

THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO WORLD LITERARY JOURNALISM

This cutting-edge research companion addresses our current understanding of literary journalism's global scope and evolution, offering an immersive study of how different nations have experimented with and perfected the narrative journalistic form/genre over time.

The Routledge Companion to World Literary Journalism demonstrates the genre's rich genealogy and global impact through a comprehensive study of its many traditions, including the *crónica*, the *ocherk*, reportage, the New Journalism, the New New Journalism, *Jornalismo literário*, *periodismo narrativo*, *bao gao wen xue*, creative nonfiction, *Literarischer Journalismus*, *As-SaHafa al Adabiyya*, and literary nonfiction. Contributions from a diverse range of established and emerging scholars explore key issues such as the current role of literary journalism in countries radically affected by the print media crisis and the potential future of literary journalism, both as a centerpiece to print media writ large and as an academic discipline universally recognized around the world. The book also discusses literary journalism's responses to war, immigration, and censorship; its many female and Indigenous authors; and its digital footprints on the internet.

This extensive and authoritative collection is a vital resource for academics and researchers in literary journalism studies, as well as in journalism studies and literature in general.

John S. Bak is Professor at the Université de Lorraine in France and Founding President of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies. In addition to having published several articles on literary journalism, he co-edited (with Bill Reynolds) *Literary Journalism across the Globe* (2011) and (with Monica Martinez) a special issue of *Brazilian Journalism Research* entitled "Literary Journalism as a Discipline" (2018). He currently heads the research project ReportAGES on world literary journalism at the Université de Lorraine.

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Edited by John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Designed cover image: by Anthony DeRado

First published 2023

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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individual chapters, the contributors

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bak, John S., editor. | Reynolds, Bill (College teacher) editor.

Title: The Routledge companion to world literary journalism /
edited by John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2023. |
Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022027857 (print) | LCCN 2022027858 (ebook) |
ISBN 9780367355241 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032370330 (paperback) |
ISBN 9780429331923 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Reportage literature—History and criticism. |
Journalism and literature.

Classification: LCC PN3377.5.R45 R68 2023 (print) |
LCC PN3377.5.R45 (ebook) | DDC 070.9—dc23/eng/20220923

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022027857>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022027858>

ISBN: 978-0-367-35524-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-37033-0 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-33192-3 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9780429331923

Typeset in Bembo
by Newgen Publishing UK

The Open Access version of chapter 9 was funded by Austrian Academy of Sciences.

In memoriam
Norman Sims
(1948–2022)



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Producing a book of this girth is challenging at the best of times; doing so during a global pandemic required Herculean efforts from everyone involved.

The editors of this volume would first like to thank Routledge for its continued support of literary journalism studies and for nurturing this project along from its inception. The book benefitted early in the proposal process from senior editor Margaret Farrelly, and was later guided through production by Priscille Biehlmann, Lizzie Cox, Hannah McKeating, Ed Robinson, Susan Jarvis, and Emma Sherriff.

We would like to thank, above all, the many contributors to this volume, who managed to respond to our endless queries and—in spite of the various lockdowns, the fatiguing Zoom calls, and the untimely closings of libraries and archives around the world—produce scholarship of the highest level. Many had to soldier their way through illness after illness brought upon by the pandemic—be it physical, psychological, or moral—all the while holding online classes with students or faculty meetings, juggling constantly fluctuating work and domestic schedules, or even having to relearn trigonometry, music theory, or microbiology to homeschool locked-out children.

We would also like to thank our respective universities, Lorraine and Toronto Metropolitan, for their financial and administrative contributions to this volume.

Lastly, we would like to thank our respective families, Margaux and James Bak and Laura and Justine Reynolds, and Norm Sims, whose pioneering work in the field made this book possible.

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INTRODUCTION

John S. Bak

Literary journalism is as timeless as it is ubiquitous. From the rocks of Kakadu to the cave walls of Lascaux, art has documented the sacred and the profane of people's lives for millennia. No one period can lay claim to its invention, no one culture can monopolize its ownership. Such is the premise upon which *The Routledge Companion to World Literary Journalism* was conceived and executed.

Like all documentary art, literary journalism sprouts from the human necessity to leave behind an accurate record of its passage on this planet. Along the way, the genre has taken on many shapes and styles. Historically, a narrative rendering of fact and truth—from travelogues to jeremiads to almanacs; from political pamphlets to missionary dairies to oral readings of the popular press—was seen as a way to empower the body politic, or genuflect to the crown. Certain regimes demonized the form, fearing that it would enlighten the ignorant or misinformed, or expose the corrupt and maleficent. Some nations never even saw literary journalism as being independent of the realist fiction or the popular press that was already firmly entrenched in their belles-lettres. How one nation sees and understands literary journalism today is thus inextricably tied to that nation's earlier print culture and political development. And given that facticity and aesthetics, the epistemic pillars on which literary journalism firmly rests, are themselves open to historical scrutiny and cultural interpretation, it is perhaps prudent to talk about literary *journalisms* in their plurality. While the term appears in this book's pages in its singular form, readers should understand and celebrate it in this collectivist spirit.

Undeniably, there have been watershed moments in the genre's extensive history, from the French *roman-feuilleton* and undercover journalism in Australia in the nineteenth century to the Americas' New Journalism and Latin Boom in the twentieth century. For this reason, scholars have accepted the paradigm that literary journalism was born in the nineteenth century, matured in the twentieth, and is now going digital in the twenty-first. Each century, though, is the product of a long and complex process of bi- or multilateral transnational influences and intermedial hybridizations, the ineluctable results—and, at times, denouncements—of colonialist expansionism, rampant urbanization, and widespread diasporas or displacements of peoples and cultures. The many parameters involved—each a morass in its own right in terms of cultural mediation—problematize any historiography of one country's literary journalistic creation and development. In this sense, literary journalism is like religion: culturally innate but discriminately migratory, with many of its mutations having been catalyzed by periods of great human confluence, forced or otherwise.

Religious traces are thus palpable in the genre's development over the centuries. British Protestantism, for instance, honed early North American plain style and inculcated its current fact-checking rigor, just as Iberian Catholicism fused with Indigenous Latin American myths and symbols to create the firebrand *crónica* and the dishy *crónica*, forms that first developed from—and later influenced—Spanish *periodismo narrativo* and Portuguese *Jornalismo literário*. Just as the world eschewed religious singularity, it equally resisted the adoption of one form of documentary art, and often for the same reasons: the circumstances under which the confluence was initiated (predatory colonialism), and the means by which interculturality was enforced or suppressed (cultural hegemony). Like the many postcolonial literatures left in the wake of devolution, world literary journalism has had to adopt, adapt, and be adept, but never in the same manner or to the same degree.¹ In short, it is not just the name *literary journalism* that has been open to debate over the years; it is also its fundamental constitution, from one culture to another, from one continent to the next. As a result, today we find as many vibrant pockets of literary journalistic activity throughout the world as there are telling dormancies, and the chapters in this book attempt to account for both.

Over a decade ago, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, the first book to address the history and praxes of itinerant and transgressive modes of the genre throughout the world, informed its readers that the New Journalism of the United States, despite its extensive world reach and influence,² was neither the source of world literary journalism nor its sole champion. New Journalism was surely the most celebrated proponent, which made the world identify literary journalism for years as an American form. Years of international research since that book's publication, however—whether delivered orally during one of the annual congresses of or outlier panels for the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies (IALJS), or in print in any number of journals now solely (*Literary Journalism Studies*) or partly (*Textos Híbridos*, *Brazilian Journalism Research*, *Journalism*, *Prose Studies*) dedicated to publishing research on international literary journalism—have made it clear that literary journalism is not only a global phenomenon, but has been one for centuries.

As our knowledge of the form's many histories takes shape, and as our national canons expand through discoveries or recoveries of prior texts and their forgotten, censored, or expunged authors, it is once again time to take stock of the advances made in the field, and to look more inclusively at where the world's literary journalisms came from, what fuels their present renaissance, and where they will likely proceed in the decades ahead. *The Routledge Companion to World Literary Journalism* is by no means meant to be the final word on international literary journalism, but it does hope to open up new avenues of thought, discussion, and research from which scholars, teachers, and even practitioners of the genre can draw inspiration.

Black Coffee, White Milk, or Fifty Shades of Truth?

It is perhaps unnecessary in this introduction to establish a definition of literary journalism. Be it the New Journalism, the Latin American *crónica*, or the European *reportage*, they all incarnate pretty much the same spirit and motivations behind producing narrative nonfiction, often to redress the ills visited upon the presumed residuum of a given nation. Most readers drawn to this collection will already have a working knowledge of what literary journalism is or means to them, what it represents today for the future of print and digital media, and what its potential limits and drawbacks are. What these informed readers may not be familiar with, however, are the various nuances that distinguish a country's, a region's, or even a language's traditions of literary journalistic reporting and writing. It is, therefore, opportune to look briefly at the various issues and debates that inform the arguments in the many chapters that follow.

You can learn a lot about a country, or a culture, from the way its people collectively take their coffee—or their tea. Black, or white with milk, or somewhere in between. A true Brit, for instance, will scold you for putting the milk in first—that takes liberties and makes unwelcomed presumptions. When Italians order *un caffè, per favore*, they know it will be an espresso by default. For the Spaniard, equal parts of coffee *con leche* kickstart a morning routine, while a simple black *café solo* is reserved for the afternoon bar or *cantina*. For the Turk or Greek (*sade kahve* or *sketos* ... careful here), the national java is a muddy coffee where the finely ground lees gather in the bottom of a demitasse accompanied by a glass of water (to wash down any sediment that finds its way into a sip). A diluted black coffee from drip, instant, or (less often perhaps) percolate is the standard North American brew (referred to as *Americano* in cafés around the world), traditionally drunk anytime during the day at home or served in bottomless cups at greasy-spoon diners (although today’s commercial espresso machines or super-sized to-go concoctions from one of the many multinational chains are bucking this tradition). Brazilians like dripping their coffee into large thermos pots that can be drained slowly all morning, and Peruvians serve up an intense, instant coffee syrup in a pot alongside a mug of hot water for dilution purposes.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are the pure milk drinkers, be it from a cow or a goat—or, as parts of the world turn vegan, processed from oats, almonds, or soy. Perhaps a cup of steamed milk, often with a drizzle of honey, will be their drink of choice.

Others, of course, mix them. There are those looking for strong black coffee whose bitterness is cut by the milk’s lactose, and those seeking a dairy drink whose sweetness is tempered by the coffee’s roasted lactones. Because the proportions of one to the other are almost never equal, nations and languages have invented multiple terms, as the Iñupiat have done with snow, for the resulting coffee–milk blend. Each denotes with precision the various degrees—shades, really—of black coffee to white milk. And again, you can tell a lot about a nation by the nomenclature it adopts. Heartland American black coffee drinkers may ask for half-and-half, cream, or milk, while Bostonians know that a “regular” means “with cream and sugar.” The Aussie’s (or the Kiwi’s) flat white, adopted en masse by the British, is an espresso with a small amount of steamed milk and a thin layer of microfoam. The French have their *espresso*, their *noisette* (a drop of milk in an *espresso*), their *café crème* (a bit more steamed milk), and their *café au lait* (often served in equal portions in the morning in a small bowl—like the Italians and the Spanish, the French *do not* drink milked coffee in the afternoon or evening).

