Literary Journalism Studies

Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring 2018

Website: www.literaryjournalismstudies.org

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

Member of the
Council of Editors of Learned Journals

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

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

Literary Journalism Studies

Editorial Offices

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

SUBMISSION INFORMATION

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

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

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

Note from the Editor . . .

Two years ago, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, at the Eleventh International Conference for Literary Journalism Studies, during one of the Q&A sessions, a somewhat free-form discussion broke out. After Jennifer Martin presented a piece of research from her dissertation, members of the audience began to talk about Aboriginal literary journalism, about North American Indigenous literary journalism, about Latin American Indian literary journalism—and, ultimately, about whether these forms existed and if they did what might be some examples. Martin triggered this discussion because, among other things, she focused on the work of Melissa Lucashenko, a feature writer who up until that point had been the only Indigenous journalist ever to win the prestigious Walkley Award, Australia's version of the Pulitzers.

After the conference I sent a few emails around. I asked if anyone might be interested in pursuing this idea further. I did have an ulterior motive. The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission issued ninety-four Calls to Action, one of which called for journalism schools in Canada to improve their methods of teaching students how to report on Indigenous issues. As for the call to build a panel on the subject, it turned out that Martin was interested, as were Pablo Calvi from Stony Brook and John Coward from Tulsa.

Another event happened in May 2016. The chair of the Ryerson School of Journalism, Janice Neil, invited CBC journalist and University of British Columbia journalism instructor Duncan McCue to deliver a half-day seminar in reporting on Indigenous issues. One of the fascinating aspects of McCue's talk was his recommendations for how we teach students to report on Indigenous communities. He said a journalist cannot expect to walk up to a person in an Indigenous community, ask a few questions, get a few answers, walk away, and write it up. It just does not happen that way. The journalist has to spend time to get to know people. The people have to spend time to get to know the journalist. People living in an Indigenous community, by and large, are not going to open up and talk. There are layers of trust that must be built.

The more McCue talked, the more I realized that what he was describing was fairly close to the philosophy and strategies of literary journalism and immersion reporting, and to some degree magazine feature writing. At the break I asked McCue whether he agreed with my assessment, and he said he loved magazine feature writing and that kind of deep immersion, and, yes, in his opinion there was indeed a similarity.

My next question to McCue was: Would he happen to know of any Indigenous literary journalists who write these sorts of stories, writers I might consider including in my courses? People, say, who have written excellent, long, immersive features? I was looking to play my little part and introduce Indigenous literary journalism in my course syllabi. McCue mentioned a couple of names—one of whom, Dan David, I decided to research and write about for the Halifax conference and, subsequently, for this issue—but beyond that he said he would have to get back to me.

I approached McCue again a few months later. I asked him if he might participate in a panel on Indigenous literary journalism. He said he would. The panel of five was set, and the panel topic was accepted for the Twelfth International Conference for Literary Journalism Studies, held in Halifax.

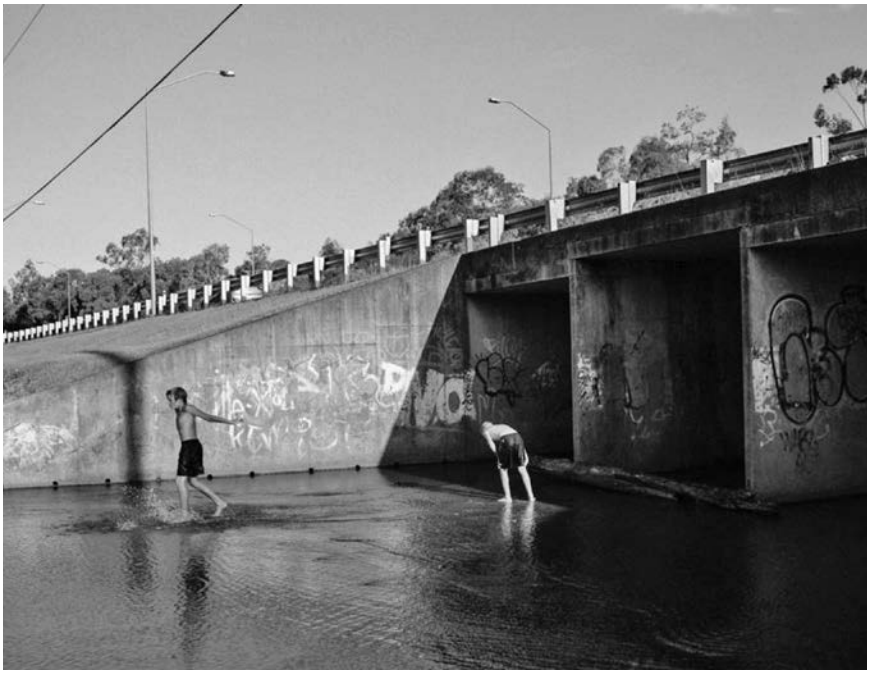
Those presentations, by Calvi, Coward, Martin, McCue, and myself, have been revised and are now presented here. I believe it is important to keep the issue of Indigenous literary journalism at the forefront of current literary journalism theory and discussion and practice. I do not think we can afford to pay lip service to this area of study and then consider our job complete. The spotlight on Indigenous literary journalism in this issue is, I hope, a small contribution toward this ongoing discussion. Perhaps it might stir some further fresh research in the area.

The three research essays in this issue are a bit different from the norm. Two are about topics that are unusual for this journal, namely the concept of imagination and the concept of belatedness. Lindsay Morton's essay, "The Role of Imagination in Literary Journalism," disentangles the many and varied notions as they pertain to literary journalism. Building on her study of philosopher Lorraine Code's work, Morton begins the process of defining a landscape where imagination plays a crucial and central role in the creation of works of literary journalism. Christopher Wilson's essay, "The Journalist Who Was Always Late: Time and Temporality in Literary Journalism," examines the inescapable role of time in reporting. Time is an all-encompassing factor in daily journalism but, although we might not automatically think so, Wilson builds a solid foundation that shows it to be an unavoidable factor of literary journalism.

Our third research essay, "Why We Fled from Grosny," by Hendrik Michael, is a pointedly political, and important, discussion of how literary journalism has responded to the European immigration crisis. Michael dissects the various responses in the German media that allow for long, involved discussions of this complicated issue.

Bill Reynolds

Spotlight
Indigenous Literary Journalism



This photo is from the SBS TV series on the Brisbane suburb of Woodridge, in the City of Logan, where Melissa Lucashenko's article "Sinking Below Sight: Down and Out in Brisbane and Logan" was written. Daniel Hartley-Allen, *Woodridge in Pictures: Lost in Logan.* http://www.sbs.com.au/programs/gallery/pictures-theres-beauty-often-misjudged-suburb?cid=inbody%3Alogans-indigenous-history-a-language-almost-lost-and-story-of-survival.

Writing Aboriginality: The Portrayal of Indigenous People in Australia's Walkley Award–winning Features

Jennifer Martin
Deakin University, Australia

Abstract: This article explores, via a detailed case study of a Walkley Award–winning long-form story, how journalist and author Melissa Lucashenko used literary and narrative devices to construct a magazine-style feature about Indigenous Australia. The only Indigenous writer to earn a Walkley Award for long-form writing, Lucashenko received the award that is Australia's equivalent to the Pulitzer.

Keywords: Australian literary journalism – narrative journalism – Indigenous – Aboriginal – Walkley Awards – Melissa Lucashenko

A rich archive of peer-judged, exemplary journalism is provided by Australia's premier journalism prize, the Walkley Awards, which have celebrated literary journalism in the form of magazine-style feature articles since 1956.[1] This analysis is drawn from research into a corpus of twenty-three long-form articles that won in the Walkley categories of "best feature" or "best magazine" feature between 1988 and 2014.[2] In that study the focus is on the specific ways the journalists use literary and reporting devices, with limited degrees of success, to communicate notions of Aboriginality to the Australian community. The present article[3] considers how one author, Melissa Lucashenko, the only Indigenous author of a winning Walkley feature on the topic of Aboriginal issues,[4] constructed her story, given the high level of discrimination that still exists towards Indigenous Australians. The analysis is informed by the larger research project, which investigated the ways in which journalists employed narrative and reporting devices to communicate emotions to readers of these Walkley Award–winning features. It further explored whether these stories, through the conveying of virtues such as honesty, empathy, and responsibility to readers, could be considered as contributing to the nourishing of a community.

