Return address:

Literary Journalism Studies
School of Journalism
Toronto Metropolitan University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5B 2K3

In This Issue

- Christine Boven / History of Literary Journalism in Germany
- Kate McQueen / Max Winter + the Rise of Literary Reportage in Vienna
- Maddalena Casarini / Gabriele Tergit's Small Gretchen Tragedies
- Peter Auf Der Heyde / Ronald Reng's New Journalism Sports Narratives
- Ina von der Wense + Vera Katzenberger / Fallout from the Claas Relotius Fakery
- Susan Swanberg / On Literary Journalism + The Environment
- David Dowling / Interviews Stephen G. Bloom for SPQ+A

Published at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University
1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208, United States

LITERARY JOURNALISM STUDIES

Alarm Calls & Other Echoes of a Once & Future World

Literary Journalism Studies

Vol. 14, No. 2, December 2023

SPECIAL ISSUE

German Literary Journalism

VOL. 14, NO.2, DECEMBER 2023

The Journal of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies

Cover image of *Siegessäule* [victory column],
courtesy of fietzfotos, Pixabay.
This issue's cover was designed by
Anthony DeRado.

Literary Journalism Studies

Vol. 14, No. 2, December 2023

Submission Information 4

Note from the Editor 5

Special Issue
German Literary Journalism

Introduction by Tobias Eberwein + Hendrik Michael, guest editors 6

Tracing the History of Literary Journalism in Germany: Developments, Challenges, and Trends
by Christine Boven 20

Life Outside: Max Winter, the Arbeiter-Zeitung, and the rise of Literary Reportage in Early Twentieth-century Vienna
by Kate McQueen 60

Small Gretchen Tragedies: Gabriele Tergit's Courtroom Reports on §218
by Maddalena Casarini 86

Sports Correspondent, Unsuccessful Novelist, Accidental German Sports Literary Journalist: The Strange Arc of Ronald Reng
by Peter Auf der Heyde 118

Metajournalistic Discourse on the Reportage in the Context of the Claas Relotius Affair
by Ina von der Wense + Vera Katzenberger 142

Scholar-Practitioner Q+A
David Dowling Interviews Stephen G. Bloom 166

Book Review Essay
Alarm Calls and Other Echoes of a Once and Future World
by Susan Swanberg 194

Book Reviews 211

Mission Statement 234

International Association for Literary Journalism Studies 235

Website: www.literaryjournalismstudies.org

Literary Journalism Studies is the journal of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies and is published twice yearly. For information on subscribing or membership, go to www.ialjs.org.

Indexed in Elsevier; Scopus
Member of the Council of Learned Journals

Published twice a year, June and December issues.
Subscriptions, $50/year (individuals), $75/year (libraries).

ISSN 1944-897X (paper)
ISSN 1944-8988 (online)

Literary Journalism Studies

Editorial Offices

Literary Journalism Studies
School of Journalism
Toronto Metropolitan University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5B 2K3
Email: literaryjournalismstudies@gmail.com

Published at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University
1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208, United States

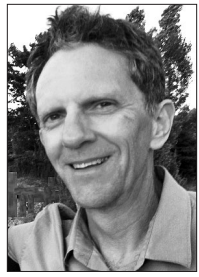
SUBMISSION INFORMATION

LITERARY JOURNALISM STUDIES invites submissions of original scholarly articles on literary journalism, which is also known as narrative journalism, literary reportage, reportage literature, New Journalism, and the nonfiction novel, as well as literary and narrative nonfiction that emphasizes cultural revelation. The journal has an international focus and seeks submissions on the theory, history, and pedagogy of literary journalism throughout the world. All disciplinary approaches are welcome. Submissions should be informed with an awareness of the existing scholarship and should be between 5,000 and 8,000 words in length, including notes. To encourage international dialogue, the journal is open to publishing on occasion short examples or excerpts of previously published literary journalism accompanied by a scholarly gloss about or an interview with the writer who is not widely known outside his or her country. The example or excerpt must be translated into English. The scholarly gloss or interview should generally be between 1,500 and 2,500 words long and indicate why the example is important in the context of its national culture. Together, both the text and the gloss generally should not exceed 8,000 words in length. The contributor is responsible for obtaining all copyright permissions, including from the publisher, author, and translator, as necessary. The journal is also willing to consider publication of exclusive excerpts of narrative literary journalism accepted for publication by major publishers.

Email submission (as a Microsoft Word attachment) is mandatory. A cover page indicating the title of the paper, the author's name, institutional affiliation, and contact information, along with an abstract (250 words), should accompany all submissions. The cover page should be sent as a separate attachment from the abstract and submission to facilitate distribution to readers. No identification should appear linking the author to the submission or abstract. All submissions must be in English Microsoft Word and follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (Humanities endnote and bibliography style) <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html>. All submissions will be blind reviewed. Send submissions to the editor at <literaryjournalismstudies@gmail.com>.

BOOK REVIEWS are invited. They should be 1,000–2,000 words and focus on the scholarship of literary journalism and recent original works of literary journalism that deserve greater recognition among scholars. Book reviews are not blind reviewed but selected by the book review editor based on merit. Reviewers may suggest book review prospects or write the book review editor for suggestions. Usually reviewers will be responsible for obtaining their respective books. Book reviews and/or related queries should be sent to Kate McQueen at <kamcquee@ucsc.edu>

Note from the Editor . . .



Greetings and welcome to this issue, which is dedicated to German literary journalism. The edition has been guest edited by Tobias Eberwein of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Klagenfurt, Austria, and Hendrik Michael of the University of Bamberg, Germany. The two editors commissioned the work and guided the authors through the long editorial process to bring the essays to the international literary journalism community. The studies themselves offer both historical and contemporary investigations into what makes the German version of literary journalism, in all its facets and varieties, special and different. I will leave it to the authors to elaborate further in their introduction, which follows this brief note.

In addition to our first-ever spotlight on German literary journalism, another first for the journal is to review pertinent books that have been published in a language other than English—in this case, appropriately enough, two books about German literary journalism and, also, a Spanish-language anthology that sets out to show that the *crónica* is in fact preferable to fiction. Our recently installed Book Review Editor, Kate McQueen, hopes this will be the start of a new trend in *LJS*.

Other highlights in this issue include a Scholar-Practitioner Q+A between David O. Dowling and literary journalist Stephen G. Bloom, both of University of Iowa, United States, and a Book Review essay by Susan E. Swanberg of University of Arizona, United States that gathers and critiques a half dozen books that grapple in wildly divergent and inventive ways with our rapidly deteriorating natural world.

We hope you explore and enjoy this issue!

— Bill Reynolds

Introduction . . .

Tobias Eberwein, guest editor
Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies (CMC)
Austrian Academy of Sciences / University of Klagenfurt, Austria

Tobias Eberwein is deputy director of the Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies (CMC) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Klagenfurt in Vienna (Austria), where he also leads the Research Group "Media Accountability & Media Change." His research focuses on media ethics and media accountability, media structures and media governance, journalism, and media innovations, as well as comparative media and communication studies. He has been a visiting professor at the Institute of Media and Communication at Dresden University of Technology and at the Institute of Journalism at Dortmund University of Technology. He continues to act as a visiting lecturer at Hamburg Media School. His most recent publications include the Global Handbook of Media Accountability *and* Media Accountability in the Era of Post-Truth Politics*, both published by Routledge*.

Literary Journalism in the German-Speaking World

Hendrik Michael, guest editor
Institute of Communication Studies
University of Bamberg, Germany

Hendrik Michael is a research assistant at the Institute of Communication Studies, University of Bamberg. His research focuses on theories of journalism, transformations of media genres, and journalistic storytelling. His PhD thesis, Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse *(Bremen: edition lumière, 2020), highlights how reportorial practices and narrative strategies function to report on urban poverty in U.S. and German mass periodicals of the late nineteenth century. He has contributed to numerous edited volumes and published in academic journals such as* Literary Journalism Studies, Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, Medien & Zeit, *and* Jahrbuch *für* Kommunikationsgeschichte.

Journalism's information paradigm has been under scrutiny, and not just since the digital transformations of our mediascape in the last few decades. For almost half a century, Gaye Tuchman's diagnosis of a strategic ritual of objectivity has served as a foil against which critiques of conventional news journalism can be projected, most notably its lack of transparency, its bias towards institutional sources and ideologies,[1] and its assumption of an impersonal or objective stance.[2] The recent crisis of media trust and accountability may have arisen in part from these blind spots.[3] At this stage, it is undisputed that journalism needs to reflect and adapt its professional identity and modes of presentation if it wants to continue fulfilling its social function.[4]

With these thoughts in mind, it is worthwhile to examine alternative forms of journalism, for which the approach is to rely more on personal experience, in-depth research, an authentic journalistic voice, and foregrounding different perspectives to overcome social boundaries, with an overall goal to engage readers emotionally. One of these approaches can be found in the concept of literary journalism.[5] By combining aesthetic forms of literature with journalistic research methods, literary journalism presents readers with a mix of discursive strategies and professional practices that differ substantially from standard reporting.

However, literary journalism, which is also known as narrative journalism, literary reportage, reportage literature, New Journalism, the nonfiction novel, literary nonfiction, and creative nonfiction, is a deep-layered and arbitrary phenomenon. For nearing two decades, the International Association of Literary Journalism Studies (IALJS) and its journal, *Literary Journalism Studies* (*LJS*), have helped establish a shared foundation of knowledge and explored manifestations of journalistic narratives in various cultural contexts. What has become apparent in this ongoing scholarly debate is that different countries and cultures adopt different names for the phenomenon.[6]

The term literary journalism and its German equivalent, *Literarischer Journalismus*, are not widespread in Germany.[7] Instead of tapping into the vast research on the subject in recent decades, literary forms of journalism are often discussed in terms of either (mostly North American) New Journalism of the 1960s and '70s or the tradition of the great reportages (e.g., Egon Erwin Kisch's and Joseph Roth's). More generally, it can be stated that an overarching critical scientific discourse about the history, practices, forms, and functions of literary journalism that joins the global debate has not yet evolved in Germany.

Therefore, this special issue of *LJS* seeks to illuminate the phenomenon in the German-speaking world (essentially, Germany, Austria, and the German-speaking parts of Switzerland) from all possible perspectives. How and when did the genre described as literary journalism enter the German language? How

did it evolve over the centuries? What are notable examples in digital media today? Do any continuities exist? These and further questions will be addressed in the studies assembled in this issue.

Traditions in the German-Speaking World

Mapping and tracing the traditions of literary journalism in the German-speaking world is complicated. While, for instance, literary journalism in the United States appears as a "continuous line,"[8] its German-speaking lineage seems to be rather discontinuous. Several points are to be made that suggest a fragmented, interrupted, and hampered development of the genre, particularly in Germany and Austria. Clearly, this introduction does not allow for diving deeply into the complex political and social history of both countries to lay out the argument in full. Therefore, we want to single out just a few factors that explain why literary journalism has had such a complicated standing in these countries.

First, in comparison with United Kingdom and the United States, a striking lack of press freedom hindered journalistic media throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. German states formed a patchwork of local duchies and kingdoms with their varied regulations and restrictions on printing and publishing, which authorities sometimes changed haphazardly. This made journalistic endeavors prone to censorship. On a systemic level, the problem of censorship stalled journalistic innovations, such as, most obviously, a popular press with mass appeal and a concern for ordinary life that emerged later than in other countries.[9] The inchoate public setting, in which journalism operated through most of the nineteenth century, made gathering and publishing information difficult. This was particularly true for journalists who dealt with social issues. One notable example is Heinrich Grunholzer's account of visiting Vogtland, a settlement for the destitute on the outskirts of Berlin, at the advent of the Industrial Revolution in 1843.[10] Grunholzer was a Swiss priest who compiled an eyewitness account of the hardships of the everyday life of Berlin's poor and extensively interviewed people living in the Vogtland. This kind of social reportage was impossible to publish in the press. However, writer Bettina von Arnim included it in her remarkable social critique, *Dies Buch gehört dem König* [This book belongs to the king] (1843).[11]

The first half of the nineteenth century marked a phase that Dieter Paul Baumert in 1928 identified as "Schriftstellerischer Journalismus"[12] that is, "authorial journalism." It was a time when intellectual writers such as Heinrich von Kleist, Friedrich Schiller, and Heinrich Heine would write for newspapers. Nevertheless, except for Heine, who furnished lively accounts from Paris for Friedrich Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung*,[13] these writers neither practiced the

subjective and experiential style nor the immersive methods of the genre of reportage. Other writer-journalists such as Adolf Glassbrenner, Friedrich Saß, and Ernst Dronke, who were among the first to publish local reports and feuilletonist sketches about the growing cities, faced legal consequences, even imprisonment. Restrictions were less severe in the Austrian press, which is why the Viennese feuilleton is a prominent *genius loci*, a center, of literary journalism in the German-speaking world.[14]

Finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, a delayed "unleashing of mass communication"[15] took place in the Wilhelmine and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and literary journalism entered its first real phase. Especially in the Berlin press, popular urban dailies reacted to a changing social landscape. As if to compensate for the pluralization and individualization of lifestyles, the fragmentation and loss of social identity, and the anonymity and restlessness of city life, journalism offered a complementary version of the urban experience. Local reporting now tried to be intimate and authentic by addressing readers in a distinct voice, focusing on ordinary people, and telling stories in a common idiom. Reporters, who often lacked a middle-class background and higher education, practiced the genre by exploring different styles and methods of writing about local events and bringing new perspectives into journalism. The writing itself shifted from the traditional feuilleton sketch toward a new form of reportage that combined literary techniques with ethnographic methods. This practice of social reportage originated in the editorial environment of progressive publications such as *Vorwärts* and *Welt am Montag* in Berlin and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Vienna. Reporters drew on their knowledge of certain milieus, which allowed for immersion, and quickly implemented their method and style in leading papers such as *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Berliner Morgenpost*. This contributed to commodifying and institutionalizing the genre of literary journalism in Germany.

After World War I, the newly formed Weimar Republic became a hotbed for literary journalism in the German-speaking world. Not only was the genre now visible in press reports, but the functions and forms of journalistic reportage also became the topic of critical reflection within the context of the literary theory of Neue Sachlichkeit ("new sincerity").[16] Today, that decade remains the epitome of literary journalism. Partly, this golden age came into being through a transformation in media, where journalistic publications diversified even as power concentrated along political lines. Apart from broadsheets such as *Vossische Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, where gifted reporters such as Kisch, Roth, Sling Schlesinger, and Moritz Goldstein found room for practicing literary journalism,[17] high-brow weeklies, most notably Carl von Ossietzky's *Weltbühne* and Stefan Großmann's *Tage-Buch*, fervently

warned about the looming catastrophe of fascism in Germany by publishing exposés and biting social commentary.[18] Through their work, a professional journalistic culture became palpable in Germany for the first time. The creative possibilities of literary journalists were further enhanced by popular new radio and film outlets producing documentary accounts of social life and contemporary events.

All this became yesterday's news when Adolf Hitler seized power on January 30, 1933. Swiftly, the Nazis dismantled the free press and other media and banned Jewish journalists from the newsrooms. From then on, there was no leeway for literary journalism in the Third Reich. Many journalists, authors, and other creative agents went into exile (if they could). Under duress, journalists such as Leopold Schwarzschild, Walter Mehring, Maria Leitner, and Leo Lania published from the Netherlands and France until the outbreak of World War II. Others migrated to the United States to establish a *press émigré* there to be a voice of democratic Germany.[19] However, the status of literary journalism in this context remains largely unexplored to date.

After the fall of the Nazis and under the close watch of the Allied powers, German journalism and media were re-established and modeled after Anglosphere media systems.[20] In this regard, the paradigm of objective reporting narrowed the opportunities for literary journalism in the young Federal Republic of Germany. *Der Spiegel* and *Stern*, news magazines in the tradition of the U.S. *Time* and *Newsweek*, became venues for longform storytelling.

A historical blind spot of literary journalism research in Germany remains the GDR. Intuitively, this is unsurprising, as the party apparatus and the press were closely aligned and hindered independent and objective reporting. While this had left literary journalists room to operate in the GDR, the genre of reportage was held to high standards in the press and journalism education. The journalism section at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig had one of the most dedicated programs to teach journalistic methods and writing.[21] The idea behind teaching reportage so prominently was to operationalize the potential of the genre to fulfill a specific function in picturing everyday life in the country and relate these vignettes to the ideals and ideology of socialism.

This made literary journalism more of a tool for propaganda, but the depth and detail of reflection produced by the Sektion Journalistik regarding methods and styles of reportage can be found in an updated handbook,[22] which remains an invaluable source for studying and practicing the art of reportage in Germany. Apart from this theoretical groundwork, the GDR also produced several literary journalists who went on to German press careers after 1990. Among the most prominent writers is Alexander Osang, whose profiles of ordinary people and GDR celebrities have become iconic.[23]

While the traditions of German literary journalism are rich, it seems odd that the term *Literarischer Journalismus*, that is, literary journalism, is largely uncommon in today's German newsrooms. Still, a first inventory has shown that there is a broad and maybe growing number of practitioners who are bringing back to life what their predecessors have cultivated for centuries.[24] So how do these contemporary literary journalists define their professional practice? On what structural and organizational bases do they ground their work? And what prospects do they see for their kind of reporting?

Functions of Literary Journalism

An analysis of interviews with practitioners conducted for the exploratory study mentioned above and a broad variety of other self-testimonies show that only some of those identified as literary journalists would describe themselves as such. On the one hand, authors such as Erwin Koch, Marie-Luise Scherer, Helge Timmerberg, and Moritz von Uslar experiment with freer forms of reporting and find their approach aptly described by the term. On the other hand are journalists who emphatically reject it. These include especially those journalists who work as reporters for the quality press, and thus, in the center of the journalistic system. They associate the word "literary" with an inadmissible fictionalization of the thematized material—a feeling that is firmly encapsulated in a statement by Sabine Rückert, currently deputy chief editor of the weekly *ZEIT*:

> Literary journalism always has something dubious about it, so the question arises: Hasn't something been written into it? Literature aims at truth in a higher sense. But that doesn't have to be what really happened. Things that are true don't have to be real.[25]

Such an assessment, however, does not change the fact that Rückert and other contemporary reporters also regularly resort to techniques of literary presentation in their published texts. They, too, deviate from the strict topicality principle of conventional news selection in their choice of topics. In this sense, they also function as a corrective to purely factual-information journalism—a quality that has been described as essential for German literary journalism.[26]

A literary influence is also noticeable for many actors in the form of historical antecedents and models to which they refer in their journalistic activities: Indeed, formative references for them are often literary writers. Among the role models, important New Journalists such as Tom Wolfe, Hunter S. Thompson, and Gay Talese are frequently mentioned. However, the different traditions of German-language literary journalism play only a subordinate role for the current representatives of the genre.

Structures of Literary Journalism

A more detailed look at contemporary literary journalists' collection, selection, and presentation programs reveals that they differ fundamentally from the programs of news-based thematization. Otherwise, they are so diverse that they can hardly be reduced to a uniform denominator.

For genre representatives, text production is more like an artistic, creative process. It is often time-consuming—in all phases of journalistic operations, including the choice of topics, collection of information, as well as the writing process itself. A fitting example of this approach is longtime *Spiegel* author Marie-Luise Scherer, whose slowness is almost legendary:

> I spend a whole night looking for the word, for the adjective for what a moth remedy smells like. If you smoke, that is already expensive for the adjective of a moth remedy. And then I have it, though. Strangely enough, I have the certainty that I will find it. That's quite strange, otherwise I don't find myself so equipped, but with the words I know I'll find it.[27]

All in all, the forms of presentation in literary journalism are, of course, much freer than in news journalism—and, interestingly, there seems to be a fundamental openness to such forms in many German news organizations. In the case of a few media outlets, writers report specific constraints on the formal design of their articles, but overall, this seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

Most important, several actors view the general pressure to cut costs in the media industry with concern—a trend that is not only seen as a threat to literary journalism but also to journalism as a whole. Consequently, many literary journalists are increasingly turning to publications in book form, where the idealistic and financial incentives are apparently even greater than when working exclusively with journalistic newspapers and magazines.

Prospects for Literary Journalism

More than a few literary journalists point out that their timeless journalistic approach could become a unique selling point for the print industry. This argument can be understood by looking at the current economic success of some weekly newspapers and magazines in Germany. As the examples of *ZEIT* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* show, narrative, in-depth journalism can be sold—in some cases quite well.

In fact, the interview-study participants repeatedly expressed the hope that the need for narrative journalism will increase in the future, especially in light of the kind of journalism that currently dominates most online newsrooms. There, the fastest possible, up-to-the-minute news-ticker journalism is cultivated, which is the antithesis of literary journalism. It is in this deceleration that many literary journalists see a model for the future. Wolf Lotter, one

of the founders of *brand eins* magazine, says:

> The descriptive, literary journalists who deal with an object that is relatively complex, or even highly complex, and who try to break it down and make it understandable through their description, the storytellers, have a much better future than those who write down facts. Quite simply: because they are complexity workers. That is the difference. . . . For the overall understanding of a more complex world, which often seems complicated, they need stories that summarize, they need round stories, they need basic stories that need to be told, and not fast food."[28]

Against this backdrop, some interviewees conclude that literary journalism in Germany need not worry about its future. On the contrary, it could even help print media gain a new appreciation by adapting at least some of the impact principles typical of literary journalism. In the long run, this appreciation could also enable them to assert themselves in the competition among media.

Special Issue

The preceding overview may show that the German-speaking world can look back on a noteworthy tradition of literary journalism—and offers first hints of a no less fascinating present age of the genre in today's newsrooms. However, a coherent field of research that could make this treasure chest available to an international academic audience is still missing. This lack is not only a consequence of language barriers, but also a result of different research traditions within the academic world that have an interest in the study of literary journalism. Meanwhile, a lively interdisciplinary discourse between literary and journalism researchers, between humanities and social sciences, and between relevant adjacent disciplines remains an unfulfilled wish that is often thwarted by a strange and unreasonable fear of contact. While this special issue of *LJS* will hardly bridge existing gaps, it can perhaps offer the first building blocks for an interdisciplinary history of the genre that opens new horizons for a growing international research community.

To reach this goal, the special issue brings together five original research articles that cast a light on German literary journalism in different historical phases and from different perspectives:

Christine Boven provides an overview that explores the traditions of literary journalism in Germany by focusing on the most prominent forms, the feuilleton, and different kinds of reportage. By way of example, Boven introduces important protagonists and their texts, which she links to the historical and journalistic developments of the times in which they were written. At the same time, Boven applies a set of journalistic and literary criteria that characterize literary journalism to discuss similarities traceable through the centuries to identify challenges and trends of literary journalism in Germany today.

Kate McQueen sheds light on the legacy of pioneer journalist Max Winter (1870–1937), who spent nearly his entire journalistic career at Vienna's *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. McQueen outlines the ways in which ideological conditions at this socialist newspaper de-emphasized the classic literary-journalistic tradition of feuilleton, creating space for Winter's work to flourish. McQueen offers close readings and stylistic analysis of key texts that establish how Winter's work expanded city coverage during the important historical and cultural moment known as "Vienna 1900."

Maddalena Casarini discusses the role of literary journalism in courtroom reports during the Weimar Republic, focusing on the work of Elise Hirschmann (1894–1982), who wrote under her pen name Gabriele Tergit. The study analyzes Tergit's writing on the highly debated *Paragraph 218*, the abortion article of the German Penal Code. The analysis points out the aesthetic peculiarities of Tergit's articles and their potential to confront middle-class readers with bourgeois ideology. Further, Casarini questions how formal, political, and economic constraints influenced the development of court reporting as a journalistic and literary genre in the interwar years.

Peter Auf der Heyde's contribution focuses on contemporary narrative sportswriter Ronald Reng, who achieved both critical acclaim and commercial success with his portrait of a goalkeeper who tried his luck as a professional in the English Premier League. Based on interviews with Reng, as well as other authors, Auf der Heyde develops the notion of a distinct field of sports literary journalism in Germany, one which has antecedents both within and outside of the country. In fact, his close reading of Reng's writings discloses many parallels to the North American New Journalism of the 1960s that crossed the Atlantic with a distinct time lag.

Ina von der Wense and Vera Katzenberger, in the final research article, turn the spotlight on one of the biggest media scandals of the German-speaking world in the recent past. The reporter Claas Relotius had won some of the most prestigious journalism awards for his works in the news magazine *Der Spiegel*. However, his career came to an abrupt halt when a co-worker learned and revealed that most of his writings had been fabricated. The contributors analyze the fraud by engaging in a meta-journalistic discourse about the case and, on a larger scale, the ethical challenges of the verification process in reportage journalism. The study is based on an innovative combination of manual and automated content analyses that also offer methodological inspiration.

In addition to the five original research articles, the special issue also contains several book reviews related to the development of literary journalism in the German-speaking world. As guest editors for this issue, we are grateful to all contributors for their readiness to embark on a publication journey that can only be a point of departure for further explorations of the genre in the heart of Europe—and beyond.

Notes

[1] Allen, "The Trouble with Transparency," 323–40.

[2] Schudson, "The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism," 149–70.

[3] Dahlgren, "Media, Knowledge and Trust," 20–27.

[4] van Krieken and Sanders, "What Is Narrative Journalism?" 1393–412.

[5] Connery, "A Third Way to Tell the Story," 3–20.

[6] Bak and Reynolds, *The Routledge Companion to World Literary Journalism.*

[7] Eberwein, "Zur einführung: Wenn die blätter fallen" [Introductory note: when the leaves fall], in *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary Journalism], 16–17. Unless otherwise noted, translations are provided by the article authors.

[8] Fitzgerald, "The Continuous Line," 50, 57.

[9] Birkner, "Journalism 1914," 155–56.

[10] Grunholzer, "Erfahrungen eines jungen Schweizers im Vogtlande" [Experiences of a young Swiss in the Vogtland], 534–98. The Vogtland was a slum on the outskirts of Berlin.

[11] Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse* [Social reportage as a genre of the popular press], 50; see also, von Arnim, "Erfahrungen eines jungen Schweizers im Vogtlande" [Experiences of a young Swiss in the Vogtland], 534–98.

[12] Baumert, "Die Periode des schriftstellerischen Journalismus" [The period of authorial journalism], 35–46.

[13] Pöttker, "Modellfall Heinrich Heine" [Exemplary case: Heinrich Heine], 58–61.

[14] Eberwein, "Der 'andere' Journalismus" [The 'other' journalism], 5–16.

[15] Wilke, *Grundzüge der Medien-und Kommunikationsgeschichte* [Fundamentals of media and communication history], 155. Original quote: "Entfesselung der Massenkommunikation."

[16] For example, Leo Lania, "Reportage als soziale Funktion" [Reportage as social function], 171–73. Original quote: "Neue Sachlichkeit" ("new sincerity").

[17] Eberwein, " 'Ich zeichne das Gesicht der Zeit': Joseph Roth" ['I paint the face of time': Joseph Roth], 164–66; McQueen, "Into the Courtroom," 9–27; Ubbens, ". . . den Stempel 'Inquit' einer Zeit aufgedrückt. Moritz Goldstein–Inquit–der Journalist," 93–121.

[18] Fetz, "Zur Produktionsweise von Wien—Berlin Stereotypen," 382–88; Gallus, *Heimat "Weltbühne."*

[19] Spalek and Bell, *Exile: The Writer's Experience*, 3; Hardt, "Journalism in Exile," 68–81; Schwaiger, *Hinter der Fassade der Wirklichkeit,* 1–464; Leitner, Mädchen mit drei Namen.

[20] Beck, *Das Mediensystem Deutschlands* [The German media system], 35.

[21] Meyen, "Die Erfindung der Journalistik in der DDR," 21–23.

[22] Kurz et al., *Stilistik für Journalisten* [Style guide for journalists], 141–298.

[23] Osang, *Aufsteiger–Absteiger: Karrieren in Deutschland* [Parvenus and people who decline in social status: Careers in Germany].

[24] Eberwein, Literarischer Journalismus Heute, Part C, in *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary Journalism], 150–215.

[25] Sabine Rückert, quoted in Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary

Journalism], 164. (translation, Eberwein's). Original quote: "Literarischer journalismus hat immer etwas unseriöses, da stellt sich die frage: ist da nicht irgendetwas hineingedichtet worden? Literatur zielt ja auf die Wahrheit in einem höheren Sinne. Das muss aber nicht wirklich so passiert sein. Dinge, die wahr sind, müssen nicht wirklich sein." Sabine Rückert, seit uber 20 Jahren fur das "Dossier" der Zeit aktiv und seit Ende 2012 Mitglied der Chefredaktion des Wochenblattes, bringt dies auf den Punkt. Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary Journalism],160–61, identifies Rückert (Die Zeit) as one of a list of people interviewed from March 31, 2011, through June 4, 2012.

[26] Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary Journalism], 101–49.

[27] Marie-Luise Scherer, in an interview with Knut Cordsen (see Dradio.de from January 2006); http://www.dradio.de/dkultur/senungen/faxit/4600231/, quoted in Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary Journalism], 202–203. (translation, Eberwein's). Original quote: "Ich suche eine ganze Nacht nach dem Wort, nach dem Adjektiv dafür, wie ein Mottenmittel riecht. Das ist dann, wenn Sie rauchen, für das Adjektiv eines Mottenmittels schon teuer. Und dann habe ich es aber. Komischerweise habe ich die Gewissheit, dass ich es finde. Das ist ganz komisch, sonst empfinde ich mich gar nicht so ausgestattet, aber bei den Wörtern weiß ich, dass ich es finde."

[28] Wolf Lotter, quoted in Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary Journalism], 213. (translation, Eberwein's). Original quote: "Die beschreibenden, literarischen Journalisten, die sich also mit einem Gegenstand auseinandersetzen, der relativ komplex ist, oder hochkomplex ist sogar, und die versuchen, den durch ihre Beschreibung runterzubrechen und verstehbar zu machen, die Geschichtenerzähler, haben eine wesentlich bessere Zukunft als die, die Fakten aufschreiben. Schlicht und ergreifend: weil sie Komplexitätsarbeiter sind. Das ist der Unterschied. . . . Zum Gesamtverständnis einer komplexeren Welt, die oft kompliziert scheint, brauchen sie Geschichten, die zusammenfassen, brauchen sie runde Geschichten, brauchen sie grundlegende Geschichten, die erzählt werden müssen, und keine Häppchen."

Bibliography

Ash, Adrienne. "Lyric Poetry in Exile." In Spalek and Bell, *Exile: The Writer's Experience*, 1–23.

Allen, David S. "The Trouble with Transparency: The Challenge of Doing Journalism Ethics in a Surveillance Society." *Journalism Practice* 9, no. 3 (2008): 323–40.

Bak, John S., and Bill Reynolds, eds. *The Routledge Companion to World Literary Journalism*. London and New York: Routledge, 2023.

Baumert, Dieter Paul. "Die Periode des schriftstellerischen Journalismus" [The period of authorial journalism]. In *Die Entstehung des deutschen Journalismus: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie* [The development of German journalism: A sociological study], 35–46. Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1928.

Beck, Klaus. *Das Mediensystem Deutschlands: Strukturen, Märkte, Regulierung* [The

German media system: Structures, markets, regulations]. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2012.

Birkner, Thomas. "Journalism 1914: The Birth of Modern Journalism in Germany a Century Ago." *Journalism History* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 153–63.

Connery, Thomas B. "A Third Way to Tell the Story: American Literary Journalism at the Turn of the Century." In *Literary Journalism in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Norman Sims, 3–20. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Dahlgren, Peter. "Media, Knowledge and Trust: The Deepening Epistemic Crisis of Democracy." Javnost: *The Public* 25, nos. 1–2 (2018): 20–27.

Eberwein, Tobias. "Der 'andere' Journalismus: Verselbstständigung und Differenzierung an der Grenze von Journalismus und Literatur" [The 'other' journalism: Gaining of independence and differentiation on the border of journalism and literature]. *Medien & Zeit* 30, no. 1 (2015): 5–16.

———. " 'Ich zeichne das Gesicht der Zeit': Joseph Roth." ["I paint the face of time": Joseph Roth]. In "*Ich lass mir den Mund nicht verbieten!": Journalisten als Wegbereiter der Pressefreiheit und Demokratie* ["I will not shut up": Journalists as trailblazers for freedom of the press and democracy], edited by Michael Haller and Walter Hömberg, 164–66. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2020.

———. *Literarischer Journalismus: Theorie–Traditionen–Gegenwart* [Literary Journalism: Theory–Traditions–Present]. Cologne: Halem, 2013.

Fetz, Bernhard. "Zur Produktionsweise von Wien—Berlin Stereotypen: Der Publizist und 'Tage-Buch' Herausgeber Stefan Großmann" [About the production of Vienna-Berlin Stereotypes: The publicist and editor of the 'Tage-Buch' Stefan Großmann]. *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 13, no. 2 (2003): 382–88.

Fitzgerald, Jonathan D. "The Continuous Line: Visualizing the History of American Literary Journalism." *Medien & Zeit* 36, no. 4 (2021): 50–60.

Gallus, Alexander. *Heimat "Weltbühne": Eine Intellektuellengeschichte im 20*. Jahrhundert [Home "Weltbühne": An intellectual story in the 20th century]. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012.

Grunholzer, Heinrich. "Erfahrungen eines jungen Schweizers im Vogtlande" [Experiences of a young Swiss in the Vogtland]. In *Dies Buch gehört dem König* [This book belongs to the king], edited by Bettina von Arnim, 534–98. Berlin: 1843.

Hardt, Hanno. "Journalism in Exile: An Introduction." In Spalek and Bell, *Exile: The Writer's Experience*, 68–81.

Kurz, Josef, Daniel Müller, Joachim Pötschke, Horst Pöttker, Martin Gehr, eds. *Stilistik für Journalisten* [Style guide for journalists]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010.

Lania, Leo. "Reportage als soziale Funktion" [Reportage as social function], *In Neue Sachlichkeit: Band 2–Quellen und Dokumente* [New sincerity: vol. 2, Sources and documents], edited by Sabina Becker, 171–73. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000. First published in *Die Literarische Welt* 2, no. 26 (1926): 5.

Leitner, Maria. *Mädchen mit drei Namen: Reportagen aus Deutschland und ein Berliner Roman 1928–1933* [Girl with three names: Reportages from Germany and a novel from Berlin 1928–1933], edited by Helga Schwarz and Wilfried Schwarz. Berlin: Aviva, 2013.

McQueen, Kate. "Into the Courtroom: Paul 'Sling' Schlesinger and the Origins of German Literary Trial Reportage." *Literary Journalism Studies* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 8–27.

Meyen, Michael. "Die Erfindung der Journalistik in der DDR: Ein Beitrag zur Fachgeschichte der Nachkriegszeit" [The invention of journalism studies in the GDR: A contribution to the history of the field after the war]. *Journalistik* 2, no. 1 (2019): 3–32.

Michael, Hendrik. *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse. Erzählen im Journalismus und die Vermittlung städtischer Armut 1880-1910* [Social reportage as genre of the popular press: Storytelling in journalism and the mediation of urban poverty, 1880-1914]. Bremen: edition lumière, 2020.

Osang, Alexander. *Aufsteiger–Absteiger: Karrieren in Deutschland* [Parvenus and people who decline in social status: Careers in Germany]. Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1992.

Pöttker, Horst. "Modellfall Heinrich Heine: Über das Verhältnis von Journalismus und Schriftstellertum in Deutschland" [Exemplary case: Heinrich Heine: About the relationship between journalism and literature in Germany]. In *Journalistische Kulturen: Internationale und interdisziplinäre Theoriebausteine* [Journalistic cultures: International and interdisciplinary theoretical elements], edited by Oliver Hahn and Roland Schröder, 56–75. Cologne: Halem, 2008.

Schudson, Michael. "The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism." *Journalism* 2, no. 2 (2001): 149–70.

Schwaiger, Michael. *Hinter der Fassade der Wirklichkeit: Leben und Werk von Leo Lania* [Behind the facade of reality: Life and work of Leo Lania]. Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2017.

Spalek, John M. and Robert F. Bell, eds. *Exile: The Writer's Experience*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Tuchman, Gaye. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *American Journal of Sociology* 77, no. 4 (January 1972): 660–79.

Ubbens, Irmtraud. ". . . den Stempel 'Inquit' einer Zeit aufgedrückt: Moritz Goldstein—'Inquit'—der Journalist" [. . . the stamp 'Inquit' impressed on an era: Moritz Goldstein—'Inquit'—the journalist]. In *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* [Yearbook for Communication History] 7 (2005): 93–121.

Van Krieken, Kobie, and José Sanders. "What Is Narrative Journalism? A Systematic Review and an Empirical Agenda." *Journalism* 22, no. 6 (2021): 1393–412.

Von Arnim, Bettina. *Dies Buch gehört dem König* [This book belongs to the king], Berlin: 1843.

Wilke, Jürgen. *Grundzüge der Medien- und Kommunikationsgeschichte* [Fundamentals of media and communication history]. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: UTB, 2008.

Kurt Tucholsky in Paris, 1928. Image by Sonja Thomassen. Wikimedia Commons.

Tracing the History of Literary Journalism in Germany: Developments, Challenges, and Trends

Christine Boven
University of Europe for Applied Sciences, Germany

Abstract: This study investigates the history of literary journalism in Germany, tracing from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the present. Analyzing the most prominent forms of the genre, the feuilleton and the reportage, as well as prominent German literary journalists, such as Heinrich Heine, Egon Erwin Kisch, Kurt Tucholsky, and Günter Wallraff, the essay offers insight into the connections between history, technical development, politics, and traditional and literary journalism. What emerges is a picture of an eventful history that is still partly unexplored or, at least, under-researched. The inclusion of journalists who in earlier studies have not necessarily been deemed representatives or practitioners of literary journalism gives evidence of how large and rich is the spectrum in which the form exists in this country. Furthermore, the view is expanded to include journalists who reported from exile during the Nazi era and—because contemporary literary journalism in Germany is treated primarily as a West German phenomenon—the work of Heinz Knobloch is presented as an example of literary journalism in the former GDR. The consideration of the current state of reportage as a form of literary journalism and the associated discussions about the concepts of what is permissible in journalism, should give rise to further research.

Keywords: German history – journalists/reporters – Nazi era – feuilleton – reportage – East Germany – literary journalism developments – challenges – trends – journalism vs. fiction

Works of literature and journalism are shaped by the times in which they are written, and vice versa. A closer, if brief, look at the two in a historical context yields valuable insights into their relationships and the development of literary journalism in Germany. This study explores the country's history of literary journalism and focuses on its most prominent forms—the feuilleton and reportage. The most important protagonists are discussed, and their texts are linked to the historical and journalistic developments of the times in which they were written. At the same time, the journalistic and literary criteria that characterize literary journalism are applied to pinpoint similarities that can be traced through the centuries, to identify challenges and trends.

Compared to the large body of research conducted by non-German scholars, there have been relatively few studies of literary journalism as it has been practiced in Germany. This could lead to the conclusion that there is no long-standing tradition of the genre worth exploring. The relationship between literature and journalism has been a frequent topic of research but, until recently, the focus of scholarly interest has largely been on the differences between the two rather than where they overlap to create a new genre or form.[1] There are reasons for this. One, the concept of a hierarchical order that places literature above journalism is often in the way.[2] Two, scandals contribute to the difficult position of narrative forms in journalism. Among the most recent of these is Claas Relotius's numerous fake reportages.[3] Inevitably, in the wake of such a scandal, one of the current discussions is about the supposed incompatibility of facts and the literary techniques employed to convey them.[4] (Please see Ina von der Wense and Vera Katzenberger's essay, "Metajournalistic Discourse on the Reportage in the Context of the Claas Relotius Affair" on pages 142–165, for an analysis of the scandal's implications for literary journalism.)

The overview of the research that follows seeks to shed light on the question of why German literary journalism does not yet have its own firm place among various journalistic genres. Among the reasons is, first, literature and journalism have largely been treated as two separate systems. Oliver Meier has gone so far as to depict their relationship as a "sibling dispute" and describes his exploration of the concept of literary journalism as "a trip into a grey area."[5] In the early 2000s, scholars explored the subject from different angles and in more detail. In the anthology *Literatur und Journalismus. Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* (Literature and journalism: theory, contexts, case studies) edited by Bern Blöbaum and Stefan Neuhaus,[6] the concepts of literature and journalism are compared without investigating the connection of the two in depth. The approach is much influenced by Niklas Luhmann's *Systemtheorie*

(systems theory)[7] and, though acknowledging that the relationship of facts and fiction might be worth investigating, the matter is treated as peripheral. The suggestions for methodological approaches are formulated in the subjunctive: "The forms, processes, judgments and motives of the authors [or players] in this [border zone] could be analyzed . . . . with the methods of content analysis, and with qualitative and quantitative interviews."[8] The strength of this collection, however, is that the works of some of the protagonists of literary journalism in Germany—Heinrich Heine,[9] Egon Erwin Kisch,[10] and Erich Kästner[11]—are put into a journalistic context.

Joan Kristin Bleicher and Bernhard Pörksen, who edited a volume on the New Journalism titled *Grenzgänger* (Border crossers),[12] used this label to characterize authors who have crossed the border between literature and journalism in either direction. The term seems to imply that it takes this kind of author to produce literary journalism. The chapter authors' focus is not on actual texts. Some of the research presented in *Grenzgänger* assumes that the emergence of the New Journalism in the 1960s and '70s was the first time literature and journalism influenced each other. Thus, the works of Tom Wolfe, Truman Capote, and Norman Mailer are used as a benchmark to analyze what German examples of New Journalism or literary journalism could be.[13] This narrows the perspective of what literary journalism is and neglects the fact that it has—in one form or another—existed in Germany for centuries. Moreover, there is strong evidence that German journalism has literary roots.[14] Despite these limitations, Bleicher and Pörksen's anthology offers valuable insights into the somewhat problematic relationship between facts and fiction, credibility, and truth. Dieter Roß's[15] and Elisabeth Klaus's[16] contributions are particularly important in this context, as they address the tension between fact and fiction, elaborated later in this essay.

Horst Pöttker, in his essay, "Ende des Milleniums—Ende des Journalismus?" (The end of the millennium—The end of journalism?),[17] offers another approach. He questions the rule that the fictional and the nonfictional should not be mixed in journalism and discusses whether the separation of facts and fiction is essential for the journalistic profession. He identifies a "cautious reliteralization of journalism."[18] Pöttker does not write explicitly about literary journalism but identifies important tendencies toward a blurring of borders between strictly fact-based journalistic practice and literary elements, placing them in a historical context. His ideas inform this study.

Another noteworthy work is Tobias Eberwein's doctoral thesis, which offers a comprehensive presentation of the development of German literary journalism from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century. Looking at the purpose of literary journalism, Eberwein sees and treats the form as

an "irritation,"[19] that is, as a conceptual alternative to the journalistic mainstream. Eberwein's research shows literary journalism to be a genre that thrives in times of radical social and political change. This characteristic—making political statements and addressing social problems by depicting current conditions—is found throughout German history.

In the present study, forms of German literary journalism from the eighteenth century to the present will be presented with an emphasis on both the purpose of the texts and their journalistic and literary characteristics. The primary journalistic characteristics include topicality and originality, eyewitness reporting, participant observation, authenticity, transparency, and clarity; and the key literary characteristics include immersion, voice, use of thoughts and feelings, and narrative and dramatic techniques.[20]

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century German Literary Journalism

In the time between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, literature and journalism were not yet separate systems. There was a lively exchange and frequent mixing and mingling of the two. It was, as Dieter Paul Baumert calls it, a time of "literature-oriented journalism."[21] Dieter Roß looks at it from another perspective, describing the development as the "journalization of literature,"[22] when renowned writers of the day, such as Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811) and Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), ventured into journalism. Roß describes Kleist's journalistic ambitions as a way out of financial difficulties and a lack of acknowledgment of his literary achievements. Kleist's brief tenure as publisher and editor of the *Berliner Abendblätter* (Berlin evening paper), first issued October 1, 1810, is worth noting.[23] As Berlin's first daily newspaper, the *Abendblätter* offered reportages, anecdotes on everyday events, and crime and court reports—a mixture that proved successful with a larger audience. The paper can also be seen as an example of the so-called *Meinungspresse* (Opinion press).[24] Kleist wrote and published texts in which he criticized Napoleon on the one hand and Prussian politics on the other. This ultimately led, first to censorship and, then, the year after its launch, the paper's closure, with the last issue published on March 30, 1811.

Heine's career might be described as having a more successful storyline. Dieter Roß details the beginning of Heine's journalistic career as an editor and author for Johann Friedrich Freiherr von Cotta's newspaper *Neue Politische Annalen* (New political annals) in 1827.[25] By the time Heine began working for the *Annalen*, he was a renowned writer, famous for *Reisebilder* (Travel pictures),[26] published in 1826. He was an asset to the publisher, who was keen on new talent that could attract readers and grow circulation.[27] The era was characterized by political and technological turbulence: the French

Revolution changed the political, social, and cultural scenario in Germany, and advances in printing equipment sped up communication.[28] Roß describes these developments as having brought about an "Entgrenzung" (delimiting) of the areas of life, that is, politics, society and culture, which had been relatively autonomous before.[29] He quotes Jürgen Habermas to explain the result of this development: "everything [was] connected to and communicate[d] with everything else."[30] Literature's task was now to interfere with, reason about, and comment on political and social developments. By discovering reality, it changed both its forms and functions. The discovery and merger of reality with literature changed literature in both its forms and functions.[31]

At the same time, censorship was all but abolished. The border between literature and journalism became permeable and, consequently, there was an abundant production of literary-journalistic texts, such as eyewitness reports, letters, reportages, and feuilletons—the latter a genre combining subjectivity, irony, satire, and, to a certain extent, news reporting.[32] Heine was one of the most prominent feuilletonists of the nineteenth century, and his writings greatly contributed to the development of modern journalism. To twenty-first century journalist Evelyn Roll, quoting Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Heine is the "lightning-fast inventor of all journalistic genres," meaning he also invented the modern feuilleton. Co-contemporary journalist Matthias Matussek also attributes to Heine the invention of the modern feuilleton.[33] Roll writes that Heine wanted to be a journalist, "not merely a travel writer or an eye witness in the tradition of Herodotus, Pliny the Younger or Daniel Defoe."[34] Appointed Paris correspondent of Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* (General newspaper), initially published in Tübingen and, later, Stuttgart, Heine was to report about society and culture, excluding political opinion, but this proved difficult because he was an ardent supporter of Saint Simon's criticism of aristocracy.[35] In 1834 Heine began contributing regularly to the *Deutsch–Französische Jahrbücher* (German–French year books), published by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge.[36]

Heine saw himself as a literary artist, who—not the least due to his standing and fame—felt committed to raising his voice against inequality. In this, he was a journalist, long before the profession, per se, existed.[37] Pöttker goes further. In his "Modellfall Heinrich Heine. *Über* das Verhältnis von Journalismus und Schriftstellertum in Deutschland" (The model case Heinrich Heine: About the relationship of journalism and writing in Germany), Pöttker writes that Heine, through his advocacy for the freedom of the press, authorship, and commitment to the truth, paved the way for a professionalization of journalism in Germany in much the same way Defoe did for journalism in England.[38] Pöttker emphasizes Heine's role in shaping the feuilleton and re-

portage genres long before they became professional standards in the popular press in the second half of the nineteenth century. Pöttker writes, "Basically, everything that Heine published was journalism, if that meant the professional effort to overcome spatial, temporal, and social communication barriers in order to convey the most correct and important information possible to the largest and most diverse audience possible."[39] Pöttker notes that Heine "practiced the unity of independence and [his] own involvement in the events as well as their reflection in front of the audience throughout his professional life as a journalist."[40] This means that he was an involved observer who, as a journalist, did not let himself be influenced by his editors. When pertinent, he criticized political events, and his standpoint was clear to his readers. For Heine, the concepts of the "public" and "journalism" and "creating publicity" had positive and affirmative connotations.[41]

While journalistic characteristics generally are not foregrounded in the feuilleton, journalism and literature truly overlap in the reportage, and their features are easy to identify. Early examples are the social reportages *Ansichten vom Niederrhein* (Views from the Lower Rhine) of Georg Forster, written between 1791 and 1794, and Johann Gottfried Seume's *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* (Walk to Syracuse in the year 1802), a socio-critical travel reportage based on the author's own experience.[42] Instead of works of art, Seume sees streets and places "not only covered with beggars, but these beggars were really dying there of hunger and misery."[43] The key element of Seume's text is eyewitness reporting, which creates authenticity and credibility. Separated from the time of his writing by more than two hundred years, twenty-first century readers cannot be sure Seume's report is free of mistakes and incongruities. As Albert Meier states in his epilogue to Seume's book, "[I]t is certain that Seume sometimes made things up and arranged many facts afterwards"[44] when preparing the material for publication. This, however, should not automatically disqualify his work as a reportage in the journalistic sense—the great reporter Kisch was known to have used these "stylistic means" in his reportages a couple of centuries later.[45]

Reportage as a more defined journalistic form emerged during the *Vormärz*[46] (Pre-March), the time between the Wiener Kongress in 1815 and the March Revolution of 1848. Writers placed great importance on social conditions and social egalitarianism in Germany. In the 1840s, industrialism and poverty became important topics, which led to the emergence of socio-critical writing. One of the first writers to make industry a topic in Germany was Georg Weerth (1832–56). In the context of this study, the social reportages he wrote are important. In his *Skizzen aus dem sozialen und politischen Leben der Briten* (Sketches from the social and political life of the Britons),

published in the form of letters in 1843 and 1844, Weerth offers his first-hand impressions, using journalistic techniques such as eyewitness reporting, interviewing, and role-playing.[47] He speaks to people in a homeless shelter about their situation, posing as an assistant as he accompanies a doctor on his rounds, and thus gets closer to the matter. He thereby becomes a role-playing eyewitness. This technique was further developed by Victor Adler, Max Winter, Ergon Kisch, George Orwell, and Günter Wallraff.[48] It can be argued that Weerth was a reporter in that he combined "first-hand knowledge and political beliefs with narrative techniques."[49] His writings about social inequality and the situation of the proletarians were produced at in times that "were not conducive to social reporting," but the "social conditions certainly lent themselves to critical reporting."[50]

This overview gives evidence that until the journalistic system had been fully developed near the end of the nineteenth century, feudal and absolutist censorship made it difficult, if not impossible, for journalists to voice their opinions. They had to "take refuge in literary fiction if they wanted to make their socially critical or political views public"[51]

Michael Haller argues that the journalistic profession came into existence with the rise of the popular press, driven by industrialization and technological progress.[52] As populations in large cities grew, the need for more information and entertainment increased. The processing of information became more professional, in that journalism became more fact-based and the texts less likely to offer opinions or fictional elements. With the work of a journalist no longer having anything in common with literary writing, the two systems started to drift apart. Large publishing houses issued newspapers several times a day and, increasingly, created more competition for readers. In seeking to inform the populace as quickly, exclusively, and interestingly as possible, the tabloid press emerged in Germany.[53] "The literary reporter, who had existed for a long time, became a professional journalist [i.e.,] a news reporter."[54] The widening gap between journalism and literature provided the space for literary journalism.

Twentieth-century Literary Journalism

The major social and political changes occurring in Germany (and other European countries) in the early part of the twentieth century—World War I, 1914–18, and the Weimar Republic, 1919–33—called for a new approach to journalism and literature. The same can be said in an even more drastic way for the 1930s and '40s, when the National Socialist regime's severe interventions all but obliterated journalistic work. The suppression continued in a different form when that regime collapsed: When World War II ended

in 1945, the Allied Forces took control and reorganized the German press.

For journalism, the start of World War I meant that the freedom of the press, fiercely fought for in the nineteenth century, ended. Up to then, the understanding had been that the function of the press was to give the citizens a voice, to make their opinions and moods public. However, both military and civil authorities wanted to influence the mood of the people (*Volksstimmung*) so it would not endanger military planning and action. This could be done by controlling the media, which in turn would keep the people's emotions under control.[55] High losses in the trenches and a supply crisis in the winter of 1915–16 led to a rapid change of mood, and censorship was meticulously organized to work against this development.[56] Though not fully effective, censorship was successful to the extent that any doubt about the ultimate victory of the German troops was squelched. Based on this manipulative reporting, the myth of a German army undefeated in the field (*Dolchstoßlegende*) flourished.[57]

The post-war times, with their political, economic, and social tensions, triggered a need for reliable information and a compass to help steer through the challenging times. Article 118 of the Weimar Constitution of August 11, 1919, guaranteed freedom of opinion and the press to every German. At the same time, the directives of the Press Law of the Reich of 1874, which gave the president the option to suspend or even revoke the freedom of the press within the framework of emergency decrees, remained unchanged.[58] As early as 1921 the first restrictions were placed on press organs that were viewed as subversive. In July 1923, these directives were codified for a duration of five years.[59] In these circumstances, reportage seemed the most suitable genre to fly below the radar of censorship and, at the same time, provide orientation.[60]

That said, the time of the Weimar Republic was also characterized by a tendency toward the arts becoming more political, which meant new approaches to journalism were needed.[61] What emerged is what Harold B. Segel has called the "new objectivity."[62] This concept "had a distinct appeal to writers of leftist persuasion as it gave them the opportunity to present an unvarnished 'documentation' of the actual economic and political tensions of the time."[63]

Prominent writers and journalists of these times in Germany were Egon Erwin Kisch, Kurt Tucholsky, Joseph Roth,[64] and Erich Kästner, all of whom had strong political beliefs. The main purpose of their writing was to get their political and moral opinions across to their readers and, as Tucholsky did, warn of the threats to democracy during the Weimar Republic and the subsequent ascent of the National Socialists. The times were characterized

by "[d]issatisfaction, pessimism and foreboding beside complacency, optimism, and prosperity. Creativity and chaos, brilliance and stupidity, mania and calm, paradox and contrast—such was Weimar."[65]

There is a plethora of research on Kisch and his legendary reportages. As John Hartsock states, the "origins of Kisch's reportage . . . can be traced back at least in part to the *feuilleton* of French origin in the nineteenth century."[66] However, Kisch opened new perspectives for the genre and showed that everyday topics can be made interesting when written about in a clear and comprehensive way.[67] One important focus is on what Kisch himself said about reportage as a genre and his attitude toward credibility and truth:

> The reporter has no bias, has nothing to justify and has no point of view. He must be an impartial witness and must deliver impartial testimony as reliable as possible; at any rate, such testimony is more important (for clarification) than the clever speech of the district attorney or the defense attorney.[68]

It should be stated at this point, regarding objectivity, or "impartiality," as Kisch calls it, that German and U.S. scholars differ as far as the focus of their research is concerned. While Christian Ernst Siegel places great importance on Kisch's statement and its implications,[69] Segel and Hartsock focus more on the content and literary characteristics of Kisch's reportages than on their objectivity.[70] Geisler, focusing on literary and narrative techniques, comes to the conclusion that Kisch created an "independent form."[71] However, the importance of being an eyewitness needs to be stressed in this context. In his diaries, which Kisch began to write in 1914 and were published in book form eight years later as *Soldat im Prager Korps* (Soldier in the Prague Corps), and expanded for a new edition in 1929, *Schreib das auf, Kisch!* (Write it down, Kisch!), Kisch, the participating observer, writes about his first-hand experiences as a soldier.[72] His vivid accounts show the reader how different and much more dramatic and frightening the situation in the trenches is from what could be read in the official war reports.[73] During his career as a reporter, Kisch's style and approach undergo changes. In his travel reportages, he invents authorial narrators, uses the impersonal pronoun "one" to represent the perspective of people involved in the events he wrote about, and even writes about himself in the third person as "our man."[74] In these reportages, Kisch's perspective is that of the eyewitness and participant observer.

In this context, the Austrian journalist Maria Leitner must also be mentioned. Born in Croatia in 1882, she is seen as "one of the pioneers of 'role reportage.' "[75] In her texts, Leitner writes about her own experiences, and in her social reportages she gives first-hand accounts of her life as a cleaning woman, waitress, and cigar factory apprentice. She "reported from the "engine rooms

of society and identified with the victims of the capitalist world."[76]

Kurt Tucholsky, a contemporary of Kisch and Kästner, was one of the most versatile and controversial writers of his time. In all his different roles—essayist, novelist, and political critic, to name a few—he always took on "the professional role of the journalist,"[77] writing as an observer and commentator. Fritz Raddatz writes that Tucholsky "did not hold any political ambitions [and] was actually not a political person"[78] but—in today's terms—he was a political animal.[79] After his experiences at the eastern front in World War I, he opposed militarism.[80] Early in his career, Tucholsky "believed in the effect of words to enlighten people and thus change their political understanding." He also "found himself in the curious position of hating the sham republic and advocating its destruction while simultaneously defending it against the nihilism of the extremists."[81] Eventually he became depressed because there was little to no political and social improvement. After a short time in Paris, he returned to Berlin and briefly took over as publisher of the leftist weekly magazine, *Die Weltbühne* (The world stage). Tucholsky's greatest ambition was to bring about change with his texts. His sense of justice drove him, as did his fears for Germany at the end of the Weimar Republic. A prime example of his clairvoyant criticism is the text "Die deutsche Pest" [The German plague] of May 13, 1930, which he wrote as Ignaz Wrobel (one of his many pseudonyms, each of which had a distinct function and style, reflecting different aspects of his personality).[82] He openly attacks the Weimar politicians who were giving free rein to the Nazis:

> The Nazis terrorize many small and medium-sized towns, and they do this with a look on their faces as if to say that they risk terribly much; they always look as if they and their parades are goodness knows how illegal. However, they are legal, tolerated, semi-official. And this is where the Republic's guilt starts: it is blood guilt.[83]

Harold L. Poor describes Tucholsky as "one of the most feared of the intellectuals hated by the Nazis," and notes that Tulcholsky's "liberal political convictions coupled with his satiric wit and immense public popularity frightened [them]."[84] "His name was put on the first expatriation list, and his books were burned together with those of Erich Kästner, Heinrich Mann, . . . and others on May 10, 1933."[85]

Journalism from 1930 to 1945

While book burnings can be seen as a dramatic rupture for both literature and journalism in Germany, the Nazi leaders' general purpose was clear before this point. By 1930 approximately 200 newspapers were forbidden, and further emergency decrees in March and July 1931 saw the

reintroduction of censorship for posters and flyers. The decree against political riots made endangering the security of the state by falsification of facts a criminal offense.[86] The time between the mid-1930s and the end of World War II was characterized by a press commanded by the Nazi Party, with all opposition forbidden. In March 1933, all competences of broadcasting and press policies were given to the Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda.[87] Critical reporting ceased to exist, and the profession of journalism no longer existed.[88] The media were *gleichgeschaltet* (forced into line) and, Fritz Raddatz notes, "everyone of rank and name, with political decency and human dignity" had either left Germany or had been killed.[89]

Several journalists who were prominent for their social and political reporting in the Weimar Republic emigrated when Hitler came to power. They continued to write against the regime from their respective new homes. Among them were Gabriele Tergit,[90] Rudolf Olden, and Leopold Schwarzschild. Tergit was known for her court reportages and novels but also for her contributions to the *Berliner Tageblatt* and von Ossietzky's *Weltbühne* (World stage). Tergit escaped to Palestine and later moved to London, where she wrote for media published for the Germans in exile.[91] Olden—a lawyer who advocated for gender equality and the legalization of homosexuality in the 1920s, was a pacifist, journalist, and Nazi critic Carl von Ossietzky's defense attorney in 1932. He also wrote for the *Berliner Tageblatt* (Berlin daily newspaper) and wrote and published from Czechoslovakia, his first exile destination, a biography of Adolf Hitler titled *Hitler der Eroberer. Entlarvung einer Legende* (Hitler the conqueror: Debunking of a myth).[92] Schwarzschild, who managed to escape to Paris, there published the first number of his weekly *Das Neue Tage-Buch* (The new diary) on July 1, 1933. His newspaper *Tagebuch* (Diary), previously published in Berlin, had been banned immediately after the "Gleichschaltung," that is, the Nazi takeover of the media after the party's rise to power in the early 1930s.[93] Contributors to the new weekly included Rudolf Olden, Joseph Roth, Thomas Mann and his brother Heinrich Mann, Alfred Döblin, and Sigmund Freud, to name the most prominent ones.[94] The *Neue Tage-Buch*, Klaus Mann has stated, unlike most of the other journalists' and publishers' works, was taken seriously internationally. Mann went on to say that "no other [publication] did so much to inform the world about the true nature and gruesome potentialities of National Socialism."[95] The *Neue Tage-Buch*'s emphasis was on political and economic developments, and its strength was the analysis, rather than the reporting, of facts. Hans-Albert Walter notes that Schwarzschild had early on understood Hitler's motives and voiced the conclusions he had drawn as "warnings against Germany's war preparations" and "Hitler's essentially expansionist aims."[96]

One of the writers who stayed in Germany was Kästner. His contribution to German literary journalism is extensive, albeit under-researched. Gunter Reus offers insights into Kästner's work from a journalistic point of view and shows that Kästner "applied journalistic criteria to his literary texts, just as he shaped his journalistic texts literarily. He allowed what is often neatly separated and evaluated very differently in Germany to flow into each other."[97]

During his life, Kästner wrote novels and children's books, reportages, poems, satire, chansons, screenplays, radio dramas, and cabaret texts. He was a "contemporary witness who, unlike so many authors, did not write for the day and for the mass media out of a lack of money, but out of conviction.[98] Patricia Brons has called Kästner a "écrivain journaliste,"[99] that is, a "journalist writer." In 1923 he was a freelance writer for the *Leipziger Verlagsdruckerei* (Leipzig printing house), where he was responsible for the paper's entertainment magazine. Three years later, he changed to the politics department of the *Neue Leipziger Zeitung* (New Leipzig newspaper), where he soon became controversial for his scathing comments on current affairs. He quickly became known and wrote for the Weimar Republic's most important and influential media: *Weltbühne* (World stage), *Simplicissimus*,[100] *Berliner Tageblatt* (Berlin daily newspaper), and *Vossische Zeitung* (Vossische newspaper). At that time, he mostly wrote poems based on newspaper articles that "read like journalistic comments on daily events/current affairs."[101] Kästner believed literature should have a practical value and make events transparent as they occur. He saw it as his duty to be an eyewitness, which was the reason he gave to remain in Germany after the Nazis seized power—even after his books were burned. At some point, a ban was placed on the publication of his works.[102]

Kästner still occasionally wrote critical pieces under assumed names. As a novelist, he was tolerated by the National Socialists, that is, the Nazi Party, and could make a living from translations of his books and their screen adaptations abroad.[103] After the war, he quickly resumed his work as a journalist, writing about his daily observations, as well as screenplays and theatrical plays, children's books, and cabaret texts. One thing that makes Kästner so interesting to the field of literary journalism is his orientation to journalistic criteria and quality that he adapted for his literary work.

The above examples show that in times of political and social change or crisis, the need for critical reporting seems to grow, and critical spirits feel the necessity to write about those changes, crises, and their effects. When those expressions are restricted by censorship or—as in Nazi times—by the complete eradication of freedom of the press, other means of expression need to be found. Kisch, Tucholsky, and Kästner—and Seume, Heine, and Weerth

before them—all share a clear commitment to truthfulness and the importance of open sharing of political beliefs. Heine, Kisch, Tucholsky, and Kästner applied different forms and wrote in various genres, some of which are clearly literary journalism. They expressed themselves in feuilletons, reportages, poetry, and novels; they took a stand and informed their audience. They also shared the ability to be satirical and funny, as well as scathing, angry, and desperate. Their eyewitness perspective and participation in many of the events they wrote about greatly contributed to the authenticity and credibility of their texts—both, important characteristics of literary journalism.[104]

From Postwar to the Present

Literary journalism in all its different forms was not revived in Germany after 1945, primarily because, after World War II, the British and U.S. Allied forces implemented a press system based on the Anglo-Saxon model. They did not deem the German press system and journalistic structures to have been completely free and democratic prior to the times of Nazi rule. Thus, Frank Esser notes, journalism in Germany more or less started from the beginning.[105] Under the Allied forces, German citizens were not allowed to publish newspapers or magazines, and publishing houses as well as radio stations were closed.[106] For Anglo-Saxon press officers, it was highly problematic that German journalism had no strict separation of news and commentary. All forms of literary journalism, as presented above, combined news, opinion, commentary, and convictions, which was seen to be a "dangerous mixture of information and tendentious commentary."[107] Thus, post–World War II reporting became strictly fact based and news oriented. Blöbaum, referring to Gerd Meier's *Zwischen Milieu und Markt. Tageszeitungen in Ostwestfalen 1920–1970* (Between milieu and market. Daily newspapers in East-Westphalia 1920–1970), quotes from a memorandum of the British Control Commission (*britische Kontrollkommission*) of July 1945, which stipulated the conditions of a re-education program for German journalist. They were to learn:

> . . . to present news objectively; to avoid the tendentious writing of news; to distinguish, and separate news from comment; to avoid the confusion produced by editorials on news pages; and to segregate such editorials, where they belong—in a clearly defined opinion page.[108]

In the wake of the New Journalism excitement of the 1960s and '70s in the United States, interest in reportage and other forms of literary journalism was revived in Germany. The result was not a German version of the New Journalism, although, as Pörksen notes, there have been German-speaking varieties that fit the model. One of the examples he describes is *Tempo* magazine, founded in 1986 and lasting ten years. It contained reportages, essays,

and feuilleton-like observations, as well as experimental characters and undercover reporting.[109] To magazine creator Markus Peichl, *Tempo* was intended for "a generation of contradictions"[110] and its writing techniques matched those identified by New Journalism pioneer Tom Wolfe.[111] *Tempo* and other examples of German New Journalism are not taken seriously by journalism scholars,[112] and the discussion about truth, facts, subjectivity, and aesthetics in this genre is ongoing. Cases of journalistic misconduct, such as those committed by the Swiss journalist Tom Kummer, who forged interviews with celebrities and was found out in May 2000,[113] have heated the debate. The divide between news-oriented and literary journalism seems difficult to bridge.

That said, one contemporary German author whose work has been the subject of international journalism and literary journalism research is Günter Wallraff.[114] Since the 1960s, he has been publishing book-length reportages and collections of reportage. His main objective has been to reveal social ills in Germany, such as bad working conditions and racism. While Wallraff's work lacks the literary style seen in the work of writers-cum-journalists of the 1920s and 1930s, the techniques he uses, such as undercover role-playing and participant observation, are the same as those employed by Kisch and Weerth. Wallraff goes even further, because he identifies with his role and actively participates in it, thereby undertaking complete immersion.[115] Without this immediate personal experience, he cannot write about a topic. His method is "assuming a role to uncover situations which cannot be experienced [and known about] in any other way . . . ."[116] This position is reminiscent of both Weerth's and Seume's, who also placed great importance on participant observation. Wallraff's main motivation for participating is to create publicity [*Öffentlichkeit herstellen*], or as Hirschauer sees it "the purpose of clarifying [situations and events] was, rightly understood, in the public interest."[117] This was a common endeavor shared by all writers presented here.

Apart from Wallraff and the *Tempo* contributors, two other, less researched literary journalists are worth mentioning. One is Marie-Luise Scherer (born 1938), whose reportages were published in the weekly *Die Zeit* (The time) and, above all, since 1974, in the magazine *Der Spiegel* (The mirror). The association Literaturland Saar e.V., an initiative founded by the journalist Fred Oberhauser to create a literary topography of the Saarland, describes her reportages as "narratives with a precisely researched background," which makes her "unique in contemporary German literature"[118]—a statement that shows her work can be seen as a prime example of literary journalism. Like some of the literary journalists mentioned in this study, Scherer "takes the poetic license to incorporate invented or other contexts into her reportages . . . ."[119] The protagonists of her long texts are outcasts like Sofie Häusler, an alcoholic, whose

life Scherer traces in the award-winning reportage, "Alltag einer Trinkerin—Der Zustand eine hilflose Person zu sein" (Everyday life of an alcoholic—the state of being a helpless person),[120] or down-and-out parts of the city of Berlin in "Der unheimliche Ort Berlin" (That spooky place Berlin).[121] In the latter, Scherer writes about life and death in a Kreuzberg quarter.

The second is Gabriele Goettle (born 1946), an award-winning (both literary and journalistic) writer who has been writing essays, reportages, and articles for the daily paper *taz* since the 1980s. Her topics range from refugees, gentrification, and antifascism to agriculture and everyday middle-class people.[122] Nina Apin, *taz* editor, describes Goettle's style and work as follows:

> Goettle approaches people and the issues that move them with uncompromising seriousness, with an aloof, almost childlike curiosity. She just wants to know everything. And expects the reader to read entire biographies. . . . Goettle's method is 1970s journalism, which is schooled in American New Journalism and protagonists such as the legendary radio interviewer Studs Terkel: As close as possible to the people, as critical as possible questioning the structures in which they move. Always full of distrust of so-called high culture, of all conventions in general.[123]

When Hans Magnus Enzensberger, who started to collect and publish Goettle's reportages in the 1990s,[124] was awarded the Ludwig-Börne Preis for his life achievements in 2002,[125] he donated the prize money (20,000 euros) to her, "the country's best-known unknown journalist" who is "too incorruptible to be prominent."[126] In his acceptance speech Enzensberger said that in his opinion "most prizes go to [persons] who do not need them" and he wanted to pass the money on to Goettle, whose income was very small, so she could continue her work as a journalist.[127] To Enzensberger, Goettle is an intellectual descendant of Börne, who as a contemporary of Heine was the pioneer of the political feuilleton. Enzensberger describes Goettle as stubborn and incorruptible—features she shares with Börne. Her journalistic method is immersion. She writes about what she sees and hears, and when her "[left-leaning] ideological preferences are in the way of the truth, she disregards them."[128] What does this mean? Goettle writes about families, poverty, and gentrification in Berlin, and these topics naturally lend themselves to social criticism. In the introduction to her reportage about the Tafel (a food bank) in Kleinmachnow near Berlin,[129] published in Stefan Lorenz's book *Tafel-Gesellschaft. Zum neuen Umgang mit Überfluss und Ausgrenzung*,[130] she looks critically at the concept and calls the Tafel a "Wohlfahrtskonzern"[131] (welfare group), which is a great solution for those politicians who cut benefits for the poor and unemployed. The fact that the "notorious consulting and rationalization company,"[132] as Goettle describes McKinsey—the company that

advises the Tafel Gesellschaft (Tafel Society)—clearly indicates to Goettle that there is profit to be made with poverty. In the reportage that follows, mainly consisting of input from her interview partners, she shows the other side of the story: the people who need the Tafel and are thankful that they can give their children healthy food, which would be too expensive to buy. At the center of her writing is not her political opinion, but the people and the conditions in which they live are portrayed to create awareness and facilitate change.

