eight out of ten cases the responsible burgomasters and managing directors of the communities not only expressed interest, but even volunteered to add to the project of planned internment by offering their very own special proposals.

No less spectacular, and driven by the same intention to unmask ideologically controlled thinking, was an action that took place in East Germany. In the spring of 1988 *Tempo* editors faked a complete issue of *Neues Deutschland*, then still the main publication of the SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei), the dominating communist party.<sup>41</sup> The new "glasnost course-of-action," people could read there, was on its way to conquering the masses—and there was also a photograph showing Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev exchanging an intense fraternal kiss. It was further reported that freedom of the press would finally be realized. Then followed a text that announced the dismantling of the nuclear power plants of the DDR as well as an ideas competition for the refashioning of the Berlin Wall. The proposals ranged from "blowing

it up” to the “model Christo” (total wrapping of the object with sackcloth and strings by the internationally-renowned artist). In the same vein was announced both a radical reform of the justice-administering authorities of the DDR, and the abolition of the STASI, the notorious police spy organisation of the DDR. Some 6,000 copies of this special issue of the “party” organ, which showed complete reform in its content and was deceptively genuine in its graphic appearance, were successfully smuggled into the DDR by *Tempo* staff and distributed there. Of course, East German authorities were furious. But the attack on the reality of political totalitarianism was entirely consistent with the magazine’s program for challenging abstract utopian totalizations.

### From Observer to Participant; Variants of Identification

One of the star authors of the magazine *Tempo*, Helge Timmerberg, described in a portrait of the American Gonzo journalist Hunter S. Thompson the change of role that is so characteristic for the pattern of news reporting in many forms of New Journalism. The apparently neutral observer turns into the participant, participating in the events that he describes, putting himself at risk, and identifying himself.<sup>42</sup> Self-experience functions as a filter for perception of the world. A quotation from the portrait by Helge Timmerberg:

His name is Thompson. Hunter S. Thompson. The “S” stands for Stockton and the rest for pioneer work in journalism. . . . The man invented “New Journalism”.<sup>43</sup> He named his style “gonzo.” An Italian word and it means “crazy.” A “Gonzo-journalist” is someone who finds it too laborious in a through-and-through crazy world to pretend that the reporter is the only sane human being far and wide, [or] to pretend that he has never pissed into his trousers when stoned, that he has never fucked a whore when his topic was prostitution, that he has never grabbed the chocolate from his little sister when he was reporting on violence against women.<sup>44</sup>

There are numerous specimens of this in *Tempo*—unmistakably stylized and hero-worshipping—where the reporter changes role by relinquishing the neutral observation post of the classic information model of journalism in favor of direct, quasi-unmediated participation. The author Tom Kummer, for example, investigated the horrors of solitary confinement by having himself locked up for a week in the basement of the editorial office building and insisted on a total ban on contact for that period. The account was subsequently published in *Tempo*.<sup>45</sup> A trainee, the daughter of a well-known politician and therefore publishing under a pseudonym, undertook three days of instruction with a prostitute to train as a dominatrix, and then wrote a leading story on the subject.<sup>46</sup> An editor, infected with the AIDS virus, whose work was supported by several chief editors in a very moving way, wrote a diary from February 1992 until his death.<sup>47</sup> The columnist Peter Glaser composed

a literary reportage in the form of a walking tour of the city experienced as a visit to a strange, foreign, but nevertheless familiar world. After only a few paragraphs the reader becomes aware that the author is describing a drug trip experience:

Where did we stop? Somewhere. I think Harry, Hermann and I had each swallowed a pill before we tumbled out of Harry's apartment into this vast GGG-space millions of years ago. I mean GehsteigGassenGegendRaum [PavementLaneRegionSpace]. I said pill and meant LSD, the trip. *It's only all, but we psychedelike it* [Glaser's original English text].<sup>48</sup>

In an example of participation by editor Christian Kracht, he appears in a photograph in the issue of April 1995, which shows him with a Chinese Kalashnikov machine gun. In his first-person reportage he describes how a native takes him to a village on the Afghan-Pakistani border, where they find an arms factory. Kracht acquires a few Chinese grenades, learns how to fire guns, throws hand grenades around, blows up a rocky hill—and writes:

That day I tried out a few other weapons that I had never before in my life fired: Uzis and Kalashnikovs, and of course the M 16, and I realized that firing arms is like eating potato chips because one never gets enough of it.<sup>49</sup>

Other authors, protagonists of pop literature, who published in *Tempo* in its final phase, chose less spectacular and risky themes and topics for their reports of private personal experiences. Personal conditions and feelings became central; vanity became increasingly dominant. Eckhart Nickel reported, for instance, how he felt driving through Germany in a yellow Porsche sports car. The result of his journey: an inflamed in-grown toenail in his big toe.<sup>50</sup> In another issue he wrote about his visit to the barber's and how a fundamental question arose which he calls, "his dilemma." The text starts with the following:

My hair is too long and that is nothing new because ever since the magical day on which my mother stopped cutting my hair I keep being confronted by the same question: hair off, or let hair grow? That is my dilemma. Every time I have my hair washed at the barber's, the same kinds of thoughts keep torturing me: should I have all my hair cut off? That would certainly be a mistake, for with long hair I'd probably be happier. But if I leave it long, I shall go away from the salon and think that short hair would change my life.<sup>51</sup>

What reveals itself in these examples is a tension between the writer's empathetic subjectivity and the relevance of the contents. One might consider the following extreme values reflecting that tension: The subjective way of description deals with a topic that is of extraordinary relevance, or, by contrast it deals with content that is of interest only to the author, and functions only as the justification for egocentrism. It becomes a kind of writing

for the sake of purely private experiences and self-indulgence. Subjective journalism is then no longer a method of presentation and no longer just a form of presentation, but at the same time it is the central message: The author knows only himself, as it were; everything that might lead beyond him appears to be fundamentally uninteresting—to him.

However, between these two extreme poles another possibility exists, a sort of intermediate form. Contents that may superficially appear ego-centric may, at least at a second glance, assume particular relevance—and will be read probably for that very reason. The *Tempo* editor Helge Timmerberg would primarily report on himself by describing an unhappy love affair, analysing his personal experiences with cocaine, and telling of his difficulties with tax fraud investigators and his own fears of failure. Nevertheless, his texts, which have since appeared in book form, possess an explosive quality that makes them range far beyond the person behind their author.<sup>52</sup> Thus the question posed is why are there stories (on the surface) that seem to deal only with one single journalist but that prove nevertheless to be of interest to numerous readers. One possible answer may be that what the texts deal with possesses a specific form of actuality. It is not necessarily the actuality of the day, not (necessarily) the actuality of the calendar, but it is rather distinguished by an archetypal *actuality*. This means that the texts that satisfy this sort of archetypal actuality deal with a single concrete individual and his or her peculiar and private experiences at one level, but in a more subtle and cryptic way they also deal with encounters with the unknown, with the strange; they deal with winners and losers and with the possibilities of a quite different, a possibly wilder life that cannot be pressed into the habitual journalistic and cultural frameworks. Archetypal actuality means, therefore, asking fundamental questions of human existence. In the case of *Tempo*, they are posed from a purely self-centred perspective as the only honest perspective one can take in a devalued world.

### **Radical Subjectivity; Between Fact and Fiction**

A subjective literary journalism is not only in danger of falling victim to thematic irrelevance but always runs the additional risk of fictionalising the contents themselves. After all, that has always been one of the risks of Gonzo journalism. At *Tempo*, the researched material was processed and fashioned with much greater freedom when compared to typical news journalism. The problem of a more subjective writing style is that it acquires a sort of dynamic of its own and begins to pre-structure events. It might finally produce a brilliantly stylized rendering of what happened that is entertaining and attractive but has lost sight of the facts. This danger was increased by an epistemologically naive criticism of objectivity, which was widespread among

the editorial team of *Tempo*. This form of criticism proceeded from the naive opposition of (clearly unachievable) objectivity and (clearly given and thus inevitable) subjectivity. It simply contrasts absolute truth and an individual's construction of reality, and claims implicitly the status of certainty for its own position. Consequently, Helge Timmerberg propounds the thesis that the irreverent German "New Journalism" is another term for "de-simulation" and "actually only means not to behave in a mendacious, corrupt, and scheming world as if the reporter came from another planet."<sup>53</sup> He adds:

Whatever they say in the orthodox schools for journalism is false. Do not get involved, they say. You do not exist. Your thoughts, hopes, dreams, desires, faults, failures, fears, visions . . . forget about them. All you are is a cordless microphone, a sort of medium. Don't get involved. And don't involve *us*. No word about internal affairs—the way we talk about stories when nobody else is listening. This is no business of the readers. Journalism is a savage business, dirty anyway, of course also corrupt.<sup>54</sup>

In an interview given years later, he says tersely:

New Journalism is honest due to its extreme subjectivity. . . . Traditional journalism insists on a kind of objectivity that does not exist. Journalists are human beings. Human beings have opinions. Human beings have antipathies. Human beings have sometimes had a very unsatisfactory breakfast. There are no objective human beings, and therefore there can be no objective journalism. There are those who admit this; there are others who don't.<sup>55</sup>

Peichl, the first chief editor of *Tempo*, summarily transforms this criticism of the ideal of objectivity, which is typical of all the different varieties of New Journalism, into a journalistic strategy by writing under the title "Chimeras everywhere, everywhere chimeras":

Our success irritates the critics: *Tempo* is accused of producing artificial trends, of preaching only appearance and not reality. What kind of reality, please? . . . Is there really anyone out there still who believes that there is one and only one reality? Every magazine produces pseudo-worlds and pseudo-realities. Only we should be prohibited from doing so?<sup>56</sup>

The consequence of this insight into the plurality of the "real" is later formulated more exactly in another programmatic statement. Peichl speaks about the "fascination of the fictitious":

As everything had lost its value anyway, as all the values and all the truths had been de-truthed in society, the borders of reality had to be put to the test by the magazine *Tempo*. It was necessary to escape the farce of seriousness by experimenting earnestly with not-taking-oneself-seriously; it was necessary to reveal the fictional mechanisms of *all* media by employing them with tongue in cheek. . . .<sup>57</sup>

Given the role played by subjectivity in the pose of self-interest, it should come as no surprise that some authors have consciously or unconsciously misunderstood this form of journalism and felt justified in abandoning fact-based research altogether. One case of such a risky borderline crossing between fact and fiction—and thus between journalistic investigation and fictional fashioning—is the career of the author Tom Kummer, which began in the editorial offices of the magazine *Tempo*, and which was terminated by the supplement of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* that exposed him as a forger. He was responsible in 2000 for one of the biggest forgery scandals in German-language journalism because he invented numerous interviews with prominent people. The ambivalence of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* chief editor's attitude and treatment of this brilliant writer and a less than-rigorous investigator illustrates the risks of a subjective journalism that sacrifices accurate rendering of facts for the "good story" whenever it seems opportune and profitable. In 1990 Kummer had already been exposed as a forger by the editorial office of *Tempo*. An extraordinarily thrilling reportage concerning a group of young devil's worshippers turned out to be a product of montage and plagiarism. One of the readers informed the chief editor, submitting photocopies of the original texts as material pieces of evidence that the author had copied from a book by Richard Ford. The editor, however, refrained from sacking Kummer because he did not want to lose the services of this highly talented writer.

Then came the second instance. In 2000 the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* had to investigate interviews Kummer claimed to have conducted in the U.S., mainly about the glitz and glamor world of Hollywood. In them, boxer Mike Tyson reflected on Nietzsche and the *Übermensch*, Pamela Anderson of *Bay Watch* contemplated sex appeal and body cult; John McEnroe had bouts of anger and a penchant for abstract painting. Moreover, Courtney Love recited to Kummer's microphone sentences of curiously confused poetry: "There are seagulls on the Riviera that sip iced gin and tonic. This is something we ought to talk about." At another place: "I deceive so authentically, I am beyond deception." Various Hollywood reporters working for big newspapers suddenly found themselves challenged by their editors because they had to cope with why a certain Tom Kummer managed to supply such exceptional interviews although they themselves were—as usual—only able to deliver the customary ready-made wares of PR agents. The answer proved to be quite simple: Kummer had never conducted these interviews. He had forged them. The conversations of the supposed master interviewer had essentially been generated at his desk in his home. Some portions were copied from books and articles, others were free inventions. Everything was assembled in new dialogues. When the case became public in 2000, both the chief editors of

the supplement lost their jobs, Kummer was pilloried as a forger—and tried to justify his work essentially as an artistically conceived form of “borderline journalism.”<sup>58</sup>