The kings of coffee terminology are, of course, the Italians. Like tennis vocabulary for the English, golf terms for the Scottish, and French culinary lingo, coffee’s lexemes are in Italian. Because an espresso is Italy’s standard, a spectrum of words for portions of black coffee to white milk had to be established to accommodate those who preferred a different cup of joe. Although the terms have been known around the world for decades, Nespresso and Starbucks have certainly consolidated the coffee myth of Italy and made Italian the lingua franca of coffee culture: *corto*, *ristretto*, *macchiato*, and *caffè macchiato* on the dark end, *cappuccino*, *piccolo*, *latte macchiato*, and *caffè latte* on the lighter end ... so common are these words today that they no longer need appear in italics on sandwich boards or in menus.³

The astute reader will deduce where this is headed ... Substitute journalistic “objectivity” or “fact” for “black coffee” and narrative “subjectivity” or “fiction” for “white milk” (or vice versa) and a similar spectrum emerges, one that equally informs us about a nation’s or a language’s taste in literary journalism. The terms used around the world are many and in principle are synonyms for each other—but, just as with the language of coffee, they are not identical and exist instead along a continuum between objectivity and subjectivity, and between fact and fiction: literary journalism, narrative journalism, New Journalism, *crónica*, reportage, *Jornalismo literário*, *periodismo narrativo*, *journalisme littéraire*, *testimonio*, очерк [sketch], *Literarischer*

Journalismus, creative nonfiction, الصحافة الأدبية [literary journalism], and so on. Many are direct translations of the English “literary journalism,” but that is a recent phenomenon, still open to debate in certain countries that are more than a little proud to suggest that their rich traditions of narrative journalism followed the American model.

In fact, we speak of literary *journalisms* in the plural because some nations (such as the United States) take their literary journalism “black”—bitter in its unwavering facticity—whereas others (like Australia) prefer a “flat white” creative nonfiction. Latin American nations, once under the control of censoring juntas, turned to an arabica–robusta blend that most readers understood as objectivity masquerading as magical realism’s subjective idealism,⁴ a hybrid not dissimilar from Germany’s *Neue Sachlichkeit* [New Objectivity]. As Christopher Warnes writes, “A magical idealist is one who participates in the project of apprehending truth not through correspondence with external reality, but by undoing the antinomies between language and the world and between subject and object.”⁵ Prior to the consolidation of literary journalism studies as an international discipline, various countries simply called it “journalism” or “realist fiction.” As with ordering a simple coffee before the current java trend, there was little need for complex taxonomy. In short, one literary journalism, today and historically speaking, is not like another, and the way you “take” yours in the morning, afternoon, or evening, may or may not be how another person takes theirs. Neither is correct; purists are not the rule.

The problem in identifying a singular, transcendental literary journalism lies in the problem of first isolating its epistemologies. Unlike coffee and milk, objectivity and subjectivity—like fact and fiction—are not binaries, nor are they mutually exclusive. Ordering a black coffee and instead being served a glass of warm milk would prompt you to send it back, and the barista would apologize for the error. Nowhere on planet coffee is one substituted for the other. Yet such is not the case with objectivity and subjectivity—or fact and fiction.

Problems can be located at the micro and macro levels, beginning with terminologies and definitions and expanding toward epistemes and praxes. Take, for example, the words *fiction*, *fictionality*, and *fictivity*. The “narratological traditions” of English, French, and German, as Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan write in the introduction to *Narrative Factuality* (2020), “have used these terms in quite a distinct and to some extent incompatible manner.”⁶ Since fiction has had “a long tradition in German-language literary journalism as an effective and well-established means to invigorate the truthfulness of journalistic texts,” Tobias Eberwein posits in Chapter 9 that the German distinction between *fiktional* and *fiktiv* can also be applied to *faktual* and *faktiv*. Fludernik and Ryan continue:

Having neatly separated the fictional and the fictive (fictionality and fictivity), German terminology uses *Fiktion* for the abstract concept of fictionality (in its English meaning), and *never* for the genre of fictional texts or novels (English: *fiction*). By way of analogy with the *fictivity/fictionality* doublet, German scholars have recently proposed ... introducing the same type of distinction for the realm of factuality, thus suggesting an opposition between *factive* (*faktisch*) persons, places or events and *factual* (*faktual*) texts, statements and discourses. This usage is new in German language narratology but meets wide acceptance as an innovation; however, French and English narratologists are largely opposed to the German distinction of *fictive vs. fictional* (which is new to them) and are therefore even less sanguine about extending it to the realm of the factual.⁷

If, despite its seemingly sound foundation, the word *fact* is as nebulous as, say, *narrative*, how are we ever to agree upon terms such as *truth* or *objectivity*, which are wholly dependent upon it?

This is not semiotic gymnastics or a postmodern hair-splitting exercise separating sign from signifier. It is a real, tangible distinction between cultures that has ramifications from the field to the newsroom. It is not the goal here to debate this distinction, but rather to point out its fundamental application to literary journalism studies. As Fludernik and Ryan rhetorically ask, “do factual and fictional narrative constitute positively defined opposites, comparable to black and white, or is fictional narrative only one member of a broader field of nonfactual genres and modes of narration that contains many shades of grey?”⁸

Similar problems surround the word *truth*. On the macro level, we often associate a truth, like fiction with fact, as the mirror opposite of a lie, but philosophy, sociology, anthropology—pretty much every *ology*—have shown us that this is rarely the case. Fiction is something made up—for some it is a lie, for others an untruth—but nonfiction is not entirely a truth, and a lie can become the truth if there are enough people collectively advancing its narrative. To speak an untruth deliberately is to lie, but an unintentional lie is not ipso facto a fiction. Burdened by its negative prefix, nonfiction has historically been set up as fiction’s other and thus is inclusive of everything not deemed (dare I say valued) as fiction. We do not, for instance, refer to reportages as *faction* and novels as *nonfiction*. But fiction could have been truthful at one point (epic history, myths, realism), and even serve nonfiction later,⁹ just as nonfiction may have been a lie (history, epistles, memoirs, autobiography). How a fact was rendered truthful, then, is as important as how it is later represented in a narrative. For example, if an eyewitness believes what they saw and recounts it as truth but it was, historically speaking, a wrong or an incorrect assessment or a culturally informed or biased take on the events that transpired, the journalist documents that statement as factual when it potentially was not.

And when *truth* is set up alongside *fact*, the problems become even more pronounced. There are boldface lies, which intrinsically oppose the truth, just as there are *untruths*, intentional or otherwise, that belie a lie. “Today is Monday” may be true for the Inupiat living on Little Diomedes in the United States, should it actually be Monday, but for someone on Big Diomedes (Остров Ратманова in Russian, or Ratmanov Island)—separated by only 2.4 miles (3.8 kilometers)—it is likely already Tuesday. So the statement is both a truth and an untruth simultaneously, depending on one’s perspective.

French narratologist Gérard Genette’s “Fictional Narrative, Factual Narrative” (1990), exposes the slippery “interaction between the fictional and factual domains of narrative” and shows how “heterodiegetic fictional narrative is in large part a mimesis of factual forms, such as history, news articles, and reporting” but that “this is a simulation whose marks of fictionality are optional and can very well be done without.”¹⁰ “[R]eciprocally,” he adds,

“fictionalization” ... [has] in recent years become widespread in certain forms of factual narrative, such as reporting or investigative journalism (what in the United States is called the “New Journalism”), and related genres such as the “nonfiction novel.”¹¹

Because of their nonexclusionary natures, fiction and nonfiction, Genette concludes, fail to sustain a binary system that literary journalism studies so ardently champions:

Such reciprocal exchanges tend to attenuate considerably our hypothesis of an a priori difference between the fictional and non-fictional narrative systems. If one limited oneself to pure forms, free from contamination, which no doubt are only to be found in the poetician’s test tube, the clearest differences would seem essentially to involve those aspects of mode most closely connected to the opposition between the relative,

indirect, and partial knowledge of the historian and the elastic omniscience enjoyed, by definition, by someone who invents what he narrates. If one took into consideration actual practice, one would have to admit that there exists neither pure fiction nor history so rigorous as to abstain from all “plotting” and all novelistic devices whatsoever, and therefore that the two domains are neither so far apart nor so homogeneous as they might appear.¹²

Words and concepts like *fact* and *fiction* and *truth* and *lie/untruth*, especially in their international currency, are a blur at best, which is why the corpus of ontological and academic studies on them is so incredibly vast.

If we look at the problem from another, more tangible angle, perhaps we can understand the complexities in a different light. To say something is *green*, for instance, may be a truth or an untruth depending upon the perceiver, that is, upon what the eye distinguishes as green and what that perceiver’s culture and language understand green to be in the color spectrum. Their culture may have few or multiple names for green because there are so many hues present in the color spectrum in that culture’s accepted palette. Consider the color green to the Iñupiaq people mentioned earlier, who see (or rather saw, given the change in climate) the blossom of spring less frequently and intensely, versus their notion of white, or winter ice and snow, which is (or was) much more prevalent in their surroundings. The same could be said about those living in lush green settings where winter dare not venture. Color nomenclature is culturally based, Brent Berlin and Paul Kay famously showed us,¹³ with Walter Ong adding in *Orality and Literacy* that geography plays an important role as well,¹⁴ something cultural anthropologist Franz Boas had posited a century earlier.¹⁵

Unlike fact or truth, which are epistemic notions—that is, acquired through education or indoctrination by families, schools, and religions—the color green is first a somatic and then an ontological concern: it is perceived physically as a reality and then processed linguistically by a cultural phenomenon. Like the color green, then, a fact (and its sibling, truth) has no polar opposite per se, but instead several hues that depend on white or black for nuance. A fact is denoted as much by *what it is not* as by what it is. And in literary journalism, a form of writing founded mainly, essentially, or exclusively on the factual (depending on the country of origin), that can create problems or richness, according to one’s culturally-influenced perception.

The chapters presented in this book take up this debate, directly or indirectly, in their exploration of their respective countries’ literary journalisms. Their many antipodal arguments—and, at times, basic principles of literary journalism’s nonfiction label—will lead some readers to ponder the implications and differences from their own ideological standards of what the genre is, or should be, whereas others might reject the variants outright. This book is not seeking a McDonaldization of the genre (or Starbuckian, given the earlier extended metaphor), where literary journalism tastes the same no matter what the country. To the contrary, this book celebrates literary journalism’s domestic flavors and multivocal agendas. Polish *reportaż* is and is not like the Chilean *crónica*, and that is seen as a healthy sign of the genre’s global outreach more than a challenge to its many voices, strains, and appearances. Literary journalism cannot be forced to wear the same shoe, *chaussure*, or *cabot*—and that is perfectly fine. Should a country have more than one term for it, such as Italy with coffee, that is proof of the country’s rich tradition with the form, such as the Latin American *periodismo narrativo*, *crónica*, *testimonio*, and *perfil*, where fact and information share not only the same column space with interpretation and analysis but sometimes even the same story.

Speaking about languages, a word or two about translation in this book is necessary. In line with the editorial policy adopted by the IALJS and its two mouthpieces, the newsletter *Literary*

Journalism and the academic journal *Literary Journalism Studies*, English has been selected as this book's lingua franca. Privileging one language may seem contrapuntal, even counterproductive, to the inclusivity principal of this book (and of the IALJS in general)—and, admittedly, it is—but to facilitate the lively exchange of ideas and texts between our many nations, a one-language policy had to be implemented. For this reason, all foreign quotes cited in the chapters appear in English. Out of respect for the many languages present in this book, original quotes have been placed in endnotes. Moreover, foreign-language book titles have been preserved in the text, unless a popular translation of the work in English exists. If the book was indeed translated, the English title—appearing first in parentheses and in italics, followed by the original date of publication—is privileged throughout. If the book was not translated, an English version of the title appears in square brackets (in roman print and lower-case lettering) following the first mention of the original title. Whenever possible, the most authoritative English translation was used in the citations; when works were not translated, the authors provided the translations themselves.