While the preceding includes many writers, all the contemporary journalists presented thus far come from West Germany. East German journalism does not feature in this research except for the feuilletons of Heinz Knobloch. Jürgen Reifarth and Gunter Reus coauthored a study, the subtitle of which, translated to English, reads "Journalistic opposition against the SED-State in the feuilletons of Heinz Knobloch." That subtitle is taken as an impetus to take a brief look at Knobloch's feuilletons from a literary journalism perspective.[133]

Knobloch (1926–2003) started his journalistic training in the early 1950s. He was a member of the SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands—Socialist Unity Party of Germany) from 1949 to 1990; a writer, editor, feuilletonist, and member of the PEN Centre of the GDR.[134] However, he was not a typical proponent of socialist, GDR journalism, and said about himself, "the law does not really like me, wherever I lived."[135] As a feuilleton writer, he put his finger on social and political ills, and criticized politics by writing between the lines. To his mind, the feuilleton was the genre in which "the prose poem" and "the newspaper essay" came together.[136] Knobloch used editing, fictionalizing, parody, and irony as his stylistic tools—and, importantly, at the same time, clear references to everyday life. Sösemann has described Knobloch's feuilletons as the "continuation of politics with different means."[137] Sösemann explains this further by saying that "a (. . .) literary-journalistic interested and politically sensitized public will interpret every feuilleton content 'politically' in a dictatorship."[138] With his writing Knobloch wanted to arm his audience against stupidity and bureaucracy in the GDR. His texts were published in the *Wochenpost* (Weekly post). Founded in 1957, the *Wochenpost*'s mission was to be critical and human, entertaining and instructive—a "Socialist family paper with mass character."[139] With a circulation of 1.25 million it was a cult paper known for accuracy and good style. Of course, one can argue that the circulation figures do not justify calling it a "cult" publication. However, the paper, which was read by cleaning ladies as well as professors, and contained a large variety of topics that included foreign policy, articles about sophisticated literature, and jokes as well as educational

issues, was unique. It was not a resistance paper, but between the lines, one could read many things which could not be found elsewhere.[140]

Knobloch was a flaneur and Reifarth and Reus describe the character of his walking as follows: "Walking can become anachronistic and subversive, even anarchic, in a society in which all paths have a goal and purpose in which everything . . . goes 'its socialist way,' as the popular saying goes."[141] In his texts, Knobloch criticized the present by describing the past. His writing is ironic, his language, pointed, brief, and mischievous—word plays, pictures—things are mentioned as if in passing. One example of his work is "Wanderung zu Fontanes Grab" [Hike to Fontane's grave].[142] On a seemingly harmless visit in the past century, he lands in the present right from the start. Because the grave is located on the "französische Friedhof" [French cemetery] at the Berlin death strip and to get there he needs a pass issued by the minister for national defense (a bureaucratic and cumbersome way through the apparatus), Knobloch describes the whole with relish. The following excerpts illustrate his ability to make critical political statements in a manner that made them difficult for censors to detect:

> The reader has long been waiting, as I speak of the circumstances that make the pass necessary and entry through the back door. If you overlook Fontane's grave, even if it is to make the approved photo correctly, you will see the transparent border fence not far away . . . [143] The soldiers on the tower have long since noticed the conspicuous man, who does not purposefully head for a grave, but roams around, looks around, searching. A stroller, a flâneur, a causeur—in this cemetery French and Fontane feuilleton words *must* be used. One who takes too much time, one who reads inscriptions, even takes notes.[144] . . . A double patrol approaches vigilantly from behind. The person who has not entered here without authorization, in full possession of his papers, wants checking.[145]
>
> Here and now, never before have I been so cheerful during a check. I would have missed something on this Fontane day if I had had to return the passes unchecked. But now I can show them. Look, my friends, your high chief, the Deputy Minister of National Defense and Head of the Political Headquarters of the National People's Army, promoted my project.[146]

Knobloch's writing, to a certain extent, is reminiscent of Erich Kästner's feuilletons. It is important to know that in the former GDR, reading and literature in general allowed freedom of thought. Reifarth and Reus state that there was a certain degree of *schadenfreude* (gloating)[147] when the censor had overlooked something that was placed between the lines, and readers "had a kind of third eye, receptive for the secret codes and symbols, typical for closed societies."[148] To some extent Knobloch's feuilletons offered a substitute public for readers who demanded information about things that were

not openly discussed in an intelligent way.[149] His favorite role was that of the naïve but compassionate observer–commentator—a wise fool. Knobloch discovers and exposes the grubby and unpleasant details under the clean facades. His texts can be read through a literary journalism lens, and his work should be examined in more detail from that perspective.

There are many more reporters who produced or are still producing literary journalism every week, in daily newspapers, such as Munich's *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (and its magazine); weeklies, such as Hamburg's *Die Zeit* and *Zeitmagazin*, and the other magazines Berlin's Spiegel-Verlag publishes. The journalism of legendary figures such as Herbert Riehl-Heyse and Hans-Ulrich Kempski meets most criteria for literary journalism. Walter Hömberg states that Riehl-Heyse's "trademark was the successful mixture of closeness and distance: the precise observation, the linking of the particular with the general . . . ."[150] Furthermore, Herbert Riehl-Heyse "has cultivated the subjective perspective like hardly any other of his professional colleagues." [151] Hans-Ulrich Kempski reported about world politics and its protagonists. "He is an eyewitness at the summits of the great powers . . . . The actors are Khrushchev and de Gaulle, Brezhnev and Nixon, Reagan and Gorbachev. Kempski describes their encounters with a sensitive feel for the atmosphere and a precise eye for detail."[152] Journalism prizes, such as the Egon-Erwin-Kisch Prize (1977–2004), renamed Henri-Nannen-Prize in 2005, and the Herbert-Riehl-Heyse-Prize (first awarded in 2005),[153] show there is some awareness regarding the importance and function of reportage and, thus, also the genre of literary journalism and, thus, of literary journalism.

Where Do We Go from Here?

In 2005, Pöttker wrote that, in the new millennium, one can observe a "cautious re-literalization of journalism."[154] The rule that the fictional and the nonfictional should not be mixed does not seem to be quite as natural to some journalists as it used to be. The question Pöttker raises is a fundamental one: Is the separation of facts and fiction constitutive for the journalistic profession? To be clear about it: Pöttker does not mean literary journalism, but some of his arguments fit neatly with the described development of the genre in this country. While the criterion of verifiable facticity was known during the Age of Enlightenment, 1685 to 1815, it was not used to differentiate between journalism and literature. In the twentieth century, the opinion that literary and fictional elements do not belong in journalism seems to have prevailed. Pöttker argues that this separation can be counterproductive, in the sense that topics which are difficult to research by journalistic means and thus need imaginative power will not be reported on.[155] The widespread

notion that good journalism is denoted by the separation of information and opinion also needs to be put to the test. Pöttker argues the divide can build information barriers and lock out of the literary imagination. Everything beyond naked facts cannot be researched, thus, is excluded from the social dialogue.[156]

Almost fifteen years after Pöttker posited that argument, the Relotius case sparked the discussion again. In 2018, Claas Relotius, the award-winning superstar reporter for the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* was found to have repeatedly committed journalistic fraud. A report of the events and the subsequent measures taken by the chief editors of *Der Spiegel* was published on May 25, 2019.[157]

The question is whether fictionality, a term often used as a synonym for "fake," should be part of journalism or not. It should be pointed out that the "debate" between Gunter Reus and Tanjev Schultz shows that the terminology, as such, is contentious.[158] While Schultz argues that fiction has no place in journalism and that "Schönschreiber" [journalists who write in a pleasant literary style] produce readable journalistic texts and not nice literature,"[159] Reus argues that fictional elements in reportages are permissible, even necessary, as long as the audience knows why and when this happens.[160] In other words, there must be "a contract with the readers," as Jo Bech-Karlsen calls it.[161] Some contentious points are: chronology that may or may not be changed, interior monologue, feelings that should or should not be part of a journalistic reportage, and scenic reconstruction that is permissible, or not. Whether the stylistic means Reus deems important, if not essential, for journalistic reportage, are characteristics of literary journalism, is not acknowledged by either author. Schultz mentions the genre in one sentence, saying, "some call this 'literary journalism.' "[162] and Reus argues that "[j]ournalism without fiction is not possible. Journalism without fiction is not necessary."[163] To underline his position, Reus stresses the importance of Kisch's idea of "logical imagination,"[164] that is, journalism may or even must use fiction as long as "journalism makes clear when it needs fiction and why."[165] It becomes clear that the concepts of fact and fiction, authenticity and truth, credibility and imagination seem to be a matter of either-or with not much in between. The idea that literature and journalism are not are not in a "sibling dispute" but constitute the genre of literary journalism does not yet seem to feature in German journalistic research. There is still some distance to travel before literary journalism, which has such a rich history in Germany, becomes a natural part of the journalistic canon.

Christine Boven is a professor at the University of Europe for Applied Sciences, Germany. Her focus is on Intercultural Management and Communication. Teaching is one of her passions and she strongly believes in interdisciplinary and creative approaches. Since working on her doctoral thesis, literary journalism has become a research focus. Christine has lived and worked in different countries—New Zealand is her second home—and she values the exchange with colleagues from different fields, countries, and cultures.

Notes

[1] Examples of comparative and hybrid studies include Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger* [Border crossers]; Blöbaum, "Literatur und Journalismus" [Literature and journalism], in Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus* [Literature and journalism], 23–51; Haas and Wallisch, "Literarischer Journalismus oder journalistische Literatur?" [Literary journalism or journalistic literature?], 298–314; Meier, "Literatur und Journalismus" [Literature and journalism], 1–9. (Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.)

[2] Meier, "Literatur und Journalismus" [Literature and journalism], 4. Original quote: "Die Vorstellung einer hierarchischen Ordnung zwischen Literatur und Journalismus ist noch heute present."

[3] A new work on ethical questions posed by the Relotius case is Eberwein, "Sagen, Was Sein Könnte" [Saying what could be], 279–97.

[4] Recent published discussions of the compatibility of the tension between facts and literary techniques include, Henk, "Vom Leben als Reporter" [Of life as a reporter], *Zeit Online* (Hamburg), December 26, 2018; Rojkov, "Wahres schön schreiben" [Writing the truth in nice style], *Zeit Online*, December 27, 2018; Richter, "Die Deutsche Reporterfreiheit" [The German freedom of reporters], *Zeit Online* (Hamburg), December 27, 2018.

[5] Meier, "Literatur und Journalismus" [Literature and journalism], 1.

[6] Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus. Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism. Theory, contexts, case studies].

[7] Luhmann, *Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie* [Social systems. Outline of a general theory]. For an interesting review of Luhmann's Systemtheorie, see Görke and Scholl, "Niklas Luhmann's Theory of Social Systems and Journalism Research," 644–55.

[8] Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus. Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism. Theory, contexts, case studies], 48 Original text: Mit den Methoden der Inhaltsanalyse und mit qualitativen sowie quantitativen Befragungen könnten Formen, Verfahren, Urteile und Motive von Akteuren in diesem Grenzbereich analysiert werden

[9] Reus, "Ironie als Widerstand" [Irony as resistance], in Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus*, 159–72.

[10] Unger, "Erlebnisfähigkeit, unbefangene Zeugenschaft und literarischer Anspruch" [Experiential capacity, unbiased witnessing, and literary ambition], 173–94.

[11] Wagener, "Inländische Perspektivierungen. Erich Kästner als Feuilletonist der *Neuen Zeitung*" [Domestic perspectives. Erich Kästner as a feuilletonist for the *Neuen Zeitung*], 195–226.

[12] Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger* [Border crossers].

[13] Bleicher, "Intermedialität von Journalismus und Literatur" [Intermediality of journalism and literature], in Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger*, 29–39.

[14] Baumert, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Journalismus* [The emergence of German journalism]; Haas and Wallisch, "Literarischer Journalismus oder journalistische Literatur?" [Literary journalism or journalistic literature?], 296–314.

[15] Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen" [Facts and/or fictions], in Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger*, 74–76.

[16] Klaus, "Jenseits der Grenzen," [Beyond the border], in Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger*, 100–125.

[17] Pöttker, "Ende des Milleniums" [End of the millenium], 123–41.

[18] Pöttker, 129.

[19] Eberwein, "Literarischer Journalismus. Theorie–Traditionen–Gegenwart" [Literary journalism. Theory–traditions–present], 95.

[20] These characteristics or criteria are derived from: Aucoin, "Epistemic Responsibility and Narrative Theory," 5–21; Sims, "The Art of Literary Journalism," 3–19; Ruß-Mohl, *Journalismus. Das Lehr–Und Handbuch* [Journalism. The text and handbook], 335–36.

[21] Baumert, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Journalismus* [Emergence of German journalism], 35. Original quote: "Literatur-orientierter Journalismus."

[22] Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 77. Original quote: "Die Journalisierung der Literatur."

[23] Roß, 75.

[24] Püschel, "Journalistische Textsorten Im 19. Jahrhundert" [Journalistic text forms in the nineteenth century], 433.

[25] Johann Friedrich Freiherr Cotta von Cottendorf was founder of several

papers in Germany in the eighteenth century. Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 74–77.

[26] Heine, *Reisebilder* [Travel pictures].

[27] Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 76. Original quote: "Der Verleger war beständig auf der Suche nach neuen Talenten . . . . Der Autor der Reisebilder, die viel Aufsehen machtne, kommt ihm gerade recht." [The publisher was constantly on the lookout for new talent. . . The author of the travel pictures, which cause a lot of sensation, comes just in time for him.].

[28] Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 82–83.

[29] Roß uses Habermas's term "Entgrenzung" [delimiting] to describe that the "relative autonomy and hermetics of the spheres of life such as politics, society and culture ended and were captured by a far-reaching dissolution of boundaries where everything is connected to and communicates with everything else" [. . . dass die zuvor geltende relative Autonomie und Hermetik der Lebensbereiche Politik, Gesselschaft und Kultur endete und von einer weitgehenden Entgrenzung erfasst wurde, in der alles mit allem zusammenhängt und kommuniziert], 77.

[30] Habermas, *Strukturwandel Der Öffentlichkeit* [*The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*], 67–68.

[31] Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 78.

[32] Roß, in "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 87–90, describes the characteristics of the feuilleton.

[33] Roll, "Heinrich Heine (XLIV), Reporter der Freiheit" [Heinrich Heine. Reporter of freedom], para. 1; Matussek, "Pistolenknall und Harfenklang" [Gun blast and the sound of a harp], para. 11.

[34] Roll, "Heinrich Heine (XLIV) Reporter der Freiheit," para. 5.

[35] Roß, "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen," 76.

[36] Ruge, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* [German-French yearbooks], Paris, 1844 issue.

[37] Heine's reports, reportages, and articles are published in book form under the titles, *Französische Zustände* [French Conditions], and *Lutetia*: *Die Parlamentarische Periode des Bürgerkönigtums (1840–1841)* [Lutetia: The parliamentary period of the citizen kingship (1840–1841)].

[38] Pöttker, "Modellfall Heinrich Heine" [The model case Heinrich Heine], 57.

[39] Pöttker, 59.

[40] Pöttker, "Der Beruf zur Öffentlichkeit" [The profession for the public], 124.

[41] Pöttker, "Modellfall Heinrich Heine" [The model case Heinrich Heine], 59.

[42] Forster, *Ansichten vom Niederrhein* [Views from the Lower Rhine]; Seume, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* [Walk to Syracuse in the year 1802]. For a detailed analysis of Seume's work, see Arnold, with Hollmer, "Johann Gottfried Seume," special issue, *Text + Kritik*.

[43] Seume, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* [Walk to Syracuse in the year 1802], 217. Original quote: Die Straßen sind nicht allein mit Bettlern bedeck, sondern diese Bettler sterben daselbst vor Hunger und Elend.

[44] Meier in *Seume*, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* [Walk to Syra-

cuse in the year 1802], Nachwort [Epilogue] 305. Original quote: " . . . gewiß ist jedenfalls, daß Seume gelegentlich etwas frei erfunden und viele Fakten nachträglich anders angeordnet hat."

[45] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 67.

[46] For an overview see Hermand, *Der deutsche Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente* [The German pre-March; texts and documents].

[47] Weerth, *Skizzen aus dem sozialen und politischen Leben der Briten* [Sketches from the social and political life of the Britons], 1843 and 1844. Weerth's social reportages were mostly researched by scholars of the former GDR, e.g., Kaiser, Georg Weerth. *Sämtliche Werke* [Georg Weerth. Complete works]; Lange, *Das Vermächtnis Georg Weerths—eine große Tradition unserer sozialistischen Literatur* [Georg Weerth's legacy—a great tradition of our socialist literature], 1288–98, in 1957.

[48] Haas, "Die hohe Kunst der Reportage" [The noble art of reportage], 281.

[49] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 68.

[50] Boven, 68.

[51] Pöttker, "Ende des Milleniums—Ende des Journalismus," 133. Pöttker and Stan'ko, in their anthology, *Mühen der Moderne* [Toils of modern times], offer more current insights into the journalistic work of von Kleist, Heine, and Weerth. On von Kleist, see Gunter Reus, "Sinn für den Boulevard und die 'Nationalidee': Heinrich von Kleist und sein Lehrsatz von der Staatsferne des Journalismus" [A sense for the boulevard and the 'national idea': Heinrich von Kleist and his tenet of journalism's distance from the state], 20–71; on Heine, see Horst Pöttker, " 'Alles Weltwichtige an Ort und Stelle betrachten und behorchen.' Heinrich Heine als Protagonist des modernen Journalismus' " [Look at and listen to everything that is of world importance on the spot. Heinrich Heine as a protagonist of modern journalism], 92–147; and on Weerth, see Bernd Füllner, "Zwischen Romantik und Revolution. Georg Weerth als Journalist" [Between romanticism and revolution. Georg Weerth as a journalist], 402–49.

[52] Haller presents a kind of timeline from the abolition of the government monopoly on ads in 1850 to the first six-roll, rotary printing press which could produce 200,000 copies of an eight-page paper, in 1914. Haller, *Die Reportage*, 41–42.

[53] Haller, 44.

[54] Haller, 44.

[55] Koszyk, "Journalismus und 'Volksstimmung' im Ersten Weltkrieg [Journalism and "public feeling" in the First World War]," 455.

[56] Koszyk, 459.

[57] Koszyk, 464.

[58] Altendorfer, "Journalismus in der Weimarer Republik" [Journalism in the Weimar Republic], 2:239.

[59] Altendorfer, 2:239.

[60] Eberwein, "Literarischer Journalismus," 111.

[61] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 73.

[62] Segel, introduction to *Egon Erwin Kisch*, 72.

[63] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 74.

[64] Roth was a well-known contemporary of Kisch, known for his reportages, critiques, and feuilletons. Eberwein, "Literarischer Journalismus," 127–29.

[65] Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany, 1914–1935*, 6.

[66] Hartsock, "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism," 118 (italics in the original).

[67] Frei, "Zweimal Kisch" [Two times Kisch], 13.

[68] Unger, "Erlebnisfähigkeit, unbefangene Zeugenschaft und literarischer Anspruch" [Experiential capacity, unbiased witnessing, and literary ambition], 175. Original quote: "Der Reporter hat keine Tendenz, hat nichts zu rechtfertigen und hat keinen Standpunkt. Er hat unbefangen Zeuge zu sein und unbefangene Zeugenschaft zu liefern, so verlässlich, wie sich eine Aussage geben lässt . . . ," 7.

[69] Siegel, *Egon Erwin Kisch. Reportage und politischer Journalismus* [Egon Erwin Kisch. Reportage and political journalism], 89.

[70] Segel, *Egon Erwin Kisch. The Raging Reporter*, 17–20; Hartsock, "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism," 119.

[71] Geisler, *Die literarische Reportage in Deutschland* [The literary reportage in Germany], 251–52. Original quote: "eigenständige Form."

[72] Segel, *Egon Erwin Kisch.* 18–19; Kisch, *Soldat im Prager Korps* [Soldier in the Prague Corps]; Kisch, *Schreib das auf, Kisch!* [Write it down, Kisch!].

[73] Segel, *Egon Erwin Kisch*. 18–19.

[74] See Unger, "Erlebnisfähigkeit, unbefangene Zeugenschaft und literarischer Anspruch" [Experiential capacity, unbiased witnessing, and literary ambition], 173–94; Segel, *Egon Erwin Kisch*, 52. Original quote: "unser Mann."

[75] Hömberg, "Die authentische Sozialreporterin Maria Leitner" [The authentic social reporter Maria Leitner], 168.

[76] Hömberg, para. 8, online; Haller and Hömberg, *"Ich lass mir den Mund nicht verbieten!"* [I won't let myself be intimidated], 167–68. See also Killet and Schwarz, *Maria Leitner oder: Im Sturm der Zeit* [Maria Leitner or: Turbulent times] for extensive research of Leitner's work.

[77] Austermann, *Kurt Tucholsky*, 9.

[78] Raddatz, vorwort [foreword] to *Kurt Tucholsky. Gesammelte Werke* [Kurt Tucholsky. Collected works], 1:20. Original quote: "Tucholsky hatte keine politischen Ambitionen, war eigentlich kein politischer Mensch."

[79] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 82.

[80] King, *Kurt Tucholsky als politischer Publizist* [Kurt Tucholsky as a political publicist], 179.

[81] Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany, 1914–1935*, 5.

[82] King, *Kurt Tucholsky als politischer Publizist* [Kurt Tucholsky as a political publicist], 19; Tucholsky: *Gesammelte Werke in 10 Bänden*, 5:434ff.

[83] Tucholsky [Ignaz Wrobel], "Die deutsche Pest" [The German plague], 8:131. Original quote: "Die Nazis terrorisieren viele kleine und manche Mittelstädte, und zwar tun sie das mit der Miene von Leuten, die ungeheuer viel riskieren; sie machen immer ein Gesicht, als seien sie und ihre Umzüge wer weiß wie illegal. Sie sind aber durchaus legal, geduldet, offiziös. Und hier beginnt die Schuld der Republik: eine Blutschuld."

[84] Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany, 1914–1935*, 3.

[85] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 83–84; Poor, *Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany, 1914–1935*, 203–204.

[86] Altendorfer, "Journalismus in der Weimarer Republik" [Journalism in the Weimar Republic], 2:239.

[87] Pöttker provides an insightful analysis of the National Socialist Press Regulations in "Journalismus als Politik" [Journalism as politics], 168–82.

[88] Esser, *Die Kräfte hinter den Schlagzeilen* [The power behind the headlines], 73.

[89] Raddatz, vorwort [foreword] to *Kurt Tucholsky. Gesammelte Werke* [Kurt Tucholsky. Collected works], 1:33. Original quote: "Die deutsche Literatur war emigiert. Was Rang und Namen hatte, Anstand und menschliche Würde, lebte nicht mehr in Deutschland."

[90] Gabriele Tergit was the pseudonym for Elise Hirschmann (1894–1982). Literaturlexikon Online: Gabriele Tergit (1894–1982) (uni-saarland.de).

[91] For a detailed analysis of Tergit's work, see Sucker, "Gabriele Tergit," special issue, *Text + Kritik*, 228 (October 2020).

[92] Olden, *Hitler der Eroberer. Entlarvung einer Legende* [Hitler the conqueror: debunking of a myth]. Olden is one of the lesser known and largely forgotten journalists of the Weimar Republic whose lives Baetz preserved for posterity in *Vergessene Journalistinnen und Journalisten der Weimarer Zeit* [Forgotten journalists of the Weimar times]. Baetz also wrote "Rudolf Olden. Mit Schreibblock und Anwaltsrobe gegen Hitler" [Rudolf Olden: with notepad and lawyer's robe against Hitler], which aired August 31, 2020, on Deutschlandfunk.

[93] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "*Gleichschaltung*: Coordinating the Nazi State," para. 1.

[94] Walter, "Leopold Schwarzschild and the *Neue Tage-Buch*," 103–116; Baetz, "Leopold Schwarzschild. Aufklärung aus dem Exil" [Leopold Schwarzschild. Information from exile], September 10, 2020.

[95] Baetz, September 10, 2020.

[96] Walter, "Leopold Schwarzschild and the *Neue Tage-Buch*," 107.

[97] Reus, "Was Journalisten von Erich Kästner lernen können" [What journalists can learn from Erich Kästner], 27–28.

[98] Reus, 27.

[99] Brons, introduction to *Erich Kästner, un écrivain journaliste*, 1.

[100] *A* satirical paper, the name of which is not to be translated.

[101] Reus, "Was Journalisten von Erich Kästner lernen können" [What journalists can learn from Erich Kästner], 29.

[102] Reus, 29.

[103] Reus, 30.

[104] Boven, "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism," 84.

[105] Esser, *Die Kräfte hinter den Schlagzeilen* [The power behind the headlines], 49.

[106] Urbschat, "Tendencies in the German Newspaper and Magazine Press since 1945," 344.

[107] Esser, *Die Kräfte hinter den Schlagzeilen*, 49. Original quote: " . . . die gefährliche Mischung von Information und tendenziösem Kommentar."

[108] Gerd Meier, *Zwischen Milieu und Markt. Tageszeitungen in Ostwestfalen 1920–1970* [Monograph], (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), 252, quoted [in English translation] in Bernd Blöbaum, "Journalismus während der Besatzungszeit" [Journalism during the time of occupation], *Publizistik* 47, no. 2 (2002): 170–199, 188.

[109] Pörksen, "Die Tempojahre" [The *Tempo* years], in Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger*, 307–36; Pörksen [Poerksen], "The Milieu of a Magazine," 9–29.

[110] Pörksen, "Die Tempojahre" [The *Tempo* years], 310. Original quote: "Die Gerneration der Widersprüche."

[111] Pörksen, 320, quoting Tom Wolfe. zit nach / quoted in Brant Newborn, *Die Weltwoche* vom 28.1., no. 4, 1988, 46–47. Original quote: "Meine Absicht war es immer, ins zentrale Nervensystem eines Menschen hineinzuschlüpfen. Tom Wolfe, prominentester Vertreter des New Journalism, über den Einsturz gesellschaftlicher Formen unde die Verwischung der Grenzen zwischen Literature und Berichterstattung. In *Die Weltwoche* vom. 28. 1. Nr. 4. S. 46–47. ["My intention has always been to slip into a person's central nervous system." Tom Wolfe, the most prominent representative of New Journalism, on the collapse of social forms and the blurring of the boundaries between literature and reporting. In *The World Week* (28. 1. 1988) [January 28, 1988], no. 4, 46–47.]

[112] See, for instance, the position of Weischenberg, *Journalistik Medienkommunikation: Theorie und Praxis*. [Journalism studies media communication: theory and practice], 116. Original quote: "Geht es beim Investigativen Journalismus um eine andere Art der Recherche, so geht es beim New Journalism vor allem um eine andere Darstellung. Was daran 'neu' und was daran typisch ist, blieb jedoch auch nach eingehenden Diskussionen der Spezialisten unklar–bis auf zwei Kennzeichen: Rückgriff auf literarische Stilmittel und Profil des Schreibers."

[113] For a detailed analysis of Kummer's transgression while contributing to *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, see Reus, "Mit doppelter Zunge" [With double tongue], in Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger* [Border crossers], 249–66.

[114] The most recent, known study to explore Wallraff's undercover journalism comes from McDonald and Avieson, "Journalism in Disguise," 34–47.

[115] Eriksson, "The Legendary Journalist Günter Wallraff," 5.

[116] Wallraff and Hirschauer, *13 unerwünschte Reportagen* [13 undesired reportages], 4. Original quote: ". . . in einer fremden Rolle Sachverhalte aufzudecken, die anders kaum zu erfahren sind . . . ."

[117] Wallraff and Hirschauer, 4. Original quote: ". . . der Zweck der Aufklärung lag, recht verstanden, im öffentlichen Interesse."

[118] "Marie-Luise Scherer," Literaturland Saar e.V., para. 2.

[119] "Marie-Luise Scherer," para. 3.

[120] Scherer, "Alltag einer Trinkerin" [Everyday life of a drinker].

[121] Scherer, "Der unheimliche Ort Berlin" [The spooky place Berlin], *Der Spiegel*, May 17, 1987.

[122] Examples of Goettle's reportages can be found at "Artikel von Gabriele Goettle–taz.de" [Articles by Gabriele Goettle].

[123] Apin, quoted in "Gabriele Goettle: Ausgezeichnet" [Gabriele Goettle: excellent]," para. 11, 12. Original text: "Goettle nähert sich den Menschen und den Themen, die sie bewegen, mit kompromissloser Ernsthaftigkeit, einer distanzlosen, fast kindlichen Neugier. Sie will einfach alles wissen. Und muted dem Leser ganze Biographien zu. . . . Goettles Methode ist ein 70er-Jahre Journalismus, der am amerikanischen New Journalism und Protagonisten wie dem legendären Radio-Interviewer Studs Terkel geschult ist: So nah wie möglich bei den Menschen, so kritisch wie möglich die Strukturen hinterfragend, in denen sie sich bewegen. Immer voller Misstrauen der sogenannten Hochkultur gegenüber, überhaupt gegenüer allen Konventionen."

[124] Enzensberger, "Nicht an Geist, an Charakter mangelt es " [There is no lack of spirit, but of character], 41. Goettle's articles can be accessed on the taz website Artikel von Gabriele Goettle – taz.de and in collections of reportages. Enzensberger collected a number of Goettle's taz articles and published them in book form with Aufbau Verlag [https://www.aufbau-verlage.de]: *Deutsche Sitten* [German habits] in 1991, *Deutsche Gebräuche* [German customs] in 1994, and *Deutsche Spuren. Erkenntnisse aus Ost und West* [German traces: insights from the East and the West] in 1997, and *Die Ärmsten* [The poorest] in 2000.

[125] Ludwig Börne Stiftung [Ludwig Boerne Foundation].

[126] This description can be found in the feuilleton article "Auszeichnung: Goettle statt Enzensberger: Wie der Börne-Preis umgeleitet wurde" [Goettle instead of Enzensberger: how the Börne-Prize was diverted] in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of June 2, 2002. Auszeichnung: Goettle statt Enzensberger: Wie der Börne-Preis umgeleitet wurde – Feuilleton – FAZ.

[127] Enzensberger, "Nicht an Geist, an Charakter mangelt es" [There is no lack of spirit, but of character], 41.

[128] Enzensberger, 41.

[129] Goettle, "Teltower Tisch—Kurzer Blick ins das Abseits der Armut," 23–34.

[130] Lorenz, *TafelGesellschaft* [Food bank society].

[131] Goettle, "Teltower Tisch—Kurzer Blick ins das Abseits der Armut," 24.

[132] Goettle, 24.

[133] Reifarth and Reus, "Mich aber, mag das Gesetz recht eigentlich nicht" [The law does not really like me], 1–20. The German subtitle reads, "Publizistische Opposition gegen den SED-Staat in den Feuilletons von Heinz Knobloch" [Journalistic opposition against the SED-State in the feuilletons of Heinz Knobloch], 1.

[134] Reifarth and Reus, "Mich aber mag das Gesetz recht eigentlich nicht," 2, 8–9.

[135] Knobloch, *Mit beiden Augen*, 19. Original quote: "Mich aber, wo immer ich lebte, mag das Gesetz recht eigentlich nicht."

[136] Reifarth and Reus, "Mich aber mag das Gesetz recht eigentlich nicht," 9. Original quote: "Heinz Knobloch hat darauf hingewiesen, im Feuilleton verbänden sich 'Prosagedicht' und 'Zeitungsaufsatz.' "

[137] Sösemann, "Politik im Feuilleton–Feuilleton in der Politik" [Politics in the feuilleton—feuilleton in politics], 45, quoted in Kauffmann and Schütz, eds., *Die lange Geschichte der Kleinen Form*, 40–59.

[138] Sösemann, 47. Original quote: "Eine . . . literarisch-journalistisch interessierte und politisch sensibilisierte Öffentlichkeit wird jeden Feuilletoninhalt in einer Diktatur 'politisch' interpretieren."

[139] Löffler, "Publikumszeitschriften und ihre Leser. Zum Beispiel: *Wochenpost*, *Freie Welt*, *Fiir Dich*, *Sybille*," 52.

[140] Hinrichs, " 'Misstraut Den Grünanlagen!' " [Mistrust the parks!].

[141] Reifarth and Reus, 10. Original quote: "Spazierengehen kann anachronistisch und subversive, ja anarchisch warden in einer Gesellschaft, in der alle Wege Ziel und Zweck haben in der alles . . . seinen 'sozialistischen Gang' geht, wie der Volksmund kommentierte."

[142] Knobloch, "Wanderung zu Fontanes Grab" [Hike to Fontane's grave]. In *Berliner Grabsteine* [Berlin Gravestones], 83–104.

[143] Knobloch, "Wanderung zu Fontanes Grab" [Hike to Fontane's grave], 94. Original quote: "Längst wartet der Leser darauf, wie ich von den Umständen spreche, die den Passierschein notwendig machen und den Eintritt durch die Hintertür. Wer Fontanes Grab überschaut, und sei es, um das genehmigte Foto korrekt anzufertigen, der erblickt nicht sehr weit entfernt den durchsichtigen Grenzzaun."

[144] Knobloch, 102. Original quote: "Längst haben die Soldaten auf dem Turm den auffälligen Mann bemerkt, der nicht zielstrebig einem Grab zusteuert, sondern umherstreunt, suchend sich umsieht, ein Schlenderer, ein Flaneur, ein Causeur—auf diesem französischen Friedhof *müssen* [italics in original] französische und fontanesche Feuilletonworter benutzt werden—einer, der zu viel Zeit zeigt, einer der Aufschriften liest, sich gar Notizen macht."

[145] Knobloch, 103. Original quote: "Da nähert sich wachsam eine Doppelstreife von hinten. Der Mensch, der hier nicht unbefugt Eingetretene, im Vollbesitz seiner Papiere, läßt sich gern kontrollieren."

[146] Knobloch, 104. Original quote: "Hier und jetzt, noch nie war ich bei einer Kontrolle so frohgemut. Mir hätte etwas gefehlt an diesem Fontane-Tag, hätte ich die Scheine ungeprüft wieder abliefern müssen. So aber kann ich sie vorzeigen. Seht, meine Freunde, euer hoher Chef, der Stellvertreter des Ministers für Nationale Verteidigung und Chef der Politischen Hauptverwaltung der Nationalen Volksarmee, förderte mein Vorhaben."

[147] Reifarth and Reus, "Mich aber mag das Gesetz recht eigentlich nicht," 16.

[148] Reifarth and Reus, 16.

[149] Reifarth and Reus, 16.

[150] Hömberg, "Literatur-Rundschau" [Literature review], 211. Original quote: "Sein Markenzeichen war die gelungene Mischung von Nähe und Distanz: die genaue Beobachtung, die Verknüpfung des Besonderen mit dem Allgemeinen."

[151] Hömberg, 212. Original quote: "Herbert Riehl-Heyse hat wie kaum ein anderer seiner Berufskollegen die subjective Perspektive kultiviert."

[152] Hömberg, 212–13. Original quote: "Er ist Augenzeuge bei den Gipfeltreffen der Großmächte . . . . Die Akteure heißen Chruschtschow und de Gaulle, Breschnev und Nixon, Reagan und Gorbatschow. Kempski beschreibt ihre Begegnungen mit sensiblem Gespür für die Atmosphäre und mit einem genauen Blick auf Details."

[153] For Egon Erwin Kisch Preis, see Nannen Preis 2021: Die zehn besten Reportagen des Jahres | STERN.de; for Herbert Riehl-Heyse Preis, see "Süddeutsche Zeitung" vergibt Herbert-Riehl-Heise-Preis- Journalisten Preise; for Henri Nannen Preis see Die Gewinner des Nannen Preis 2021 (faz.net). Egon-Erwin-Kisch-Prize (1977–2004), renamed Henri-Nannen-Prize in 2005, and the Herbert-Riehl-Heyse-Prize was first awarded in 2005.

[154] Pöttker, "Ende des Milleniums—Ende des Journalismus?" 129.

[155] Pöttker, 130.

[156] Pöttker, 138.

[157] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, "Der Fall Relotius" [The Relotius case], 130–46.

[158] In 2019 *Journalistik* published the opposing perspectives in "Debatte: Wissenschaftliche Diskussion nach dem Fächungsskandal beim 'Spiegel.' Passt Fiktionalität in den Journalismus?" [Debate: scientific discussion after the counterfeiting scandal at *Der Spiegel*. Does fiction fit into journalism?], with Reus arguing for, in "Ja, Fiktionalität passt in den Journalismus" [Yes, fictionality fits journalism], 65–69; and Schultz, arguing against, in "Passt Fiktionalität passt in den Journalismus? Nein, Fiktionalität passt nicht in den Journalismus." [No, fictionality does not fit]," 70–77.

[159] Schultz, "Nein. Fiktionalität passt nicht in den Journalismus" [No, fictionality], 70.

[160] Reus, "Ja, Fiktionalität passt in den Journalismus" [Yes, fictionality], 65–69.

[161] Bech-Karlsen, "Literary Journalism: Contracts and Double Contracts with Readers," 6.

[162] Schultz, referring to Tobias Eberwein's doctoral thesis, "Literarischer Journalismus. Theorie–Traditionen–Gegenwart" [Literary journalism. Theory–traditions–present], 68.

[163] Reus, "Ja, Fiktionalität passt in den Journalismus" [Yes, fictionality], 68. "Journalismus ohne Fiktion ist nicht möglich. Journalismus ohne Fiktion ist auch nicht nötig."

[164] Kisch, "Wesen des Reporters," 205–208. Original quote: "logical imagination."

[165] Reus, "Ja, Fiktionalität passt in den Journalismus" [Yes, fictionality], 68. ". . . ein Journalismus, der klar macht, wann er Fiktion braucht und warum."

Bibliography

Altendorfer, Otto. "Journalismus in der Weimarer Republik" [Journalism in the Weimar Republic]. In *Das Mediensystem der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [The media system of the Federal Republic of Germany]. Vol. 2, 239–41. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004.

Apin, Nina. "Gabriele Goettle: Ausgezeichnet" [Gabriele Goettle: excellent]. *taz* Hausblog. September 25, 2015. Accessed February 6, 2023. https://blogs.taz.de/hausblog/gabriele-goettle-ausgezeichnet/.

Arnold, Heinz Ludwig, with Heide Hollmer, eds. "Johann Gottfried Seume." Special Issue, *Text + Kritik* 126, no. 4 (April 1995).

Aucoin, James L. "Epistemic Responsibility and Narrative Theory: The Literary Journalism of Ryszard Kapuscinski." *Journalism* 2, no. 1 (2001): 5–21.

Austermann, Anton. *Kurt Tucholsky. Der Journalist und sein Publikum* [Kurt Tucholsky. The journalist and his audience]. Munich: Piper, 1985.

Baetz, Brigitte, writer. "Leopold Schwarzschild. Aufklärung aus dem Exil" [Leopold Schwarzschild. Information from exile]. *Vergessene Journalistinnen und Journalisten der Weimarer Zeit* [Forgotten journalists of the Weimar times]. Aired September 10, 2020. Deutschlandfunk. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/leopold-schwarzschild-aufklaerung-aus-dem-exil.2907.de.html?dram:article_id=483874.

———. "Rudolf Olden. Mit Schreibblock und Anwaltsrobe gegen Hitler" [Rudolf Olden. With writing pad and lawyer's robe against Hitler]. *Vergessene Journalistinnen und Journalisten der Weimarer Zeit* [Forgotten journalists of the Weimar times]. Aired August 31, 2020, on Deutschlandfunk. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/rudolf-olden-mit-schreibblock-und-anwaltsrobe-gegen-hitler.2907.de.html?dram:article_id=483313.

Baumert, Dieter Paul. *Die Entstehung des deutschen Journalismus. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie* [The emergence of German journalism. A socio-historical study]. München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1928.

Bech-Karlsen, Jo. "Literary Journalism: Contracts and Double Contracts with Readers." Keynote Address at the IALJS–5 Convention, Roehampton University, London, U.K., May 20–22, 2010. In *Literary Journalism: The Newsletter of the IALJS* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 5–8.

Bleicher, Joan Kristin. "Intermedialität von Journalismus und Literatur. New Journalism aus literaturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive" [Intermediality of journalism and literature. New Journalism from a literary perspective]. In Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger: Formen des New Journalism* [Border crossers: forms of New Journalism], 29–39.

Bleicher, Joan Kristin, and Bernhard Pörksen, eds. *Grenzgänger: Formen des New Journalism* [Border crossers: forms of New Journalism]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-80493-8.

Blöbaum, Bernd. "Journalismus während der Besatzungszeit" [Journalism during the time of occupation]. *Publizistik* 47, no. 2 (June 2002): 170–99.

———. "Literatur und Journalismus. Zur Struktur und zum Verhältnis von zwei Systemen" [Literature and journalism. On the structure and the relationship of two systems]. In Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus*, *Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism: Theory, contexts, case studies], 23–51.

Blöbaum, Bernd, and Stefan Neuhaus, eds. *Literatur und Journalismus. Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism. Theory, contexts, case studies]. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-83377-8.

Boven, Christine. "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism." Ph.D. diss. Edith Cowan University, 2013. https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/578.

Brons, Patricia. *Erich Kästner, un écrivain journaliste*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2002.

Eberwein, Tobias. "Literarischer Journalismus. Theorie–Traditionen–Gegenwart" [Literary journalism. Theory–traditions–present]. Doctoral thesis, Technical University–Dortmund, 2013. Published 2013 by Herbert von Halam Verlag (Cologne).

———. " 'Sagen, was sein könnte': Wahrheit und Fälschung im aktuellen Erzähljournalismus. Medienethische Überlegungen Am Beispiel Des Falls Relotius" [Saying what could be: Truth and falsification in current narrative journalism. Media-ethical considerations exemplified by the Relotius case]. In *Medien und Wahrheit. Medienethische Perspektiven auf Desinformation, Lügen und "Fake News"* [Media and truth: *Medienethische Perspektiven auf Desinformation, Lügen und "Fake News"*]. Edited by Christian Schicha, Ingrid Stapf, and Saskia Sell, 279–97. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG, 2021.

Eberwein, Tobias, and Daniel Müller, eds. *Journalismus und Öffentlichkeit. Eine Profession und ihr gesellschaftlicher Auftrag* [A profession and its social mission]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010.

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus. "Nicht an Geist, an Charakter mangelt es—Über Ludwig Börne und seine Nachfahrin Gabriele Goettle" [There is no lack of spirit, but of character. On Ludwig Börne and his descendant Gabriele Goettle]. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 3, 2002, 41.

Eriksson, Erik. "The Legendary Journalist Günter Wallraff—an Outsider Who Has Become an Insider in Mainstream German Media." *Acta Academiae Stromstadiensis*, 9 (September 2012): 1–13.

Esser, Frank. *Die Kräfte hinter den Schlagzeilen. Englischer und deutscher Journalismus im Vergleich* [The power behind the headlines. A comparison of English and German journalism]. Freiburg (Breisgau)/Munich: Verlag Karl Alber, 1998.

Fehrle, Brigitte, Clemens Höges, and Stefan Weigel. "Der Fall Relotius. Abschlussbericht der Aufklärungskommision" [The Relotius case. Final report of the Clarification Commission]. *Der Spiegel*, May 25, 2019, 130–46.

Forster, Georg. *Ansichten vom Niederrhein* [Views from the Lower Rhine]. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979.

Frei, Bruno. "Zweimal Kisch" [Two times Kisch], in "Egon Erwin Kisch," ed. Heinz L. Arnold. Special Issue, *Text + Kritik*, 67 (July 1980): 10–15.

Füllner, Bernd. "Zwischen Romantik und Revolution. Georg Weerth als Journalist [Between romanticism and revolution. Georg Weerth as a journalist]. In *Mühen der Moderne. Von Kleist bis Tschechow—Deutsche und russische Publizisten des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Toils of modern times. From Kleist to Czechov—German and Russian publicists of the nineteenth century], edited by Horst Pöttker and Aleksandr I. Stan'ko, 402–49. *Öffentlichkeit und Geschichte* 9. Cologne: Herbert von Halem, 2016.

Geisler, Michael. *Die literarische Reportage in Deutschland. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines operativen Genres* [The literary reportage in Germany. Possibilities and limits of an operative genre]. Königstein/TS: Scriptor, 1982. See esp. Chapter 7.

Görke, Alexander, and Armin Scholl. "Niklas Luhmann's Theory of Social Systems and Journalism Research." *Journalism Studies* 7, no. 4 (2006): 644–55.

Goettle, Gabriele. "Artikel von Gabriele Goettle–taz.de" [Articles by Gabriele Goettle]. https://taz.de/Gabriele-Goettle/!a2448/.

———. "Die Ärmsten! Wahre Geschichten aus dem arbeitslosen Leben." [The poorest! True stories from the unemployed life]. *Die andere Bibliothek*, 191. Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2000.

———. "Teltower Tisch—Kurzer Blick ins Abseits der Armut." [A glimpse into the sidelines of poverty]. In *TafelGesellschaft*: *Zum neuen Umgang mit Überfluss und Ausgrenzung* (Sozialtheorie) [Social theory], edited by Stephan Lorenz, 23–34. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010.

Haas, Hannes. "Die hohe Kunst der Reportage. Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur, Journalismus und Sozialwissenschaften" [The noble art of reportage: Interrelations between literature, journalism, and social sciences]. *Publizistik* 32, no. 2 (1987): 277–94.

Haas, Hannes, and Gian-Luca Wallisch. "Literarischer Journalismus oder journalistische Literatur? Ein Beitrag zu Konzept, Vertretern und Philosophie des 'New Journalism' " [Literary journalism or journalistic literature? A contribution to the concept, the proponents, and the philosophy of "New Journalism"]. *Publizistik* 36, no. 3 (1991): 298–314.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bügerlichen Gesellschaft*. 4th ed. Neuwied/Berlin: Luchterhand, 1969. Published in English translation as *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger, with Frederick Lawrence, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989.

Haller, Michael. *Die Reportage* [The Reportage]. Vol. 8. *Praktischer Journalismus* [Practical journalism]. 5th ed. Constance: UVK Medien, 2006.

Haller, Michael, and Walter Hömberg, eds. "*Ich lass mir den Mund nicht verbieten!*" *Journalisten als Wegbereiter der Pressefreiheit und Demokratie* ["I won't let myself be intimidated." Journalists as pioneers of freedom of the press and democracy]. Ditzingen: Reclam, 2020.

Hartsock, John C. "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism." *Genre* 42, nos. 1–2 (Spring/Summer 2009): 113–34. https://doi.org/10.1215/00166928-42-1-2-113.

Heine, Heinrich. *Französische Zustände* [French conditions] Germany: Hoffmann und Campe, 1833. Available online at: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.30000063862985&view=1up&seq=5&skin=2021.

———. *Lutetia*: *Die Parlamentarische Periode des Bürgerkönigtums (1840–1841)* [Lutetia: the parliamentary period of the citizen kingship (1840–1841)] Hamburg: Tredition, 2012.

———. *Reisebilder* [Travel pictures]. Diogenes-Taschenbuch detebe-Klassiker 22640. Zurich: Diogenes, 1993.

Henk, Malte. "Vom Leben als Reporter" [About the life as a reporter]. *Zeit Online* (Hamburg). December 26, 2018. Accessed April 24, 2021. https://www.

zeit.de/2019/01/journalismus-reporter-beruf-darstellung-wirklichkeit-erzaehlerische-mittel?utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bing.com%2F.

Hermand, Jost, ed. *Der deutsche Vormärz: Texte und Dokumente* [The German pre-March. texts and documents]. Universal-Bibliothek 8794. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004.

Hinrichs, Beate, writer. " 'Misstraut Den Grünanlagen!' Die Streifzüge des Berliner Feuilletonisten Heinz Knobloch" ['Mistrust the parks!': The rambles of the Berlin feuilletonist Heinz Knobloch]. Aired March 2, 2006, on Südwestrundfunk SWR 2.

Hömberg, Walter. "Die authentische Sozialreporterin Maria Leitner" [The authentic social reporter Maria Leitner]. In *"Ich lass mir den Mund nicht verbieten!"*: *Journalisten als Wegbereiter der Pressefreiheit und Demokratie*, edited by Michael Haller and Walter Hömberg, 167–70. Stuttgart: RECLAM, GmbH & Co., KG, 2020. Available online, https://themavorarlberg.at/wissenschaft/die-authentische-sozial-reporterin-maria-leitner.

———. "Literatur-Rundschau" [Literature review] 43 no. 2 (2010): 211-213. Available at www.communicatio-socialis.de

Kaiser, Bruno, ed. *Georg Weerth. Sämtliche Werke* [Georg Weerth. Complete works]. Five volumes. Berlin/GDR: Aufbau Verlag, 1956/1957.

Kauffmann, Kai, and Erhard Schütz, eds. *Die Lange Geschichte Der Kleinen Form* [The long story of the small form]. Berlin: Weidler, 2000.

Killet, Julia, and Helga W. Schwarz, eds. *Maria Leitner oder: im Sturm der Zeit* [Maria Leitner or: turbulent times]. Berlin: Dietz, 2013.

King, William John. *Kurt Tucholsky als politischer Publizist. Eine politische Biographie* [Kurt Tucholsky as a political publicist. A political biography]. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1983.

Kisch, Egon Erwin. *Schreib das auf, Kisch!* [Write it down, Kisch!]. Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2013.

———. *Soldat im Prager Korps* [Soldier in the Prague Corps]. Leipzig/Prague: Verlag der K. Andréschen Buchhandlung, 1922.

———. "Wesen des Reporters." In *Mein Leben für die Zeitung 1906–1925, Journalistische Texte 1*, 205–208. Berlin: Aufbau, 1983.

Klaus, Elisabeth. "Jenseits der Grenzen. Die problematische Unterscheidung zwischen Fakt und Fiktion" [Beyond the border. The problematic differentiation between fact and fiction]. In Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger: Formen des New Journalism*, 100–125.

Knobloch, Heinz. *Mit beiden Augen. Von Dresden nach Tennessee*. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1999.

———. "Wanderung zu Fontanes Grab" [Hike to Fontane's grave]. In *Berliner Grabsteine* [Berlin Gravestones], 83–111. Berlin/DDR: Buchverlag Der Morgen, 1987.

Koszyk, Kurt. "Journalismus und 'Volksstimmung' im Ersten Weltkrieg" [Journalism and 'public feeling' in the First World War]. In *Journalismus und Öffentlichkeit: Eine Profession und ihr gesellschaftlicher Auftrag* [Journalism and the public:

A profession and its social mission], edited by Tobias Eberwein and Daniel Müller, 455–66. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010.

Lange, Marianne. "Das Vermächtnis Georg Weerths—Eine große Tradition unserer sozialistischen Literatur" [The legacy of Georg Weerth—a great tradition of our socialist literature]. *Einheit. Zeitschrift für Theorie und Praxis des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus* [Unity–Journal for Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism] 12, no. 10 (October 1957): 1288–98.

Literaturland Saar e.V. "Marie-Luise Scherer." Literaturland Saar (literaturland-saar.de), 2016. http://literaturland-saar.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/scherer_marie_luise.jpg.

Löffler, Dietrich. "Publikumszeitschriften und ihre Leser. Zum Beispiel: *Wochenpost*, *Freie Welt*, *Fiir Dich*, *Sybille*." In Zwischen "Mosaik" und "Einheit." *Zeitschrifren in der DDR*. Edited by Simone Barck, Martina Langermann, and Siegfried Lokatis, 48–60. Berlin: S. Loffler: 1999.

Lorenz, Stephan, ed. *TafelGesellschaft: Zum neuen Umgang mit Überfluss und Ausgrenzung* (Sozialtheorie). [On the new way of dealing with abundance and exclusion]. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag: 2010. https://doi.org/10.14361/transcript.9783839415047.

Ludwig Börne Stiftung [Ludwig Börne Foundation, endowment], https://boerne-stiftung.de/ludwig-boerne-preis.html#:~:text=Die%20Ludwig%2DB%C3%B6rne%2DStiftung%20verleiht,Die%20Preissumme%20betr%C3%A4gt%2020.000%20Euro.

Luhmann, Niklas. *Soziale Systeme. Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie* [Social systems. Outline of a general theory]. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1984.

Lünenborg, Margreth. *Journalismus als kultureller Prozess. Zur Bedeutung von Journalismus in der Mediengesellschaft. Ein Entwurf* [Journalism as a cultural process. On the significance of journalism in the media society: A draft]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005.

Matussek, Matthias. "Pistolenknall und Harfenklang" [Gun blast and the sound of a harp]. *Der Spiegel*, no. 7 (2006): 112–17.

McDonald, Willa, and Bunty Avieson. "Journalism in Disguise: Standpoint Theory and the Ethics of Günter Wallraff's Undercover Immersion." *Journalism Practice* 14, no. 1 (2020): 34–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1596752.

Meier, Oliver. "Literatur und Journalismus. Ein Geschwisterstreit geht in das 21. Jahrhundert" [Literature and journalism. A sibling dispute enters the twenty-first century]. *medien heft*, 9 (July 2004): 1–9.

Olden, Rudolf. *Hitler der Eroberer. Entlarvung einer Legende* [Hitler the conqueror: debunking of a myth]. Frankfurt/Main: FISCHER Taschenbuch, 2015. First published 1933 by Malik (Prague).

Poor, Harold L. *Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany, 1914–1935*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968.

Pörksen, Bernhard. "Die Tempojahre. Merkmale des deutschsprachigen New Journalism am Beispiel der Zeitschrift *Tempo*" [The *Tempo* years: characteristics of German-language New Journalism using the example of *Tempo* magazine]. In

Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger: Formen des New Journalism* [Border crossers: forms of New Journalism], 307–36.

———. [Poerksen], Bernhard. "The Milieu of a Magazine: *Tempo* as an Exponent of German New Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring, 2010): 9–29.

Pöttker, Horst. "Der Beruf zur Öffentlichkeit" [The profession for the public]. *Publizistik* 55, no. 2 (2010): 107–28. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11616-010-0083-4.

———. "Ende des Milleniums—Ende des Journalismus? Wider die Dogmatisierung der professionellen Trennungsgrundsätze" [The end of the millenium—the end of journalism? Against the dogmatization of the professional principles of separation]. In *Journalismus und Wandel. Analysedimensionen, Konzepte, Fallstudien* [Journalism and change. Dimensions of analysis, concepts, and case studies]. Edited by Markus Behmer, Bernd Blöbaum, Armin Scholl, and Rudolf Stöber, 123–41. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005.

———. "Journalismus als Politik" [Journalism as politics]. *Publizistik* 51, no. 2 (June 2006): 168–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11616-006-0055-x.

———. "Modellfall Heinrich Heine. Über das Verhältnis von Journalismus und Schriftstellertum in Deutschland" [The model case Heinrich Heine. On the relationship between journalism and literary writing in Germany]. In *Journalistische Kulturen. Internationale und Interdisziplinäre Theoriebausteine*, edited by Oliver Hahn and Roland Schröder, 56–75. Cologne, Germany: Herbert von Halem Verlag, 2008.

———. "Alles Weltwichtige an Ort und Stelle betrachten und behorchen. Heinrich Heine als Protagonist des modernen Journalismus" [Look at and listen to everything that is of world importance on the spot. Heinrich Heine as a protagonist of modern journalism], in Horst Pöttker and Aleksandr I. Stan'ko, eds. *Mühen der Moderne. Von Kleist bis Tschechow—Deutsche und russische Publizisten des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Toils of modern times. From Kleist to Czechov—German and Russian publicists of the nineteenth century]. *Öffentlichkeit und Geschichte* 9. Cologne: Herbert von Halem, 2016: 92–147.

Pöttker, Horst, and Aleksandr I. Stan'ko, eds. *Mühen der Moderne. Von Kleist bis Tschechow—Deutsche und russische Publizisten des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Toils of modern times. From Kleist to Czechov—German and Russian publicists of the nineteenth century]. *Öffentlichkeit und Geschichte* 9. Cologne: Herbert von Halem, 2016.

Püschel, Ulrich. "Journalistische Textsorten im 19. Jahrhundert" [Journalistic text forms in the nineteenth century]. In *Das 19. Jahrhundert: Sprachgeschichtliche Wurzeln des Heutigen Deutsch* [The nineteenth century: The linguistic-historical roots of today's German], edited by Rainer Wimmer, 428–47. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1991.

Raddatz, Fritz. Vorwort [foreword] to *Kurt Tucholsky. Gesammelte Werke* [Kurt Tucholsky. Collected works], Vol. 1, *1907–1918*, 13–36. Edited by Mary Gerold-Tucholsky and Fritz J. Raddatz, 10 vols. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1993.

Reifarth, Jürgen, and Gunter Reus. " 'Mich aber mag das Gesetz recht eigentlich nicht': Publizistische Opposition gegen den SED-Staat in den Feuilletons von Heinz Knobloch." [The law does not really like me: Journalistic opposition against the SED-State in the feuilletons of Heinz Knobloch]. *Publizistik* 47, no. 1 (March 2002): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11616-002-0001-5.

Reus, Gunter. "Ironie als Widerstand. Heinrich Heines frühe Feuilletons *Briefe aus Berlin* und ihre Bedeutung für den modernen Journalismus" [Irony as resistance. Heinrich Heine's early feuilletons *Letters from Berlin* and their significance for modern journalism]. In Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus. Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism: theory, contexts, case studies], 159–72.

———. "Ja, Fiktionalität passt in den Journalismus. Entscheidend ist Transparenz" [Yes, fictionality fits journalism. The decisive factor is transparency]. Part 1 of "Debatte: Wissenschaftliche Diskussion nach dem Fächungsskandal beim 'Spiegel.' Passt Fiktionalität in den Journalismus?" [Debate: scientific discussion after the counterfeiting scandal at *Der Spiegel*. Does fiction fit into journalism?]. *Journalistik–Zeitschrift* für *Journalismusforschung* 2, no. 1 (2019): 65–69.

———. "Mit doppelter Zunge. Tom Kummer und der New Journalism" [With double tongue: Tom Kummer and the New Journalism]. In Bleicher and Pörksen, eds., *Grenzgänger: Formen des New Journalism* [Border crossers: forms of New Journalism], 249–66.

———. "Was Journalisten von Erich Kästner lernen können. Im Werk des Publizisten verschwimmen die Grenzen zwischen Journalismus und Literatur" [What journalists can learn from Erich Kästner: In the work of the publicist, the boundaries between journalism and literature are blurred]. *Journalistik–Zeitschrift für Journalismusforschung* 1, no. 1 (2018): 26–46. https://journalistik.online/ausgabe-012018/erich-kaestner/.

———. "Sinn für den Boulevard und die 'Nationalidee.' Heinrich von Kleist und sein Lehrsatz von der Staatsferne des Journalismus" [A sense for the boulevard and the 'national idea': Heinrich von Kleist and his tenet of journalism's distance from the state], in Pöttker and Stan'ko, *Mühen der Moderne* [Toils of modern times], 20–71.

Reus, Gunter, and Tanjev Schultz. "Debatte: Wissenschaftliche Diskussion nach dem Fälschungsskandal beim 'Spiegel'. Passt Fiktionalität in den Journalismus?" [Debate: scientific discussion after the fraud scandal at *Der Spiegel*. Does fiction fit with journalism?]. *Journalistik–Zeitschrift* für Journalismusforschung 2, no. 1 (2019): 65–69; 70–77.

Richter, Konstantin. "Die deutsche Reporterfreiheit" [The German freedom of reporters]. *Zeit Online* (Hamburg). December 27, 2018. https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2018-12/amerikanischer-journalismus-claas-relotius-fakten-stil-recherche-betrug.

Rojkov, Alexandra. "Wahres schön schreiben" [Writing the truth in nice style]. *Zeit Online* (Hamburg), December 27, 2018. Accessed April 24, 2021. https://

www.zeit.de/kultur/2018-12/reporter-journalismus-beruf-recherche-fakten-claas-relotius.

Roll, Evelyn. "Heinrich Heine (XLIV) Reporter der Freiheit" [Heinrich Heine. Reporter of freedom]. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 6, 2003; May 10, 2010 (online edition). Accessed October 21, 2022. https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/heinrich-heine-xliv-reporter-der-freiheit-1.432519.

Roß, Dieter. "Fakten und/oder Fiktionen. Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Journalismus und Literatur in Deutschland" [Facts and/or fictions. On the history of the relationship between journalism and literature in Germany]. In Bleicher and Pörksen, *Grenzgänger: Formen des New Journalism* [Border crossers: forms of New Journalism], 74–99.

Ruge, Arnold, ed. *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* [German-French yearbooks]. Reproduction of the Paris 1844 issue. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972. Accessed, https://permalink.obvsg.at/AC15369810.

Ruß-Mohl, Stephan. *Journalismus. Das Lehr– und Handbuch* [Journalism. The text– and handbook]. Frankfurt am Main: F.A.Z.-Institut für Management-, Markt- und Medieninformationen GmbH, 2003.

Scherer, Marie-Luise. "Alltag einer Trinkerin. Der Zustand, eine hilflose Person zu sein" [Everyday life of a drinker: the state of being a helpless person]. *Der Spiegel*, December 30, 2016. https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/a-1125729.html.

———. "Der unheimliche Ort Berlin" [The spooky place Berlin]. *Der Spiegel*, May 17, 1987. https://www.spiegel.de/politik/der-unheimliche-ort-berlin-a-3e4756c3-0002-0001-0000-000013523883?context=issue.

Schultz, Tanjev. "Nein, Fiktionalität passt nicht in den Journalismus. Über den Unterschied von fiktionalem und faktualem Erzählen" [No, fictionality does not fit journalism. On the difference between fictional and factual narrating]. Part 2 of "Debatte: Wissenschaftliche Diskussion nach dem Fälschungsskandal beim 'Spiegel.' Passt Fiktionalität in den Journalismus?" [Debate: scientific discussion after the fraud scandal at *Der Spiegel*. Does fiction fit with journalism?]. *Journalistik–Zeitschrift* für *Journalismusforschung* 2, no. 1 (2019): 70–77.

Segel, Harold B. *Egon Erwin Kisch*, *The Raging Reporter: A Bio-Anthology*. Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1997. Accessed, muse.jhu.edu/book/4141. See esp. Introduction, 11–90.

Seume, Johann Gottfried. *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* [Walk to Syracuse in the year 1802]. 12th ed. München: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag GmbH & Co. KG, 2010.

Siegel, Christian Ernst. *Egon Erwin Kisch. Reportage und politischer Journalismus* [Egon Erwin Kisch. Reportage and political journalism]. Bremen: Schünemann Universitätsverlag, 1973.

Sims, Norman. "The Art of Literary Journalism." In *Literary Journalism: A New Collection of the Best American Nonfiction*, edited by Norman Sims and Mark Kramer, 3–19. New York: Ballantine Books, 1995.

Sösemann, Bernd. "Politik im Feuilleton—Feuilleton in der Politik. Überlegungen zur kommunikationhistorischen Bedeutung Literarischer Texte und zu ihrer

medienwissenschaftlichen Interpretation." [Reflections on the historical significance of literary texts in communication and on their interpretation in media studies]. In *Die Lange Geschichte der Kleinen Form* [The long story of the small form]. Edited by Kai Kauffmann and Erhard Schütz, 40–59. Berlin: Weidler, 2000.

Stiftung, Ludwig Börne. See Ludwig Börne Foundation at https://boerne -stiftung.de.

Sucker, Juliane, ed. "Gabriele Tergit." Special issue, *Text + Kritik*, no. 228 (October 2020).

Tucholsky Kurt. [Ignaz Wrobel, pseud.]. "Die deutsche Pest" [The German plague]. In *Kurt Tucholsky. Gesammelte Werke*: Vol. 8: *1930*, edited by Mary Gerold-Tucholsky and Fritz J. Raddatz, 129–33. Reinbek bei Hamburg, Germany: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GbmH, 1930. "Die deutsche Pest," first published May 13, 1930, in *Die Weltbühne* [The world stage], (Berlin).

———. *Kurt Tucholsky. Gesammelte Werke* [Kurt Tucholsky. Collected works]. Vol. 1–10. Edited by Mary Gerold-Tucholsky and Fritz J. Raddatz. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1993. First published 1960 by Rowohlt Verlag GmbH (Hamburg). See esp. Vol. 1, *1907–1918*; Vol. 8, *1930*.

Unger, Thorsten. "Erlebnisfähigkeit, unbefangene Zeugenschaft und literarischer Anspruch. Zum Reportagekonzept von Egon Erwin Kisch und seiner Durchführung in *Paradies Amerika*" [Experiential capacity, unbiased witnessing, and literary ambition. On the reportage concept of Egon Erwin Kisch and its implementation in *Paradise America*]. In Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus*, *Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism: theory, contexts, case studies], 173–94.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "*Gleichschaltung*: Coordinating the Nazi State," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/gleichschaltung-coordinating-the-nazi-state.

Urbschat, Rudolf. "Tendencies in the German Newspaper and Magazine Press Since 1945." *Communications* 22, no. 3 (1997): 343–64.

Wagener, Benjamin. "Inländische Perspektivierungen. Erich Kästner als Feuilletonist der *Neuen Zeitung*" [Domestic perspectives. Erich Kästner as a feuilletonist for the *Neue Zeitung*]. In Blöbaum and Neuhaus, *Literatur und Journalismus. Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien*, 195–226.

Wallraff, Günter, and Gerd Hirschauer, *13 unerwünschte Reportagen* [13 undesired reportages]. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1970.

Walter, Hans-Albert. "Leopold Schwarzschild and the *Neue Tage-Buch*." In "Left-Wing Intellectuals between the Wars." Special issue, *Journal of Contemporary History* 1, no. 2 (1966): 103–16. https://www.jstor.org/stable/259925.

Weerth, Georg. *Skizzen aus dem sozialen und politischen Leben der Briten* [Sketches from the social and political life of the Britons]. Hamburg: Tredition, 2012.

Weischenberg, Siegfried. *Journalistik Medienkommunikation: Theorie und Praxis*. *Band 2: Medientechnik, Medienfunktionen, Medienakteure* [Journalism studies media communication: Theory and practice. Vol. 2: Media technique, media functions, media players]. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1995.

Wrobel, Ignaz. *See* Tucholsky, Kurt.

Max Winter dressed as a scavenger in 1902. Wikimedia Commons.

Life Outside: Max Winter, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and the Rise of Literary Reportage in Early Twentieth-century Vienna

Kate McQueen
University of California Santa Cruz, United States

Abstract: This essay introduces Austrian journalist Max Winter who, as a pioneering figure in German-language literary reportage, anticipated the work of his more famous colleague Egon Erwin Kisch by nearly a decade. From 1895 to 1934, Winter chronicled Viennese life for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, a revered organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, with a particular eye for those corners obscured by fin-de-siècle Vienna's famed gilded image. In the service of more than 1,500 articles, Winter slept in homeless shelters, worked in warehouses, sat in prison, rummaged in the city's canals, and walked his way through Vienna's rapidly expanding, working-class suburbs. Because Winter spent nearly his entire journalistic career at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, this study first outlines the ways in which the newspaper's ideological conditions de-emphasized the classic literary-journalistic tradition of the feuilleton, creating space for work like Winter's to flourish. The close readings and stylistic analyses of key texts that follow show how Winter's engaged writing helped expand and reframe the *Arbeiter Zeitung*'s sociocultural coverage during the pivotal moment known as "Vienna 1900." In doing so, the study aims not only to demonstrate the aesthetic and ideological value of Winter's journalism, but also to position the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and the city of Vienna as one point of origin for reportage, a genre which would become a dominant feature of interwar German-language journalism and literature.

Keywords: Max Winter – *Arbeiter-Zeitung* – Vienna – literary journalism – feuilleton – social reportage – reportage – cultural politics

On February 4, 1902, reporter Max Winter treated readers of Vienna's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Worker's newspaper) to a remarkable scene. "During a morning walk in suburban Vienna," he confides,

> I once had a strange encounter. A man disappeared before my eyes down a canal manhole. He lifted the canal grate with the short handle of [a] rake . . . , climbed in the duct, and let it close again slowly, supported on his back. Through the canal's hole I could only see that the man had created light and then disappeared into the belly of the street as quickly as the previous procedure. From the lifting of the grate to the disappearing of the light, not a minute had passed.[1]

Winter cannot contain his curiosity about this man and his mission. He seeks out a guide—a grizzled veteran of the canals called Specklmoriz—to lead him on a "*Strottgang*,"[2] a scavenging tour through the city's sprawling drainage system.