### Writing Is Living: Theory and Practice

*Tempo*'s former chief editor Markus Peichl described the working atmosphere in the editorial office of the magazine with the following words:

I do think that we were quite a good team, that we understood each other on a certain level, and that we experienced things together that go beyond what one usually calls work . . . the way we treated each other, the mutual respect, the belief that we were strong enough to conquer the world, but that we were still pinned with our backs to the wall . . . the celebrations, the parties; while we did not dance at the edge of the volcano but occasionally did on tables and windowsills. . . . The naiveté and unjadedness of other generations was denied to us, but the power that one can only feel when one creates something totally one's own, something totally different, this power we had succeeded in snatching with all our might at least for a few years.<sup>59</sup>

What Peichl is doing then is defining journalism, at least implicitly, as a form of life, as the ecstasy of creative work in a community of people who are like-minded at least in principle. Such a view of one's profession is based on the particular relationship between author and text. The text cannot be separated from its author: writing is living and living is writing—this is the programmatic equation that was followed at *Tempo*. Author and text stand in a relationship of identity and consequently of mutual affirmation. The fact is, however, that the kind of professionalism that vacillates between genuine interest and basic task accomplishment can also form a useful layer of protection that could pose a threat to the cultural program. It was one that had not appeared plausible to anyone working for *Tempo* during the first few years because the routine appeared to be a synonym for philistinism, a threat to one's own creativity and to the constantly required effort to think in novel and unpredictable ways. “The leap to professionalism,” said former editor Oliver Hergesell in an essay, “was never accomplished. Our true selves showed themselves in the issues of the first two years, when we advanced at full throttle, when doubts and nuances were practically never articulated and if then only for the sake of creating credibility. All professionalism deprived *Tempo* of energy because it was the very ill-adjustedness that was the source of our power.”<sup>60</sup> The title of his essay published shortly after *Tempo* ceased publication was “Collective Self-incineration” and focused on the basic problem of creative innovation and rebellious gesturing: they refused to be institutionalized and could not be stabilized permanently if they wanted to remain authentic; they had to proceed largely without plan and deadline. For this reason, the pressure to be innovative inevitably would have hit its

existential limits. Institutionalized rebellion, even if only in the form of a magazine, is an oxymoron.

### **Journalism and Literature: New Journalism in the German-Language World**

From time to time the thesis has been advanced that the New Journalism is a through-and-through American phenomenon, implying that there were not other variants in other languages besides English, at least that could be taken seriously.<sup>61</sup> But the example at hand illustrates that this must be rejected when one looks at the long-term effects of the commercially unsuccessful but otherwise formative magazine *Tempo*. For many authors in Germany the “*Tempo* years,” to quote a book by the writer Maxim Biller, were of decisive importance in resurrecting and revitalizing a journalistic genre and liberating it from the naiveté, as noted, of the Old Left ideology. Moreover, the programmatic approach of such a subjective journalism has long since not only profited individual professionals, but infiltrated established newspapers and what are known as German quality media (*Spiegel*, *Stern*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, *Die Zeit*, etc.), even inspiring diverse colleagues who were in no way connected with the original team of editors. Florian Illies, for instance, adapts the *Tempo*-program most successfully in his essayistic writings. His portraits of generations have all become bestsellers.<sup>62</sup> A large number of former editors are now active in the book market and have published collections of articles, short stories, novels, or scripts for the theatre, demonstrating that they have made their way from journalism onto the literary scene.<sup>63</sup>

In March 1991, Gundolph Freyermuth, on the pages of *Tempo*, provided an assessment of the magazine’s contribution:

Sometimes magazines, for brief historical moments, turn into the mouthpieces of a dispersed avant-garde community whose interests, claims, and desires make up the future. Then these magazines seem to consist of more than just paper. Anecdotes and myths begin to grow concerning them, and their names are still quoted with awe even after decades. They help to accomplish the self-understanding of a generation, and they secure the continuation of the public debate with other means.<sup>64</sup>

In 2006, ten years after *Tempo* ceased publication, the editorial team met again in order to produce, to great public attention, just one single issue of *Tempo* and thus to revive again, if only for a moment, the old spirit of an individualistic rebellion that shaped this German-language variant of New Journalism. This re-edition and new edition was widely debated in the press. What became clear in the articles was that *Tempo* had become a myth. So, while it may no longer exist, it still remains in the German consciousness.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Sabine Kobes, "Lümmel mit Lebensart," *Gala*, 15 November 2001, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Cited after Kobes, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Joachim Bessing, Christian Kracht, Eckhart Nickel, Alexander v. Schönburg and Benjamin v. Stuckrad-Barre, *Tristesse Royale. Das popkulturelle Quintett* (München: List, 2001), 184.

<sup>4</sup> There is one school of thought that the New Journalism was solely an approach to a kind of journalistic writing different from the dominant mainstream models. But there is another school that says that the New Journalism, while acknowledging the writing as a part of it, reflected more broadly an attitude, a way of looking at the world that in turn became reflected in a journal, and not just in the writing but in the program or presentation as well. This can be seen, for example, in Bill Reynolds's "Recovering the Peculiar Life and Times of Tom Hedley and of Canadian New Journalism," *Literary Journalism Studies* 1.1 (Spring 2009): 89.

<sup>5</sup> I wish to thank John C. Hartsock for his helpful comments.

<sup>6</sup> John C. Hartsock, "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism," *Genre: Forms of Discourse and Culture*, xlii (Spring/Summer 2009): 116, 123-134.

<sup>7</sup> The following analyses are—if not otherwise stated—based on interviews with the different chief editors of the magazine. The reader may furthermore take note that this article is the version of a text published earlier in a book edited by Joan Bleicher and myself (entitled *Grenzgänger. Formen des New Journalism* [2004, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften]), which I have revised, updated, and adapted for *Literary Journalism Studies*. All the quotations illustrating the editorial program and the general approach of the magazine makers have been translated into English from the original German. See Bernhard Poerksen: "Die Tempojahre," 307-36.

<sup>8</sup> *Tempo* influenced, for instance, the following magazines: *Max*, *Magazin der Süddeutschen Zeitung*, *Zeit-Magazin*, *Spiegel-Reporter*, *Park Avenue*, the German edition of *Vanity Fair*.

<sup>9</sup> Wolfgang Timpe, "Zur Sache, Peichl," *neue medien*, vol. 3, 1989, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Markus Peichl, interview by Andreas Hentschel, "Tempo (1986-1996). Eine Dekade aus der Perspektive eines populären Zeitgeistmagazins" (Master's thesis, University of Augsburg, 2000), appendix 15.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Hopp, interview by Andreas Hentschel, appendix 2.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Willi Winkler, "Abgefeiert," *Die Zeit*, 10 February 1989, 53.

<sup>13</sup> Hentschel, 29-30.

<sup>14</sup>Claudius Seidl, "Wir und '68," *Tempo*, April 1988, 53.

<sup>15</sup>Maxim Biller, "Wir und '68," *Tempo*, April 1988, 54.

<sup>16</sup>Markus Peichl, "Die Dame vom *Spiegel* oder warum ich *Tempo* machte," *Merian Extra: Der Verlag*, no precise details on year of publication in issue no. 60.

<sup>17</sup>To be sure, there were others on occasion who engaged in what might be considered New Journalism. For those outside Germany perhaps the most notable—and notorious—was Günter Wallraff. But the difference is that *Tempo* was an institutional influence, not unlike the way *The New Yorker*, *Esquire*, and *New York* magazines were in the U.S. during the period of the American New Journalism. Also, in Germany, Wallraff is viewed more as an investigative journalist, although investigative journalism and New Journalism need not be mutually exclusive. But what definitively sets Wallraff apart from the *Tempo* program is that he is of the previous generation, of the 68ers, who believed, if not explicitly then implicitly, in social utopias. He was a social "do-gooder" with a program to improve the lot of workers, among others. That is a charge that could never be levelled against the American Hunter S. Thompson, who was undoubtedly the most notorious of the irreverent American New Journalists practicing what was called Gonzo" journalism. In many ways Wallraff comes closer to the proletarian reportage of Egon Erwin Kisch and the Old Left that *Tempo* so thoroughly rejected.