Structuring a Book Through Inclusivity, Representation, and Parity

It should by now have become clear why putting together a book of world literary journalism is not as straightforward as, say, a collection of world poetry or even the best of international journalism. Inclusivity thus became one of the collection's watchwords as its editors waded through pages of prior research on literary journalism's many traditions and current avatars. What this meant in practical terms was exploring the genre's unique growth and application in the presses of various nations in both hemispheres as they have repeatedly tried to contain, confront, or combat the political, social, and economic crises that have gripped a given nation. As such, this book hopes to demonstrate, on a scale never before attempted, the genre's rich genealogy, and its global impact and reach.

The nine themes selected were intended to be broad enough to allow scholars of literary journalism from all over the world to participate but specific enough to generate comparativist readings between them. Along with inclusivity in terms of national understanding of the genre of literary journalism, being as representative as possible in terms of geography was of prime importance. Therefore, scholars were sought for each theme from several continents to give as wide a spectrum as possible of examples of world literary journalism. However, when a given topic did not elicit fruitful discussion for a given nation (e.g., censorship has played an important role in the genre's development over time, but not every nation has been subject to it) or attract a potential scholar (e.g., in Africa or Asia, there are not as many scholars working on literary journalism—or at least not recognizably so), one theme might have several countries represented from the same continent. Aiming for representation also implied limiting certain countries where literary journalism and its study are prominent and have already received extensive coverage in the secondary literature. While North America is represented at times in the discussion of Canada, literary journalism from the United States was purposefully not included, given the recent publication of the *Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*. If U.S. literary journalism is referenced, it is done so essentially as a comparative heuristic or model to study the literary journalism of another nation.

Gender parity was also a concern, both for the scholars selected and for their chapters' subjects. If the early history of literary journalism is predominantly male-oriented, as women were readily denied access to the world's newsrooms, the twentieth century saw women increasingly leaving their mark on the genre—although not always universally as gender equality was, and still is in certain parts of world, a prolonged work-in-progress. To a certain extent, the

history of literary journalism studies carries a similar gender bias, as women were not equally offered access to higher education to gain academic employment and, for those who did, feminist research agendas were unscrupulously crippled or met with different degrees of acrimony and obfuscation from male colleagues and hiring committees around the globe. Building off the many efforts to restore parity from the newsroom to the classroom, more than half of this book's 38 chapters include a discussion of women writer-journalists, and of the book's 47 authors, 25 are female scholars hailing from five of the six habitable continents.

Part I: Historical Antecedents and Influences

Trying to locate who started literary journalism and then trace its movements from one nation to another is a fool's errand, akin to isolating the first person to wax poetic about the clouds or the sun. Simply put, in one form or another, literary journalism was everywhere. Its development as a form close to what we identify today as literary journalism is certainly more identifiable in colonizing countries, whose print cultures developed faster and extended much more widely through empire-building. Yet which came first, the popular press or the *vox populi*, remains a conundrum. The abolition of the stamp tax, technological innovation (e.g., Hoe's rotary press, teletype, the transatlantic cable), accompanied by lower production costs, growing educational levels, and better living conditions, opened up new audiences for newspapers across Europe, which in turn affected the print cultures of the colonies, especially the Spanish viceroy nations. But what role did literary journalism play in that exchange? It was different for each nation, of course, but in the industrialized nations of the nineteenth century, identifying an "inventor" of the form is fruitless. They nearly all invented it—and in near simultaneity.

There have been a significant number of books and articles on the origins of American and English literary journalism (e.g., Weber, 1980; Connery, 1990, 1992; Frus, 1994; Applegate, 1996; Hartsock, 2000; Sims, 2007; Keeble and Wheeler, 2007; Bak and Reynolds, 2011; Keeble and Tulloch, 2012 and 2014; and Underwood, 2013 and 2019). To a much lesser, though still important, extent, studies on other nations' equivalents to literary journalism have also been undertaken: Lima (1993), Pena (2006), de Castro (2010), Passos (2014), and Martinez (2016) for Brazil; Merljak Zdovc (2008) for Slovenia; Boucharenc (2001), Thérenty and Vaillant (2004), Thérenty (2007) and Cachin, Cooper-Richet, and Mollier (2007) for France; Meuret (2012, 2016) and Aron (2012) for Francophone Belgium; Pinson (2016) for Francophone Canada; Chillón (1999), Parratt (2003), and Cuartero (2014) for Spain; Twidle (2012, 2019) for South Africa; Laughlin (2002) for China; Wiktorowska (2018) and Frukacz (2019) for Poland; Soares (2011), Domingues and Trindade (2014), and Coutinho (2017) for Portugal; Poblete Alday (2014) for Chile; Rotker (2005), Calvi (2010, 2019), Mahieux (2011), Aguilar (2019), and Chávez Díaz (2021) in collective Latin America. Several shorter pieces have also appeared regularly in the IALJS newsletter, *Literary Journalism*.

Many of these histories and narratives were written in Spanish, French, or Portuguese, and remain untranslated, so are frequently untouched by readers who do not speak the language. This section hopes not only to render some of this historical research more accessible, but to extend it to other countries that do not have obvious Anglo-American media connections. By exploring how various avatars of current literary journalism took root and developed in a range of countries, we can learn more about the nature of a proto-literary journalism and its evolution to the genre recognized today as literary journalism.

The section opens with Hendrik Michael's Chapter 1 on the evolution of literary journalism in Germany, which has close ties to the rise of the popular press, just as in France, England and the United States. In addition to a new generation of journalists, who emerged from

the working-class itself and imported different styles and methods of reporting, in Chapter 2, Jennifer Martin and Willa McDonald show how narrative storytelling in Australia evolved alongside advances in technology, commercialization, and the professionalization of journalism, as well as changes in the country's economic and political climates. From Australia, we turn to another driving force in literary journalism of the Southern Hemisphere: South Africa. In Chapter 3, Lesley Cowling and Shelley Roberts explore close to a century's worth of narrative nonfiction from colonialism, war, and apartheid to independence of three women writers from different races, communities, and generations—Olive Schreiner, Noni Jabavu, and Bessie Head.

Just as each chronicles the lives of Southern African inhabitants from marginalized, settler, and Indigenous communities, in Chapter 4 Dutch media scholars Frank Harbers and Marcel Broersma look into the history of literary journalism in the Netherlands, one of South Africa's colonizers. Echoing Hendrik Michael, they discuss how the transformation of newspaper journalism in the Netherlands at the *fin de siècle* was very much influenced by the rise of literary naturalism, a philosophical and methodological movement that reverberated around the globe, from the Southern Cone to North America. Part I finishes in Africa in Chapter 5, with Nathaniel Glover-Meni and Phillips Kofi Atsu Larnyo tracing literary journalism's rise in Ghana, from various online columns to investigative journalism. The Ghanaian form may not resemble Euromerican literary journalism because it has not had the long tradition of its counterparts, and thus has developed from the more recent digital manifestations of the genre being provided by the internet.

Part II: Literary Journalistic Methodologies

Part II takes stock of the trajectory of existing theories behind, and methodological applications of, literary journalism. As with the scholarship on literary journalism's historical development, there is no shortage of secondary literature on literary journalism's ties from literary naturalism to narratology. Theories and theoretical research by Sims (1984, 1990, 2007), Lounsberry (1990), Connery (1992), Eason (1990), and Hartsock (2016), among others in the United States, have been complemented in all parts of the world: Aare (2016) in Sweden; Giles and Roberts (2014) in Australia; Lima (1993), de Castro (2010), Borges (2013), and Martinez (2016) in Brazil; and Eberwein (2013) in Germany and Austria. Each has widened the parameters of an already vibrant discussion to include other developing theories from around the world, such as the use of Lombroso's positivist theory of criminology in Latin America where political upheaval and social stratification have historically been more pronounced. A recent issue of *Brazilian Journalism Research* dedicated to "Literary Journalism as a Discipline" (Bak and Martinez, 2018) even contains articles that look into the influence literary journalism is now having on anthropological studies in Latin America. Once the borrower, literary journalism is slowly becoming the lender of theories and praxes, adding to its global currency.

What this special issue on "Literary Journalism as a Discipline" also revealed is that literary journalism is different in Brazil than in, say, Germany, in part because of the various ways journalists themselves are educated. Putting different media histories and cultural referents aside (already major elements at work in differentiating one nation's literary journalism from another's, as the histories in Part I detailed), certain nations have specific universities centered specifically around the teaching of journalism (in France, the *École supérieure de journalisme de Lille*, for instance), whereas others impart the basic methods of reporting and newsroom editing in communications and media programs and diplomas, while others still must learn reporting on the job. Since not all literary journalists come with the same foundational education, it stands to reason that their brand of reportage writing will be different as well. While the

majority of journalists and editors around the world are familiar with the pyramid formula in writing news stories, what fills the rest of the paper, or online media platform, can vary widely. The result is that literary journalism, which often finds its home in the marginal sections of the press, also significantly differs from one country to the next. This section explores the extent to which literary journalism is extending beyond the traditional aesthetics and methodologies of literature and journalism, and even establishing its own theoretical protocols.

In Chapter 6, Cecilia Aare, whose research elsewhere is focused on the narratological applications in literary journalism, opens Part II with a study of figurative language in *Tysk höst* (*German Autumn*), a Swedish reportage depicting the lives of ordinary people in Germany in 1946. Relying heavily on repetition that gradually transforms and even blurs semantic meaning, where the poetic language gainsays the gloomy content, Dagerman invites the reader to empathize on a universal scale—something rarely done about Germans just after the war.

Reporting on what one observes in a given environment, and not engaging with the people who inhabit that space, is a noted method of early literary journalism that is fairly consistent around the world. In Chapter 7, Anthea Garman replaces this fly-on-the-wall approach to reporting with one that is more fly-in-the-ointment. She examines the invasive techniques of South African writer Jonny Steinberg, whose methods involve the Faustian bargain that many literary journalists make with themselves as they probe the thoughts and document the actions of their subjects, all the while appearing as their subjects' confidant. To tell or not to tell becomes the essential question for literary journalists, who need to betray that confidence to give their stories the accuracy that literary journalism requires. Steinberg, Garman writes, pushes that engagement even further, desiring to enter into the interiority of his subjects in every way possible and revealing on paper what the subject felt was off the record. Narrative nonfiction's methods of immersive storytelling and intense interviewing are not uncommon, and many literary journalists report on the underprivileged, creating a social class confrontation between author and subject. But in Steinberg's case, race is added to the mix, and in a country like South Africa where class, race, and historical distrust are culturally embedded, the inherent contradictions in Steinberg's methods become cautionary tales for those involved in immersive reporting in certain cultures and nations.