What follows this enticing hook is a rare portrait of impoverished city residents who make ends meet by hunting subterranean waters for sellable flotsam. Winter's article makes unseen people and unseen labor visible. And in a strikingly physical way, it also creates a counterpoint to fin-de-siècle Vienna's famed gilded image. The two men descend below the streets of the Rudolfsheim district, a short walk from one of the city's grandest façades, Schönbrunn Palace, the imperial summer residence. Above them, at the city's center, an even greater signifier of the city at the century's turn was under construction, the newly designed Ringstrasse. Along this fabled boulevard in 1902, Gustav Mahler conducted at the Hofoper, Gustav Klimt gilded the Secession's Beethoven Frieze, and Sigmund Freud lectured at the university. Coffeehouses filled with newspaper-reading literati and journalists who polished their verbal graces for the city's culture-loving public. Indeed, by revealing the "secret of underground Vienna,"[3] Winter challenged the city's "symbolic body," which—as Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner have argued—was prone to distortion, "socially segregated and yet contradictorily homogenized by the aesthetic standards" and public discourses of the era.[4]

Few writers resisted this hegemony as successfully as Winter. "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien" (Four hours in underground Vienna),[5] was just one of his many investigations into invisible parts of the city. In service of his reporting, he slept in homeless shelters, worked in warehouses, sat in prison, and walked his way through the city's working-class suburbs. For his unique material and methods, he has been granted an elevated place in German-language press history as the father of *Sozialreportage*—socially engaged reportage—anticipating the form of journalism popularized a generation later by his more famous colleague, Egon Erwin Kisch. The socio-political value of

his work has been well documented in the German-language context, in the scholarly work of Stefan Riesenfellner, Hannes Haas, and others.[6] This study adds to the existing research by examining the reporter's oeuvre in the context of literary journalism. Winter spent nearly his entire journalistic career at Vienna's *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. For that reason, the study will first outline the ways in which ideological conditions at this socialist newspaper de-emphasized the classic literary-journalistic tradition of the feuilleton, creating space for Winter's work to flourish. Close readings and stylistic analysis of key texts will then establish how his work expanded city coverage during the pivotal historical and cultural moment known as "Vienna 1900."[7] It will conclude with a summary of Winter's legacy and impact on later practitioners of literary reportage.

Reportage and Literary Journalism beyond the Feuilleton

Winter's scavenging tours received particular attention from famed critic Alfred Polgar, who reviewed Winter's volume of collected articles *Im dunkelsten Wien* (In darkest Vienna) in 1904. Polgar praised Winter's work for two reasons: its moving content and its refreshing style.

> Max Winter has become a peerless specialist in the description of poorest proletariat existences . . . [He] narrates very quietly, aridly, simply, objectively . . . and yet with a powerful effect, which flows from personal experience into writing. As such it is a refreshingly unliterary book. An exciting and radicalizing book. A book, in which the stink of facts is not aesthetically distorted by a single drop of literary perfume.[8]

If "unliterary" seems like strange praise, it is worth keeping in mind that the journalism most associated with literary ambition at the century's turn was the feuilleton. Referring to both a newspaper departmentalization and a stylized journalistic form, the feuilleton offered readers material across a wide spectrum of rhetorical modalities and genres: criticism, travelogue, local slices of life, meditative essays, and other nonfictional small forms. First appearing in the Viennese liberal press in 1848, the feuilleton was a beloved part of the city's literary landscape—in Stefan Zweig's words, "a special holy of holies."[9] The novelist, who came of age at the century's turn, remembers that one could not be "truly Viennese without a love for culture"[10] and further, "[a]s Vienna saw it, an author writing in the feuilleton on the front page had his name carved in marble."[11] Still, the feuilleton was not without criticism. Many contemporary commentators, Karl Kraus loudest among them, perceived that the feuilleton was leading to a trivialization of an aesthetic writing style and lack of social engagement in journalism.[12] Even Polgar, himself an accomplished feuilletonist, complained that the style's "soft oiliness has become uncomfortably rancid."[13]

It is no accident, then, that an alternative developed within the city's socialist press,[14] pioneered by an author whose conception of his work was far from belletristic. Winter considered himself, above all, a *Berichterstatter*, "a reporter," and he spent most of his career chronicling working-class life for a newspaper that served as the official voice of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (SDAPO).[15] Founded in 1889, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was more outspoken against the feuilleton than most. While concepts like culture (*Kultur*) and education (*Bildung*) were usefully employed by the SDAPO as ideological assets, the cultural agenda of the fin-de-siècle *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was, from the outset, ambivalent. The paper's staff, like many of its readers, came from the educated middle class, but the target audience included the city's workers. Chief editor Friedrich Austerlitz was reputed to save few column inches for high art or literary style, calling upon the paper's staff to write not for the "bourgeois literati" but rather for "the reading workers" who "want to be informed about an artwork and not about the critics' talent for intellectual flights of fancy" (*Geistreicherei*).[16] The attitude was shared by SDAPO and newspaper founder Victor Adler, who, as Stefan Großmann recalls in his memoirs, offered the staff reporter a weekly feuilleton column as a bribe in exchange for the "actually useful" work of reporting on the commercial court.[17]

Under Austerlitz, tensions over the appropriateness of feuilleton content, style, and agenda mounted during the first decades of the twentieth century, and the feuilleton was ultimately eliminated as a daily rubric.[18] Material once at home in the feuilleton was relegated instead to other sections of the paper, nestled in the back pages of news sections, and in travel, literary, and Sunday supplements. By the 1920s, the only real remaining division, designated by the *Strich*—the heavy black line placed between political and cultural content—was the separation of the serialized novel from the rest of the paper.[19]

Out of the feuilleton's multifaceted tradition, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* remained strongly interested in documenting local milieus through a combination of participatory observation and narrative style. Like feuilletonist Daniel Spitzer, who had walked the city's neighborhoods as a form of research for his column "Wiener Spaziergänge" (Viennese strolls) a decade earlier, writers like Winter spent a great deal of time out on the streets.[20] But instead of using observations for impressionistic, news-transcendent reflections, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* aimed to show the experiences of the working class in relation to larger social and economic structures. In this way, their approach also falls under the tradition of the reform-minded investigations of mid-nineteenth-century writers Bettina von Arnim and Georg Werth, as Tobias Eberwein and Hendrik Michael observe.[21]

Staff reporters experimented by pairing eyewitness reports with data and narrating their observations in the first-person voice, often accompanied by dialect-driven dialogue or description-rich scenes. Thus evolved this new journalistic form—soon called socially engaged reportage, or simply reportage—which held potential as a weapon against oppression, as Kisch later argued.[22] The genre would not be theorized or fully realized in its modern iteration, described by Michael Haller as a factual, personally-colored report of experience, until after the First World War.[23] Yet the innovation was underway with a concrete goal. If the feuilleton, as John Hartsock suggests, "served a cultural need . . . to provide a space for what did not fit comfortably into the conventional news pages," reportage emerged to fill a similar social need, to document people, places, and practices overlooked by these same sources.[24]

The Culture of Vienna Reframed

Journalists affiliated with the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* produced some outstanding examples of socially engaged reportage. Adler paved the way in 1888 with an exposé of the horrific working conditions at the Wienerberger brick-making company.[25] *Arbeiter-Zeitung* staff members Stefan Großmann and Emil Kläger followed in Adler's footsteps with attention-garnering investigations of the Austrian prison system (1905) and the homeless of the Viennese canals (1908), respectively.[26] Working alongside these talented colleagues, Winter ultimately emerged as the genre's primary innovator, due to his expansive and artful oeuvre.

Born near Budapest in 1870, Winter was raised in Vienna and started working as a journalist shortly after dropping out of the city's university in 1893.[27] Two years later, Adler recruited him to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, where he remained until the newspaper was banned in 1934. During this remarkable thirty-nine-year tenure, Winter wrote more than 1,500 articles and fifteen books, which included the many multi-part investigations for which he is currently known.[28] Winter stands out for his singular productivity and, more importantly, for his insight into the potential of reportage beyond the coverage of proletariat misery. Though never veering from his fixed political standpoint, his journalism captured Viennese working-class life from a wide angle that included diverse social and cultural practices.

Some of Winter's coverage even falls under the feuilletonistic territory of high art and, although such articles are relatively few, they hold interest because they exemplify the ways in which reportage covered cultural life differently than did the reviews, sketches, and correspondence traditionally found in the feuilleton. These pieces illustrate what might be called cultural exposé—they push past the presentation and analysis of art to address the

social implications of the work in question. The relationship between art and society is often depicted in negative terms, the interruption of artistic production by economic reality.

In "Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins: Ein Vierteljahr Aushilfsstatist in der Hofoper" (Reality from the world of illusion: A quarter of a year as an extra at the court opera), (1902), Winter sets up an interesting conflict between 'art' and 'work' while chronicling his behind-the-scenes adventures at the city's revered opera house.[29]

Already undercover as a certain "Herr Kratochwill,"[30] Winter embarks on further transformations as an extra in popular operas. He becomes a Brabant knight and a soldier, respectively, in Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin* and *Rienzi*, a slave in Karl Goldmark's *Königin von Saba* (Queen of Sheba), and finally only just misses the cut as a member of the crowd in Georges Bizet's *Carmen*. Under subheadings like "Hinter dem Vorhang" (Behind the curtain), "Hinter der Szene" (Behind the scene), and "Die Illusion ist beim Teufel" (The illusion is ruined), Winter provides a wealth of details about the hidden corners of this cultural landmark—the chaos of changing rooms, the diversity of costumes and props, the feel of charcoal pencils, gum arabic, and imitation hair. The author finds some humor in the discomforts of such theatricalities. While rehearsing *Königin von Saba*, Winter confides to his readers,

> If someone had told me a half a year ago, that I would casually let somebody smear my face with a thick gum arabic, I would have doubted his or my sanity. . . . The queen, to whom I had carelessly given myself as a slave, won't have it any other way. Whoever wants to serve her must have a full beard. . . . I sigh audibly when I'm able to leave her service forever half an hour later. Only now do I notice that the only plausibly Arab thing about me is the gum *Arabic*. The tearing off of my beard is a right painful procedure. The desert tan and the shoe cream on the beard are easier. I only need to rub my face with lard and everything melts away.[31]

The charm of the theater is complicated by economic realities. Most visible is the plight of the extras. Though a necessary staging element for the mass scenes of popular operas, the participation and pay of an extra is never guaranteed, even after taking part in rehearsals. Winter narrates his experience, caught in the "Salon der Zurückgewiesenen" (Salon of the rejected),[32] visiting rehearsals and waiting for hours in the hope of earning one *Krone* (crown), only to be turned away at the last minute. His hope and disappointment over the casting process is depicted as just one small part of a much larger struggle.

Beyond the plight of the extra, the discontent of the opera's full-time performers—musicians, singers, and dancers—tarnishes the operatic glory.

While taking a break between scenes of *Lohengrin*, Winter notices a knight in finery dining on cheap *Olmützer* cheese, a contradictory sight that surprises the reporter. Later, in the opera canteen, Winter orders his own modest meal of beer, sausage, and bread, the cost of which leaves him with only 48 Heller, a little less than half of his daily wage. He starts to calculate: "Roundtrip on the tram or commuter train 40 Heller, concierge tip 20 Heller, evening meal 52 Heller, and I find myself with a deficit of twelve Heller, which has accrued despite all the budget limits. Now I understood the Brabant nobleman and his cheap dinner."[33]

Winter can't help but notice other tensions as he finishes his meal. "The ballet dancers whisper amongst themselves, probably once again about the *pension funds*, which they, the members of the chorus, the musicians, and the stagehands have been terribly worried about for weeks. I can't hear what they are saying but on their faces I can detect that they are speaking about serious things."[34]

Winter pursued a similar strategy in "Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater" (Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater).[35] A new staging of Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* provides Winter's point of entry as a stagehand, needed for the construction of newly designed backdrops. Here too, Winter is less interested in the abstract analysis of artistic production than in the process of hands-on staging. With near childlike awe, he observes the inner workings of the theater, and describes—literally—its construction. The play tells the story of marksman Wilhelm Tell's uprising against the tyrannical rule of Habsburg governor Hermann Gessler and the struggle for Swiss independence against the Habsburg Empire in the fourteenth century. Opening with the onset of a mighty thunderstorm on the mountainous banks of Lake Lucerne, the crew must build a sweeping Alpine panorama complete with massive water features. At times, Winter struggles to capture in words the magic of the special effects. "First we unload the 'new water,' carefully, as was needed," he writes.

> Four fantastical wire frameworks, the upper corners of which had a wave shape, like a water wheel, are right away mounted horizontally onto an iron axis. This framework is covered in a stiff blue-green net, strewn with glittering disks. The axis was to be lifted by handles, and after a specific set of instructions, one time fast, another time slow, so that the wrinkled, covered wire frame should create the illusion of wildly moving water. How great the effect turned out, the critics confirmed after the opening night.[36]

Through the interaction of actors, directors, and stagehands, the revolutionary elements of Schiller's play are easier to detect. The article reaches an emotional climax when a stagehand, tools in grip, gives an impromptu recital of Tell's line, "You will no longer harm the country!" seemingly speaking out

against the then-current Habsburg authoritarianism.[37]

These articles introduce tense encounters that demonstrate both an intimacy and an estrangement of the working classes in relation to the city's eminent cultural spaces. The basic familiarity with canonical works that Winter assumes of his readers, and portrays in his characterization of workers, is worthy of reflection. Winter's social critique takes for granted reader knowledge not only of classics—like Wagner and Schiller—but also of contemporary composers like Karl Goldmark, whose work was included among a familiar repertoire of the fin-de-siècle Viennese opera. Scenes like the stagehand reciting Schiller from memory do similar work. In this way, parts of Winter's oeuvre reflect the left-leaning cultural politics of the era; they share an orientation towards high culture, in which classical authors and existing cultural paradigms are appropriated for the liberation of the working class.[38]

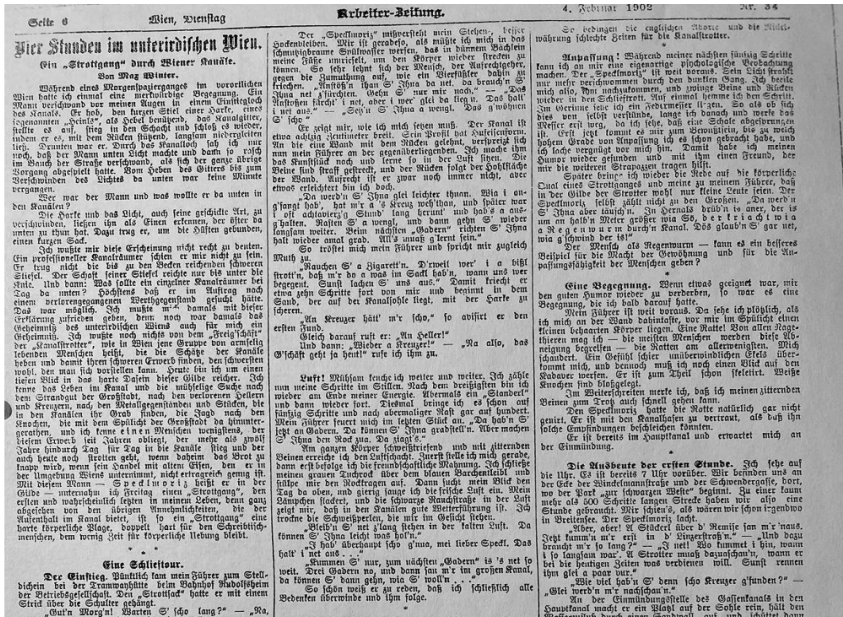
A Kaleidoscope of City Life and Its Social Margins

The bulk of Winter's writing forges new ground and widens the scope of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*'s sociocultural coverage to "life outside," by orienting readers beyond the narrow circumscription of Ringstrasse, in Winter's words, "On the streets, in factories, in houses and apartments, on sports fields and playgrounds, in courtrooms, in the taverns, in police and rescue stations, in hospitals, orphanages, and poorhouses, in prisons."[39]

His reporting takes a humble route through Leopoldstadt, Favoriten, Ottakring, Floridsdorf, and Brigittenau, working-class districts which wind concentrically around Vienna's fashionable center. Though rarely explored at length in publications of record (or, for that matter, in high-modern literature), these outer districts featured prominently in popular discourse about Vienna, a discourse that would have been familiar to early twentieth century readers through word of mouth, folk songs, and the boulevard press.[40]

The suburbs filled a central trope in the city's cultural imagination as an unpredictable landscape of pleasure, deviance, crime, and poverty.[41] Prominent landmarks include the still-famous wine taverns of western Vienna and, to the east, Leopoldstadt's large public park, the Prater. Filled with sprawling meadows, beer gardens, and an amusement park, the Prater was a place of indulgence by day that morphed into an "urban no-man's-land of small crime" by night.[42] Leopoldstadt's identity was further complicated by its large immigrant quarter, known for its orthodox Jewish and eastern European communities. Industrial quarters like Ottakring, where housing shortages, homelessness, and unemployment were perennial, had their own notorious identities.

By featuring the people who worked and lived in these areas—the curbside vendors, bartenders, small shop owners, factory workers, police officers,



Seite 6 Wien, Montag

Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien.

Ein „Strottgang" durch Wiener Kanäle.

Von Max Winter.

Während einer Morgenspaziergangs im vorortlichen Wien hatte ich einmal eine merkwürdige Begegnung. Ein Mann verschwand vor meinen Augen in einem Gitterloch des Kanals. Er hob, den langen Stiel einer Harke, eines irgendeinen „Heinis", als Hebel benützend, das Kanalgitter, stellte es auf, stieg in den Schacht und schloß es wieder, indem er es, mit dem Rücken stehend, langsam niedergleiten ließ. Drunten war er. Durch das Kanalloch sah ich nur noch, daß der Mann unten Licht machte und dann so rasch im Bauch der Straße verschwand, als ich der ganze übrige Vorgang abgespielt hatte. Vom Heben des Gitters bis zum Verschwinden des Lichtes da unten war er keine Minute vergangen.

Wer war der Mann und was wollte er da unten in den Kanälen?

Die Harke und das Licht, auch seine gedrückte Art, zu verschwinden, ließen ihn als Einen erkennen, der öfter da unten zu thun hat. Dazu trug er, um die Füßen gebunden, einen langen Sack.

Ich wußte mir diese Erscheinung nicht recht zu deuten. Ein professioneller Kanalräumer schien er mir nicht zu sein. Er trug nicht die hohen bis an den Bauch reichenden schweren Stiefel. Der Schaft seiner Stiefel reichte nur bis unter die Knie. Und dann: Was sollte ein einzelner Kanalräumer bei Tag da unten? Das mußte mir als Ausnahme einem verlorengegangenen Werthgegenstand gesucht hatte. Das war möglich. Ich mußte mir's damals mit dieser Erklärung zufrieden geben, denn noch war damals das Geheimniß des unterirdischen Wiens auch für mich ein Geheimniß. Ich wußte noch nichts von dem „Freigeschaft" der „Kanalstreicher", wie in Wien jene Gruppe von armselig lebenden Menschen heißt, die die Schätze der Kanäle heben und damit ihren schweren Erwerb finden, den schwersten wohl, den man sich vorstellen kann. Heute bin ich um einen lieben Blick in das harte Dasein dieser Gilde reicher. Ich kenne das Leben im Kanal und die mühselige Suche nach dem Strandgut der Großstadt, nach den verlorenen Heilern und Kreuzern, nach den Metallgegenständen und Münzen, die in den Kanälen ihr Grab finden, die Jagd nach den Knochen, die mit dem Schlicht der Großstadt da hinuntergerathen, und ich kenne einen Menschen wenigstens, der diesen Erwerb seit Jahren obliegt, der mehr als zwölf Jahre hindurch Tag für Tag in die Kanäle stieg und der auch heute noch Stetten geht, wenn daheim das Brot zu knapp wird, wenn sein Handel mit alten Eisen, den er in der Umgebung Wiens ausübt, nicht ertragreich genug ist. Mit diesen Mann — Speckinorix heißt er in der Gilde — unterwahn ich Freitag einen „Strottgang", den ersten und wahrscheinlich letzten in meinem Leben, denn ganz abgesehen von den übrigen Unmöglichkeiten, die der Naturalist im Kanal bietet, ist so ein „Strottgang" eine harte körperliche Plage, doppelt hart für den Schreibstubenmenschen, dem wenig Zeit für körperliche Uebung bleibt.

* * *

Eine Schlittour.

Der Einstieg. Pünktlich kam mein Führer zum Stelldichein bei der Tramwayhaltte beim Bahnhof Rudolfsheim der Betriebsgesellschaft. Den „Strottsack" hatte er mit einem Strick über die Schulter gehängt.

„Guk'n Morg'n! Warten S' scho lang?" — „Na, a paar Minuten." — „Also gehn mr's an."

„Wo wer'n mr's denn einsteig'n?" — „In der Hollergass'n, glaub i, wird's am besten sein." — „Na, wie S' glaub'n."

Wir gehen durchaus. In wenigen Minuten stehen wir vor dem Gitter an der Einmündung der Siebenreichsgasse. Der Speckmorix scharrt mit seinem „Heini" ein wenig Eis weg, hat sich am Rand des Kanalgitters festgehalt hat. Dann versucht er, das Gitter mit dem kurzen Stiel zu heben. Er sticht den Stiel in ein Gitterloch und stemmt sich dagegen. Mit einem langen Ruck hebt er das schwere Gitter aufgeschoben. „Packen S' an jetzt!" kommandiert er. Ich lange zu, und mit vereinten Kräften stellen wir das Gitter auf. Die Gasse herauf kommen Fuhrwerken mit ihren hochbeladenen Wagen.

Da die Stand des Kanalschachtes sind eiserne Steigsprossen eingerammt. Auf diesen steige ich hinunter. Schon bin ich mit dem Kopf im Straßenniveau, da hält sich der „Speckmorix" nochmals und legt mir zwei Hinweise ins hinters Ohr. „Daß S' gut anglehnen tienna." Die letzte Sprosse fehlt. Auch diese sie erreiche ich die Sohle des Kanals. Mein Führer langt mit nun die Harke herab, auf die er sein Oellämpchen gestellt hat.

„So, ginden S' gut an und stell'n S' das Lampert hinter." — „Das Wasser ein?" — „Na. Das macht nix."

Mit diesen Worten steigt auch er hinab, setzt das Eisengitter an seinen Rücken und schließt es, indem er langsam tiefer steigt. Die eigene Schwere drückt das Gitter zu.

Noch zwei Sprossen, und auch er steht mit seinen schweren Stiefeln in dem Wassergerinsel auf der Kanalsohle. Der Speckmorix entstammt nun auch den Deckel seines offenen Oellämpchens und schließt dann in den etwa mannshohen Kanal. Ein letzter Blick noch in das beginnende Dämmern oder uns. Einer der Heimgen humpelt über das Gitter, schreit und schwand. Ihn sehe ich noch, dann schließt sich meinem Führer nach.

* * *

Aller Anfang ist schwer. Der Speckmorix ist schon ein wenig vorweg. Da ich ihm nun nachschleife, scheint es mir, daß er lauft. So schnell kommt er, so langsam i ich vorwärts. Schon nach den ersten zwanzig Schritten glaube ich, daß ich zurück muß. Mein Kopf und Hinsel meines Körpers muß ich unterdrücken, um durch den niedrigen gewölbten Kanalgang durchzukommen. Der Oberkörper ist in der Biegrechten, die Beine sind etwas gebeugt. In der Rechten trage ich das Lämpchen, dessen offene Flamme bei jedem Schritt nach vornwärts einen schwarzen Rauchschwall meinen Lungen sendet. Die linke Hand gleitet, für den gebrauten Hörner Stützen suchend, an der nassen, fleckenweise glitschigen Kanalwand dahin. So war ich zwanzig Schritte vorwärts gekommen, aber schon verwünschte ich kräftig meinen Forschungsdrang. Schweiß tritt auf allen Poren. Der Athem, den es mir zuerst ganz verschlagen hatte, geht jetzt. Meine Wange [illegible]

Der „Speckmorix" mißverstellt mein Stehen, leiser sackenbleiben. Mir ist gerathen, als müßte ich mich in das schmutzigbraune Gallwasser werfen, das in dünnem Bachlein meine Füße umrieselt, um den Körper wieder strecken zu können. So sehr lehnt sich der Mensch, der Aufrechtgeher, gegen die Zumuthung auf, wie ein Vierfüßler dahin zu kriechen. „Anstich'n dan S' scho da net, da brauch'n S' Ihna net z'fürchten. Gehn S' nur nie noch." — „Das Anstechen fürcht' i net, aber i mer glei da lieg'n. Das hält i net aus." — „Geh no, S' Ihna a wengl. Das g'wöhnen S' scho."

Er zeigt mir, wie ich mich legen muß. Der Kanal ist etwa achtzig Zentimeter breit. Sein Profil hat Hufeisenform. An die eine Wand mit den Rücken gelehnt, verharrte ich nun mein Führer an der gegenüberliegenden. Ich mache ihm das Kunststück noch und lerne so in der Luft sitzen. Die Beine sind fest gestreckt, und der Rücken folgt der Schräge der Wand. Aufrecht ist er zwar noch immer nicht, aber etwas erleichtert bin ich doch.

„Da werd'n S' Ihna glei leichter thuan. Wia i angfangt hab', hat mr's a's Kreuz wehthan, und spater war i's oft achtzehn'g'n Stund' lang herum' und hab's a ausg'halten. Wenn S' a wengl, und dann gehn S' wieder langsam weiter. Beim nächsten „Gabern" richten S' Ihna halt wieder emal grad. Als'n'mah g'lernt sein."

So tröstet mich mein Führer und spricht mir zugleich Muth zu.

„Rauchen S' a Zigarett'n. D'rweil vor' i a bißl stroit'n, daß mr's do a was im Sack hab'n, wanns uns vor dergeant. Sunst fahren S' uns aus." Damit kriecht er etwa zehn Schritte fort von mir und beginnt in dem Sand, der auf der Kanalsohle liegt, mit der Harke zu scharren.

„Da Kreuzer hätt' m'r scho," so äußert er den ersten Fund.

Gleich darauf ruft er: „An Heller!"

Und dann: „Wieder a Kreuzer!" — „Na also, das G'schäft geht ja herrlich" rufe ich ihm zu.

Luft! Mißtrauen kroche ich weiter und weiter. Ich zähle nun meine Schritte im Stillen. Nach dem dreißigsten bin ich wieder am Ende meiner Energie. Abermals ein „Standest" und dann wieder fort. Diesmal bringe ich es schon auf fünfzig Schritte und noch abermaliger Rast gar auf hundert. Wenn Führer freut mich in letzten Glück an. „Da hab'n S' jetzt an Gabern. Da können S' Ihna grabstell'n. Aber machen S' Ihna den Rock zua. Da zugt's."

Mit zugeknöpftem Schwerpelzrock und mit zitternden Beinen erreiche ich den Luftschacht. Hurrah stelle ich mich gerade, dann erst losolage ich den freundschaftlichen Wolmen. Ich schiebe meinen Kopf und Oberkörper über den blauen Barchentstall und stülpe mir den Rockkragen auf. Dann sucht mein Blick den Tag des andern Ufers. Ich sauge die frische Luft ein. Mein Lämpchen flackert, und die schwarze Rauchstraße in der Luft zeigt mir, daß in den Kanälen gute Wetterführung ist. Ich trockne die Schweißperlen, die mir im Gesicht stehen.

„Bleib'n S' net z'lang stehen in der kalten Luft. Da können S' Ihna noch was hol'n."

„I hab' überhaupt scho g'nua, mei lieber Speck. Das halt' i net aus."

„Kummen S' nur, zum nächsten „Gabern" is 's net so weit. Drei Gabern no, und dann san m'r im großen Kanal, da können S' dann gehn, wia S' woll'n . . ."

So geht's noch weiter, er zu reden, daß ich schließlich alle Bedenken überwinde und ihm folge.

Etwas für den Magen von Wien. Die Wiener wissen auch nicht, welche Perle sie mit ihren sind jetzt im Untergrunde der Schwendergasse und schliefen der Winckelmannstraße zu. Der Speckmorix macht plötzlich halt. „Essen S' gern Gekrosen?" so wendet er sich an mich. „Gekrosen S', da wachsen an! Da hab'n S' die Braut'n." Dabei weist er auf die Straßendecke zur Linken, hinsichen den Pflastersteinen wiegen sich wirklich die bauschigen Köpfchen der in Wien so beliebten Suppenschwämme durch, und daneben sind junge Bruten in den Muttersäumen. Ich bezweifle mich noch. „Sind das wirklich echte Champignons?"

„Wann all's so echt war' auf der Welt! Was hab' i von do scho gessen! Ganze Sadln voll hab i scho hamtragn . . . San ja guat . . ."

Schlechte Zeiten. Bei einer nächsten Rastpause lehrt mich mein Führer ein neues Kunststück. Er stellt die Harke so auf, daß der Stiel nach unten und die herzförmige roggerechte Schaufel nach oben kommt und hierauf einen unter diesen Verhältnissen sehr bequemen Sitz bietet. Darauf sitzend, folge ich seiner Arbeit und notire mir die und da Schlagworte. Ueber mir sehe ich das Wiesengrün der „Hietzinger". Wie sind gerade unter der Ausfahrt der Rudolfsheimer Remise.

„Gehn S', so findt's m'r an Kreuzer." — Er fährt mit der Hand in der Strömung des Wassers folgend, über die Sohle. Schon hat seine Hand den Pfennig und mit ihm bleiben gegen die schiefe Ebene, in die sich die Sohle vertieft. Dabei klingt es, und gleich darauf hat er einen Kreuzer. Wieder und wieder sucht er das Wasser ab, und wieder findet ihn. Sie ist er ihn anwirft, klimpert es metallisch. Aber nicht immer sind es Münzen. Knöpfe, Blechstiel, Nägel, abgebrochene Messerklingen, Gabeln, Löffel, verrostete Scheeren und andere Metallgegenstände mit dem Schmutz der Straße oder durch die Abortschläuche in die Kanäle gelangt, schlagen da an die Wand und werden vom Speckmorix hervorgeholt.

„Brauchen S' im Wasserleitungsschlüssel?"

Sie findet er nie seinen nächsten Fund an.

„Wie viel Silberstiffel hab'n S' denn scho?" frage ich zurück. „An abrodjenen Zirnstiefel. Das is all's. Hörn S' mr's net, Silberstiffel sag i nie mehr. Früher amal hat m'r do no dann und wann a Sechser! g'funden oder an Zwanz'ger, hat si halt scho all's ausg'hört. Unsere heutigen Sechser san so scho bald so groß wia die alten Viertel-g'ld'n. Do rutschen ein-m net so leicht aus der Hand. Wann S' amal a Fünfer finden, so glaub n S', so hab'n scho was."

„Aber Silberstiffel!"

„Da werd'n S' erst recht alt, bis S' an find'n. Seit do all'n Abort a'kimmen, is 's damit gar nix mehr. D' Weiber san net weniger schimmer wia früher. Doa schu S' an die vielen Puchelmesser, do da herum' umliag'n — aber um so

So bedingen die englischen Aborte und die Abtrittwährung schlechte Zeiten für die Kanalstreuter.

*

Anpassung! Während meiner nächsten fünfzig Schritte kann ich an mir eine eigenartige psychologische Beobachtung machen. Der „Speckmorix" ist mein voraus. Sein Licht funkelt nur mehr verschwommen durch den dunklen Gang. Ich bleibe auch allo, ihn nachzukommen, und zwinge Beine und Rücken wieder in den Schiefersteil. Auf einmal komme ich den Schritt. Im Vorrume sehe ich ein Federmesser liegen. So als ob sich Dem selbst verbinde, lange ich danach und merke das Messer erst weg, da ich sehe, daß eine Scheide abgesprungen ist. Erst jetzt kommt es mir zum Bewußtsein, bis zu welch hohen Grade von Anpassung ich es schon gebracht habe, und ich sache vergnügt vor mich hin. Damit habe ich meinen Humor wieder gefunden und mit ihm einen Freund, der mir die weiteren Strapazen tragen hilft.

Später bringe ich wieder die Rede auf die körperliche Qual eines Strottganges und meine zu meinem Führer, daß in der Gilde der Strotter wohl nur kleine Leute seien. Der Speckmorix selbst zählt nicht zu den Großen. „Na wenn S' Ihna aber täuich'n. In Hernals beid'n is amer, der is um an halb'n Meter größer wia Sch, der kriacht wia a Regenwurm durch'n Kanal. Das glaub'n S' gar net, daß der so lang hat sein."

Der Mensch als Regenwurm — kann es ein besseres Beispiel für die Macht der Gewöhnung und für die Anpassungsfähigkeit der Menschen geben?

* * *

Eine Begegnung. Wenn etwas geeignet war, mir den guten Humor wieder zu verderben, so war es eine Begegnung, die ich bald darauf hatte.

Mein Führer ist weit voraus. Da sehe ich plötzlich, als ich mich an der Wand dahinstelle, vor mir im Spaltlicht einen kleinen behaarten Körper liegen. Eine Ratte! Von allen Ungeziefern mag ich — die meisten Menschen werden diese Abneigung begreifen — die Ratten am allerwenigsten. Mich schaudert. Ein Gefühl sicher unüberwindlichen Ekels überkommt mich, und beinnoch muß ich noch einen Blick auf den Kadaver werfen. Er ist zum Theil schon steifetrt. Weisse Knochen sind bloßgelegt.

Im Weiterschreiten merke ich, daß ich meinen zitternden Beinen zum Trotz auch schnell gehen kann.

Den Speckmorix hatte die Ratte natürlich gar nicht genirt. Er ist mit den Kanalhasen zu vertraut, als daß ihm solche Empfindungen beschleichen könnten.

Er ist bereits im Hauptkanal und erwartet mich an der Einmündung.

* * *

Die Ausbeute des ersten Stunde. Ich setze auf die Uhr. Es ist bereits 7 Uhr vorüber. Wir befinden uns an der Ecke der Winckelmannstraße und der Schwendergasse, dort, wo der Kanal „gut Wetter" führt. Bis einer kaum mehr als 500 Schritte langen Strecke haben wir also eine Stunde gebraucht. Wir schien's, als wären wir schon irgendwo in Westindien. Der Speckmorix lachte.

Aber, aber! A Stückerl über d' Remise san m'r naus. Jetzt kimm'n m'r erst in d' Hirgerstroß'n." — Und dann begann mr's so lang?" — „I net! Wo kummt i hin, wann i so langsam war'. A Strotter muß dazwischen'n, wann er bei die heutigen Zeiten was verdienen will. Sunst rennen ihm glei a paar nur."

„Wie viel hab'n S' denn scho Kreuzer g'funden?" — „Glei werd's m'r nachschaun."

An der Einmündungsstelle des Gassenkanals in den Hauptkanal macht er ein Plätzl auf der Sohle rein, fällt den Wasserzufluß durch einen Sandwall aus und schüttet dann den Inhalt seines Strottsackes aus. Er sucht die Münzen heraus.

„Fünfe, sechse" . . . Blechklumpen . . . „siebene," wieder Blech und wieder Blech . . . „achte, neune . . . Neun Kreuzer und an Heller hab i g'funden."

„Und was sonst noch?" — „An halbern Zirnstiefel, den Wasserleitungsschlüssel und so a paar Messing- und Blechstückeln."

Ich besehe mir seine Schätze. Auch die Bleiverschlüsse einiger Flaschenhälse, wie sie zur Ausstattung der Weinflaschen verwendet werden, sind darunter. Wichtige Gegenstände, die wird wohl diese Kapsel achtlos weggeworfen haben, ohne zu wissen, daß sie die Schätze eines Kanalstreuters mehren werden!

(Ein zweiter Artikel folgt Donnerstag.)

Der Raubmord an Frau Hegerhorst.

Josef Frauscher befindet sich seit gestern Mittags in landesgerichtlicher Haft. Mit ihm zugleich wurde auch die Polizeiassistentin Katharina Höffinger dem Landesgericht eingeliefert. Das Frauscher die alte Frau Hegerhorst ermordet hat und beraubten wollte, ist festgestellt. Das Geständniß, das er, durch die Beweislast erdrückt, im Sicherheitsbureau ablegte, war nur mehr diese Formsache. Den Schuldbeweis gegen Frauscher hatte das Sicherheitsbureau schon Sonntag Früh um 11 Uhr erbracht gehabt. Deshalb wurde Frauscher noch dem nächtlichen Verhör im Einhäuser ins Polizeigefangenhaus gebracht, wo er die Nacht von Sonntag auf Montag zubrachte. Frauscher war aber schon geraume Zeit schon dringend verdächtig — nahezu überwiesen. Schriftweise, so oft Frauscher eine Angabe bezüglich der kritischen Nacht machte, die seine Unschuld erweisen sollte, bewegte er sich parallel die Aktion des Sicherheitsbureaus, die ihm Unwahrheiten nachwies und aus ihnen Waffen gegen ihn schmiedete. Es war ja nun ein Zug bezeichnen fest der unsichere Mann, und man konnte von Frauscher verlangen, daß das, was er die Nacht vorher getrieben, auch seh in seiner Erinnerung hatte.

Noch am Vormittag hatte die Polizei erfahren, daß Frau Höffinger den Mann seit zwei Jahren unterstützt habe, daß er nur von diesen entwürdigenden Almosen lebe, daß er leidenschaftlich Karten spiele. Das Sicherheitsbureau verschärfte sich seiner Person sofort. Polizeiagenten brachten noch Samstag Mittag's aus Frauscher, der eben nach achtstündigem Schlafe aufgewacht war, vorläufig zur Einvernahme ins Sicherheitsbureau, und während Verhören untergegen wurde, während er mit unlesgbarer Schlauheit sein Alibi zu erweisen suchte, wurde mit unerbittlicher Energie das Netz gewoben, in dem sich der Leugnende verfangen mußte. Es war leicht festzustellen, daß er sich nicht in den Gast- und Kaffeehäusern die Zeit über aufgehalten hatte, wie er angegeben hatte. Er verwickelte sich in Widersprüche. Trotz dieser Lesgnete der

A copy of the original publication of "Vier Stunden," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 1902

and ambulance drivers, but also the street urchins, homeless men, prostitutes, and petty criminals—Winter's articles mirrored the heterogeneity of this rapidly growing city. In fact, Winter's lasting legacy stems from repeat visits to vulnerable, hidden communities, like those where the city's homeless took refuge. Sociologist Roland Girtler explains that Winter's articles helped define and put into the public record the social and subcultural elements of this group, which had otherwise been suppressed in official com-

munal discourse.[43] "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien" is a case in point; Winter not only reveals the practices of a secret "guild" of canal scavengers, he portrays his guide, Specklmoriz, as a generous, hard-working man rather than a shadowy figure to be feared.[44]

A slightly different form of concealment surrounded sites of pleasure, which, unlike other parts of the suburbs, did enjoy feuilletonistic coverage. The Prater is the best example, celebrated in the press by literary figures like Adalbert Stifter, Daniel Spitzer, Felix Salten, and Peter Altenberg.[45] The park held fascination due to its broad mix of people and amusements—from the Hauptallee, an ancient, elegant promenade of the aristocracy, to the mass thrills of dance halls and mechanized rides like the enormous Ferris wheel, the city's most visible symbol of modernity, erected in 1897.[46] The allure was not simply recreational; it was unmistakably erotic and ultimately profitable, due to widespread prostitution in the area. This fact is acknowledged in contemporary accounts both public and private, though largely from a sanitized or sentimental bourgeois point of view.[47]

Winter's articles are an effective counterpoint here as well. "The city's open secrets ought to be spilled," he claims in the first line of "Leopoldstädter Nächte" (Leopoldstadt nights) (1903), a piece that chronicles a nocturnal visit to the infamous neighborhood.[48]

> Whoever wants to explore them must wade through the dregs of the city. . . . Its place of accumulation is the area around the Praterstern. Its elements are: the gigolos and the secret prostitutes in all forms, the gamblers and cardsharps, some from the lowest ranks of the proletariat, whose fate has thrown them in with these circles, out of which there is hardly an honest escape, and many valets and cab drivers reduced to living from tips, then as a second group the choir of 'order': the police agents and informers, to whom the role of traitor has fallen, and finally the fishers in the muck: the hostel warders and hoteliers . . . spirits-peddlers and procurers. Into their pockets the Guilders roll.[49]

With the goal to put on record the widespread gambling and prostitution around the Prater, Winter poses as a worker who recently returned from Hungary. He joins a guide, a certain "weißer Karl" (white Karl)[50] and his associates on a night on the town, starting in the bars and underground gambling clubs around the Praterstern intersection, eventually moving into the park, and ending the night at a low-rent hostel.

To the extent that the Prater is a playground after midnight, it is so for off-duty soldiers, gamblers, and so-called *Strizzis*, flashy young men who live off the earnings of their female companions. They relax by drinking, playing cards, and otherwise indulging in disorderly behavior. The boundaries

between work and play are less clear for the women in the area. This fact emerges from a conversation with "Steirische Mali," a young singer and occasional prostitute who is only able to "chatter" at length to Winter "about her 'marriage' and her business secrets" in the absence of her man.[51] Outside his company, Mali seems unburdened by the heady mix of gambling, singing, and other undisclosed conquests. The trouble is her "Lange" (the tall one), who is both violently jealous and insistent that she walk the streets.

Winter does not begrudge her fun but rather saves disapproval for other "fishers in the muck"—the hotel and café owners who make money off the hedonism and misfortune.[52] The dirtiest secret exposed in "Leopoldstädter Nächte" is the size of the profit that Karl Offenhuber, a civil servant at the municipal gasworks and owner of the Hotel Garni, earns from the filthy and overcrowded hostel where Winter overnights.[53] In this way, "Leopoldstädter Nächte," like Winter's coverage of the city's high-cultural landmarks, recognizes disparity while also revealing a striking level of integration in ostensibly segregated spaces. Taken as a whole, readers of Winter's oeuvre come away with a sense of Vienna as an expansive city often burdened by complex and evolving social, cultural, and economic configurations.

Literary Strategy and Research Methods in Winter's Reportage

Winter's ability to broaden the idea of Vienna owes much to his innovation on the page, the nature of which Alfred Polgar identifies as having emerged early in Winter's career. Circling back to Polgar's review, the critic points favorably to Winter's narrative approach, a careful "telling" (*erzählen*) of personal experiences and observations, easily distinguished from the straightforward exposition of the local beat reporter.[54] It is worth noting again that Polgar praises this narrative reporting above another popular instantiation of the literary: an aestheticized use of language, seen in both the "literary perfume" of the feuilleton and the polemical " 'red' drastics" of other socially-engaged reporting.[55] This narrative quality makes it possible to situate Winter as an early practitioner of a specifically literary reportage, a variant of literary journalism that uses a novelist's eye for form to render first-person, immersive, and often undercover reporting.[56]

Winter might have balked at the word "literary," but this description otherwise aligns with his reporting principles, which he summarized in a 1914 article for the *Volkstimme* (People's voice) as "überall eindringen" (push your way into everything).[57] This immersive approach involved both observation and an attempt to "simulate" the experience of his subjects, as Riesenfellner points out.[58] The examples discussed in the previous section provide useful illustrations. Winter crawls through canals looking for coins alongside scav-

engers, auditions for bit parts at the Hofoper with other extras, and sleeps off a night's excess on greasy sheets among drunks at a Leopoldstadt hostel. Just how authentic did Winter believe these simulations to be? In addition to evoking precision, the time stamps embedded in many titles (e.g., "Four hours in underground Vienna") suggest his awareness of the impossibility of fully capturing the experience of others, especially those surviving under extreme conditions. Riesenfellner suggests instead that Winter's immersion was "a tribute," a self-conscious method of research that still "attempts to experience the subjective spheres of [the] de-classed."[59]

Winter's particular brand of immersion includes two features that, by many accounts, he pioneered in the German-language press.[60] The first is the use of an undercover persona to enable a deeper degree of access to marginalized communities than official visits might allow. His adventures in Leopoldstadt and at the Hofoper, for instance, were possible because of a false name and cover story. One of the few widely available photos of the reporter offers a sense of how seriously Winter took the undercover process. The image (which opens this essay, p. 62), captures him fully postured in the role of a canal scavenger—his sloping posture and dejected expression match his rumpled clothes, rope belt, and misshapen hat—and gives viewers a sense of the reporter's talent for acting. For those frequent situations in which a cover was not enough to guarantee access, Winter also made use of a guide or fixer. An insider, the guide or fixer additionally demonstrated new skills and explained the meaning behind unfamiliar practices, as is the case with Specklmoriz in "Vier Stunden," and "weißer Karl" in "Leopoldstädter Nächte."

Winter's narrative turn is closely bound to these immersive reporting methods, visible in the reporter's elevated attention to narrative voice, mood, and temporal order, to borrow basic categories from Gérard Genette's narratological toolbox.[61] Voice and mood do the most to distinguish Winter's reportage from the work of his contemporaries. He is present in his articles as a narrator and as a participating character who observes, interacts, and comments on his surroundings. Considering the privileged claim to epistemological validity that eyewitness held in the early twentieth-century, German-speaking world, this may seem unsurprising.[62] But at the century's turn, a developed narrating persona was more likely found in fiction than in the journalism of Vienna's leading newspapers. Reportages by Adler and Großmann are a useful reference point. Adler personally investigated working conditions for his ground-breaking piece on Wienerberger bricklayers, yet composed the article as an expository report.[63] Großmann used the first person in his prison series[64] to explain access but devoted little energy to developing this narrator into a distinctive character who plays an active part in the reported storyline.

A chronological reading of Winter's work indicates that he grew into this homodiegetic narrative style over time. In one of his earliest articles, "Im Zeichen der roten Laterne. Ein Tag bei der Rettungsgesellschaft" (Under the red lantern. One day with the emergency services) (1896),[65] Winter refers to himself only once, indirectly and in passing as part of a first-person plural, a striking contrast to the fully embodied "sedentary writer" who sweats and shakes under the "physical plague" of canal scavenging six years later in "Vier Stunden."[66] It is notable that such detailed accounts of subjective experience tend to happen in coordination with a protracted introduction, in which Winter explains his interest in and access to the subject of his investigation. In other words, the accounts are situated as part of what Chris Wilson refers to as a "*second-order* narrative," a story of the reporting imbedded in the report itself. Winter's self-placement invites readers to accept the text's authenticity and to remain aware of the research process.[67]

Winter incorporates other voices to similar ends. On the printed page, Winter's sources converse with him at length and in their own dialect. They appear as individuals with distinct names, backgrounds, and stories to tell. This transcription of informal spoken language, an import from late nineteenth-century Naturalist fiction, is another departure from both contemporary news presentation and the elevated prose of the feuilleton; it enlivens Winter's texts, enhances their referentiality, and signals an openness to shared narrative control absent in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*'s more polemicized reporting. Because Winter addresses his readers in standard German and speaks to the subjects of his reportage in the dialect, the technique also proves organizationally useful, a textual marker that reveals the seams between the story and the reporting.

The same is true of narrative order. Winter restricts his narratives to the boundaries of his own experience, and thus his preferred story structure is episodic, a feuilletonistic blend, in fact, of idiosyncratic temporal and spatial frames unlike the event-centered structure of the conventional news report or the plot-driven narratives of most fictional prose. "Leopoldstädter Nächte" employs this strategy in a straightforward manner; the story progresses from one drinking or gambling establishment to another over the course of an evening, ending in a hostel in the small hours of the morning. In contrast, Winter's scavenging tour with Specklmoriz is organized in good part around the canal's shape, creating a meaningful but only partial reconstruction of Winter's four-hour experience underground.

Winter tended to further fracture his narratives with what might be called a discursive climax. This break in the story typically occurs three quarters into an article, and makes room for detailed descriptions, occasional commentary

and, above all, informational digression. Winter's exposé on the Hofoper, for instance, presents detailed information on incomes and pensions; likewise, his piece on the Burgtheater gives a comparative breakdown of income based on occupation.[68] Such details support the overall veracity of a piece. Hannes Haas also suggests that early practitioners of reportage, like Winter, imported research-driven digression from the practices of emergent social science for their ideological usefulness.[69] Digression makes visible broad social and economic concerns otherwise only implicit in individual situation and serves to foster a form of empathy necessary for widescale reform. Literary antecedents, then, served as just one source of methodological inspiration, and aesthetic cohesion remained a secondary concern after social action.

Winter's Legacy

Winter's stylistic experimentation illustrated early the kind of insight the narrative mode offers reporting-driven journalism. It also indicates where the advantages of the literary stop short. His careful, simultaneous creation and exposure of aesthetic artifice within reporting—through playfulness with voice and point of view, as well as cross-modal mingling of story and statistics—produced entertaining and empathy-arousing texts that nevertheless manage to evade the critical closure of objective newsgathering and sensationalized social reportage.

Current readers of reportage will recognize these strategies as defining techniques of the genre. They may more specifically notice traces of Winter in the work of famed German-language immersion journalists Egon Erwin Kisch and—many years later—Günter Wallraff, who based their reporting in good part on undercover research. The connection between Winter and Kisch—the journalist credited with defining reportage as a literary genre—is particularly interesting. Born in the then Austro-Hungarian city of Prague in 1885, Kisch, in all likelihood, came of age reading the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and his early reporting offered similarly socially engaged stories on the lives of Prague's poor and working class. It is easy to imagine the two journalists crossed paths directly in Vienna after the First World War, even if not on the friendliest terms, as Kisch was involved in the 1918 failed Communist takeover of the Austrian government, of which Winter was a representative. No research to date has explicitly established the nature of their connection; still, Riesenfellner, Haller, and others believe Winter served as a model for Kisch's early work.[70]

While Kisch and the reportage genre rose to prominence in the interwar years with the artistic energies of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New objectivity), Winter concentrated on political engagement.[71] Representing the Social Democratic

Party, the journalist held both elected and appointed office at the city and federal level—including a three-year stint as Vienna's vice-mayor—from 1911 until the party's ban, in the wake of the brief Austrian Civil War, in February 1934. Winter managed to flee the city and, like many of his comrades, ended up in Hollywood, California, stringing together a modest income by writing feuilletons and short reports for subscribing European newspapers.[72] He died of complications following surgery in July 1937, alone and impoverished but not yet forgotten. His funeral at the Matzleinsdorfer Cemetery in Vienna three months later drew a crowd of thousands, even under heavy police presence.[73] During the Anschluss, however, his books were removed from the city's libraries. Further, Helmut Strutzmann notes, by the end of World War II, Winter's advocacy on behalf of the working class had been systematically erased from the city's memory.[74]

It seems fitting that Winter's rediscovery in the 1980s was driven by scholars interested in Austrian social history, who studied Winter's oeuvre and anthologized it for general audiences. Ultimately, journalism's ability to transcend the fragment of history it records has much to do with narrative style. And this study has explicitly connected Winter's innovations in reportage with his value as a chronicler of the deeply mythologized moment known as "Vienna 1900." Few places have been more closely associated with modernism and modernity, though traditionally refracted in the discourse around fin-de-siècle Vienna, through the intellectual and artistic production of the city's cultural elite. Published over nearly three decades by the prominent daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Winter's vast oeuvre offered in his own time, and still today, a powerful counterbalance—a detailed and wide-ranging articulation of the problems of modernity taken from the voices and practices of "life outside."

Kate McQueen is a lecturer in the Writing Program at the University of California Santa Cruz. She holds an M.S. in Journalism from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and a Ph.D. in German Studies from Stanford University. Her research and teaching interests include Central European literary and press history, literary journalism, and narratives of crime and justice.

Notes

[1] Winter, "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien" [Four hours in underground Vienna], 30. Edit added. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Original quote: "Während eines Morgenspazierganges im vorortlichen Wien hatte ich einmal eine merkwürdige Begegnung. Ein Mann verschwand vor meinen Augen in einem Einstiegsloch des Kanals. Er hob, den kurzen Stiel einer Harke, . . . das Kanalgitter, stellte es auf, stieg in den Schacht und schloss es wieder, indem er es, mit dem Rücken stützend, langsam nierdergleiten ließ. Drunten war er. Durch das Kanalloch sah ich nur noch, dass der Mann unten Licht machte und dann so rasch im Bauch der Straße verschwand, als sich der ganze übrige Vorgang abgespielt hatte. Vom Heben des Gitters bis zum Verschwinden des Lichtes da unten war keine Minute vergangen."

[2] Winter, 31.

[3] Winter, 30.

[4] Maderthaner and Musner, "Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression," 26.

[5] Winter, "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien" [Four hours in underground Vienna], 30–47.

[6] The existing critical literature on Winter is largely the work of three scholars: Stefan Riesenfellner, author of *Der Sozialreporter: Max Winter im alten Österreich* [The social reporter: Max Winter in old Austria] and editor of *Arbeitswelt um 1900: Texte zur Alltagsgeschichte von Max Winter* [The work world around 1900: Texts on the history of everyday life by Max Winter]; Hannes Haas, author of "Journalistische Inspektionsreisen. Der Sozialreporter Max Winter im Waldviertel" [Journalistic inspection travels. The social reporter Max Winter in the Waldviertel], and Miriam Houska, author of "Journalismus der Sinne und des Sinns: Max Winters Wahrnehmung und Vermittlung des Wiener Elends in Sozialreportagen der 'Arbeiter-Zeitung' 1896 bis 1910" [Journalism of meaning and senses: Max Winter's perception and communication of Viennese hardship in the social reportage of the Arbeiter Zeitung 1896 to 1910]. Only one text in English offers an analysis of Winter's work, Carol Poore's *The Bonds of Labor: German Journeys to the Working World, 1890–1990*.

[7] Maderthaner and Musner, "Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression," 26.

[8] Polgar, "Im dunkelsten Wien" [In darkest Vienna], 196–97. Original quote: "Max Winter ist ein unnachahmlicher Spezialist im Beschreiben armseligster proletarischer Existenzen geworden. . . . Von all' diesen Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen erzählt er sehr ruhig, trocken, einfach, objektiv, ohne 'rote' Drastik, mit Verzicht auf Pointen und effektvolle Kapitelschlüsse. Und doch mit der starken Wirkung, die hier aus persönlichem Erleben in die Schriftstellerei fließt. So ist es ein erfrischend unliterarisches Buch geworden. Ein packendes und aufrevoltierendes Buch. Ein Buch, in welchem der Gestank der Tatsachen durch keinen Tropfen literarischen Parfums ästhetisch verfälscht ist."

[9] Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 123.

[10] Zweig, 41.

[11] Zweig, 123. Zweig writes at length about the popularity of the Viennese feuilleton. On its differences, as a form, to reportage, see Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus* [Literary journalism], 18–129.

[12] Karl Kraus's *Heine und die Folgen* [Heine and the consequences] is devoted to criticizing the negative influence of the feuilleton on Viennese press and culture, echoed later by Robert Musil who writes that Vienna's "fin-de-siècle culture is characterized by an esprit de finesse that degenerated more and more into feuilletonism." Musil, "Der Anschluss an Deutschland" [Annexation to Germany], 1040.

[13] Polgar, "Das Wiener Feuilleton" [The Viennese feuilleton], 205.

[14] Eberwein describes the origins of reportage as tracing to the early nineteenth century and Heinrich Heine's work, which demonstrates the genre's characteristic features: "atmosphere, precision, subjectivity and simultaneity." The turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, however, is widely acknowledged as the primary era of reportage development. Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 114–15. Hendrik Michael points out that the origins of German-language reportage can be closely traced to the development of the feuilleton in the daily press. Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse* [Social reportage as a genre of the mass press], 38.

[15] Winter, "Die Lokalredaktion II" [The local section], 1.

[16] Pelinka and Scheuch, *100 Jahre AZ* [100 years of the AZ], 34. Original quote: "Wir schreiben nicht mit dem Schielblick auf den bürgerlichen Literaten, sondern für unsere Arbeiterleser, und die wollen über das Werke informiert werden und nicht über die Begabung des Kritikers zur irrlichternden Geistreicherei."

[17] Großmann, *Ich war begeistert* [I was enthusiastic], 98–99.

[18] Holmes, "The Feuilleton of the Viennese *Arbeiter Zeitung*: 1918–1934," 105.

[19] Holmes, 106.

[20] Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 121. See also Gaug, "Chronicles of Vienna: Urban Memory in Daniel Spitzer's *Wiener Spaziergänge*," 19–28.

[21] Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 125; Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse*, 50–51.

[22] Kisch, "Reportage als Kunstform und als Kampfform" [Reportage as an art form and a combat form], 48. Contemporary scholarship is on the same page. Riesenfellner argues that the function of Sozialreportage is "Information, Orientierung, Aufklärung" [information, orientation, enlightenment], *Der Sozialreporter*, 3.

[23] Haller, *Die Reportage. Ein Handbuch für Journalisten* [Reportage, A handbook for journalists], 5.

[24] Hartsock, "The 'Elasticity' of Literary Reportage," 99.

[25] Adler, "Die Arbeiterkammern und die Arbeiter" [The trade unions and the workers] was published in a short-lived socialist weekly Adler founded prior to *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, called *Gleichheit* (1886–89), and is reprinted in Adler, *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe* [Victor Adler's essays, speeches and letters], 155–214.

[26] Großmann, Österreichische Strafanstalten [Austrian prisons]; Kläger, *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens* [Through Viennese quarters of misery and crime].

[27] Biographical information on Winter's life and works can be found in Haas's "Editorische Notiz" [Editorial note], in Winter, *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*, 9–27.

[28] Two of these books, Winter, *Das goldene Wiener Herz* [The golden Viennese heart], 1905, and Winter, *Im unterirdischen Wien* [In underground Vienna], 1905, were contributions to Hans Ostwald's fifty-title series "Großstadt Dokumente" [Urban documents], a vast and ambitious project that sought to document the urban experience. See Ostwald, ed. *Im Sittenspiegel der Grossstadt*. Winter also wrote children's stories and plays, as well as a novel called *Die lebende Mumie: Ein Blick in das Jahr 2025* [The living mummy: a look into the year 2025], 1929, imagining a future socialist utopia.

[29] Winter, "Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins" [Reality from the world of illusion], 228–50.

[30] Winter, 232.

[31] Winter, 244–45. Original quote: "Wenn mir einer vor einem halben Jahre gesagt hätte, dass ich es mir ruhig gefallen lassen werde, dass mir jemand mein Gesicht mit dickflüssigem Gummi arabicum einschmiert, so wäre ich an seinem oder vielleicht auch an meinem Verstande irre geworden. . . . Anders tut's die Königin einmal nicht, zu deren Sklaven mich herzugeben ich unvorsichtig genug war. Wer ihr dienen will, muss einen Vollbart haben. . . . ich atme ordentlich auf, als ich eine halbe Stunde später ihren Dienst auf immer verlassen kann. Jetzt erst merke ich, dass das einzige Echte, was ich vom Araber an mir hatte, der Gummi *arabicum* ist. Das Ausraufen meines Bartes ist eine recht schmerzliche Prozedur. Besser geht es mit dem Wüstenbraun und der Schuhwichse auf dem Barte. Ich brauche mir mein Gesicht nur mit—Schmalz einreiben, und alles geht herunter."

[32] Winter, "*Im Salon der Zurückgewiesenen*" [In the salon of the rejected], 241–48.

[33] Winter, 235. Original quote: "Da beginne ich zu rechnen: Zweimal Tramway oder Stadtbahn 40 Heller, Hausbesorger 20 Heller, Nachtmahl 52 Heller, und ich finde bereits ein Defizit von zwölf Hellern, das bei aller Beschränkung der Ausgaben auflaufen musste. Jetzt begreife ich auch den Edlen von Brabant und sein billiges Nachtmal."

[34] Winter, 236. Original quote: "Die Ballettherren tuscheln untereinander, wahrscheinlich wieder einmal über den *Pensionsfonds*, der ihnen, den Chorherren, den Musikern und Theaterarbeitern seit Wochen die größten Sorgen macht. Was sie reden, kann ich nicht hören, aber von ihren Mienen lese ich es ab, dass es ernste Dinge sind, von denen sie sprechen." (italics in original)

[35] Winter, "Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater" [Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater], 194–219.

[36] Winter, 200. Original quote: "Zuerst laden wir das 'neue Wasser' ab, vorsichtig, wie es sich gehört. Auf eine Eisenachse sind der Länge nach vier phantastische Drahtgerüste, deren obere Kante Wellenform hat, gleich Radschaufeln montiert. Diese Gerüste sind von einem blaugrünen, mit glitzernden Plättchen beworfenen steifen Netz umkleidet. Die Asche wird in Gabeln gehoben, und nach bestimmten

Gesetzen ruckweise, bald schnell, bald langsam gedreht, so dass die faltig umkleideten Drahtgerüste die Illusion wild bewegten Wassers hervorbringen sollen. Wie sehr sie diese Wirkung erzeugen, bestätigte die Kritik nach der ersten Aufführung."

[37] Winter, 217. Original quote: " . . . *Du wirst dem Lande nicht mehr schaden!*" (italics in the original)

[38] Trommler, "Working-class Culture and Modern Mass Culture before World War I," 62.

[39] Winter, "Die Lokalredaktion II" [The local section II], 1.

[40] For background on the tropes and transmission of popular culture in early twentieth century Vienna, see Zapke, "Zwischen Vergnügen und politischem Ernst" [Between pleasure and political seriousness], 58–59; Hödl, "Jews in Viennese Popular Culture around 1900 as Research Topic,"13–43; Seibel, *Visions of Vienna: Narrating the City in 1920s and 1930s Cinema*.

[41] Maderthaner and Musner, "Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression," 31.

[42] Maderthaner and Musner, 30.

[43] Girtler, "Kontinuität und Wandel in der 'Kultur der Armut' der obdachlosen Nichtsesshaften Wiens" [Continuity and change in the 'culture of poverty' of homeless Vienna], 274–75.

[44] Winter, "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien" [Four hours in underground Vienna], 31.

[45] For background on Stifter's and Salten's contributions to the literature of the Prater, see Girtler, *Streifzug durch den Wiener Wurstelprater* [A stroll through the Viennese Wurstelprater], 15–16, and Samols, "Capturing Difference," 55–76. See also Stifter and Schumacher, *Wien und die Wiener* [Vienna and the Viennese]; Salten and Mayer, *Wurstelprater*; Altenberg and Schäfer, *Sonnenuntergang im Prater* [Sunset in the Prater].

[46] Samols, "Capturing Difference," 57–61.

[47] Zweig dedicates several pages of his memoir *The World of Yesterday* to explaining the sexual practices, and hypocrisies, of Viennese society, 89–113. Fritz Lang also comments on the Prater as a place of sexual desire in the early twentieth century. See McGilligan, *Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast*, 15, 115.

[48] Winter, "Leopoldstädter Nächte [Leopoldstadt nights]," 67.

[49] Winter, 67. Original quote: "Wer sie erforschen will, muss den Bodensatz der Großstadt durchwaten. . . . Seine Ablagerungsstätte ist die Gegend um den Praterstern. Seine Elemente sind: der Strizzi und die geheime Prostituierte in allen ihren Abstufungen, die Hasardeure und Falschspieler, einige auf niederster Stufe stehende Arbeiter, die ihr Verhängnis in diesen Kreis geworfen hat, aus dem es kaum ein ehrliches Entrinnen gibt, und etliche, zu bloßen Trinkgeldmenschen herabgesunkene Marqueure, Einspänner, Fiaker; dann als zweite Gruppe das Chor der 'Ordnung': die Polizeiagenten, Konfidanten und 'Zünder,' denen die Rolle der Verräter zufällt, und endlich die Fischer in Schlamm: die Herbergsväter und Hoteliers, die Kaffeesieder und Wirte, . . . die Branntweinschänker und Kuppler. In ihre Taschen rollt der Gulden."

[50] Winter, 68.

[51] Winter, 72–73.

[52] Winter, 67.

[53] Winter, 96.

[54] Polgar, "Im dunkelsten Wien," 197.

[55] Polgar, 196, 197.

[56] On the specific traits of reportage, see Haller, *Die Reportage: Theorie und Praxis des Erzähljournalismus*; on the development of a specifically literary reportage, see Eberwein, *Literarischer Journalismus*, 118–29; Hartsock discusses the conceptual overlap between narrative literary journalism and reportage in his chapter, "The 'Elasticity' of Literary Reportage," in *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 82–123.

[57] Winter, "Die Lokalredaktion II," 1.

[58] Riesenfellner, *Der Sozialreporter*, 148.

[59] Riesenfellner, 185. Original quote: "Das Rollenspiel ist also ein Tribut an die Methode der Recherche, die auch subjektive Sphären jener Deklassierten nachzuempfinden versucht."

[60] Riesenfellner, 148. In addition to Winter, journalists in Berlin practiced forms of socially engaged reporting for newspapers like the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, starting in the 1890s. Michael, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse*, 50–52.

[61] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, "Voice," 212–62; "Mood," 161–211; and "Order," 33–85.

[62] Hartsock, "The 'Elasticity' of Literary Reportage," 98.

[63] Adler, "Die Arbeiterkammern und die Arbeiter," 155–214.

[64] Großmann, *Österreichische Strafanstalten* [Austrian prisons].

[65] Winter, "Im Zeichen der roten Laterne," 97–106.

[66] Winter, "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien" [Four hours in underground Vienna], 31.

[67] Wilson, "Immersion Journalism and the Second-order Narrative," 347. (italics in the original)

[68] Winter, "Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater" [Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater], 210; "Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins" [Reality from the world of illusion], 247–48.

[69] Haas, "Der k.u.k.–Muckraker Max Winter oder Über den Gestank der Tatsachen" [The imperial-and-royal muckraker Max Winter or about the stink of facts], 20.

[70] Haller, *Die Reportage: Theorie und Praxis des Erzähljournalismus*, 49; Riesenfellner, *Der Sozialreporter*, 148.

[71] Winter's advocacy did not stop at the level of government service. He was also involved in welfare and education programming for women and children, work that earned him the moniker "socialist of the heart," Strutzmann, "Ein Sozialist des Herzens" [A socialist of the heart], 7. He founded the popular women's magazine, *Die Unzufriedende* [The discontented], launched a series of affordable classic books, and established a nationwide network of children's libraries. Haas, "Max Winter," 9–10.

[72] Haas, "Max Winter," 10.
[73] Haas, 10.
[74] Strutzmann, "Ein Sozialist des Herzens," 23.

Bibliography

Adler, Victor. "Die Arbeiterkammern und die Arbeiter" [The trade unions and the workers], 155–214. In *Victor Adlers Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe* [Victor Adler's essays, speeches, and letters]. Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1924. First published in *Gleichheit* (Vienna), no. 4, January 15, 1887; no. 7, February 5, 1887; no. 8, February 12, 1887; no. 9, March 1, 1889; no. 10, March 8, 1889.

Altenberg, Peter, and Hans Dieter Schäfer. *Sonnenuntergang im Prater: fünfundfünfzig Prosastücke* [Sunset in the Prater: fifty-five prose pieces]. Reprint. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976.

Eberwein, Tobias. *Literarischer Journalismus: Theorie, Traditionen, Gegenwart* [Literary Journalism: Theory, Traditions, Present]. Cologne: Herbert von Halem Verlag, 2013.

Gaug, Christa. "Chronicles of Vienna: Urban Memory in Daniel Spitzer's *Wiener Spaziergänge*." *Modern Austrian Literature* 38, no. 1/2 (2005): 19–28.

Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method.* Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Girtler, Roland. "Kontinuität und Wandel in der 'Kultur der Armut' der obdachlosen Nichtsshafen Wiens. Ein Beitrag zu einer 'kulturanthropologisch' ausgerichteten Soziologie" [Continuity and change in the 'culture of poverty' of homeless Vienna]. In *Soziologie in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*: *Festschrift für René Konig* [Sociology in cosmopolitan view: festschrift for René Konig]. Edited by Heine von Alemann and Hans Peter Thurn, 270–84. Opladen: WestdeutscherVerlag, 1981.

———. *Streifzug durch den Wiener Wurstelprater: die bunte Welt der Schausteller und Wirte* [A Stroll through the Viennese Wurstelprater: the colorful world of showmen and publicans]. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2016.

Großmann, Stefan. *Ich war begeistert. Eine Lebensgeschichte* [I was enthusiastic. a life story]. Königstein, Germany: Scriptor Verlag, 1979.

———. *Österreichische Strafanstalten* [Austrian Prisons]. Vienna: Wiener Verlag, 1905.

Haas, Hannes. "Der k.u.k.–Muckraker Max Winter oder Über den Gestank der Tatsachen" [The imperial-and-royal muckraker Max Winter or about the stink of facts]. In *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*. Edited by Hannes Haas, 14–20. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006.

———. "Editorische Notiz" [Editorial note]. In Winter, *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*. Edited by Hannes Haas, 27. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006.

———."Journalistische Inspektionsreisen. Der Sozialreporter Max Winter im Waldviertel" [Journalistic inspection travels. The social reporter Max Winter in the Waldviertel]. *Das Waldviertel* 38, no. 2 (1989): 116–23.

———. "Max Winter (1870–1937) Leben und Werk" [Max Winter (1870–1937): life and work]. Edited by Hannes Haas, 9–13. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006.

Haller, Michael. *Die Reportage. Ein Handbuch für Journalisten* [Reportage. A handbook for journalists]. Munich: UVK, 1987.

———. *Die Reportage: Theorie und Praxis des Erzähljournalismus* [Reportage: theory and praxis of narrative journalism]. *7.*, *komplett überarbeitete Auflage* (revised edition). Cologne: Herbert von Halem Verlag, 2020.

Hartsock, John C. "The 'Elasticity' of Literary Reportage." In *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 82–123. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.

Hödl, Klaus. "Jews in Viennese Popular Culture around 1900 as Research Topic." In *Entangled Entertainers: Jews and Popular Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, translated by Corey Twitchell, 13–43. New York: Berghahn Books, 2019.

Holmes, Deborah. "The Feuilleton of the Viennese *Arbeiter-Zeitung* 1918–1934: Production Parameters and Personality Problems." In "Culture and Politics in Red Vienna." Special issue, *Austrian Studies* 14 (2006): 99–117.

Houska, Miriam. "Journalismus der Sinne und des Sinns: Max Winters Wahrnehmung und Vermittlung des Wiener Elends in Sozialreportagen der 'Arbeiter-Zeitung' 1896 bis 1910" [Journalism of meaning and senses: Max Winter's perception and communication of Viennese hardship in the social reportage of the 'Arbeiter Zeitung' 1896 to 1910]. PhD Diss., University of Vienna, 2003.

Kisch, Egon Erwin. "Reportage als Kunstform und als Kampfform" [Reportage as an art form and a combat form]. In *Reporter und Reportagen: Texte zur Theorie und Praxis der Reportage der zwanziger Jahre* [Reporters and reportages: Texts on the theory and pratice of reportage in the nineteen-twenties]. Edited by Erhard Schütz, 45–51. Giessen: Verlag Andreas Achenbach, 1974.