To contextualize this study, in the twenty-seven years that the research spans, only seven of the forty-four Walkley Award–winning news and magazine feature articles, or sixteen percent, are concerned with Indigenous issues. Of these, only one is a news feature. When narrowed to the twenty-three magazine-style feature articles within this corpus, there were six, or just over one quarter, of the stories that were concerned with Aboriginal issues. Although the Walkley Awards have had a separate award for the coverage of Indigenous affairs since 1997,[5] Indigenous voices have been and continue to be marginalized in the mainstream media, with one researcher finding that in news stories on Indigenous issues Aboriginal sources "never make up more than about twenty percent of sources used."[6]

More recently, the controversy over the Indigenous community's views on the constitutional recognition of Indigenous Australians suggests the lack of diversity of Indigenous voices in the media is an ongoing issue.[7] Following the publication of a poll conducted by the federally funded "Recognise" campaign, which claimed the majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders supported constitutional recognition,[8] the Indigenous-led social media outlet, IndigenousX,[9] conducted its own online poll, which found only twenty-five percent supported the (now defunct) "Recognise" campaign, and that many would vote no in a referendum that asked only for symbolic constitutional recognition.[10] The mainstream media's widespread acceptance of the "Recognise" survey and the subsequent slowness, or complete failure, of

many media outlets to report the alternate statistics, demonstrate that a range of Indigenous voices continue to be ignored.[11]

The mainstream media's marginalization of Aboriginal experience, combined with an ignorance about the complexity of the range of voices that exists throughout Indigenous communities, inform this discussion of award-winning long-form journalism on Indigenous issues. While Ghassan Hage has perceptively observed that Australians "have begun to relate to ourselves and our land in the way that people who were thieves in the past relate to themselves and to what they have stolen and kept,"[12] the Walkley Award–winning features concerned with Indigenous issues may be considered a small but nonetheless important means of helping readers comprehend the past and continuing struggles of this diverse community.

Despite the comparatively small number of articles, the topics covered across the Walkley feature articles provide compelling evidence of the determination of journalists to tell the untold stories of Indigenous Australians, as well as demonstrating the importance of place in conveying meaning to readers. The present essay also argues that an awareness of how these stories are heard by us, the readers, who are immersed in our own, to use Bourdieu's terminology, *habitus,*[13] enriches our understanding of the stories that are often written "from the margins" only to be heard "from the center."[14]

The subject matter of the seven Indigenous stories within the Walkley corpus makes for harrowing reading. In 1994 journalist Rosemary Neill wrote about a "hidden epidemic" of domestic violence in Aboriginal communities,[15] which was, coincidentally, the same year that thirty-year-old Janet Beetson was found dead in her cell from a treatable heart condition. In 1997, a young freelance journalist, Bonita Mason, won a Walkley for telling Beetson's story,[16] while reporter Gary Tippet received the same honor for his article about an Aboriginal man who killed his childhood abuser with an axe, afterwards proclaiming he felt "free."[17] In 1999, Richard Guilliatt reported on an Indigenous man and a woman who took the Australian government to court for forcibly removing them from their parents, and two years later journalist Paul Toohey exposed the struggle of a town to save their young people from petrol sniffing.[18] In 2006, journalist Chloe Hooper wrote about the death of a man in custody, from injuries received after his arrest, which led to riots in the remote community of Palm Island.[19] Then in 2013, Lucashenko, forced by her own circumstances to return to one of Australia's poorest regions, told the story of how she and three other women survived in the face of a seemingly relentless cycle of poverty.[20] All seven of these winning magazine features, about Indigenous Australians and their experiences as part of a society in which they were not allowed to vote until 1967, are concerned with

exposing stories that have largely been untold, hidden by history, or ignored by the mainstream media.[21]

Australia's Colonized Past

Australia's Indigenous population has, since colonization, suffered from government-sanctioned violence and the slaughter of their people, as well as the forced removal of children from their parents.[22] Until 1949, non-Indigenous Australians were officially citizens of the United Kingdom, and it was not until 1969 that Australian citizenship was given primacy over having the status of a British subject.[23] Considering Australia's Indigenous population were not given the right to vote until 1962, and compulsory voting for Aboriginal citizens was not brought in until 1967,[24] it is unsurprising that the theme of identity would inform many of the stories within this corpus. Despite the overwhelming and unequivocal body of historical evidence of the deliberate marginalization of Indigenous people within Australian society, the experience of Indigenous people has been (and continues to be) dismissed and denied by commentators in Australia's conservative press.[25]

This marginalization has, along with a range of other social and cultural factors, such as alcohol and drug dependence, contributed to poor health outcomes as well as cycles of generational poverty.[26] A person of Aboriginal descent has a life expectancy ten years fewer than the national average, and the leading causes of death include heart disease, diabetes, respiratory failure, and lung cancer.[27] The national imprisonment rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults is fifteen times higher than that for non-Indigenous adults.[28] An Indigenous population comprising less than three percent of Australia's total population makes up twenty-eight percent of the adult prison population, a figure that jumps to almost forty-eight percent when it includes the number of Indigenous children in juvenile detention.[29] Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are three times more likely to experience sexual violence than non-Indigenous women, and around one in twelve Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults were forcibly removed from their families by government officials and are part of the Stolen Generations.[30]

A paramount consideration regarding the coverage of Indigenous stories is the question of authorship. Out of the seven Walkley feature articles, white journalists wrote all but one. The exception is Indigenous writer Lucashenko, whose 2013 article, "Sinking Below Sight: Down and Out in Brisbane and Logan" (the subtitle a play on Orwell's 1933 autobiographical work *Down and out in Paris and London* on his own experience of poverty), tells the story of the decline in her own fortunes following her marriage break-up, as well as the stories of three women trying to survive in a cycle of poverty.[31] Melbourne

Indigenous author and academic Tony Birch has argued that more long-form journalism by Aboriginal writers is needed. In an interview on writing about Indigenous values and cultures, he noted, "First Nations people and communities have not only had history denied to us, OUR stories have been both destroyed and misappropriated. . . . [T]hose who have their history denied to them are entitled to the dignity of telling and controlling their own."[32]

Teaching Indigenous Literary Journalism

I suggest that Australian tertiary educators of literary journalism subjects should always endeavor to include articles concerned with Indigenous themes. Of equal importance is that teachers should encourage critical evaluation of the authorship of these articles, asking students to consider whose voices are being heard in the stories—or whose voices are being silenced. In order to understand the challenges of teaching Australian university students about magazine-style literary journalism and Aboriginal issues, or stories written by an Aboriginal journalist, it is first helpful to briefly summarize the developments in the inclusion of Aboriginal content in Australian schools across the education sector. As already outlined in this article, the violent colonization of Australia by European settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was informed by a belief that the Indigenous inhabitants were inferior to the white population, and subsequent government policies, such as the forced removal of "half-caste" children, reinforced these beliefs. In terms of government initiatives, in 1998, the "Australian and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy Taskforce" was formed, and, over time, a number of policy frameworks were devised, including the "National Strategy for the Education of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy," a policy that provided for ACARA, the Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority's "Development of the Australian Curriculum."[33] ACARA developed a succession of plans—the "National Strategy for the Education of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples 1996–2002,"[34] "Australian Directions in Indigenous Education 2005–2008,"[35] and most recently, the "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan 2010–2014."[36] The Australian Curriculum's website states the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures cross-curriculum priority "is designed for all students to engage in reconciliation, respect and recognition of the world's oldest continuous living cultures."[37] A 2014 study on the way in which high school teachers taught Aboriginal issues to students concluded that while the new Australian Curriculum was evidence of the government promoting a more inclusive school system, for "real change to take place there must be a cultural shift in the perception of Aboriginal people by the dominant group."[38] Booth's study found

that teachers had a responsibility to combat the negative images of Aboriginal people that were "often seen on the news and throughout the media."[39] In this regard, an analysis of the way in which the Walkley Award–winning journalists write about Aboriginal issues can contribute to a deeper understanding of Australia's complex and fraught historical relationship with its past.

The Walkley Awards and Racial Inequality

Australia's top journalism prize by is, by definition, a highly subjective and elitist field.[40] The winners are chosen by a panel of media practitioners, who appear, within the time frame of this study, to have all been white, with one notable exception: Lucashenko, the 2013 magazine feature winner, was one of the judges for the "All Media: Coverage of Indigenous Affairs" Walkley Award in 2014.[41] The ramifications of this racial inequality, when considered within the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's notion of habitus, means that non-Indigenous judges have been influenced by their upbringing, education, and myriad other factors such as family influence and the workplace.[42] They have the privilege of being white and also the privilege of being professional journalists who are in the position of deciding what constitutes excellence in journalism. Just as they can be expected to hold similar ideals and aspirations, as encapsulated in the Walkley Foundation's judging criteria (which include 'accuracy and ethics'—and thus arguably includes honesty among other attributes),[43] they must also be seen as part of a society that has a deeply troubled history and relationship with the Indigenous population.[44]

Lucashenko, whose work spans novels, essays, poetry, and lectures, has spent her career navigating between the worlds of Indigenous and mainstream Australia.[45] Through an inter-weaving of reporting, personal observation, and experience, Lucashenko exemplifies the virtue of self-awareness in her 2013 Walkley Award–winning article, "Sinking Below Sight," by effectively functioning as a reflexive and reflective practitioner who consciously inserts or conceals her presence within the narrative.[46] The Walkley judges commended her article as a "beautifully crafted work on what it means to be the very poorest urban Australian. . . . The end result is a compelling story that shines a light on us all."[47]

What follows is a look at how Lucashenko's emphasis on place, combined with the construction of her narrative voice, enables her to express emotions to readers and, in the process, construct virtues such as self-awareness, responsibility, honesty, empathy, sympathy, compassion, courage, and resilience. Also included in this analysis is the virtue of *phronesis*, a term used by Aristotle[48] and adapted here to refer to the ability to take action based on wise decisions. This virtue encapsulates the civic function of the feature article,

that is, the extent to which the writer is encouraging readers to engage with the question of how well people live together as a community.

