



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 Kästner¹¹—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’s¹⁵ and Elisabeth Klaus’s¹⁶ 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 re-literalization 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 Tucholsky’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 Werth

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 feuillets 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 feuillets of Heinz Knobloch.” That subtitle is taken as an impetus to take a brief look at Knobloch’s feuillets 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 feuillets 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 flâneur 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 Kempfski 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 Kempfski 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. Kempfski 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 Millenniums" [End of the millennium], 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 machte, 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, Gesellschaft 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 bedeckt, 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 unbefangene 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 emigriert. 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 und 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 Schreibebers.”

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. . . . Goettes 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 gegenüber 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 Söseemann, “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 Söseemann, 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*, *Für Dich*, *Sybille*,” 52.

¹⁴⁰ Hinrichs, “ ‘Misstraut Den Grünanlagen!’ ” [Mistrust the parks!].

¹⁴¹ Reifarth and Reus, 10. Original quote: “Spaziergehen kann anachronistisch und subversive, ja anarchistisch werden 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 Feuilletonwörter 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 Doppelstreuse 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-Heise hat wie kaum ein anderer seiner Berufskollegen die subjektive 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. Kempfski 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-Heise 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-Heise-Prize was first awarded in 2005.

¹⁵⁴ Pöttker, “Ende des Milleniums—Ende des Journalismus?” 129.

¹⁵⁵ Pöttker, 130.

¹⁵⁶ Pöttker, 138.

¹⁵⁷ Fehrlé, 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.”

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