Kläger, Emil. *Durch die Wiener Quartiere des Elends und Verbrechens: Ein Wanderbuch aus dem Jenseits* [Through Viennese quarters of misery and crime: a walking book from the beyond]. Vienna: K. Mitscheke, 1908.

Kraus, Karl. *Heine und die Folgen* [Heine and the consequences]. Munich: Albert Langen, 1910.

Maderthaner, Wolfgang, and Lutz Musner. *Die Anarchie der Vorstadt: das andere Wien um 1900*. [The anarchy of the suburbs: the other Vienna around 1900]. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1999.

———. "Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression." *International Labor and Working-class History*, no. 64 (Fall 2003): 25–37.

McGilligan, Patrick. *Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Michael, Hendrik. *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse. Erzählen im Journalismus und die Vermittlung städtischer Armut in Deutschland und den USA (1880–1910)* [Narration in journalism and the coverage of urban poverty in Germany and the USA (1880–1910)]. Bremen: Edition Lumiere, 2020.

Musil, Robert. "Der Anschluss an Deutschland" [The Annexation to Germany]. *Gesammelte Werke II. Prosa und Stücke, Kleine Prose, Aphorismen, Autobiog-*

raphisches Essays und Reden, Kritik. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1878, 1033–42.

Ostwald, Hans, ed. *Im Sittenspiegel der Grossstadt:gesammelte Grossstadt-Dokumente* [In the moral mirror of the big city: collected big city documents]. 50 vols. Berlin: Hermann Seemann, 1905–1920.

Pelinka, Peter, and Manfred Scheuch. *100 Jahre AZ* [100 years of the AZ]. Wien, Zürich: Europa, 1989. See esp. Pelinka, Peter. Part 1, Von der Gründung zum vorläufigen Ende der *Arbeiter-Zeitung* 1889–1938 [From the founding to the provisional end of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* 1889–1938], 8–111; and Scheuch, Manfred. Part 2, Von der *Arbeiter-Zeitung* zur "Neuen AZ" Die AZ in der 2. Republik [From the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* to the "new AZ" in the second republic], 114–202.

Polgar, Alfred. "Das Wiener Feuilleton" [The Viennese feuilleton]. In *Kleine Schriften* [Short prose]. Vol. 4, edited by Marcel Reich-Ranicki and Ulrich Weinzierl, 200–205. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1984. First published 1906, Sperrsitz, S. 33–37, in *Der Weg*, 1 (17) January 20, 1906, S. 11ff.

———. "Im dunkelsten Wien" [In darkest Vienna]. In *Literatur*, ed. Marcel Reich-Ranicki and Ulrich Weinzierl, 196–98. Vol. 4 of *Kleine Schriften*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1984. First published April 16, 1904, in *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (Vienna), 3.

Poore, Carol. *The Bonds of Labor: German Journeys to the Working World, 1890–1990*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000.

Riesenfellner, Stefan, ed. *Arbeitswelt um 1900: Texte zur Alltagsgeschichte von Max Winter* [The work world around 1900: Texts in the history of everyday life by Max Winter]. Vienna: Europa, 1988.

———. *Der Sozialreporter: Max Winter im alten Österreich* [The socially engaged reporter: Max Winter in old Austria]. Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1987.

Salten, Felix, and Emil Mayer. *Wurstelprater*. Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1911.

Samols, Steven. "Capturing Difference: The 'Wurstelprater' Photobook in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna." Year Book – Leo Baeck Institute 67, no. 1 (2022): 55–76.

Seibel, Alexandra. *Visions of Vienna: Narrating the City in 1920s and 1930s Cinema*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.

Stifter, Adalbert, and Hans Schumacher. *Wien und die Wiener: eine empfindsame Wanderung durch Wien vor hundert Jahren* [Vienna and the Viennese: a sentimental tour through Vienna of a hundred years ago]. Zurich: Scientia-Verlag, 1945.

Strutzmann, Helmut. "Ein Sozialist des Herzens" [A socialist of the heart]. Introduction to *Das schwarze Wienerherz: Sozialreportagen aus dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert* [The black Viennese heart: socially-engaged reportage from the early twentieth century], by Max Winter, 7–26. Edited by Helmut Strutzmann. Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Gesellschaft m.b.H., 1982.

Trommler, Frank. "Working-class Culture and Modern Mass Culture before World

War I." *New German Critique*, 29 (1983): 57–70.
Wilson, Christopher P. "Immersion Journalism and the Second-order Narrative." In *The Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*, edited by William E. Dow and Roberta S. Maguire, 345–59. New York: Routledge, 2020.
Winter, Max. *Arbeitswelt um 1900: Texte zur Alltagsgeschichte von Max Winter* [The work world around 1900: Texts on the history of everyday life by Max Winter]. Edited by Stefan Riesenfellner. Vienna: Europa, 1988.
———. *Das goldene Wiener Herz* [The golden Viennese heart]. Berlin: Seemann, 1905.
———. *Die lebende Mumie: Ein Blick in das Jahr 2025* [The living mummy: a view into the year 2025]. Berlin: Laubsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1929.
———. "Die Lokalredaktion II: Das Amt des Berichterstatters" [The local section II: the job of the reporter]. *Volksstimme*, July 2, 1914, 1.
———. *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien* [Expeditions in darkest Vienna], edited by Hannes Haas. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006.
———. *Im unterirdischen Wien* [In underground Vienna]. Berlin: Hermann Seemann nachfolger, 1905.
———. "Im Zeichen der roten Laterne. Ein Tag bei der Rettungsgesellschaft" [In the signal of the red lantern. One day with the rescue services]. In *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*, edited by Hannes Haas, 97–106. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006. First published in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, no. 355, December 25, 1896.
———. "Kulissenschieber im Burgtheater" [Backdrop movers at the Burgtheater]. In *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*, edited by Hannes Haas, 194–219. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006. First published in *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna), no. 315, November 13, 1904; no. 317, November 15, 1904; no. 322, November 20, 1904; and no. 329, November 27, 1904.
———. "Leopoldstädter Nächte" [Leopoldstadt nights]. In *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*, edited by Hannes Haas, 67–96. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006. First published 1903, no. 258, September 20, 1903; no. 261, September 23, 1903; and no. 270, October 2, 1903, by *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna).
———. "Vier Stunden im unterirdischen Wien: Ein 'Strottgang' durch Wiener Kanäle" [Four hours in underground Vienna: A scavenging tour through Viennese canals]. In *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien*, edited by Hannes Haas, 30–47. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006. First published 1902, no. 34, February 4, 1902, and no. 36, June 2, 1902, by *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Vienna).
———. "Wirkliches aus der Welt des Scheins: Ein Vierteljahr Aushilfsstatist in der Hofoper" [Reality from the world of illusion: A quarter year as an extra in the Hofoper]. In *Expeditionen ins dunkelste Wien:Meisterwerke der Sozialreortage*. Edited by Hannes Haas, 228–50. Vienna: Picus Verlag, 2006. First published in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, no. 83, March 25, 1902; and no. 85, March 27, 1902.
Zapke, Susana. "Zwischen Vergnügen und politischem Ernst: 250 Jahre Wiener Prater und seine Musik" [Between pleasure and political seriousness: 250 years of Vienna Prater and its music]. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 178, no. 1 (2017): 58–59.

Zweig, Stefan. *The World of Yesterday*. Newly Translated by Anthea Bell. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. First published 1942 in German as *Die Welt von Gestern*, by Williams Verlag (Zurich).

Emil Stumpp, *Lotte Lenya*, 1931. Public domain. Wikimedia Commons.

Small Gretchen Tragedies: Gabriele Tergit's Courtroom Reports on §218*

Maddalena Casarini
Humboldt-Universität, Germany

Abstract: In the Weimar Republic, some of the journalists who were observing the metropolis of Berlin from the perspective of the Criminal Court of Moabit weren't jurists, that is, specialists in covering legal issues, but rather were expert feuilletonists. Sling, Gabriele Tergit, and Moritz Goldstein questioned the trial proceedings with a sagacity that made their courtroom reports popular reading. Considering Tergit's courtroom reports as simultaneously journalistic and literary documents, this study focuses especially on those reports dealing with the highly debated Paragraph 218 [section 218] of the German Penal Code punishing abortion. In particular, the figure of *Gretchen* plays a prominent role in Tergit's reports on this issue. Scholars have pointed out that in the mass media of the last years of the Weimar Republic, Goethe's Gretchen was posited as a model of traditional but modern woman. Yet Tergit dismantles this ideal of woman as a product of social and legal conflicts. By documenting the "Gretchen tragedies" that resulted in criminal trials for infanticide and abortion, Tergit connects the stories of different social classes, but she also draws radical distinctions. Using specific rhetorical strategies, such as extracting key sentences from the court processes, polyphonic narration, and numerous film and theater references, Tergit invites her readers to sympathize with the defendants, suggesting models and possible solutions to the social and material impasses that tended to marginalize women who had an abortion.

Keywords: Gabriele Tergit – courtroom reports – German Penal Code §218 – Gretchen Tragedy – abortion debate – infanticide – Weimar Republic

* In German, the section sign [§] is the typographical character used to mark and to quote Paragraphen [sections] of legal codes. In the present study, §218 reads as Paragraph 218, except where sources translate or refer specifically the section sign as section, i.e., Section 218.

During the years of the Weimar Republic, a great heterogeneity of journalistic genres covered justice and crime.[1] For female journalists, writing about judicial matters was of particular meaning, as it allowed them to make their own opinions about legal proceedings public. In fact, in Germany women were not admitted to legal professions until 1922.[2] Even after the law allowing them to work as lawyers and judges was passed, women practicing these professions were an exception.[3] Still, in the early 1930s, Elise Reifenberg (né Hirschmann, 1894–1982) deplored the rare presence of women in the courthouse. Under the pen name Gabriele Tergit, she published the February 21, 1932, article, "Frauen im Gerichtsgebäude" [Women in the court building] that highlighted the "minor role" of women both as "subjects" and as "objects" of court proceedings.[4]

Frauen im Gerichtsgebäude

Moabit ist ein Ort der Männer. Als Subjekt und Objekt spielen Frauen eine sehr geringe Rolle. Sie sind weder Betrüger, noch Einbrecher, noch Hehler. Weder bestechen sie, noch vergehen sie sich im Amt, die widerstehen nicht der Staatsgewalt, noch treiben sie Landesverrat. Ihr Gebiet ist das Ewige, die Liebe und der Klatsch.

Immer noch steht Gretchen, einsam und verlassen, weil sie ihr Neugeborenes mordete, vor dem Schwurgericht. Immer noch steht die Verlassene da, die auf den Verführer schoss. Martha Schwertleins ewige Gestalt, die Kupplerin, immer alt, nur sehr verschieden angetan, vom kostbaren Pelzwerk bis zum armseligen Umschlagetuch. Da recken sich die Hälse von Lieschen und Bärbelchen aus dem Hausflur, die bösen Zungen schnattern; sie alle sitzen da, die wegen Hausklatsches klagen und verklagt werden. Wegen der gemeinsamen Wasserleitung, wegen Gretes Mann oder Olgas Bräutigam, wegen des Radiolärms haben sie sich „alte Sau" genannt. „Ich werde den Wahrheitsbeweis dafür antreten!" Und dann stehen sie vor dem Schwurgericht, um eines törichten Meineids willen, den sie in eben jenem Privatklageverfahren oder in einem Ehescheidungsprozess leisteten.

Da sitzt die Diebin, junge Dirne, um sich wegen eines nächtlichen Diebstahls zu verantworten. Aus der Untersuchungshaft wird die Warenhausdiebin vorgeführt, die immer zu zweit oder zu dritt auftritt. Die Zeuginnen, das sind die Geschädigten, die vom Heiratsschwindler getäuschten Mädchen, die um eine Kaution betrogenen alten Frauen, die bestohlenen Damen, die Bekannten beim Totschlagsprozess, ihre Schwägerin und seine Tante. Da sitzen die Bräute der Zuhälter, die schwarzen Ponys ins Gesicht gezogen, Schnürstiefel bis zum Knie, abgetretene Hacken, voll Angst und Sorge, bereit, jeden Meineid zu schwören, um den Liebsten zu retten. Da sind, Welt voll tiefster Schmerzen, die Mütter, die gekommen sind, um ein gutes Wort einzulegen für den ihrer Ein- und Ausbrecher, ebenso wie für den Jungen, der zum ersten Male fehlte.

Ueber allen sitzen Männer zu Gericht. Manchmal sitzt auch eine Frau als Schöffin da, um sich an der Urteilsfindung zu beteiligen. Immer noch sehr selten ist die Frau als Verteidigerin. Zu den Frauen vor Gericht gehören jetzt auch die Beamtinnen der Jugendgerichtshilfe, die den Verhandlungen beiwohnen und in der Stille viel Gutes wirken.

Noch zwei Kategorien von Frauen gibt es in Moabit: die eine ist die Zuhörerin, die nur kommt, wenn sie dieser Spezialfall interessiert und die unter den Scharen von männlichen Zuhörern ein Prozent ausmacht, und die zweite ist die Reinemachefrau, „die letzte Frau", die unter der Perspektive des Staubes die Welt betrachtet. Sie wird finden, dass es nie einen schmutzigeren Prozess gab als den Sklarek-Prozess mit seinen Scharen von Menschen, die täglich ganze Wolken Staubes aufwirbeln. Aber der Schmutz ist kein Blickpunkt zur Betrachtung der Welt.

Gabriele Tergit.

Eine Ladendiebin auf der Anklagebank

Zwischen den Verhandlungen im Anwaltszimmer

Die Atmosphäre wird bereinigt

„ . . . so wahr mir Gott helfe"

Figure 1. Tergit, "Frauen im Gerichtsgebäude" (Women in the court building)

Gabriele Tergit had the opportunity to observe and explore the courthouse and its atmosphere in detail because she had been writing court reports for the *Berliner Tageblatt* from as early as 1925, up to 1933.[5] By covering primarily small cases[6] in articles published in the local section of newspapers, she was able to establish herself in the interwar period both as a justice reporter and as a novelist (with her 1931 novel *Käsebier erobert den Kurfürstendamm*).[7] The article Tergit wrote in 1932, a year before her exile,[8] places "Gretchen" at the top of the list of the few female figures populating the courthouse: "Still is Gretchen there, lonely and abandoned because she murdered her newborn child, standing before the jury court."[9] As this study will show, with the term "Gretchen Tragedy" (*Gretchenstragödie*), Tergit designates those trials involving women who—exactly like the famous character of Goethe's *Faust I*—are confronted with tragic circumstances closely linked to the birth of illegitimate children or with abortion. Tergit herself had covered, during her career, numerous cases of "Gretchen Tragedies." Thus, in referring to Gretchen as a constant presence in the criminal court of Berlin-Moabit, Tergit suggests that those deep social conflicts linked to the question of Paragraph 218 of the Penal Code—hereafter referred to by its legal code, §218—which had long been heavily debated in the Weimar Republic, had still not been resolved.

Through an analysis of selected reports that Tergit published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on this issue, this study examines how she used the journalistic form of courtroom reporting to spread legal and sociological knowledge about abortion. After contextualizing the courtroom reporting genre and the abortion debate in the Weimar Republic, the focus will be on Tergit's use of the figure of Goethe's Gretchen, on the one hand to draw attention to the problematic social consequences of the abortion law and, on the other hand, to create new models for women charged with §218. But Tergit's theater and film references are not limited to *Faust*. By also referring to contemporary plays, such as Bertolt Brecht's *The Threepenny Opera*, Tergit draws attention not only to the problems of law, but also to possible ways out of the social marginalization closely associated with abortion.

Feuilletonists in the Court Building

At the beginning of Tergit's career as a local court reporter, the profession was revolutionized by the Berlin feuilletonist Paul "Sling" Schlesinger (1878–1928), who worked for Berlin's *Vossische Zeitung*. Tergit said, "Without Sling turning the court report into works of art, none of us would have entered this profession."[10] Indeed, Tergit, who had already been writing courtroom reports for the *Berliner Börsen Courier*, was hired in 1924 by the *Berliner Tageblatt* to compete with Sling.[11] Although none of them was a jurist, Sling,

Tergit, and their colleague Moritz Goldstein (1880–1977) tried to portray the metropolitan reality by observing its court proceedings. In the short autobiographical text, "Wie ich Gerichts-Berichterstatter wurde" [How I became a court reporter], Sling writes that at the time when he was an apprentice in a textile company, he used to go with his friend Justav to the Criminal Court of Berlin-Moabit "to see a few of [the] criminals sentenced. . . . In Moabit, Justav and I had our film-screenings."[12] However, Sling was a very attentive, critical observer of the judicial system.[13] As Kate McQueen has pointed out, he cultivated "a recognizable authorial voice," using "creative" rhetorical and narrative devices.[14]

Moreover, Sling's comparison of a trial and the cinema can be seen as the result of a specific historical development. The affirmation of the principle of justice's publicity, which had been discussed since the time of the French Revolution and officially codified by the Judicial System Act of the German *Reich* in 1877, envisaged the presence of spectators and journalists in the courtroom.[15] In the new courthouses, which had been constructed since the foundation of the *Deutsche Reich*, there was more room for an audience. People sometimes had to get tickets to attend the proceedings. Some of these new courtrooms even had special seats with desks reserved for the press.[16] Because the reading public was very interested in crime coverage, different kinds of court reporting developed.[17] Yet there were important differences between the sensational court reporting of the yellow press and Sling's or Tergit's critical courtroom reports about small cases of the everyday, which have to be seen in the tradition of the *kleine Formen*, or "small forms," of the Viennese feuilleton.[18] As a "provocative alternative model"[19] to a press that merely sold news, the feuilleton of the Viennese tradition was a literary journalism which did not renounce the factuality of its content, trying to offer a complex perspective on the diverse realities of the metropolis. Tergit's and Sling's reports belonged to a literary journalistic repertoire in the tradition of feuilletonists like Eduard Pötzl and Alfred Polgar. Unlike the *Sozialreporter*, like Bruno Frei or Else Feldmann,[20] who investigated the backgrounds of social conflicts—following defendants even outside the courtroom—the field of observation of journalists like Sling, Tergit, and Moritz Goldstein was mostly limited to the Berlin-Moabit courtroom, from which they drew their impressions, questioning proceedings and verdicts. As Daniel Siemens points out, they did not usually question the witnesses directly and they did not look for information outside the courtroom.[21] They described the trial from the audience's perspective, writing rhetorically and literarily sophisticated, often witty, texts. In her memoirs, Tergit recounts how her editor Rudolf Olden, who came from Vienna, improved her articles.[22] Influenced by the style of

Viennese journalism, Tergit condensed her impressions of the courtroom and put them in the feuilleton style. For the *Berliner Tageblatt*, she had to publish a minimum of nine articles every month.[23] In addition to courtroom reports, Tergit wrote portraits of "Berliner Existenzen" (Berlin existences)[24] and other feuilletons.

Although Tergit did not have a law degree, her doctorate in history gave her a kind of scientific perspective on what she could observe in the courtroom.[25] In a 1931 article in which she reviewed a collection of Russian court reports written by Matwej Liebermann and originally published in the *Prawda*, Tergit highlights the importance of court reporting for understanding contemporary history.[26] She points out that "[o]riginal sources—like letters, diaries, recorded conversations—can tell the essence of an epoch better than the works of poets and historians. Apart from their technical elements, criminal case files are made up of such original sources, transmitting a knowledge of the typical feelings of a certain historical moment."[27] Liebermann's book contains, among other material, what Tergit calls a "Gretchen tragedy."[28] In this specific case, Liebermann documents the story of a pregnant woman abandoned by her husband and not allowed to have an abortion, which leads her first to misery and ultimately to death.[29] Like Liebermann, Tergit considers it important to document the court cases dealing with abortion, to "tell the essence of an epoch."[30]

The Abortion Debate in the Weimar Republic

The most important years of Tergit's journalistic career, when she was working at the *Berliner Tageblatt*, were marked by an extraordinarily intense political struggle about §218 of the German Penal Code.[31] For this reason, her courtroom reports must be considered part also of a vast factual *and* fictional production of texts, plays, movies, and artwork about this topic. After the codification of the German Penal Code 1871, abortion was classified as a "crime against life."[32] Paragraph 218 imposed hard punishments—up to five years of penal servitude (*Zuchthaus* or penitentiary)—for women who had an abortion,[33] while §219 imposed up to ten years for those who were helping procure or those providing medical support, that is, doctors or midwives. As "crimes against life," both articles belonged to the same category of §217, which punished mothers who killed their illegitimate children immediately after birth, with up to three years of penal servitude.[34] These harsh treatments of women who had abortions aroused protest movements, which began during the last years of Imperial Germany, spearheaded by the bourgeois women's movement.[35]

Because Gabriele Tergit attended the *soziale Frauenschule* (the Social

School for Women), she had been in contact, in her youth, with some members of the bourgeois women's movement (*Frauenbewegung*) that had played a key role in the fight against §218 of in the prewar period.[36] Things changed after the First World War for the movement against the abortion law. Other political groups joined the bourgeois feminists in the struggle. In the Weimar Republic, the German Communist Party (KPD) played a central role in organizing the movement that then involved large masses of the working class demanding the abolition of the *Klassenparagraph* ("the class-specific paragraph"), which implicitly discriminated against lower-class people.[37] Bourgeois women had enough money to easily find a compliant doctor, while working-class women had to rely on alternative networks to find help. More often than not they had to face dangerous abortions, often without medical support, using old instruments.[38] While debates and protests filled the streets and theaters of Berlin, the abortion law was amended on May 18, 1926. The penalty was mitigated. Abortion was considered a "misdemeanor"—no longer a "crime."[39] In 1927, for the first time, a judgment of the *Reichsgericht*, that is, the supreme court, allowed therapeutic abortion in a case of medical emergency (*Nothstand*).[40] But these minimal changes were not enough to quell the protests.

Many theater plays dealt with this topic, including *§218–Frauen in Not*, written by Carl Credé and directed by Erwin Piscator (1929); and films, including Martin Berger's *Kreuzzug des Weibes* (1926), about the abortion section 144 of the Austrian Penal Code; and Slatan Dudow's movie, *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt* (1932), written by Bertolt Brecht and Ernst Ottwalt.[41] Movies and theatrical plays about abortion were developed especially within the context of the proletarian theater. Many authors were receptive to the reform of the Soviet Union, where abortion had been legal since 1920.[42]

Communist newspapers, including Germany's *Die Rote Fahne*, supported the protest against §218, as did bourgeois liberal newspapers like the *Berliner Tageblatt*[43] even though different political views existed within the newspaper's editorial team, as Tergit documents in her memoirs. The *Berliner Tageblatt*'s feuilleton editor-in-chief, Fred Hildenbrandt, who—according to Tergit's descriptions—seemed to show a certain affinity to National Socialism,[44] claimed, after having attended a Nazi meeting in 1930, that "people want to see a hero on stage. They had enough of these silly plays about §218[.]"[45] In fact, the small changes to §218 in 1926 did not end the protests, which triggered the production of films and plays. One of the most important theater plays on this topic was Friedrich Wolf's *Cyankali (§218)* (1929).[46] In Wolf's play, when the protagonist, Hete, gets pregnant, she doesn't receive any support from her doctor. She tries to do an abortion herself using an instrument,

helped by her boyfriend, Paul. After she fails in her attempt, she looks for illegal support by reading the advertisements in a newspaper, but it comes to a bad end. Indeed, in the first drafts of this tragic play, Wolf named its protagonist not "Hete" but "Grit," most probably referring to *Faust*'s "Gretchen,"[47] exactly as Tergit (and other journalists) did. Thus, the first questions to be examined are what exactly is meant by the name "Gretchen," and why does Tergit use this character from the literary tradition?

Gretchen as the Modern Woman

Considering, on the one side, the explosion of theater and film productions on abortion in the second half of the Weimar Republic and, on the other side, the cinema-like perspective of courtroom reports, it is not surprising that Tergit's articles on abortion were making use of film references.[48] With the name Gretchen, Tergit exploited the rhetorical device of *antonomasia* ("the practice of giving to a character a proper name that defines or suggests a leading quality of that character").[49] This is the case in the November 1926 courtroom report, "Moderne Gretchentragödie. Mädchen—Liebhaber—Artz—Hebamme" (Modern Gretchen tragedy. girl—lover—doctor—midwife),[50] the title of which refers to Goethe's character Margarete as the innocent, seduced woman accused of having killed her illegitimate child.[51] Gretchen's tragedy, which is woven into *Faust I*, is closely related to questions of justice, because Goethe used a court trial as the source for his drama.[52] But Tergit had a further reference for this report. In the same year, Faust's story had also been made into a movie.

The premiere of Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau's film, *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage* (Faust. A German folktale), written by Hans Kyser, took place in Berlin's Ufa-Palast[53] only a few weeks before Tergit published the courtroom report, "Moderne Gretchentragödie" ("A modern Gretchen tragedy").[54] Reviews that came out in newspapers testify that the film had great resonance.[55] Reviewers gave special praise to Camilla Horn, who played the role of Gretchen. There were several differences between the movie and Goethe's drama. For example, the film gave more room to the setting of a Medieval Easter, which became a very visible background for the whole episode of Faust's seduction of Gretchen.[56] This is also a reason to consider that Tergit may have been referring to the seduction scene of *Faust I* / v. 3073–3085, as well as to the movie,[57] when she titled a later courtroom report that translates as, "Gretchen tragedy. Easter walk through the Middle Age."[58] From this report that was related to the trial of a case concerning the death of a newborn child, it can be observed that Tergit used the figure of Gretchen not only for trials dealing with charges of abortion, but also for charges of infanticide.

4. Beiblatt des 8 Uhr-Abendblatt der National-Zeitung zu Nr. 129
Sonnabend, 4. Juni 1927

Drei Frauen stehen heute vor uns.

Die drei Typen: Gretchen, Girl, Garçonne.

In Mailand ist soeben das neueste Stück von Pirandello „Die Fremden der Ehefrauen" aufgeführt worden, das seine Anhänger und Freunde nicht nur dadurch überrascht hat, daß in ihm einmal seine Handlung Doppeltoden und kein Mensch eine Doppelsesle hatte, sondern auch vor allem durch die ausgezeichnete Schilderung einer „ultramodernen" Frau. Jener

Diese Frau wird ewig so bleiben:
Der Gretchen-Typ.

Frau, die so Frau und zugleich so aktivistisch, klug, maskuline Lebensform sicher bewältigend und überlegen ist, daß es ihr schließlich nicht gelingt, einen Mann zu finden, der sich entschließen kann, sie zu nehmen. In der Tat ist die Möglichkeit für Frauen, die bis zu einer gewissen Grenze über die Tradition ihres Geschlechts hinaus gestiegen sind, gering, einen Gatten und Kameraden auf Lebenszeit zu treffen. Die Emanzipation des weiblichen Geschlechts und der Sklaverei eines ein Sentimentals und Herrschsucht despotisch eingestellten Mannestyps alters hat heute eine Breite erreicht, die nirgends mehr auf der Welt eine aktive Gegenfront findet. Aber die Pioniere unter den Frauen, die an weitesten in geistiges und schöpferisches Männerland hineingeritten sind, müssen plötzlich werken, daß ein gewisser passiver Widerstand aufgekommen ist, nämlich jener Widerstand, der oft aus Trägheit, oft auch einfach aus Interesselosigkeit sich weigert, die Schwierigkeiten einer neuen fraulichen Lebensform zu teilen, und daher gelähmt zusieht, wie sich privat wieder den Absolutismus des Gretchen-Zeitalters mit den Annehmlichkeiten des schließlich doch sehr bequem erlösenden Faust-Geschehens errichtet.

Im allgemeinen kennt die Welt heute drei Frauentypen: den Gretchen-Typ, europäische Tiefenschicht, in den verschiedenen banalisierten und idealisierten Formen, den Girltyp, angelsächsischer Lebensversuch auf heutigem mittelalterlichen Grundlage, und den Garçonnetyp, russo-kontinentale Existenzform individuellen, selten glücklichen Einzellebens.

Das Gretchen ist nicht nur die deutsche Jungfrau mit Zöpfen und Strickstrumpfhorizont, es ist auch die heimlich und militärisch sich gebärdende Faschistin. Der Staat durch den Mann vertreten, der Mann als Befehlsübringer bleibt ihr, mag sie noch so aktiv sich gebärden, höchste Gesetzgeil. Von der spanischen und balkanischen Frau, als Masse noch völlig hörig, kann abgesehen werden. An sich sind viele linge bürgerliche Frauen, sogar russische, hier zu registrieren. Höchste Ausdrucksform: die alte Kindergebärerin sich geschichtlich verantwortlich fühlende Adlige Englands und Deutschlands. Geschlechtlich einflußlos, menschlich passiv wirkt dieser Typ in seinen Massen geschichtlich hemmend, ist der Dynamik jeder historisch drängenden Entwicklung. Verkippt mit Kirche und Reaktion, hat er immerhin optimistisches Lebensgefühl, das aber nicht produktiv wird.

Das Girl, in Amerika entstanden aus dem Sieger- und Einwanderertinde, weiß von vornherein, daß sich jeder nur auf sich selbst verlassen kann und Vornehmstkommen einzige Garantie ist, nicht zu versumen. Kapitalistisch eingestellt, ist das Girl sich vollkommen der Gleichberechtigung mit dem Manne in allen Fällen bewußt, mehr noch, es zieht auf der Basis seiner historischen Entwicklung die Linie, Recht auf Vorsprung zu haben. Jahrzehntelang in allen Kolonialländern gering und bei den sozial sehr gemischten Massen der Kolonisten persönlich oft gefährdet, gewann es einst erhöhten Sehen und Achtung und hat sich langsame diese Einstellung des Mannes zu erhalten gewußt. Sportlich tätig, sinnlich ohne Hitze, aber aus Berechnung, liegt es überall, wo es mit den bürgerlichen Geschlechtsmann alter Schule zusammentrifft. Anmutiger Fortschritt in der Natur, aufreizend selbstverständlich am Autosteuer, hat es Sinn für Kameradschaft und noch mehr Sinn für die Notwendigkeit, sich unterzuschlüpfen, ohne die Herrscherposse aufgeben zu müssen. Wo es tüngerisch auftritt — etwa Tillergirls, Hoffmannguirls —, von äußerster Präzision, Gemeinschaftslatt, Unfunktichkeit.

Der Garçonnetyp ist durch das Wort nicht erfaßt. Margueritten anmutige Heldin etwa — etwas allgusehr Marke „Durch

Der Typ der Zeit:
Das Girl in allen Fassons.

Schlamm zum Licht" — ist zu überbetont sexuell, um vorbildlich zu sein. Halten sich doch heim echten Garçonnetyp sexuelle und geistige Potenz die Wage. In gerade die Ueberspannung von sinnlich zu sinnlig ergibt notwendig oft den Konflikt. Vor allem ist der Garçonne-

Die „erwachte" Frau:
Garçonne, ein Typ, der sich für immer behaupten will.

typ nicht nur die kleine, erotisch faule, lange Frau, die sich für Lieben und Lieben selber formt, noch weniger die naturhaft auf das eigene Geschlecht Hingerissene oder der russische Studentinnentyp aus dem Ehemann-Zeitalter, sondern auch die Bedeutendste in diesem Kreis: die Geschäfts- und Uebergangsform. Sportlich, kameradschaftlich, männlichen Kaufmannsgeist mit heidisch frauenhafter Hingabe vereinend, wird sie, gelingt diese Synthese, gerade hierdurch oft dem von ihr geliebten Manne so überlegen, daß sie unbeerben wird.

Gretchen und Girl, antiquiert oder primitiv, sind keine Fortschrittsform fraulicher Entwicklung. Die Garçonne ist, wie schon oben gesagt, individueller Versuch, der der Verallgemeinerung noch widerspricht. Wirkliche Schaffung anderer Frauenhoheit bleibt der Zukunft vorbehalten, ist abhängig von der Bildung neuer fraulicher und sozialer Lebensgemeinschaften, Umgestaltung der Familie und allgemeiner weltanschauischer Ideen. So bleibt einstweilen nur übrig, hinweisen für alle drei Typen private Möglichkeiten des Glücklichseins zu erwirken und nach Diagnose entsprechend darzustellen.

M. G.

Figure 2. Georg, "Drei Frauen stehen heute vor uns" [Three women stand before us nowadays], in 8-*Uhr-Abendblatt der National-Zeitung*, June 4, 1927, 17.

Before attempting to reconstruct these and other implications of Tergit's references to *Faust*'s Gretchen, it should be pointed out that Horn's successful interpretation had some important consequences for the discourse on modern women that was proliferating in the mass media during this period. At a time when the press tended to classify the modern, "new" woman into different categories, Gretchen became a "type." In a 1927 article published in *8-Uhr-Abendblatt*, journalist Manfred Georg (M. G.) wrote an article, the title of which translates as, "Three women stand before us nowadays. These three types are: the Gretchen, the Girl, the Garçonne."[59] Georg's article

contained three illustrations, each one showing photos of women who embodied the three types the journalist describes (Fig. 2). As an illustration for the Gretchen, the article shows, among others, a picture of the actress Camilla Horn as Gretchen in Murnau's *Faust* (opposite left, with braids and a sad expression on her face). Defying the Gretchen-Type, Georg claims she is the kind of woman who—rather than the emancipated "Girl" and "Garçonne"—impedes emancipation. Georg describes the "resistance" (*Widerstand*) of the Gretchen-Type to emancipation as follows:

> . . . a resistance that, often out of indolence, or simply out of inferiority, refuses to share the difficulties of a new female form of life, and which, sentimentally, privately re-establishes for itself the absolutism of the Gretchen age with the comforts of Faust's fate, which after all is very comfortably redeeming.[60]

As Jochen Hung has pointed out in his analysis of Georg's article, the "Gretchen" in the last years of the Weimar Republic began to incorporate a pre-war feminine ideal, "embody[ing] . . . the obedient wife and caring young mother, promoted by the resurgent right-wing forces in Germany."[61] This tendency shows the process of updating the German housewife into a modern *and* traditional woman.[62] However, there is evidence to suggest that Tergit had a different conception than Georg of this Gretchen-Type. A few weeks after the premiere of Murnau's *Faust* (and months before Georg wrote his article), Tergit started using the Gretchen reference in her reports. The timing argues she intentionally chose the reference to the famous Murnau's film and its Gretchen-Character that in the mass media was being associated with the ideal of a traditional German mother-figure.

„Cyankali"
Renée Stobrawa und Maria Krahn
(Lessing-Theater)

It has already been noted that with the figure of Gretchen, Tergit is covering more than cases of women charged under §218. But for Tergit, a "Gretchen" is also a woman charged under §217 of the Penal Code, which applies to murdering an illegitimate child immediately after the birth. Why does Tergit use the same literary figure both for abor-

tion and infanticide? The first reason may be related to the legal system of the Weimar Republic. Since 1871, both §218 and §217 of the German Penal Code had belonged to the same category of "Crimes and misdemeanors against life" (*Verbrechen und Vergehen wider das Leben*)—that is, homicides (*Tötungsdelikte*).[63] Using the same name for both charges could eventually consolidate the idea that there was no real difference between abortion and homicide. Yet, as the evidence will suggest, Tergit's intention was to lead her readers' attention to another dimension of the debate.

Gretchen Tragedies in Tergit's Courtroom Reports

In contrast to Georg, who defined the Gretchen as representing a new fashion connected with a political inclination, embodying a kind of "moderately modern" woman,[64] Tergit places the Gretchen type in a larger social and legal context, suggesting that this figure cannot be reduced merely to the sum of consumer choices and conservative political views, as can be observed by analyzing some of her reports. In Tergit's courtroom report, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," the young "Gretchen" named Lotte, who is charged with §218, is introduced with a description that creates an opposition between her present and her past:

> She is a robust, big girl with broad hips; she has a broad, red face, was originally a playful, innocent thing, capable and quick; comes from a good home, the foster child of academics. Her name is Lotte and she calls herself Mara. Her family name is Hister, her parents' Hilmer; she calls herself Hister-Hilmer. She is a mere teenage girl, who must now suffer the eternally constant, bitter fate of woman.[65]

This description introduces and highlights Lotte's physical and psychological transformation. The young girl, who isn't rich but belongs to the bourgeoisie, meets a man and gets pregnant (for Tergit, who always underscores the material condition of the defendant, the social background makes a difference).[66] He persuades Lotte to get an abortion by promising to marry her if she does, and she accepts, even though she'd like to keep the baby. Yet, after the abortion, which makes Lotte sick, the girl's family realizes the situation and tries to speed up the marriage. When the man breaks up with her, the girl's reputation is destroyed; Lotte is seen as a person who "degrades herself" (*[Sie] hat sich deklassiert*)[67] and is marginalized by her milieu, because women who've had abortions lose their social status.

After reconstructing the case and switching to the description of the trial in the courtroom, Tergit's report describes a witness being questioned by the judge. This witness is Lotte's girlfriend, a stenotypist who seems to embody the typical modern "Girl," the independent employee of the twenties.[68] The

witnessing stenotypist looks like the opposite of Lotte, who appears old-fashioned, romantic, monogamous, and weak. The description stresses the opposition between the two young women:

> And the way the two girls stand there, they are the two poles of womanhood. The one cool, clever, superior, and skeptical; love does not happen to her: "She was just crazy," she says of the other one. Lovely, smiling, and elegant, the born mistress, the victor. And the other, warm, foolish, impulsive, and gullible, who can only love one and wants it that way, her whole life; not pretty, ruined by tears, broken.[69]

Erhard Schütz notes that Tergit often operates by opposing two types or groups of individuals.[70] Here too, apparently, Tergit contraposes two different personalities: a passionate, warm temperament on one side; a cold, rational one on the other side. Yet, at the beginning of the article Tergit describes Lotte's situation as being the result of her own tragedy. Thus, there has been a transformation over time, a development between the girl *before* and the girl *after* the tragedy. Before the abortion, Lotte was not "foolish, impulsive, and gullible" but rather "capable and quick."[71] This suggests "the two poles of womanhood" are not just two essentially distinct personalities, two destinies, or two consumer attitudes. The "Gretchen" and the modern emancipated "Girl" are not just two kinds of women, but eventually two moments in the life *of the very same* individual.[72] Tergit condenses the transformation, which could be the subject of a long novel or a film, into two antithetical types, which are presented synchronically, standing next to each other in the courtroom.

But Tergit uses other techniques to compress social conflicts into a few lines. Incorporating "key sentences"[73] that she extracted from the trial, which are being quoted as direct speech, Tergit registers verbatim the conflict between the milieu and the individual: " 'I will marry you, if the consequence [of the sexual act, that is to say, the pregnancy] disappears,' says the boyfriend, 'otherwise it's over.' "[74] The direct speech works as emotion peaks, dramatizing the action, by letting the reader hear the voice of emotional and social pressure. This voice creates an impasse for the pregnant woman. Lotte-Gretchen has to decide between being a mother of an illegitimate child and losing her status and her boyfriend, *or* committing a crime. A second key sentence ("I don't love you anymore") decrees the bad end of this tragedy: The abandoned, desperate girl "winds up in a lowly bar"[75] and she loses her bourgeois status. The problem of social marginalization of mothers of illegitimate children is also represented in Murnau's *Faust*. In the film, Gretchen, trying to protect the newborn child in the cold winter, asks the people of her town for help, but no one wants to help her after she was condemned to the stocks and publicly humiliated.

"Have mercy on my child."
"Are you not Gretchen that stood in the stocks?"[76]


Brechtian actress Lotte Lenya.

In Murnau's movie, exclusion and marginalization—not Gretchen—kill her baby. Themes of exclusion and social conflict thus seem to be inherent in the *Gretchentragödie*, but Tergit has also a special sensitivity to social differences, which she always considers in her reports. In another courtroom report published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* on October 20, 1929, which translates as "Gretchen Tragedy: Easter Walk through the Middle Ages,"[77] the "Gretchen" belongs to a lower social class than Lotte. Proletarian Gretchens often have similar problems as bourgeois Gretchens. The key sentence of the trial, which is about infanticide and not abortion, is once again the answer the father of the illegitimate baby gives to a friend of the pregnant woman, who asks him: "What have you done to my friend?" He laughs: 'It was very nice.' "[78] Tergit's laconic style[79] condenses the contrast between the superficiality of the man in a thoughtless moment and a lifelong misery. Again, the key sentence registers the psychological and material impasse. The pregnant handmaid already knows she won't get any support from her family. In a handmaid's life, there is no room for feelings or private problems.[80] Thus, she reacts by pretending not to be pregnant, and gives birth at work without medical assistance. Immediately after the child's death, she wants to return to her job "to make coffee for the gentlemen."[81] And yet, this situation of extreme psychological and material loneliness, a consequence of social conventions and material difficulties, seems not to elicit the court's understanding. Even if the medical expert claimed that the anemic woman could have experienced a "brain anemia"[82] while giving birth to the baby, the court doesn't apply section 51 of the Penal Code about temporary mental disorder defense to her case.[83] Tergit observes: "The sentence called 'inconvenience' (*Unannehmlichkeit*) what Goethe had called the whole misery of mankind,"[84] thus criticizing the ethical downsizing of a social tragedy. The court treats this case as unimportant, an unpleasant part of the proletarian,

quotidian life. Its inability to grasp the tragedy also seems for Tergit to be related to the absence of women: "No woman except the defendant was involved in this trial."[85] Moreover, Tergit's criticism also addresses the achievements of the feminist movement, which has made women free to earn money without freeing them from the sense of shame over illegitimate children. Illegitimate children are still grounds for social outclassing and contempt. Thus, both independent bourgeois women and poor handmaids are in danger of turning into a Gretchen.

It is important to note that Tergit was not the only journalist to use reference to Gretchen in her reports. Tergit's colleague Moritz Goldstein, whose pen name was Inquit, covered the same trial about infanticide, on the same day, for *Vossische Zeitung*. He also titles his report, which seems to be in dialogue with Tergit's article (the two journalists knew each other),[86] "Gretchens Schicksal," that is, "Gretchen's Fate." Inquit quotes the sentence from *Faust I* which is said to be taken from the real trial of Susanne Margaretha Brandt, "She's not the first" (*Sie ist die erste nicht*),[87] placing this court case in a long tradition of infanticides. Inquit, unlike Tergit, praises the modern time: "For Gretchen, the punishment is death by executioner's axe. We are no longer so cruel today." If Tergit this time criticized the judgment of the court, which condemned the girl to two years in jail, Inquit is rather glad to ascertain that in modern society the law is not as cruel as it was in earlier times. Unlike Tergit, Inquit finds the court's sentence correct because it "did not fail to recognize the mitigating circumstances which should be taken into account."[88] Thus, the same figure of "Gretchen" serves for writing about the same process in very different ways. Unlike Inquit, Tergit sees Gretchen as a *modern* tragic figure because she symbolizes the failure of contemporary society to develop a conception of motherhood independent of marriage. For Tergit, the figure of the modern Gretchen is neither linked to a specific crime (abortion or infanticide) nor—as with Georg—the product of a conservative lifestyle or political habit. Rather, she is the victim of a process of social exclusion that marginalizes economically, legally, and emotionally those who do not embrace a traditional family model.[89]

We've had abortions! The Power of Self-Reporting

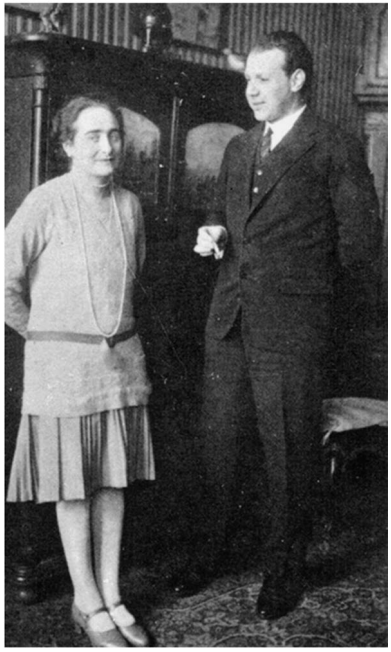
A trial court can be the moment when the merciless condemnation of society is rebalanced through a verdict that considers the reasons for the act. This is also the reason why some of the women charged under §218 reported themselves to the police, as did Lotte-Gretchen in the report "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy." Indeed, the defendant Lotte-Gretchen herself asked her friend the typist to denounce her abortion. Tergit

reveals this detail through a theatrical dialogue that quotes directly from the court interrogation:

> *Judge:* "Why did you register the complaint?"
> *Witness*: "Lotte wanted it herself." General surprise.
> *Defendant:* "I must confess. I wasn't sober and was so desperate, away from home, in the bar, my life ruined. I can't love anyone else. Kurt shouldn't just get away with it, I thought. It wasn't thought out."[90]

Lotte's statement "I can't love anyone else" is not simply a sign of an old-fashioned, traditionalist personality, but rather the expression of Lotte's reduction to the position of an obedient (failed) child-bearer. She can't and *shouldn't* love anyone other than the man who got her pregnant. The average opinion makes a traditional (abandoned) wife out of her. However, the courtroom is a place where she can seek justice.

Tergit Lotte's self-reporting achieves its purpose. The man has been punished. Of course, not everyone would report herself to the police. Sometimes, women are forced to have an abortion not by a man but by poverty. But especially in this case, the punishment for this act, for Tergit, seems to be questionable. For example, in her report that translates as "Paragraph 218. One case among a thousand cases" (*Ein Fall aus tausend Fällen*), which was published on February 23, 1929,[91] Tergit stresses the misery of the proletarian woman seeking abortion. The protagonist of this story is a 16-year-old, working-class girl. In her case, even if her boyfriend wanted to marry her, the girl's mother—who is sick and unable to work—can't lose the economic support her daughter provides. Thus, she brings the girl to a midwife who provides an abortion. The neighbors report the fact to the police, anonymously. While the "gossip in the building" (*Klatsch im Hause*) representing the judging, moralist society, criminalizes the abortion, the court gives rather a mild verdict.[92] Highlighting the lack of agency in the proletarian milieu, the title of Tergit's report, which translates as, "One case among a thousand cases," points out the impotence of this girl, who can't decide



Gabrielle Tergit with husband Heinz Reifenberg, 1928.

anything for herself. She is just a passive individual at the mercy of the fear of her mother and the evil murmurs of the anonymous, denunciating masses.

Tergit seems to suggest a class difference here. While proletarian women are forced into abortion by their poverty, a bourgeois woman would be able to take the initiative and act. Bourgeois women can use the moment of public visibility provided by a court case to make public the social pressures they have been subjected to. Like the feminist action reported in the magazine *Stern,* which took place forty years later, in 1971, when 374 women declared having had abortions,[93] self-denunciation seems to give a new power to the women charged under §218 in Tergit's reports. This is also the case for the 1931 courtroom report "218 without need. Moral picture from Moabit" (*218 ohne Not. Sittenbild aus Moabit*), first published in *Berliner Tageblatt* on July 22, 1931.[94] The whole article plays with explicit denotation and implicit connotation thematizing the difference between the appearance of "respectable" people and their actual behavior. Unlike her relatives, Frau Theres, who is charged under §218 for having had three abortions, doesn't look "respectable" but rather like a "wild person." Like Lotte, Theres reported herself to the police. Tergit is not quoting *Faust* anymore, because this is not the story of an innocent, seduced girl. From *Faust*'s "Gretchen" Tergit switches to Brecht's "prostitute Jenny," recalling the character played by Lotte Lenya in Brecht's play, "Pimp Ballad" (*Zuhälterballade*), and also in G. W. Pabst's movie (1931).[95] "Mrs. Theres is a wild person. With her straight pony, she looks like Lotte Lenya in the 'Threepenny Opera.' She is married to a freelance decorator who has a prosperous business. She has had three abortions."[96]

Theres—who suffers from epilepsy—had an abortion even though her husband earns good money. Yet, it slowly comes out that all the people around the woman put pressure on her: The mother-in-law thinks that they shouldn't have children yet. Theres's husband takes a prostitute home, asking his wife to prostitute herself also ("Why would you not want to earn money so easily?").[97] Like the prostitute Jenny in Brecht's play, Theres decides to betray her man, denouncing him (and herself) to the police: "Then Mrs. Theres reports herself. She goes to the police denouncing herself, her husband, the wise woman [the woman who helped her aborting], and on top of that, without any reason, her two brothers and sisters from the province, who led her to the wise woman."[98]

Through self-incrimination Theres frees herself. Tergit's courtroom report plays with the tension between connotation and denotation: By designating Theres as a "bad woman," in contrast with all the "respectable" people around her, Tergit suggests that appearances can be misleading, because people who seem respectable forced the woman to abort for personal interests. But now,

as a "bad woman," Theres can begin a new, emancipated life: "She is a bad woman, she committed forgery to get 500 marks, she secretly withdrew her husband's savings bank money, she stole from her lodgers and she also stole a lace collar from a department store. She has no criminal record. She has now divorced and started working."[99]

The narrator provokes the reader to irritation, giving voice to a supposed standard moral that would condemn Theres. The talk of the respectable, ambiguous public opinion is thus being questioned by the polyphony of the report, which intentionally quotes the ambiguous "idle talk"[100] of the average public opinion. The report shows the hypocrisy of those who had an easy, material existence and pressured Theres to have an abortion. Unlike the working-class girl in the report "Paragraph 218. One case among a thousand cases," Theres, who does *not* belong to the proletariat, would have had a choice if the people around her had been supportive. In this case, Tergit's courtroom report takes the ambiguous point of view of the average public opinion, using commonplaces to unveil the inadequacy of the average standard moral judgment. This time, the report ends with the prosecutor's request: The verdict is, at this time, still unknown.[101] Tergit seems thus to ask: Will Justice imitate the "idle talk" of *them*?[102]

Conclusion

> Every page of the newspaper, if read properly, daily contains tragedies that cry out for the stage. . . . We want the truth of our time; we want the answers to the burning questions all around us. The Gretchen scene today must proceed from the problem of how the abused child of the people frees herself from the fruit of the dissolute student Faust by claiming the right to her body. . . A clear position, in reference to Paragraph 218, on the problem: "Your body belongs to you."[103]

With these words, Friedrich Wolf claimed in 1929 the need to update Goethe's Gretchen for the theater from the perspective of the modern debate about abortion. On February 19, 1931, Wolf and Else Kienle were charged and arrested for providing abortions for pay.[104] While the debate escalated, Tergit's courtroom reports avoided radical or overly explicit tones. Certainly, Tergit wrote for a left-liberal newspaper, which could not use the same rhetorical devices the socialist press used. Instead, Tergit employs literary techniques for a more implicit differentiation between situations and social classes. She exploits the prominence of contemporary films to create sympathy and identification. At the same time, she creates short miniatures composed of sound sequences by merging the trial's key sentences which she transcribed as if she were a human "recording tape." By capturing the voices

in the courtroom, she leaves it up to the reader to judge the case. At the same time, Tergit suggests role models and a way out of the loneliness: the courage of reporting the act, the attempt to start a new life. Maybe her feuilletons avoid explicitness. But the *der populäre Pakt*, "the popular pact,"[105] between entertainment and criticism has been a very powerful weapon of the genre of feuilleton, to which these courtroom reports belong. By showing the inadequacy of the abortion law, Tergit's journalism stimulated critical judgment, inviting the reader to deconstruct the ambiguous ideal of the modern and independent women, who is still subject to the risk to turn at any time into the old Gretchen.

Maddalena Casarini holds a master's degree in European Literature from the Berlin Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Germany). She is doing her doctorate in comparative literature in the DFG Research Training Group "Literatur-und Wissensgeschichte kleiner Formen" (Humboldt-Universität) on court reporting in Berlin, Vienna, and Paris between the two world wars.

Notes

[1] Schütz, "Wahre Verbrechen, wahrhaftige Berichte?" [True crimes, true reports], 223. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[2] *Gesetz über die Zulassung der Frauen zu den Ämtern und Berufen in der Rechtspflege* [Law on the admission of women to judicial offices and professions], 11.7.1922 [July 11, 1922], RGBl I 1922, 573). The law came into effect, November 23, 1922. Kohleiss, "Frauen in und vor der Justiz" [Women in the judiciary and before the law], 120.

[3] Kohleiss points out that in 1929, there were only eight women among 3,000 practicing lawyers in Berlin; in 1930, there were seventy-four female judges in Germany. Kohleiss, 121. "Altogether, the number of female attorneys in Germany should at that time have been around 120," while there were "an estimated 12 lifetime female judges and over 100 female judges in judicial training," quoting Röwekamp, *Juristinnen. Lexikon zu Leben und Werk* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005), 468–70, 451, in Röwekamp, "Women's Admission to the Legal Profession in Germany between 1900 and 1933," 89, 90, 92.

[4] Tergit, "Frauen im Gerichtsgebäude" [Women in the court building], in *Vom Frühling*, 256–57.

[5] Before her employment at the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Tergit wrote court articles for the *Berliner Börsen Courier*. In the last years of the Weimar Republic, she also published articles in Carl von Ossietzky's *Weltbühne* [World stage]. Tergit wrote her last court report in 1948, when she reported on the trial of Veit Harlan in Hamburg for *Die Neue Zeitung* (Munich). Brüning, nachwort [afterword] to *Atem einer anderen Welt* [Breath of another world] by Gabriele Tergit, 202–203.

[6] Schütz, "Von Fräulein Larissa zu Fräulein Dr. Kohler?" [From Miss Larissa to Miss Dr. Kohler?], 215–37; Siemens, *Metropole und Verbrechen* [Metropolis and crime], 64; Sösemann, "Rechtsprechung im Feuilleton" [The judiciary in the feuilleton], in *Berliner Profile*, 51–75. Only seldom did Tergit cover famous trials, like the Flessa or the Kolomak trials, writing a series of court reports on them. She usually covered small court cases with a single article.

[7] Tergit, *Käsebier erobert den Kurfürstendamm*. The novel was translated by Sophie Duvernoy and published in 2019 as *Käsebier Takes Berlin*. On Tergit's career, see Schütz, "Von Fräulein Larissa zu Fräulein Dr. Kohler?" [From Miss Larissa to Miss Dr. Kohler?], 217.

[8] After the raid of the SA-Strum 33 on Tergit's apartment on March 4, 1933, she flew first to Prague, then to Tel-Aviv, together with her husband Heinz Reifenberg and their son Peter. In 1938 the family moved to London, where Tergit worked as a secretary of the German Exil P.E.N. Brüning, "Nachwort" [afterword] to *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und andere Ereignisse* [Gabriele Tergit. Women and other events], 215–16.

[9] Tergit, "Frauen im Gerichtsgebäude" [Women in the court building], 256. Original quote: "Immer noch steht Gretchen, einsam und verlassen, weil sie ihr Neugeborenes mordete, vor dem Schwurgericht."

[10] Brüning, vorwort [preface] to *Blüten der Zwanziger Jahre* [Blossoms of the

twenties], by Gabriele Tergit, 10.

[11] Brüning, 10–11.

[12] Sling, "Wie ich Gerichts-Berichterstatter wurde" [How I became a court reporter], in *Der Mensch, der schießt* [The man who shoots], 20.

[13] For a historical portrait of Sling, see Sösemann, "Rechtsprechung im Feuilleton" [The judiciary in the feuilleton], 51–75.

[14] McQueen, "Into the Courtroom," 14, 18. Sling's courtroom reports brought "to focus details unimportant to the court's execution of the law but fundamental to understanding the dynamic of the trial and the character of those present," McQueen, 17.

[15] Paragraph 170, *Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz* [German Judiciary Act] in RGBl, 1877, no. 4, 72; Ortmann, *Machtvolle Verhandlungen* [Powerful proceedings], 111.

[16] Ortmann, 111–13.

[17] Schütz, "Wahre Verbrechen, wahrhaftige Berichte?" [True crimes, true reports], 222–23.

[18] On the role of the feuilleton as a genre rooted in the tradition of German literary journalism, see Eberwein, "Verselbstständigung und Differenzierung: Feuilletonismus und Literarische Reportage," in *Literarischer Journalismus*, 118–29. On the genre of the feuilleton, see also Kernmayer and Jung, *Feuilleton*, and Ethel Matala de Mazza, *Der populäre Pakt* [The popular pact].

[19] Eberwein, "Verselbstständigung und Differenzierung," 124. Original quote: "*provokatives Alternativmodell*."

[20] Erian, " 'Pflichtbewußte Tagesschriftsteller' im Wien um 1918" ['Committed daily writers' in Vienna around 1918], 107–24.

[21] Siemens, "Explaining Crime," 338.

[22] He "deleted, put things together, raised a thought from the confused darkness into the clarity of a light-filled prose[.]" Tergit, *Etwas Seltenes* [Something rare], 20, 29; Chambers, " 'Eine ganze Welt baut sich im Gerichtssaal auf' [A whole world is taking shape in the courtroom]: Law and order in the reportage of Joseph Roth and Gabriele Tergit," in *Vienna Meets Berlin*, 98–99.

[23] Tergit, *Etwas Seltenes überhaupt. Erinnerungen* [Something altogether rare. Memories], 20.

[24] Tergit, "Berliner Existenzen" [Berlin existences], 47–84.

[25] Henneberg, "Die sieben fetten Jahre im Leben einer Generation" [The seven fat years in the life of a generation], Nachwort [afterword] in Tergit, *Käsebier erobert den Kurfürstendamm*, 388.

[26] Tergit, "Liebe und Ehe im neuen Russland" [Love and marriage in the new Russia], in Tergit, *Frauen und andere Ereignisse*, 158–63; *Berliner Tageblatt*, March 6, 1931. Tergit reviewing and citing: Liebermann, *Im Namen der Sowjets* [On behalf of the Soviets]. Brüning also cites Tergit's review of Liebermann's collection to emphasize Tergit's historical and scientific approach to court reporting. Brüning, *Atem einer anderen Welt* [Breath of another world] by Gabriele Tergit, "Nachwort" [Afterword], 195.

[27] Tergit, "Liebe und Ehe im neuen Russland" [Love and marriage in the new

Russia], 158. Original quote: "Besser als das Werk der Dichter und Historiker gibt die ursprüngliche Quelle, der Brief, das Tagebuch, das aufgezeichnete Gespräch, das Wesentliche einer Epoche. Die Akten eines Kriminalfalls bestehen außer dem Formalen aus diesen ursprünglichen Quellen zur Erkenntnis der typischen Gefühle einer Zeit."

[28] Tergit, 159.

[29] Liebermann, "Der Mord an Galina Mrawina" [The murder of Galina Mravina], in *Im Namen der Sowjets* [On behalf of the Soviets], 111–214.

[30] Tergit, "Liebe und Ehe im neuen Russland" [Love and marriage in the new Russia], 158.

[31] Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich (vom 15. Mai 1871) [German Penal Code, May 15, 1871] in *Reichsgesetzblatt* (14.6.1871 [June 14, 1871]), 127–205.

[32] Usborne, *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany*, 5; Behren, "Kurze Geschichte des Paragrafen 218 Strafgesetzbuch" [Brief History of Paragraph 218 of the Criminal Code], 12–19.

[33] Paragraph 218 of the German Penal Code (1871) prescribed: "Eine Schwangere, welche ihre Frucht vorsätzlich abtreibt oder im Mutterleibe tödtet, wird mit Zuchthaus bis zu fünf Jahren bestraft. Sind mildernde Umstände vorhanden, so tritt Gefängnißstrafe nicht unter sechs Monaten ein.

Dieselben Strafvorschriften finden auf denjenigen Anwendung, welcher mit Einwilligung der Schwangeren die Mittel zu der Abtreibung oder Tödtung bei ihr angewendet oder ihr beigebracht hat" [A pregnant woman who has an abortion or who has her foetus [in German *Frucht*, fruit] destroyed in the womb is to be sentenced to penal servitude for up to five years. If there are mitigating circumstances the penalty is reduced to a minimum of six months' imprisonment. The same penalty applies to any person helping to procure an abortion or to destroy a fruit in the womb with the consent of the pregnant woman] in *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich* [German Penal Code], 167. English translation from Usborne, Chapter 1 Notes, *Cultures of Abortion*, 228, n2. "Helping to procure" means both providing *or* performing an abortion.

[34] Paragraph 217 and 219 of German Penal Code (1871), 167.

[35] Usborne, "Towards a Cultural History of Abortion," in *Cultures of Abortion*, 5–25.

[36] Gertrud Bäumer was one such member. It was Bäumer who also encouraged Tergit to write her first article in 1915. Tergit's, "Frauendienstjahr und Berufsbildung" [Women's service year and professional training] in Brüning, *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und andere Ereignisse*, 7–11, was first published in *Der Zeitgeist*, *Beiblatt zum Berliner Tageblatt* (November 22, 1915). Later, Tergit—although acknowledging the merits of the bourgeois women's movement—distanced herself from the 'first generation' of the women's movement and, in particular, from Helene Stöcker. Tergit, "Bilanz der Frauenbewegung," [Review of the women's movement] in Brüning, *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und andere Ereignisse*, 179–80, first published in 1932; Tergit, "Kleine Diskussion," in Brüning, *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und andere Ereignisse*, 112–15, first published in *Berliner Tageblatt* (August 17, 1928). About the

relationship between Tergit and the women's movement, see also Schüller, " 'Der Menschheit anderer Teil, die Frau.' " [The other part of humanity, the woman], 18.

[37] Usborne, *Cultures of Abortion*, 3. On the reports about abortion written by another journalist of this time, Maria Leitner, see Marx, "Nach eigenem Gutdünken" [At your own discretion].

[38] Küpper, " 'Herrin ihres eigenen Körpers,' " [Master of her own body], 123–24.

[39] Gesetz zur Abänderung des Strafgesetzbuchs [Law amending the Criminal Code], *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt* 1926, 239; Behren, "Kurze Geschichte" [Brief history], 14.

[40] *Ärztliche Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung. Notstand* [Medical termination of pregnancy. Emergency], *Entscheidungen des Reichsgerichts in Strafsachen* [Decisions of the Reich Court on criminal cases] (*RGSt*) (11.03.1927 [March 11, 1927]), 242–258; Behren, "Kurze Geschichte" [Brief History], 14; Usborne, *Cultures of Abortion*, 5.

[41] Piscator, *Frauen in Not: §218* [Women in need: section 218] (theater play); Berger, *Kreuzzug des Weibes* [The wife's crusade]; Dudow, *Kuhle Wampe oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* [Kuhle Wampe or who owns the world?].

[42] Avdeev, Blum, and Troitskaya, "The History of Abortion Statistics in Russia and the USSR from 1900 to 1991," 41.

[43] Henneberg, "Montag und Donnerstag Überfall" [Monday and Thursday raid], Nachwort [Afterword] in Tergit, *Vom Frühling*, 311–17.

[44] Tergit, *Etwas Seltenes überhaupt* [Something altogether rare], 109–110; Schütz, *Romane der Weimarer Republik* [Novels of the Weimarer Republik], 156.

[45] Tergit, *Etwas Seltenes überhaupt* [Something altogether rare], 110. Original quote: "…einen Helden wollen die Leute auf der Bühne sehen. Sie haben genug von diesen albernen Stücken über §218 oder 'Masse Mensch.' "

[46] Wolf, *Cyankali (§218)* [Cyanide §218] in Wolf and Hammer, *Cynkali von Friedrich Wolf. Eine Dokumentation*, 5–69.

[47] Wolf and Hammer, "Von der 'Alltagslegende,' zu '*Cyankali*,' " in *Cyankali von Friedrich Wolf*, 101.

[48] Tergit's court reports on abortion published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* are: "Berliner Aertze vor Gericht. Der vielumkämpfte § 218" [Berlin doctors on trial. The much-disputed section 218], July 26, 1925, 30–31; "Moderne Gretchentragödie. Mädchen—Liebhaber—Arzt—Hebamme" [Modern Gretchen tragedy. Girl—lover—doctor—midwife], November 8, 1926, Montag-Ausgabe [Monday edition], 6. "Ein Fall aus tausend Fällen" ["Paragraph 218. One case among a thousand cases"], February 23, 1929, 16; "Paragraph 218 . . . Abtreibungsprozess ohne Frauen" [Section 218 . . . Abortion trial without women], January 14, 1931, 17; "Paragraph für Erpresser. Wenn einem Frauenarzt das Krankenjournal gestohlen wird" [The (penal code) section for blackmailers. The case of a stolen gynecologist's journal], May 17, 1931, 39; "218 ohne Not. Sittenbild aus Moabit" [218 without need. Moral picture from Moabit], July 22, 1931, 5; "Armes Kind . . . Mitleid in Moabit" [Poor child . . . Compassion in Moabit], February 5, 1932, 19.

[49] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, online ed. (2018), s.v. "antonomasia." Accessed January 31, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/art/antonomasia.

[50] Tergit, "Moderne Gretchentragödie. Mädchen–Liebhaber–Artz–Hebamme," in *Wer schießt aus Liebe? Gerichtsreportagen* [Who shoots for love: Court reports], 62–64. Hereafter quoted from the translation "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy" in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, *Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 202–203. Author research notes: Kaes omitted the subtitle in his translation and slightly modified the title. The article was published November 8, 1926, not November 5, in the *Berliner Tageblatt*. https://dfg-viewer.de/show?id=9&tx_dlf%5bid%5d=https%3a%2f%2fcontent.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de%2fzefys%2fsnp27646518-19261108-0-0-0-0.xml&tx_dlf%5bpage%5d=6.

[51] Goethe, "Faust I" in *Faust. Texte*, 31–199.

[52] Matussek, "Faust I" in *Goethe-Handbuch*, 4:355.

[53] Murnau, *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage* [Faust, A German Folktale], written by Hans Kyser, directed by Murnau, Ufa-Palast, Berlin.

[54] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 202–203. Murnau, *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage* [Faust, A German Folktale], written by Hans Kyser.

[55] Engel, "Faust im Film. Ufa-Palast am Zoo" [Faust in film. Ufa-Palast am Zoo], review of *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage*, October 15, 1926, 4; Olimaky, "Der Faustfilm," review of *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage*, *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, October 15, 1926, 2.

[56] Olimaky, 2.

[57] On Tergit's reference to the play and also to the film see Siebenpfeiffer, in "*Böse Lust*" [evil desire], 166; and Notes, 263, n91.

[58] Tergit, "Gretchen Tragödie. Der Osterspaziergang ins Mittelalter" [Gretchen tragedy. The Easter walk into the Middle Ages], in *Wer schießt aus Liebe?* [Who shoots for love?], 121–23.

[59] M.G. [Manfred Georg, later: George], "Drei Frauen stehen heute vor uns. Die drei Typen: Gretchen, Girl, Garçonne" [Three women stand before us nowadays. These three types are: the Gretchen, the Girl, the Garçonne], 17.

[60] Georg, "Drei Frauen," 17. Original quote: "… jener Widerstand, der oft aus Trägheit, oft auch einfach aus Inferiorität sich weigert, die Schwierigkeiten einer neuen fraulichen Lebensform zu teilen, und der gefühlsduselig für sich privat wieder den Absolutismus des Gretchen-Zeitalter mit den Annehmlichkeiten des schließlich doch sehr bequem erlösenden Faust-Schicksal errichtet."

[61] Hung, "The Modernized Gretchen," 55–56.

[62] Hung, 55, 55–56. Emphasis mine.

[63] Behren, "Kurze Geschichte" [Brief history], 12.

[64] Georg, "Drei Frauen," 17. Original quote: "Das Gretchen ist nicht nur die deutsche Jungfrau mit Zöpfen und Strickstrumpfhorizont, es ist auch die heidisch und militärisch sich gebärdende Faschistin" [Gretchen is not only the German maiden with braids, whose only ambition is to knit stockings, but also the pagan and military fascist]. Hung "The Modernized Gretchen," 79, uses the term "moderately modern" in his analyses of Georg's article.

[65] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 202.

[66] Schütz, " 'Heimat war das Tier, das sie die täglichen Berufswege führte,' " [Homeland was that animal that carried her to work every day], 9–14.

[67] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 203.

[68] On the role of the "New Woman" in Tergit's Work, see Schüller, " 'Der Menschheit anderer Teil, die Frau,' " [The other part of humanity, the woman], 15–23.

[69] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 203.

[70] Schütz, "Heimat war das Tier" [Homeland was that animal], 7. Original quote: "Überhaupt operiert sie [Tergit] bei ihren Porträts gerne mit . . . typologischen Gegenüberstellungen."

[71] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 203, 202.

[72] Emphasis mine.

[73] In her memories, Tergits remembers, "When I wrote about a trial, my brain captured like a recording tape the one key sentence of the court proceeding . . . ." Tergit, *Etwas Seltenes überhaupt* [Something altogether rare], 25. Original quote: "Wenn ich über einen Prozeß schrieb, so hielt das Aufnahmeband, das mein Gehirn ist, den einen entscheidenden Satz des Prozesses fest . . . ."

[74] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 202 (text clarification mine).

[75] Tergit, 203.

[76] Murnau, *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage* [Faust. A German folktale], 1:40:35–1:41:20.

[77] Tergit, "Gretchen-Tragödie. Der Osterspaziergang ins Mittelalter" [The Easter walk into the Middle Ages], 121–23.

[78] Tergit, 122. Original quote:"Es war sehr hübsch."

[79] Siebenpfeiffer, *Böse Lust* [Evil desire], 166.

[80] Tergit recreates this situation in her 1951 novel *Effingers* (1951), telling the story of the poor tailor Käte Winckler and her friend Lischen Wolgst. Tergit, *Effingers*, *Roman*, 93–97.

[81] Tergit, "Gretchen-Tragödie. Der Osterspaziergang ins Mittelalter" [Gretchen Tragedy. The Easter walk through the Middle Ages], 122. Original quote: "Kaffee machen für die Herrschaften."

[82] Tergit, 122. ("Gehirnblutlehre")

[83] Tergit, 123.

[84] Tergit, 122 (clarification, mine). Original quote: "Was Goethe der Menschheit ganzer Jammer genannt hatte, hieß hier im Urteil 'Unannehmlichkeit.' "

[85] Tergit, 122. Original quote: "Keine Frau außer der Angeklagten war an diesem Prozeß beteiligt."

[86] Tergit, *Etwas Seltenes überhaupt* [Something rare], 172.