An important recurring element is Lucashenko's declaration that "The poor *are* always with us,"[49] evidence of her determination to provide readers with what the judges describe as "a unique insight in to living in grinding poverty, whilst the rest of Australia chooses to look away."[50] "What then shall we do, we Black Belt dwellers?" Lucashenko asks. "What hope of escape, in an Australia where the dole has now fallen far below the poverty line and this same dole is now what we expect single mothers who can't find work to raise their children on?"[51]

It is here, where Lucashenko calls into being what can be defined as drawing upon Anderson's theory of the imagined community,[52] an imagined *virtuous* community, namely the "Black Belt," in particular, the single mothers struggling to survive.[53] Lucashenko's question also demonstrates the importance of not assuming the journalist is addressing one single imagined virtuous community. Some readers in her audience would be aware of and sympathetic to the issue of Indigenous poverty, but many may be unfamiliar with the lived experience, the emotional lives, of the people Lucashenko is writing about.

Lucashenko's reconstruction of her experience and that of three other women living in one of Australia's poorest areas provides insight into the interplay of literary and reporting devices in communicating emotions to readers. It permits them to consider the lives of women such as Selma, who says, "We had nothing, bombed house, jack shit, but still Mum was trying to do little tiny jobs and send money back home, would you believe?"[54] The subtle visibility of Lucashenko as a narrator consolidates the value of a story that is "endurable, readable across the gulf of time"[55] because she uses the literary device of *metalepsis*, the term given to when a "narrator crosses narrative levels,"[56] to shift the narrative voice between what can be called a *visible-but-dimmed first-person* narrator and a *touched-up third-person* narrator.[57] While many readers may have been aware of the *paratextual* information[58] that Lucashenko is a writer and poet of Koorie (Aboriginal) and European descent,[59] apart from one reference to "my Black Belt peers," she does not elaborate upon this in her article.[60] The absence of "autobiographical" information is important in terms of discourse analysis, as these absences reinforce the similarities between Australians, challenging readers to consider that those without money are not unlike themselves, and therefore cannot and should not be easily dismissed or forgotten: "The mass of the rich and the poor are differentiated by their incomes and nothing else, and the average millionaire is only the average dishwasher dressed in a new suit. . . . Everyone who has

mixed on equal terms with the poor knows this quite well.[61]

Lucashenko's construction of herself as writing from *within* the experience, of speaking to readers as one of the members of the community, sets her story apart from the others in the Walkley Awards magazine feature category, and indeed many or most articles written about Indigenous Australians. Lucashenko has been acknowledged as a writer who "has built up a steady body of nonfictional work that both interrogates and seeks to illuminate the meaning of place, story and belonging, not just for Aboriginal people but (and increasingly so) for all Australians."[62] It is helpful to consider how Lucashenko's construction of herself may affect the way in which readers "hear" her story by encouraging them to appreciate common connections with those she writes about.

By using the first-person voice, and through varying her visibility within the narrative, Lucashenko demonstrates awareness of these different readers,[63] and by directing their attention away from herself, she is able to challenge them to consider the place of urban Indigenous Australians in society.[64] In this way Lucashenko is constructing a narrative that encourages readers to experience the virtues of compassion, sympathy, and empathy, and to counter the social and political discourse that the poor only have themselves to blame for their predicament.

This feature, to refer once again to Bourdieu's terminology, is deeply informed by the journalist's habitus,[65] that is, the culmination of her lived experiences as evidenced in Lucashenko's declaration that "Divorce had cost me my farm"—and led her to move to Logan City, "one of Australia's ten poorest urban areas."[66] Lucashenko also employs the discourse of class, communicating to readers through the sharing of details about her own life, showing how a person can fall into poverty after enjoying the security of a middle-class lifestyle. Lucashenko's self-awareness, combined with her privileged position as a journalist, is imperative in informing readers about a part of society many would never have experienced. Lucashenko's central message for readers is that the poor are "just like us."[67] By providing readers with a combination of her own graphic observations and the words of the women she interviews, Lucashenko encourages readers to experience full empathy. She recounts how Selma, after years of physical abuse, stood up to her partner, employing the discourse of violence and power in her words to him: "I said to him, just do it cunt, ya dead dog. If ya gonna be a big man, just do it and put me outta my misery."[68] This quote and Lucashenko's description of the violence Selma experienced confront readers with the terrible reality of her life, yet permit them to admire her courage in standing up to her abusive partner. In transporting readers into her narrative, Lucashenko challenges them to question their assumptions about their own society.

When Lucashenko does place herself clearly in the narrative she writes about her first experience in her new town, at the local shops with her teen, being confronted by a vomiting junkie: "We fell about, snorting and leaking with laughter. Ah, the serenity."[69] This scene makes Lucashenko very visible to readers, so that in terms of "narratorial presence"[70] they are able to experience the episode and the emotions of shock, revulsion, and the relief of laughter alongside her. This section of the article also demonstrates Lucashenko's skill in employing humor in her construction of the lives of three women, Selma, Marie, and Charmaine, which arguably would further engage readers with their story.[71] Lucashenko's use of literary devices is balanced by solid reporting skills that draw upon the official sociological discourse by giving readers context, that "9.5 percent of people in the greater Brisbane area officially live below the poverty line."[72] Again, Lucashenko counter-balances these facts by including her own experience in the narrative, for example, selecting and framing the following information from her emotional life: "As a seventeen-year-old caring for three small kids in Eagleby, I believed that nearly all Australians lived like we did, with far too many animals, dying cars and bugger all disposable income."[73] Lucashenko's description is an example of the sociological discourse of her childhood as well as a demonstration of how her habitus informed her beliefs about her community, her family, and herself. Importantly, Lucashenko does not present readers with an overwhelmingly negative portrayal of the region where Brisbane's "Aboriginal underclass have historically concentrated; in mainly housing commission ghettos where all the whites are poor too."[74] Instead she draws upon a discourse of being what might be described as "poor but managing," and in the process emphasizing a sense of community, a place where " 'everyone mixes in together' and, as one of my interviewees stated, 'You don't have to worry about snobs staring at you if you go to the shops in bare feet'."[75] The women she interviews also express some hopes for their future:

> When I asked Selma if she had any dreams for the future, she surprised me by quoting Martin Luther King Jr: "*If you can't fly, run. If you can't run, walk. If you can't walk, crawl*." She spoke of expecting to finish TAFE[76] soon, and of desperately hoping to go to QUT to get a degree in human services. With two work placements behind her, one of them paid, she is beginning to faintly see options that never existed before. She talked of working in domestic violence services to help other women. She hopes her Aboriginal sons will finish high school.[77]

Lucashenko and the women she writes about display the virtue of self-awareness, conveyed through the descriptions of the women as working toward better futures for themselves and their children. The narrative is imbued

with the virtues of honesty, responsibility, resilience, and courage. In turn, the experience of reading about people with these traits establishes the opportunity for readers to feel the virtues of compassion, empathy, and sympathy towards the subjects of the article. By asking and answering the simple question, "And what dreams are possible for the Brisbane underclass in 2013?"[78] Lucashenko is strengthening a sense of community with her readers, a notion that the only reality separating "us" from "them" is circumstances that could change at any moment. This awareness establishes this article as an example of *phronetic* journalism, for it transports readers successfully into a compelling narrative world and in doing so exposes them to experiences that deepen their understanding of society.[79] Furthermore, this understanding contains the potential for readers to be altered by the experience of reading this article, perhaps making them more aware of the pressures on low-income earners and therefore more sympathetic to their situation. Lucashenko concludes by repeating the word "we" as she reminds her readers how they could easily slip into the poverty experienced by the women about whom she has written:

> . . . and we—yes, we: Marie, Selma, Charmaine, Melissa—become the poor ourselves, and then are quickly demoted to that faceless population which Australia in 2013 finds easy to stereotype, and convenient to demonise, and ultimately, under a federal Labor government in the tenth wealthiest nation on earth, ultimately only sensible to forget.[80]

The above quote is a strong example of Lucashenko's literary efforts to use narrative and reporting devices to address issues that lie at the heart of what it means to live together as a community and to share in the ideal of the "good life."[81] Her narrative, emphasizing again and again that the "poor *are* always with us," achieves the purpose of *phronesis* by using literary devices to challenge a dominant discourse that blames the poor for their own poverty. She articulates the experience of six women, herself included, all of whom have connections to the Indigenous community, in such a way that readers are transported into the narrative and permitted to imagine what it would be like to be "down and out" in one of Australia's poorest suburbs.