<sup>18</sup>Cited after Markus Peichl, "Alle reden vom Wetter. . .," *Tempo*, January 1987, 3.

<sup>19</sup>Markus Peichl, "Die Dame vom Spiegel oder warum ich *Tempo* machte," *Merian Extra: Der Verlag*, no precise details on year of publication in issue no. 61.

<sup>20</sup>For this kind of feuilletonistic consideration of everyday culture, refer especially to the columns by Peter Glaser, which have also been published as a collection in book form: Peter Glaser, *Glaser's heile Welt. Peter Glaser über Neues im Westen* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1988).

<sup>21</sup>See Dirk Frank, "Generation Tristesse. Zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Journalismus in der jüngeren Pöpliteratur. "In: Joan Bleicher and Bernhard Poerksen, "*Grenzgänger. Formen des New Journalism*," Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 267-303.

<sup>22</sup>Of particular impact here was probably the Bret Easton Ellis novel *American Psycho* (1991).

<sup>23</sup>Bernd Schwer, "Lumpensammler," *Tempo*, March 1992, 3.

<sup>24</sup>Christian Kracht, "Wie die Schuhe, so der Dichter," *Tempo*, December 1991, 128. Bodo Kirchoff and Thorsten Becker are German novelists.

<sup>25</sup>Maxim Biller, "Feige das Land, schlapp die Literatur," *Die Zeit*, April 2000, 47-49.

<sup>26</sup>Maxim Biller, "Der Heilige," *Tempo*, August 1986, 46.

<sup>27</sup>Jochen Siemens, "Der langsame Tod eines Journalisten," *Tempo*, May 1987, 92.

<sup>28</sup>Hentschel, 39.

<sup>29</sup>Herbert Wehner was a German politician, a prominent member of the Left.

<sup>30</sup>Oliver Hergesell, "Kollektive Selbstverbrennung," *Die Woche*, 14 June 1996, 22-23.

<sup>31</sup>Brant Newborn, "Meine Absicht war es immer, ins zentrale Nervensystem eines Menschen hineinzuschlüpfen," Tom Wolfe, prominentester Vertreter des New Journalism, über den Einsturz gesellschaftlicher Formen und die Verwischung der Grenzen zwischen Literatur und Berichterstattung, *Die Weltwoche*, 28 January 1988, 46. This, of course, is a translation from Wolfe's 1973 seminal essay, "The New Journalism." See Tom Wolfe, "The New Journalism," in *The New Journalism: With an Anthology*, edited by Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson (New York: Harper, 1973), 46-49.

<sup>32</sup>Hannes Haas and Gianluca Wallisch, "Literarischer Journalismus oder journalistische Literatur? Ein Beitrag zu Konzept, Vertretern und Philosophie des 'New Journalism,'" *Publizistik*, vol. 36, 1991, 298-314, 304.

<sup>33</sup>The writer Maxim Biller has made particularly frequent use of this form of presentation; a collection of pertinent texts may be found in: Maxim Biller, *Die Tempojahre* (München: dtv, 1991).

<sup>34</sup>Andreas Hentschel was the first to use this concept, as far as I know; however, he does not really make it explicit: Hentschel, 47.

<sup>35</sup>Andrea Höhne and Claudia Josefus, "Der Immobilienstrich," *Tempo*, July 1990, 28-33.

<sup>36</sup>Michael Helberg, Claudia Kaiser and Roger Lindner, "Gesprengt," *Tempo*, September 1989, 44-49.

<sup>37</sup>Susanne Schneider, "Ich war Leihmutter," *Tempo*, October 1988, 45.

<sup>38</sup>Susanne Schneider, "42 Jahre nach Auschwitz: So fanden wir acht Bauplätze für ein Aids-Lager," *Tempo*, August 1987, 40-45.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 44.