[87] Inquit, "Gretchens Schicksal" [Gretchen's fate], 21; Goethe, *Faust I* (188, V. 13); Matussek, "Faust I," 370.

[88] Inquit, "Gretchens Schicksal. Aus den Berliner Gerichten" [Gretchen's fate. From the Berlin Tribunals], 21.

[89] Tergit also uses "Gretchen" as antonomasia in "Wer schwindelt Heirat?"

[Who commits marriage fraud] in *Vom Frühling*, 262–65.

[90] Tergit, "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy," 203.

[91] Tergit, "Paragraph 218. Ein Fall aus tausend Fällen" [Paragraph 218. One case among a thousand cases], in Tergit, *Vom Frühling*, 141–42.

[92] ". . . a sentence that appears to have been pronounced more to satisfy the letter of the law than out of conviction of the punishability of this act." Tergit, 142.

[93] "Wir haben abgetrieben" [We have aborted], in *Stern*, June 6, 1971, front page and 16–23. Also quoted in Behren, "Kurze Geschichte" [Brief History of Paragraph 218], 16; Meier, "Wie hat sich das Verhältnis der Frauen zur Abtreibungsfrage geändert?" [How has women's attitude to the abortion issue changed?], *Pro Familia Magazin*. January 1986, 6f, quoted in Behren, "Kurze Geschichte" [Brief History of Paragraph 218], 16.

[94] Tergit, "218 ohne Not. Sittenbild aus Moabit" [218 without need. Moral picture from Moabit], in Tergit, *Vom Frühling*, 227–29.

[95] In "Pimp Ballad" [*Zuhälterballad*e], Macheath and prostitute Jenny recall their time together as a couple, when their household was a "whorehouse" and Jenny got pregnant. "But that ended up falling apart," says Macheath. Shortly before this scene, Jenny betrayed him and reported him to the police. Brecht, "Die Dreigroschenoper," in *Stücke 2*, [*Zuhälterballad*e], 272–73.

[96] Tergit, "218 ohne Not" [218 without need], 228. Original quote: "Frau Theres ist eine wilde Person. Sie sieht mit ihren glatten Ponys aus wie die Lotte Lenya in der 'Dreigroschenoper.' Sie ist verheiratet mit einem selbständigen Dekorateur, der ein gutgehendes Geschäft hat. Sie hat dreimal abgetrieben."

[97] Tergit, 229. Original quote: "Warum wolle sie nicht so leicht Geld verdienen?"

[98] Tergit, 229 (explanatory comment, mine).

[99] Tergit, 229.

[100] Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 211–14.

[101] Tergit, "218 ohne Not," 229.

[102] Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 211–14.

[103] Wolf, "The Stage and Life," 542; quoted from the translation in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, *Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 542.

[104] Wolf and Hammer, *Cyankali von Friedrich Wolf* [Cyanide by Friedrich Wolf], 276.

[105] On the connection between the popular and the political, and the role played by the feuilleton, see Matala de Mazza, *Der populäre Pakt* [The popular pact], 7–29; 62–73.

Bibliography

Avdeev, Alexandre, Alain Blum, and Irina Troitskaya. "The History of Abortion Statistics in Russia and the USSR from 1900 to 1991." *Population: An English Selection*, 7 (1995): 39–66.

Behren, Dirk von. "Kurze Geschichte des Paragrafen 218 Strafgesetzbuch" [Brief history of paragraph 218 of the criminal code]. *Abtreibung. APuZ* 20 (2019): 12–19.

Berger, Martin, dir. *Kreuzzug des Weibes* [The woman's crusade]. 1926; Germany: Arthur Ziehm Film. Hungary, 35 mm filmstrip, black and white, silent.

Brecht, Bertolt. "Die Dreigroschenoper." In *Stücke 2*, ed. Werner Hecht, Jan Knopf, Werner Mittenzwei, and Klaus-Detlef Müller, 229–322. Vol. 2 of Bertolt Brecht Werke. Berlin / Weimar: Große Kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe: 1988. See esp. *Zuhälterballad*e, 272–75.

Brüning, Jens. Nachwort [Afterword] to *Atem einer anderen Welt. Berliner Reportagen* [Breath of another world. Berlin reports], by Gabriele Tergit, 195–206. Edited by Jens Brüning. Frankfurt a Main: Suhrkamp, 1994.

———. Nachwort [Afterword] to *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und andere Ereignisse. Publizistik und Erzählungen von 1915 bis 1970* [Gabriele Tergit. Women and other events. Journalism and short stories between 1915 and 1970], 213–17. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 2001.

———. Vorwort [preface] to *Blüten der Zwanziger Jahre. Gerichtsreportagen und Feuilletons 1923–1933* [Blossoms of the twenties. Court reports and feuilletons 1923–1933], by Gabriele Tergit, 9–16. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Rotation, 1984.

Chambers, Helen. " 'Eine ganze Welt baut sich im Gerichtssaal auf' [A whole world is taking shape in the courtroom]: Law and Order in the Reportage of Joseph Roth and Gabriele Tergit." In *Vienna Meets Berlin. Cultural Interaction 1918–1933*, edited by John Warren and Ulrike Zitzlsperger, 95–108. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005.

Credés, Carl. *§218–Frauen in Not* [Women in need: section 218], directed by Erwin Piscator (1929).

Dudow, Slatan, dir. *Kuhle Wampe, oder: Wem gehört die Welt* [Kuhle Wampe, or who owns the world?]. 1932, written by Bertolt Brecht and Ernst Ottwalt. Weimar Republic: Prometheus Film. London, UK: British Film Institute, 2022. DVD& Blu-ray Disc, 1080p, 71 min.

Eberwein, Tobias. *Literarischer Journalismus. Theorie–Traditionen–Gegenwart*. Cologne: Herbert von Halem, 2013. See esp. chap. 7, "Verselbstständigung und Differenzierung: Feuilletonismus und Literarische Reportage."

Engel, Fritz. "Faust Im Film. Ufa-Palast Am Zoo" [Faust in film. Ufa-palace at the zoo]. Review of *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage*, written by Kyser, directed by Murnau, Ufa-Palast, Berlin, *Berliner Tageblatt* (Abend-Ausgabe), October 15, 1926, 4.

Erian, Martin. " 'Pflichtbewußte Tagesschriftsteller' im Wien um 1918. Zu den Reportagen Else Feldmanns und Bruno Freis im *Abend*." [Committed daily

writers in Vienna around 1918: To the reports of Else Feldmanns and Bruno Freis in *Abend*]. In *Exploration urbaner Räume–Wien 1918–38* [Exploration of urban spaces–*Vienna 1918–38*], edited by Martin Erian and Primus-Heinz Kucher, 107–24. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019.

Georg, Manfred [M.G.]. "Drei Frauen stehen heute vor uns. Die drei Typen: Gretchen, Girl, Garçonne" [Three women stand before us nowadays. These three types are: the Gretchen, the Girl, the Garçonne]. *8-Uhr-Abendblatt* (Shanghai), June 4, 1927, 4, 17.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Faust. Der Tragödie Erster Teil* [Faust. The tragedy part 1], in Johan Wolfgang Goethe Faust. Texte in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7/1, edited by Albrecht Schöne, 31–199. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker, 1994.

Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time*. Translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. Malden: Blackwell, 2013. See esp. chap. "Idle Talk," 211–14.

Henneberg, Nicole. "Die sieben fetten Jahre im Leben einer Generation" [The seven fat years in the life of a generation]. Nachwort [Afterword] to *Käsebier erobert den Kurfürstendamm*, by Gabriele Tergit, 375–90. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2016.

———. "Montag und Donnerstag Überfall" [Monday and Thursday raid]. Nachwort [Afterword] to Tergit, *Vom Frühling und von der Einsamkeit*, edited by Nicole Henneberg, 303–17. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2020.

Hung, Jochen. "The Modernized Gretchen: Transformations of the 'New Woman' in the Late Weimar Republic." *German History* 33, no. 1 (March 2015): 52–79. https://doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghu113.

Inquit [Moritz Goldstein]. "Gretchens Schicksal. Aus den Berliner Gerichten" [Gretchen's fate. From the Berlin tribunals]. *Vossische Zeitung*. October 20, 1929, 21.

Kaes, Anton, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, eds. *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*. Weimar and Now 3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Kernmayer, Hildegard, and Simone Jung, eds. *Feuilleton. Schreiben an der Schnittstelle zwischen Journalismus und Literatur*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2017.

Kohleiss, Annelies. "Frauen in und vor der Justiz. Der lange Weg zu den Berufen der Rechtspflege" [Women in the judiciary and before the law. The long road toward the women's professions in the administration of justice]. *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft (KritV)* [Critical quarterly for legislation and jurisprudence] 71, no. 2 (1988): 115–27.

Küpper, Vera. " 'Herrin ihres eigenen Körpers.' Arbeiterinnen und die Sexualreformbewegung der Weimarer Republik" [" 'Master of her own body.' Women workers and the sexual reform movement of the Weimar Republic"]. In *Feminismus in historischer Perspektive. Eine Reaktualisierung* [Feminism in historical perspective. A reactualization], edited by Feminismus Seminar, 115–35. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014.

Liebermann, Matwej. "Der Mord an Galina Mrawina" [The murder of Galina Mravina], in *Im Namen der Sowjets. Aus Moskauer Gerichtsakten* [On behalf of

the Soviets. From Moscow court records], 111–214. Berlin: Malik, 1930.
Marx, Stephanie. "Nach Eigenem Gutdünken" [At your own discretion]. *Fernetzt*, March 21, 2021. https://www.univie.ac.at/fernetzt/nach-eigenem-gutduenken/.
Matala de Mazza, Ethel. *Der populäre Pakt. Verhandlungen der Moderne zwischen Operette und Feuilleton* [The popular pact. Negotiating modernity between operetta and feuilleton]. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2018.
Matussek, Peter. "Faust I." In *Goethe-Handbuch. In vier Bänden*, edited by Bernd Witte. Band 2: Dramen, edited by Theo Buck, 352–90. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996.
McQueen, Kate. "Into the Courtroom: Paul 'Sling' Schlesinger and the Origins of German Literary Trial Reportage." *Literary Journalism Studies* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 8–27.
Meier, Marion. "Wie hat sich das Verhältnis der Frauen zur Abtreibungsfrage geändert?" [How has women's attitude to the abortion issue changed?]. *Pro Familia Magazin*, January 1986, 6f.
Murnau, F. W. *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage* [Faust. A German folktale]. Directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Ufa, 1926. Weimar Republic: UFA GmbH. 115 min. https://archive.org/details/FaustF.W.MurnauSilentFilm.
Olimaky, Fritz. "Der Faustfilm." Review of *Faust. Eine Deutsche Volkssage*, written by Kyser, directed by Murnau, Ufa-Palast, Berlin, *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* (Berlin). October 15, 1926, 2.
Ortmann, Alexandra. *Machtvolle Verhandlungen: Zur Kulturgeschichte der deutschen Strafjustiz. 1879–1924* [Powerful proceedings. On the cultural history of German criminal justice, 1879–1924]. Göttingen; Bristol, CT, U.S.A: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.
Piscator, Erwin, dir. *Frauen in Not: §218* [Women in need: section 218], theater play written by Carl Credé, Apollotheater, Mannheim, November 23, 1929.
Röwekamp, Marion. *Juristinnen. Lexikon zu Leben und Werk* [Lawyers. Encyclopedia of Life and Work], Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005.
———. "Women's Admission to the Legal Profession in Germany between 1900 and 1933." In *Women in Law and Lawmaking in Nineteenth and Twentieth-century Europe*, edited by Eva Schandevyl, 75–99. Surrey / Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.
Schüller, Liane. " 'Der Menschheit anderer Teil, die Frau.' Gabriele Tergit und die Neue Frau in der Weimarer Republik" [The other part of humanity, the woman], in "Gabriele Tergit," ed. Juliane Sucker. Special Issue, *Text + Kritik*, 228 (October 2020): 15–23.
Schütz, Erhard. " 'Heimat war das Tier, das sie die täglichen Berufswege führte.' Gabriele Tergits Feuilletons über Berlin, seine Menschen und seine Zustände" [Homeland was the animal that led her to work every day. Gabriele Tergit's feuilletons about Berlin, its people, and its conditions], in "Gabriele Tergit," ed. Juliane Sucker. Special Issue, *Text + Kritik*, 228 (October 2020): 3–14.
———. *Romane der Weimarer Republik* [Novels of the Weimar Republic].

München: Fink, 1986.

———."Von Fräulein Larissa zu Fräulein Dr. Kohler? Zum Status von Reporterinnen in der Weimarer Republik—das Beispiel Gabriele Tergit" [From Miss Larissa to Miss Dr. Kohler? On the Status of Female Reporters in the Weimar Republic. The Example of Gabriele Tergit]. In *Autorinnen der Weimarer Republik* [Authors of the Weimar Republic], edited by Walter Fähnders and Helga Karrenbrock, 215–37. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2003.

———."Wahre Verbrechen, wahrhaftige Berichte? Über Justizberichterstattung in der Weimarer Republik" [True crimes, true reports. On the court reporting in the Weimar Republic]. In *"Beinahekrimis"—Beinahe Krimis!?* ["Almost crime fictions"—Almost crime fictions!?], edited by Sigrid Thielking and Jochen Vogt, 219–41. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2014.

Siebenpfeiffer, Hania. *"Böse Lust." Gewaltverbrechen in Diskursen der Weimarer Republik* ["Evil desire." Violent crimes in discourses of the Weimar Republic]. Cologne: Böhlau, 2005. See esp. chapter 5 "Die Kindstötung" [The infanticide], 150–85.

Siemens, Daniel. "Explaining Crime. Berlin Newspapers and the Construction of the Criminal in Weimar Germany." *Journal of European Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009): 336–52.

———. *Metropole und Verbrechen. Die Gerichtsreportage in Berlin, Paris und Chicago, 1919–1933* [Metropolis and crime. Courtroom reportage in Berlin, Paris and Chicago, 1919–1933]. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007.

Sling [Paul Schlesinger]. "Wie ich Gerichts-Berichterstatter wurde" [How I became a court reporter]. In *Der Mensch, der schießt. Berichte aus dem Gerichtssaal* [The man who shoots. Reports from the courtroom], 20–22. Düsseldorf: Lilienfeld, 2013.

Sösemann, Bernd. "Rechtsprechung im Feuilleton. Paul Schlesingers Beitrag zur Justizkritik in der Weimarer Republik" [The judiciary in the feuilleton: Paul Schlesinger's contribution to the criticism of the judiciary in the Weimar Republic]. In *Berliner Profile* [Berlin profiles], edited by Hermann Haarmann, Erhard Schütz, Klaus Siebenhaar, and Bernd Sösemann, 51–75. Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1993.

Tergit, Gabriele. "218 ohne Not. Sittenbild aus Moabit." [218 without need. Moral picture from Moabit]. In *Gabriele Tergit, Vom Frühling und von der Einsamkeit. Reportagen aus den Gerichten* [Of spring and loneliness. Reports from the courts], edited by Nicole Henneberg, 227–29. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2020. First published in *Berliner Tageblatt* (July 22, 1931), 5.

———. *Atem einer anderen Welt. Berliner Reportagen* [Breath of another world. Berlin reports]. Edited by Jens Brüning. Frankfurt a Main: Suhrkamp, 1994.

———. "Berliner Existenzen" [Berlin existences]. In Tergit, *Atem einer anderen Welt. Berliner Reportagen* [Breath of another world. Berlin reports], edited by Jens Brüning, 47–84. Frankfurt a Main: Suhrkamp, 1994.

———. *Blüten der Zwanziger Jahre. Gerichtsreportagen und Feuilletons 1923–1933* [Blossoms of the twenties. Court reports and feuilletons 1923–1933]. Edited

by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Rotation, 1984.

———. *Effingers*. *Roman* [Effingers: A novel]. Hamburg: Hammerich & Lesser, 1951.

———. *Etwas Seltenes überhaupt. Erinnerungen*. [Something altogether rare. Memories]. Edited by Nicole Henneberg. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co, 2018.

———."Frauen im Gerichtsgebäude" [Women in the Court Building], in *Vom Frühling und von der Einsamkeit. Reportagen aus den Gerichten* [Of spring and loneliness. Reports from the courts], edited by Nicole Henneberg, 256–57. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2020. First published in *Weltspiegel*, February 21, 1932, 5.

———. *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und andere Ereignisse. Publizistik und Erzählungen von 1915 bis 1970*. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Das neue Berlin, 2001.

———. "Gretchen-Tragödie. Der Osterspaziergang ins Mittelalter" [The Easter walk into the Middle Ages]. In *Wer schießt aus Liebe? Gerichtsreportagen* [Who shoots for love: Court reports], 121–23. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 1999. First published in *Berliner Tageblatt*, October 20, 1929, 41–42.

———. *Käsebier erobert den Kurfürstendamm*. Edited by Nicole Henneberg. Erste Auflage der Neuausgabe. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2016. First published 1931 by Ernst Rowohlt (Berlin). Translated by Sophie Duvernoy and published 2019 as *Käsebier Takes Berlin*, by New York Review Books (New York).

———."Liebe und Ehe im neuen Russland" [Love and marriage in the new Russia], In *Gabriele Tergit. Frauen und Andere Ereignisse: Publizistik Und Erzählungen von 1915 bis 1970* [Women and other events: journalism and short stories from 1915 to 1970], edited by Jens Brüning, 158–63. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 2001. First published in *Berliner Tageblatt*, March 6, 1931.

———."Moderne Grechtentragödie. Mädchen—Liebhaber—Artzt—Hebhamme." *Wer schießt aus Liebe? Gerichtsreportagen* [Who shoots for love: court reports], 62–64. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 1999. First published in *Berliner Tageblatt*, Montag-Ausgabe edition, sec., November 8, 1926, 6.

———. "Paragraph 218: A Modern Gretchen Tragedy." In *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, translated and edited by Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, 202–203. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. Originally re-published in German as "Moderne Grechtentragödie. Mädchen—Liebhaber—Artzt—Hebhamme." *Wer schießt aus Liebe? Gerichtsreportagen* [Who shoots for love: Court reports], 62–64. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 1999. First published in *Berliner Tageblatt*, Montag-Ausgabe edition, sec., November 8, 1926, 6.

———."Paragraph 218. Ein Fall aus tausend Fällen" [Paragraph 218. One case among a thousand cases]. In *Vom Frühling und von der Einsamkeit. Reportagen aus den Gerichten* [Of spring and loneliness. Reports from the courts], edited by Nicole Henneberg, 141–42. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2020.

First published in *Berliner Tageblatt*. February 23, 1929, 16.

———. *Vom Frühling und von der Einsamkeit. Reportagen aus den Gerichten* [Of spring and loneliness. Reports from the courts]. Edited by Nicole Henneberg. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2020.

———. *Wer schießt aus Liebe? Gerichtsreportagen* [Who shoots for love: court reports]. Edited by Jens Brüning. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 1999.

———."Wer schwindelt Heirat?" [Who commits marriage fraud?]. In *Vom Frühling und von der Einsamkeit* [Of spring and loneliness], edited by Nicole Henneberg, 262–65. Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling & Co., 2020. First published in *Berliner Tageblatt*. June 5, 1932, 5.

Usborne, Cornelie. *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007. https://www.fulcrum.org/epubs/pz50gw61n?locale=en#/6/2[xhtml00000001]!/4/4/1:0.

"Wir haben abgetrieben" [We have aborted]. *Stern*, June 6, 1971, front page and 16–23. https://www.1000dokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_de&dokument=0142_ste&object=facsimile&st=&l=de.

Wolf, Emmi, and Klaus Hammer, eds. *Cyankali von Friedrich Wolf. Eine Dokumentation* [Cyanide by Friedrich Wolf. A documention]. Berlin, Weimar: Aufbau, 1978. See esp. *Cyankali* (*§218*) von Friedrich Wolf, 5–69.

Wolf, Friedrich. *Cyankali (§218)*. In *Cyankali von Friedrich Wolf. Eine Dokumentation* [Cyanide by Friedrich Wolf. A documention], edited by Emmi Wolf and Klaus Hammer, 9–69. Berlin, Weimar: Aufbau, 1978. First published 1929 by Internationaler Arbeiter-Verlag (Berlin, Vienna, Zürich).

———. "The Stage and Life." In *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, edited by Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, 542–43. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. First published as "Bühne and Leben," *Arbeiter-Bühne* 16, no. 1 (January 1929): 7–8.

Legal Documents

Ärztliche Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung. Notstand [Medical termination of pregnancy. Emergency], *Entscheidungen des Reichsgerichts in Strafsachen* [Decisions of the Reich Court on criminal cases] (*RGSt*) (11.03.1927 [March 11, 1927]) no. 61, 242–58. http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/RGN22674640EA480242.

Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz [German Judiciary Act], *Deutschen Reichsgesetzblatt* (7.2.1877 [February 7, 1877]), no. 4 (14 Titel: Oeffentlichkeit und Sitzungspolizei), §170, 72. http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/3392431/ft/bsb11352354?page=84.

Gesetz über die Zulassung der Frauen zu den Ämtern und Berufen in der Rechtspflege (23.11.1922) [Law on the admission of women to offices and professions in the administration of justice (November 23, 1922)], *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt* [German Reich law gazette] (11.7.1922 [November 7, 1922]), no. 51, 573. https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=dra&datum=1922&page=671&size=45.

Gesetz zur Abänderung des Strafgesetzbuchs [Law amending the Criminal Code] (18.05.1926 [May 18, 1926]), no. 29, *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt*, [German Reich law gazette] (25.05.1926 [May 25, 1926]) no. 29, 239 (https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=dra&datum=1926&size=45&page=289).

Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich (vom 15. Mai 1871) [German Penal Code (May 15, 1871)], *Reichsgesetzblatt* [Reich's law gazette] (14.6.1871 [June 14, 1871], no. 24, 127–205. http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/3392425/ft/bsb11033712?page=191.

Sports journalist and author Ronald Reng.

Sports Correspondent, Unsuccessful Novelist, Accidental German Sports Literary Journalist: The Strange Arc of Ronald Reng

Peter Auf der Heyde
Solent University, United Kingdom

Abstract: Since the commercialization of professional sports, German sports have changed. The creative aspect of much of the writing has given way to a more to-the-point, factual style. There are exceptions, of course, and Ronald Reng is one. Formerly a sports correspondent for German-speaking newspapers in England and Spain, Reng aspired to be a fiction writer and wrote several novels that achieved little commercial success. By chance (after being asked by a goalkeeper to write his story), Reng tried his hand at what he calls narrative sports writing. Unlike his novels, the nonfiction book *Der Traumhüter: Die unglaubliche Geschichte eines Torwarts* (published in English as *Keeper of Dreams: One Man's Controversial Story of Life in the English Premiership*) was critically acclaimed and sold well. Reng has continued to write nonfiction books using the narrative style he adopted for his first novel. This study places Reng's writing in the context of sports literary journalism, looking first at the history of German sports journalism before briefly outlining the history of sports literary journalism. The inquiry concludes by examining Reng's writing in the context of Tom Wolfe's framework for the New Journalism. Much of the information is derived from primary research in the form of interviews with Reng, as well as other authors, including accomplished sportswriter and New Journalism pioneer Gay Talese.

Keywords: literary journalism – Ronald Reng – sports journalism – biographies – German football

In 1954, Germany faced played Hungary in the football[1] World Cup final in Berne, Switzerland. Inspired by a group of gifted players such as Ferenc Puskás, Sándor Kocsis, and Nándor Hidegkuti, the Magical Magyars took secured a 2–0 lead, but the German side struck back with ruthless efficiency and won, 3–2.[2] Twenty years later, Germany again faced a team that encompassed the concept of total football[3]—just as Hungary had in Switzerland—in the World Cup final. The Netherlands, inspired by the creative genius of Johan Cruyff, opened the scoring, but Germany won the match.[4] In 1990, Germany again used discipline to win its third World Cup title. Thomas Winkler has described historical German national teams as a "classic example of efficiency,"[5] while Alex Capham said, "In a culture that models itself on punctuality and efficiency, German football has been packed with teams that are organised, strong and physically fit."[6]

When Germany won its fourth World Cup title in Brazil in 2016, it played a very different game. Winkler notes that around the turn of the millennium, German football "[had] undergone an astonishing change of style." By 2016, they were "playing 'beautiful' football"[7]:

> The Germans, formerly notorious and feared as ruthless fighters and cool tacticians, suddenly began playing exciting, technically refined, high-speed football. Before, their game was shaped by rock-hard defenders; today by creative football addicts. If before it was about stopping as many goals as possible, today it is mainly about scoring some.[8]

This change had manifested itself four years earlier at the World Cup in South Africa, when Germany "[played] the most spectacular football" and the "team no longer stumbled to cynical victories, but lost with intoxicating beauty."[9]

Similar to its footballing counterparts, much of German post–World War II sports journalism—and football journalism in particular—can be described as "structured, efficient, and to the point."[10] But just as German football has changed, the country's sports journalism has also evolved. Asked why there was so little good literary sports reporting in Germany, an unnamed literary critic answered: "Because sport[s] is one dimensional."[11] That might have been true years ago—at least in in general sports reporting—but more recent work has been more creative.

This essay's examination of Ronald Reng's work is prefaced by a history of German sports journalism[12] before placing his work into the context of sports literary journalism.[13] Reng's work is analyzed using a cultural studies approach and formalism. The study of Reng's longform sports narratives of the last twenty years will show that he should be categorized as what he truly is—a New Journalist in the classic mold of Gay Talese and George Plimpton.

As such, Reng's work is exemplary of this strand, albeit one that has comparatively few fellow writers in Germany.[14]

Much of the study derives from primary research in the form of personal interviews conducted with Reng, Gay Talese, and German author Christoph Biermann, as well as email correspondence with Lee Gutkind.

From Gymnastics to Entertainment

If, as it is said, "sports are a microcosm of society,"[15] it is not far-fetched to expect the history of sports journalism to follow a similar path to that of sports in general. The history of sports journalism in Germany dates to the middle of the nineteenth century, when in 1842, the first sports paper, *Allgemeine Turn Zeitung* (General gymnastics newspaper), was published.[16] Like other sports publications begun in the years that followed, the *Allgemeine Turn Zeitung* was sport-specific, covering only gymnastics. At the time, German society was transitioning from traditional to modern, and as the working class had more free time, sports and sporting activities began to move from a feudal context to a mass phenomenon.[17] By 1880, virtually all sports had their own publications.[18]

As the nineteenth century ended, a further shift occurred. Sports moved from exclusively mass based, to mass based and competition driven.[19] It was at this juncture that journalism and sports intersected. Both targeted the same group: the masses. Blöbaum identifies several reasons why sports were particularly appealing to journalism. The separation of popular sports and competitive sports played into the hands of the news media, which at the time consisted almost entirely of the written press. Competitive sports relied on results and could easily be publicized in newspapers. Many sports were personality- and event-driven and often took place on a single day. This meant sports were much easier to report on than subjects, such as science and education, which were based on processes rather than events.[20]

It is not surprising, then, that newspapers were weary of being left behind. On May 23, 1886, the German newspaper *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* (Munich newest news) launched a sports section called *Sportzeitung* (Sports newspaper). This was not the first time that sports had appeared in German newspapers, but it was the first that they had been published in their own, stand-alone section.[21] A year earlier, the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* (Berlin stock exchange courier) became the first newspaper to employ a sports journalist, who reported solely on horse racing.[22] Growing interest in sports—and sports stories—led to sports journalism growing in importance and, in 1895, the first general sports magazine, *Sport im Bild* (Sport in pictures), was published.[23]

Blöbaum, who identifies a Sporting System and a Journalistic System, writes that as sports became more competitive, the two systems discovered a symbiosis, which both could use to their advantage. As interest in sports grew, it became more worthwhile to inform the public of sporting events. This function was primarily fulfilled by newspapers, resulting in more people becoming invested in sports. This led to a separation of the sports audience. On the one hand were those who watched sporting events live in the halls and stadiums and, on the other, those who were interested in sports but experienced them from a distance through newspapers. In other words, the Journalistic System opened doors for a wide audience within the Sporting System.[24]

After World War I, the kinds of sports being reported on shifted. Privileged sports, such as sailing, gave way to more mass-based sports like boxing, football, and cycling. Sports reporting was viewed as a good—and necessary—deflection from the effects of the war. As a result, the way in which sports were reported also shifted, from information-based reporting to entertaining the reader. During this time, the need for such "deflective entertainment"[25] also led to a rapid rise in the number of sports publications. Whereas in 1920 there were 159 sports publications, by 1933 there were more than 400. Sports also started being broadcast on radio.[26] Then, beginning in 1933, sports took on a more sinister role. The National Socialist government not only curtailed press freedom, but also used sports as a propaganda tool. By 1935 the number of sports publications had gone down to 239.[27] In 1936, the Olympics in Berlin took this misuse of sports to its lowest point. However, another upsurge in readership followed the end of World War II, for reasons comparable to those that caused the upswing following World War I. Newspapers achieved record sales on Mondays as readers were eager to relive sporting events from the weekend. And the arrival of German television, in 1952, saw sports gain a foothold in an entirely new medium.[28]

By 1978, sports had become an integral part of newspapers. No medium aimed at a general consumption could afford to go without coverage for fear of losing reader-, listener-, or viewership and thereby lose revenue. Since then, professional sports are, practically, no longer separable from business interests, and are part of an interdependence between culture and economics. As sports have become increasingly commercialized, they have merged with media and business to form an inseparable entity.[29] This in turn has resulted in changes to sports journalism throughout the world, including Germany. With the ever-growing cultural importance of football, and sports becoming a communication marketing tool, of which the media are an integral part, there has been a shift toward football journalism, rather than sports journalism.[30] There has also been a change in the way in which most reporting takes

place. Prior to the commercialization and the growing involvement of big business in sports, there were attempts at creative writing.[31] This has widely given way to uncritical and unoriginal reporting that delivers sports as staged, entertainment mega-events to fans.[32] There are, of course, exceptions, one of which will be discussed later.

Not Only the Toy Department

For many years, sports journalism was not considered a serious genre of news media, leading to the cliché that sports is the toy department of the news media.[33] However, sports journalism has attracted some of the finest writers, including literary journalists.[34] This crossover between literary journalism and sports journalism has been widespread in the United States. It is much less prevalent in Germany and, as such, German sports literary journalism is an aspect that has—at best—been under-researched. It is thus helpful to look toward the United States to gain an understanding of sports literary journalism.

Gay Talese, whom Tom Wolfe once described as "the founder of the New Journalism,"[35] started his career in journalism as a sports reporter for his high school newspaper. What attracted Talese was that sports could be used as a metaphor for life. "Athletes go through the emotions that people feel throughout their lives. They have moments of despair and failure, and they have moments of success. By looking at sport[s], you can understand human nature in the raw."[36]

Literary journalism historian John Hartsock has identified other writers, such as Ring Lardner, as pioneers of literary sports journalism.[37] Long before Talese, Lardner "wrote social reportage, sketches of baseball personalities, as well as short stories, embodying how the genre of literary journalism 'found an outlet among newspaper columnists who had liberties that conventional hard news reporters often did not.' "[38] Not being bound by the news cycle, free to choose their own style, some early sports writers used techniques employed more frequently in fiction than journalism. Ted Geltner and Ted Spiker describe it as a "no-consequence, just-for-entertainment realm of sports coverage [that] allowed creativity to flourish to an immense degree and produced some of the finest craftsmen in the grand tradition of American literary journalism."[39]

Arnold Hano followed Lardner. Hano's writing career began in earnest when he attended the first game of the 1954 World Baseball Series between the Cleveland Indians and the New York Giants, hosted by the Giants at the Polo Grounds in the Bronx. Inspired by the action of the game—specifically Giants center fielder Willie Mays's backhanded catch in the eighth inning,

which is regarded as one of the greatest plays in baseball history[40]—Hano decided to write a magazine piece that ballooned to 10,000 words. As the *New Yorker* seemed his only viable option for publishing such a piece, he took it there. The editors read it and said "they liked it," but said "it wasn't right."[41]

Hano decided to expand the piece into a book, *A Day in the Bleachers*, which Geltner and Spiker have described as, "for its time, a sparkling work of technical innovation."[42] Hano included characters from both "the stands and on the field." [He] "built tension related to the action of the game . . . interlaced with vignettes that created personal connections to the players involved." And he expanded his story to include:

> . . . details that at first glance would have seemed far too incidental for mention in immediate news coverage of the game. 'The Catch' became a chapter unto itself, built entirely around Mays's pursuit of [Cleveland outfielder] Wertz's towering shot and the subsequent throw. . . . Today, it's easy to recognize *A Day in the Bleachers* for what it is: longform literary journalism . . . . [43]

The year Hano witnessed Willie Mays's catch, *Sports Illustrated* launched.[44] "From the beginning," Geltner and Spiker write, "the project had a literary bent. In its first three years, the magazine ran pieces by Ernest Hemingway on hunting, John Steinbeck on fishing, Robert Frost on the Major League Baseball All-Star Game, and William Faulkner on the Kentucky Derby."[45] The magazine also introduced a special feature called "the bonus piece," which "showcase[d] . . . its most literate and accomplished writing."[46] The bonus piece gave voice to Paul Gallico and George Plimpton, writers who engaged in experiential or participatory journalism to get their stories. For instance, world heavyweight boxing champion Jack Dempsey knocked Gallico out,[47] and Bobby Jones played golf with him. Plimpton briefly played with National Football League teams, the Detroit Lions and the Baltimore Colts—now the Indianapolis Colts—and tried his luck goaltending for the National Hockey League team, the Boston Bruins.[48]

Talese was (and is) not the only New Journalist "drawn to sports because of the drama that unfolded and the scenes that could be re-created from both the competition and the human side of sports."[49] These writers introduced a new style of sports writing.

> Whereas much of sportswriting revolved around the games, players, and scores, the New Journalists opened up the playing field for the audience—as the writers took readers to places they never had access to before: into people's homes and conversations, behind previously closed doors, and inside the minds of people whom readers cared about. This level of detailed and point-of-view reporting and writing would be the springboard for today's longform narrative pieces.[50]

David Dowling identifies Hunter S. Thompson as another New Journalist who was in his element writing about sports.[51] Thompson's "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved," reflects Thompson's Gonzo writing—his offshoot from the New Journalism—that marks his style.[52] Dowling describes Thompson's "Kentucky Derby" as literary sports writing (in contrast to literary sports journalism) and as "a wildly embellished and fabricated work of journalism deeply engrained in the tall tale tradition."[53] Comparing Thompson and the Tall Tale Tradition, Caron writes, rather provocatively,

> Hunter S. Thompson is a liar. I don't mean he is the "lumbering and slovenly" kind of liar that Mark Twain deplored in his essay "On the Decay of the Art of Lying." Far from it. I mean Thompson is a spit-polished, copper-bottomed, double boiler yarnspinner, capable of steaming against the strongest current of truth imaginable and swelling the heart of Mark Twain with envy and admiration. For both writers, facts are just so much cord-wood fuel for the imagination.[54]

Talese might be included with Hunter Thompson—as well as David Foster Wallace, who wrote extensively about tennis—as a group of writers whom King describes as "occasional sportswriters,"[55] who bring an outsider's view to the world of sports journalism.

The Accidental Literary Journalist

Ronald Reng became a literary journalist by accident. Like Talese, who often chooses obscure subjects for his books, Reng has written about individuals who do not fit typical or expected criteria of being book worthy. His first book, *Der Traumhüter: Die unglaubliche Geschichte eines Torwarts,* was published in 2002 in German and, two years later, in English, as *Keeper of Dreams: One Man's Controversial Story of Life in the English Premiership*.[56] The book tells the story of goalkeeper Lars Leese, who, despite never playing in Germany at the highest level, spent two seasons as a professional in the highest league in England, only to disappear back into German football oblivion.

Leese himself had engaged Reng to write a book about his life. It was an idea the goalkeeper's friends had been encouraging, but Leese had been uncertain about doing—even though he and Reng had known each other since Reng's time reporting from England. When asked, Reng accepted the invitation. It would be Reng's first foray into what he calls a narrative nonfiction book.

The book was widely praised, and the English edition won the Best Biography category in the 2004 British Sports Book Awards.[57] Nonetheless, Reng had little interest in pursuing more longform sports writing. Instead, he concentrated on sports journalism.

> I thoroughly enjoyed writing for daily papers. The adrenaline. Working to deadlines. The feeling that something very important was taking place and I was directly involved. This directness and the presence of journalism fascinated me. And at the same time, I tried to become the next J. M. Coetzee and wrote novels. But book readers and book buyers thought otherwise, and the novels were not bought. I had no interest in doing more creative sports writing. Until I was practically forced to do so in 2009.[58]

That year, 2009, the German international goalkeeper Robert Enke, who suffered from depression for much of his life, committed suicide. Enke's widow and two of his best friends asked Reng to write a book about him. Reng, who knew the goalkeeper from Barcelona, where both had lived for a while, agreed. *Robert Enke: Ein allzu kurzes Leben* was published in 2010. Two years later, in 2012, the book was published in English translation. *A Life Too Short: The Tragedy of Robert Enke* marked Reng's return to longform sports writing after a decade away.

Reng has picked up the pace since then. He next wrote *Spieltage: Die andere Geschichte der Bundesliga* (2013), which was translated and published in English two years later, in 2015, as *Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*.[59] Of the book, Reng said he wanted both to tell the story of the history of the German professional football league, Bundesliga, and the book to be published in 2013, when the Bundesliga went into its fiftieth season. He chose Heinz Höher, who worked as a player, coach, and manager in the Bundesliga, for the *Matchdays* narrative.[60] *Mroskos Talente: Das erstaunliche Leben eines Bundesliga-Scouts* (Mrosko's talents: The incredible life of a Bundesliga scout), followed in 2016[61]; *Warum wir laufen* (Why we run), in 2018,[62] and *Miro: Die Biografie* (Miro: the biography), in 2019.[63] *Miro* is a biography of former Germany international football player Miroslav Klose, who holds the record for the most goals scored in the World Cup finals. Reng's latest book was published in 2021. For *Der große Traum: Drei Jungs wollen in die Bundesliga* (The big dream: three boys want to go to the Bundesliga) he followed three teenagers for nine years as they embark on their dream journey to become professional footballers. He is currently working on a book around the 1974 World Cup.

Like Talese, Reng chooses as his subjects those whose stories would otherwise not be told. Talese wrote about the likes of dentist Dr. Walter H. Jacobs, who, when he "sees a fighter get banged on the mouth, hit in the teeth or butted on the gums, immediately begins to worry—not about the fighter, but about the fighter's mouthpiece,"[64] or Tito Infanti, "who from a distance looks no larger than a fifth of Scotch, [but] is one of the nation's fastest, smartest and richest midget wrestlers."[65] However, Talese also wrote about the stars of the games, particularly of boxing. And, like Tom Wolfe, one of whose first sto-

ries for *Esquire* was about Cassius Clay,[66] Talese wrote several pieces about the heavyweight world champion, including a piece for *Esquire* when he accompanied the boxer post-retirement on a trip to Havana to meet Fidel Castro.[67]

Despite writing about stars, who included Muhammad Ali, Joe DiMaggio, or Floyd Patterson, it was the stories like the ones about the dentist and the wrestler that Talese considers his most important:

> They were the most gratifying. Because if it were not for me, those people would not be known in a way that they became remembered. They become part of an anthology. They get an obituary because they are known a little bit. Were it not for my interviews with them, they would not maybe get as much of an obituary, or an obituary at all. Of course, if they were prize fighters, they would have an obituary. They're professional, they have a ranking, they have a place in the history of the game. But those unknown people, some of them I wrote about, and they became known because that story was reprinted again and again and again. They became part of a literary category. Granted, based on journalism, but also supported by storytelling technique, which is an element of fiction.[68]

Many of the subjects Reng chooses for his books are—like Talese's dentist and wrestler—the underdogs of the sporting world. They are people few would have heard about, had it not been for his writing. The goalkeeper Leese, for instance, was not exactly a household name. He played nine first-division football matches in his entire career, which spanned fourteen years. His other 101 league games were played in the German lower leagues. Reng's book *Spieltage: Die andere Geschichte der Bundesliga* (*Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*) tells the story of Heinz Höher, who had an equally indistinguishable—and unsuccessful—but lengthy career as a player and manager in German football, winning nothing as a player or coach.[69] In *Mroskos Talente: Das erstaunliche Leben eines Bundesliga-Scouts* (Mrosko's talents: the incredible life of a Bundesliga scout), Reng tells the story of Lars Mrosko, a football scout who, were it not for Reng's book, likely would have remained virtually unknown.[70]

For Reng, the importance of telling stories like the ones about Leese, Höher, and Mrosko is that he uses them to tell a larger story:

> I am fascinated by people more than things. That's why I always want to write about people. This is essential for me. There are really great books, especially in science. There are great nonfiction books that really come to grips with the subject. For instance, "How do I arrange shelves?" or something like that. That's not me. People are the most interesting thing for me. I write books when I meet a person and I have the feeling that, on the one hand, [that person has] an extremely interesting individual story, but you

> can also perhaps understand the bigger picture through [the] individual story. That would be, for example, if a historian says, "I want to write about the Second World War," but then [looks] for a soldier or a general or a politician and ostensibly tells [that person's] story because it [is] as exciting [as] how the soldier, general, or politician fought against Hitler. Maybe he was just a little cog in the wheel, but the historian can tell the big picture through the individual story. That, for me, is the perfect book.[71]

It is a perspective that Reng addresses directly in *Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*, when he writes: "Would we not learn so much more about the Bundesliga by telling the story of a single man, rather than yet again summoning up all the characters, goals and tables?"[72]

Setting Scenes and Giving Details

Wolfe identified several techniques that literary journalists use in their work, with the primary one being writing scenes.

> The basic one was scene-by-scene construction, telling the story by moving from scene to scene and resorting as little as possible to sheer historical narrative. Hence the sometimes extraordinary feats of reporting that the new journalists undertook: so that they could actually witness the scenes in other people's lives as they took place . . . .[73]

Despite his preference for chronological narration, Reng often makes use of this device in his books.[74] In *A Life Too Short: The Tragedy of Robert Enke*, he starts the book with a conversation between Enke and his wife shortly before her birthday in 2009. Reng describes how Teresa Enke asks her husband for a poem for her birthday and how he then struggles to find the right words—at first.

> The words he puts down on the paper look bent and rough—he hardly ever uses his valuable goalkeeper's fingers to write. But in his head the words start forming rhymes more and more quickly, and he's filled with joy—not like the flood of happiness he experiences when he steers a difficult shot over the bar, quite gentle, but so intense that Robert has to keep on writing, in the office, in the hotel the evening before a Bundesliga match, on scraps of note-paper, on the backs of bills. Sometimes, if he has no paper to hand, he taps his ideas into his mobile phone. By the time the big day, 18 February 2009, arrives he has written 104 lines.[75]

Reng then goes forward in time to Enke's suicide, before making another leap to Teresa's first birthday since Enke's death, all while describing the scene. In order to create the scene, Reng does meticulous research as he attempts to bring the scene to life by reconstructing the details. In so doing, he is recreating history.[76] Despite not having a set formula for his books, he generally prefers following a chronological order.

> I use that because I find it is the easiest for sports book readers, and it is the best way to follow the development of the narration. For example, in England, it got out of hand with many authors wanting to be super-creative in their writing, and they then gave themselves an insane or an artificially complicated structure. I don't think it's necessary. Coetzee is again the best example. He stands out with his elegance and simplicity. I had the impression that in some cases, in England, the desire to not follow chronological narration is exaggerated.[77]

Another device employed in literary journalism is dialogue[78] and, again, it is one Reng makes use of. Whenever he can, he attempts to introduce dialogue he was party to. He goes to great lengths getting interviews. An example of this technique can be found in Reng's book about the last fifty years of the Bundesliga (*Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*). In the 1970s, a match-fixing scandal wracked German football, and German international goalkeeper Manfred Manglitz was one of the players implicated. After being found guilty of match fixing, Manglitz was banned for life from the sport. He moved to Spain and gave few interviews, trying to put the scandal behind him. Reng, however, used a lengthy dialogue with Manglitz, based on an interview with him in Spain.

The approach Reng uses to introduce his interviews is interesting. Manglitz first appears on page twenty-three of *Matchdays*, as a teammate. Ten pages later, Reng tells the reader Manglitz's thoughts. It is only on page 137 that it becomes apparent Reng interviewed him in Spain.

> Manfred Manglitz, who, after all, could cope with anything, accepted these insults stoically. It's only 40 years later, in Villajoyosa Bay that he says: "Did it hurt? What do you think?"
>
> In the 1970s, when Manfred Manglitz was on holiday at the Costa Blanca and saw the mighty blue light that flowed straight from the heavens into the sea, he knew: this was where he wanted to live.
>
> There are only a couple of tennis courts and a fine, sandy beach between his home and the sea. By now, he's spent almost half his life in Villajoyosa.[79]

However, it is not always possible to get interviews. In *A Life Too Short: The Tragedy of Robert Enke*, Reng uses three main sources to reconstruct some of the dialogue throughout the book. First, he had access to Enke's diaries, in which Enke wrote about his struggles with depression. Second, Reng uses his own conversations, including, for instance, one with Enke on the day he committed suicide. Third, Reng uses Enke's conversations with friends and family after being told of this dialogue. Because Reng was doing the book with Enke's widow's full support, friends and acquaintances of the goalkeeper were eager to talk to him.[80]

The third device Wolfe identifies is the "so-called 'third-person point of view,' " which Wolfe describes as

> . . . the technique of presenting every scene to the reader through the eyes of a particular character, giving the reader the feeling of being inside the character's mind and experiencing the emotional reality of the scene as he experiences it. . . . Yet how could a journalist, writing nonfiction, accurately penetrate the thoughts of another person?
>
> The answer proved to be marvelously simple: interview him about his thoughts and emotions, along with everything else. This was what Gay Talese did in order to write *Honor Thy Father*."[81]

In *Miro*, his biography about Miroslav Klose, Reng begins the book by telling the reader Klose's thoughts:

> If there is a country road in addition to the trees, then he can look at cars. From up there, he accurately recognizes the passing models. A Golf 3, the A-Class from Mercedes, a black BMW M3. He would like to have a car like that. He talks about cars to his work colleagues a lot. But he doesn't talk to anyone about the moments when he looks out over the world from the roof ridge. You don't talk about such things. He feels it. Silently. For himself.[82]

Reng feels confident sharing Klose's feelings with the reader because he has invested so much time into understanding Klose.[83]

Reng is also not opposed to bringing himself into the story, despite feeling uncomfortable about it:

> I don't have a problem bringing myself in. This journalistic reflex of not becoming part of the story is automatically turned off when I write books. This is where the creative reflex comes in. I try to get in as little as possible—unlike Norman Mailer, for instance. He wrote [in *The Fight*] more about himself than about Joe Frazier and Muhammad Ali. And I strictly reject that. The author has to be an observer. He can only appear if it is really relevant to the story. In the case of Robert Enke, we were so close that I had certain situations with him or that he sent me via text message at the time. I had to get involved in those situations. But I try to make myself as small as possible and as big as necessary.[84]

Another technique Wolfe associates with New Journalism is what he calls "*status life*":

> [This] has always been the least understood. This is the recording of everyday gestures, habits, manners, customs, styles of furniture, clothing, decoration, styles of traveling, eating, keeping house, modes of behaving toward children, servants, superiors, inferiors, peers, plus the various looks, glances, poses, styles of walking and other symbolic details that might exist within a scene."[85]

To be able to do this, Reng engages in research—serious research:

> For me, research is probably, despite all creativity, despite all creative writing, the most important part of my work. I try to find an incredible amount of details. For the book about Heinz Höher [*Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*], for example, I spent weeks in the archives in Bochum, where he was a coach. I had to write out everything by hand as there were no mobile photos at the time, and I was not allowed to make copies. I recorded at least 150 hours of tape with him, all of which I listened to. I am not sure how many, but I met [with] at least fifty other people and then, of course, there is all the time invested in thinking about the project. For instance, I thought perhaps it is also important for me to meet the VfL Bochum [the football club Höher coached] secretary, even if many journalists would think, well, she's not a famous personality. But for me, it's about depicting everyday life at different times in the books. So that is the deepest work, the research. The rest is writing."[86]

An example of using these intimate details is in *Matchdays*, where Reng writes: "In the living room of Höher's family home, 26 Kaulbachstraße, the grey plastic telephone rings. You can get brightly coloured telephones these days, but the post office wants one mark ten extra per month for them."[87] The scene he is describing is from early 1976, yet he shares with the reader the color of the telephone. During his research Reng read a newspaper article from the late 1970s that the German Federal Post Office was offering orange telephones. From that he deduced that the phone could only have been grey or white. Then he asked Höher what color their phone had been. Reng used the information he received in his book.

There are also some inherent dangers in pursuing such details. Enke's widow, Teresa, told him of a time when her husband was playing in Lisbon and did not want to leave the hotel room, as he was anxious. To recreate the scene, Reng visited the Lisbon hotel room where the Enkes had stayed. He then used his observations of objects, such as the grey armchair in the room, to describe the scene. Yet there was no way to know for certain whether the decor had been changed. Nine years had passed since the incident.[88]

A Pioneering Legacy

Despite the success of his books, selling between 30,000 and 300,000 copies and being translated into several languages, Reng does not see himself as a pioneer of a wave of German sports literary journalists. Far from it, he sees no wave.[89] Instead, if there is a tendency among German sports journalists—football journalists, particularly—it is towards technical writing. In part, it is being forced on journalists because football clubs now tend to isolate their players from the many reporters who clamor for human inter-

est stories. But it is also true that the early twenty-first-century emphasis is on data and analysis. Journalists need to demonstrate expertise and depth, explaining, for instance, why the German professional football club Bayern Munich would have suddenly switched to a three-man defense in the second half of a game and what space they would then have available. This is a trend Reng is not interested in following.[90]

West German and then German football had by the end of the twentieth century earned a reputation for its ruthless—some would say mechanical[91]—flair for playing the game. The journalism of the time followed in this wake, sticking to a rote commentary of the game, in forms akin to a rehearsed training ground set-piece. As the West German style of play took on more flair and inventiveness, Reng broke rank and began to write with imagination, bringing the full psyche of the player to bear, while expanding the script beyond the field of play and into the social relations and personal lives that lay beyond it. While not overwhelming the strict, technical, and pedestrian writing style, Reng "red-carded" this way of writing and, having thus gone against the norms of traditional sports writing, began experimenting with new formations that inspired a generation. There was push-back: more agents shadowed their star players to protect them from journalists' prying questions; and changerooms—once-reliable locations in which to conduct interviews—have become less accessible.

But, as Reng's work shows, the public has had an appetite for more than just the headlines of big transfers and the technical aspects of the game. Reng's pioneering legacy has continued. Future studies may evidence the extent to which his legacy lives on.

Peter Auf der Heyde teaches sports journalism at Solent University, United Kingdom, and is senior research associate at the Centre for Sociological Research and Practice at the University of Johannesburg. He introduced a literary journalism module for journalism and sports journalism students at Solent and is currently writing a book on judicial political executions during Apartheid in South Africa. A previous book, Has Anybody Got a Whistle*, chronicles his travels throughout Africa in pursuit of football stories. His research areas include literary journalism, the criminal justice system, and the sociology of sports.*

Notes

[1] Throughout this text, the international term *football* is used, rather than the U.S. term *soccer*.

[2] Hungary arrived at the 1954 World Cup finals on the back of an unbeaten run of twenty-six matches, going back five years. They added four more before being beaten by Germany in the final. Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation. Hungary's series of 30 matches is unbeaten.

[3] Although the Dutch club Ajax Amsterdam and the Dutch national team in the early 1970s are widely accredited with having come up with the concept of total football, in which every out-outfield player can take on any position, the Hungarians (and some other teams) in essence played total football before the concept existed.

[4] Murray, "The Cruyff Turn Is Born in 1974," para. 7.

[5] Winkler (journalist), email interview with author, May 30, 2023.

[6] Capham, "A Look Inside: The German Football Machine," para. 1.

[7] Winkler, email interview with author.

[8] Winkler.

[9] Winkler.

[10] Christof Biermann (author), Berlin, Germany, interview with author, August 11, 2020.

[11] Hecker, "Aus der Tiefe des Raumes" [From the depths of space], *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt), November 2, 2019, para. 1. Original quotes: "Warum gibt es angeblich so wenige gute literarische Erzählungen zum Sport?" "Weil er keine zweite Ebene hat." Unless otherwise noted, title and other translations are mine.

[12] For a systematic overview of the historical development of literary journalism in Germany, see Boven, "Tracing the History of Literary Journalism in Germany: Developments, Challenges, and Trends," pages 20–59, in this issue.

[13] The terms *New Journalism* and *literary journalism* are used interchangeably in this essay, as, within the confines of the form of sports writing discussed, these terms describe the same style of writing.

[14] Others who have a similar writing style are Raphael Honigstein, Christopher Meltzer, and Christoph Biermann.

[15] The quote is generally attributed to U.S. tennis player Billie Jean King, whose thirty-nine Grand Slam titles record (twelve singles, sixteen doubles, and eleven mixed doubles) is surpassed only by Australian Margaret Court (sixty-four titles) and Czech/American Martina Navratilova (fifty-nine titles). The date when she first used the phrase seems to be unclear, though in an article published in *Sports Illustrated* in 2010, King is credited with having said that "sports is a microcosm of society." Frey and Eitzen, however, used the phrase "sport . . . is a microcosm of society" in their article, "Sport and Society," published in the *Annual Review of Sociology* (1991): 504.

[16] *Allgemeine Turn Zeitung* [General gymnastics paper]; Wipper, "Sportpresse unter Druck" [Sports journalism under pressure], 128.

[17] Thieme, "Die Sportberichterstattung im Wandel der Zeit" [Sports reporting in changing times], 8.

[18] Surprisingly, football, today the most popular sport in Germany by far, was one of the last to have its own publication. *Der Fußball* (The football) was first published in 1894. It lasted as a football magazine just one year, before being turned into a general sports magazine. It was only in 1911 that a new football magazine [*Fußball*] managed to establish itself on the sports market. Hauer, *Sportjournalismus in Deutschland*, 33.

[19] Blöbaum, "Sport," *Journalismus als soziales System* [Journalism as a social system], 305–307.

[20] Blöbaum, 306.

[21] Hauer, *Sportjournalismus in Deutschland. Vom Marktschreier bis zum Missionar* [Sports Journalism in Germany. From Barkers to Missionaries], 33.

[22] Müller, *Von Kampfmaschinen und Ballkünstlern* [Of Combat Machines and Ball Artists], 70.

[23] Wipper, "Sportpresse unter Druck" [Sports journalism under pressure], 129.

[24] Blöbaum, "Literatur und Joumalismus" [Literature and joumalism], 23–24.

[25] Wipper, "Sportpresse unter Druck" [Sports journalism under pressure], 128.

[26] Hauer, *Sportjournalismus in Deutschland* [Sports journalism in Germany], 38.

[27] Hauer, 38.

[28] Eckardt, "Fußballnationaltrainer Jürgen Klinsmann auf dem Weg zur WM 2006" [National soccer coach Jürgen Klinsmann on the way to the 2006 World Cup], para. 2; Hauer, "Sportjournalismus in Deutschland," 38.

[29] Hauer, *Sportjournalismus in Deutschland* [Sports journalism in Germany], 39.

[30] Hauer, 39.

[31] Reng, interview with author.

[32] Schmalenbach, "Qualität im Sportjournalismus" [Quality in sports journalism], 347.

[33] The statement that the sports department is the toy department of the news media is variously credited to sports journalist Howard Cosell, with the original quote reported as "Sports is the toy department of human life." Lavine, Replays, *Chicago* (Illinois) *Tribune Magazine*, September 3, 1989, 6; Rowe, "Sports Journalism: Still the 'Toy Department' of the News Media?" 386; Geltner and Spiker in "A Short, Comprehensive History of Literary Sports Journalism," 301, attribute the quote to sportswriter Jimmy Cannon, as does Cosell in the prologue to his autobiographical, *I Never Played the Game*. Cosell wrote, "Once I bought the Jimmy Cannon dictum that "Sports is the Toy Department of life. I don't now and never will again," 16.

[34] Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity*, 115–18; Rowe, "Sports Journalism: Still the 'Toy Department' of the News Media?" 385–405.

[35] Boynton, "Gay Talese," 361.

[36] Talese, interview with author.

[37] Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 171.

[38] Hartsock, 35; Dowling, "Re-Branding Literary Sportswriting: ESPN's Venture into Fiction," 127.

[39] Geltner and Spiker, "A Short, Comprehensive History of Literary Sports Journalism," 301.

[40] Morgan, "The Catch Still Amazes," para. 13.

[41] Waddles, "Bronx Banter Interview: Arnold Hano Part II," para. 38; Geltner and Spiker, "A Short, Comprehensive History of Literary Sports Journalism," 300.

[42] Hano, *A Day in the Bleachers*; Geltner and Spiker, "A Short, Comprehensive History of Literary Sports Journalism," 301.

[43] Geltner and Spiker, 301.

[44] Geltner and Spiker, 304.

[45] Geltner and Spiker, 304–305.

[46] Geltner and Spiker, 305.

[47] Geltner and Spiker, 302.

[48] McKeen, *Stranger Than Fiction: The Art of Literary Journalism*, 42–43.

[49] Geltner and Spiker, 304.

[50] Geltner and Spiker, 304.

[51] Dowling, "Re-Branding Literary Sportswriting: ESPN's Venture into Fiction," 123.

[52] Winston, "The Gonzo Text," 130.

[53] Dowling, "Re-Branding Literary Sportswriting: ESPN's Venture into Fiction," 126.

[54] Caron, "Hunter S. Thompson's 'Gonzo' Journalism and the Tall Tale Tradition in America," 1, quoting Twain, "On the Decay of the Art of Lying," 221. Caron argues that "the similarities and differences between what Tom Wolfe calls New Journalism, what Hunter S. Thompson calls Gonzo Journalism, and what Mark Twain would call a Tall Tale," allow an understanding of how "Thompson can be professional at both reporting and lying," 1. D'Agata and Fingal, *Lifespan of a Fact*, have argued there is scope for artistic embellishment in literary journalism. This essay takes the view put forward by scholars such as Gutkind, who has argued that within literary journalism, there is no room for deviation from the truth. Gutkind, "Truth Or . . . ," 14–17.

[55] King, "The Spirituality of Sport and the Role of the Athlete in the Tennis Essays of David Foster Wallace," 219–21.

[56] Reng, *Der Traumhüter*, 2002, and Reng, *Keeper of Dreams*, 2004.

[57] Sportsbookawards, "Previous Winners."

[58] Reng, interview with author.

[59] Reng, *Spieltage*; Reng, *Matchdays.*

[60] Reng, interview with author.

[61] Reng, *Mroskos Talente*. [Mrosko's talents].

[62] Reng, *Warum wir laufen* [Why we run].

[63] Reng, *Miro: Die Biografie* [Miro: The biography].

[64] Talese, "Dentist Puts the Bite in the Fight," 38.

[65] Talese, "Troupe of Midget Wrestlers Won't Work for Small Change," S-5.

[66] Wolfe, "The Marvelous Mouth of Cassius Clay." Clay later changed his name to Muhammad Ali and in his time was considered one of the best boxers—if not the best—of all time.

[67] Talese, "Ali in Havana: When the Champ met Castro"; Talese, "Boxing Fidel," 138–47.

[68] Talese, interview with author.

[69] Reng, *Spieltage: Die andere Geschichte der Bundesliga* [*Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*].

[70] Reng, *Mroskos Talente* [Mrosko's talents].

[71] Reng, interview with author (edited for clarity).

[72] Reng, *Matchdays*, 14.

[73] Wolfe, "Why They Aren't Writing the Great American Novel Anymore," 158.

[74] Reng, interview with author.

[75] Reng, *A Life Too Short*, 10.

[76] Reng, interview with author.

[77] Reng.

[78] Wolfe, "Why They Aren't Writing the Great American Novel Anymore," 158.

[79] Reng, *Matchdays*, 134.

[80] Reng, interview with author.

[81] Wolfe, "Why They Aren't Writing the Great American Novel Anymore," 158; Talese, *Honor Thy Father*.

[82] Reng, *Miro*, 9, 10. "If there is a country road in addition to the trees, then he can look at cars. From up there, he accurately recognizes the passing models. A Golf 3, the A-Class from Mercedes, a black BMW M3. He would like to have a car like that. He talks about cars to his work colleagues a lot. But he doesn't talk to anyone about the moments when he looks out over the world from the roof ridge. You don't talk about such things. He feels it. Silently. For himself."

[83] Reng, interview with author.

[84] Reng; Mailer, *The Fight*.

[85] Wolfe, "Why They Aren't Writing the Great American Novel Anymore," 158.

[86] Reng, interview with author.

[87] Reng, *Matchdays*, 3.

[88] Reng, interview with author.

[89] Reng.

[90] Reng.

[91] Winkler, email interview with author.

Bibliography

Aucoin, James, L. "Epistemic Responsibility and Narrative Theory: The Literary Journalism of Ryszard Kapuściński." *Journalism* 2, no. 1 (2001): 5–21.

Biermann, Christoph. Journalist and author, chief reporter of XI Freunde [XI Friends]. Interview with author, Berlin, Germany, August 11, 2020.

Blöbaum, Bernd. "Literatur und Joumalismus: Zur Struktur und zum Verhaltnis von zwei Systemen" [Literature and joumalism: to the structure and the relationship between two systems], in *Literatur und Journalismus: Theorie, Kontexte, Fallstudien* [Literature and journalism: theory, contexts, case studies], edited by Bernd Blöbaum and Stefan Neuhaus, 23–51. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2003.

———. "Sport." *Journalismus als soziales System. Geschichte, Ausdifferenzierung und Verselbständigung*, 305–307. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994.

Boven, Christine. "A Comparison of Australian and German Literary Journalism." PhD diss., Edith Cowan University, 2013.

———. "Tracing the History of Literary Journalism in Germany: Developments, Challenges, and Trends," in this issue pages 20–59.

Boynton, Robert S. "Gay Talese." In *The New New Journalism: Conversations with America's Best Nonfiction Writers on their Craft*, 361–78. New York: Vintage Books, 2005.

Capham, Alex. "A Look Inside: The German Football Machine." Caño Football, 2016. Accessed June 15, 2021. https://www.canofootball.com/articles/look-inside-german-football-machine/.

Caron, James E. "Hunter S. Thompson's 'Gonzo' Journalism and the Tall Tale Tradition in America." *Studies in Popular Culture* 8, no. 1 (1985): 1–16. Accessed June 15, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23412909.

Cosell, Howard, with Peter Bonventre. *I Never Played the Game*. New York: Morrow, 1985.

D'Agata, John, and Jim Fingal. *The Lifespan of a Fact.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012.

Dowling, David. "Re-Branding Literary Sportswriting: ESPN's Venture into Fiction." *Aethlon: The Journal of Sport Literature* 30, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2013): 123–40.

Eckardt, Maik. *Fußballnationaltrainer* Jürgen Klinsmann auf dem *Weg zur WM 2006: Seine Arbeit im Fokus der deutschen Presse* [National soccer coach Jürgen Klinsmann on the way to the 2006 World Cup: An analysis of the reporting of selected daily newspapers and the sports magazine Kicker in the study period from July 2004 to May 2006]. Master's thesis. Munich: GRIN, 2007. Accessed May 12, 2021. https://www.grin.com/document/77075.

Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich von, ed. *Exquisiter Sportjournalismus: Artikel und Analysen aus drei Jahrzehnten—ausgezeichnet mit dem Theodor-Wolff-Preis* [Exquisite sports journalism: Articles and analyses from three decades—awarded the Theodor Wolff Prize]. Berlin: Vistas, 1993.

Fleder, Rob, ed. *Sports Illustrated: Fifty Years of Great Writing*, Sports Illustrated,

1954–2004. New York: Sports Illustrated Books, 2003.

Frey, James H., and D. Stanley Eitzen. "Sport and Society." *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (1991): 503–522.

Frütel, Sybille. *Toy Department for Men: Eine empirische Studie zum internationalen Sportjournalismus* [Toy department for men: an empirical study on international sports journalism]. Pulheim: MedienSportVerlag, 2005.

Geltner, Ted, and Ted Spiker. "A Short, Comprehensive History of Literary Sports Journalism." In *The Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*, edited by William E. Dow and Roberta S. Maguire, 300–311. New York: Routledge, 2020.

Görner, Felix. *Vom Außenseiter zum Aufsteiger: Ergebnisse der ersten repräsentativen Befragung von Sportjournalisten in Deutschland* [From outsider to climber: Results of the first representative survey of sports journalists in Germany]. Berlin: Vistas, 1995.

Gutkind, Lee. Email interview with author, February 18, 2018.

———. *You Can't Make This Stuff Up: The Complete Guide to Writing Creative Nonfiction—From Memoir to Literary Journalism and Everything in Between.* Boston: Da Capo Lifelong Books, 2012. See esp. "Truth Or . . . ." 14–17.

Hano, Arnold. *A Day in the Bleachers*. San Francisco: DaCapo Press: 2004.

Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2000.

Hauer, Stefanie. *Sportjournalismus in Deutschland—Vom Marktschreier bis zum Missionar: Das berufliche Selbstverständnis von Sportjournalisten in Deutschland* [Sports journalism in Germany—from barkers to missionaries: the professional self-image of sports journalists in Germany]. Berlin: LIT, 2012.

Hecker, Anno. "Aus der Tiefe des Raumes" [From the depths of space]. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt), November 2, 2019. Accessed, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/70-jahre-f-a-z/sport-berichterstattung-aus-der-tiefe-des-raumes-16457299.html.

Josephi, Beate, and Christine Müller. "Differently Drawn Boundaries of the Permissible in German and Australian Literary Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 67–78.

King, Kyle R. "The Spirituality of Sport and the Role of the Athlete in the Tennis Essays of David Foster Wallace." *Communication & Sport* 6, no. 2 (2018): 219–38.

Kramer, Mark. "Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists." In *Literary Journalism: A New Collection of the Best American Nonfiction*, edited by Norman Sims and Mark Kramer, 21–34. New York: Ballantine Books, 1995.

Lavine, Cheryl. Replays. *Chicago* (Illinois) *Tribune Magazine*, September 3, 1989, 6. Accessed January 9, 2023. https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1989-09-03-8901090883-story.html.

MacCambridge, Michael. "Director's Cut: 'The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved,' by Hunter S. Thompson. Revisiting one of the Good Doctor's greatest hits." *Grantland*, May 3, 2013. Accessed June 15, 2021. https://grant-

land.com/features/looking-back-hunter-s-thompson-classic-story-kentucky-derby/.
Mailer, Norman. *The Fight*. Toronto: Little, Brown, 1975.
McKeen, William. *Stranger Than Fiction: The Art of Literary Journalism*. Prince Frederick: Recorded Books, LLC, 2010.
McQueen, Kate. "Moved to Tears: Erwin Koch and Emotional Engagement in Literary Journalism." *Recherches en Communication* 51 (2020): 21–34.
Meier, Oliver. "Literatur und Journalismus: Ein Geschwisterstreit geht ins 21. Jahrhundert" [Literature and Journalism: A Sibling Rivalry Goes into the 21st Century]. *Medienheft*, July 9, 2004: 1–10.
Morgan, Joe. "The Catch Still Amazes." *ESPN*, September 29, 2004. Accessed May 30, 2023, https://www.espn.com/mlb/columns/story?columnist=morgan_joe&id=1891302.
Müller, Jochen. *Von Kampfmaschinen und Ballkünstlern: Fremdwahrnehmung und Sportberichterstattung im deutsch-französischen Kontext; eine Presse- und Fernseh-analyse* [Of Combat Machines and Ball Artists: Foreign Perception and Sports Reporting in the German–French context; A Press and Television Analysis]. St Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2004.
Murray, Scott. "The Cruyff Turn Is Born In 1974." *The Guardian*. Accessed May 30, 2023. https://www.rsssf.org/miscellaneous/unb-hungary-29.html. 27.05.2018.
O'Brien, Greg, ed. "Serious Fun." Broadcaster, TSN–20 Years. *Broadcaster Maga-zine*, 16, no. 6 (2004): 20– 23.
Poerksen, Bernhard. "The Milieu of a Magazine: *Tempo* as an Exponent of German New Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 9–29.
Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation. Hungary's series of 30 matches unbeaten. Accessed May 30, 2023. https://www.rsssf.org/miscellaneous/unb-hungary-29.html. 2010.
Reng, Ronald. *Barça: Die Entdeckung des schönen Fußballs* [Barça: the discovery of beautiful football]. Piper Verlag: Munich, 2016.
———. *Der Traumhüter: Die unglaubliche Geschichte eines Torwarts.* Cologne: Piper, 2002. Translated by Shaun Whiteside and published in English in 2004 as *The Keeper of Dreams: One Man's Controversial Story of Life in the English Premier-ship* by Yellow Jersey Press (London).
———. Interview with author, via Zoom, January 22, 2021.
———. *The Keeper of Dreams: One Man's Controversial Story of Life in the English Premiership*. Translated by Shaun Whiteside. London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2003. First published 2002 in German as *Der Traumhüter: Die unglaubliche Geschichte eines Torwarts* by Piper (Cologne).
———. *A Life Too Short: The Tragedy of Robert Enke*. Translated by Shaun White-side. London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2011.
———. *Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga*. Translated by James Hawes. London: Simon & Schuster, 2015. First published 2013, in German as *Spielt-age: Die andere Geschichte der Bundesliga* by Piper (Munich).
———. *Miro: Die Biografie* [Miro: The biography]. Munich: Piper, 2019.