Conclusion

The Walkley Features on Indigenous Australians provide evidence of how journalists, through communicating critical issues, such as land rights, deaths in custody, poverty, and drug use, encourage readers to come to terms with "the suffering, destruction and human tragedy consequent upon the European settlement of Australia."[82] Beyond demonstrating how journalists can combine literary techniques and reporting skills to convey emotion and a sense of virtue to readers, the seven feature articles on Indigenous issues

within the larger corpus of Walkley Award stories also perform the important news function of providing a voice to those who are marginalized. In order to fulfill this function a journalist must necessarily meet "the Bourdieusian imperative of considering the place of others."[83] The preceding analysis of Lucashenko's narrative shows how journalism, by informing readers of the lived reality of Indigenous people, can construct narratives that demonstrate Ahmed's premise that "how we feel about others is what aligns us with a collective."[84] It is the ability of the authors of the Walkley Award magazine features to intersect issues of morality with a communal concept of the greater good that provides readers with the information needed to understand how society is treating—and failing—many members of its citizenry.

Jennifer Martin is a lecturer in journalism at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. Her research explores how journalists communicate emotions to readers. She is also interested in issues surrounding media ethics and the representation of marginalized communities. She has more than twenty years' experience as a print, radio, and multimedia journalist.

Author Duncan McCue, age seventeen. Photo by Bruce Matthew.

Seeking *Debwewin*: Literary Journalism through an Indigenous Lens

Duncan McCue
Ryerson University, Canada

Abstract: This short essay argues that representations of Indigenous peoples in Canadian literature and journalism have characteristically been based upon stereotypical tropes, and that Indigenous writers and journalists are beginning to contribute more diverse portraits of Indigenous peoples. Further, Indigenous works of literary journalism could be interpreted through an Anishinaabe analytical framework described here as *debwewin* (truth).

Keywords: Anishinaabe – Canada – Indigenous – journalism – literary journalism – Ojibway

Aaniin! Aankwadaans n'dzhinikaaz. Maiingan n'dodem. Chippewas of Georgina Island *n'doonjiba. Anishinaabe n'dow*.[85]

This is a traditional greeting, in the language of my people. It's how I identify myself amongst my people: my name, clan, community, Nation. But, like many people, I have multiple identities. I recently became a visiting journalist at Ryerson University's School of Journalism in Toronto. This essay arises from a question Bill Reynolds, my colleague at Ryerson, asked me. In an effort to help Indigenize the curriculum at Ryerson—which in fact is happening across Canada right now in the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report's Call to Action 86[86]—Bill approached me and said, "Can you recommend any literary journalists that I can discuss in my class?"

I said, "That's a great question, Bill."

Initially, I couldn't come up with any names. There are a few, such as Dan David,[87] but there were so few that I thought to myself, *What's up with that? Why are there so few Indigenous writers who have taken up the form of literary journalism?* So I would like to walk through my thinking process after I asked myself that question.

I'm also going to talk about my own book, *The Shoe Boy*,[88] my venture into literary journalism outside my CBC career. The book itself I won't talk about too much, but rather the challenges I faced. There were two.

My primary struggle was simply recalling the story. *The Shoe Boy* is about the five months I spent hunting and trapping with a Cree family in northern Quebec, near the community of Chisasibi on the shores of James Bay. I'm Ojibway, so this is a different tribe amongst whom I lived. The trip occurred in 1988, so writing the memoir was a search-and-rescue mission in some ways, writing when I was in my forties about my seventeen-year-old self. That was a typical challenge that anyone writing a memoir would face.

The second challenge, as an Indigenous author and journalist, was to deconstruct the two-dimensional, imaginary portrait of the Indian that, unfortunately, still exists in North America. When I start to think about Indigenous voice I have to go back to Canadian literature itself. Historically, in Canadian fiction, the Indian has been a pretty conventional figure. There are lots of them and they share one common trait—they have little or no voice. For example, Duncan Campbell Scott's work is often included in the canon of Canadian poetry, yet his writings about Indigenous people portray a noble yet vanishing race whose ways of life were doomed. When Indigenous characters *literally* spoke they often used florid, romantic language. Consider, for example, the fearsome Iroquois in E. J. Pratt's long poem, *Brébeuf and His Brethren*: "I have had enough . . . / Of the dark flesh of my enemies. I mean / To kill and eat the white flesh of the priests."[89] Indigenous people in these

works are often subordinate characters because their movements are always in relation to the white figures in the story—their existence, in other words, is contingent upon the white person. The Indian is either shown as a kind of faithful friend (Tonto the sidekick, speaking in monosyllabic grunts), or the savage foe ("the Indians are coming to surround the wagon trains!").

In Canadian literature we see the denial of Native voice, all of which helped the colonial project, which ultimately was about land dispossession. So, when Margaret Atwood wrote her seminal survey of Canadian literature, *Survival*,[90] she did not include or comment on any Indigenous authors. Fortunately, since the early 1970s, when *Survival* was published, Indigenous authors are becoming increasingly well known to readers in Canada and around the world: Tomson Highway, Thomas King, Drew Hayden Taylor, Eden Robinson, Katherena Vermette, Lee Maracle, Tracey Lindberg, Richard Wagamese, and Richard Van Camp, to name but a few. Thanks to them, we are now beginning to see Indigeneity expressed in more full and complex ways as they give Indigenous perspectives on human relationships, on relationships with the land, on relationships with the spirit world.

Turning to Canadian journalism, sadly, many journalists in this country have continued the same tropes that we've seen in Canadian literature. Indigenous people certainly have been *under*represented in journalism—there is a lack of stories about Indigenous people and their communities—but they have also been *mis*represented. Many journalists—ostensibly in the pursuit of truth—have presented Indigenous characters as nothing more than pitiful, penniless, and powerless.

Over and over again, on the front pages of our newspapers and leading our news broadcasts, the stories of Indigenous peoples are presented through a narrow lens by journalists who fail to identify or appreciate the complexities of Indigenous culture, history, or politics. First Nations in the news are often cast only as burdens upon Canadian taxpayers, or impediments to Canadian progress.

For me, *The Shoe Boy* was about getting beyond news coverage that, in Canada, so often rehashes those tired victim and warrior narratives. Let me briefly use my experience writing *The Shoe Boy* to illustrate some important tenets of Indigenous literary journalism, and perhaps you'll see how they dovetail with some key principles of literary journalism.

Pablo Calvi has described concerns about journalists being "extractive" in gathering their information from Indigenous peoples.[91] The way I describe it to students is that journalists have often been not so much storytellers as story-*takers*.

As an Indigenous journalist, I could not be a story-taker when it came

to *The Shoe Boy.* The book is about a real family, a Cree family, who are very much still alive. Robbie Matthew, Sr., is still very much a well-respected elder in the Cree community. And so, unlike my practice with my CBC work, I shared the text with him and his family and asked for their blessing to publish it. That was important—to be part of the circle, to share the story, to gain consent.

In the work of Indigenous writers, we see Indigenous peoples presented not as a homogenous group but heterogeneous, with as many differences as similarities. As an Ojibway writing about the Cree community in *The Shoe Boy*, it was important for me to convey the diversity amongst Indigenous peoples. I ventured to the trap line in James Bay to learn more about my own Indigenous heritage, but not being able to communicate in the Cree language of my hosts, I was a fish out of water. The irony of being the Other during this cultural journey wasn't lost on me, even as a teenager.

Another aspect of literary journalism as practiced by Indigenous writers is an exploration of duality. In my own work I see splits between urban and rural, contemporary and traditional life, Indigenous spirituality and Christianity. These splits aren't problematic; they're part of Indigenous life. Where non-Indigenous writers may interpret such divisions as antagonistic, Indigenous writers are more apt to explore Indigeneity as a broad spectrum of experiences.

Finally, when we begin to examine Indigenous literary journalism, more humor shows up in the representation of Indigenous people. There's a scene in *The Shoe Boy* where I receive some letters from my girlfriend, who lived far away, near the city of Toronto. I've been in the bush for four months—I've had no contact with her. Robbie looks over at me and smells the scented Coco Chanel that she has dabbed all over the letter—which was quite exciting to a seventeen-year-old—and he says, "Those videos—all the kids wanna do it doggie-style now." For the record, this is not how a traditional elder typically talks—but that sense of humor is common among Indigenous people.

If I were to apply an analytical lens to the few examples of Indigenous voice in Canadian literary journalism, I would use *debwewin*, an Anishinaabe word that roughly translates to "truth." Truth is one of the Seven Grandfather Teachings, a set of principles my people believe help ensure the survival of our communities by teaching us the important ways to live as a human being.[92] I don't speak Anishinaabe myself, although I am learning. When I think about *debwewin* I look to the writings of Basil Johnston, a famous Anishinaabe writer, storyteller, language teacher, and scholar. In addition to publishing sixteen books, from novels to memoirs, Johnston was a foremost authority on Anishinaabemowin (the Ojibway language), who produced numerous lan-

guage resources, teaching guides, thesauruses, and dictionaries. Johnston said that when you literally translate the word *debwewin,* it means that you "speak from the heart" and, he said, "a speaker casts his words and his voice only as far as his vocabulary and his perception will enable him."[93]

The elders often say, "Don't talk too much." That's a common teaching among our people. The point is not to keep children quiet, but to talk about things that you know. That's what Johnston is getting at when it comes to *debwewin*. That's at the heart of David Treuer's work as well, in his first work of full-length nonfiction, *Rez Life*.[94] Treuer turned his eye for detail as a novelist upon his own people, the Ojibwe of northern Minnesota, to produce a work that combines history, journalism, and memoir. In examining his own reservation, Treuer in *Rez Life* delivers representations of the Ojibwe as a complex and humorous people who defy stereotypes.