Steinberg's invasive method has a long and, to some, a tainted history of mask-donning to elicit information. From White literary journalist John Howard Griffin in his controversial *Black Like Me* (1961), where he takes blackface to extremes in undergoing medical treatment to pass himself off as a "negro" in the American South, to Nellie Bly's *Ten Days in a Mad-House* (1877) or Jack London's slumming among London's Eastenders, or even Ted Conover's ditching his collegiate wear for thrift store rags to pass for a hobo riding the rails in *Rolling Nowhere* (1984),¹⁶ becoming the subject is a method repeatedly used by literary journalists to get into the subject's skin and not only see the world from their eyes, but also see how others perceive and treat that person when no cameras are apparently recording. Conover explores other methods of immersion, from becoming a prison guard in *Newjack* (2000) to the subject's actual confidant in *Coyote* (1987), à la Hunter S. Thompson in *Hell's Angels* (1967).

Intersubjective distancing is the focus of Chapter 8, by Kobie van Krieken, Adriëne Ummels, and José Sanders, which replaces the racial gap evident in Steinberg's methods with the political class gap between journalist and politician. Several book-length works published in the Netherlands offer insider views of the personal life and work of prominent Dutch political actors, where the writer–subject distance is further complicated when the reader becomes a voter in the upcoming elections. Implementing the reader's role in intersubjective distancing, the Dutch scholars point out that this third person is often overlooked in the literary journalistic communication triangle. The journalist does not just strike a bargain with their subjects,

but also does so with their readers; they must therefore position themselves between the two when writing the final story.

But what happens when the literary journalist moves so far away from their subject that they actually start fabricating information (a problem not that uncommon with news reporting, from Stephen Glass's scandal at *The New Republic* [Rosin 2014] to Roberto Saviano's personal and legal complications involving the publication of *Gomorra* [2006])? Moreover, what happens when the editors are complicit in the fabrication itself? In Chapter 9, Tobias Eberwein addresses these questions in relation to the fraud scandal involving former *Spiegel* reporter Claas Relotius, who cooked several of his nonfictional stories for the German weekly news magazine. While the journalist is unconditionally at fault in their breach of ethics and false methods, Eberwein argues that blame could be spread further—even as far up the chain in command as the paper's editors.

The final chapter of this section, Chapter 10 by William Dow, pulls readers back from the newsroom, from the writer–subject exchange, and even from one particular case study, and looks instead at how world literary journalism can use its means and methods of reporting to help formulate global citizenship. Dow examines how five American writers—Margaret Fuller, Ida B. Wells, John Dos Passos, James Baldwin, and Katherine Boo—have worked to construct a “world culture” of “flexible citizenship” that superannuates traditional conceptions of “national autonomy and rootedness.”

Part III: War and Conflict

For as long as there have been wars, there has been war reporting. The only thing human-kind seems to value more than the taking of life is the recording of that death in ink. From Mesolithic to Neolithic cave drawings at Bhimbetka (India) and Jabel Acacus (Libya) to the Attic histories and epics of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer; from Elizabethan tragedies to cult television series like *Generation Kill*, no media—ancient or modern—have escaped the theme of humanity's inhumanity to humanity, nor has the public's thirst for blood abated with time. For better or for worse, war reporting has remained a rich cultural heritage that touches not only those individual cultures or states that have borne the scars of war on its people or its landscapes, but also the collective memory of what it means to be human—or inhuman.

War and conflict have thus proven to be fertile ground for works of literary journalism around the world: Winston Churchill on the second Boer War; John Reed on the Russian Revolution; Martha Gellhorn, Ernest Hemingway, Andrée Viollis, George Orwell, and Langston Hughes on the Spanish Civil War; John Hersey and others on World War II; Mao Dun on the Second Sino-Japanese War; Michael Herr and Antônio Callado on Vietnam; and Alain Lallemand, Anne Nivat, and Sebastian Junger on Afghanistan.

The first casualty of war is the truth, or so goes the famous quip attributed to a number of different sources, from Aeschylus to U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson (Knightley, 1975). For every literary journalist writing about war, there is a literary journalist scholar writing about their coverage. As with the form's history, the list of scholarship devoted to the subcategory of literary war journalism is too long to cite. Several recent collections published within the ReportAGES series of the Université de Lorraine have attempted to document literary war journalism from an international and interdisciplinary perspective: *World War I* (2016), *colonial and postcolonial Africa* (2018), and *Latin America* (2019) and *Spain* (2019). This section is intended to give depth and breadth to the great literary war journalism of countries from various corners of the world not yet represented in the secondary literature and to discover how literary journalism has changed—or not—depending upon the war and upon the country reporting it.

Pasquale Macaluso opens this part in Chapter 11 with a discussion of Arabic reportage on the 1936 Revolt in Palestine, which imitates the left-leaning literary journalism from Europe and the United States as much out of respect for the tradition as irreverence for the genre's Euro- and Amero-centrist chauvinism. Upending exotic gazes preoccupies Antonio Cuartero in Chapter 12, which contributes to the every-increasing body of scholarship on the literary journalism written during the Spanish Civil War. Cuartero exposes a similar underlying colonialist thinking of foreign correspondents, including those from Latin America, who came in droves to Spain to cover the war—many for self-glorification—and ended up consolidating preconceived ideas of an exotic Spain popularized in *fin de siècle* travelogues and *costumbrista* paintings.

The Spanish Civil War is often considered the prequel to World War II, in terms of the clashing of political as well as journalistic ideologies, and in Chapter 13, Beate Josephi looks at one of Australia's most highly regarded authors and war correspondents, George Johnston, whose *New Guinea Diary* about the Australian and American campaign against the Japanese along the Kokoda Trail in 1942 in the Asia-Pacific theatre adds a strong Australian voice to the many who have contributed literary journalism about the war. Diaries, in fact, have frequently been studied alongside war reportages and narrative dispatches because of their subjective natures, their abilities to provide intimate details that foreign correspondents could never obtain, and their uncensored contents that narrate a war differently from the propaganda machines running the press. In Chapter 14, Hania A. M. Nashef looks at nonfiction narratives by Syrian and Palestinian journalists Samar Yazbek and Atef Abu Saif, who recorded in their diaries the daily life, destruction, and death that occurred during the wars that ravaged their respective countries.

Portugal took a particular interest in its neighbor's civil war, largely in part because its own dictator, Oliveira Salazar, feared that Republican fervor would spread across the border should the democratically elected Spanish government be allowed to remain in power. While Manuel Carvalho Coutinho has discussed elsewhere the Portuguese literary journalism produced around this civil war, in Chapter 15 he turns his attention to the wars in Iraq and, drawing inspiration from Paulo Moura's *Uma casa em Mossul* (2018), looks at the many challenges Portuguese literary journalists have faced in reporting on the international scene.

Part IV: Immigration and the Border

Every country has its borders—artificial, intellectual, cultural, geographical—and the meaning of those demarcations nearly always differs when studied locally and globally. While literary journalism studies have often examined the genre's conceptual borders (Bak, 2021)—those between objectivity and subjectivity or between fact and fiction—many literary journalists themselves deal with real border crossings. Ted Conover's *Coyotes* (1987) and Óscar Martínez's *Los migrantes que no importan* (*The Beast*, 2010) track migrants' journeys through Mexico to the U.S. border, while a disguised Wolfgang Bauer's *Über das Meer* (2014) accompanies fleeing Syrians from their hiding spots in Egypt on board a refugee boat to Europe.

Crossing physical borders is thus a frequent occurrence in literary journalism's praxis. As such, another transdisciplinary tool, border studies, can be called upon to help examine the effects of these crossings, both on the subjects and on the writer and their readers. Border studies is meant "to chronicle and understand how borders, and border cultures, societies, polities and economies, are not only changing due to major transformations in the global political economy, but also how borders often play key roles in these changes."¹⁷ In their introduction

to *A Companion to Border Studies* (2012), Wilson and Donnan provide a detailed summation of the field's goals and methodologies:

Border studies have become significant themselves because scholars and policy-makers alike have recognized that most things that are important to the changing conditions of national and international political economy take place in borderlands—as they do in like measure almost everywhere else in each of our national states—but some of these things, for instance those related to migration, commerce, smuggling and security, may be found in borderlands in sharper relief. And some things of national importance can be most often and best found in borderlands.¹⁸

In terms of direct application to literary journalism studies, border studies can help scholars to explore not only the socio-political reasoning behind a given country's print culture that makes it either conducive or hostile to genre-fluid textual border identities, but also, in a comparativist manner, the noncontingent notions of literary journalism or reportage literature that lie behind the borders of neighboring countries. Why, for instance, given the two countries' close geographical proximity, is French *journalisme narratif* (Vanoost, 2012) so different from German *literarische Reportage* (Eberwein, 2013)—or, for that matter, why is the German form so different from Polish *reportaż* (Saignes and Demanze, 2021)? While scholars of literary journalism have often focused on the variants in nations' print cultures between fiction and nonfiction, perhaps another way of looking at the problem would be through the various shared “borders” that conjoin neighboring nations. Wilson and Donnan add:

Once principally the focus of geography, the study of territorial, geophysical, political and cultural borders today has become a primary, abiding and growing interest across the scholarly disciplines, and is related to changing scholarly approaches to such key research subjects and objects as the state, nation, sovereignty, citizenship, migration and the overarching forces and practices of globalization. All of these approaches to borders and frontiers have been complicated by various attempts to understand and express identities, an effort often related to the investigation of hybridity ...¹⁹

Therefore, the “intersection of the metaphorical negotiations of borderlands of personal and group identity (in what has come to be known as ‘border theory’) with the geopolitical realization of international, state and other borders of polity, power, territory and sovereignty (‘border studies’)” could be applied to the brackish frontier dividing fact from fiction in nonfiction studies, wherein literary journalism resides.²⁰

The chapters in Part IV explore the many parameters of borders within literary journalism and its studies, around the topic of migration of media institutions and societal change from mid-nineteenth century until today; how dominant tropes used to make the phenomena of immigration compatible with media logic(s) and how public discourse can be identified; what journalistic strategies of immersion are discernible in contemporary and historical reportage on immigration; and how new media technologies influence the ways in which literary journalists refine their practice. This part thus examines the literary journalistic treatments of borders and border crossing at several litigious sites around the world, and the ways in which literary journalism has responded to these different conceptions of borders and their frequent crossings. One can find more expression of these issues in the online magazine *Words Without Borders*, which publishes, among other things, English translations of longform nonfiction among from around the world.

Andrew Griffiths opens this part with a discussion of literary journalism and borders in Chapter 16 on Edmund O'Donovan, a late-Victorian special correspondent in conflict and foreign affairs. O'Donovan's writing captures the tensions behind the loosely regulated borderlands and frontier zones that were shortly to be regularized by occupation, annexation, and treaty, a tension equally found in the transgressive nature of the journalist-explorer who exoticizes as he records. Chilean scholar Patricia Poblete Alday changes centuries and continents in Chapter 17, but the exotic remains a leitmotif in her study of contemporary Salvadoran *crónicas* of violence against caravan migrants that evoke gothic tropes typical of horror fiction. Semantic and syntactic repetition in the texts magnifies the terror readers experience when they recognize that, in these nonfiction works, the tropes often associated with fiction are now all too real.

Researching literary journalism about displaced people—be they caravan migrants in Central America looking to improve their lives or war refugees fleeing incessant bombings—has many hurdles to overcome, the most important of which is security for both the writer and their sources. Other uncertainties abound: How to narrate an engaging narrative about a complex set of geopolitical issues without oversimplifying the facts or the history? Who to trust as sources, and how to locate them? How to engage readers' empathy about people whose lives are so different from their own? Deborah Campbell addresses these and other questions in Chapter 18 by tracing the process in three works of literary journalism by Jean Said Makdisi, Scott Anderson, and Sarah Stillman, which portray various kinds of displacement in the Middle East.