———. *Mroskos Talente: Das erstaunliche Leben eines Bundesliga-Scouts* [Mrosko's talents: the incredible life of a Bundesliga scout]. Munich: Piper, 2016.
———. *Robert Enke: Ein allzu kurzes Leben*. Munich: Piper, 2010. Published 2011 in English as *A Life Too Short: The Tragedy of Robert Enke*, by Random House (United Kingdom)
———. *Spieltage: Die andere Geschichte der Bundesliga*. Munich: Piper, 2013. Published 2015 in English as *Matchdays: The Hidden Story of the Bundesliga* by Simon & Schuster (London).
———. *Warum wir laufen* [Why we run]. Munich: Piper, 2018.
Rowe, David. *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2004.
———. "Sports Journalism: Still the 'Toy Department' of the News Media?" *Journalism* 8, no. 4 (2007): 385–405.
Schlottmann, Dirk. "Ethnografische Literatur oder literarischer Journalismus? Moritz von Uslar: Deutschboden. Eine teilnehmende Beobachtung" [Ethnographic literature or literary journalism? Moritz von Uslar: Deutschboden. A participant observation]. *DaF-Szene Korea* no. 39 (2014): 58–61.
Schmalenbach, Hanna. "Qualität im Sportjournalismus: Entwicklung eines Konzepts zur Beurteilung des Sportressorts im Print" [Quality in sports journalism: Development of a concept for assessing the sports department in print]. PhD diss., Technische Universität München [Munich], 2012.
Schürmann, Volker. "Sportjournalismus in aller Öffentlichkeit" [Sports journalism in the public eye]. *Journal für Sportkommunikation und Mediensport* 2, no. 1 (2017): 4–12.
S.I. Staff. "Billie Jean King: In Her Own Words." *Sports Illustrated*, November 30, 2010. Accessed June 3, 2023. https://www.si.com/sportsperson/2010/11/30/billiejeanking-sportsman.
Sportsbookawards. "Previous Winners." Accessed June 15, 2021. https://sportsbookawards.com/previous-winners/.
Talese, Gay. "Ali in Havana: When the Champ Met Castro." *Esquire*, September 1996. Also published as "Boxing Fidel." *Esquire*, September 1996, 138–47. Republished online as "Boxing Fidel." June 5, 2016. https://www.esquire.com/sports/a45516/muhammad-ali-boxing-fidel/.
———. "Dentist Puts the Bite in the Fight; He Is Neutral When Both Boxers Wear His Mouthpieces." *New York Times*, November 20, 1959, 38.
———. *Honor Thy Father*. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1971.
———. Interview with author. New York, March 27, 2018.
———. "Troupe of Midget Wrestlers Won't Work for Small Change; 93–Lb. Tito Infanti Receives $70,000 a Year in Ring." *New York Times*, November 30, 1958, Section S: 5.
Thieme, Christian. "Die Sportberichterstattung im Wandel der Zeit–Ein Überblick über das Sport-Medien System in Deutschland unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mediums Fernsehen und der Sendung: Das aktuelle Sportstudio" [Sports reporting in changing times—an overview of the sports media system

in Germany with special consideration of television medium and the program 'The current sports studio'] Bachelor dissertation, accessed June 3, 2023 https://monami.hs-mittweida.de/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/2320/file/Bachelorarbeit.pdf.

Thompson, Hunter S. "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved." *Scanlan's Monthly* 1, no. 4 (June 1970): 1–13. Also available from http://brianb.freeshell.org/a/kddd.pdf.

Twain, Mark. "On the Decay of the Art of Lying." In *The Stolen White Elephant Etc.*, 217–25. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1882.

Waddles, Hank. "Bronx Banter Interview: Arnold Hano Part II." *Alex Belth's Bronx Banter*, September 28, 2009. Accessed April 22, 2023. http://www.bronxbanterblog.com/2009/09/28/bronx-banter-interview-arnold-hano-part-ii/.

Winkler, Thomas (journalist). Email interview with author, May 30, 2023.

Winston, Matthew. "The Gonzo Text—The Literary Journalism of Hunter Thompson." PhD diss. Cardiff University, 2013. Accessed May 30, 2023. https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/53042/1/2013winstonmphd.pdf.

Wipper, Herdin. "Sportpresse unter Druck: Die Entwicklung der Fußballberichterstattung in den bundesdeutschen Printmedien. Eine comparative Studie am Beispiel der Fußball-Weltmeisterschaften 1990 und 1998" [Sports journalism under pressure: the development of football reporting in the German print media. A comparative study using the example of the 1990 and 1998 World Cup]. PhD diss. Free University of Berlin, 2003. Accessed http://www.diss.fu-Berlin.de/2003/220/11_teil_1_kapitel_09.pdf.

Wolfe, Tom. "The Birth of 'The New Journalism'; Eyewitness Report by Tom Wolfe: Participant Reveals Main Factors Leading to Demise of the Novel, Rise of New Style Covering Events." *New York Magazine*, February 14, 1972. Accessed via https://www.cwanderson.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Tom-Wolfe-Gives-an-Eyewitness-Report-of-the-Birth-of-The-New-Journalism-New-York-Magazine.pdf.

———. "The Marvelous Mouth of Cassius Clay." *Esquire*, May 15, 2018, as part of The Essential Tom Wolfe. https://www.esquire.com/lifestyle/a20702116/tom-wolfe-muhammad-ali-marvelous-mouth/. First published as "The Marvelous Mouth," *Esquire*, October 1963, 146ff.

———. "Why They Aren't Writing the Great American Novel Anymore: A Treatise on the Varieties of Realistic Experience." *Esquire*, December 1972, 152–59ff. Published online May 15, 2018. Accessed April 18, 2023, https://www.esquire.com/lifestyle/money/a20703846/tom-wolfe-new-jounalism-american-novel-essay/.

Claas Relotius, 2018. Image by Krd. Wikimedia Commons.

Metajournalistic Discourse on the Reportage in the Context of the Claas Relotius Affair

Ina von der Wense
University of Bamberg, Germany

Vera Katzenberger
University of Bamberg, Germany

Abstract: This study focuses on metajournalistic discourse on the reportage genre, specifically in the context of the Claas Relotius affair, a large-scale journalistic fraud at *Der Spiegel*, Germany's widest circulating weekly news magazine. Techniques of manual content analysis and automatic text analysis are combined to examine how print and online media outlets in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland covered the fraud case and discussed the role of the reportage within this case. An analysis of 240 articles from eighty different media outlets uncovered two central themes in making the reportage the subject of the discourse on the fraud case: First, journalists covering the fraud case frequently stated that fact-checking and verification processes in the context of reportages were rather challenging, especially when reportages covered events from abroad. Second, journalists covering the fraud case argued that journalism awards and the expectations of readers and editors created misguided incentives and increased the risk of reporters striving to create a literary art form, rather than focusing on accurately reporting the story. The programming language Python, employed for automatic text analysis, showed enormous potential for the analysis of metajournalistic discourse in journalism research.

Keywords: Relotius – reportage – journalistic fraud – metajournalism – content analysis – Python

Five years ago, in December 2018, the news magazine *Der Spiegel* made public that its renowned and award-winning reporter Claas Relotius had "manipulated dialogues [and quotes], invented protagonists and fabricated facts in his reports" for several years.[1] Neither the documentation and fact-checking department nor the editors-in-chief at *Der Spiegel* had noticed. Relotius had published manipulated reportages, mainly, but not exclusively, in *Der Spiegel*. Other renowned media were affected, such as *ZEIT Online*, *SZ* and *TAZ* from Germany, and *NZZ Folio* and *NZZ am Sonntag* from Switzerland. The news of this fraud case burst amidst an ongoing crisis of confidence in legacy media and heated debates about the credibility and quality of journalism in Germany.[2] Thus, the disclosure of the fraud case further fueled this discourse. Soon the reportage as a journalistic form became the focus of the discussion. Contemporary reportage, it was argued, often blurred fact and fiction and as a subjective form of representation was particularly susceptible to misrepresentation.

Taking this debate as a starting point, the present inquiry poses the following research question: How did journalists cover the Relotius fraud case, and what role did reportage play within this case? To answer this, the inquiry will view the debate as a metajournalistic discourse and address causes, contributing factors, and consequences of the fraud case, in terms of Entman's framing approach.[3] For an empirical analysis of the metajournalistic discourse, the inquiry will combine a qualitative content analysis and computerized text analysis. This mixed methods approach is used to get a multifaceted view of the media coverage. The use of computerized text analysis is still not common in journalism research, yet it is useful in this case, particularly when its results are cross validated with qualitative content analysis. This method of analysis allows for managing massive amounts of data and the large numbers of articles published on the fraud case.

The Claas Relotius Affair

Der Spiegel, founded in 1947, is a renowned German news magazine. With a current weekly circulation around 650,000 copies, it is the largest news magazine in Europe. Its exposure of political scandals and what is commonly referred to in Germany as the *Der Spiegel* affair of 1962, when the magazine was accused of high treason after publishing a critical article about the nation's defense forces, only further secured its reputation. *Der Spiegel* is also well-known for its fact-checking department (*Dokumentationsabteilung*). In its editorial statute *Der Spiegel* points out that the magazine aims to have its articles rigorously reviewed and double-checked by this department.[4] Which texts are verified by this department is clarified by the editors-in-chief.[5] Despite these copyediting processes, in December 2018, the journalistic fraud of

Claas Relotius, an award-winning journalist and reporter at *Der Spiegel*, was made public. The managing editor of the editorial department for reportages (*Gesellschaftsressort*), in an extensive online article, informed the *Der Spiegel* audience about Relotius's journalistic fraud.[6] The next print edition, which carried the cover line, "Reporting the Truth" (*Sagen, was ist*)—the motto of *Der Spiegel* founder Rudolf Augstein—devoted twenty-three pages and six articles to the case.[7] In May 2019, a public report containing the conclusions of an internal investigation commission reconstructed the case in great detail.[8] Because of this report and other studies—for instance, by Eberwein,[9] Nowak, and Altmeppen,[10] or Hoffmann and Russ-Mohl[11]—the following details are known.

The first suspicions regarding the veracity of Relotius's reportages emerged in November 2018, when Relotius's freelance colleague Juan Moreno addressed his doubts about the authenticity of some facts in the reportage "Jaegers Grenze."[12] Moreno and Relotius had worked on the story together, but they researched separately. Moreno began to investigate Relotius's contributions to the co-bylined story and found evidence of fabrications in "Jaegers Grenze" and in other reportages. Moreno showed that Relotius had both included protagonists Relotius had never met or spoken to and made up entire quotes and dialogues. When *Der Spiegel*'s management eventually confronted Relotius with Moreno's allegations, Relotius confessed.[13]

Until then, Relotius had been a renowned, award-winning reporter. After writing his first articles for *Der Spiegel* as a freelancer in 2011, he became an editor and reporter in the Gesellschaft section of *Der Spiegel* magazine in 2017. The Gesellschaft section is one of the most prestigious editorial units in the magazine. Its reporters mainly work on reportages, and Relotius soon became one of the most successful journalists in the unit.[14] Several reportages, both before and after he joined the Gesellschaft section, including "Der Mörder als Pfleger" (2013), "Nummer 440" (2016), and "Ein Kinderspiel" (2018), won prestigious journalism awards. Ironically, juries praised his reportages for their "unparalleled lightness, intimacy and relevance that is never silent regarding the sources on which it is based."[15]

In its public report, *Der Spiegel*'s internal investigating commission documented Relotius's having invented at least some elements and, sometimes, almost everything in most of the sixty articles that he authored or co-authored at *Der Spiegel*, from 2011 through 2018.[16] The report discussed, extensively, reportage and its role in the fraud case. It described reportages in the Gesellschaft section as "stories told like films."[17] It claimed that, as in film, Relotius fictionalized facts: He planned the plot, invented the protagonists, and made up the quotations.[18] In the scandal's aftermath, the commission emphasized

the relevance of basic journalistic standards: "the story has to be right" and "being right doesn't just mean the facts are right, but that the people and the places are authentic, so that the text reflects reality."[19]

Since then, several studies have dealt with the Relotius affair. Eberwein investigated possible causes and consequences of the fraud case as they were described in the coverage given the issue by German media outlets. In his study, Eberwein found that most media outlets argued that a mix of individual, editorial, and professional influences led to the fraud. At the micro level, Relotius's personality was seen to be the main reason. At the meso level, a lack of editorial quality oversight was identified as the culprit. And at the macro level, the subjectively driven reportage itself was deemed susceptible to fraud and misrepresentation.[20] Nowak and Altmeppen examined Relotius's reporting in terms of *Der Spiegel*'s editorial and ethic responsibility. They analyzed which actors attributed responsibility to whom in the affair and why they did so. The results showed that *Der Spiegel* delegated responsibility largely to Relotius, emphasized its own credibility, and deliberately distanced itself from the reporter and his fabrications.[21] Hoffmann and Russ-Mohl analyzed the magazine's crisis communication, showing that while *Der Spiegel* took partial responsibility because of the failure of its editorial fact-checking processes, in the main the magazine portrayed Relotius as the primary culprit.[22]

Reporting on the Relotius Affair as Metajournalistic Discourse

Journalism fulfills important functions for a democratic society: observation of society and provision of information.[23] If journalism itself is the object of observation, the focus is self-observation. In this context, Malik names various tasks for journalistic self-observation, among them are self-control and quality assurance in the journalistic product, acceptance of and knowledge about journalism on the part of the audience.[24] Malik argues that journalistic self-thematization, that is, journalistic reporting on phenomena and topics from the media and journalism, should serve to ensure the quality of journalistic work and media output, make journalistic work processes transparent, and thereby increase the credibility of the media and improve the media literacy of the audience. Thus, journalistic reporting on journalism is a form of public self-reflection: the system's own actions are reconsidered and re-evaluated in the journalistic output for all to see.[25] In Carlson's sense, this can be understood as "metajournalistic discourse," which he defines "as public expressions evaluating news texts, the practices that produce them, or the conditions of their reception."[26] The Relotius case led to such discourse on journalism. At a time when so-called "fake news" and declining trust in media were already recurring topics of reporting,[27] the scandal only further heated

the debate about journalism within society.[28]

In studies focusing on metajournalistic discourse, framing is often used to describe how different issues are represented. Entman defines framing, thus: "To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described."[29] Following this definition, framing means that certain aspects are linguistically emphasized while others are pushed into the background. Thus, framing can be understood as a linguistic scheme that influences perception or understanding of a specific aspect of metajournalistic discourse.[30] Empirically, framing can be identified using content or text analyses.[31] Hence, framing analysis allows for understanding how the selection and focus of certain words, phrases, or ideas contribute to shaping public perceptions on certain issues.

A framing analysis was conducted to examine both the metajournalistic discourse on the Relotius affair in general and the extensive discourse on the genre of the reportage specifically. The focus for the framing analysis of the metajournalistic discourse on the Relotius affair was on the framing elements of causal interpretations and treatment recommendations. Causal interpretations were defined as explanations or contributing factors addressed within the discourse on the affair. Treatment recommendations were defined as either solutions for or consequences of the fraud suggested within the discourse.

Mixed Methods Approach

To respond to the research questions posed above, a mixed methods approach was used to better understand the metajournalistic discourse on the fraud case. While qualitative research focuses on open exploration and detailed, in-depth analysis, quantitative research emphasizes statistically oriented data collection and analysis, usually referencing inference techniques. The mixed methods research paradigm combines the strengths of both research traditions.[32] Johnson and Onwuegbuzie define mixed methods research as "*the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study*."[33]

Following this approach, the present study is based on content and text analyses. The content analysis combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. The study also compiles data in formal categories (such as medium, publication date, unit, scope, authors, author editorial roles, and journalistic forms of presentation). Other categories comprise framing elements, as introduced above (such as causal interpretations or possible consequences of the

fraud case). The analysis largely took place using MAXQDA, a software for computer-aided content analysis.[34]

This exploration then served as the initial point for conducting the text analysis with Python, a solely quantitative approach. To focus on the role of the reportage as a genre in the coverage of the fraud case, the first step was to examine how often the word *reportage* occurred overall in the data set and in how many texts it was mentioned at least once. Following this, a quantitative text analysis using linear regression analysis was run to examine the co-occurrence of the word reportage with other words.[35]

Based on the results of the content analysis, two main themes were identified: the *foreign reportage theme* and the *literary reportage theme*. *Themes* were defined as fields of meaning in the sense of a semantic frame providing context for a linguistic object, in this case, the reportage. The analysis assumed these *themes* could be identified with the help of keywords, called, for the purposes of this study, *theme cues*. Lists of tokens (that is, individual words) were defined to use as indicators for theoretically relevant elements of the frames employed as predictors to model the occurrence of the term *reportage*. To do this, the articles of the study's sample were broken down into tokens that were then tagged according to their part of speech, using the Treetagger, a Python tool for annotating text with part-of-speech and *lemma*, or root word, information.[36] In each case, word classes, that is, the part of speech (nouns, adjectives, etc.), were identified. In addition, the basic form (*lemma*) of the corresponding tokens was included, because the individual noun phrases can also occur in different manifestations.

Description of the Sample and Findings

Sample. A total of 961 articles from German, Swiss, and Austrian print and online media dealing with the Relotius affair, published from December 19, 2018, up to and including January 3, 2019, was identified. The sixteen-day period was chosen to capture the first reactions in the media discourse on the Relotius question, to analyze, in detail, the discourse during this time. The articles were extracted from the media and press database WISO.[37] Because *Der Spiegel* was directly affected by the fraud and was itself criticized, the articles published in *Der Spiegel* on the fraud were not included in the study sample. The choice of approach was based on studies that show *Der Spiegel* set different priorities in its coverage than did other media outlets. Eberwein notes that in *Der Spiegel*'s self-reporting the frames of the individual perpetrator and the passively tolerant editorial team dominated the articles in *Der Spiegel* until May 2019, while other media had already come to more differentiated assessments.[38] Hoffmann and Russ-Mohl also point out that *Der Spiegel* consistently named Relotius as the main culprit in their report-

ing and portrayed Relotius as a resourceful swindler who outwitted a robust system, while *Der Spiegel* was a victim.[39] For the study sample, all articles were removed that were duplicates (articles that included the exact same wording). Ruled out were short texts (<100 words), to ensure all articles in the study dealt with the fraud case in depth. Also excluded were English texts, because German-language tokens (that is, individual words) were used in the study. In this way, the sample was reduced to 240 articles from a total of eighty different German-language print and online media. While not statistically representative, the sample was designed to represent diverse perspectives on the fraud case. Most of the articles were published in German media (190), followed by Austrian (31), and Swiss media (17). The articles included regional or local print newspapers (151), national print newspapers (65), and online media (4).

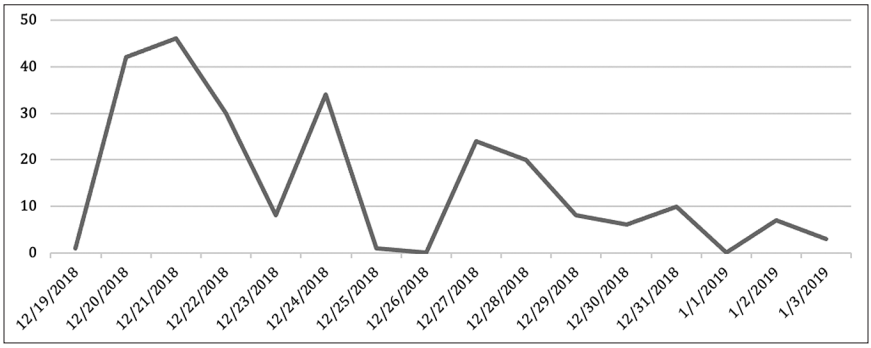


Figure 1: Publication of articles in the research period (in absolute numbers).

Findings. As noted earlier, a total of 240 articles dealt with the affair within the research period. During the first week after the revelation (from Wednesday, December 19, 2018, up to and including Tuesday, December 25, 2018), 162 articles were published on the matter. During the second week (from Wednesday, December 26, 2018, up to and including Tuesday, January 1, 2019), sixty-eight texts were issued on the case. During the last two days of the study period (Wednesday, January 2, 2019, and Thursday, January 3, 2019), ten articles dealing with the affair were published. During the research period, interest and media attention decreased significantly, as Figure 1 shows. The days when there were no publications on the subject were public holidays.

The fraud case seemed to be relevant from different perspectives that offered journalists various points of contact: About a fifth of the 240 articles, 17.1 percent (n=41), were published in the opinion sections, followed by

13.3 percent (n=32), published in the media sections. The case was also discussed in the politics, features, and culture sections.

The authors of the articles filled different editorial roles: In the study sample, editors wrote 27.5 percent (n=66) of all articles. Editors-in-chief penned 17.5 percent (n=42) of all articles. News agencies contributed 17.5 percent (n=42) of all articles. Unit heads wrote 6.6 percent (n=16) of all articles. That means journalists in executive positions wrote a high number of articles in the sample. This was surprising, for two reasons. First, in most news desks, there are more editors than editors-in-chief. Second, editors are likely to have higher journalistic output than their superiors due to their intensive involvement in the editorial process. This result suggests the publishing houses and editorial offices gave high importance to the fraud case and found it appropriate for editors-in-chief to comment on and clarify the case for their audience. Other studies on metajournalistic discourse come to similar conclusions and give evidence that metajournalistic discourse is often a "matter for the boss."[40] This seems also to have been true for the debate on the Relotius affair in most media outlets.

Journalists used a range of journalistic styles in their articles about the fraud case. The classification of texts gave evidence that more than half of the texts, 53.8 percent (n=129), used informative forms of presentation (news, reports, or analyses) and another third of all texts, 35.4 percent (n=85), were opinion pieces (commentaries or editorials). This finding aligns with other studies that show informative forms of presentation often dominate journalistic self-observation in the form of so-called media journalism.[41] However, in the current study, the proportion of texts commenting on and expressing opinions about the case was surprisingly high compared to the results of other studies on reporting on media journalistic topics.[42] This result can be interpreted to mean the fraud case triggered both an often emotionally led debate about journalistic core values and that journalists preferred to address these issues from a personal angle rather than fact and information-oriented articles. Relotius's violations of central rules and norms in journalism were so far-reaching that many journalists may have wanted to express their opinions on the matter rather than simply echo the facts of the case. This suggests once again that this specific fraud case was given importance in the metajournalistic discourse.

Reportage as a Contributing Factor for the Relotius Affair

A second focus of the content analysis was the explanations and consequences of the fraud case that journalists addressed in the sample articles. For both categories, multiple coding was possible, because, for example,

several explanations for the fraud could have been given in one article. There was a total of 500 codings in the category of explanations or contributing factors and 329 codings in the category of possible consequences or solutions.

Figure 2: Explanations or contributing factors addressed within the sample (in percent, in proportion to 240 in the study sample, based on 500 codings in this category, including multiple codings).

Figure 2 gives summaries of the explanations or contributing factors that journalists addressed within their articles on the fraud case. In the study sample, the data gave evidence that in 28.8 percent (n=69) of the 240 articles, journalists identified readers', colleagues', or editors-in-chiefs' expectations as possible contributing factors for the Relotius fraud. Some journalists covering the fraud case stated that Relotius only wrote what his readers, colleagues, or editors-in-chief wanted to read. The journalists frequently claimed Relotius fictionalized facts. They also argued that Relotius described the protagonists or designed the plot of his reportages in such a way that the accounts confirmed the *Spiegel* readers' stereotypes and fitted perfectly into their (mostly left-liberal) worldview. For instance, journalists quoted Relotius's 2017 reportage, titled "In einer kleinen Stadt" (March 25, 2017) as an example: In this reportage, Relotius wrote about the United States in the Trump era, confirming clichés about Trump supporters: pettiness, xenophobia, gun mania, backwardness, intolerance.[43] In this sense, Relotius drew a stereotypical portrait of the "Ugly American" in his reportage. Rather than approaching the complexities of reality, Relotius created preconceived images of reality, a fact that most journalists covering the fraud case harshly criticized. In 22.9 percent (n=55) of the 240 articles in the study sample, journalists covering the fraud case also mentioned deficits in the structure and management of *Der Spiegel*'s publishing house, Spiegel-Verlag. For instance,

the journalists criticized that publishing house and editorial offices lacked a culture of constructive criticism. This means that they called for an environment where it was acceptable to discuss and resolve potential errors in an open and transparent manner. The reportage as a reporting genre was also addressed as a possible contributing factor for the fraud: In the study sample, 21.7 percent (n=52) of the 240 articles included mention of crossing the boundary between literature and journalism in the genre of reportage as a possible contributing factor for the fraud. For example, journalists addressed growing concerns about fuzzy boundaries between journalism and literature, and a too vague distinction between facts and fiction in their articles on the fraud. They argued that the excessive use of literary and stylistic devices to describe places and protagonists could blur the boundaries between literature and journalism. While the reportage is conducive to subjective descriptions by reporters, the excessive use of stylistic devices, journalists argued, poses the danger of mingling fact and fiction and creating an invention rather than a truthful depiction of reality. Furthermore, in 21.3 percent (n=51) of the 240 articles, journalism prizes usually awarded for artfully written reportages were viewed as misguided incentives for journalists and, thus, a factor that may have contributed to Relotius's unethical behavior. Journalists also harshly criticized colleagues who wrote for the sake of appearances and, consequently, were more likely to be rewarded with prizes than those who concentrated on factual accuracy and truthful reporting. In 20.8 percent (n=50) of the 240 articles, journalists criticized mistakes made in the fact-checking department at *Der Spiegel*. They argued that the fact-checking department should have either checked the facts more rigorously or contacted the reporter's interviewees at least on a random basis to ensure the authenticity of the interviews. In 15 percent (n=36) of all articles, journalists noted both that fact checking a foreign reportage is particularly difficult and a lack of ability to verify the foreign reportage might be possible contributing factors for fraud. There might be two reasons for this. First, reporters frequently travel alone (mostly for cost reasons) when they work on foreign reportages in other countries or continents. Second, it is hard for the fact-checking department at home to verify both quotes from interviewees and facts and details in the aftermath of the reporters' research in other countries or continents. Consequently, trust often replaces strict fact-checking processes in foreign reportages, a fact that was harshly criticized in articles on the fraud case. Last but not least, 14.6 percent (n=35) of all articles mentioned reporters' pressure to succeed or fear of failure as possible explanations for unethical behavior. Other research parallels the findings from this study. Menke and Serong, in their content analysis of the metajournalistic discourse on the fraud case, point out that journalists

argue literary reportage contradicts professional standards of journalism.[44] Menke and Serong emphasize that many journalists addressed a lack of reflection about a journalistic culture and a focus on publishing award-winning reportages in their coverage of the affair.[45]

Overall, two main lines of argumentation about the reportage were evidenced in this study's sample. First, challenges to conducting thorough fact checking and verification of foreign reportages were discussed as a possible contributing factor for Relotius's fraud. In the discussion that follows, this aspect will be referred to as the *foreign reportage theme*. Second, an orientation toward readers' expectations and a strong focus on winning journalism awards were discussed as misleading incentives and, thus, another possible contributing factor to Relotius's fraud. In the following, this aspect will be referred to as the *literary reportage theme*.

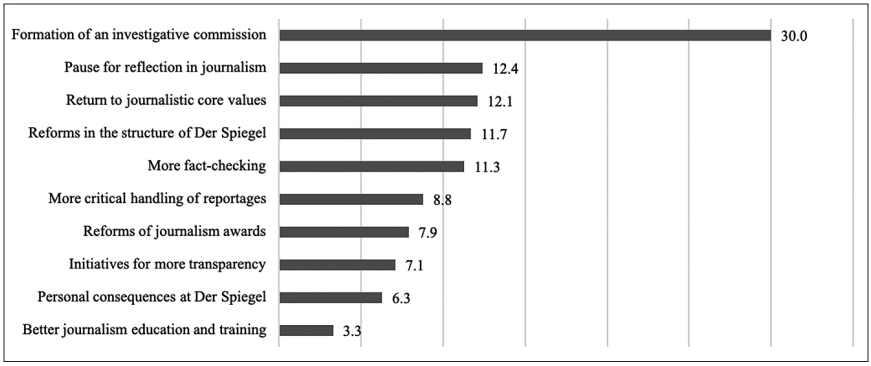


Figure 3: Possible consequences or solutions addressed within the sample (in percent, in proportion to 240 in the study sample, based on 329 codings in this category, including multiple codings). See above.

In the study sample, journalists covering the fraud case also articulated proposals for consequences (e.g., possible penalties for journalistic misconduct) or solutions to prevent journalistic fraud in the future (e.g., improvement of journalism education and training). Figure 3 gives an overview of the consequences or solutions that journalists discussed within their texts on the fraud case. The most frequent demand was for a commission to investigate the fraud. This call occurred in 30 percent (n=72) of the 240 articles in the sample. This could also be because *Der Spiegel* itself announced early in the process that it would set up such a commission. In 11.7 percent (n=28) of the articles, journalists called for reforms in the editorial structure and management at *Der Spiegel*, notably introducing stricter fact-checking and verification processes. In 6.3 percent (n=15) of the articles, journalists suggested

personnel consequences at *Der* Spiegel—dismissing editors in charge, for instance. Furthermore, in 11.3 percent (n=27) of the articles, journalists covering the fraud case urged the fact-checking department at *Der Spiegel* to establish stricter control processes. While these suggestions for consequences are directed at the micro-level of the publishing house, other suggestions addressed the macro-level of journalism as a field. In 12.5 percent (n=30) of the 240 articles, journalists suggested more critical self-reflection in journalism. In 12.1 percent (n=29) of all articles, journalists suggested a return to or recollection of journalistic core values. In 8.8 percent (n=21) of all articles, journalists urged more critical handling of reportages in general. In 7.9 percent (n=19) of all articles, journalists called for reforms of the much-criticized journalism prizes. When addressing possible causes of the fraud, journalists frequently mentioned the reportage in their articles. In contrast, the reportage was not mentioned when the journalists dealt with the consequences of the fraud case in their articles.

How can these results be summarized? On the one hand, the study's content analysis gave evidence that journalists identified problems within the publishing house, with the reportage genre, and personal issues on Relotius's part, as the main causes for the fraud case. In their suggestions for consequences and solutions, on the other hand, they referred in part to adjustments at *Der Spiegel*, but more clearly to the demand for more fundamental changes in journalism, especially for better journalism education and more reflection on the part of journalists in their daily work. A possible reason for this focus on individual causes and systemic consequences might be that such causes could contribute to stabilizing journalism as a system. As Carlson points out:

> The reliance on individual violators circumvents more uncomfortable questions about journalism's relations with centers of power, its own role as a powerful institution shaping public knowledge, and its accountability within democratic society. In the end, this individualizing focus suggests that press failures are inherently individual failures remedied by better adherence to professionally ascribed norms, which forecloses on the broader critique of journalism taking place in academia and other public circles.[46]

Nevertheless, several statements in the sample note that no media outlet is immune to fakes or frauds. The fakes or frauds when they occur in foreign reportages, however, likely do so because there is less editorial control because of the distance from the reporting site.

Frequencies and Contexts of the Reportage

Following the content analysis, an automatic text analysis was conducted, using Python, with the goal of gaining a clearer understanding of the role

reportage played in the metajournalistic discourse on the fraud case. The first step was to look at quantities. In the 240 sample articles, the term *reportage* occurred a total of 502 times. The term *reportage* was not mentioned in fifty-six of the 240 articles. It was mentioned at least two or more times in 113 of the remaining 184 texts. These frequencies indicate the reportage was mentioned on a regular basis in the context of the fraud case. A frequent occurrence of the word *reportage* does not necessarily mean it played a central role in explaining the fraud, but it is an indication that reportage was an important aspect in the discussion of the fraud case.

The theme cues (independent variables) were then tested with a linear regression analysis to see how well they predicted the occurrence of the term *reportage* (dependent variable). Linear regression analysis is a standard technique of predictive analysis for explaining the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

To create theme cues, the two main *themes* were broken down into their individual components. For the *literary reportage theme*, there were references to journalism awards (*awards tokens*), the associated pressure to succeed or fear of failure (*success tokens*), narrative (*story tokens*), or literary elements (*literature tokens*), and references to expectations of relevant reference groups (*expectations tokens*). Defining the lists of tokens was comparatively simple for each of these components: The first step was determining the common word stems and word families. To generate these lists of words, the corresponding terms in the data set were read out using Python and then sorted out manually. For the *story* tokens, for example, the word parts searched in the data set were: [Ee]rzähl|[Ll]üg|[Ee]rfind. What was meant here were the

Theme Cues	Unique Words	Frequency of Tokens
Awards Tokens	72	592
Success Tokens	16	82
Mistakes Tokens	17	127
Story Tokens	36	146
Literature Tokens	23	107
Fact checking Tokens	64	312
Expectations Tokens	11	36
Genre Tokens	4	41
Fake News Tokens	28	100
Sum	271	1543

Table 1: Theme cues and their frequencies.

word fields, "telling," "lying," "inventing." In a manual correction, semantically inappropriate terms were identified and deleted. This process resulted in a list containing the German equivalents of words like "invention," "invent," "lie," "lier," "narration," "tell," and words that were combined with them.[47]

A similar procedure was followed for all other lists. For some lists, such as the *award tokens*, all terms found in the data that corresponded to *award* were used: the word part [Pp]reis ("award") was searched in all texts. In the data set, seventy-two different words from the list appeared a total of 592 times, including, for example, *Preis* ("award"), 178 times; *Reporterpreis* ("reporter award"), eighty times; and *Journalistenpreis* ("journalist award"), fifty-three times. *See Table 1*

For the *foreign reportage theme*, the definition of *theme cues* was more difficult because it was difficult to generate references to "foreign countries" or incidents "far away" via word families without including too many meanings in the analysis. Thus, for this theme, only one list was created, the *fact-checking tokens*.

In addition to the terms for the two *theme*s already mentioned, a list of *fake news tokens* was formed to determine how often the term *reportage* was used in this context. Furthermore, in the analysis, *genre tokens* and *mistakes tokens* were included to determine the extent to which the explicit use of the term *genre* or the mention of mistakes or journalistic misbehavior could serve as predictors for the mention of the term *reportage* in the sample. The word *reportage* was removed from the data for the linear regression analysis because the term was used as a dependent variable. Table 1 gives the token lists, the number of individual words that occur in this list, and the sum of the frequencies of all words from the lists.

Table 2 gives the results of the linear regression analysis. With the nine lists and 271 words, the analysis led to an R-squared (uncentered) of 0.595. R-squared is the statistical measure of fit that indicates how much variation of a dependent variable is explained by the independent variable(s). This measure checked how well the *theme cues* predicted the use of the word *reportage* in the data set. Based on the R-squared of 0.595, the model seemed to be quite a good predictor for the occurrence of the word *reportage*. Two of the *theme cues* were especially meaningful: Words from the list of *awards tokens* and those from the list of *fact-checking tokens* predicted the occurrence of the term *reportage* quite well. This confirms the assumptions from the content analysis regarding the *foreign reportage theme* and the *literary reportage theme*. When the articles on the fraud case in the sample dealt with *journalism awards,* the genre of the *reportage* was usually addressed, too. The same holds true for articles mentioning the documentation department, fact-checking, or other control mechanisms.

Kind of Token	*coef*	*std err*	*t*	*Pt*	*[0.025*	*0.975]*
Awards	0.2277	0.039	5.820	0.000	0.151	0.305
Success	0.2350	0.188	1.252	0.212	-0.135	0.605
Mistakes	0.2235	0.158	1.419	0.157	-0.087	0.534
Story	0.4692	0.141	3.328	0.001	0.191	0.747
Literature	0.3427	0.152	2.253	0.025	0.043	0.643
Fact-checking	0.3218	0.088	3.646	0.000	0.148	0.496
Expectations	0.6250	0.338	1.847	0.066	-0.042	1.292
Genre	0.9180	0.281	3.264	0.001	0.364	1.472
Fake News	-0.1218	0.199	-0.614	0.540	-0.513	0.269

Table 2: Results of the Linear Regression Analysis; R-squared (uncentered): 0.595; Adj. R-squared (uncentered): 0.579.

The lists on genre or story were not quite as informative: Words from the rather limited genre list (especially the lemma *genre*) were mentioned a total of forty-one times in twenty-six articles, almost always with mention of reportage. However, the expectation was that *reportage* would appear in the context of the term *genre* because reportage is a concretization of the generic term *genre*. Even if the correlation regarding the frequency of appearance is not as strong as in the cases mentioned first, this result is particularly telling given the number of cases: In these articles—approximately 10 percent of the articles examined—there is a direct discussion of the reportage.

No other *theme cues* have a high correlation with the appearance of the term *reportage*. Terms from the context of the fake news debate also do not seem to be statistically associated with the mention of *reportage*, even though these occurred in seventy-five articles (where the term appeared 100 times). The content analysis gave evidence that the mention of *l*ügenpresse ("fake news") usually took the form of a general statement about current debates concerned with media credibility or as a reference to the fact that the case could provide arguments for media skeptics—in the sense of a reference to the still quite current debate about *fake news*.

Conclusions

In the context of the falsification scandal at *Der Spiegel*, reportage on the whole was connoted rather negatively in metajournalistic discourse. In 184 of the 240 articles in the study sample, journalists discussed the reportage in the context of Relotius's fabrications. From the study's content analysis two major themes in the metajournalistic discourse on the fraud case were identi-

fied—both linked to the openness of the genre of the reportage: the *foreign reportage theme* and the *literary reportage theme*. On the one hand, journalists covering the fraud case frequently stated that verifying and fact-checking a reporter's work in the context of foreign reportages is particularly challenging. This can be identified as the *foreign reportage challenge.* On the other hand, journalists regularly argued that journalism awards, readers' and editors' expectations can create misguided incentives, and thereby increase the risk of turning the reportage into a literary art form. This aspect can be identified as the *literary reportage conundrum*. The extent to which these two major themes of the metajournalistic discourse can be observed in other journalism cultures remains to be seen. Future studies might address whether these themes are specific to German journalism culture, which sometimes seems more reluctant to embrace literary forms in comparison to, for instance, the journalism culture in the United States. However, in its final report on the fraud case, the investigative commission specified that mistakes in fact-checking and an embellishing writing style had also occurred in other fraud cases.[48]

However, this study's text analysis, based on the preliminary content analysis and its results, showed that predictability of R-squared (uncentered) of 0.595 could already be achieved with a set of as few as 271 unique words. That means these 271 words provided insight into the role of the reportage in the metajournalistic discourse on the fraud case surrounding Relotius.

The findings of the study argue for automatic text analysis as particularly promising for future studies of metajournalistic discourse, especially when dealing with even large data sets. Future studies might focus on other journalism cultures or the development of the discourse over a longer period. It would also be desirable to proceed more comparatively and include articles from more media outlets in the sample. Future studies could also address how the reportage genre is discussed at different historical moments and in other contexts, for instance, comparing multiple fraud cases. It is possible that reportage's negative connotations in the context of the Relotius fraud case at *Der Speigel* reflects the reportage's current position. Perhaps it is a problem of context or—remembering Egon Erwin Kisch—a timeless weakness of the genre.

Ina von der Wense is a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer in Communication Science at the University of Bamberg. Her main areas of interest are organizational communication, political communication, and communicator research.

Vera Katzenberger is a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer in Communication Science at the University of Bamberg. Her main areas of interest are digital, cross-media, and data-based journalism.

Notes

[1] Stark, "Claas Relotius: Ein Fall für die Lehrbücher" [Claas Relotius: A case for the textbooks], para. 1. (Unless otherwise noted, translations are ours).

[2] Denner and Peter, "Der Begriff Lügenpresse in deutschen Tageszeitungen" [The term *Lügenpresse* (lying press) in German daily newspapers], 275; Schultz et al., "Erosion des Vertrauens zwischen Medien und Publikum?" [Erosion of trust between media and audience?], 246; Ziegele et al., "Lügenpresse-Hysterie ebbt ab" [Lying press hysteria is ebbing], 150.

[3] Entman, "Framing," 52–58.

[4] Spiegel-Verlag Rudolf Augstein GmbH & Co. KG, "Die Spiegel Standards" [The Spiegel standards], 7.

[5] Spiegel-Verlag Rudolf Augstein GmbH & Co. KG, 57.

[6] Fichtner, "*Der Spiegel* Reveals Internal Fraud," December 20, 2018.

[7] Höges, "Ein Albtraum" [A nightmare], 36–38; Fichtner, "Spiegel legt Betrugsfall im eigenen Haus offen" [Spiegel discloses fraud case in its own house], 40–46; Moreno, "Es war ein Gefühl" [It was a feeling], 47–48; Hülsen and Brauck, "Warum gehen nicht irgendwann die Alarmglocken an?" [Why don't alarm bells go off at some point?], 49–51; Anonymous, "Wie bitter" [How bitter], 52–55; Kuntz and Sandberg, "Zu perfekt, um wahr zu sein" [Too perfect to be true], 56–58.

[8] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, "Der Fall Relotius. Abschlussbericht Der Aufklärungskommission," 130–46.

[9] Eberwein, "Sagen, was sein könnte" [Saying what could be], 279–97.

[10] Nowak and Altmeppen, "Verantwortung erfolgreich delegiert" [Successfully delegated responsibility], 370–87.

[11] Hoffmann and Russ-Mohl, "Der Fall Relotius und die Auswirkungen auf den *Spiegel*" [The Relotius case and the effects on *Der Spiegel*], 210–39.

[12] Moreno and Relotius, "Jaegers Grenze," 54–61; see also, Moreno and Relotius, "Der Text, der alles veränderte: 'Jaegers Grenze' " [The text that changed everything: 'Jaeger's Limit'], 65–81.

[13] Fichtner, "*Der Spiegel* Reveals Internal Fraud," para. 5.

[14] Fichtner, para. 6.

[15] Fichtner, para. 1.

[16] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, "Der Fall Relotius. Abschlussbericht Der Aufklärungskommission," 131. Original quote: "Im *Spiegel* und auf *Spiegel Online* sind in den vergangenen Jahren rund 60 Texte erschienen, die Claas Relotius geschrieben hat oder an denen er beteiligt war."

[17] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, 137. Original quote: "Die Reportagen, die das Gesellschaftsressort mit einigen der besten Autoren der Republik Woche für Woche produziert, sind oft filmisch erzählte Geschichten; Plots werden akribisch geplant und Figuren gelegentlich wie bei einem Filmcasting gesucht."

[18] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, 137. Original quote: "Die Geschichten leben von hoher Detailgenauigkeit. Dies ist im Fall der Entstehungsgeschichte von Jaegers Grenze in einem E-Mail-Verkehr zwischen Matthias Geyer, Moreno und Relotius gut nachzuvollziehen."

[19] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, 145. Original quote: "1. Die Geschichte muss stimmen. Verantwortlich dafür ist die Redaktion. 2. Stimmen heißt nicht nur, dass die Fakten richtig sind, dass es die Personen gibt, dass die Orte authentisch sind. Der Text muss in Dramaturgie und Ablauf die Wirklichkeit wiedergeben."

[20] Eberwein, "Sagen, was sein könnte" [Saying what could be], 289–91.

[21] Nowak and Altmeppen, "Verantwortung erfolgreich delegiert" [Successfully delegated responsibility], 376–84.

[22] Hoffmann and Russ-Mohl, "Der Fall Relotius und die Auswirkungen auf den *Spiegel*" [The Relotius case and the effects on *Der Spiegel*], 227–29.

[23] Kille, "Committee of Concerned Journalists: The Principles of Journalism," para. 3.

[24] Malik, *Journalismusjournalismus* [Journalism about journalism], 142–51.

[25] Malik, 131–33.

[26] Carlson, "Metajournalistic Discourse and the Meanings of Journalism," 350.

[27] Bernhard, "Lügenpresse, Lügenpolitik, Lügensystem" [Lying press, politics of lies, system of lies], 170–87; Lazer et al., "The Science of Fake News," 1094–96.

[28] Denner and Peter, "Der Begriff Lügenpresse in deutschen Tageszeitungen" [The term *Lügenpresse* (lying press) in German daily newspapers], 273–97.

[29] Entman, "Framing," 52. (Italics in original)

[30] Scheufele, *Frames–Framing–Framing-Effekte* [Frames–framing–framing-effects], 46.

[31] Katzenberger and von der Wense, "Zwischen Fakten und Fiktion" [Between facts and fiction], 133–49; Riebling and von der Wense, "Framing the Mass Media," 57–76.

[32] Tashakkori and Teddlie, "The Past and Future of Mixed Methods Research," 671–701.

[33] Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, "Mixed Methods Research," 17. (Italics in original)

[34] MAXQDA is a software for qualitative data and text analysis, provided by VERBI-Software GmbH, and available for a fee (https://www.maxqda.com/de/). The present study used MAXQDA to analyze and code articles dealing with the Relotius affair, taken from the daily and weekly press. The analysis was carried out in March 2019.

[35] Haslwanter, *An Introduction to Statistics with Python*, 183–220.

[36] Schmid, "Improvements in Part-of-Speech Tagging with an Application to German," 47–50; Schmid, "Probabilistic Part-of-Speech Tagging Using Decision Trees," 1–9; Pointal, "TreeTagger Python Wrapper 2.3 Documentation." Wikipedia Google defines the *lemma* as deriving from morphology and lexicography, where a "*lemma* (plural *lemmas* or *lemmata*)" is the root word, or root form, "of a set of word forms. In English, for example, *break*, *breaks*, *broke*, *broken* and *breaking* are forms of the same *lexeme*, with *break* as the lemma by which they are indexed" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lemma_(morphology).

[37] WISO is a database that provides access to full-text articles from the daily and weekly press provided by GBI-Genios Deutsche Wirtschaftsdatenbank GmbH. The database can be used online (https://www.wiso-net.de). The present study used WISO to access articles from the daily and weekly press dealing with the Relotius affair. The articles were downloaded in February 2019.

[38] Eberwein, "Sagen, was sein könnte" [Saying what could be], 290. Original quote: "Bemerkenswert ist dabei, dass in der Selbstberichterstattung des Spiegels lange vor allem die Frames vom Einzeltäter und der passiv duldenden Redaktion dominieren. Andere Medien kommen bereits in der Frühphase der öffentlichen Debatte zu deutlich differenzierteren Bewertungen. Beim Spiegel ändert sich dies erst im Mai 2019, als die interne Untersuchungskommission ihren Bericht vorlegt. Spätestens dann wird klar, dass eine redaktionelle Mitverantwortung nicht mehr zu leugnen ist."

[39] Hoffmann and Russ-Mohl, "Der Fall Relotius und die Auswirkungen auf den *Spiegel*" [The Relotius case and the effects on *Der Spiegel*], 219. Original quote: "2. Hauptschuldiger ist hingegen deutlich und durchgängig Relotius, der zunächst als findiger Betrüger dargestellt wird, welcher ein robustes System überlistete. Umgekehrt wird die Redaktion als Opfer des Täters deklariert—"

[40] Malik, *Journalismusjournalismus* [Journalism about journalism], 283–86. Original quote: "Infolgedessen gilt auch für die journalistische Selbstthematisierung, dass sie maßgeblich von der Autorität der Führungsrollen beeinflusst ist."

[41] Malik, 278; Malik, "Stars, Skandale, Sensationen—Und Immer an Den Leser Denken" [Stars, scandals, sensations—and always thinking of the reader], 54.

[42] Krüger and Müller-Sachse, *Medienjournalismus*, 69.

[43] Relotius, "In einer kleinen Stadt" [In a small town], 54–63.

[44] Menke and Serong, "Scandals of Fabricated Reporting as Critical Incidents for Journalistic Boundary Work," 18.

[45] Menke and Serong, 16–17.

[46] Carlson, "Gone, But Not Forgotten," 45.

[47] The full list contains the following words: *Erfindung*, *Erzählung*, *Lüge*|*Lügen*, *Lüge*, *Erzählen*, *Erzähler*, *Märchenerzähler*, *Geschichtenerzähler*, *Geschichtenerzählen*, *Erfinder*, *Lügengerüst*, *Lügner*, *Erzählfluss*, *Lügengeschichte*, *Lügen-Affäre*, *Gegenerzählung*, *Lügengebilde*, *Lügengespinst*, *Interviewerfinder*, *Lügenreporter*, *lügensüchtige*, *Grubenhund-Erfinder*, *Lügenreportagen*, *lügenkontaminierte*, *Lügnerei*, *Geschichten-Erzählen*, *Erzählformen*, *Lügengebäude*, *Erfinden*, *Geschichtenerfinder*, *Lügensucht*, *Lügen-PR*, *Nacherzählen*, *Erzählte*, *Lügen-Reporter*, *erfindungsreich*.

[48] Fehrle, Höges, and Weigel, "Der Fall Relotius. Abschlussbericht Der Aufklärungskommission," 142–46.

Bibliography

Anonymous. "Wie bitter" [How bitter]. *Der Spiegel*, December 22, 2018, 52–55.

Bernhard, Uli. "Lügenpresse, Lügenpolitik, Lügensystem. Wie die Berichterstattung über die PEGIDA-Bewegung wahrgenommen wird und welche Konsequenzen dies hat" [Lying press, politics of lies, system of lies. How reporting on the PEGIDA movement is perceived and what the consequences are]. *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* 66, no. 2 (2018): 170–87. https://doi.org/10.5771/1615-634X-2018-2-170.

Carlson, Matt. "Gone, but Not Forgotten." *Journalism Studies* 15, no. 1 (2014): 33–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2013.790620.

———. "Metajournalistic Discourse and the Meanings of Journalism: Definitional Control, Boundary Work, and Legitimation." *Communication Theory* 26, no. 4 (2016): 349–68. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12088.

Denner, Nora, and Christina Peter. "Der Begriff Lügenpresse in deutschen Tageszeitungen" [The term *Lügenpresse* (lying press) in German daily newspapers]. *Publizistik* 62, no. 3 (2017): 273–97. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11616-017-0354-4.

Eberwein, Tobias. "Sagen, was sein könnte: Wahrheit und Fälschung im aktuellen Erzähljournalismus. Medienethische Überlegungen am Beispiel des Falls Relotius" [Saying what could be: Truth and Falsification in Contemporary Narrative Journalism. Media Ethical Considerations Using the Example of the Relotius Case]. In *Medien und Wahrheit* [Media and Truth], edited by Christian Schicha, Ingrid Stapf, and Saskia Sell, 279–97. Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos, 2021. https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748923190-279.

Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.

Fehrle, Brigitte. "Der Relotius-Schock und seine Folgen für den deutschen Journalismus" [The Relotius shock and its consequences for German journalism]. *Der Spiegel*, January 2022. https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fall-claas-relotius-der-schock-und-seine-folgen-fuer-den-deutschen-journalismus-a-58e62e29-131d-4d2d-84af-6e8178791888. Accessed May 10, 2023.

Fehrle, Brigitte, Clemens Höges, and Stefan Weigel. "Der Fall Relotius. Abschlussbericht der Aufklärungskommission" [The Relotius case. Final report of the investigation commission]. *Der Spiegel*, May 25, 2019, 130–46. https://cdn.prod.www.spiegel.de/media/67c2c416-0001-0014-0000-000000044564/media-44564.pdf. Accessed May 10, 2023.

Fichtner, Ullrich. "*Der Spiegel* Reveals Internal Fraud." *Spiegel International*, December 20, 2018. https://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/claas-relotius-reporter-forgery-scandal-a-1244755.html. Accessed May 10, 2023.

———. "Spiegel legt Betrugsfall im eigenen Haus offen" [Spiegel discloses fraud case in its own house]. *Der Spiegel*, December 22, 2018, 40–46.

GBI-Genios Deutsche Wirtschaftsdatenbank GmbH. WISO. München. https://www.wiso-net.de/.

Haslwanter, Thomas. *An Introduction to Statistics with Python: With Applications in the Life Sciences*. Statistics and Computing. Switzerland: Springer International, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-28316-6. See esp. chp. 11, "Linear Regression Models."

Hoffmann, Christian, and Stephan Russ-Mohl. "Der Fall Relotius und die Auswirkungen auf den *Spiegel*" [The Relotius case and the effects on *Der Spiegel*]. In *Krisenkommunikation komplex* [Crisis communication complex], edited by Jana Wiske, 210–39. Köln, Germany: Halem, 2020.

Höges, Clemens. "Ein Albtraum" [A nighmare]. *Der Spiegel*, December 22, 2018, 36–38.

Hülsen, Isabell, and Markus Brauck. "Warum gehen nicht irgendwann die Alarmglocken an?" [Why don't alarm bells go off at some point?]. *Der Spiegel*, December 22, 2018, 49–51.

Johnson, R. Burke, and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. "Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come." *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 7 (2004): 14–26. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X033007014.

Katzenberger, Vera, and Ina von der Wense. "Zwischen Fakten und Fiktion: Framing in der Berichterstattung über Claas Relotius's Fälschungen" [Between facts and fiction: framing in reporting on Claas Relotius fakes]. In *Kolloquium Forschende Frauen 2019: Beiträge Bamberger Nachwuchswissenschaftlerinnen* [Colloquium Women in Research 2019: Contributions from young Bamberg researchers], edited by Astrid Schütz, Renata Szczepaniak, and Mona Hess, Vol. 11. Forschende Frauen in Bamberg, 133–49. Bamberg, Germany: University of Bamberg Press, 2020.

Kille, Leighton Walter. "Committee of Concerned Journalists: The Principles of Journalism." *The Journalist's Resource*, November 26, 2009. https://journalistsresource.org/home/principles-of-journalism/. Accessed May 10, 2023.

Krüger, Udo Michael, and Karl H. Müller-Sachse. *Medienjournalismus: Strukturen, Themen, Spannungsfelder* [Media journalism: structures, topics, areas of tension]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1998. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-663-07688-9.

Kuntz, Katrin, and Britta Sandberg. "Zu perfekt, um wahr zu sein" [Too perfect to be true]. *Der Spiegel*, December 22, 2018, 56–58.

Lazer, David M. J., Matthew A. Baum, Yochai Benkler, Adam J. Berinsky, Kelly M. Greenhill, Filippo Menczer, Miriam J. Metzger et al. "The Science of Fake News." *Science* 359, no. 6380 (2018): 1094–96. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aao2998.

Malik, Maja. *Journalismusjournalismus. Funktion, Strukturen und Strategien der journalistischen Selbstthematisierung* [Journalism about journalism. Function, structures, and strategies of journalistic self-thematization]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-80552-2_4. See esp. chp. 7, "Fazit: Journalistische Kommunikation."

———. "Stars, Skandale, Sensationen—Und Immer an Den Leser Denken. Entscheidungskriterien und Thematisierungsstrategien des Medienjournalismus" [Stars, scandals, sensations—and always thinking of the reader. Decision-making criteria and thematization strategies of media journalism]. In *Die Selbstbeobachtungsfalle: Grenzen Und Grenzgänge Des Medienjournalismus.* [The self-observation trap: limits and crossings of media journalism], edited by Michael Beuthner, and Stephan Alexander Weichert, 45–62. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer, 2005.

Menke, Manuel, and Julia Serong. "Scandals of Fabricated Reporting as Critical Incidents for Journalistic Boundary Work: The Case of Claas Relotius." ICA Preconference "Critical Incidents in Journalism," Washington, DC, 2019.

Moreno, Juan. "Es war ein Gefühl" [It was a feeling]. *Der Spiegel*, December 22, 2018, 47–48.

Moreno, Juan, and Claas Relotius, "Der Text, der alles veränderte: 'Jaegers Grenze,' " [The text that changed everything: Jaeger's Limit]. In *Tausend Zeilen Lüge*: *Das System Relotius und der deutsche Journalismus* [A Thousand Lines of Lies: The Relotius System and German Journalism], edited by Juan Moreno, 65–81. Berlin, Germany: Rowohlt, 2019. First published as "Jaegers Grenze," *Der Spiegel*, November 11, 2018, 54–61.

Nowak, Valerie, and Klaus-Dieter Altmeppen. "Verantwortung erfolgreich delegiert. Der Fall Relotius aus verantwortungsethischer Sicht" [Successfully delegated responsibility. The Relotius case from a responsible ethical point of view]. *Communicatio Socialis* 53, no. 3 (2020): 370–87. https://doi:10.5771/0010-3497-2020-3-370.

Pointal, Laurent. TreeTagger Python Wrapper. 2.3 documentation. CNRS – LIMSI, 2004–2019. https://treetaggerwrappr.readthecocs.io/en/latest/.

Pörksen, Bernhard. "The End of Arbitrariness. The Three Fundamental Questions of a Constructivist Ethics for the Media." *Constructivist Foundations* 4, no. 2 (2009): 82–90.

Relotius, Claas. "In einer kleinen Stadt" [In a small town]. *Der Spiegel*, March 25, 2017, 54–63.

Riebling, Jan R., and Ina von der Wense. "Framing the Mass Media: Exploring 'Fake News' as a Frame Embedded in Political Discourse." *Journal of Alterna-*

tive & Community Media 4, no. 1 (2019): 57–76. https://doi.org/10.1386/joacm_00043_1.

Scheufele, Bertram. *Frames–Framing–Framing-Effekte* [Frames–framing–framing-effects]. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2003.

Schmid, Helmut. "Improvements in Part-of-Speech Tagging with an Application to German," 47–50, in *Proceedings of the ACL SIGDAT-Workshop*, 1995.

———. "Probabilistic Part-of-Speech Tagging Using Decision Trees," 1–9, in *Proceedings of International Conference on New Methods in Language Processing*. Manchester, UK, 1994.

Schultz, Tanjev, Nikolaus Jackob, Marc Ziegele, Oliver Quiring, and Christian Schemer. "Erosion des Vertrauens zwischen Medien und Publikum?" [Erosion of trust between media and audience?] *Media Perspektiven*, no. 5 (2017): 246–59.

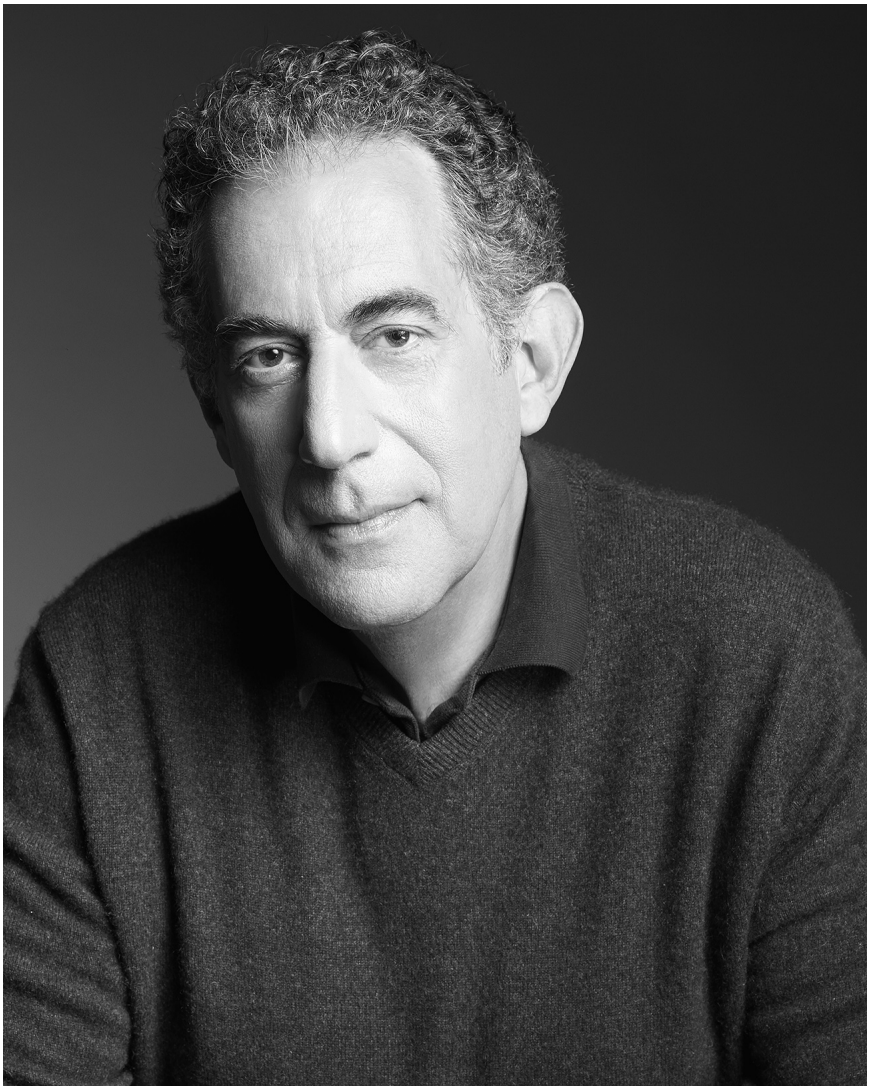
Spiegel-Verlag Rudolf Augstein GmbH & Co. KG. "Die Spiegel Standards. Ergebnisse der Spiegel-Werkstatt" [The Spiegel standards. Results of the Spiegel workshop]. *Der Spiegel*, July 2021. https://cdn.prod.www.spiegel.de/media/cd89f133-34e3-49e0-a7bc-0f5cc6cab8d9/Spiegel_Standards_Juli2021.pdf. Accessed May 10, 2023.

Stark, Holger. "Claas Relotius: Ein Fall für die Lehrbücher" [Claas Relotius: A case for the textbooks]. *Zeit Online*, December 21, 2018. https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2018-12/claas-relotius-faelschung-journalismus-spiegel-betrug. Accessed May 10, 2023.

Tashakkori, Abbas, and Charles Teddlie. "The Past and Future of Mixed Methods Research: From Data Triangulation to Mixed Model Designs." In *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*, edited by Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie, 671–701. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003.

VERBI-Software GmbH. MAXQDA. Berlin. https://www.maxqda.com/.

Ziegele, Marc, Tanjev Schultz, Nikolaus Jackob, Viola Granow, Oliver Quiring, and Christian Schemer. "Lügenpresse-Hysterie ebbt ab" [Lying press hysteria is ebbing]. *Media Perspektiven*, no. 4 (2018): 150–62.



Long-form nonfiction author and professor Stephen G. Bloom.

Scholar-Practitioner Q+A . . .

An Interview with Stephen G. Bloom

David O. Dowling
University of Iowa, United States

Keywords: communication – personal narrative – documentary history – storytelling – on writing – *A Lost Generation in Brazil* (forthcoming, University of Missouri Press, 2024)

In Iowa City, there may be no greater honor than to be enshrined in the city's Literary Walk among some of the world's most celebrated authors, including Flannery O'Conner, Kurt Vonnegut, and John Irving, among others.[1] The 2011 selection of Iowa journalist and professor Stephen G. Bloom for inclusion among the world's finest prose stylists with Iowa connections[2] recognized Bloom's ample talents. The decade that followed gives evidence of more of the same. Today, Bloom's at the height of his storytelling powers, the author of six critically acclaimed, narrative nonfiction books, including the most recent, *Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes* and *The Audacity of Inez Burns*.[3]

Bloom's craft is a direct descendant of the New Journalism, as evidenced by these books and his earlier volumes, *Tears of Mermaids*, *The Oxford Project*, *Inside the Writer's Mind*, and *Postville*.[4] Bloom was an award-winning journalist for newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times* and *Dallas Morning News*, before becoming a professor of journalism at the University of Iowa in 1993. He was the 2020 national winner of the Distinguished Teaching in Journalism Award, conferred on one professor annually by the Society of Professional Journalists.[5]

Ethnographic participant-observer journalism is Bloom's expertise. *Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes* (University of California Press, 2021) is the story of teacher Jane Elliott and the Blue-Eyes, Brown-Eyes Experiment she made world-famous, using eye color to simulate racism. *The Audacity of Inez Burns* (Regan

Arts, 2018) is a biography of a San Francisco libertine who, from 1906 to 1951, performed fifty thousand hygienic, albeit illegal, abortions before being prosecuted by district attorney Pat Brown, who went on to become California governor and U.S. presidential hopeful. *Tears of Mermaids* (St. Martin's Press, 2009) traces a single pearl from a diver's hand to a woman's neck. *The Oxford Project* (Welcome Books, 2008) tells the intimate stories of one hundred residents in an insular, small Iowa community over a twenty-three-year period. *Postville* (Harcourt, 2000) details an escalating culture war between ultra-Orthodox Hasidic Jews and Lutherans in a rural meatpacking town.

Bloom started his career as a reporter and editor for the *Brazil Herald*, an English-language daily in Rio de Janeiro. With editorial latitude to match a wild atmosphere of experimentation, the *Brazil Herald* drew a raft of eager and hungry journalists, including twenty-five-year-old Hunter S. Thompson, who began defining his craft at the newspaper.[6]

Bloom's writing epitomizes how journalistic reporting and research can be wedded to narrative storytelling in ways that unlock mysteries of the past, not just for their own sake but to illuminate core truths about the human condition today—particularly by unearthing the roots of social tensions and strife in unforeseen locations.

On July 19, 2022, we sat down for a wide-ranging conversation about narrative nonfiction, Bloom's craft—how he practices and perceives it—as well as today's market demands.

David O. Dowling: How was your career in literary journalism influenced by daily reporting?

Stephen G. Bloom: I got into daily journalism at the tail end of the era that came to be known as the New Journalism. After I returned to the states from Brazil, I started working for the old women's sections, the place where there'd been society news, the bridge column, Dear Abby, sewing tips, recipes, basically the home ec section. If you want to plan a great Fourth of July picnic, here's how you make potato salad. There was a sudden rush to degenderize those newspaper sections and hire men to write for them. This was in the wake of Clay Felker of the *New York Herald Tribune*, in the wake of Tom Wolfe writing daily journalism, which really was experimental, longform magazine writing. It was an exciting time. At the time, the *Dallas Morning News* was involved in a terrific newspaper war with the afternoon paper, the *Dallas Times Herald*, then owned by the *Los Angeles Times*. Burl Osborne, the *News*'s executive editor, told the staff that only one paper would survive, and it sure as hell wasn't going to be the *Times Herald*. If the *Times Herald* sent two reporters to cover a story, the *Morning News* sent three. Anything to beat the competition.

A lot of money was at stake during this era when I became a feature writer, trying to inject into the paper male-interest stories. I wrote stories about cigars, prostate cancer, circumcision, farts, pro wrestling, shoes, shaving, solo flying, con men, grifters. It was a good run that propelled me to the *Los Angeles Times*, where I covered criminal courts in the San Fernando Valley. In LA in the mid-'80s, a single homicide didn't make it into the newspaper unless it was a slow news day or the victim was a famous person. Most homicides were drug-related, which didn't interest the editors. It had to be double, or triple, homicide. An amazing palette, really, to work from. At the time, the *Los Angeles Times* and *Washington Post* were considered the two American papers for writers. The photo and layout editors hadn't taken over yet, and the papers were still run by word people, who gave you *s-p-a-c-e*. Stories could run three thousand, to six-to-seven thousand words, often more, with three or four jumps, which got readers inside the newspaper. The ad people liked that. I wrote about greed, sloth, depravity, and decrepitude—daily fare in any criminal court. Pissed-off wives who bludgeoned their husbands with baseball bats; husbands who chopped up their wives, stuffed them in oil barrels, and dumped them off of Long Beach. Philip Marlow, Raymond Chandler stuff. It was wonderful grist for a book-writer-in-training. I got to write about unsung heroes and forgotten victims. That gig led me to become a feature writer for the *San Jose Mercury News* at the dawning of Silicon Valley. The *Mercury News* was owned by a quality chain, Knight Ridder, and had the largest classified Sunday section in the world. It was fat; you needed a bulldog to lift it from the sidewalk to the breakfast table. Companies like Hewlett-Packard were hiring sandal-wearing nerds with the strange title of "software engineer." Once again, a terrific palette for a writer. Unwittingly, I was creating a corpus of work that would lead me to the University of Iowa, the epicenter of writing.

Dowling: You came to journalism at a time when journalism itself was ideally opening up new channels, like you're saying, through the women's sections of these papers, into all new terrain and territory, part and parcel to do competition with magazines like *Playboy* and *Esquire*, unabashedly male-interest magazines. The rise of the New Journalism and Tom Wolfe's movement was motivated in part to somehow compete with these magazines by featuring articles that were appealing and attractive—particularly cast as longform with an engaging narrative arc—yarns that readers couldn't put down.[7] There was this opening up of the publishing industry for news media that began to evolve out of narrow categorical boxes, specifically of soft news being gendered female. Then, suddenly, the realization struck that there was a big, untapped market that was quite lucrative. There's a wonderful book by Thomas Schmidt called *Rewriting the Newspaper*, which is about daily news

journalism as the source of the narrative journalism movement, particularly arising from places other than Tom Wolfe.[8] Instead, Schmidt locates a locus or germ of the movement in the Style Section of the *Washington Post*. This was daily journalism appealing to male readers beyond baseball scores, politics, or business news.

Bloom: My journalism idols, the reporters I aspired to become—Jimmy Breslin, Pete Hamill, Mike Royko—were all these muscular, two-fisted reporters with attitude. Lots of it. They cast themselves as champions for the little guy. I could do that, too, writing for these revamped women's sections that had become daily magazines. Their names got updated to Style, Today, or Living. I could experiment with dialogue, something I loved. I could come up with bizarro story ideas which would never fly today. An example: I pitched a story tracing a year in the life of a rental tuxedo. An old trope, really, giving life to an inanimate object. I went to an old-fashioned tailor, who also rented tuxedos, and said, "Let me cut you a deal. Would you keep track of the tuxedo jacket I'm going to rent?" It was tuxedo 92146. That's what the jacket said: 92146. And the tailor asked, "Willya put the name of my shop in the article?" "Absolutely," I said. So, every couple of weeks, I'd check in with the tailor and ask, "How's our tuxedo doing?" And he'd reply, "Oh, it came back with a little bit of blood on the lapel." Two weeks later, it came in ripped. Three weeks later, the tailor says, "Sheesh! It came back smelling like vomit." A week later, a lipstick mark on the collar. He kept track of everyone. By the end of the year, I had fifty stories. I'd been able to contact almost every renter of that tuxedo jacket, No. 92146.

The last person who rented the jacket told me he had a wonderful time in the jacket but insisted I not use his name. He was quite insistent. I'm loathe to give anonymity to anyone for lots of reasons. But this guy really piqued my interest. When I asked him why he didn't want me to use his name, he said, "Because I went on a cruise with the tuxedo but without my wife." Imagine someone paying a writer today to keep tabs on a tuxedo for a year? Maybe that story could run today, but it'd have to have a cartoonish visual element to make it work. It'd probably have to be animated on a website. I was able to give life to a crummy old, limp tuxedo through just the power of words.