When we look at truth and literary journalism and the whole narrative framework, *debwewin* means there is no absolute truth. The best a speaker can achieve, and a listener can experience, Johnston tells us, is a very high degree of accuracy.[95]

I believe we will see more Indigenous literary journalism in the future, as Indigenous writers and journalists continue to grow and flourish. And, if we begin to apply *debwewin* as an analytical lens to Indigenous literary journalism, then we're heading for a very exciting place indeed.

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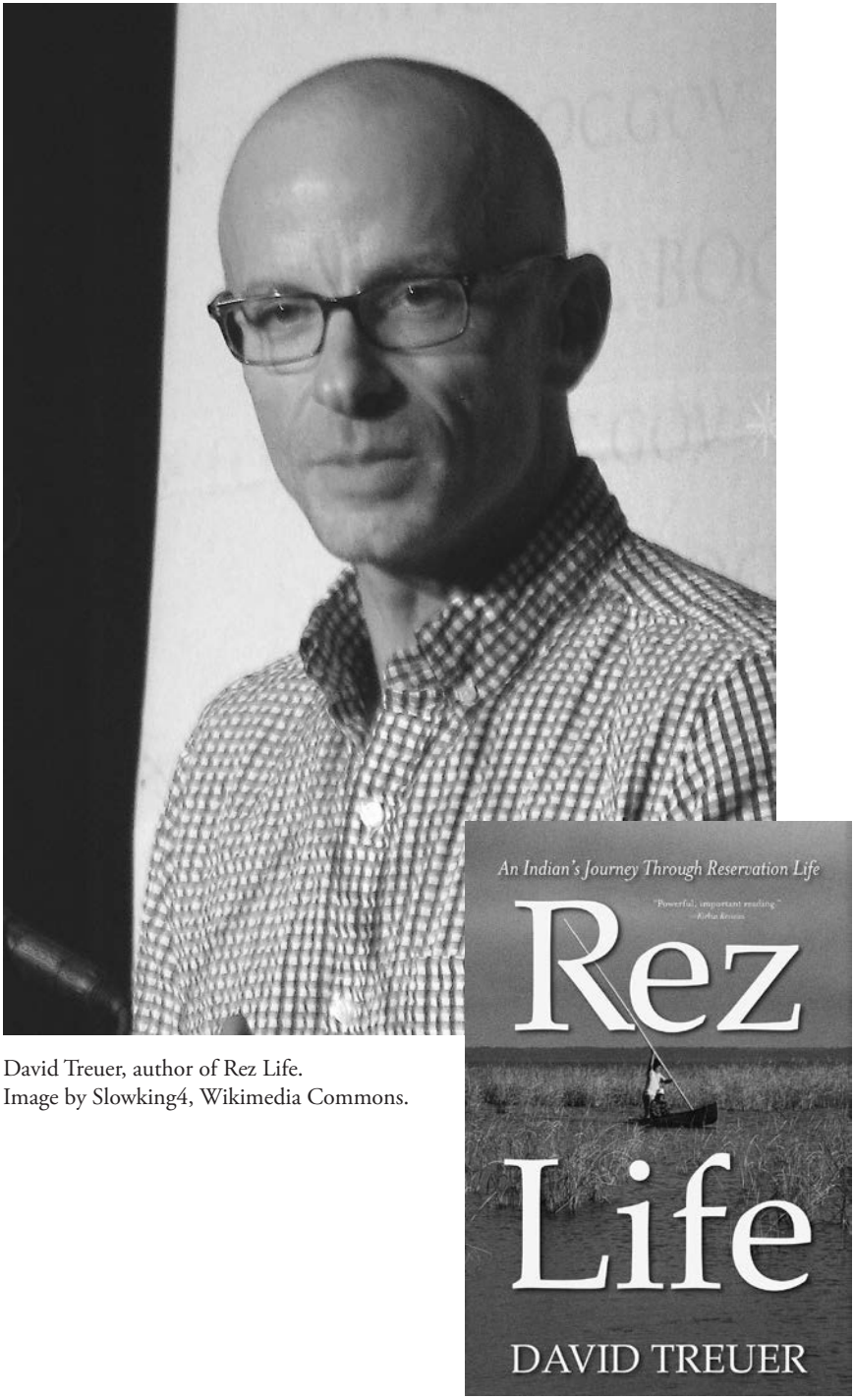

David Treuer, author of Rez Life.
Image by Slowking4, Wikimedia Commons.

Writing from the (Indigenous) Edge: Journeys into the Native American Experience

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Abstract: Coward examines two book-length reports on Native American life in the United States. *The Good Red Road* (1987) by Kenneth Lincoln and Al Slagle explores Lakota life on the northern plains. David Treuer's *Rez Life* (2012) investigates the complicated lives of Ojibwe and other reservation Indians. Both books offer stories of Native American struggle and redemption.

Keywords: Indigenous literary journalism – Native American culture – Indian reservation life – Kenneth Lincoln – David Treuer

This essay examines two books about Native American life in the United States. The first book, *The Good Red Road*, published in 1987, was a collaboration between University of California Los Angeles professor Kenneth Lincoln and his Cherokee graduate student, Al Slagle.[96] The second book, *Rez Life*, by the Ojibwe novelist David Treuer, was published in 2012, twenty-five years later.[97] Both books are presented as journeys into Indian Country in the United States; both are long-form, nonfictional efforts to document and explain Native Americans and Native American culture to non-Native readers. In the following paragraphs, the two books are described and critiqued in an effort to understand how these writers investigated and made sense of Native people and Native culture at these two points in time.

The inquiry was guided by several research questions. How did these writers approach Native Americans and Native American life? How did they portray Native Americans? What stories did they emphasize or ignore? Finally, how successfully did these writers make sense of the Native American people and life? One way or another, these questions reflect four centuries of fraught relations between Native Americans and Euro-Americans in the United States. To put it more plainly, non-Native Americans have been mostly wrong about Native Americans and Native American lives since the English settlement of Jamestown in 1607. From then to now, Euro-American ideas about Native Americans have been shaped by racial myths and misinformation, most of which have been produced and perpetuated by media and popular culture. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ideas about Indians were shaped by newspaper stories and illustrations, captivity narratives, dime novels, popular literature and poetry, art and advertising, and Wild West shows.[98] In the twentieth century, Indian stories were dominated by romantic, action-packed Hollywood westerns, a genre that later migrated to television.[99] These stories and images helped make the armed and dangerous Sioux warrior—his feather headdress blowing in the prairie wind—the most popular Indian of them all. These distorted stories also explain the continuing need for the kinds of thoughtfully produced examinations of Indian life presented in *The Good Red Road* and *Rez Life*: in-depth reports that emphasize the Indian voice in the centuries-long debate over the place of Indians in the United States.

Field Studies, Literary Voice, and Narrative

The Good Red Road grew out of an "on-the-road seminar" that Kenneth Lincoln taught on the northern plains where he grew up.[100] More formally, Lincoln describes his journey as "autobiographical ethnography,"[101] a fusion of "interdisciplinary scholarship, field studies, literary voice and narrative structure in a text addressed to specialists and general readers alike."[102]

In fact, Lincoln's *Red Road* journey was an extended trip, starting with the original on-the-road class in 1975 and continuing with Slagle through five more years. The final text weaves together all of these trips into one journey and a single narrative voice, a literary construction that simplifies the story but alters the time line of these experiences and sacrifices some of the story's literal accuracy.[103]

For Lincoln, an English professor who specialized in Native American studies, the class was a way for him to reconnect with his Nebraska roots and introduce his students and readers to the Native people and places of the plains. Although Lincoln had a long-standing connection with a Lakota family in his Nebraska hometown,[104] he was well aware of his outsider status among the Native people. This was one reason he collaborated with Al Slagle, a Cherokee graduate student who brought a Native identity to the project.[105]

The result of Lincoln's traveling classroom is a highly personal narrative into the lives of Lincoln and his students, including personality conflicts within the group and Lincoln's confession of an affair with one of the women in the class. More to the point, *The Good Red Road* offers detailed descriptions of the group's encounters with the Native people of Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and other reservations. The strength of this method is immersion, which allows the authors to develop a level of intimacy with their subjects. Lincoln, Slagle, and the other students travel extensively and spend time with a variety of Indians in a variety of settings, observing, listening, asking questions, trying to understand the people, places, and cultural traditions they encounter.