Xavier Pla ends this section with Chapter 19 on contemporary literary journalism in Catalonia, a country whose borders lie within another country and that has tried, without success, to free itself from Spanish control. Pla looks at the so-called “caring literature” that has recently surfaced in literary studies, especially in relation to hybrid or between-border genres, of which literary journalism is one. Ten years of political instability sparked by movements for Catalan political independence have created a Catalan literature that seeks restorative forces interested in collective reconciliation. In short, the destructive forces at work in creating a physical border must also be ready and willing to appease those who are affected.

Part V: Female Literary Journalists Around the World

In her 2012 keynote presentation at the IALJS congress in Toronto, Nancy L. Roberts brazenly asked, “Do women write literary journalism?” Her answer was yes, but it depends on where you look.²¹ The newsroom and the role of foreign correspondent have traditionally been occupied by men, but women as early as the *fin de siècle* challenged those gender barriers, broke glass ceilings, and proved that literary journalism is—or should be—gender neutral. As Karen Roggenkamp writes specifically of the U.S. newsroom:

Coinciding with the increasing employment of women at major dailies, a robust number of newspaper fictions chronicled the experiences of these professionals who were fighting their way into a male-dominated workplace. Just thirty-five women self-identified as editors or reporters in 1870, a number that grew to 288 in 1880, then exploded to 888 in 1890 and 2,193 in 1900—significant growth, though still a small proportion of that year's journalist class, which totaled 30,098. Female reporters lucky enough to secure a desk in the city room faced condescension, opposition, and sometimes open hostility from their male counterparts.²²

But the story of women reporters and literary journalists is linked to the story of gender parity, and any discussion of female literary journalists in the United States will be vastly different from

that of their counterparts in Latin America, where the struggle for equality was longer and at times more virulent, to places in the world where the struggle still continues to this day.

Yet women do perceive and write differently than men and, as Anne Nivat claims in *Les brouillards de la guerre* (2011), in certain parts of the world, such as fundamental Islamic nations, a female journalist has the advantage in that behind a burka she can blend in more easily and even penetrate domestic settings where foreign men are forbidden. The story of female literary journalists is rich because it also implies the story of gender equality, from the country where the woman is a journalist to the country where she becomes the journalist's subject.

Literary Journalism Studies (Spring 2015) dedicated a special issue to women and literary journalism, and more and more scholarship is giving a rightful place to the female literary journalists who have braved the macho newsrooms or war fronts and trenches (Whitt, 2008; McLoughlin, 2014; Roberts, 2015; Purkis, 2016; Meuret, 2015). This part builds on that initial, groundbreaking research to include not only more chapters on under-recognized female literary journalists, but also to invite female literary journalism scholars to debate whether or not there can be such a thing as a gender-specific literary journalism that is identifiably female (an *écriture féminine* of literary theory)—and, if there is indeed such a category, whether or not it is a worthwhile segregation to have and nurture.

Among the many celebrated nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literary journalists in the United States, such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Rebecca Harding Davis, Willa Cather, Elizabeth G. Jordan, Eva Anne Maddan, and Anzia Yezierska, Nellie Bly has long been considered one of the most controversial for her immersive journalism that had her feign insanity to get herself committed to the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's (now Roosevelt) Island. Yet in Chapter 20, Kerrie M. Davies and Willa McDonald point out that Bly was not the first undercover female journalist, since Australian journalist Catherine Hay Thomson had reported incognito a year earlier for the Melbourne daily *Argus* on the conditions for women in the Melbourne Hospital and the asylums, most notably the Kew Lunatic Asylum.

Helena Establier Pérez brings readers back to Europe in Chapter 21 with her discussion of Carmen de Burgos, known widely as "Colombine," the first woman to join the editorial staff of the *Heraldo de Madrid*, a liberal Spanish daily with a wide circulation. Establier Pérez focuses on the different genres of literary journalism that de Burgos used in her numerous columns between 1903 and 1932, which were committed to advancing feminism—something that had no precedent in the Spanish context. Advancing literary journalism for women in Brazil is the topic of Monica Martinez's Chapter 22 on Sylvia de Arruda Botelho Bittencourt, another female pioneer who faced and defeated a similar chauvinism in the newsroom. Bittencourt's book *Seguindo a Primavera* [Following springtime] gathers her many stories about the Brazilian troops' exploits during her time in Europe as a United Press (UP) correspondent covering World War II. Martinez's research not only showcases the long-neglected work of this Lusophone female literary journalist; she also upends the academic tradition in Brazil that focuses essentially on the works of male literary war journalists.

Readers are invited to stay in Latin America with Liliana Chávez Díaz, who in Chapter 23 explores two works by Mexican-born and U.S.-raised journalist Alma Guillermoprieto, *The Heart That Bleeds: Latin America Now* (1994) and *Dancing with Cuba* (2004). These books cover a range of political and social problems in a variety of countries in Latin America, from civil wars and social movements to everyday life in poor villages, natural disasters and drug trafficking. Guillermoprieto's bi-national identity underscores the delicate balancing act required of the literary journalist serving as mediator between two vastly different cultures, highlighting the importance of maintaining a sensitive transcultural perspective when writing about marginalized people in a transnational setting. The part closes with Chapter 24, Laura Ventura's study of

Argentine literary journalist Leila Guerriero, one of the most distinguished and original Latin American chroniclers of the twenty-first century. Ventura studies Guerriero's poetic writing style, in particular its rhetorical figures that transcend the aesthetic realm and constitute a real attempt to reach, understand, and later transmit to the reader the complexities of her many subjects' lives.

Part VI: Censorship and Politics

In his treatise against censorship, *Areopagitica* (1644), John Milton writes, "...who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God, as it were in the eye."²³ Many a liberal has rallied against demagoguery with such thinking, just as many a fascist has belittled it as leftist drivel. Like most political nonfiction or salacious fiction, literary journalism has not escaped the proverbial "red pen" of the censors. As such, literary journalism and political censorship can be seen as inseparable twins, especially in certain parts of the world where state-run media are still the journalistic paradigm and factual "novels" are produced to bypass censor boards.

Past research on censorship in Slovenia (Merljak Zdovc, 2008), in Portugal (Soares, 2011; Coutinho, 2020), in Brazil (Lima, 2011), in Poland (Wiktorowska, 2018; Frukacz, 2019), and in Argentina (Herrscher, 2020) represents only a small portion of the world where literary journalists have been successful in getting stories published against the political grain, albeit some of them disguised as travelogues or novels. Unfortunately, censorship is still an important issue in the media, a trend on the rise due to the recent successes of political populism in once-democratically determined nations. Journalistic integrity is only as stable as the political regime it scrutinizes, and literary journalism, once a salvo to combat censorship, will once again find itself as the only means to keep the world's political affronts in check.

The part opens in Imperial Russia, with Dmitry V. Kharitonov's Chapter 25 detailing the ways in which Turgenev's *Записки охотника* (*A Sportsman's Notebook*, 1852) and Tolstoy's *Севастополь в мае* ("*Sevastopol in May*", 1855) confronted censorship with varying degrees of success. Later works, including Vladimir Gilyarovsky's *Трущобные люди* ([*Slum people*], 1887) and Vlas Doroshevich's *Сахалин* (*Russia's Penal Colony in the Far East*, 1902), were written during a more relaxed period in Russian censorship practices, but their efforts were scuttled years later by the rise of the hardline Soviet regime.

Be it Communism or Fascism, censorship favors no one political ideology, as Federico Casari demonstrates in Chapter 26 on Italian literary journalism, which has made an extensive contribution to the shaping of public discourse, translating issues of national, international, and global dimensions into narratives built around real people and real-life events. Casari deals with the codification of the profession's legal guidelines, the manipulation of traditional genres of conventional journalism, and the link between journalists and their civic engagement. While the part moves on to change continents, it unfortunately does not change the Fascist political aggression that fought relentlessly to silence the literary journalists exposing the regime's corruption and strong-arm tactics. In Chapter 27, Roberto Herrscher looks once again at Rodolfo Walsh's highly influential *Operación Masacre* (1957) and the author's open letter to the Argentine military junta, but discusses it in light of the literary journalism of another Walsh, the Argentine poet/singer María Elena Walsh, whose op-ed "Misadventures in the Kindergarten-Country" accuses fascist regimes of infantilizing a nation to retain their tyrannical control.

Censorship and politics are clearly two sides of the same coin, with one inextricably tied to the other. But censorship can take on a different face altogether. In all its evil, state censorship of autocratic regimes, Communist and Fascist alike, is brazenly visible, which makes attacking

it more simplistic, although nonetheless dangerous. Covert censorship, however, poses more distinct problems, since it is linked less directly to the regime and more to the marketplace. In Chapter 28, Aleksandra Wiktorowska exposes the politics behind the publication industry that accompanied and shaped reportages in the new Poland after 1989. Just as censorship had molded the genre during the time of Polish socialism, newfound freedoms of speech, the fall of the Iron Curtain, and years of capitalism combined with modern publishing policies and marketing strategies blurred the lines of this genre in Poland and changed its status and definition.

Part VII: Indigenous Voices

Indigenous literary journalism is the least common form of the genre and thus under-represented in this collection, but perhaps one of the most fertile research fields awaiting researchers in the years ahead. One of the most immediate concerns involves writing about the calamities facing Indigenous peoples around the globe. Land appropriation is the most salient topic, with water and mineral rights at the heart of the struggle. More often than not, these issues camouflage the genocidal motivations behind opportunistic governments' and mining companies' efforts to exploit the underprivileged and marginalized, whom they believe few people are willing to protect and defend. In Brazil, for instance, we find champions of the Indigenous peoples' rights from Euclides da Cunha's dispatches for *O Estado de S.Paulo* that would later fill his book *Os Sertões (Rebellion in the Backlands, 1902)* to Artur Domosławski's *Śmierć w Amazonii* ([Death in Amazonia], 2013), developed from his reportage for *Gazeta Wyborcza* (2005), which investigates, among other issues, the killings of ecologists defending the rights of the inhabitants of Praialta-Piranheira agro-extractive village in Nova Ipixuna, Brazil. A forthcoming book edited by Pablo Calvi, *The Journalist as Naturalist*, looks to expand upon this direction of literary journalism as a defender of Indigenous rights.

While Indigenous peoples around the world have a long history of documentary art, the issue raised specifically by literary journalism is one of colonialist discourse, hybrid identity, and linguistic imperialism. Like many postcolonial issues facing native novelists or playwrights of former colonies, literary journalists today in once-occupied nations need to find a balance between their native tropes and traditions and those imported by the media and professional directives of the invading culture. *Literary Journalism Studies* (Spring 2018) dedicated a special issue to Indigenous literary journalism, with topics covering the native peoples of Australia, the United States, and Canada as both subject and author. Inclusivity and hybridity are again the watchwords for the protection and expansion of Indigenous literary journalism. There are undoubtedly several other Indigenous writers in once-colonized nations who have yet to be given serious academic treatment. By examining what it means to be a literary journalist for Indigenous writers, the chapters in this part explore the limits of national identity for a marginalized people, as well as their role as stakeholders in a world literary journalism.

Addressing the first of the two problematics discussed above, Chapter 29 by Dolors Palau-Sampio opens this part with a wide-ranging chapter on literary journalists capturing the stories and struggles of Indigenous peoples in Brazil, Argentina, and Peru. She analyzes the narrative resources and journalistic treatment of longform reportage authored by three Latin American writers—Joseph Zárate, Natalia Viana, and Sebastián Hacher—and looks at the effects of the mining industry in Peru, the high suicide rate among Brazil's Indigenous peoples, and the historical abuses suffered by the Mapuche communities in Argentina.