<sup>41</sup>About this action see: Hentschel, 47ff. and Markus Peichl, "Geht doch rüber . . .," *Tempo*, April 1987, 3.

<sup>42</sup>In the Gonzo journalism, e.g., of Hunter S. Thompson the actions of the author become the dominant events. See also: Hannes Haas and Gianluca Wallisch, "Literarischer Journalismus oder journalistische Literatur? Ein Beitrag zu Konzept, Vertretern und Philosophie des 'New Journalism,'" *Publizistik*, vol. 36, 1991, 304.

<sup>43</sup>Of course, Timmerberg is mistaken here in characterizing Thompson as the inventor of New Journalism. Moreover, Thompson is erroneously credited with being the one to name his kind of journalism as Gonzo.

<sup>44</sup>Helge Timmerberg, "Hart, härter, Hunter," *Tempo*, April 1988, 38.

<sup>45</sup>Tom Kummer, "Der Selbstversuch," *Tempo*, July 1989, 58-59.

<sup>46</sup>Monika Fischer, "Ich war Domina," *Tempo*, August 1988, 48-54.

<sup>47</sup>"Das Aids-Tagebuch," *Tempo*, February 1992, 34-38.

<sup>48</sup>Peter Glaser, "Willkommen im Crazy Age!," *Tempo*, August 1990, 44.

<sup>49</sup>Christian Kracht, "Ballern wie blöd," *Tempo*, April 1995, 66.

<sup>50</sup>Eckhart Nickel (1995): "Ich, das Porschloch," *Tempo*, May 1995, 82.

<sup>51</sup>Eckhart Nickel (1996): "Einen perfekten Haarschnitt, bitte," *Tempo*, February 1996, 86.

<sup>52</sup>For a summary see Helge Timmerberg, *Tiger fressen keine Yogis. Stories von unterwegs* (Münster: Solibro, 2001).

<sup>53</sup>Helge Timmerberg, "Das Glück des Süchtigen. Helge Timmerberg über Gonzo-Journalismus," *Medium Magazin*, vol. 2, 1988, 19.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 18, Emphasis in original text.

<sup>55</sup>Helge Timmerberg, "Hunter S. Thompson warf mit Äxten um sich," *Der Tagespiegel*, 10 February 2002, no. 17673, 34.

<sup>56</sup>Markus Peichl, "Schimäre ist alles, alles ist Schimäre," *Tempo*, February 1988, 3.

<sup>57</sup>Markus Peichl, "Die Dame vom Spiegel oder warum ich Tempo machte," *Merian Extra: Der Verlag*, Emphasis in original text, no precise details on year of publication in issue 61.

<sup>58</sup>For this case see also Bernhard Pörksen, *Die Beobachtung des Beobachters* (Konstanz: UVK, 2006), 205ff.

<sup>59</sup>Peichl n.d., 63; emphasis in original text.

<sup>60</sup>Oliver Hergesell, "Kollektive Selbstverbrennung," *Die Woche*, 14 June 1996, 23.

<sup>61</sup>Hannes Haas and Gianluca Wallisch, "Literarischer Journalismus oder journalistische Literatur? Ein Beitrag zu Konzept, Vertretern und Philosophie des 'New Journalism,'" *Publizistik*, vol. 36, 1991, 310; Gianluca Wallisch, "Kreative Wirklichkeit," *message*, vol. 2., 2000, 89.

<sup>62</sup>Florian Illies, *Generation Golf zwei* (Munich: Blessing, 2003).

<sup>63</sup>See Ralf Hohlfeld, "Der schnelle Marsch durch die Institutionen. Formen des New Journalism in etablierten Medien—Zur Diffusion eines innovativen Journalismuskonzeptes" in Joan Bleicher and Bernhard Pörksen, *Grenzgänger. Formen des New Journalism* (2004, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 337-360.

<sup>64</sup>Gundolf Freyermuth, "Traumschläger," *Tempo*, March 1991, 86. (One conspicuous example in the English-language media would be the *Spectator* and *Tatler* essays by Addison and Steele in the early eighteenth century).