For example, Lincoln introduces readers to Mark Monroe, his Lakota "brother" in Alliance, Nebraska. Monroe runs a community Indian Center in Alliance, where he deals with alcoholism, housing, unemployment, hunger, and health care, as well as local racism. Indians in Alliance, Lincoln discovers, have struggled for years to live as Indians in the white world. Lulu Lone Wolf tells Lincoln, "We lived twenty-two years in LA. . . . It took me a long time to get over feelin' Indian in a bad way, y' know? When I came back here, then I got to go the opposite way, be a dirty Indian again."[106]

Later, Lincoln and his students spend time in the home of a Lakota elder named Luther Clearwater and his family, a visit that reveals a generational dispute about traditional Lakota ways, including the powers of a sacred pipe.[107] The students also meet with Benjamin Crow, director of a Rosebud alcohol rehabilitation center and himself a recovering alcoholic. Crow described alcoholism on the reservation in stark terms. "Probably ninety percent of all deaths here are alcohol-related," Crow tells the class.[108]

At another point, Lincoln is invited to participate in a sweat lodge ceremony, an invitation that causes him to reflect on his role as a scholar and as

an outsider: "I come as they asked me, a white man, asking for brotherhood. I come with my own pipe for blessing and instruction. . . ."[109] As the ceremony continues, Lincoln shifts to an insider perspective, becoming a spiritual participant alongside his Lakota brothers. Lincoln prays, "May we cross the desert between us and find the courage to heal ourselves. I ask that we help bring this land, the body of our people, back to life."[110] Lincoln is deeply moved by the experience. "I seemed to drop down beneath thought, to let my mind focus on nothing, interrupted by the blend of prayer and play, of communal support and the spirits' abandon," he writes.[111] "The people prayed with me, I sang with them; we were in accord under this dark Dakota night."[112]

Lincoln's achievement in this scene is based on physical access—his invitation to participate—as well as his deeply felt spiritual connection that allows him to shift from outsider to near-insider. That is, Lincoln is able to shed his detached, academic self in favor of a more open and responsive presence within the ceremony. This shift is useful for his readers, providing them with a first-person account of a Lakota spiritual experience usually closed to non-Indians. This and similar situations in the book render Lakota life in evocative and dynamic ways, revealing its spiritual beauty as well as its fragility.

To their credit, Lincoln and Slagle are sensitive to the dangers inherent in their telling of Lakota stories. Their literary method, Lincoln writes, involves "dialogical" anthropology, which "requires letting 'others' speak among themselves and with us in print."[113] This effort gives them a way to "dispel [Indian] stereotypes, often the cultural baggage of out-dated or faulty ethnography."[114] Lincoln and Slagle also worked to protect cultural and tribal knowledge, and insist that their narrative "invades no tribe's secrecy nor any person's privacy."[115] This is possible, they note, because they published with the permission of their sources and allowed a variety of readers to review the manuscript before publication.[116] All of these efforts lead to a nuanced and deeply felt portrait of Native life on the northern plains, warts and all. In *The Good Red Road*, Lincoln and Slagle open a pathway into Native American life in the last quarter of the twentieth century that is by turns insightful, troubling, and ultimately hopeful.

The Personal Grounded in Reporting

Like *The Good Red Road*, David Treuer's *Rez Life* is a highly personal narrative, a memoir grounded in Native history and extensive on-the-rez reporting. Starting with his friends and family around Leech Lake, the Minnesota reservation where he grew up, Treuer sets out to dispel stereotypes, explain the love/hate relationship many Indians have with reservations, and investigate the convoluted history and disastrous consequences of federal

Indian policies. "Most often rez life is associated with tragedy," he writes. "We are thought of in terms of what we have lost or what we have survived."[117] That's a mistake Treuer intends to correct. "[W]hat one finds on reservations is more than scars, tears, blood, and noble sentiment. There is beauty in Indian life, as well as meaning. . . . We love our reservations."[118]

Writing about contemporary Ojibwe life as an Ojibwe, Treuer qualifies as an insider, an Indian who knows rez life because he grew up there. But Treuer is also an outsider of sorts. His parents were not typical on the rez—his father was an Austrian immigrant (and Holocaust survivor); his mother, a Leech Lake Ojibwe with a prestigious law degree. Treuer himself was well educated, first at Princeton, where he studied anthropology and creative writing (and worked on a senior thesis with Nobel Prize–winning author Toni Morrison), and later at the University of Michigan, where he earned a Ph.D. in anthropology.[119] Treuer's insider/outsider position allows him to locate and tell intimate stories of the Ojibwe and other reservations using local knowledge as well as his deep reservoir of legal, political, and anthropological information. Moreover, Treuer uses his novelist's gift for storytelling to make *Rez Life* a compelling read.

Treuer takes an unsentimental approach to reservation life. One of the book's opening scenes, for instance, recounts his grandfather's suicide. A veteran of D-Day and the Battle of the Bulge, Eugene Seelye was "a hard-ass," as Treuer puts it.[120] Treuer continues: "He was not one of those sweet, somewhat bashful elderly Indians you see at powwows . . . , willing to talk and tell dirty jokes; not the kind of traditional elder that a lot of younger people seek out for approval and advice. . . ."[121] More grimly, Treuer describes his sudden, intense anger at the blood-stained bedroom carpet he finds himself cleaning after his grandfather's suicide. "That carpet," he writes, "that cheap cheap carpet, that carpet the same color as the reservation is colored on some maps of northern Minnesota. And just as torn, dusty, and damaged. Just as durable. Just as inadequate."[122]

Treuer is equally unsentimental about the challenges of growing up on the rez. He writes, for instance, about the chaotic life of Jeffery Weise, the teenager who killed his own grandfather and eight others before killing himself on the Red Lake Reservation in 2005. Treuer reports that Weise's father committed suicide when Weise was a child.[123] "Two years later his mother, Joanne Weise, went out drinking, crashed her car into a tree, and suffered massive brain damage," Treuer notes.[124] Neglected and depressed, Weise fell apart. Treuer quotes one of Weise's Internet postings: "I'm living every mans [*sic*] nightmare and that single fact alone is kicking my ass. . . . This place never changes, it never will."[125]

Treuer follows this story with a more uplifting report about Dustin Burnette, a Leech Lake Indian whose life was equally troubled. "Yeah, I got all the bad stuff about being Indian and none of the good. I got the bad teeth and the instability and the alcoholism and all that," Burnette says.[126] Burnette's mother died of an aneurysm when he was sixteen; he was raised by his grandmother.[127] He was smart, though he didn't care for school. One day a new Indian counselor showed up and confronted Burnette, prodding him to get serious and eventually helping land him a full-ride college scholarship.[128] In 2009, Burnette, a college graduate, returned to Leech Lake to teach the Ojibwe language in a tribally run immersion school. "I found a family, at ceremonies, in the language," Burnette tells Treuer. "I've got a purpose, people who rely on me. It feels good, man. It feels great."[129]

Beyond individual stories, Treuer critiques federal Indian policies, explaining long-running disputes over fishing rights, tribal membership, law enforcement and tribal courts, boarding schools, gaming and more. One of the most misunderstood topics, he writes, is Indian sovereignty, the right of tribes to control their own territory and affairs. Although the government paid lip service to tribal sovereignty and signed hundreds of treaties with Indian nations, most tribes lost much—if not all—of their traditional lands.[130] In addition, federal Indian agents regularly worked against the interests of the Indians they were pledged to protect. "Fraud, cronyism, nepotism, double-dealing, skimming, and outright murder were common," Treuer concludes.[131]

Treuer's solution to the problems facing Indians today is something he calls the "new traditionalism,"[132] an idea that combines the old ways of Ojibwe life—ricing, tapping maple trees, fishing, hunting, speaking Ojibwe—with the contemporary world of technology and popular culture. Revival of the tribal language is at the center of this idea. For Treuer, a language activist, "the language is the key to everything else—identity, life and lifestyle, home and homeland."[133] The new traditionalism, Treuer explains, embraces and reorients the old ways so that Indians can live fully and well in the twenty-first century. With fluency in the language, Treuer argues, the Ojibwe can choose "to live their modern lives, with all those modern contradictions, in the Ojibwe language—to choose Ojibwe over English, whether for ceremony or for karaoke."[134]

Much like Lincoln and Slagle, Treuer immerses himself in reservation life and builds his story around a variety of Ojibwe and other reservation sources. This method allows *Rez Life* to highlight a variety of powerful Native voices from "ordinary" Indians rarely heard in contemporary American nonfiction, a literary achievement in itself. Unlike Lincoln and Slagle, however, Treuer uses no pseudonyms or hidden identities.[135] He writes that he obtained permis-

sion from all of his sources and quoted every person exactly as recorded, and not quoting anyone from memory. Treuer also avoids what he calls the "loose historicism" of assigning feelings to his sources,[136] a practice he believes would distort the truth of his narrative.