The remaining two chapters in the part look at the second problematic: native literary journalists writing about their country from within the cultural confines and constrictive

language of the former colonizer. In Chapter 30, Alice Trindade and Isabel Soares examine the literary journalism written in Portuguese by Angolan journalist Luísa Rogério and Mozambican author Luís Carlos Patraquim, arguing that both writers use the European language and Iberian/Latin American format of literary journalism of their one-time invaders to write texts that deconstruct Western treatments of African subjects, while simultaneously contributing to the construction of African voiced journalism. A similar solution was adopted by Maya author José Natividad Ic Xec in his *crónicas viajeras* [travel chronicles]. As Ignacio Corona argues in Chapter 31, Ic Xec, like other Indigenous journalists, advances a decolonialist critique of contemporary Latin American society, while promoting an alternative *Indigenous* journalism that calls into question the cultural identity implicit in the colonizer's (literary) journalism.

Part VIII: Literary Journalists and (Inter)National Dailies and Magazines

While various versions of literary journalism from the nineteenth century found homes in the columns of daily papers, the majority moved toward periodicals and magazines in the twentieth century, before becoming books. But, in its collectivity, the national daily contains everything that is already in one literary journalistic article: the objective-to-subjective spectrum (lead stories to editorials); the narrative voice (the column and sports pages); and the literary influence (lifestyle and arts sections). As the national dailies gradually disappear, and the international dailies become homogenized chatter that reproduces monolithic voices of the several media conglomerates that own and operate them, literary journalism remains a case of David facing Goliath. The struggle is different in each country, of course, and research has long characterized what distinguishes literary journalistic writing in *The New Yorker* (United States), *XXI* (France), *piauí* (Brazil), *El Faro* (El Salvador), *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Poland), *Gatopardo* (Mexico), *Granta* (United Kingdom), and *Chimurenga* (South Africa), to name a few. The print media are not developing (or collapsing) at the same pace in each country, and this section explores the evolving relationship literary journalism has with the national and international dailies and periodicals of late.

Given that one of the epicenters of literary journalism can be located in nineteenth-century France, before largely going underground throughout the twentieth, it is appropriate to open this part in Chapter 32 with an overview by Isabelle Meuret of where literary journalism stands today in France and why it is experiencing a renaissance. “Literary Journalism à la française” suggests that the French *do* literary journalism differently from the rest of the world, which is only partly true. While the French *chronique* and *fait divers* did trailblaze the form's development and informed the chronicle writing in parts of Latin and North America, today's *journalisme littéraire*, *journalisme narratif*, or *journalisme du réel* is aligning more closely with its Yankee cousin. While “hybridization of forms and influences from America is not new,” Meuret notes, “traditions are reflected and refracted” through a perpetual give-and-take that has defined two countries' political and cultural relationship for centuries.

While literary journalism is gaining traction today in Europe, questions remain regarding whether it is still essentially an Occidental form, a point raised by Ignacio Corona in his earlier discussion on Ic Xec. In Chapter 33, Talal Hauchar suggests that there is a growing interest in the form in the Middle East, something confirmed earlier by Hania A. M. Nashef. This chapter demonstrates the impact unrest in Lebanon, in particular the October 17 uprising and the explosion in the port of Beirut, has had on the development of Lebanese narrative journalism, as seen in contemporary publications by the newspaper *al-Akhabār* and the magazine *Rehla*. While the form continues to grow in the Middle East, it is relishing its maturity in Central America and looking to expand further in the digital mediascape. In Chapter 34, Jeffrey Peer

turns readers' attentions to one of the most politically influential literary journalist magazines in the Americas today, El Salvador's *El Faro*. The first digital newspaper in Latin America, *El Faro* conjoins literary narration with longform investigative reporting against crime and government complicity, and has drawn such scrutiny from the nation's current populist president that its journalists have been targeted by the recent Pegasus phone hacking scandal.

Part IX: Literary Journalism in the Digital Age

Mark Bowden's Philadelphia *Inquirer's* month-long series "Black Hawk Down" (1997) and John Branch's *New York Times's* Pulitzer-winning "Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek" (2012) were game-changers, not just in the future of online reporting but specifically of online longform narrative journalism. Yoking immersive research with multimedia literary journalism, both stories provided the sights, sounds, and even imagined smells of what it was like to dodge enemy tracers in an urban jungle or to be buried alive under a ton of snow. Amy Wilentz said of "Snow Fall" in her IALJS keynote in Paris (2014), entitled "The Role of the Literary Journalist in the Digital Era":

So the Internet can keep us honest by letting the voices of our subjects into the conversation. But it is also demanding, and it demands, above all, action and narrative in long-form writing, because "clicks" and "eyeballs" are attracted to what is fastest moving and most cinematic in writing; clicks and eyeballs are also attracted to links and illustration, to video and photographic attachments running alongside your literary nonfiction ... So the variety and complication of Internet presentation of non-fiction, while it may beef up a story's appearance, also can easily sully and detract from literary quality.²⁴

In short, the internet offers literary journalism incredible promise and equally indelible compromise. Be careful of the angels you wish for.

With the paper press struggling to find its place in the digital age of news reporting, literary journalism—which was often excluded from the dailies because of its excessive word count—has found new homes in the limitless html ether of sites such as Longform.com. In their article "The Digital Animation of Literary Journalism," Susan Jacobson, Jacqueline Marino, and Robert E. Gutsche Jr. (2015) ask whether the multimedia reportages such as these represented a passing fad or, as they conclude, a "new wave of literary journalism."²⁵

The internet is gradually arriving in countries once cut off from connectivity, but the playing fields are not yet level. While 5G is becoming the norm in some parts of the world, other parts are just coming to terms with LAN. Research into literary journalism in the digital age remains one of the most sought-after and cutting-edge fields, destined to change as rapidly as technology itself. David Dowling, one of the leading voices in the field, has written elsewhere in "Literary Journalism in the Digital Age" that the goal is to "induce the reader's empathy through a more immersive, integrated design, marking a distinct advance" in the field.²⁶ The four chapters in this final part examine the role the internet has played and likely will play in the future of countries as different in their digital consumer cultures as they are in their digital infrastructures.

Taking up one of the main arguments in favor of digital literary journalism, namely that it possesses the power to combine objectivity and empathy in ways traditional print journalism cannot, in Chapter 35 Andrew Duffy and Lydia Small look at 10 recent examples from around the world of multimedia projects to observe the interplay between objectivity and subjectivity,

neutral and emotional approaches, and how multiple media work singly and together to elicit engagement. They argue that the “emotionality turn” in multimedia journalism places it in the panoply of narrative journalism that offers subjectivity and objectivity alongside authenticity, and creates a space for emotionality.

Continuing their research into digital literary journalism on the Asian subcontinent, in Chapter 36, David O. Dowling and Subin Paul examine a new wave of English-language narrative journalism startups, many positioning themselves with ambitious, optimistic editorial mission statements that read like manifestoes bent on revolutionizing conventional mainstream media. Through case studies centering on *The Caravan*, *Peepli*, and *Scroll*, they explore the digital publishing industry’s technologies, competing business models, and news brands that constitute narrative longform journalism in India today.

Europe seems poised for a digital explosion in reportage writing, and in Chapter 37, Katarzyna Frukacz takes readers on a tour of the multimedia scene in Poland today. She presents the ways in which Polish literary journalism—published mainly in the form of printed books—is adapting to the communicative standards of the digital age through a hybridization that corresponds with the affirmation of experimentalism and immersivity typical of new media and shows that—contrary to opinions that highlight a decline of the print culture in the era of mediamorphosis—the book as a vehicle for reportage can effectively compete against digital forms of literary journalism.

The part, and the book itself, close with a philosophical look at the future of literary journalism, digital or otherwise, and how both are in dire need of rebooting. In Chapter 38, Soenke Zehle raises concerns over the kind of “worldmaking” we are currently involved in, and the role representations that integrate fact and fiction might play in that world. Historically, literary journalisms have included nature writing driven by an ethos of environmental justice, as well as science fictions that reimagine the relationship between technology and society. Perhaps it is time, Zehle muses, to bring them wholly together, to encourage “imaginative couplings of ecological, literary, and technological sensibilities” by “[r]evisiting and recombining literary journalism’s ecology- and technology-oriented traditions” that will allow us “to create more-than-human worlds, acknowledging that humans and their non-human others are interconnected in webs of relation, and encouraging our attention to shift in unexpected directions to re-entangle us with everything and everyone.”

Final Observations

If literary journalism is news you can read twice, world literary journalism often requires a third or even fourth pass. The reason for this, as this book attempts to show, is fairly straight forward: the literary journalism most familiar to us is a pleasure to pick up again and again, whereas a foreign version of the genre often demands more from us as readers because of its reliance upon names, places, politics, historical references, aesthetic traditions, and cultural allusions that might, at first read, be unfamiliar. And then there is that potential bugbear: the language barrier.

It is the editors’ hope that readers of *The Routledge Companion to World Literary Journalism* will walk away with new names, new titles, and new ideas linked to literary journalism and its scholarly practices around the world. Call it a buffet, a *thali*, tapas, a *feijoada*, a *meza* or even a smorgasbord of literary journalism, the principal goal of this book is to appeal to a multitude of tastes and appetites. In spite of the book’s inclusive diet, however, readers will discover that a majority of the literary journalism discussed within these pages hails from Europe and Latin America. The reason is less geopolitical than representational: save the United States,

the majority of literary journalism produced over the past century has come from these two regions. As noted earlier, for reasons which future research may be inclined to explore, fewer practitioners and perhaps fewer literary journalism scholars are currently engaged in its writing and study in certain corners of the world. This created certain blind spots in the book's table of contents that cannot be ignored. For example, as various chapters in this collection reveal, Africa is experiencing a renaissance of sorts in literary journalism at present, at least in the former Anglophone and Lusophone colonies; and while that has translated into a glaring paucity of literary journalism scholarship on Africa for this book, it should provide plenty of fodder for future research once that literary journalism flourishes in other countries on the continent.

In a similar vein, while the editors were pleased to have fielded several chapters about current literary journalism practices in parts of the Middle East, Asia remains largely underrepresented. The COVID-19 pandemic, which coincided with this book's gestation, certainly did not help matters, since several proposed articles never reached completion. But even before the pandemic hit, it was already difficult to locate academic scholars working on literary journalism in this expansive part of the world. Perhaps there are many practitioners of literary journalism, as there are scholars who study the form, and we were just not looking in the right places or were tapping into the wrong academic disciplines. Surely, given the importance of literary journalism throughout Oceania, one would be likely to find a more active presence today in the Anglo-influenced city-states of the Asia-Pacific and the countries of the Subcontinent. As with African literary journalism, though, that will remain a question for future research to address. In fact, identifying *where* to look for literary journalism and its scholars, let alone *what* to look for, remains the single most significant obstacle facing the future of international literary journalism studies.

Journalism is about information, literature is about story; literary journalism is about information as story and story through information. The field of literary journalism studies, as this book hopes to show its readers, is about all of this—and much, much more.