Dowling: Much of why you remember this work is because your editors were not cutting you off at 250 words. You have achieved the status of an American author who excels at book writing today precisely because you had creative space, or as Melville described it, "plenty of sea-room to tell the Truth in."[9] This space is important not only to allow for great storytelling and writing but also for politically efficacious pieces that hold those in power to account.

Bloom: You have to use that space wisely. No room for boring. No thumb-sucking. No navel-gazing. Get to the point and get to it fast. You can go off on tangents, but only if they're essential to revealing a larger, more holistic, universal stage. You know about the coverage of the Altamont Rolling Stones concert in 1969, right? *Rolling Stone*, the magazine, ran a piece that was a 20,000-word story written by a corps of reporters who were at the concert.[10] They go through all the rigor of straight journalism—what the cops said, what the sheriff said, what witnesses said. Then, suddenly without warning, [it is as if] the magazine writers interrupt themselves and declare: "That's all bullshit. *This* is what happened. We were there; we covered it." *That's* all bullshit. This is what happened. We were there; we covered it. This is what *really* happened. It's a historic moment in American journalism. Pivoting from third-party, so-called "objective" reporting—to telling us the truth. Not coincidently, the dead man at Altamont was a Black man stabbed and stomped to death. It took fifty years for another Black man, George Floyd, to get murdered by a cop in Minneapolis, for us to hear what *really* happened. It took fifty years for the media to step up to the plate. Finally. Not to use police spokesmen, press releases, flaks, strat-comm manipulators of the truth. Whether they know it or not, journalists today have those *Rolling Stone* reporters to thank for giving us our marching orders: That's all bullshit; *this is what happened*. That's the credo. Our motto. That's why journalists do what they do. At least, that's what they do if they're any good.

Dowling: Given that credo, how do you come up with original ideas?

Bloom: I don't walk around with earbuds. I don't check my messages. No texting, no emailing. I'm not scared to be alone; I welcome the solitude. Wherever I am, my head's on a swivel. I want to be aware of the wind, colors, architecture, what people around me are doing, saying. I make up stories and dialogue. "I'm leaving you, finally, you creep!" There's a lot of drama happening out there. Not murders, but small, nonetheless consequential interactions. I love big cities, the subway, and airports for this reason. Sometimes, if I'm in the middle of a writing project, I'm always rewriting a paragraph in my head. Searching for the right word, trying to make the right context and connection. *What's this story all about*? Words are important to me. Their cadence, how they sound clumped together, so I'm repeating strings of them. Sometimes, speaking those words aloud to myself. I'm not being transported by the Grateful Dead, Stevie Nicks, or Van Morrison. No podcasts, either. *S-Town* can wait. I'm searching for an angle—an approach that's new, different, often just plain *weird*. I'm always working. Looking for the next story or refining the one I'm working on. I'm working when I'm walking my dog, when I'm out with my wife, neighbor, colleague, friend. When I'm reading. When

I'm driving (maybe that's why I'm such a lousy driver.) Jeez, I'm working now, while I'm talking to you.

Dowling: I know you've described your work as a form of ethnography. As such, you have to observe people, of course. How do you get people to allow you to be that fly on the wall?

Bloom: A couple of tricks of the trade: I never interview someone who's standing up. I ask them to sit. I take them to a corner in a café, buy them a cup of coffee. I listen. If I'm interviewing someone on the street, I try to steer them to a bench. I'm tall, so I want to make sure our eyes are on the same level. They need to be as comfortable as I can possibly make them. I don't take out my reporter's notebook right away, and I hardly ever use a tape recorder.

Dowling: Why not?

Bloom: It gets in the way. It distracts the person I'm interviewing, and it distracts me. I get freaked that something will go wrong, that the device isn't working. I only use a tape recorder when I am worried that an interview may turn into something litigious. Someone after the fact saying they didn't say what they said. Maybe it's a sign of the times, but I find myself using a tape recorder more often these days than I did in the past. I don't like that. Generally, I stick an old-fashioned reporter's notebook in my back pocket. I don't know shorthand; I just write as fast as I can, but only the words, sentences, and phrases that strike me. I'm not a human recorder. That's not journalism. I love the rise-and-fall of back-and-forth conversation. I listen for it. Often, I don't take out my notebook until the interview's over and I've created a rapport. Sometimes, the first interview is a pre-interview. A time to get us both relaxed. Interviews can be intimate. You're often asking a stranger to share deeply personal information. I try to sit up straight. Show respect. It may sound minor and technical, but I never slouch. I'm truly interested in what people tell me and, towards that end, I want to telegraph that to whoever is talking. I sit at the edge of the seat. Descending into someone's life is confessional. I'm not a Catholic, but I think I understand the magic of what often takes place in a confessional booth between priest and parishioner. People want to unburden themselves. I'm a journalist, not a priest, and maybe because of that, there's less gravity that comes with me, there's no penance. Given the right space, people like to talk. Besides, hardly anyone these days asks anyone anything any longer, not even directions. If someone is asked a question these days, by the time they answer it, the person's got their face in their phone, scrolling TikTok. The art of conversation is dead.

Dowling: Are you concerned about slippage between what someone actually said and what you can remember later when you try to transcribe it? For example, how can you be sure that you're getting exact quotes? I say this

because, of course, Gay Talese used precisely this sort of method,[11] and it worked wonderfully for him and for similar reasons. He broke down the kind of barrier between reporter and subject that can be erected through holding a notebook or having a tape recorder, which puts people on edge and doesn't maybe let them open up. So, the question is, how can you be sure that you're getting those exact quotes?

Bloom: Talese is the inventor of "the art of hanging out";[12] it's also what I try to do. One thing I've practiced is not asking too many questions or at least asking the right questions. Let the rapport work. It's not a confession for *me*. I try to limit what I say. I try to be succinct. Whenever I feel I'm asking too much, I shut up. Let the silence work. People are uncomfortable with it. Interviewing is the black box of reporting, its cornerstone. It's listening and observing. But doing it very well, taking it to a higher level. It's really an art, and as such, you have to practice it. I note whether the person appears nervous, makes eye contact with me, what they're wearing, what kind of shoes they've got on—whether they're tie, slip-ons, or boots—whether the person has their shirt buttoned to the top, whether he/she is swallowing hard, whether they're wearing jeans with holes in them, what brand they are, with or without a belt (thin or wide, leopard-skin or polka dot), whether the person has body odor, is wearing perfume, or smells like pig shit. Does she play with her hair? Does he shake his foot nervously? What do they do with their hands? There's a lot going on, and it's enervating work. I like meeting the baker, butcher, barista, barber, bartender. With city and rural people, I can get mesmerized with how they talk, how they make sense of their own worlds. I want to be there to appreciate the kind of native, found poetry that can flow from their mouths.

Dowling: How do you put people at ease? How do you make them comfortable, maybe, if they're not so willing to open up?

Bloom: I've got no problem sharing what people say to me after the fact. So, if someone is reticent to spill their story, I don't mind sharing the interview with that person later, before it goes into print. It takes the edge off the interview. It can be risky, people can recant, but I find that doesn't happen often. The person doing the talking has the final vetting authority. That's the way it ought to be. I'm also aware of the differential, the hierarchy between me, the Joan Didion–wannabe reporter, who's trying to get something out of someone that's to my advantage. So, I've got no problem in sharing what that person says to me and giving that person power over what they've said. It's not gotcha journalism. It's book writing. For *The Oxford Project*, a story of a community eighteen miles west of Iowa City, some people spoke grammatically incorrectly. That led to an important verisimilitude. I wanted residents to speak the way they speak among their friends, their family. I shared the

interviews; those interviewed got to see what they said before it got printed. And no one changed a word. How do I put people at ease? By being truly interested in and curious about their lives. I *am* interested. I *am* curious. I want to see if I can figure out what makes them tick, what motivates them, what's truly important in their lives. Ninety percent of what someone says to me never gets in the book, never gets in the final rendition. I'm trying to extract the grounds before I serve up the coffee.

Dowling: So, there's a lot on the cutting room floor, then, if ninety percent of that interview is not used. That raises the question, how do you organize your material, especially in light of documentary reporting that you're going to be pulling up, especially from historical archives, maybe secondary sources too?

Bloom: By creating a beginning, middle, and end. Every interview, every story, has an arc. Each starts with an arresting, knock-'em-dead opening, or lede, that begs readers to go on. Then the arc builds to a middle, where I try to accelerate the prose, perhaps with an anecdote, a boxcar that's so perplexing and curious that the reader has to stay engaged. You hook 'em with the beginning, but you make them yours with the middle. Then—Bam!—a killer ending. I never really change the chronology of what anyone says to me during the interview. That goes back to how to manage the interview, the oral give-and-take of information. In *The Oxford Project*, when I interviewed the local butcher—and I don't get to interview butchers every day—I got fascinated with the process of butchering a cow or a pig. Killing a live animal and then disassembling it into sellable parts and pieces. That's totally foreign to me. My only connection with cuts of meat is when I buy hotdogs or hamburgers at the local Hy-Vee. So, the interview started with, "What's it like butchering a pig? Whaddaya do?" Next, I wanted to go deeper than his occupation. What goes on in your head while you're performing what must be a rote process? I'm hoping to get a glimpse of what makes a difference to him. That might be specifics of his family, how his life has been affected by personal tragedy. We might segue into politics; that's always a way to get people going. So, there's an arc from profession to mental state to pivots in his life that have affected him, perhaps profoundly.

I try to create a complete story within the interview. All my reporting starts with preparation for the interview, followed by the interview. I never wing it. The work starts with researching everything about the person so that the first word of the interview begins a very pointed conversation. I'm trying to figure out how he or she imparts meaning to their life. There are lots of reporters who ask everything under the sun; they're like photographers snapping away hundreds of shots without much thinking. That's too automatic

for me. Too much a meaningless record of everything whizzing by. There's no meaning, no context. I'm more intentional. If I know who I'm interviewing, I always, without exception, write my questions out in advance. I really love doing that pre-interview reporting, then meeting the person and descending into who they are. Larry King, the ultimate pop-culture interviewer, never did that. He was proud of saying that he wanted to talk to people as though he were drinking a beer with them for the first time. I'm not like that. I come trying to know as much as I can about a person and seeking to go deeper.

Often, when I'm interviewing someone, my question to that person is, "Why do you say that? Why do you think that? Do you really believe that? Talk about that." I've already done the preliminary reporting: where the person grew up, what the person's job is, what she's said in the past about pretty much everything. I'm more interested in why. I like to stop during an interview and let the silence work for me and the person I'm with. Word documentarians have the advantage that they're not working with images or sound. We can allow for dead space. So, often I won't say anything for ten or twenty seconds. That can freak someone out. I don't mean it to. But it often allows them to go deeper. To become more introspective.

Dowling: In terms of depth—going beyond the interview process and into more of the documentary research—you've tackled some enormous projects, such as *The Audacity of Inez Burns*, which chronicles almost a century of San Francisco. How do you keep from being overwhelmed by how much information is out there?

Bloom: You have to know your story, want to know it better, and be fully committed to telling it in a longform linear format that is compelling and riveting. Full of twists and turns. The Inez Burns book is the story of nearly a century of a woman's life, but the larger story is the geography that surrounds Burns's kaleidoscopic life—San Francisco. You tell the story in bits and pieces, nuggets, as though they're scenes from a movie. You can't tell it all at once. It's an exciting process of holding back, pacing yourself, like running a marathon. If you start by thinking of finishing mile twenty-five, you're gonna get a side ache and drop out at mile twelve. To mix metaphors, dealing with such a complex, organic topic is engaging in a love affair. How she walks, talks, dresses? What would her reaction to that, to this, be? What'd she say when she was ambushed by crooked cops, cops she'd paid off plenty to? What could she have seen in that loser of a second husband of hers, the couch potato she eventually knocked off? That kind of curiosity and immersion propels you deeper into the personnel of the book, the dramatis personae. I suppose it's like novel writing, looking for motives, recreating dialogue (when the characters are all dead), trying to inhabit their minds. You're searching for

the marrow, the corpus. It's a long, drawn-out, intense affair—whether it's with Inez Burns; Riceville residents of *Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes*; the locals of Oxford, Iowa; gumball-size pearls and the people who live for them; or Postville, the town twenty-five miles west of the Mississippi, where I camped out for five years. You lose yourself down a rabbit hole; it's all you care about. You'll do anything you can, ethically that is, to nurture that relationship. You'll go anywhere you need to get at understanding the 360-degree locus of it.

This isn't gotcha journalism. You're not parachuting into Riceville, Postville, Oxford, Rio de Janeiro, rural China, doing your interviews, confirming exactly what you expected, and then saying, "Thank you ma'am, I'm outta here!" You sit down and listen to people five, six, seven, eight, ten times. It's time-consuming. You want to find out how one person's actions might have affected someone else's, sometimes in an obvious way, other times in a kind of accidental, serendipitous way, that somehow changes the ethos of an entire community, so that maybe, just maybe, you'll be able to get at a version of something that might, just might, resemble the ultimate truth, that 360-look. It's not parachute journalism, the local 10 News: "That's the story, Joe! Now, back to the studio!" These sagas are complicated. They require deep, heavy, intellectual lifting. I'm always asking myself, *What's going on here?* What's really going on here? How can I begin to get at this 360-vantage point? What do the Hasidic Jews really feel? How do the born-and-bred locals really feel about the civil war happening in their backyard? What's going on in the mind of the power brokers, those whose pocketbooks are on the line? If you interview enough people and give them enough time, and you go back and forth, and you let their ideas germinate and sprout with them and with you, then you might be able to get at some very rough version of what's really going on in that *ecosystem* you've spent so much time trying to understand.

Dowling: Your version of the so-called truth, of course, is predicated on interviews along with documentary reporting and research that you've done in the back, too. You have real people, who may be well connected, very much alive, and may have access to attorneys, who may have money for very high-powered attorneys to defend themselves and/or launch some kind of an assault based on what you've done. How do you deal with representing them, given the potential for offending them and also, in terms of description of a place, not even a person, but a location or a geography or a region as a character that certain people may feel the need to defend? How do you deal with description in your nonfiction? Are you ever worried that the way you've described someone, or perhaps a region, will offend them, or when it's inferred as superficial or even catty judgment?

Bloom: I've never been sued. No one's ever thrown a punch at me. I've

never been coldcocked. Occasionally, when I'm about to interview someone, they'll pull out their own tape recorder. They want to have a record of what they're about to say. That's okay. I don't mind it. It's extraordinarily difficult to please everyone. That's not your job. If that's what you wanna do, go into PR, strategic communication, as it's called today. A journalist ought to offend. "Comfort the afflicted, afflict the comfortable," as the fictional Chicago bartender, Mr. Dooley, used to say.[13] Or, as George Orwell supposedly wrote, "Journalism is printing what someone else does not want printed. Everything else is public relations."[14] I'm trying to get at something that people who have lived in a community their whole lives never have had the perspective to see. I hope to get a kind of insider-outsider perspective. It's gonna piss people off. Absolutely! I know that. But you don't go into journalism to make friends. You're trying to cast a shaft of light on—if you've done your work right—micro laboratories of the human condition. Those are the kinds of places and stories I try to pick.

In *Postville*, in this quest to get at "the 360," as I call it, in the morning, I hung out with the locals at Ginger's, the local coffee shop. After a while, I wasn't the crazy writer from the University of Iowa any longer. I had become just another guy, waking up, slurping coffee, and eating a very sweet pastry, developing a belly. In the afternoons, I'd go to the kosher slaughterhouse and hang out with the rabbis, the guys slitting the throats of the cattle for a living. After I had been doing this for a month or two, one of the rabbis lowered his voice and said to me, "Ve know vhere you are every morning, Shlomo—my Hebrew name; that's what they called me. Ve know you're vit the other side. Vhat are they saying about us?" Well, that puts you in a strange, but terrifically sublime, position, because, at about the same time that was happening, the locals crosstown at Ginger's started in on me: "Hey, we know you go over to the slaughterhouse. What are those crazy rabbis saying about us?" It turned into an a-ha moment. I saw a lot of similarities that neither the rabbis nor the locals had likely ever realized. Minor stuff, I suppose, but really not so minor. No one ever took off their hats. The locals wore feed caps and would never think of taking them off, even inside. And in the slaughterhouse, the rabbis were also wearing hats—yarmulkes. So, you have two very different cultures thinking they are totally separate and apart, and they're wearing hats for the same reason. Both, because they're an homage to the almighty. The farmers are wearing hats because of the sun; the hats protect them. The rabbis are wearing them because of something else that they can't control—God's will or power. Like the weather. You never know what the next day or hour will bring. There were other uncanny similarities I picked up on: Whenever the farmers would crack a joke, they'd say, "*Uff da*!" Norwegian for something

like, "Oh, my God." And then in the afternoon, the rabbis would be saying in Yiddish, "*Oy*!" meaning something close to the same thing.

I'm quite certain that neither side would ever have thought that there was anything similar about the other side. Case in point: It takes an insider-outsider moment like these to figure out that maybe these two diametrically opposed sets of people really aren't all that different after all.

I stayed with a Lutheran farming family just outside of Postville during the reporting phase of the book. They were very open; they shared with me their sense of their community and how their lives were changing. In the book, I described Brenda, the mother and wife, as "a handsome, big-boned strong woman."[15] Boy, did I ever hear about that! After *Postville* came out, I did a reading in northeastern Iowa, not far from Postville—I don't like readings, but that's a different story—and right before the reading began, a queue of two hundred guys on Harleys zoomed into this town of Marquette. And the head dude got two inches from my nose and told me in no uncertain terms, "We didn't like what you said about our friend. We want you to take that back. That wasn't a very nice thing to say." He looked at me, and I looked at him, and I think I blinked first. Driving home that day, I came to the conclusion that that guy might have had a good point. When you're describing people, you can't describe everything; it's not an inventory. You're not the FBI. I chose to describe Brenda as "big-boned" and "handsome." But that description carried too much of my own cultural viscera. What the hell had I been thinking? She was a healthy, hardy human being, engaged in working the rich Iowa soil. So, in the paperback version of *Postville* I deleted the description. Four words. I don't think the book rises or falls on those four words. What this posse of motorcycle dudes taught me was to be mindful of the power of the words you choose. They can comfort, but they can sting. In the later stages of my career, I've tried to come up with more meaningful ways to bring life to important characters—personages who I want to convey as real, 360-degree people to readers. I hope catty is for someone else.

Dowling: These descriptors may ring true at the moment—that this woman is "big-boned" and "handsome"—but is that necessary to bring out, or not, is the question, in terms of the narrative, the story you're telling? And if it doesn't necessarily drive that story or contribute to it in any way, like you say, in later editions, you were okay with leaving it out. How important is dialogue, *hearing*, not only seeing the importance of the whole person (the shoes, clothes, posture), but hearing the voice? Hearing them is connected to dialogue. How important is that power of observation you're describing in terms of your ability to craft dialogue and in terms of the larger story arc you're delivering? How important is it to have dialogue at all, or should nar-

rative journalism not necessarily carry it?

Bloom: The old journalism adage—show, don't tell—is why dialogue is so important. Dialogue can give us profound poetry. It can turn words into song. And it doesn't have to be English; I hear it in Spanish or Portuguese, two languages I'm conversant in. Dialogue is important for a couple of technical reasons, too. Dialogue takes on multiple paragraphs, and they're often short paragraphs. So, in the dialogue between me and someone else, or among me and two or three other people, each comment takes on its own paragraph, and these short paragraphs are easy to read on the printed page. Readers' eyes gravitate to white space, and you can get away with a lot of it using dialogue. It helps readers' eyes breathe. Dialogue also speeds the story. It gives readers a sense of being right there, in Ginger's or the slaughterhouse. Another reason I try to gird my narrative writing with as much dialogue as possible: I love the way people talk. I love the way people try to make meaning out of their lives in their own words. I don't want to do it for them; I want them to do it for themselves. As long as it speeds the narrative, I think dialogue is essential to great storytelling.

For *The Oxford Project*, I interviewed a woman named Pat Henkelman, who said to me out of the blue, "There used to be a hat store in town. I wish it still was here. I love hats."[16] Listen to that. It's gorgeous. Pat looked to me like the kind of woman who in the 1950s wouldn't think of going anywhere without a pretty hat on her head.

Preceding her reverie of hats, Pat also shared with me meeting the man who would become her husband:

"In 1940, Harry and I were working at a bee factory in Harlan, and when I came back from lunch one day, he was filling my jars. That night we met at the county fair and had our picture taken, and that was that."[17]

That gives me goosebumps!

But listen to what she said next:

"After forty-five years of marriage, he left me for another woman. I didn't know who the woman was, but everyone else in town did. I would have felt better if she was young and beautiful, but she wasn't. They used to play euchre at the Legion Hall."[18]

Gorgeous, luscious stuff!

It comes right from Pat's gut. So, dialogue is key. And, again, the only way to get it is to shut the hell up. If you've created the right environment, listen and let the magic come out. You'll find it, you'll hear it; just have to wait for it.

Dowling: So dialogue seems like something you have to pick up by tuning your ear to it properly to be able to pick up the nuances of an idiom or a

dialect of not only a people and a community but what makes an individual idiosyncratic and unique; capturing that is key. Animating them and placing them as characters within a larger scene is another part of the craft that you have mastered in your works. How do you pull together the disparate elements of dialogue and documentary evidence to make scenes cohere?

Bloom: You listen, but you also need to develop a sense of drama and timing. Two anecdotes: I'm in rural China interviewing pearl farmers. This is very rural China. These guys have never heard a word of English, and I speak no Mandarin. They throw a fishing net out, and they're bringing in hundreds of oysters. Forty farmers—and they pry open the oysters, and there's a treasure trove of luminescent, multicolored pearls shimmering right before my eyes, right from the live oysters. It's pretty amazing, and my first reaction is "Wow!" And they respond by repeating, "Wow!" "Wow!" "Wow!" In writing that scene, I wanted to make clear that after I shouted "Wow!" the farmers increased the volume of their "Wow!" each time in a kind of chorus. So, I increased the point size of W-O-W in the three iterations in the text of *Tears of Mermaids,* from twelve to sixteen to twenty point, which I'm sure played havoc with the page designer. The Chinese farmers might not know anything else in English, but "Wow!"[19] worked in their language, too. This's interesting shit! Not to share it with the reader would be a crime.

Another anecdote from that book: I did an interview with a pearl sorter, who'd never been more than fifty miles from her home. The concept of America, Europe, even Beijing or Shanghai, was nonexistent to her. I remember asking this diffident woman, through an interpreter, "What do you dream of doing someday?" I used the word "dream" as a synonym for aspire. Shame on me! What a middle-class, bourgeois, ridiculous question! She answered sort of quizzically, "Some nights I have dreams, and other nights, I don't."[20] She took the question literally. Her aspirations were to be as happy as possible. What more was there? So I used this exchange as a riff in the book. It allowed me to confront my own geocentric notions, but it also brought these personages on this massive global assembly line to life.

Right now, I'm reading a book that, somehow, I neglected, called *Coyotes*, by Ted Conover.[21] Totally immersive journalism. He joins Mexicans and Central Americans in crossing the border. It's a deep dive in sociology and, among other issues, deals with stereotypes not just that Americans hold but also the stereotypes Hispanics share. Americans, Europeans, First World people, are one current in a wide river of humanity, and because of economic and historic imperatives, we're in the middle of that teeming river. But if we're going to be universal and effective storytellers, we need to realize there are lots of other currents, eddies, whirlpools, maybe some undertow, in that river and we need

to try to tell those stories, too.

Dowling: Is there a common thread between those kinds of stories that move you and the ones that you seek out to produce yourself? If so, you mentioned Ted Conover. Are there other sources of inspiration among narrative journalists?

Bloom: I don't give a flying fuck about Washington. I don't give a shit about traditional politics. The apogee for journalists from my era was to land in Washington, D.C., and cover the halls of power. I am not the go-to guy for that. I don't care much for interviewing "important" people. I look at reporters like Studs Terkel, Michael Herr, J. Anthony Lukas, as role models—those interested in interviewing working-class Jacks and Jills, not the Ivankas and Jareds of the world.

Dowling: I'm thinking also of Ernie Pyle.

Bloom: Absolutely! The preeminent World War II correspondent for Scripps-Howard who wrote about G. I. Joe.[22] There's always been a plethora of institutional, top-down journalism, and it serves its purpose. What the president says is news. But can I stand to watch CNN for more than fifteen minutes? Can I stand to read much of the top-down establishment journalism epitomized by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, or *Wall Street Journal*? It's "agenda journalism." There's nothing very surprising about most of it. I'm more interested in those rural pearl farmers shouting, "Wow!" or Pat wishing there was a hat store in town. I'm more interested in the Ernie Pyle grunts. Gay Talese is a fascinating writer. The ability of Hunter S. Thompson to poke fun at politicians is an amazing read. I adore Tom Wolfe for his skill to ramble on and on and make me want to go along for the ride while also creating neologisms—or new words. But that's not what I do, which is to park myself with someone who's got a story, metaphorically take a puff on a cigarette, sit, and wait. In doing so, tell a larger story.

As a little boy, I used to go to bed with a transistor radio glued to my ear, and I'd listen to a great storyteller in New York City on WOR Radio, 710 on the AM dial. His name was Jean Shepherd. His most famous book was *In God We Trust, All Others Pay Cash*.[23] He's probably best known for a movie he narrated, *A Christmas Story*.[24] Shep used to spin stories about his boyhood friends, Flick, Schwartz, and his Uncle Al. His stories were an attempt at making sense out of his small, elaborate, proscribed world. That's really what journalists ought to be doing. It's not easy. I think that when rocket scientists or brain surgeons are really stumped, one might say to the other, "Well, it can't be that difficult to figure out; I mean, it's not journalism." To do it well, journalism is a very complicated job.

So, I come from this heritage of oral storytellers. I got some of it from

listening to itinerant shoe salesman—"shoe dogs"—who used to work in my father's family shoe store in northern New Jersey. These guys, they could tell a story! About broads, gams that went forever, poor schmucks, schlemiels, racetrack touts.

Look, the oldest ask in the world is, "Tell me a story." When the cave dude left the cave and said, "Mom's gonna take care of you, I'll be back; it might be two weeks, it might be three months, but I'll be back." So, when the cave dude comes back, dragging a side of beef, the first thing the cave kids and the cave spouse ask is, "What was it like out there?" "Whaddaya see?" That's our job as storytellers. To tell what we saw, to tell everyone what it's like out there.

In doing that, you're gonna piss people off. Some of them aren't going to like what you made of what you saw. "It was really swampland over there," the cave dude says. "Not nearly as nice as where we live! And the people over there, they're real creeps!" You aspire to get at some degree of truth-telling. Not catty, but based on your own impressions and on facts. It's going to offend a lot of people. They're going to malign you, and they can do that really well today with social media. People are going to cast horrible aspersions, not just on you, but on your family, maybe on your race, religion, your gender. They might go after your job, pressure your boss to fire you. But that's only if you're doing great journalism. You're out there to tell the world what it's like outside the cave. And in many cases, that cave is America.

Dowling: Which leads me to suggest there is a kind of narrative journalism that will serve democracy. That boldness you're speaking to is something I've personally admired in your own work, particularly its willingness to speak to the truth of a local community, for example, that may be offensive to some people, but to be able to do so in part because you don't belong to that community. Coming from the East Coast as a Jew, as a liberal—anti-gun, pro-choice—you often write about rural subjects; you often write about middle America. This entails going out of your comfort zone and becoming that Holden Caulfield who is not in the stadium but on the hill outside of the stadium so that he can see with his own eyes what the people in the stadium are doing at the opening of *The Catcher in the Rye*, as our narrator.[25] It's that outsider's perspective—I enjoyed that privilege by having never been in the Iowa Writers' Workshop as a student or as a faculty member, yet forging the last several decades of my career cheek to jowl next to it. Talk about that positionality, that sense of perspective—necessary for the best type of journalism—that liminality, not inside but a little bit to the outside. Thoughts on that?

Bloom: You need a support system if you're going to do this kind of

journalism. I'm not a believer in much. I'm a cynic. I don't have many answers and I don't trust anyone who says they do. But I do have a fascination with believers, whether they're Trumpers, anti-abortion zealots, UFO freaks, die-hard Hawkeye fans.[26] I did a story about the Sisters of Charity, hanging out with nuns who completely revere Mother Teresa. I did a story about monks in a Texas monastery, who were former addicts, misfits, men gone astray, as well as some average Joes who would have turned into Richard Cory if it weren't for the church. I have a genuine fascination with believers. Journalism allows me to try to figure out how the other half lives. Maybe it's more than just a half. I like being the outsider figuring why everyone's inside.

After I graduated from Berkeley in the early 1970s, I tried to be a writer, but I also needed a *real* job. So, I started working for Del Monte along the assembly line in a cannery in Emeryville, California. I was a depalletizer, which meant that every sixty seconds, I'd push a button that would lower 144 cans of fruit cocktail on and off a wooden pallet. The first thing the guy I worked with asked me was, "What you got to get stoned on?" And I answered, "This looks easy!" The guy sneered at me for the next week. When I went to the breakroom, guys were smoking joints, sipping cheap whisky, sleeping. These guys weren't thinking about how they were going to save up enough money to send their kids to college. They weren't thinking of saving enough money to buy a used, black-and-white TV. Most were likely thinking: How do I get through this fucking shift to get to another fucking shift, to get to another. So, I wrote about the malaise I saw and sent it off to the *New York Times* op-ed pages. This was my first piece in a major publication.[27] For me, it was the equivalent of another idol, Frank Conroy and *Stop-Time*, his first book, ringing alarms everywhere.[28] For me, it was the jackpot. I had written that the work was so horrendous that the only way to stay with it was to get ripped. The story started me on a career of the insider-outsider telling their stories.

Dowling: Moving into your current situation and the business of writing today, you've said that you don't like being regarded as an academic even though you're a professor. How do you conceive of yourself professionally and why does that matter for your writing?

Bloom: Recently, I had a discussion with an academic colleague, who asked about the new book I'm working on. He wanted to know how my "fieldwork" was going. It sort of cracked me up. Field work? Like Caesar Chavez and the UFW? What you really mean is interviewing, researching, reading articles and books, doing more interviews, filing FOIAs, getting stonewalled, hung-up on, ignored, and then pounding the pavement for more? That's basic reporting.

As much as I can love any institution, I love the University of Iowa be-

cause it's given me time to do what I like to do—maybe what I need to do. Reporting and writing is in my bones, in my corpuscles. It's nearly impossible to do the kind of book writing I do as a lone wolf. It's harder today than it ever was. You're constantly writing grant applications, pitches to editors and agents, waiting for callbacks that never come. You're having to consider mollifying your stuff to make it palatable to the establishment New York publishing world, as well as to Hollywood, which, these days, is more issue-averse than ever. With just a bachelor's degree, I'm probably the most undereducated, tenured, full professor in America today.

But there's a place for writers like me in the academy, and there ought to be more. I'm certainly not the go-to guy when it comes to the German press, 1880–1888. I'm not the go-to guy for contextualizing McLuhanesque messages. I don't know anything about that. But what I do know is narrative nonfiction writing, because that's what I do every day.

When I started at the University of Iowa, some colleagues advised me to get involved with an organization called AEJMC,[29] sort of the flagship association for professors in journalism. Like Groucho Marx, I'm not a joiner. But I figured what the hell, so I arranged for a talk that would be given at the annual convention, held that year in Washington, D.C., by a journalist I deeply admired, Hugh Sidey, now deceased, who was a major force in American journalism. He'd been the White House, longtime columnist for *Life* magazine, as well as bureau chief for *Time*.[30] He was someone I tried to model my professional life after, even though I never sought a Washington nexus. He was a master, a wonderful writer, very much like Teddy White, *The Making of The President*, *1964*, *'68*, *'72*.[31] Sidey was an amazing reporter; in a sense like Hunter Thompson not on acid, like Joe McGinniss in *The Selling of the President 1968*.[32] So, I created a panel at AEJMC with Sidey, one of the titans of our profession. I made contact with Sidey, who was born in Greenfield, Iowa. That was my connection; his brother ran the weekly newspaper back home in Greenfield. As young men, Sidey and his brother, Ed, flipped a coin. The winner would stay in Iowa and run the family newspaper; the loser would go to Washington and see what he could find. The "loser" in this case became one of the most important journalists of our epoch. I thought Sidey would fill the room to the rafters. He'd be speaking to *journalism* professors. Well, guess what? Four people showed up. And three of them were friends, and one was my wife. We had a venue of 500 seats at the Sheraton-Shoreham Hotel, and four people showed up. I privilege, honor, worship journalists. That was the last AEJMC convention I ever attended. The truth is—believe it or not—there are journalism academics who don't much like journalists and journalism.

Dowling: I was hoping we could end with your reflections on how the role of editor has changed. Perhaps connect that to any regrets and highlights of your biggest journalistic moments, or maybe your magnum opus, the thing you hope to be remembered for, and how your work fits into the canon of American journalism. The reason I ask about regrets relates to Tracy Kidder buying back the rights to *The Road to Yuba City*, on the Juan Corona murders, after his realization that it was too sensational.[33] He was humiliated by its presence. Do you have a book like this in your corpus? Which book is your crown jewel? How have editors factored in?

Bloom: The role of editors has changed dramatically. When *Postville* came out, I worked with an editor at Harcourt by the name of Walter Bode. Walter actually read the manuscript word for word. He used a blue pencil and marked up the manuscript like Maxwell Perkins.[34] That doesn't exist today. Frankly, I'm not sure if editors really even read manuscripts any longer. Certainly, they don't pore over them. Editors today are acquiring editors. They're not wordsmiths, they're business people. This is what happens in a production-centric, we-need-to-grow-eight-percent-each-year economy. They're interested in marketable ideas—yes, and that's wonderful—but once they've found the latest idea widget, they're on to another. The role of editor has receded. If Walter Bode changed a word in my manuscript, he'd type several paragraphs, *suggesting* that I *consider* not using that word for the following reasons. Contrast that to a later book of mine. When the manuscript came back to me, the editor told me, "Wouldn't change a word. Reads like the wind." *What*? I wanted the editor to say, "We need to do some work! We need to sharpen this! It's way too long! We need to make it punchier. We need to make this better!" Today, you're on your own, so you hire someone to do what was once the publishing-house editor's job.

You have to look at your books and articles as babies who grow up with lives of their own. You're proud of them for a whole bunch of reasons. They came out at different times in your career. If you're lucky and you really love the craft, and you have a university job or some family money or are lucky enough to juggle two separate incomes, then you can continue writing, although book publishing is getting more and more difficult because fewer people are hooked on book reading. All your books are different for lots of reasons, mostly because you've changed, because you'd gotten smarter—or at least less dumb. I love some of the stuff in *Postville*. I love that episode in *The Audacity of Inez Burns* when the chisel-chinned cop is looking at the safe and has a gun to Inez's head and is screaming, "Unlock that safe and do it now!"[35] When someone asked Frank Lloyd Wright which one of his buildings was his favorite, he supposedly said, *My next one*. Right now, I'm excited about

making sense out of a whacky merry-prankster newspaper I worked for in Rio de Janeiro to start my career off in the 1970s, where Hunter Thompson worked a decade before I arrived.[36] That's happiness. To be able to say, I've got an 80,000-word blank sheet of paper in the carriage of my typewriter that I'm looking forward to filling. If I can bring a couple of readers along for the ride, that's even better.

David O. Dowling, Professor in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Iowa, is the author and editor of twelve books and numerous articles on media, communication, and culture, with an emphasis on narrative journalism from print to the digital age. His latest books are Podcast Journalism: The Promise and Perils of Audio Reporting *(Columbia University Press, 2024), and* The Art of Fact in the Digital Age: An Anthology of New Literary Journalism *(co-edited with Jacqueline Marino; Bloomsbury Academic, 2024). The impact of shifts in online culture and digital publishing industries on multimedia narrative is the focus of* Immersive Longform Storytelling: Media, Technology, Audience *(Routledge, 2019).*

Notes

[1] Iowa City UNESCO City of Literature, "Lit Walk."

[2] Sullivan, "Iowa City's Literary Walk," May 18, 2011.

[3] Bloom, *Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes*; Thornberry, "Unyielding Soil," January 17, 2022; Bloom, *The Audacity of Inez Burns*; Veltman, "Inez Burns' Abortion Clinic," April 22, 2018.

[4] Bloom, *Tears of Mermaids*; Feldstein and Bloom, *The Oxford Project*; Bloom, *Inside the Writer's Mind*; Bloom, *Postville*. See "The Recommended Stephen G. Bloom," 192.

[5] Kent, "SPJ Selects Stephen Bloom," August 13, 2020.

[6] Kevin, *The Footloose American*, 349–50.

[7] Weingarten, *The Gang that Wouldn't Write Straight*.

[8] Schmidt, *Rewriting the Newspaper*.

[9] Melville, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," 246.

[10] Bangs et al., "Let It Bleed," *Rolling Stone*, January 21, 1970, 14ff.

[11] Kramer and Call, *Telling True Stories*, 30.

[12] Lounsberry, "Gay Talese and the Fine Art of Hanging Out," 123; Wheelwright, "The Orgy Next Door," 29–50.

[13] The original reads, ". . . comforts th' afflicted, afflicts th' comfortable, . . ." Dunne, "Mr. Dooley on Newspaper Publicity," *San Diego* (CA) *Union*, October 5, 1902, 8.

[14] The source of this quote is disputed. For a summary of attributions, go to Quote Investigator, "The News Is What Somebody Does Not Want You to Print. All the Rest Is Advertising."

[15] Bloom, *Postville*, 102.

[16] Feldstein and Bloom, *The Oxford Project*, 228.

[17] Feldstein and Bloom, 228.

[18] Feldstein and Bloom, 228.

[19] Bloom, *Tears of Mermaids*.

[20] Bloom, *Tears of Mermaids*, 159. Text quotes are paraphrased from the original.

[21] Conover, *Coyotes*, 1987.

[22] Pyle, *Here Is Your War: Story of G.I. Joe*.

[23] Shepherd, *In God We Trust, All Others Pay Cash*.

[24] Clark, *The Christmas Story*, with screenplay co-authored by Shepherd.

[25] Salinger, *Catcher in the Rye*, 4–6.

[26] "Hawkeyes" is the name of the football team of the U.S. University of Iowa, in Iowa City, Iowa.

[27] Bloom, "A Cannery Connection," *New York Times*, September 20, 1973, 47.

[28] Conroy, *Stop-Time*.

[29] The AEJMC is the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, with headquarters in Columbia, South Carolina.

[30] Sidey, *Hugh Sidey's Profiles of the Presidents*; Porter, "Remembering Hugh Sidey (1927–2005)"; Martin, "Hugh Sidey, Who Covered the Presidency for Time,

Dies at 78."

[31] White, *The Making of The President, 1964*; White, *The Making of The President, 1968*; White, *The Making of The President, 1972*.

[32] McGinniss, *The Selling of the President 1968*.

[33] Kidder, *The Road to Yuba City: A Journey into the Juan Corona Murders;* Dowling, "Beyond the Program Era," 59–60.

[34] Berg, *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius*.

[35] Bloom, *The Audacity of Inez Burns*, 207–8, paraphrased.

[36] Kevin, *The Footloose American*. Bloom's manuscript in progress is tentatively titled, *A Lost Generation in Brazil*.

Bibliography

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. 234 Outlet Point Blvd. Columbia, South Carolina. https://www.aejmc.org/.

Bangs, Lester, *Reny Brown, John Burks, Sammy Egan, Michael Goodwin, Geoffrey Link, Greil Marcus, John Morthland, Eugene Schoenfeld, Patrick Thomas, and Langdon Winner*. "Let It Bleed." *Rolling Stone*, January 21, 1970, 14ff. Available online as "The Rolling Stones Disaster at Altamont: Let It Bleed." https://www.rollingstone.com/feature/the-rolling-stones-disaster-at-altamont-let-it-bleed-71299/. Accessed August 10, 2022.

Berg, A. Scott. *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius.* New York: New American Library, 2016. First published 1978 by Dutton (New York).

Bloom, Stephen G. *The Audacity of Inez Burns: Dreams, Desire, Treachery and Ruin in the City of Gold*. New York: Regan Arts, 2018.

———. *Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes: A Cautionary Tale of Race and Brutality*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.

———. "A Cannery Connection." *New York Times*, September 20, 1973, 47. https://www.nytimes.com/1973/09/20/archives/a-cannery-connection.html?smid=em-share.

———. *Tears of Mermaids: The Secret Story of Pearls*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009.

Clark, Bob, dir. *A Christmas Story*. Screenplay co-authored by Jean Shepherd. Beverly Hills, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1983. Videocassette (VHS), 94 min.

Conover, Ted. *Coyotes: A Journey across Borders with America's Mexican Migrants*. New York: Penguin, 1987.

Conroy, Frank. *Stop-Time*. New York: Viking Press, 1967.

Dowling, David. "Beyond the Program Era: Tracy Kidder, John D'Agata, and the Rise of Literary Journalism at the Iowa Writers' Workshop." *Literary Journalism Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 52–77.

Dunne, Finley Peter. "Mr. Dooley on Newspaper Publicity." *San Diego* (CA) *Union*, October 5, 1902, 8.

https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SDDU19021005.2.54&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN--------1.

Feldstein, Peter. *The Oxford Project*. Text by Stephen G. Bloom. New York: Welcome Books, 2010. First published 2008 by Welcome Books (New York).

Iowa City UNESCO City of Literature. "Lit Walk," 2020. https://www.iowacityofliterature.org/lit-walk/.

Kent, Matthew. "SPJ Selects Stephen Bloom, University of Iowa Professor for Distinguished Teaching Award." *Society of Professional Journalists: SPJ News*. August 13, 2020. https://www.spj.org/news.asp?ref=1748.

Kevin, Brian. *The Footloose American: Following the Hunter S. Thompson Trail across South America*. New York: Broadway Books, 2014.

Kidder, Tracy. *The Road to Yuba City: A Journey into the Juan Corona Murders*. New York: Doubleday, 1974.

Kramer, Mark, and Wendy Call, eds. *Telling True Stories: A Nonfiction Writers' Guide from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University*. New York: Plume, 2007.

Lounsberry, Barbara. "Gay Talese and the Fine Art of Hanging Out." In "The Line Between Fact and Fiction." Special Issue, *Creative Nonfiction*, no. 16 (Spring 2000): 131–34. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44362963.

Martin, Douglas. "Hugh Sidey, Who Covered the Presidency for *Time*, Dies at 78." *New York Times*, November 23, 2005. https://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/23/us/hugh-sidey-who-covered-the-presidency-for-time-dies-at-78.html.

McGinniss, Joe. *The Selling of the President 1968*. New York: Trident Press, 1969.

Melville, Herman. "Hawthorne and His Mosses." In *The Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces, 1839–1860*, ed. Harrison Hayford, Alma A. MacDougall, G. Thomas Tanselle, and others, 239–53. Vol. 9 of The Writings of Herman Melville. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1987.

Porter, Robert B. "Remembering Hugh Sidey (1927–2005)." *The White House Historical Association*, December 1, 2005. https://www.whitehousehistory.org/rubenstein-center/hugh-s-sidey-scholarship/remembering-hugh-sidey-1927-2005.

Pyle, Ernie. *Here Is Your War. Story of G. I. Joe*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. First published 1943 by H. Holt (New York).

Quote Investigator. "The News Is What Somebody Does Not Want You to Print. All the Rest Is Advertising." Accessed August 16, 2022. https://quoteinvestigator.com/2013/01/20/news-suppress/#:~:text=Everything%20else%20is%20advertising.&text=Today's%20thought%3A%20News%20is%20anything,%E2%80%93%20Malcolm%20Muggeridge.

Salinger, J. D. *Catcher in the Rye*. New York: Little, Brown, 1951.

Schmidt, Thomas. *Rewriting the Newspaper: The Storytelling Movement in American Print Journalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2020.

Shepherd, Jean. *In God We Trust, All Others Pay Cash*. New York: Doubleday, 1966.

Sidey, Hugh. *Hugh Sidey's Profiles of the Presidents: From FDR to Clinton with* Time Magazine*'s Veteran White House Correspondent*. New York: Little, Brown, 2000.

Sullivan, Adam B. "Iowa City's Literary Walk to Get $70,000 Expansion." *Gazette* (Iowa City, IA), May 18, 2011. https://www.thegazette.com/news/iowa-citys-

literary-walk-to-get-70000-expansion/.
Thornberry, Jason M. "Unyielding Soil: On Stephen G. Bloom's 'Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes: A Cautionary Tale of Race and Brutality.' " *Los Angeles Review of Books*. January 17, 2022. https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/unyielding-soil-on-stephen-g-blooms-blue-eyes-brown-eyes-a-cautionary-tale-of-race-and-brutality/.
Weingarten, Marc. *The Gang That Wouldn't Write Straight: Wolfe, Thompson, Didion, Capote, and the New Journalism Revolution*. New York: Crown, 2010. First published 2006 by Crown (New York).
Wheelwright, Julie. "The Orgy Next Door: An Exploration of Ethical Relationships in Gay Talese's *Thy Neighbor's Wife* and *The Voyeur's Motel*." *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 28–50.
White, Theodore H. *The Making of the President, 1964*. New York: Atheneum House, 1965.
———. *The Making of the President, 1968*. New York: Atheneum House, 1969.
———. *The Making of the President, 1972*. New York: Atheneum House, 1973.
Veltman, Chloe. "Inez Burns' Abortion Clinic Was One of San Francisco's Worst Kept Secrets." *NPR Weekend Edition Sunday* (KQED), April 22, 2018. https://www.npr.org/2018/04/22/604702064/inez-burns-abortion-clinic-was-one-of-san-franciscos-worst-kept-secrets.

The Recommended Stephen G. Bloom

The Audacity of Inez Burns: Dreams, Desire, Treachery and Ruin in the City of Gold. New York: Regan Arts, 2018.
Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes: A Cautionary Tale of Race and Brutality. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.
"Cannery Connection." *New York Times*, September 20, 1973. https://www.nytimes.com/1973/09/20/archives/a-cannery-connection.html?smid=em-share.
Inside the Writer's Mind: Writing Narrative Journalism. New York: Wiley, 2002.
The Oxford Project. [Photographs by Peter Feldstein]. New York: Welcome Books, 2010. First published 2008 by Welcome Books (New York).
Postville: A Clash of Cultures in Heartland America. New York: Harcourt, 2000.
Tears of Mermaids: The Secret Story of Pearls. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011. First published 2009 by St. Martin's Press (New York).
"Three Seconds: A Murder, Place, and Time." *Faction Magazine*, 2015. https://factionmagazine.com/3seconds/index.html.

— Compiled by David Dowling

Book Reviews . . .

Kate McQueen, Book Review Editor

Book Review Essay
Alarm Calls and Other Echoes of a Once and Future World
by Susan Swanberg 194

Reporterstreifzüge: Die ersten modernen Reportagen aus Berlin
by Hugo von Kupffer
Reviewed by Kate McQueen 211

Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse: Erzählen im Journalismus und die Vermittlung städtischer Armut in Deutschland und den USA (1880–1910)
by Hendrik Michael
Reviewed by Thomas R. Schmidt 214

Literary Journalism and Social Justice
edited by Robert Alexander and Willa McDonald
Reviewed by Nancy Roberts 217

The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories through Sound
by Siobhán McHugh
Reviewed by Ella Waldmann 220

Cheap Land Colorado: Off-Gridders at America's Edge
by Ted Conover
Reviewed by Patrick Walters 223

Latin American Documentary Narratives: The Intersections of Storytelling and Journalism in Contemporary Literature
by Liliana Chávez Díaz
Reviewed by Aleksandra Wiktorowska 226

Mejor que ficción: Crónicas ejemplares
Edited by Jorge Carrión
Reviewed by Roberto Herrscher 230

Maracaibo Lake, Venezuela. Image by Wilfredor, 2012. Wikimedia Commons.

Alarm Calls and Echoes of a Once and Future World

Susan E. Swanberg
University of Arizona, Tucson

Works discussed:

Under a White Sky: The Nature of the Future by Elizabeth Kolbert. New York: Crown/Penguin Random House Group, 2021. Hardcover, 256 pp., USD$21.49. Paperback edition with afterword published 2022 by Crown Trade (New York). Page references are to the 2021 edition.

Falter: Has the Human Game Begun to Play Itself Out? by Bill McKibben. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2019. Hardcover, 304 pp., USD$12.19.

The Uninhabitable Earth: Life after Warming by David Wallace-Wells. New York: Tim Duggan Books/Crown Publishing Group/Penguin Random House LLC, 2019. Hardcover, 320 pp., USD$22.14.

Fuzz: When Nature Breaks the Law by Mary Roach. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2021. Hardcover, 320 pp., USD$21.49.

Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape by Lauret Savoy. Berkeley, California: Counterpoint Press, 2016. Hardcover, 240 pp., USD$25.

Plus, an antidote against despair:

The Nature of Desert Nature edited by Gary Paul Nabhan. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2020 (Southwest Center Series).

> The present warning issues with no uncertain sound, because this great battle for preservation and conservation cannot be won by gentle tones, nor by appeals to the aesthetic instincts of those who have no sense of beauty, or enjoyment of Nature. It is necessary to sound a loud alarm, to present the facts in very strong language, backed up by irrefutable statistics and by photographs which tell no lies, to establish the law and enforce it if needs be with a bludgeon. . . . This book is such an alarm call.[1]

The words above, penned for William T. Hornady's *Vanishing Wild Life* more than 100 years ago, were both a lament and a battle cry concerning the destruction of the nation's wildlife through "the selfishness, the ignorance, or the cruelty of [Nature's] destroyers."[2] A controversial and contradictory influence on early environmentalism, Hornaday was not the first U.S. citizen to raise an alarm about vanishing wildlife or the destruction of Nature. Nearly forty years earlier, philologist, linguist, and conservationist George P. Marsh delivered his own warning in a book titled, *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*:

> The object of the present volume is: to indicate the character and, approximately, the extent of the changes produced by human action in the physical conditions of the globe we inhabit; to point out the dangers of imprudence and the necessity of caution in all operations which, on a large scale, interfere with the spontaneous arrangements of the organic or the inorganic world; to suggest the possibility and the importance of the restoration of disturbed harmonies and the material improvement of waste and exhausted regions. . . .[3]

Authors, past and present, have repeatedly issued admonitions regarding degradation of the planet and extinction of its inhabitants.[4]

We have been warned—many times over.

How Did We Get Here?

In late September 2021, Dino Grandoni wrote in the *Washington Post* that the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service had pronounced the extinction of the Ivory-billed woodpecker, along with twenty-two other species.[5] Hunted to near extinction in the 1800s by private collectors and hat makers, the woodpecker was removed from the endangered species list because it has been extirpated. Eager ornithologists had searched for decades for this avian holy grail. A few possible sightings in the twenty-first century gave hope to those who sought the rare woodpecker, but the bird is gone forever, say the authorities at U.S. Fish and Wildlife, and cannot sound an alarm.[6]

As I sit at my computer, I hear news of an oil spill off the coast of Southern California. Dead fish and birds coated in oil washed onto the shore near Huntington Beach, reported CNN. An "ecological disaster," noted the anchor. "Significant damage" to nearby wetlands, announced an unnamed official.[7] Those responsible will clean up the beach, we're told. Will we heed this alarm, or will the years pass until, once again, our shores, our wetlands, and the creatures that inhabit them are covered with oil?[8]

How have we as inhabitants of this Earth, many of whom profess to love Nature, gotten ourselves into this predicament? I read *Silent Spring* and conducted an admittedly amateurish study examining the biology of DDT deposition in fatty tissues for

a high school science fair. I volunteered throughout the 1970s at one of the first organized recycling centers in Eugene, Oregon. I lived for a time in a rough cabin with only a wood stove to heat the place. I supported the Zero Population Growth movement in thought and deed.[9] I was doing my part to fend off the consequences of what we called "the greenhouse effect"—or so I thought.[10] Now, however, my efforts seem like dust in the wind. How did so much time pass with so little progress? Must we, yet again, be confronted with catastrophe before we are willing to change our behavior?[11]

This review examines a number of books published between 2016 and 2021, books that explain how we got where we are climate-wise and warn us of the difficult ecological future facing us should we continue to dawdle. These books describe the disastrously ineffectual environmental stewardship that has contributed to today's climate crisis. Three of the books, those authored by Elizabeth Kolbert, Bill McKibben, and David Wallace-Wells, sound warnings loud enough to be heard as they ricochet off the walls and streets of our asphalt cities. They are narratives of anxiety—with only faint (if any) traces of hope. The fourth book is Mary Roach's *Fuzz: When Nature Breaks the Law*. It also sounds an alarm, but Roach delivers her warnings via humorous (albeit tragic) vignettes featuring charismatic creatures facing long environmental odds.

No review of recent environmental literature is complete without a discussion of the way in which racial injustice has shaped not only Earth and who is allowed to occupy which spaces, but also who is privileged to access the resources necessary to address environmental crises. A search of published environmental literature leads one to conclude that nature writing and environmental writing were chiefly the bastion of white male writers for the better part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is changing, but much slower than our climate, so there are fewer books and articles about the environment written by authors of color than a more equitable society would generate. Originally released in 2015, geologist/author Lauret Savoy's *Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape* is a meditative reflection on the author's personal and cultural history, racial injustice, the American landscape, and the intersection of these themes.[12]

One final book is offered as a provisional antidote to the depressing predictions of catastrophic environmental, ecological disaster, and environmental injustice that dominate *Under a White Sky*, *Falter*, *The Uninhabitable Earth*, *Fuzz*, and *Trace*. I say "antidote" with the understanding that there is no real remedy for climate change other than for enough of us to heed the warnings we've received, take them seriously, and change our reckless course of action. The antidote I offer is a slim volume of interdisciplinary, multicultural essays edited by environmentalist, ethnobotanist, writer, and ethicist Gary Nabhan. *The Nature of Desert Nature* celebrates "everything that sticks, stinks, stings, sings, swings, springs, or clings in arid landscapes."[13]

Is U.S. Nature Writing Obsolete?

A comprehensive discussion of nature writing as either a viable genre or an antiquated remnant of an earlier era is saved for another time or place. However, a few preliminary thoughts on the topic are worth sharing. Proliferation of what this

reviewer calls the literature of environmental catastrophe, which could be said to have commenced when Rachel Carson wrote *Silent Spring*, signaled to some that Thoreauvean nature writing was not what our modern era needed. Especially since the rise of ecocriticism in the last quarter of the twentieth century, writing that articulates the author's personal aesthetic experience of observing, classifying, and describing nature has been subjected to increasing criticism. Nature writing is considered by some scholars to represent an overly sentimental, romanticized version of a world facing environmental crises daily and a lighter, more frivolous cousin to the literature of environmental catastrophe.[14] However, reports of the demise of nature writing have been exaggerated.

In addition to the arguments made by Daniel J. Philippon in his essay "Is American Nature Writing Dead?" in *The Oxford Handbook of Ecocriticism*, consideration of the nature writing genre's worth should include the fact that nature writing can provide readers with psychological respite from not only the world's impending ecological collapse, but the depressed state into which many of us who are concerned about the environment—especially the young—have fallen. What I suggest is that there is room for both the literature of catastrophe to inform and motivate us and a genre—such as nature writing—that can provide us with temporary relief from the fear of environmental disaster. Seeking an occasional reprieve from our environmental struggles is not the same as indulging in magical thinking about the natural world.

Mediating Our Relationship with the Environment

Despite all the books and articles written about the looming threats to our climate, some of us seem to be waiting for a miracle—even as the Colorado River dries up and our forests (and towns) burn to the ground. We appear to be waiting for a magician to either save us from our difficulties on Earth or lead us to an extraterrestrial location beyond the reach of catastrophic ecological devastation on our home planet.

Charles C. Mann, a U.S. journalist and author who specializes in scientific topics, divides environmentalists into two categories in his book, *The Wizard and the Prophet: Two Remarkable Scientists and Their Dueling Visions to Shape Tomorrow's World* (New York: Knopf, 2018). Mann argues that prophets believe we are exceeding or have already exceeded nature's capacity to support us and that we must cut back on consumerism or the planet—and our species—might not survive. Wizards, on the other hand, believe in our capacity to deal with environmental problems through scientific ingenuity. Although this binary sorting of environmentalists has been critiqued by none other than Bill McKibben, Mann's framework provides a useful vantage point from which to examine the books considered in this essay.[15]

The original wizard (according to Mann) was twentieth-century scientist Norman Borlaug, the driving force behind a collaborative project of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Cooperative Wheat Research and Production Program in Mexico that dramatically increased wheat yield through genetics, plant breeding, soil science, entomology, and other applied scientific disciplines. In 1970, Borlaug was awarded the 1970 Peace Prize "for having given a well-founded hope—the Green Revolution."[16]

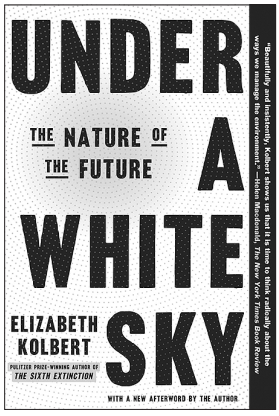
William Vogt, whom Mann designated a "prophet," maintained that the human

population was taking more from Earth than the planet had to give. Vogt, who espoused limiting population growth—asserting that this was necessary for Earth and our species to survive—was responsible for a revival in Malthusian thought in the 1960s.[17] Norman Borlaug died in 2009 at the age of 95. William Vogt died in 1968 at the age of 66—by suicide, according to Bill McKibben.[18]

Mann hints of an unusual meeting between these two forces of nature (Vogt and Borlaug). According to Mann, they met only once—in an encounter that ended in irreparable disagreement.[19] Borlaug won the Peace Prize for an agricultural achievement that led to increases in global food production, but Vogt is said to be the founder of the modern or apocalyptic environmental movement—a description that fits the tone of at least three of the six books examined here. The tension between anxiety and optimism Mann described has been baked into our relationship with the natural world for almost two centuries. Anxious prophets query, "Is it too late for [bison, Nature, the planet] to be saved?" while wizards respond with assurance, "This is how we will do it!"

Three of the books examined here were chosen after an email exchange with Alan Weisman, author of the 2007 best seller, *The World without Us*, a decidedly surreal vision of the healing course corrections Earth might embrace should we meet with our demise as a species. Weisman argues the top choices for recent environmental books should include Bill McKibben's *Falter*, David Wallace-Wells's *Uninhabitable Earth,* and Elizabeth Kolbert's "magnum opus," *The Sixth Extinction*. While Weisman prefers Kolbert's last book, here we will consider her newest, *Under a White Sky*.[20] Although each of these books occupies the apocalyptic end of the environmental writing spectrum, Weisman noted (cheerfully) that he believes McKibben's *Falter*[21] holds out realistic hope to which an anxious reader might cling. Whether that is true is a matter of opinion.

Wizards Gone Wrong



Elizabeth Kolbert's *Under a White Sky: The Nature of the Future* follows the same formula that made her previous books so successful: a deeply researched narrative, extraordinary interviews with remarkable sources, and shocking-yet-enlightening anecdotes. Kolbert's work on *Under a White Sky* was disrupted by the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic of 2020.[22] Despite the interruption, Kolbert collected enough material to write a substantial sequel to *The Sixth Extinction*. At every turn *Under a White Sky* reveals yet another species, place, or environment that humankind has manipulated badly or attempted to improve upon—with questionable if not disastrous results. *Under the White Sky* reveals a series of wizards-gone-wrong catastrophes. The Asian carp story is the saga of bad management on one of Chicago's essential waterways.

The introduction of Asian carp to U.S. waterways was, ironically, motivated by environmentalists trying to reduce the use of the chemicals condemned by Carson in *Silent Spring*. Importing carp as a biological control to eliminate aquatic weeds instead of using herbicides was a disaster. According to Kolbert, the imported carp reproduced all too successfully, edging out native species of all kinds.[23] The wizards in this story came up with the idea of electrifying the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal to keep the carp from reaching the Great Lakes and colonizing them. Despite a clever environmental DNA assay scientists developed to determine whether carp were or were not present in forbidden locations, the experts couldn't tell when living carp had crossed a critical electric barrier. Did a positive DNA test mean there were live carp where they didn't belong or that a deteriorating carp corpse had settled to the bottom of the waterway? As with much cutting-edge science, none of the experts could answer this question with certainty.

In short order, someone came up with a marketing scheme that would re-brand the invasive carp as "silverfin" in the hope of reducing their numbers by selling them as food. Unconvinced that re-branding carp as an appetizing finger food would convince U.S. citizens to eat them, Kolbert decided to try a couple. The author popped two silverfin fishcakes into her mouth and pronounced them "quite tasty."[24] What has become of this re-branding scheme is unclear.

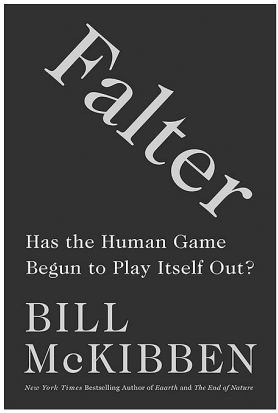
Another of Kolbert's narratives involved an attempt to preserve the Devil's Hole pupfish (an endangered species of fish found only in a rare water-filled cavern in what is, for administrative purposes, considered part of Death Valley National Park). To protect the pupfish, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service constructed a fake, look-alike water hole that scientists stocked with relocated fish. With tongue in cheek, Kolbert labeled the mock water hole a "fishy Westworld."[25]

Kolbert directed her skeptical gaze to other examples of uncertain environmental wizardry—from managing a flourishing rodent population with genetic engineering and attempting to breed coral resistant to ocean warming, to reducing the impact of the sun's warming rays by spraying reflective particles into the stratosphere—geoengineering at its most experimental and most terrifying—the wizards explored impractical technical answers to difficult environmental problems. The solutions to problems Kolbert described, especially seeding the stratosphere with sun-dimming particles, often seem worse than the problem. The wizards, however, keep pushing their solutions.

As one of Kolbert's geoengineering sources noted, "We live in a world . . . where deliberately dimming the f-----g sun might be less risky than not doing it."[26] Is this brilliant science or sheer recklessness?

> But to imagine that "dimming the f-----g sun" could be less dangerous than not dimming it, you have to imagine not only that the technology will work according to plan but also that it will be deployed according to plan. And that's a lot of imagining. . . . [L]et's just say the record here isn't strong. (See, for example, climate change.)[27]

The Human Game



Bill McKibben's newest book, *Falter: Has the Human Game Begun to Play Itself Out?* is nothing if not grim. As the author wrote in his ironically titled "An Opening Note on Hope,"

> Put simply, between ecological destruction and technological hubris, the human experiment is now in question. The stakes feel very high, and the odds very long, and the trends very ominous. So, I have no doubt that there are other books that would offer readers a merrier literary experience.[28]

Falter is a wide-ranging book that not only features new illustrations of McKibben's end-of-nature premise but also examines the political and economic forces bringing us to the brink of failure as a culture, a nation, and a species. According to McKibben, libertarian thinkers, high-rolling financiers, fossil fuel moguls, Rupert Murdoch's communications empire, and other modern "robber baron" types are all part of an empire that has poisoned our social and political sphere as well as our environment, and locked in inequality.

Unlike the Gilded Age robber barons, however, the current crop of self-interested rich has too much leverage over too many domains. According to McKibben, the likelihood of the pendulum swinging back toward a new progressive era is slight because the rich control too many aspects of the culture. The tech billionaires in Silicon Valley might, hypothetically, have the leverage to oppose the libertarian billionaires, noted McKibben. However, the techie rich are also somewhat enamored of Randian libertarian thought, so don't count on the techies to resist anyone else's leverage. Recall Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg's recent Senate hearings that exposed Facebook's lack of transparency.

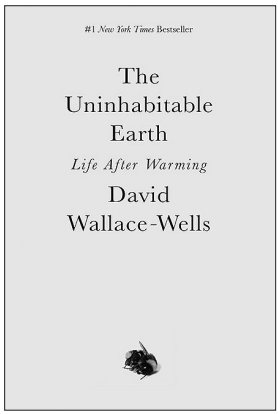
Part Three of *Falter*, titled The Name of the Game, is about artificial intelligence, genetic engineering, life extension, and other unregulated, cutting-edge technologies that sound like weird science. Part Four of *Falter* is titled An Outside Chance, that is, the outside chance that we might be able to change our environmental trajectory. Of that "outside chance" McKibben wrote the following:

> Climate change is far advanced, and the march of some of these new technologies seems as rapid as it is unregulated. But no one knows that it is impossible, either, and so the last section of this book will be about resistance, about the tools and ideas that might help us keep global warming and technological mania within some limits and, in the process, keep the human game recognizable, even robust.[29]

Resistance may be the key to keeping the game going, according to McKibben; for example, resistance to the oil companies and tech barons whom McKibben labels "deeply radical."[30] McKibben considers solar panels for every roof and the nonviolent movement to be forms of resistance that might help us find a way forward. McKibben's personal mode of resistance is his engagement with activism in the form of

350.org, his "planetwide climate campaign."[31] But if the human game is really ending, McKibben has written its obituary: "Even—especially—in its twilight, the human game [was] graceful and compelling."[32]

Life after Warming



"It is worse, much worse, than you think," writes David Wallace-Wells.[33] His book, *The Uninhabitable Earth: Life after Warming*, resembles Weismann's *The World without Us* in some respects. However, where *The World without Us* is a speculative narrative regarding what *might* happen as Earth heals itself after we are gone, Wallace-Wells's book places us at the center of the catastrophic maelstrom he believes is coming soon. Using Timothy Morton's theory about climate change as an object lesson, Wallace explains why we don't understand the fact that catastrophic change is imminent. Climate change, says Morton, is a "hyperobject"—a concept so vast and complicated that it is incomprehensible.[34]

We are beginning, however, to get some sense of the crisis bearing down on us: unbreathable air; fires; depletion of water in aquifers, rivers, and reservoirs; a pandemic sweeping the globe; migrants fleeing the terrors at home and being turned away at our merciless borders; collapse of our economic system; and more. How does one avoid despair? One way to do so, Wallace-Wells writes (with what might either be irony or a veiled condemnation of past cruelty) is:

> to normalize climate suffering at the same pace we accelerate it, as we have so much human pain over centuries, so that we are always coming to terms with what is just ahead of us, decrying what lies beyond that, and forgetting all that we had ever said about the absolute moral unacceptability of the conditions of the world we are passing through in the present tense, and blithely.[35]

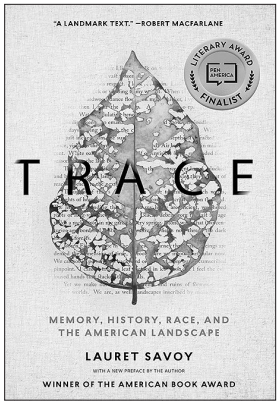
Memory, History, Race, and the U.S. Landscape

Why so few people of color are visible environmentalists—whether as writers or in some other capacity—is a puzzle author and academic Carolyn Finney addresses in *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors* (2014):

> [Certain] assumptions, beliefs, and perceptions are at the very foundation of our environmental thinking, how we define the "environment," and how we think of ourselves in relationship with the environment. Who do we see, what do we see? In *Outside* magazine, Eddy Harris, a black writer and self-described outdoorsman, says that we see black people on television as lawyers or doctors, but we balk at imagining African Americans in the great outdoors.[36]

In *Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape*, Lauret Savoy recalls her own cultural and personal history in relation to outdoor spaces. Savoy, a geologist, described her approach to environmentalism, which she called "a poetics of geology":

> Human history on this continent owes much to the history of the Earth itself, to the land's structure, materials, and texture. Geology as a science has given me one elemental foundation of place. Yet geo-logo also offers metaphors for considering the deposition and erosion of human memory, the fragmentation and displacement of human experience. To write as a belated witness to the past, I've reached toward a poetics of geology—of trying to understand Earth and our place on it by seeking connections across different levels of meaning.[37]



Savoy, a woman of African American, Euro-American, and Native American heritage as well as a professor of geology and environmental studies at Mount Holyoke College, begins *Trace* with her recollection of a trip to Grand Canyon National Park she made with her family when she was seven—a journey that "seeded all that followed."[38] Recalling her experience viewing the canyon from a North Rim vantage point called "Point Sublime"—Savoy then contemplates the history of Euro-American exploration that led to the discovery of the canyon. Prompted by the name, Point Sublime, Savoy's thoughts wander to Emmanuel Kant and his philosophy of the sublime which, Savoy noted, would not have included her.

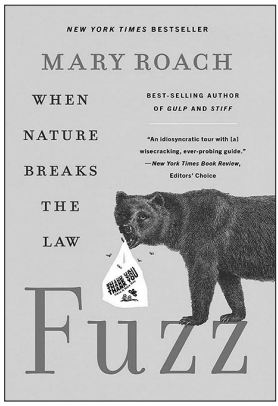
> In Kant's view, neither I nor my dark ancestors could ever reach the sublime, so debased were our origins. In Kant's view neither would W. E. B. Du Bois, for whom this "sudden void in the bosom of the earth," which he visited half a century before us, would "live eternal in [his] soul."[39]

As her reverie continues, Savoy reveals childhood experiences that sharpened her understanding of racism. She also reveals hidden truths behind U.S. myths about the land and its people. Of Hiawatha, Savoy notes, for example, "Longfellow might have viewed *The Song of Hiawatha* as a poetic restating of tribal voices and traditions, but he borrowed, distorted, and invented."[40]

Savoy's adult peregrinations took her from Arizona to Oklahoma and beyond. As she wandered, she imagined which roads her people might have traveled and which towns they might have inhabited. She examined graveyards across the country, looking for familiar surnames. Disconnected from much of her ancestors' past, she was drawn from an early age to the study of geology—the science of Earth's history.