Treuer's principal goal in *Rez Life* is to report the bitter but largely forgotten truth about Indians and reservation life to non-Indian readers and to make the case for the importance of American Indian culture in the twenty-first century. "To understand American Indians is to understand America,"[137] he proclaims. Indians, after all, were the first Americans and they have something to contribute to the larger American story. But first, Treuer makes clear, they must find a way to thrive in a massive, unrelenting, technologically advanced and homogenous consumer society that easily dominates Native culture and language.

Treuer, for one, is guardedly optimistic. He concludes his book with a scene on a reservation lake in Minnesota: "While spearing walleye on Round Lake that April I felt this [Native] way of life and the language that goes with it felt suddenly, almost painfully, too beautiful to lose. . . . And I thought then, with a growing confidence that I don't always have: we might just make it."[138]

Conclusions

It is almost impossible to overstate the problem of the Indian in the American popular imagination, where knowledge about Native American life—that is, accurate historical and cultural information—has been largely diminished or neglected in favor of stereotypes and clichés produced and perpetuated by the mass media and popular entertainment. Taken together, *The Good Red Road* and *Rez Life* provide a powerful response to this misinformation. Both books offer valuable insights into modern Native American life and both books give Native speakers a voice. The books differ in emphasis and tone, but they both succeed in revealing the complicated realities of Native American life. Lincoln and Slagle are more autobiographical and more romantic; they focus more on Native spiritual life. Treuer is more attuned to Indian-white relations, reservation history, and the practical social, cultural, economic, and racial issues of reservation life. Despite these differences and the twenty-five-year gap between these books, both narratives are good-faith efforts to explore and explain American Indian life honestly and in greater depth than routine daily journalism can provide.

Although neither book was written by a journalist and neither is billed as literary journalism, both books employ some of the key practices of literary journalism, including subjectivity, immersion, direct observation, and exten-

sive interviewing. As previously noted, Lincoln, Slagle, and Treuer immerse themselves in Native life, spending many months among Native people, gaining experience in Indian country by observing, interviewing, and listening. In the case of Lincoln and Slagle, these methods allow them access to Lakota ceremonies, where they participate alongside their Lakota sources in search of spiritual deliverance. Lincoln captures the deeply human spirit of a Native ceremony: "People were coming together: to pray, to cry, to sing, to think, not to think, to lose themselves to the spirits of one another and the petitioned powers of a nurturing land, old family spirits, the comforting darkness."[139]

For Treuer, writing about the rez is an intensely personal experience involving his own reservation upbringing as well as the lives of his Ojibwe family and friends. Treuer also conducts more formal research into Native American history and the history of the federal reservation system. As an Ojibwe writer, Treuer also advocates for such issues as tribal sovereignty and the revival of Native languages. Finally, Treuer places his Native American story in a national context: "Indian reservations, and those of us who live on them, are as American as apple pie, baseball, and muscle cars. Unlike apple pie, however, Indians contributed to the birth of America itself."[140]

In all these ways, *The Good Red Road* and *Rez Life* apply the tools of literary journalism to render Native American life in a personal, culturally nuanced, and deeply observed narrative. As literary journalism, these books live up to—and perhaps exceed—the standard articulated by Richard Lance Keeble that literary journalism "engages readers imaginatively in the aesthetics of experience and the search for understanding, meaning, and insight."[141]

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Image from the documentary, *The Oka Legacy* (2017). Reproduced by permission of Rezolution Pictures.

Indigenous Literary Journalism, Saturation Reporting, and the Aesthetics of Experience

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Abstract: This essay seeks to examine Indigenous literary journalism's potential to make the reader feel the words written on the page. Tom Wolfe's method of saturation reporting, John Hartsock's conception of the aesthetics of experience, and David Beers's formulation for long-form nonfiction writing, the personal reported essay, are used to elucidate this idea, focusing on two award-winning features by Mohawk journalist Dan David.

Keywords: Indigenous – Mohawk – Oka – literary journalism – personal journalism – Canada

This essay discusses the real possibility of an Indigenous literary journalism by examining the work of Mohawk journalist Dan David, specifically two magazine features (and cover stories) he wrote. Taken chronologically, the first, "Anarchy at Kanehsatake," was published in *This Magazine* in 1996.[142] It won a Canadian National Magazine Award in the category of Reporting.[143] The second, much lengthier story, "All My Relations," was published the year following, also in *This Magazine*.[144] It, too, won a Canadian National Magazine Award in the category of Public Issues: Social Affairs (as well, it received an Honorable Mention in the category of Personal Journalism).[145]

This Magazine,[146] the periodical for which David wrote, was launched by a group of Toronto school activists thirty years before, in 1966, as *This Magazine Is about Schools*. By the early 1970s the publication evolved into a left-wing general interest magazine with strong ties to unions and union culture. By the 1990s, while still supporting unions, its focus on them waned (although, ever loyal, unions still placed advertising in the magazine). Identity politics began to dominate the concerns of the left—especially the next generation of activists. Its most famous editor, Naomi Klein, took over the publication at age twenty-three, in 1993.[147] At this juncture her resume would have included editor-in-chief of the *Varsity*, the University of Toronto student newspaper, and a brief stint reporting for the *Globe and Mail*. She was not yet an international activist brand and author of a succession of influential books, including *No Logo* (1999), *The Shock Doctrine* (2007), and *This Changes Everything* (2014). Other luminaires of Canadian culture who have contributed to the magazine over the years include poet/novelist Michael Ondaatje, of *In the Skin of a Lion* (1987) and *The English Patient* (1992) fame, and the near incomparable Margaret Atwood, who lately has gained, or regained, international acclaim for the television adaptation of her dystopian novel *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), and whose name continues to sit among the Editors at Large on the *This* masthead. So, judging by history, David's stories were published in a small but influential Canadian magazine that recently observed its half-century birthday.[148]

Perhaps we might see this essay as a case study of a particular kind of literary journalism, the pointedly political kind, and so here is the story of David's two (and only two, actually, at least so far) major magazine features.

Growing Up Kanienke:haka

David was (and is) primarily a broadcast journalist. He is Kanienke:haka, or Mohawk, and was born in the United States, in Syracuse, New York. He moved with his family to what was then known as Oka Reserve (now

Kanehsatake) when he was four years old, in 1956. His Mohawk mother, Thelma, was born on the Canadian side of the border in Kanehsatake, a Mohawk territory in southern Quebec, south of Montreal. (Kanehsatake is called a territory because it is not legally a reserve. It's on the *lac des Deux Montagnes*.) His Mohawk father, Walter David, Sr., was born on the Canadian side as well, in Akwesasne, which straddles both U.S. and Canadian territory. (Already we can glimpse a stark difference in the way Mohawks demarcate territory from the French in Quebec, the English in Ontario, and the U.S. in New York State.)[149]

The first article came about when David met *This Magazine*'s then-editor Clive Thompson—whose name some may recognize as a major technology feature writer based in New York—for coffee. David told Thompson about a story he had to get out of his system, a story about his home, Kanehsatake. Thompson listened and then said, "Okay, send me a draft." David never expected the draft to be a cover story.[150]

Mohawk society is matriarchal, so what vexed David and a lot of people was that it was being run, or overrun, in a decidedly anti-democratic manner by Chief Jerry Peltier, a self-styled mayor for life, and his band of "critters," the nickname for his goon squad, who were terrorizing the community, the women, the children, getting kids hooked on dope, filming teen girls having sex with critters and then selling the results, firing warning shots at any of the women who were trying to talk to the English police, the French police, the provincial government, the federal government—all to no avail. No one would help the women:

> My sister has a friend named Wanda Gabriel. She is one of the women who has signed an affidavit against the council, and both she and her sister Cindy have also been targeted. Cindy lives down on "the avenues," along the shores of the Ottawa River, near the school. The "critters" pulled up late one night and started shooting at her house. She called the SQ (Sûreté du Quebec, the Quebec provincial police) liaison officer who is responsible for crimes in the territory.
>
> "The woman [who answered the call] could hear the gunfire over the telephone," says Wanda, with a roll of her eyes. "The SQ told my sister the liaison officer wasn't there: 'Could my sister call back on Monday?' "[151]

Imagine the university being run by a despot with gun-toting brown shirts driving around terrorizing everyone, firing shots through schoolroom windows—the school rooms of anyone brave enough to try to make the area inside the campus perimeter a sanctuary for freedom of speech and movement for everyone. Or the Hell's Angels, say, setting up shop in the town hall

and riding roughshod over the locals.