Notes

- 1 For more on these three phases of postcolonialism, see Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*.
- 2 Alexander and Isegar, *Fear and Loathing Worldwide*.
- 3 Consider as well that today's international "barista" serves coffee, while the original Italian *barista* tends bar.
- 4 Leite Maia, "Alumbrar-se," 371–88.
- 5 Warnes, "Magical Realism and the Legacy of German Idealism," 489.
- 6 Fludernik and Ryan, Introduction, 6.
- 7 Fludernik and Ryan, 7.
- 8 Fludernik and Ryan, 1.
- 9 Maguire, "From Fiction to Fact"; Clingman, "Writing Spaces."
- 10 Genette, "Fictional Narrative, Factual Narrative," 771.
- 11 Genette, 772.
- 12 Genette, 772.
- 13 Berlin and Kay, *Basic Color Terms*.
- 14 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 52.
- 15 Boas, Introduction, 25–26. Boas is the oft-cited source for the myth that the Inuit people have over 50 different words for snow, depending not only on their semantics (the various types and densities of snow), but also on their grammatical declinations. For more on the "hoax" of the Inuit people's dozens of words for snow, perpetuated by years of academic oral tradition, see Martin, "Eskimo Words for Snow," 418–23.
- 16 Interestingly, London "sewed a gold sovereign" into the armpit of his "stoker's singlet" for "an emergency" (12), just as Conover hid a hundred dollars' worth of travelers' checks, again "for emergencies" in his hip pocket (17).

- 17 Wilson and Donnan, *A Companion to Border Studies*, 11.
- 18 Wilson and Donnan, 1.
- 19 Wilson and Donnan, 2.
- 20 Wilson and Donnan, 2.
- 21 Roberts, “Firing the Canon,” 83.
- 22 Roggenkamp, “Journalistic Literature,” 81–82.
- 23 Milton, *Areopagitica*, 4.
- 24 Wilentz, “The Role of the Literary Journalist in the Digital Era,” 39–40.
- 25 Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche Jr., “The Digital Animation of Literary Journalism,” 2.
- 26 Dowling, “Literary Journalism in the Digital Age,” 530–31.

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PART I

**Historical Antecedents
and Influences**



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1

BETWEEN FEUILLETONISM AND SOCIAL REPORTAGE

Hans Ostwald's Literary Journalism in Berlin's Popular Press Around 1900

Hendrik Michael

Historical research on literary journalism in Germany focuses predominantly on prominent historical figures within a national literary context.¹ Findings suggest that the generic roots of German-language literary journalism trace back to Heinrich Heine's correspondences for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and feuilletons in the Viennese press around 1850.² Yet there is broad agreement that German literary journalism became fully manifest after World War I with Egon Erwin Kisch, who contributed to the notion of "the high art of reportage" with his journalistic work as well as with theoretical publications.³

This chapter extends the history of literary journalism in Germany and argues that its evolution has close ties to the rise of the popular press, especially in Berlin, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, known as the Wilhelmine Period. Habbo Knoch and Daniel Morat refer to this period as the "saddle period of the mass media" in Germany.⁴ The popular press created new sense-making practices within the larger social context of urbanization and industrialization, providing readers with authentic accounts of the manifold facets of city life. With respect to the United States, Thomas Connery identified these sense-making practices as storytelling and research techniques by which the turn-of-the-century press represented an unfamiliar pluralistic, ethnic, and urban world. This "cultural reporting" focused on "real people, real events, real places, all depicted through use of varied literary techniques and from material based on observation, interviews, and immersion."⁵ The popular press thus offered different strategies of processing local news and allowed a journalistic ethnography in form and method.

This analysis seeks to detail this transformative period of journalism and the consequent manifestation of literary journalism in the German popular press by way of example. In contrast to previous studies on the history of German literary journalism, the research focus is not on well-known authors of the period, such as Theodor Fontane,⁶ but rather on the life and career of Hans Ostwald (1873–1940), a journalist and editor who has mostly been ignored by media and journalism history.⁷ Ostwald makes an interesting case because he was an atypical journalist of his time, and his writing is testament to this. While most journalists came from the upper middle class and had an academic education,⁸ Ostwald's family was poor, and he was born in Berlin's industrial northern district. As a young man, Ostwald worked temporarily as a goldsmith and a book hawker. He then led a vagabond life for a short time, about which he wrote

semi-autobiographically.⁹ His social background, his experiences, and his contacts gave him an unusual amount of access to write about working-class milieux and the bohemian culture of Berlin that other feuilleton authors lacked. This access was Ostwald's pathway into journalism.

The first part of this chapter will outline in more detail the broader changes in journalism and society that occurred between 1870 and 1900. The historical context helps to explain how an outsider like Ostwald gained a footing in the field and practiced his reporting. The following analysis takes a closer look at Ostwald's method and style of reporting to understand his journalistic-ethnographic approach to researching and writing about his preferred topics—that is, Berlin's social outcasts and the working poor. The final section of this chapter discusses Ostwald's legacy: an anthology of urban ethnography, the "Großstadt-Dokumente" [urban documents]. This book series covered the social issues of the times in depth. Its success illustrates the commodification as well as the standing of literary journalism by the end of the Wilhelmine Period, to which Hans Ostwald contributed considerably.

The Rise of the Popular Press and Local Reporting in Germany

In contrast to the boom of popular dailies and magazines in the antebellum United States, several factors seriously delayed the development of a "press for the masses"¹⁰ in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century. For one, press laws were rigorous in the German states. Local authorities could always censor publications. Although they did or could not always enforce censorship so strictly, journalists always worked under the potential danger of facing legal consequences.¹¹ Reporting on local events or social issues was risky in this repressive climate. Journalists such as Adolf Glassbrenner, Friedrich Saß, and Gustav Rasch wrote critical, firsthand accounts of urban life, but they were censored and their work never reached the broader reading public.¹² On the other hand, popular family magazines such as *Die Gartenlaube* and the feuilleton sections of the daily press regularly printed innocuous and somewhat impersonal descriptions of growing cities like Berlin by widely published writers such as Julius Rodenberg and Paul Lindenberg.¹³ While those authors and their texts eschewed the immersive methods and stylistic features of literary journalism, they helped to make the feuilleton in the German press commercially successful.¹⁴

The softening of legal and commercial restrictions on journalism after 1871 prompted a press boom in the newly founded German Empire. Jürgen Wilke speaks of an "unleashing of mass communication" that dominated the next decades.¹⁵ By 1895, the number of newspapers in Berlin alone had doubled to around sixty publications, and their circulation had increased exponentially.¹⁶ Besides legal and economic factors, social and cultural changes contributed massively to this development.

Between 1870 and 1900, the German Empire saw unprecedented population growth. While most Germans still lived in villages or provincial towns, migration to the cities became more common as people were looking for work in the growing industrial centers. These trends of urbanization and industrialization became especially visible in Berlin, which was the fastest growing city in Germany.¹⁷ The demand for labor led to an increase in real wages and a reduction in standard weekly hours. At the same time, compulsory education was introduced, which prompted literacy rates to increase steadily.¹⁸ In this sense, industrialization "had some of its earliest effects on newspapers and periodicals," as Doug Underwood points out.¹⁹ These social changes created favorable conditions for a commercial media market that catered to a mass audience. This media market manifested a new cultural hierarchy. Literature, art, and music were no longer only a product for a "highbrow" bourgeois audience, as Lawrence Levine

calls it, but appealed instead to the supposedly “lowbrow” tastes of popular culture and a mass public.²⁰

In this light, the notion of journalism as an arbiter of information and instructor on political ideas changed too. In this period, local news with a human-interest angle became a staple of the press and fostered the principle of “cultural reporting” that Ostwald’s journalism represents. Like Joseph Pulitzer’s new journalism in the United States,²¹ publishers in Germany understood that newspapers had to be more entertainment oriented to attract readers and stand out in a highly competitive environment. Three Berlin publishers, August Scherl, Rudolf Mosse, and Leopold Ullstein,²² have received credit for the rise of the German popular press. Their leading papers, the *Berliner Tageblatt* (Mosse), the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* (Scherl), and the *Berliner Morgenpost* (Ullstein), came to dominate the market by the end of the 1890s, becoming everyday resources for the city’s population. However, they competed with other popular publications, such as the social-democratic *Vorwärts* [Forward] and the liberal weekly *Welt am Montag* [World on Monday]. What these papers had in common was that they printed stories on a wide range of topics and news on local events, colored by the entertaining style and tone of the literary sketch. In the same way as their American counterparts, the popular newspapers in Germany managed to become its urban audience’s “eyes and ears.”²³

As Georg Simmel made clear at the beginning of the twentieth century, the urban environment created new experiences that affected individual dispositions and social relationships.²⁴ In a sense, journalism in the popular urban dailies adapted to and echoed these phenomena. 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. Examples are numerous in the court reports of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*. One article begins:

With the expression of one who was cut to the quick on the round, fleshy, beardless face, a young man of about 24 years enters the courtroom. “First kicked out for no reason, an’ walloped, an’ the whole masquerade torn to pieces, an’ then—to top it off—to Mojabit before the criminal court. ’Tis a bit too hefty. I’ll file an appeal!”²⁵

Such texts established a closer communicative connection between newspapers and their readers. In this way, the popular urban dailies could underscore their role as *vox populi*. It was a departure from the more distanced feuilletonism of the past and it required different writers and methods to do it.

Papers were now hiring men (and a few women) who would have had slim career chances in journalism at best until then. Although Jörg Requate’s analysis of the journalistic field around 1900 shows that the majority of journalists were still educated middle-class men with university degrees, individuals who worked for the popular urban dailies were disproportionately lacking higher education, coming from working-class backgrounds and having unusual biographies. Some of them had criminal records, while others had worked as carneys or—in Ostwald’s case—had tramped for a while.²⁶ To editors, these newcomers were valuable for two reasons. One was economic: they provided cheap and flexible labor. The second concerned the evolving job profile—papers needed people who were up to the task of covering the many facets of the city as a beat. In other words, editors needed reporters.

The editorial department of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* referred to these reporters as “Geheizte” [chasers] and sent them out to report from accidents, crime scenes, or the courts

with promptitude and ingenuity, and from first-hand experience.²⁷ This bread-and-butter reporting comprised most of their output. But as newsgatherers, reporters also had access to what was going on in the city around their beats, especially at night. In their ramblings through Berlin, they established contacts within various groups of people who mingled in the bars and vaudevilles.²⁸ They had access to information that maybe lacked intrinsic news value but provided opportunities to write about the city as a “symbolic place,”²⁹ a task that had been reserved for more pronounced feuilleton writers in the past. As in the United States,³⁰ the market for realistic narratives boomed in the German Empire.³¹ Newspaper editors wanted to tap into this market and relied on their reporters to deliver real-life vignettes of the urban experience that a mass audience craved.

In the literary field, naturalist writers such as Max Kretzer or Hermann Sudermann found success with fictionalized and dramatized depictions of working-class realities.³² While the established feuilleton authors emphasized “working-class poverty and irreligion and described urban degeneracy,”³³ young journalists like Hans Ostwald gave more nuanced and factual accounts that depicted the city “as a new but integral landscape.”³⁴ These accounts were popular because Ostwald and others made it a point to distinguish themselves from writers of fiction and articulated a professional journalistic identity. This set them apart from the modern naturalist authors and from more conventional feuilleton publications. One reporter made it clear in one of his articles that “he must never let his imagination run wild, as his profession consists of recording.”³⁵ However, this distinction of professional roles was not yet as clearly demarcated as it seems.³⁶ In fact, local directories of the time list many of these younger journalists as “writers.”³⁷ The path that Hans Ostwald took in German journalism illustrates the gradual shift of perception concerning the role of the reporter around 1900.