Savoy's book contains fascinating moments of discovery, as when she finds, serendipitously, that in the mid-twentieth century her father wrote and published a book—a semiautobiographical account of his own childhood experiences as a light-skinned person of color. *Alien Land* by Willard Savoy[41] is currently in print, a trace of Lauret Savoy's history once lost, now found. Lauret Savoy's voice reveals how race and culture impacted her life's work and relationship to the landscape. *Trace* also suggests that nature writing—including memoirs and environmental reveries like Savoy's—can still have meaning in the midst of ecological catastrophe.

What Our Relationship with Nature Says



Released after my email exchange with Alan Weisman, *Fuzz: When Nature Breaks the Law*, concerns itself with animal miscreants and other quirky characters: moose on the highway, bears stealing food, rats in the Vatican, animal-attack investigators, and human/elephant conflict managers. Beneath the humor, however, is a serious appraisal of the state of our relationship with Nature's creatures. "Who exactly are the trespassers here?" Roach seems to ask in a light-yet-heartfelt voice.

Roach, the author of *Stiff*: *The Curious Lives of Human Cadavers*, has an uncanny ability to deliver bad news with humor. For example, she begins one chapter with an amusing discussion of penguin decorum—or the lack thereof—followed by a depiction of the environmental threats to the penguin's well-being. "To live in a penguin colony is to know no modesty. Anything you do—mate, preen, throw up fish for your young to eat—you do in plain sight of the neighbors."[42]

The yellow-eyed penguin of New Zealand's Otago Peninsula, however, pairs and nests in isolation, which makes the bird more vulnerable to predation than penguins living in colonies. Roach walks us through the penguin lifestyle in her characteristic gross-yet-amusing style. While exploring the penguin's territory with an employee of a wildlife tour company, for example, Roach examines a clump of sea lion vomit for signs of penguin tissue and remarks: "We happily note the absence of penguin solids."[43]

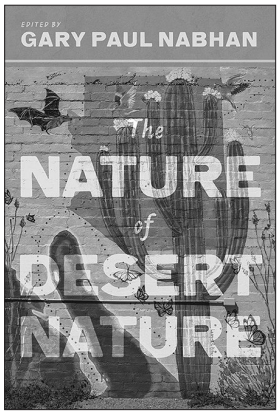
Roach's description of the yellow-eyed Otago species rivals some of Tom Wolfe's most original prose: "candy red beak, the pink go-go boots, the yellow mask angling back from the eyes. They're the Flash, they're 1970s Bowie. I don't mean to imply that adorable, showy species are of more value or somehow deserving of more concern. It's just . . . *damn*."[44]

Kandy-Kolored Yellow-Eyed Streamline Penguin—RAHGHHHH![45]

Otago's gaudy favorites are threatened by stoats and ferrets—and feral cats. Introduced to control the descendants of rabbits introduced by homesick Europeans, the stoats, ferrets, and cats eat the prey they were imported to control, but they also consume the eggs and chicks of the yellow-eyed penguin and other desirable avian species.

The killing of favored beasts by invasive species (introduced accidentally or purposely by humans) compels development of traps and/or poison designed to kill the unwanted imports as humanely as possible. With her unfailing sense of humor and without offending her readers, Roach describes the methods one might use to kill invasive animal species. Roach never lets her readers forget, however, that she thinks we humans are the ones responsible for our so-called problems with Nature.

The Nature of Desert Nature



The Nature of Desert Nature is a compendium of essays: a "multicultural collection of essays and art on desert life," edited by Gary Paul Nabhan, an ecologist, ethnobotanist, nature writer, and Franciscan Brother, that is a breath of fresh air in a world of environmental doom and gloom. Nabhan is a superfan of the desert and its assorted, and sometimes unpleasant, creatures. "[T]here have been many prejudices—or at least, presumptions—about what a desert is and what it cannot possibly be," wrote Nabhan in his essay, "The Nature of Desert Nature: A Deep History of Everything that Sticks, Stinks, Stings, Sings, Swings, Springs or Clings in Arid Landscapes."[46]

Introduced to desert life by Indigenous people who became his mentors and friends, Nabhan brings good news to those hungry for a bit of something lovely amidst environmental catastrophe and pandemic panic. What Nabhan shows us is a way of seeing deserts "that echoes and enhances an older way of imagining the desert found in the spiritual traditions of many ancient desert cultures. The shimmer is recognized and the cacophonous chorus [at sunrise] is heard once again."[47]

The chorus Nabhan speaks of is the chorus I hear every summer morning: cicadas, quail, Cactus wrens, Gila woodpeckers, ravens, and others. Those of us who live in the Sonoran Desert have experienced firsthand the drought and fire and loss that drift like smoke over our arid lands. We can, however, still find beauty in the red head of a female spiny lizard; in the bravado of a young scorpion, spiked tail held aloft as the creature glows under a blacklight; or the rapacious nature of a hungry roadrunner. Yes, the desert sticks, stinks, and stings, but it also sings. This edited collection shimmers and glows. With more than twenty-five authors contributing, there is refreshment for all. *The Nature of Desert Nature* will soothe frayed nerves and ease one's fear of desert places.

Where Do We Go from Here?

In 2017, *The Atlantic* magazine asked a group of environmental historians, writers, and others a big question: "What Was the Most Significant Environmental Catastrophe of All Time?"[48] There was no consensus. Several environmentalists, including Bill McKibben and Elizabeth Kolbert, responded that the asteroid that killed an estimated seventy to ninety percent of all then-existing species was the biggest environmental catastrophe. McKibben added, "Of course with climate change we're on the path to accomplishing something on the same scale, and this time it's entirely voluntary."[49]

In the dissertation, *Nature Writing of the Anthropocene*, Christian Hummelsund Voie noted that "[t]he narrative of warning that characterizes [some] nature writing derives its force from the author's awareness of the changed nature of nature."[50] The

answers given by Kolbert, McKibben, Wallace-Wells, and Roach all, in one way or another, could be called "narratives of warning." Will these narratives of warning motivate the right people to do the right thing—to take the lead and make the changes necessary to avert our climate crisis? Can we still enjoy a more Thoreauvian nature writing, that is, the celebration or contemplation of Nature's beauty, or is enjoying nature writing irresponsible in the face of climate change?

Kolbert, McKibben, and Wallace-Wells's style of writing certainly draws attention to the climate crisis. However, there are other styles that are also effective. Humor, which Mary Roach uses so effectively, did not diminish the impact of her narrative. Savoy's *Trace* illustrates perfectly how environmental reverie can foster a deeper understanding of the way in which culture, race, and our own difficult histories impact our relationship with science and the environment.

Voie writes that "[a] general challenge for nature writing in the Anthropocene is to find ways of providing a sense of empowerment in the face of environmental challenges that often are of a magnitude that seems scaled beyond the scope of meaningful individual action."[51] Voie is right. The challenges are beyond the scope of individual action. So, what are we to do? Perhaps resistance, as McKibben defines it, is the only thing left to do—by installing solar panels, by taking collective action, by continuing to recycle, by writing works that celebrate nature while *also* sounding an alarm. And there should be no shame—when exhaustion and discouragement overwhelm one—in picking up a volume of essays that describe both poetically and aesthetically a world that might soon vanish.[52]

Susan E. Swanberg is a former scientist/attorney who teaches at the University of Arizona School of Journalism. She was a 2017–18 Udall Center Fellow and received the 2018 AJHA Rising Scholar Award.

Notes

[1] Osborn, foreword to *Our Vanishing Wild Life* by William T. Hornady, vii. A dedicated conservationist, Hornaday was also a seriously flawed man. In 1906, when Hornady was director of the Bronx Zoo, he put Ota Benga, a Mbuti man, on display in a cage. Hornady was also a friend and colleague of Madison Grant, author of *The Passing of the Great Race*, a book that espoused "scientific" racism. For a revealing biography of Hornady, see Dehler's *The Most Defiant Devil: William Temple Hornaday and His Controversial Crusade to Save American Wildlife*. See also Jedidiah Purdy, "Environmentalism's Racist History," *New Yorker*, August 13, 2015, to learn more about the bigoted undercurrents flowing through nineteenth and twentieth century conservationist thought.

[2] Osborn, foreword to *Our Vanishing Wild Life*, viii.

[3] Marsh, preface to *Man and Nature*, vii.

[4] Marsh, *Man and Nature*; Hornady, *Our Vanishing Wild Life*; Carson, *Silent Spring*; McKibben, *The End of Nature*; Weisman, *The World without Us*, and others.

[5] Grandoni, "Ivory-billed Woodpecker Officially Declared Extinct," para. 1, 2.

[6] Allen and Kellog, "Call of the Ivory-billed Woodpecker."

[7] Spells, "An Oil Spill off the California Coast . . ."

[8] Hamilton, "How California's Worst Oil Spill Turned Beaches Black and the Nation Green"; Thurin, "How an Oil Spill Inspired the First Earth Day."

[9] Bailey, "What Is Zero Population Growth, or ZPG?"

[10] Shaftel, "What is the Greenhouse Effect?"

[11] Swanberg, " 'The Way of the Rain,' " 67–96.

[12] Savoy, *Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape*.

[13] Nabhan, *The Nature of Desert Nature*, 1, 42.

[14] Philippon, "Is American Nature Writing Dead?" 392.

[15] McKibben, "To Respect the Earth's Limits—or Push Them?" Review of *The Wizard and the Prophet*, para. 4.

16 Borlaug, Nobel Peace Prize 1970; Norman Borlaug: Biographical. https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1970/borlaug/biographical/.

[17] Thomas Robert Malthus's 1798 book, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, warned of a disjunction between arithmetic increases in food production and geometric growth of the human population. Malthus warned that what we now call the carrying capacity of Earth could not sustain predicted increases in the human population.

[18] McKibben, "To Respect the Earth's Limits—or Push Them?" Review of *The Wizard and the Prophet*, para. 4.

[19] Mann, "Prologue," *The Wizard and the Prophet*, 6–7.

[20] Kolbert, *Under a White Sky*.

[21] Alan Weisman in an email exchange with the author, August 2021; McKibben, *Falter: Has the Human Game Begun to Play Itself Out?*

[22] Kolbert, *Under a White Sky*, part 1, Down the River; see also part 3, Up in the Air, chapter 3, 197.

[23] Kolbert, part 1, Down the River, chapter 1, 13–29.

[24] Kolbert, 28–29.

[25] Kolbert, part 2, Into the Wild, chapter 2, 62; 62n26.

[26] Kolbert, part 3, Up in the Air, chapter 3, 200.

[27] Kolbert, 200–201.

[28] McKibben, *Falter*, 1.

[29] McKibben, 191.

[30] McKibben, 192.

[31] McKibben, 2.

[32] McKibben, 256.

[33] Wallace-Wells, *The Uninhabitable Earth*, 3.

[34] Wallace-Wells, 15.

[35] Wallace-Wells, 240.

[36] Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces*, xii.

[37] Savoy, New Preface, in *Trace*, Penguin Random House, 2016, xviii–xix. See also Spenser Stevens, "Read an Excerpt from Lauret Savoy's Trace." https://penguinrandomhouse-highereducation.com/2021/12/14/read-an-excerpt-from-lauret-savoys-trace/#:~:text=To%20write%20as%20a%20belated,of%20a%20body%20back%20together. December 14, 2021.

[38] Savoy, *Trace*, 2015, 5.

[39] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Of Beauty and Death," quoted in Savoy, *Trace*, 10.

[40] Savoy, *Trace*, 56.

[41] Willard Savoy, *Alien Land*.

[42] Roach, *Fuzz*, 251.

[43] Roach, 252.

[44] Roach, 253.

[45] With apologies to Tom Wolfe, "There Goes (Varoom! Varoom!) That Kandy-Kolored (Thphhhhhh!) Tangerine- Flake Streamline Baby (Rahghhhh!) Around the Bend (Brummmmmmmmmmmmm) . . . ," *Esquire*, November 1, 1963.

[46] Nabhan, *The Nature of Desert Nature,* 1.

[47] Nabhan, 2.

[48] Roumieu, "The Big Question: What Was the Most Significant Environmental Catastrophe of All Time?" *The Atlantic*, May 2017.

[49] Roumieu, quoting Bill McKibben, para. 2. Emphasis in original.

[50] Voie, "Nature Writing of the Anthropocene," 3. Comment in original.

[51] Voie, 170.

Bibliography

Allen, Arthur A., and Peter Paul Kellog. "Call of the Ivory-billed Woodpecker." Macaulay Library, Cornell Laboratory of Ornithology. https://macaulaylibrary.org/asset/6784.

Bailey, Lindsey. "What Is Zero Population Growth, or ZPG?" *Population Education*, May 6, 2014. https://populationeducation.org/what-zero-population-growth-or-zpg/.

Bendell, Jem. "Don't Police Our Emotions—Climate Despair Is Inviting People Back to Life." *Resilience*. Originally published by Prof. Jem Bendell, *Essays on Collapse Risk, Readiness & Response* (blog). July 12, 2019. Accessed October 28, 2023. https://jembendell.com/2019/07/12/dont-police-our-emotions-climate-despair-is-inviting-people-back-to-life/.

Borlaug, Norman. Nobel Peace Prize 1970; Norman Borlaug: Biographical. https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1970/borlaug/biographical/.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962.

Dehler, Gregory J. *The Most Defiant Devil: William Temple Hornaday and His Controversial Crusade to Save American Wildlife*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2013.

Du Bois, W. E. B. "Of Beauty and Death." *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1920 (http://.webdubois.org/wdb-darkwater.html).

Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race, or, the Racial Bias of European History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

Hornady, William T. *Our Vanishing Wild Life: Its Extermination and Preservation*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913. https://archive.org/details/ourvanishingwild00horn/page/n7/mode/2up.

Finney, Carolyn. *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Grandoni, Dino. "Ivory-billed Woodpecker Officially Declared Extinct, Along with 22 Other Species." *Washington Post*, September 29, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/2021/09/29/endangered-species-ivory-billed-woodpecker/.

Hamilton, John. "How California's Worst Oil Spill Turned Beaches Black and the Nation Green." Heard on *Morning Edition*, January 28, 2019. https://www.npr.org/2019/01/28/688219307/how-californias-worst-oil-spill-turned-beaches-black-and-the-nation-green.

Kolbert, Elizabeth. *Under a White Sky: The Nature of the Future*. New York: Crown/Penguin Random House Group, 2021. Reprinted with afterword by Kolbert. New York: Crown Trade Paperback, 2022. Page references are to the 2021 edition.

Malthus, Thomas Robert, and Robert Mayhew, ed. *An Essay on the Principle of Population and Other Writings*. London: Penguin Classics, 2015. First published 1798.

Mann, Charles C. *The Wizard and the Prophet: Two Remarkable Scientists and Their Dueling Visions to Shape Tomorrow's World*. New York: Knopf, 2018. See esp. Prologue.

Marsh, George P. *Man and Nature or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1864. See esp. preface.

McKibben, Bill. *The End of Nature*. New York: Random House Paperbacks, 2006.

———. *Falter: Has the Human Game Begun to Play Itself Out?* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2019.

———. "To Respect the Earth's Limits—or Push Them?" Review of *The Wizard and the Prophet*, by Charles C. Mann. *New York Times*, January 31, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/31/books/review/the-wizard-and-the-prophet-charles-mann-william-vogt-norman-borlaug.html.

Nabhan, Gary, ed. *The Nature of Desert Nature*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2020.

Osborn, Henry Fairfield. Foreword to *Our Vanishing Wild Life* by William T. Hornady, vii–viii. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1913. https://archive.org/details/ourvanishingwild00horn/page/n13/mode/2up?q.

Pearl, Mike. " 'Climate Despair' Is Making People Give Up on Life." *Vice*. Accessed October 28, 2023. https://www.vice.com/en/article/j5w374/climate-despair-is-making-people-give-up-on-life.

Philippon, Daniel J. "Is American Nature Writing Dead?" In *The Oxford Handbook of Ecocriticism*, edited by Greg Garrard, 391–407. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Purdy, Jedidiah. "Environmentalism's Racist History." *New Yorker*, August 13, 2015. https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/environmentalisms-racist-history.

Roach, Mary. *Fuzz: When Nature Breaks the Law*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2019.

Roumieu, Graham. "What Was the Most Significant Environmental Catastrophe of All Time?" *The Atlantic*, May 2017. Accessed 28 October 2023. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/05/what-was-the-most-significant-environmental-catastrophe-of-all-time/521469/.

Savoy, Lauret. *Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape*. Berkeley, California: Counterpoint Press, 2015. Published in paperback with new preface, 2016, by Counterpoint Press. Page references are to the 2015 edition, unless otherwise noted.

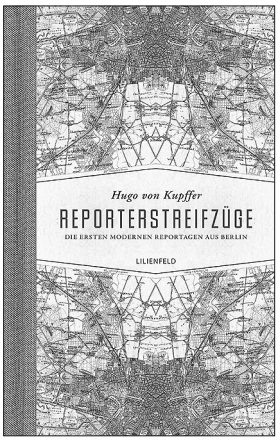
Savoy, Willard. *Alien Land*. London, UK: Signet Classics/Penguin Books, 1950. First pub-

lished 1949 by E.P. Dutton (New York).
Spells, Alta. "An Oil Spill off the California Coast Destroyed a Wildlife Habitat and Caused Dead Birds and Fish to Wash Up on Huntington Beach, Officials Say." *CNN*, October 3, 2021, updated October 4, 2021.
Swanberg, Susan E. " 'The Way of the Rain': Towards a Conceptual Framework for the Retrospective Examination of Historical American and Australian 'Rain Follows the Plow/Plough' Messages." *International Review of Environmental History* 5, no. 2 (2019): 67–96.
Thurin, Lila. "How an Oil Spill Inspired the First Earth Day." *Smithsonian Magazine,* April 22, 2019. https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-oil-spill-50-years-ago-inspired-first-earth-day-180972007/.
Voie, Christian Hummelsund. "Nature Writing of the Anthropocene." PhD diss., Mid Sweden University, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Humanities. 2017. ORCID iD: 0000-0002-3435-729X. Accessed October 29 Nabhan, 2023: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1154225/FULLTEXT01.pdf
Wallace-Wells, David. *The Unhabitable Earth: Life after Warming*. New York: Tim Duggan Books/Crown Publishing Group/Penguin Random House, LLC, 2019.
Weisman, Alan. *The World without Us*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007.
Wolfe, Tom. "There Goes (Varoom! Varoom!) That Kandy-Kolored (Thphhhhhh!) Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby (Rahghhh!) Around the Bend (Brummmmmmmmmmmmmmmm) . . . ." *Esquire*, November 1, 1963.

Hugo von Kupffer: A Pioneer of Modern Reporting in Berlin

Reporterstreifzüge: Die ersten modernen Reportagen aus Berlin (Reporter strolls: The first modern reportages from Berlin)
by Hugo von Kupffer. Edited with an afterword by Fabian Mauch. Düsseldorf: Lilienfeld Verlag, 2019. Footnotes. Editorial Note. Credits. Hardback, 272 pp. €22.00; USD$24.14.

Reviewed by Kate McQueen, University of California Santa Cruz, United States



When the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, commonly known as the St. Louis World's Fair, flung open its gates in the spring of 1904, thousands of journalists descended upon the city. They came, not simply as reporters but as participants in the World's Press Parliament. This international convening at the fair aimed to promote journalistic professionalization and cooperation across borders—a "universal journalism," to borrow a phrase from the Parliament's Committee on Resolutions, which outlined a vision for a special committee of seven attendees of the 1904 Parliament to devise a plan for a permanent "confederation" among international members of the press that would take that vision forward.

Five thousand delegates from thirty-seven countries arrived. But only two non-Anglo-Americans rose to the ranks of the World's Press Parliament's higher office and special committees. One of those was Hugo von Kupffer (1853–1928), chief editor of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, then arguably Germany's most-read newspaper. Kupffer's elevated position reflected his standing as an elder statesman of the profession. In fact, his influence on the German-language press would be difficult to overstate. Kupffer played an outsized role in in developing one of the country's first mass newspapers, serving as editor-in-chief for the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*'s first four decades. He was also one of the first German journalists to adopt modern, first-person reporting methods—strategies he learned on his first newspaper job with the *New York Herald*, from 1875 to 1878.

The *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*'s founding in 1883 afforded Kupffer an opportunity to transplant these soon-to-be universal strategies into a regularly appearing section called "*Reporterstreifzüge*," which loosely translates as "reporter strolls." With these articles, Kupffer wrote a few years later, "I envisioned the real American 'reporter,' who exists in name only here, and who, due to our almost still embryonic, heavily constricted, sometimes even antiquated press conditions, cannot yet thrive on Ger-

man soil."

The ephemeral nature of newsprint can make it difficult to locate and appreciate such pioneering moments of transfer. But thanks to publisher Lilienfeld Verlag, Kupffer's efforts are now readily available to today's readers of German. *Reporterstreifzüge: Die ersten modernen Reportagen aus Berlin* (Reporter strolls: The first modern reportages from Berlin) is a collection of twenty-five articles originally published in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* between 1886 and 1892. It builds on an 1889 collection of similar title—*Reporterstreifzüge: Ungeschminkte Bilder aus der Reichshauptstadt* (Reporter strolls: Unvarnished pictures from the imperial capital)—by adding twelve previously uncollected articles, a bibliography, a notes section that decodes some rather charming, antiquated vocabulary, and editor Fabian Mauch's helpful, historically contextualizing afterword.

The articles featured in this volume accomplish two things. They demonstrate Kupffer's reporting and writing style—a rendering of on-scene observations interspersed with interview-harvested information and dialogue. They also display corners of Berlin that typical readers, then and now, would find unfamiliar. It is worth noting that Kupffer is not a Benjamin-style *flâneur*, nor a "raging reporter" in the model of Kupffer's more famous journalistic descendant, Egon Erwin Kisch. Kupffer's explorations are purposeful and less concerned with the city's seedy underbelly than with the unseen but respectable world of the municipal. He takes his readers inside the city's canalization (189–98) and water purification systems (223–39). He visits the *Städtische Desinfektions-Anstalt*, the city-operated institute responsible for purifying all manner of household objects of infectious disease (166–74). He knocks on doors with the city's census gatherers (160–65).

The most attention-grabbing articles in the collection do, however, find a way to connect civic administration with the more sensational topics one can assume appealed to his target audience. Kupffer attends a day of trials at the local criminal court (113–20). He goes inside two prisons, one for men (136–47) and one for women (199–207). He tours the city morgue (104–112). The volume's most hair-raising piece is a long profile of the city executioner, Herr Krauz, complete with a description of a beheading by sword.

Despite the occasionally gruesome material, the articles are surprisingly prim. Kupffer's access is city-sanctioned, and his interview subjects are usually civil servants, whom he approaches with little skepticism. As a result, there is a "public service announcement" quality to his work, flavored with an additional dose of local patriotism. This is perhaps to be expected in a newspaper like the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, which explicitly marketed itself as being "above partisanship." For more critical explanatory work, readers at the time would have needed to consult a more left-leaning publication.

The collection is also free of literary conceit. Like many of his contemporary journalists in Germany, Kupffer studied literature and in his youth and fostered aspirations to be an author in the literary sense. Yet, coming into his own as a reporter, he accomplished a complete reversal. In the foreword to the original collection, Kupffer assessed his work as less of an "oil painting" than an "un-retouched photograph." He

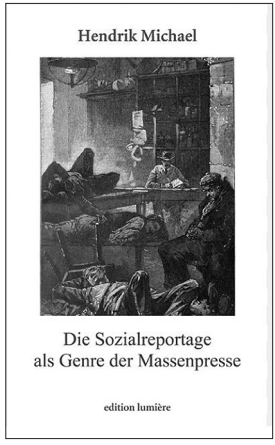
wrote not for the feuilletonist's bourgeois audience, who enjoyed an elegant turn of phrase, but for the petit-bourgeois and working-class reader who needed, as Hendrik Michael points out, an "everyday resource" to help navigate Berlin's rapid growth. The city had not yet fully evolved into a metropolis but was certainly on the rise; its population tripled to nearly three million during Kupffer's professional lifetime.

Kupffer had the foresight to understand that his work might hold, as he writes in his foreword, a "cultural-historical" rather than a literary value. And it is true that this volume provides a fascinating window into a now utterly unfamiliar Berlin—a city that still faced diphtheria and typhus, retained an executioner (37–42), and reserved a regular "ladies day" at court, exclusively to hear the cases of female defendants (113–20). The new volume does a beautiful job of preserving that value, and not only through its well-researched and imminently readable afterword. Lilienfeld Verlag has provided the book with an attractive feel and design and even created a digital trailer for the publicity campaign. It feels correct for Kupffer's journalism to be reintroduced by a trade—rather than a scholarly—publisher, with a more general audience in mind. Because Lilienfeld Verlag also published the collected work of legendary German trial reporter Sling, *Der Mensch, der Schiesst* (The man who shoots) in 2014, German press historians can hold out hope that additional forgotten treasures of journalism may soon find their way to a new and broader audience. It would be a delight to see other trade publishers follow Lilienfeld's example, in Germany and beyond.

An Imaginative Exploration of German and U.S. Narrative Journalism at the Turn of the Nineteenth to Twentieth Century

Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse: Erzählen im Journalismus und die Vermittlung städtischer Armut in Deutschland und den USA (1880–1910)
[The social reportage as a genre of the mass press. Storytelling in journalism and the mediation of urban poverty in Germany and the United States (1880–1910)]
by Hendrik Michael. Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2020. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Hardcover, 536 pp., €44.80; USD$22.

Reviewed by Thomas R. Schmidt, University of California, San Diego, United States



In his book, *Die Sozialreportage als Genre der Massenpresse*, Hendrik Michael of the University of Bamberg in Germany offers a comparative analysis of narrative journalism in New York and Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century, showing the wide spectrum of narrative techniques, the variety of organizational settings, and the role of journalism in exploring social change. With a focus on representations of poverty, Michael draws from a sample of more than 400 stories in local newspapers, national magazines, and books. The book's core comprises six case studies, set up in a way so that a German case corresponds with a U.S. case. Michael contrasts newspaper series in *The World* ("True Stories of the News") with *Berliner Morgenpost* ("Aus dem Dunklen Berlin"). He also compares the book-length investigative journalism of Jacob Riis and Hans R. Fischer as well as the literary journalism of Abraham Cahan (*The Commercial Advertiser*) and Hans Hyan (*Welt am Montag*). A sophisticated conceptual framework (mostly drawing from German scholars but also giving nods to the literary journalism studies community) adds further layers of analysis to explore the techniques, organizational contexts, and journalistic functions of what is called "reportage" in German, that is, the narrative news story. With this analytical approach, Michael challenges journalism scholars to evaluate narrative writing in all its variations (from the sensational to the literary) while encouraging scholars of narrative journalism to engage more often and more deeply with narratological analysis.

Following a historical overview of the evolution of narrative journalism in the United States and Germany, respectively, and a description of the book's methodological approach the book is organized around three major parts of analysis: a narratological analysis of news stories, a contextual analysis of conditions for news

production, and a functional examination of narrative journalism as a genre. The narratological analysis introduces four dimensions (narrative situation, character, time, and space) to differentiate between various stylistic effects inherent in the news stories. Michael is particularly interested in exploring how different authors create authenticity and establish their authority as reliable and trustworthy narrators. He finds a broad range of techniques across publications but provides evidence that the major differences are not cultural—that is, between German and U.S. styles. Rather, the analysis shows that particular kinds of journalism (sensational, investigative, literary) are fairly consistent across cultures, using narrative techniques to achieve specific effects. For example, Michael highlights how the varying ways of creating distance or proximity may lead to a range of possible reader responses, either exacerbating social distance or creating openings for empathy.

The contextual analysis pays attention to the economic situation of newspapers during that era. Michael examines if and to what extent the use of narrative journalism was a result of commercialization and market pressures. In a way, he is responding to the plea of the late John Pauly, who argued that what we needed was "a more institutionally situated history of literary journalism to place alongside our studies of writerly technique" (J. J. Pauly, "The New Journalism and the Struggle for Interpretation," *Journalism* 15, no. 5, 2014, 590). Against this backdrop, the differences between journalism in the United States and Germany become more pronounced. The former was already more newsroom oriented, routinized, and open to various (if not all) social groups (women, for example, but not African Americans), while in Germany, news work was more individually driven, elitist, and restrained by censorship as well as unfavorable libel laws.

Building on the narratological and contextual analyses, Michael then examines the journalistic functions of narrative news stories in relation to their representations of poverty. He challenges common notions of mainstream journalism research that narrative news stories are soft, shallow, and superficial. In contrast, he develops a subtle framework to emphasize that these news stories fulfill key functions, depending on the sub-genre (sensationalism, investigative journalism, literary journalism). Again, it turns out that differences between these sub-genres are more articulated than any potential cultural differences between the United States and Germany. This central insight, that narrative journalists and their techniques were more similar than one would expect, points to globalizing tendencies and the strong currents of modernity that affected urban journalism in both the United States and Germany, in different yet similar ways.

Michael is a media scholar, but his approach reflects a central technique used by anthropologists: to make the unfamiliar familiar and the familiar unfamiliar. His analysis validates narrative news stories in the popular press and emphasizes that their role was not accidental or peripheral in the early twentieth century but integral and central to mainstream journalism. At the same time, he demonstrates through narratological analysis that not all reportages are equal and thus need to be evaluated not just for their literary merit but their journalistic functions.

Yet, as much as Michael engages with a wealth of primary and secondary sources,

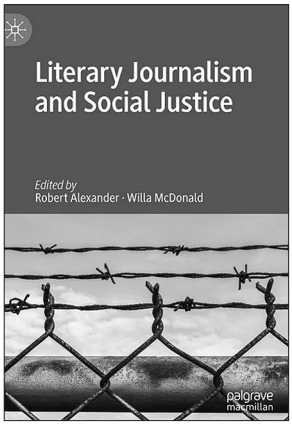
his treatment of the six case studies (as well as additional references) at times feels uneven. The analysis of U.S. sources is more expansive (also because there is more research to build on) but travels familiar terrain. The analysis of Berlin stories unearths some hidden gems and seems more original, especially because the study of German literary journalism, particularly from an institutionally situated perspective, has much room to expand. Another curiously underdeveloped aspect is the question of why the narrative styles in the United States and Germany were similar even though societal conditions were quite different.

Taken together, however, Michael has delivered a major piece of imaginative scholarship, identifying the elementary forms of narrative news writing in a pioneering era. His focus on narrative news stories as an integral part of local journalism in mainstream German newspapers especially offers a novel perspective that deserves wide attention and readership.

International Perspectives on Social Justice and Literary Journalism

Literary Journalism and Social Justice
Edited by Robert Alexander and Willa McDonald. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022. Index. Hardcover, 326 pp., USD$139.99; eBook USD$109.

Reviewed by Nancy L. Roberts, University at Albany, SUNY, United States



This collection of nineteen original essays by major global scholars provides convincing evidence that the pen is mightier than the sword, at least when wielded to write literary journalism. Indeed, this anthology demonstrates that literary journalism seems uniquely able to communicate the importance of, and even to inspire action to advance, social justice. As the editors note, ". . . literary journalists around the world are using their craft to address the unfair distribution of power, wealth, rights, benefits, burdens, and opportunities." They are "particularly drawn to respond to the impacts of capitalism, globalization, climate change, sexism, heteronormativity, racism, speciesism, and the global legacies of colonialism" (2).

While a few scholars have produced studies of individual writers whose literary journalism focuses on social justice, this is the first major work that investigates the subject collectively and globally. The scope is truly international, with studies of writers both historical and current, representing nations and regions that include Austria, Australia, Canada, China, England, France, India, Iran, Latin America, Portugal, Sweden, and the United States. The editors, Robert Alexander of Brock University, Canada, and Willa McDonald of Macquarie University, Australia, establish a conceptual framework that is both wide-ranging and theoretically and methodologically innovative. A variety of theoretical approaches undergird the research, including standpoint theory, mobility theory, ethnography, Marxism, and Aristotelian phronesis.

The editors organize the book into four parts, each of which focuses on a characteristic of literary journalism that is particularly suited to covering the subject of social justice: "Approach: the critical attitude which motivates literary journalists in the way they select and cover stories"; "Encounter: the special relationships the immersion techniques of literary journalism encourage its writers to develop with their subjects"; "Representation: the flexible and innovative, often multi-scalar, rhetorical techniques literary journalists employ to tell their stories"; and "Response: the powerful affective responses this combination of features can produce in readers and the changes and actions to which they may lead" (3).

As the editors observe, the writers and their work explored in this volume often seem to have become interested in literary journalism and social justice because of their personal experiences. An example is Moa Martinson (1890–1964), a Swedish writer who after demeaning, even "corrosive" experiences with private charity, wrote literary journalism advocating an alternative, namely "social justice through mutual aid and solidarity" (4). Anna Hoyles offers a close reading of Martinson's writing that focuses on her use of dialogue, description, narrative structure, and other literary techniques.

Similarly, personal knowledge has inspired the contemporary activist writer Meena Kandasamy's literary journalism criticizing India's oppressive caste system. "Her own personal experience as a victim of abuse and marginalization forms the basis for her critique," David Dowling observes in a deeply researched chapter that develops a nuanced theory of anti-caste literary journalism (49–50).

Although, as the editors point out in an insightful introduction, not every piece of literary journalism that spotlights social justice grows out of the writer's personal experiences (6), the characteristic immersion research of literary journalism builds an intensely personal connection between writer and subject. This intimate link, where the reporter is not a distanced, dispassionate onlooker but a participant observer, brings a greater ethical responsibility for the writer than does conventional journalism. Awareness of this idea developed as part of the theorization of the "eyewitness account" genre (aka reportage) in Europe between 1880 and 1935, the subject of Pascal Sigg's fascinating chapter. He traces how the Czech writer Egon Erwin Kisch gradually developed the concept of "the reporter as an eyewitness who 'shaped reality' for readers" (6). The German-Jewish critic Walter Benjamin further expanded Kisch's concepts, Sigg explains, as he criticized fascism for its "aestheticizing of political life" (75). Benjamin decried how 1930s film and photography made media consumers passive and increasingly powerless in the face of fascist forces.

Standpoint theory illuminates Sue Joseph's chapter that discusses two books by Australian writers, John Dale's *Huckstepp: A Dangerous Life* (2000) and Doris Pilkington Garimara's *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* (1996). The first tells the story of Sallie-Anne Huckstepp, a sex worker who blew the whistle on police corruption and was murdered in Sydney in 1986 (8). Garimara's book is about three Aboriginal girls (one of whom was her mother), members of what is called the Stolen Generation, who were removed from their families by the state, divorced from their own culture, and resettled. Joseph uses these books as case studies to show that "Literary journalism can allow voices that have been silenced and repressed by powerful forces to finally be heard" (99). Her analysis is convincing, that both writers, by telling these women's stories from their standpoint, "have given them agency, remediating in some way the social injustices [that they] endured, and re-narrativising [*sic*] spaces painted by the dominant worldview" (113).

In "Making Visible the Invisible: George Orwell's 'Marrakech,'" Russell Frank observes how a common theme in literary journalism addressing social injustice is our failure to notice and take stock of society's marginalized. As Frank puts it, "The world's powerless people are neither invisible nor voiceless: It is that the world's privileged and powerful people refuse to see them or hear them" (128). He begins with a

detailed analysis of this theme in Orwell's "Marrakech," then takes us on a journey through several more pieces that also articulate this theme, mostly culled from Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda's classic anthology, *The Art of Fact: A Historical Anthology of Literary Journalism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997). Many of the "invisible" are "the poor and oppressed," but Frank aptly notes that "The real lives of soldiers and civilians tend to disappear in the fog of glamor that envelopes war" (121). He goes on to cite several compelling examples of literary journalism that pierces this fog, such as Martha Gellhorn's reporting on the Spanish Civil War, Walt Whitman's on the U.S. Civil War's battle of Chancellorsville, and Michael Herr's on Vietnam.

Laura Ventura makes a strong contribution with her exploration of the writing of Latin American chroniclers Juan Villoro, Alberto Salcedo Ramos, Alma Guillermoprieto, Leila Guerriero, and Josefina Licitra, and nonfiction writer Valeria Luiselli. All aim to give voice to the struggles of the powerless and vulnerable, particularly children and young people, "preventing their testimonies from being swallowed by time and indifference" (144). Scholarship on Latin American literary journalism is substantially enriched, also, by Pablo Calvi's "Social Justice as a Political Act: Action and Memory in the Journalism of Rodolfo Walsh" (157–73) and Dolors Palau-Sampio's "Territorial Rights, Identity, and Environmental Challenges in Latin American Literary Journalism" (243–58).

Further evidence of the volume's vision can be seen in Kate McQueen's chapter analyzing the U.S. prison press. She demonstrates how literary journalism can "promote awareness of prison life and encourage necessary reform" as well as buttress "John Pauly's suggestion that the form can play a role in shared civic life—that 'imagined commons in which our hopes for humane . . . and equitable social relations dwell' " (210).

Willa McDonald delves into two recent books of testimonial memoir that illustrate literary journalism's effectiveness in addressing social justice "across physical and political borders" (225). Wang Fang (aka Fang Fang, her pen name) wrote internet posts about being quarantined in Wuhan, China, at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic that were published as *Wuhan Diary: Dispatches from a Quarantined City* (June 1920) (226). And Behrouz Boochani published *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* (2018) about refugees imprisoned by the Australian government. McDonald analyzes these texts through the lens of mobility justice—enforced mobility and immobility that constitute grave social injustices.

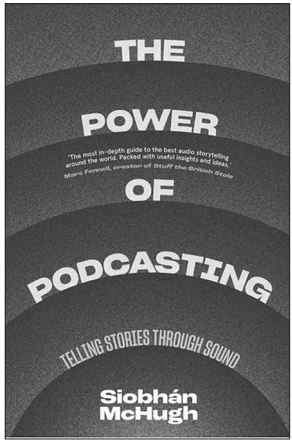
Robert Alexander investigates the concept of mobility relative to literary journalism in two major ways. One is the physical mobility of writers that enables them to travel to their subjects and conduct immersion research; the other is the rhetorical mobility of literary journalism that spurs the creation of different techniques and styles that engage the reader and address social injustices in multilayered ways that convey deep truths.

The remaining chapters are also intriguing, original, and well-researched. In the final one, Mitzi Lewis and Jeffrey C. Neely discuss their study, based on a survey of literary journalism instructors in colleges and universities around the world, which "suggests that teaching literary journalism may be a powerful tool for students' transformative learning and for promoting social justice" (307). It is an appropriate finale to this superb collection that will doubtless inspire subsequent inquiry for years to come.

The Art of Audio Storytelling, by a Master of Her Craft

The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories through Sound
by Siobhán McHugh. New York: Columbia University Press, 2022. Appendix. Notes. Index. Hardcover, £84.00; USD$100; Paperback, 320 pp. £28.00; USD$32.00; E-book, £28.00; USD$28.

Reviewed by Ella Waldmann, Université Paris-Cité, Paris, France



In 2018, when radio documentary and podcast producer and academic Siobhán McHugh gave a free online course, 35,000 participants from 150 countries joined to learn about "The Power of Podcasting for Storytelling" (5). The success of this course speaks not only to the popularity that this topic has recently gained but also to the central role that McHugh plays today as one of the most generous and stimulating voices in the field. One of her greatest strengths is combining her hands-on experience as a producer and consultant for many acclaimed radio documentaries and podcasts and her academic expertise in oral history and literary journalism. Very early on, she identified the convergence between storytelling and the audio format, insisting on the power of aurality to create authenticity, empathy, and interest. With the coming of age of podcasting in the mid-2010s, audio storytelling experienced an unprecedented revival. McHugh was one of the first to acknowledge the shift that this new medium represented for the form with her seminal article, "How Podcasting Is Changing the Audio Storytelling Form" (*The Radio Journal— International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 2016) in which she drew on testimonies from renowned international professionals to elaborate new theoretical perspectives.

Until now, the existing literature on podcasts has fallen into two categories: on the one hand, practical guidebooks for aspiring podcasters and, on the other, academic works in the now-established field of podcast studies. Siobhán McHugh's *The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories Through Sound* bridges this gap. This hybrid book is both a trove of information, analyses, and insights for scholars and students and a useful guide filled with practical advice for anyone who would themselves want to start writing and producing podcasts. The feat here is to convey knowledge that is always grounded in personal experience. McHugh applies the methods of storytelling to her writing: she often uses the first person and personal anecdotes to draw readers into the secrets of audio storytelling and does not shy away from introducing affect

by speaking to the reader's feelings to make concepts more palpable, without ever remaining at the surface level or veering away from her rigorous theoretical perspective.

The book begins with a case study in which McHugh relates an interview she conducted with an Australian woman who was an entertainer for U.S. troops during the Vietnam War. This woman, McHugh recalls, was a natural radio "talent"; yet she also recalls the elaborate editing process she had to go through to make the best out of her recording and reveal the "seductive power of sound."

In chapter one, "Podcasting: Why, Who, What" (8–25), McHugh delineates the contours of podcasting and discusses the various forms the medium can take, from informal conversations, known as a "chumcast" or "chatcast" (10) to extremely scripted and crafted narrative podcasts. What these productions all have in common is the centrality of voice, which is McHugh's primary interest and object of research. She then narrows her focus down to the genre that interests her specifically, the narrative nonfiction podcast.

The second chapter delves into the "The Backstory" (26–46) of audio storytelling, giving a historical overview of the genre, in which she pays homage to its public radio origins and founders such as Norman Corwin, Studs Terkel, and Jay Allison. McHugh does not restrict her analysis to the United States, as she also discusses the radio and podcast landscape in the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, where she has lived and spent most of her career. This chapter does an excellent job of underlining the "cross-fertilisations" (33) that take place both historically and geographically, between different generations and countries.

With the advent of podcasting, radio experienced a digital revolution that sparked a renewal of storytelling through sound. McHugh retraces the beginning of the medium and ponders the ongoing debate around the distinction between radio and podcast—or whether podcasting can be considered a self-standing medium—which she settles by defining them, with a wink, as "kissing cousins" (48).

Chapter four, "The Aerobic Art of Interviewing" (69–98), deals with the interviewing process, a topic that goes beyond the field of audio and can be of interest for any format or outlet. Here, McHugh highlights the importance—and difficulty—of "active" or "aerobic listening" (70–73). McHugh draws again from her personal experience, breaking down several memorable interviews she conducted throughout her career.

Chapter five revisits some of the most notable podcasts produced in the last ten years, insisting on "milestones" (99) such as *This American Life*'s spin-off *Serial* or *The New York Times*'s indispensable *The Daily*. The following chapter, "Podcasting as Literary Journalism: *S-Town*" (128–55), adapted from an academic article published in this journal, is an in-depth analysis of the unrivaled masterpiece *S-Town*. It examines how the podcast fits the definition of literary journalism that was developed by Norman Sims in his 1984 book *The Literary Journalists* by analyzing it through the categories of immersion, voice and subjectivity, symbolism, structure, and accuracy, before questioning the impact and ethics of such a production—questions that may and should apply to any work of literary journalism.

The next two chapters are a master class in creating a narrative podcast, based

on McHugh's experience as a consultant for three recent Australian productions. The author takes the reader behind the scenes (or, as she puts it, "under the hood") (183) of the production process of a hit podcast. She dissects authentic scripts and offers a glimpse of the various drafts and revisions they go through—an invaluable resource for practitioners and researchers alike.

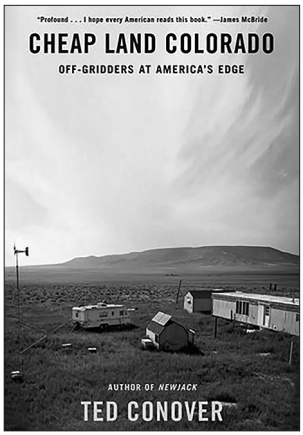
The book concludes by addressing the necessary questions of "inclusion, diversity, and equality" (216–49) in the podcasting sphere, and by speculating on the medium's shifting landscape and future. At the end is also an appendix listing recommendations and podcast reviews. Interspersed throughout the book are special sections featuring practical tips, short Q&As with producers, and lists of recommended links, podcasts, and professional networks—further evidence of its versatility.

McHugh shares her knowledge and skills with great generosity and wit. She is an integral member of the close-knit radio and podcast community, which she describes as follows: "It's entirely unscientific and I have no way of proving it, but I just think we audio-storytelling folk are generally a good bunch, softer than the average media apparatchik, more inclined to care about fairness and social justice." After reading *The Power of Podcasting*, one can only concur with her statement.

Conover On Life and People in Colorado's San Luis Valley

Cheap Land Colorado: Off-Gridders at America's Edge
by Ted Conover. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2022. Hardcover, 283 pages. USD$30.

Reviewed by Patrick Walters, Washington & Lee University, United States



Literary journalism possesses, at its core, powerful potential for telling the most complex and challenging stories of a culture. Perhaps more than any other form, it has the capacity to untangle and explore the nuances of huge subjects usually only truly tackled in essays or academic papers. At its best, it can be used to take on issues that are both beyond and within the daily headlines that make the world spin faster and faster each year.

Throughout his career, Ted Conover has delved into many of these subjects with his immersive reporting. *Coyotes: A Journey across Borders with America's Mexican Migrants* (1987) addressed difficult questions about what leads to the never-ending tensions over immigration in the United States. *Newjack: Guarding Sing Sing* (2000) explored the uncomfortable line separating the punishers and the punished in the justice system. *The Routes of Man: How Roads Are Changing the World and the Way We Live Today* (2010) got at the heart of structural factors that lead to varying levels of interconnectedness among cultures across the globe. These are big and often amorphous subjects, but good storytelling can make them concrete and real. When that happens successfully, a reader often thinks only of the narrative story right away; the writer doesn't need to hit him square in the face with the Big Issue. It is only upon thoughtful reflection that the reader comes to the realization of what the story was *really* about.

The storyline of Conover's latest book, *Cheap Land Colorado: Off-Gridders at America's Edge*, is a simple one: It revolves around the diverse subculture of people living in the San Luis Valley in rural Colorado. Conover uses the immersive techniques of his previous works—he moves to the prairie, buys a trailer, eventually purchases his own plot of land, and lives among his subjects. He volunteers with a social services group, making house calls and checking on residents, offering firewood and other supplies. But the narrative is just a tool for telling the *real story*. This book is really about the cultural disconnect in the United States, one which leads many to feel their stories are not being heard, their lives not appreciated. It is about polarization, both its causes and its effects. It is about forces that lead people into isolation amid a

feeling they don't belong elsewhere. Daily journalists have been trying to do a better job of amplifying such lesser-heard voices since the 2016 presidential election, but their format often only allows them to scratch the surface. Conover uses the stories of people who live in this rural prairie land to show how reality can both affirm and complicate the stereotypes that often separate U.S. citizens. Furthermore, he treats the land as a character, showing how its beauty—and its offer of solitude—can offer a salve for the conflicts and tensions of modern society.

Through the stories of his neighbors, Conover shows the diverse, underlying reasons that people move to this nowhere land. Some want affordable land. The book's title came from one resident who, following the death of his wife, had wanted a fresh start and Googled "cheap land Colorado." Some seek to be alone, a desire not infrequently connected to post-traumatic stress disorder. Others are driven by a desire to be self-reliant or want to stay out of the watchful eye of law enforcement. Drawing on his participant observation skills, Conover notes how the valley enticed him, much as it did his characters. It was partly because he was "coming under the spell of land" (136–37) that he decided to buy his own plot after initially keeping his trailer on the land of the Gruber family. Furthermore, he tells firsthand of the feeling that such escape could have on a person: "Last, and probably the biggest thing, was the way I felt out here on the prairie. I felt good. I felt free and alive" (142).

But it is the dizzying array of characters Conover finds who really tell these stories. Ania and Jurek speak of their distrust of government, especially the zoning office, and how capital letters are a code for enslavement, all part of a "Dog Latin" language that they claim dates back to the Roman Empire (89). Others show their disdain for masking mandates or criticize Black Lives Matter protesters, both opinions that lead Conover to respond with a competing perspective. Conover takes pains, however, to ensure the narrative does not become overly simplistic. He shows he is trying to get at sometimes unreconcilable complexities of humans in a polarized world. When heading to a potluck dinner at one resident's home, Conover recalls being asked about COVID-19: "So, do you think it could all be a hoax?" Expressing shock, Conover says he definitely knew it was real. The neighbor, Paul, acknowledges that he felt conflicted; Paul was, after all, wearing a mask and had masking tape six feet apart on his deck to encourage social distancing (224).

Another neighbor encouraged Conover to take all his money out of the bank due to a banking crisis he said was caused by the media. Others showed disdain for Black Lives Matter, responding with a "Don't all lives matter?" refrain and claiming that the protests involved Black people seeking "superiority," but Conover contextualizes this exchange, noting that "He lived in a universe of poor people where he was competing for a small share of the available resources. Equality, he said, would be fine with him" (227). This exchange demonstrates how the narrative seeks to go beyond the binary, good-evil nature of standard journalistic frames. Conover is looking to get into the often-conflicting nuances of people, showing the 'why' behind the 'what.'

The characters portrayed in *Cheap Land Colorado* also illustrate the universal nature of humankind and some of the commonalities that bind people across class, race, party, and geography. They show the pain of the opioid crisis, as well as the

struggle of veterans coming to the valley after the legalization of medical marijuana. Conover zooms in when finding out the Gruber family will have to put down Tank, an aging St. Bernard that had become sickly and aggressive. He writes of how Frank Gruber's face becomes wet with tears while getting ready to shoot the dog—the most humane way Gruber knew possible. The scenes here describe death and sadness in a way that shows the universality of emotional pain. However, the reality of the political divide is never far in the background. This book is, at times, Conover's most political one. The starkest example is when chapter five opens with statistics from *Harper's Index* indicating that "the number of the twenty least prosperous [U.S.] congressional districts that are represented by Republicans" is sixteen; and the number of the "twenty most prosperous districts that are represented by Democrats" is twenty. It also highlights how—since 2008—97 percent "of statewide elections in the Deep South" have been "won by Republicans" (138). While Conover's own views do come through, the political narrative mostly focuses on showing the extent of the divide in the United States.

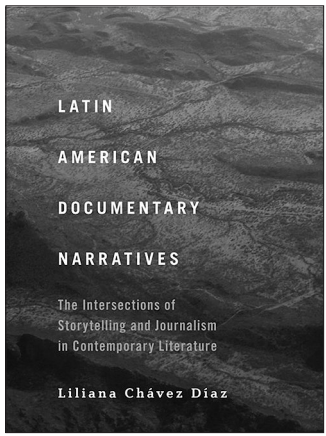
One of the greatest challenges in this book is how to avoid "othering" the subjects, to find a way to treat them as humans and not as mere curiosities. A knee-jerk critic could try to argue that Conover was guilty of that here. The critic could say Conover found a collection of oddballs and extremists that violated the norms of the San Luis Valley's population. But, when viewing this cast of characters as a whole, that seems unlikely. This book stays true to its aim of exploring the country's cultural divides and seeking the reasons these people want to get away and live off the grid. It puts human faces on the increasing distrust of institutions, a phenomenon oft-explored by journalists and academics alike.

In the epilogue, Conover describes the commonalities he found: "Rather, they were the restless and the fugitive; the idle and the addicted; and the generally disaffected, the done-with-what-we-were-supposed-to-do crowd. People who, feeling chewed up and spit out, had turned away from and sometimes against institutions they'd been involved with all of their lives, whether companies or schools or the church. The prairie was their sanctuary and their place of exile" (253). *Cheap Land Colorado* is not a fast read; the storyline does not always suck the reader in with action or drama. The characters can be difficult to keep track of. Their story is not a simple narrative; it has no makings of a movie. But that is partly the point: Today's complex issues are not represented by simple stories. Conover takes on the role of docent here, trying to guide the reader through this place and lead to a better understanding of the differences that divide us.

Insights on Contemporary Latin American Documentary Narratives: The Writers and Their Work

Latin American Documentary Narratives: The Intersections of Storytelling and Journalism in Contemporary Literature
by Liliana Chávez Díaz. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022. Photos. References. Index. Hardcover, 290 pp., USD$108. Paperback, USD$35.95 Ebook, USD $35.95

By Aleksandra Wiktorowska, University of Warsaw, Poland



The need to recognize different manifestations of literary journalism and to expand the scholarly work beyond the anglophone world, stressed at the beginning of the twenty-first century, seems still very real. *Latin American Documentary Narratives: The Intersections of Storytelling and Journalism in Contemporary Literature* undeniably fulfills this demand and places selected Latin American nonfiction narratives not only within the global history of literary journalism but also engages in current debates on world literature.

Liliana Chávez Díaz, a Mexican scholar, journalist, and author of *Viajar sola. Identidad y experiencia de viaje en autoras hispanoamericanas* (Women travelling alone. Identity and travel experience by Hispanic American authors) (Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2020), focuses in *Latin American Documentary Narratives* on "a marginal documentary trend that has formed its own alternative storytelling history and imaginaries at the margins of other more globally visible Latin American worlds" (1). She names this trend "documentary narrative" and discusses it through many examples, taking the reader on a fascinating journey through investigative and literary works of Gabriel García Márquez, Rodolfo Walsh, Carlos Monsiváis, Elena Poniatowska, Juan Villoro, Martín Caparrós, Santiago Roncagliolo, Leila Guerriero, Arturo Fontaine Talavera, Cristian Alarcón, and Francisco Goldman.

According to Chávez Díaz, documentary narratives are a means of exploring the encounter with the other and, as such, could be read as performative speech acts, in which different worldviews clash. The book thus presents a quite innovative approach. Instead of placing Latin American documentary narratives on a more popular intersection of fact and fiction or journalism and literature, as used by other scholars in the discipline, the author opts for the intersection of storytelling and

journalism. She argues that the storyteller is an essential figure through which true stories reconstruct reality and that "Even since the turn of the twenty-first century, in Latin America it is still possible to find [Walter] Benjamin's storyteller disguised as a *flâneur*, a chronicler or *cronista*" (4).

Díaz explains that while journalists in other parts of the globe are safe enough to introduce first-person narration, the political situation in Latin America makes it difficult to write openly. She clarifies:

[T]he Latin American writer cannot aim to tell the truth of others without risking censorship, or even death. These writers therefore speak from the position of someone who, in order to tell the story of others, must tell their own story too. In contrast with authors publishing abroad, such as Goldman, Latin American writers need to include themselves in the narrative, for being a witness can supplement a lack of official information, or of a trustworthy legal process. This might explain why these authors are more concerned with modes of telling the truth that entail fewer risks, than with delivering 'objective' information. (33)

Chávez Díaz's initial thesis is that "whereas in Europe the novel was born as a popular, mass form of entertainment that aimed to reflect the everyday life of common people, in Latin America this form, like any other literary genre, was produced and consumed by the elites. In their emergence from popular culture, documentary narratives—while not as openly popular—might be seen as an alternative way of revealing the diversity of voices and identities within the masses, a way that allows these voices to speak from their own position of diversity" (43). And although this statement could be considered quite controversial, the author's analysis of selected Latin American documentary narratives gives evidence that the value and importance of documentary narratives go beyond their "literary" style, as those real stories in a metafictional format cross the limits of conventional media and offer an ethical and aesthetic response to the problem of truth and communication.

The book is structured in three parts, titled "Courage," "Belonging," and "Listening." In the first, the author offers a historical overview of *crónica* (chronicle), literary journalism, and *testimonio* (testimony), proposing a new reading of two stories of survivors, namely Gabriel García Márquez's *Relato de un náufrago* (The story of a shipwrecked sailor) and Rodolfo Walsh's *Operación Masacre* (Operation massacre), which represent two different approaches to the task of journalism under censorship and show the complex relationship between the journalist-narrator and his sources.

In the second part, Díaz analyzes writers from the 1970s through the 1980s who are considered founders of the contemporary Latin American chronicle. On the one hand, she examines the work of chroniclers of Mexico City: Elena Poniatowska and Carlos Monsiváis, paying attention to their methodology and how they mediated between the elites and the people. On the other hand, she analyzes the multiple versions of Juan Peron's story, as depicted by Tomás Eloy Martínez, exploring his research process—again in a context of censorship—and the ways in which storytelling can be used, both in fiction and nonfiction, to reconstruct historical events.

Part three focuses on the second group of writers, from the 1990s to 2000s, who search for new methods in research and narration. First, Díaz compares Martín

Caparrós's *Una luna. Diario de hiperviaje* (A moon. A hypertravel diary) with Juan Villoro's *8.8 El miedo en el espejo. Una crónica del terremoto en Chile* (8.8 The fear in the mirror: A chronicle of the earthquake in Chile), paying special attention to their different investigative processes and employed literary devices and how social and environmental problems can be approached through dialogue with others. Then, she focuses on the work of the latest generation of Latin American authors who are working on testimonial-based stories and explores their use of metafiction as narrative strategy. While analyzing *Cuando me muera quiero que me toquen cumbia* (Dance for me when I die) by Cristian Alarcón; *Los suicidas del fin del mundo. Crónica de un pueblo patagónico* (The suicidal ones at the end of the world: Chronicle of a Patagonian town) by Leila Guerriero; *La cuarta espada. La historia de Abimael Guzmán y Sendero Luminoso* (The fourth sword. The story of Abimael Guzmán and the shining path) by Santiago Roncagliolo; and a novel, *La vida doble* (The double life: A novel) by Arturo Fontaine, Chávez Díaz shows how those contemporary documentary narrators are, in fact, a blend of two figures: the storyteller and the professional listener, and how Latin American documentary narratives shift from the representation of the other to the representation of the author's self-transformation after having encountered the other.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews carried out by the author with Cristian Alarcón, Arturo Fontaine Martín Caparrós, Leila Guerriero, Elena Poniatowska, Juan Villoro, Santiago Roncagliolo, and Francisco Goldman, are found in the appendix, and add another layer of information. Arranged in three thematic sets, the interviews give insights into the beginnings of the literary and journalistic careers of eight authors and their investigative and creative processes. The interviews also shed some extra light on the kind of work Chávez Díaz was interested in analyzing. They not only complement the theoretical work she has carried out as a meticulous scholar and researcher but also demonstrate Chávez Díaz's ability to listen, dialogue with, and extract the essence. *Latin American Documentary Narratives* is thus polyphonic and dialogical in its nature. Not only does the author quote her sources, but documentary narratives result from different dialogues: the source with the writer, the writer with the reader, and journalism with literature. Not to mention that works she analyses (often in comparison) also enter into the kind of dialogue.

Another particularly interesting aspect of this book is the employed hybrid methodology, with textual analysis, a sociological approach, fieldwork undertaken in Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Spain, and participant observation, all of which make her research quintessentially multidisciplinary: literary, journalistic, but also anthropological.

If Pablo Calvi's *Latin American Adventures in Literary Journalism* (2019) was searching for historical roots of Latin American literary journalism, Liliana Chávez Díaz in this work moves toward contemporary documentary narratives, analyzing them from the perspective of a literary scholar (as she self-describes). And although she doesn't take a historical approach, the structure of her book allows us to trace chapter by chapter the evolution of this documentary mode.

All in all, it is a fascinating reading of Latin American documentary narratives, which offers valuable insight into the art and craft of the chosen Latin American storytellers (although I am not completely sure all the aforementioned authors would be happy with that term). However, I believe the employed category of storytelling is particularly important as it places literary journalism in another dimension, showing Latin American documentary narratives as cultural texts and underlining their indisputable literary and cultural value.

Mejor que ficción: An Anthology of Spanish Language Literary Journalism Attempts to Prove that 'Crónica' Is Actually "Better Than Fiction"

Mejor que ficción: *Crónicas ejemplares*. Edited by Jorge Carrión. Madrid: Almadía, 2022. 525 pp. €24.95; USD$35.48.

Reviewed by Roberto Herrscher, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Chile

Two decades ago, the masterful Argentine *cronista* Martín Caparrós retraced the journey that Henry Morton Stanley had taken one century earlier in search of the famous explorer David Livingston, who had disappeared in the heart of Africa. Between Zanzibar and Tanganyika, among the descendants of those who escaped being sent as slaves to America, Caparrós found the key word for his *crónica,* which bears the title of "Pole Pole in Zanzibar" ("Pole Pole. De Zanzíbar a Tanganyica").

"*Pole pole* seems to be basic Swahili *Weltanshauung.* It could be translated as 'take it easy, living life without constraining oneself to the forced rhythms of modern culture, re-establishing a way to peaceful resistance,' " writes Caparrós in the midst of his journey, which leads him to sit under a huge tree to hear the sad, surprising conclusion of one of his sources: that in his view, the descendants of those who were taken to America as slaves have in general a much better life than those who escaped and live in today's Africa (449).

But Caparrós's slow-flowing text could itself be described as "*pole pole journalism*: elegantly written and paced, adjusted to its own needs, an act of peaceful resistance to the speedy news of important deeds and famous people one sees in today's mediascape. That pace—and the way it allows for listening to what others want to say, not what they answer to the febrile questions of the reporter—is what gives us the priceless monologue of the African elder who compares the lot of his town with the life of plenty and laughter that he sees on U.S. TV. "We would be better off had we been taken as slaves," the wrinkled man gloomily ponders (476.)

Caparrós's text is the last in the anthology, *Mejor que ficción* (Better than fiction), which journalist, essayist, novelist, podcaster, and professor Jorge Carrión compiled in 2012 for the publisher Anagrama, the most prestigious nonfiction editorial company in Spain. After almost four decades of bringing to the Spanish-speaking public the best classics and latest surprises in nonfiction, Jorge Herralde's Editorial Ana-

grama finally came up with an anthology of Spanish and Latin American examples of crónica, which showed the vitality and width of a genre at the peak of its success and prestige.

The volume, published in Barcelona, introduced to Spanish readers to literary journalists already famous across the Atlantic. To take a few examples, Leila Guerriero penned a meticulous profile of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team. Juan Villoro wrote a luminous narrative essay on the postmodern and perennial Japan. Alberto Salcedo Ramos offered one of his hilarious profiles of rural Colombia. And Pedro Lemebel lent an example of his pop, baroque, poetic, and poignant prose on the luck of poor gay folk in Chile.

The 2012 edition also brought to the fore new voices who came not from literary ambition but from the depths of the newsroom. These included Venezuelan reporter Maye Primera's heartbreaking report on misery in Haiti, Alberto Fuguet's curious interview with a seedy seller of copied DVDs who fancied himself a cultural crusader, and Edgardo Cozarinsky's pilgrimage to Tangier in search of his idol Paul Bowles, which led him to unearth an army of ghosts that come to life in a burnished, silky style.

But there was more. Unlike the competing *Antología de crónica latinoamericana actual* (Anthology of current Latin American crónica), which the larger publishing house Alfaguara distributed at the same time (this one the handiwork of Colombian poet Darío Jaramillo, featuring many of the same authors from the New World), Carrión's list included Spaniards such as Jordi Costa and Guillem Martínez.

Interestingly, for these mainly Barcelonan writers, the search was not outward but inward, back to their childhoods in dictator Francisco Franco's gray Spain. They introduced dark humor to their depictions of kitsch development in a country that saw itself as European but was closer to the Third World than to France or Germany. It was the "how" more than the "what" that shone in these pages, with word games that played with the language of stiff newspapers and pedantic academics.

In the ensuing decade it so happened that *crónica* became a standard journalistic mode of storytelling. Every newspaper and magazine now had their narrative journalism sections, and even Carrión himself blossomed both as an analyst (in English, for *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*; in Spanish, for *El País* and *La Vanguardia* in Spain and *Infobae* in Argentina), and as a *cronista* himself.

Carrión now writes about podcasting and has created his own podcast series, *Solaris*, which won an Ondas (the main Spanish prize for radio). He analyzes nonfiction comics and teams up with an artist to bring into existence the comic book *Los vagabundos de la chitarra* (The vagabonds of scrap). And three of his twenty books have English language versions: *Bookshops* (McLehose Press/Biblioasis), *Against Amazon* (Biblioasis), and *Madrid: Book of Books* (Ivory Press), all three translated by Peter Bush. He has written a handful of novels as well. The last one, Membrana, brilliantly portrayed a technological dystopia. It is to the point where one must wonder whether Carrión still believes narrative journalism is "better than fiction."

"We live in documentary times," he says, replying to the question posed. "Over the years c*rónica* has been canonized (Svetlana Alexievich won the Nobel Prize; Elena

Poniatowska the Cervantes, a Spanish-language Nobel), while the public has grown accustomed to digital nonfiction (series, podcasts, digital stories, reality shows, overblown selfies). I still think that writing nonfiction is harder than writing fiction. And I believe that some true-life characters, like Vladimir Putin, for example, are more complex and harder to grasp than literary characters."

With these ideas Carrión approached the new Mexican publisher Almadia to propose a new version of *Mejor que ficción*, with five additional texts and a second prologue aimed at all Spanish-speaking countries. The anthology now boasts twenty-five *crónicas* written by authors from seven different countries—Argentina, Chile, Perú, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Spain. And, significantly, the five new authors are women: three Mexicans (Marcela Turati, Cristina Rivera-Garza, and Eileen Truax), one Ecuadorian (Sabrina Duque), and one Cuban (Mónica Baró). With this attempt to be more inclusive, the gender playing field is a little more even: ten out of twenty-five (forty percent), instead of the five out of twenty in the first version (twenty percent).

Reading the new edition from beginning to end, the feeling is at once exhilarating and disconcerting because of the sheer variety and dispersion of voices, stories, and treatments. But if these texts have one thing in common, it is the playful—and sometimes painful—slowness with which all these stories move forward. It is as if each author tried to follow to the bitter end the intricate path of a character, an event, a group. There are no common formulas, just *pole pole*.

Of the five new stories, only Duque's does not feature horror prominently. Her text is a precise, poetic profile of a sound artist who creates landscapes for listening and cannot bear noise. All the others are about women who are killed by men, or refugees, or political massacres. In the case of Mónica Baró, it is the tragic story of those who believed in Castro's revolution in Cuba and were forced to demolish their own homes to make way for the road that took the dictator's remains to his final resting grounds.

The old introduction and the new prologue are inspiring and erudite to read. They give way to twenty-five stories jumbled in happy confusion, not following any chronological, geographic, or thematic order. In other words, the reader may not want to seek meaning in their exact placement. We travel from a personal anecdote to the explanation of a perverse economic system; from the style of a newspaper of record to that of a personal memoir; from an explosion of emotional, poetic prose to the austerity of facts and voices, where the feelings are left to us to decipher.

And there is no prevailing tradition or "voice," as one sees in *The New Yorker*, *Gatopardo*, *Etiqueta Negra*, *El Malpensante*, or the Sunday magazine of *La Vanguardia*. And perhaps that is what '*pole pole* journalism' should look like: an escape from the fast lane of current news to find what one was not looking for or expecting.

Is it better than fiction? Who knows, because fiction today has also spread its margins and embraced tools and voices from journalism and the arts and sciences, as Carrión well knows and practices. But, as Jorge Luis Borges once said of an imaginary map, this book may well cover a field as vast as the territory it attempts to describe.

Mission Statement
Literary Journalism Studies

Literary Journalism Studies is an international, interdisciplinary blind-reviewed journal that invites scholarly examinations of literary journalism—a genre also known by different names around the world, such as literary reportage, narrative journalism, the New Journalism, *nuevo periodismo*, reportage literature, literary nonfiction, narrative nonfiction, and creative nonfiction—focusing on cultural revelation. Published in English but directed at an international audience, the journal welcomes contributions from different cultural, disciplinary, and critical perspectives. To help establish comparative studies of the genre, the journal is especially interested in examinations of the works of authors and traditions from different national literatures not generally known outside their countries.

There is no single definition of the genre, but the following descriptions help to establish a meeting ground for its critical study:

• "The art and craft of reportage—journalism marked by vivid description, a novelist's eye to form, and eyewitness reporting that reveals hidden truths about people and events that have shaped the world we know." —*Granta*

• "Reportage Literature is an engagement with reality with a novelist's eye but with a journalist's discipline." —Pedro Rosa Mendes, Portugal

• "I think one of the first things for literary reportage should be to go into the field and to try to get the other side of the story." —Anne Nivat, France

• "A good reportage must not necessarily be linked with topical or political events which are taking place around us. I think the miracle of things lies not in showing the extraordinary but in showing ordinary things in which the extraordinary is hidden." —Nirmal Verma, India

• Literary journalism is a "journalism that would read like a novel . . . or short story." —Tom Wolfe, United States

Such definitions are not comprehensive and may at times conflict, but they should help to establish an understanding of this fundamentally narrative genre, which is located at the intersection of literature and journalism.

At the critical center of the genre lies cultural revelation in narrative form. Implicit to the enterprise are two precepts: (a) that there is an external reality apart from human consciousness, whatever the inherent problems of language and ideology that may exist in comprehending that reality; and (b) that there are consequences in the phenomenal world, whether triggered by human or natural agency, that result in the need to tell journalistically-based narratives empowered by literary technique and aesthetic sensibility. Ultimately, the emphasis is on the aesthetics of experience.

International Association for Literary Journalism Studies

The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies is a multidisciplinary learned society whose essential purpose is the encouragement and improvement of scholarly research and education in literary journalism (or literary reportage). For the purposes of scholarly delineation, our definition of literary journalism is "journalism as literature" rather than "journalism about literature." Moreover, the association is explicitly inclusive and warmly supportive of a wide variety of approaches to the study and teaching of literary journalism throughout the world. The association's web address is http://www.ialjs.org.

IALJS Officers

Tobias Eberwein
President
Austrian Academy of Sciences
Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies
A-1010 Vienna
AUSTRIA
+43-(0)1 51 581-3110, -3113
tobiaseberwein@oeaw.ac.at

Lindsay Hayasaka
Second Vice President
Pacific Union College
One Angwin Avenue,
Angwin, CA 94508
U.S.A.
lmorton@puc.edu

Willa McDonald
First Vice President
Macquarie University
Faculty of Arts / Media Discipline
Sydney NSW 2109
AUSTRALIA
willa.mcdonald@mq.edu.au

Kevin Lerner
Secretary (corresponding)
Marist College
Department of Communication
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601
U.S.A.
w/+1-845-575-3000 x2661
kevin.lerner@marist.edu

John S. Bak, founding president, 2006–2008