Stylistic Features and Methods of Hans Ostwald’s Journalism

In 1897, at the age of 24, Hans Ostwald published his first journalistic texts in the social-democratic party organ *Vorwärts* and the pacifist-liberal weekly *Welt am Montag*. The *Vorwärts* put an emphasis on local reporting after the German parliament did not extend the so-called “socialist bill” [Sozialistengesetz] after September 30, 1890. This bill, first ratified after an assassination attempt on Emperor Wilhelm I in 1878, prevented—among other severe restrictions, such as the right to assembly—the publication of socialist ideas.³⁸ This included reporting on social issues such as poverty, housing shortage, or drudgery in the factories. The end of the bill gave the *Vorwärts* a freer hand to experiment with content that expanded local reporting beyond topics such as crime and local politics. Now the paper could shift its coverage to the harsher everyday effects of social change on ordinary people’s lives.³⁹

Ralf Thies’s archival work documents Ostwald’s regular contributions to the extensive feuilleton of the *Vorwärts*. Some of these texts were fictional sketches, but most appear to have been factual.⁴⁰ These early texts already exemplify what methods of research Ostwald preferred and how he organized this material similarly to American literary journalists like Stephen Crane, in a way that Alan Trachtenberg described as “a rendering of felt detail.”⁴¹

About 15 articles appeared in a series called “Das erwachende Berlin” [Berlin is awakening] in January and February 1898. Here, Ostwald describes small incidents that happened at night or in the early morning on the streets, mostly in Berlin’s eastern or northern working-class districts. Although a common topic, Ostwald’s strolls differed markedly from conventional flâneries that Rodenberg and other feuilleton writers had published in the past. These authors centered the narrative on their own experiences and emotions or focused on the city as a

broader thematic space. Yet, the conflicts of ordinary people did not feature prominently in their texts. Instead of depicting individuals, they objectified people of the city as types or stock characters. Oswald, however, took the position of a covert narrator and usually concentrated the story on a protagonist and their situation. This external focalization put emphasis on the other instead of on the journalist. In one text, titled “Hoffende” [Hopefuls], the reporter described the morning opening at a train station. Two boys and their mother, who are among the first passengers of the day, received particular attention:

A mother with her sons. The face gazes bleakly and fearfully from dark and clean clothes. The older son speaks to his younger brother, who stands erect in front of a large timetable, in a friendly yet commanding manner. Not listening to his older brother, he chews on the tip of his short tobacco pipe. Beneath his grey eyes are greenish and yellow shadows from which a gory streak stands out. His nose is broad and pockmarked. The wide mouth, which holds the wooden pipe perpetually, is rather grey than red. His blonde hair sticks out chaotically from his ears. Deep scratches run from his temples, over his cheeks to his chin. He holds a little box wrapped in a red handkerchief in his small, smooth hands. Suddenly he removes the pipe from his mouth and says, “Well, it’s gonna be alright—You’ll see, ma! Now I’ll be another person!” “Let’s hope so! Let’s hope so!” the woman cries and takes him in her arms.⁴²

In this short scene, which goes on to observe the departure of the boy, Oswald carefully described the physical and habitual features of individuals who are clearly down on their luck. The description refrains from over-dramatizing the situation and does not portray the appearance or the interaction of the family members condescendingly. Instead of making these people the object of a morality tale by pointing out the consequences of social degradation, this is a quiet and intimate assessment of human relationships. It may establish, to use John Hartsock’s phrase, an “exchange of subjectivities”⁴³ between readers and the story’s protagonists. As a close-up vignette, the scene seems to contextualize larger social issues—possibly domestic violence or the effects of crime on local communities. Yet this is not spelled out and can only be deduced from the details that are captured in Oswald’s cultural reporting.

A humane tone and the framing of social issues in these early journalistic texts illustrate how Oswald’s reporting can be distinguished from previous journalistic strategies of sense-making and processing the reality of urban society. The reporter could become immersed in the milieu of the working poor in a way that other middle-class feuilleton writers could not. One reason for this, of course, is biographical. Oswald grew up under these circumstances and was still experiencing the hardships of working-class life from firsthand experience in 1898. Oswald knew the working-class districts and its inhabitants well; he understood the common idiom and could interact with people. This is another reason why his writing differs from the confabular texts of Rodenberg or Lindenberg—it concerns the methods of research employed by the reporter. One part of the research was to practice close observation over a longer period to record how people looked, what they talked about, and the kinds of social relations in which they engaged. Another research practice included interviewing. The material for other texts that Oswald published in the *Vorwärts* seem to rely more on communication—for instance, in a story about a homeless man on his nightly search for a safe space to sleep.⁴⁴ In these texts, the reporter still remained a covert narrator, but the information he received allowed him to tell more about the background of protagonists and share some of their thoughts with the audience.

Ostwald's Popular Journalism

While his work at the *Vorwärts* possibly primed Hans Ostwald for social issues, his writing style most likely resulted from his working experience at the *Welt am Montag*.⁴⁵ This weekly was founded in 1896 by Adolf Damaschke, a liberal politician, and Felix Hollaender, an artist and culture critic. Hollaender was a member of the “Friedrichshagener Kreis,” a notable group of influential agents of naturalism in the German Empire. Around this publisher, an editorial department formed that articulated a pacifist and decidedly democratic editorial line but also encouraged experimenting with accessible and modern literary styles in journalism.⁴⁶ Here, Ostwald met authors of the Berlin Bohème, such as Julius Bab, Albert Weidner, Julius and Heinrich Hart, and Erich Mühsam, and joined their artistic circle, the “Neue Gemeinschaft” [New community]. Through their companionship, Ostwald, who had never received a higher education and had few points of contact with liberal arts and culture, found inspiration—not only in his perspective on society, but also in the way he crafted his journalistic texts.⁴⁷

Notably, Ostwald's stylistic and methodological repertoire broadened when he began publishing travelogues about the eastern provinces of the German Empire in Friedrich Naumann's *Die Hilfe*, which the reporter called “Dunkelgänge” [dark walks]. Here, he investigated the plight of the agrarian workers. In Ralf Thies's assessment, these texts have almost the quality of representative surveys.⁴⁸ Ostwald may have learned about this alternative reportorial strategy from Victor Adler's *Arbeiterzeitung* in Vienna, to which he also contributed during this period. The *Arbeiterzeitung* regularly published similar exposés that combined sociological precision with journalistic storytelling-techniques. A leading journalist in this field was Max Winter, who almost exclusively practiced the “methods of introspection” of undercover reporting.⁴⁹ In numerous investigative pieces, he explored the miserable conditions of the working class in the Habsburgian Empire.⁵⁰

In this context, Ostwald's and Winter's publication are prototypes of a journalism that “aims at contextualized, holistic interpretations” and uses “ethnographically informed immersion strategies” to achieve this goal.⁵¹ The following passage is an excerpt from reports Ostwald published under the pseudonym “Hans Wandrer” in *Der Vorwärts* in 1899, in which he travels to the eastern province of Silesia to inspect the plight of the weavers there:

The first thing I noticed about [the town of] Langenbielau was the public display of the corpse of an old weaver. The corpse was not displayed in a town hall or in a church—far from it. No, his remains were laid out in the hallway of the house in which the deceased had lived. I stepped closer and inquired why a dead person wouldn't be removed from the house. His widow, a wrinkled little woman whose reddened weaver-eyes squinted, ingeniously answered: “Oh well, we can't do it otherwise. We don't have a morgue, there is nothing in this village. Where should we put the old man?” The people of Langenbielau are thus compelled to leave their dead in their houses until they are buried. What this means in the context of further sanitary problems can easily be deduced from a statistic by the electoral assembly of Langenbielau: From 54 apartments only eight have two habitable rooms, while 46 tenants have only one habitable room. One of these apartments, precisely the one of the dead man, housed *thirteen* people.⁵²

Quickly, Ostwald's precise and authentic vignettes of urban life and his exposés roused the interest of Berlin's press barons, who understood that content combining narrative appeal and a social conscience could increase their market share. Not all texts that Ostwald published in,

for instance, Mosse's *Berliner Tageblatt* or Ullstein's *Berliner Morgenpost*, had the quality of literary journalism of course. More than a few relied on sensational reporting. Ostwald clearly adjusted to the journalistic conventions to become a regular contributor to these papers because this meant he could finally make a living from journalism.

Still, these more sensational texts stand out because they gave authentic accounts of urban life. On the one hand, Ostwald went undercover for the popular dailies and spent the night at homeless shelters.⁵³ Such reports often portrayed the dark underbelly of Berlin in a way that was meant to shock his middle-class readers by slipping into the role of a "class transvestite."⁵⁴ However, even in these sensational undercover explorations, Ostwald did not resort to exhibiting the "bourgeois gaze" that was fixated on spectacular instances of suffering and moral degradation. Instead, these texts mostly relied on careful observation of details that provided insights into the experience of homelessness. On the other hand, the reporter contributed to serial productions like "Aus dem Dunklen Berlin" [Berlin in the dark] or "Berlin nach Elf" [Berlin after 11].⁵⁵ These texts were conventional in style and method because the reporter remained the focal point of the story. Ostwald used conventional homodiegetic narrative techniques and offered fleeting expeditions into the urban "underbrush"—a sense-making practice that was common in the popular press in the United States and elsewhere.⁵⁶

The Großstadtdokumente: A Manifest of Ethnographic Journalism

Within a few years, Ostwald had gained a solid footing in journalism. He published regularly for all the major papers in Berlin. This success exemplifies broader changes in the field of cultural production in the Wilhelmine Period. The commodification of factual prose and cultural reporting in the popular dailies eventually helped to open a market for book-length reports, exposés, and studies about the social landscape of the city.

Ostwald had a first success with a publication titled *Berliner Nachtbilder* [Nightly impressions from Berlin], a condensate of his reporting, published by Hermann Seemann Nachfolger. This publishing house had a broad range of titles and catered to a mass audience. However, it was also willing to work with material deemed too risky by other publishers. Their executive board believed that "Ostwald's name stood for the new concept of social literature," according to Thies.⁵⁷ While Ostwald secured a publishing contract and became the editor of the project, he was already tapping into his vast network of contacts at the *Welt am Montag*, with the Neue Gemeinschaft, or with authors from other journalistic ventures. Fifty volumes of the "Großstadtdokumente," each around 100 pages in length, were published in rapid succession.⁵⁸

Ostwald contributed reports on Berlin's "dark corners" (vol. 1, 1904), the city's dance halls (vol. 4, 1905), and coffee houses (vol. 7, 1905). More delicate, however, were his publications about Berlin's pimps and prostitutes (vol. 5, 1905), and the gambling industry (vol. 35, 1907). The diversity of social issues covered in this collection is impressive. For instance, Magnus Hirschfeld gave a detailed account of Berlin's homosexual milieu (vol. 3, 1904), Albert Weidner wrote about the labor movement (vol. 9, 1905), Hans Hyan covered organized crime in Berlin (vol. 28, 1906), and Albert Südekum investigated the situation in the tenements (vol. 45, 1908). Ostwald also won over Max Winter, who contributed an account of his excursions into Vienna's underground (vol. 13, 1905). This was part of an attempted to expand the scope of the series. To truly bring out a representative account of the modern urban experience, other cities moved into the focus.

Overall, the "Großstadtdokumente" were a *bricolage* through the juxtaposition of different journalistic, ethnographic, and literary strategies. The publications were reportorial and discursive. Some of the authors chose to present their cause through argumentative essays, spiked