"Anarchy at Kanehsatake" is an angry, potent feature. David gets at the frustration inside this world by seeing it through his older sister Linda Cree's eyes, by looking at her calendar on the wall, looking at the itemization of police intrusions, of critters' warnings, of television helicopters hovering low over Mohawk land scaring children, a station from Montreal trying to capture footage of suspected marijuana fields on video for the six o'clock news:

> [You] may remember Kanehsatake as a Mohawk community outside Montreal and the site of the 78–day armed stand-off known as the "Oka Crisis" of 1990. . . . [T]hen again, you may have heard about Kanehsatake in the headlines this summer, after the media exposed the existence of huge marijuana plantations on the territory.
>
> My sister has seen all this and more, marking it down on the calendars hanging on her kitchen wall. . . . Hasty scribblings of her children's hockey practices . . . are intermingled with death threats.
>
> Names, dates, places. . . . Many of her notes spill over into the margins and run down the edges of the page. "You should see the other side," Linda says, flipping to the previous month. "Look at that."
>
> *September 22: 3:10 p.m. — Blue/white helicopter hovering over sweat lodges, gardens — talking to Pam at the time — left 3:23.*[152]

Life Changing Events at Kanehsatake

David wrote "Anarchy at Kanehsatake" to get the bile out of his system. Then Don Obe, a longtime magazine editor who at the time was a professor of journalism at Ryerson University in Toronto, talked to David about writing another piece. At the time David was in the second year of a three-year stint teaching a journalism course on diversity at the school. Obe, in addition to his duties at Ryerson, was also a senior editor at the literary journalism program at the Banff Centre, Banff, Alberta, located inside Banff National Park. Obe told him, Dan, listen, why don't you come to our writing program—you should be able to write a story on anything you want.[153] Obe offered David the chance to go really long, 10,000 words long, affording him a precious month of not thinking about anything except working through what had happened behind the barricades several years previous, when David went home to Kanehsatake after an armed standoff between police and Mohawks began. David went behind the barricades as a journalist—he wanted to get the story from the inside, and he had the sort of access many others did not, that is, to feel the anger, confusion, and fear from both sides in the dispute—but still, to have such a personal stake in the matter, as these were

his people, including family members, who were under attack.

Obe's father George was also a Mohawk, from Oka,[154] so Obe may have implicitly understood a bit of what David had gone through behind the barricades during the seventy-eight–day, armed standoff between the Canadian government and the Mohawk Nation in the summer of 1990. And the writing program at Banff, at the time and to this day, emphasizes the journalist's personal stake in the story. In other words, it is possible that Obe was asking David to reach deeper inside his psyche than he had ever done before in order to expunge the true toxicity of the story.

Relations between the government and the Mohawk Nation have never been peachy, but there was a trigger to the standoff. The mayor of the town of Oka wanted to raze the forest above the town site, called "the Pines," and bulldoze the graveyard, the Mohawk graveyard, to extend a whites-only golf course from a nine- to an eighteen-hole layout. If one were in a mood to empathize, one might venture to say that the Mohawks had a point when they put the barricades up. David drove for three hours from Maniwaki, a reserve north of Ottawa, where he was living at the time, to Kanehsatake to be with his family, his people. He writes:

> Once in the Pines, I find people from all over the territory, all ages, all families, all factions, walking around in elation, confusion and fear. Most people are caught up in the euphoria of the moment; they've survived the police raid and driven the attackers off their land. Others just wander around, aimless and dazed. A few prepare themselves in personal ways to kill or to die. . . .[155]

There was a firefight between Mohawk Warriors and SQ. It lasted thirty seconds. One police officer died. The forces of government rolled in. The Mohawks put up their barricade, expecting something, maybe retaliation.

The second police attack never really materialized. The cops didn't swarm into Mohawk territory but, as David reports, they disrupted any Mohawk wanting to leave:

> The police pull a young couple from their car, force them to strip at gunpoint in the middle of the road in front of dozens of people. Little kids in the backseats of cars cry while cops hiding behind sandbags shout insults and aim assault rifles at their parents. The police tear groceries out of people's arms and throw them into the ditch. I won't pick up a gun. I become a food smuggler instead.[156]

In terms of the Truth and Reconciliation Report (TRC) and its recommendations,[157] which were published in 2015, David said what happened in 1990 cast a long shadow over reconciliation and the commission's many worthy Calls to Action. The next generation, which suffered the trauma of

witnessing the brutalizing of their parents from the back seats of cars, would grow up wanting to have nothing to do with white authorities, nothing to do with politics, nothing to do with reconciliation.[158] This makes reconciliation difficult, for instance, with something like Call to Action 43, which states, "We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to fully adopt and implement the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* as the framework for reconciliation."[159]

As noted, David arrives at the standoff as a journalist, intending not to choose sides, but these were his people under attack. And so, once he crossed into Mohawk territory, perhaps in retrospect inevitably, there is a turn in the storytelling: David writes, "I become a food smuggler instead."[160] He admits he is not an objective journalist in this situation, and maybe cannot be one, but this revised approach sounds like one a literary journalist might take. Recall John Hartsock's aesthetics of experience[161]: David reexamines his experience and turns it into an aesthetic exercise. It may also be therapy for David to be in Banff, in one of the writing cabins, thinking about and reliving exactly how it goes down, this latest skirmish in the ongoing discord between two civilizations.

When David does make the turn, he leapfrogs over the hard-news, objective, just-the-facts kind of reporting onto new terrain, and it is exhilarating for him:

> It may sound strange, but I feel I've found home for the first time in a long while. I left years before to get away from people grown used to silent resignation. I've returned to find people filled with pride, hope and even dignity. Inside the barricades, people who haven't spoken to each other in decades over long-forgotten arguments, hold hands and stand together in one great circle under the Pines. . . . There is such peace behind those barricades. It's easy sometimes to forget the stone-throwing mobs outside. . . . I listen under those trees while my soul dances to the sound of Mohawk, Mi'qmaaq or Kwakiutl voices weaving themselves into the beat of a drum. . . . My summer is like that: periods of tremendous peace and hope punctuated by flashes of anger, fear and deep despair.[162]

This turn in David's journalistic approach also recalls David Beers's concept of the "personal reported essay."[163] David examines his family history. He examines the after-effects of being personally involved with people behind the barricades, and of dealing with sleep-deprived, bitter, armed people on both sides of the conflict. And he reports, reports, reports—after all, it is his boots that are on the ground doing the reporting, and his years of experience ensure that there is a no dereliction of duty in this regard.

Finally, David's choice to go behind the barricades and be with not only his family members but also the Mohawk warriors recalls Tom Wolfe's con-

cept of saturation reporting from inside a subculture.[164] David used his sister's testimony as an entrée into the nightmare rule that had engulfed Kanehsatake to write his "Anarchy" story, and his reporting skills to ferret out the rest of information. For "All My Relations," he himself became the agent inside the subculture, showing us a world we might not have otherwise ever known, at least in such personal terms. The eye-opening part of the story is the fact that, despite the perception from the outside that David must have been in the tank for the Mohawks—David couldn't find work with CBC after he left Kanehsatake, even though he had the experience and the knowledge—inside the barricades he had to wrestle with the posturing and double dealing he knew only too well from past reporting experience:

> I know there's no turning back once I cross that imaginary line at the roadblock. I worry about what the Warriors will do when they see me behind the barricades. I know them from the civil war between Warriors and anti-Warriors at Akwesasne, near Cornwall, the summer before. They know me from the stories I write about the smuggling, the guns and the violence that seem to follow them. Some have threatened me. . . ."[165]

David had already flushed the bile out of his system with "Anarchy at Kanehsatake," so now, in Banff, Obe, Lynn Cunningham, and Barbara Moon were encouraging David and giving him advice on how to make it better,[166] to be more reflective, take a longer look at history, at the history of his family in particular, looking backward, then looking forward. After all, his great-grandfather was one of the souls buried in the Pines. His great-grandfather had stood up to the Canadian government, time and again. His great-grandfather had sailed to England to get an audience with the King Edward VII, wanting action. The situation was urgent. The Seminary of St. Sulpice and the federal department of Indian Affairs were conspiring to take away more Mohawk land:

> For the seminary to have clear title to the land, the Mohawks must go. . . . This suits the department just fine since it has embarked on an inflexible policy of assimilation. In the words of the poet, the bureaucrat, the deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott, the aim is to remove "every vestige of Indianness" from the Indian until there are "no more Indians and no more Indian problem."[167]

David even echoes his great-grandfather's visit to England when he must travel there to receive a Commonwealth Fellowship. Like his forebearer, he finds himself embroiled in another crisis over identity: Is he American, Canadian, Mohawk? David is not about to allow himself to be given the fellowship as an American, and the requisite brinksmanship ensues before he prevails. Indeed, David has a lot to mull over in his story.

Conclusion

Considering the force of these two stories, it is puzzling that David has not written more literary journalism–format features. He told me those were the two stories he had to get out of his system.[168] Once they were published, life took over. He was in South Africa, on and off, 1993–1999, helping to evolve the South African Broadcast Corporation from government mouthpiece to independent public broadcaster. He said that was a lot more satisfying than living through the Oka crisis. Then, back in Canada, he was appointed the first director of news at the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, 1999–2001. Then there was more broadcast journalism, journalism training, and teaching, along with research, writing, and consulting jobs at Indigenous organizations.

Strangely, this past winter, twenty years after "All My Relations," David said he had been thinking of going back to writing at feature length. In a recent e-mail he wrote, "I pulled out a dusty draft or dozen and brushed them off. Then I wondered why we, Indigenous artists and writers, have no (none I could find) shared literary spaces of our own. I've started asking others (Indigenous and non-) 'Why not?' "[169]

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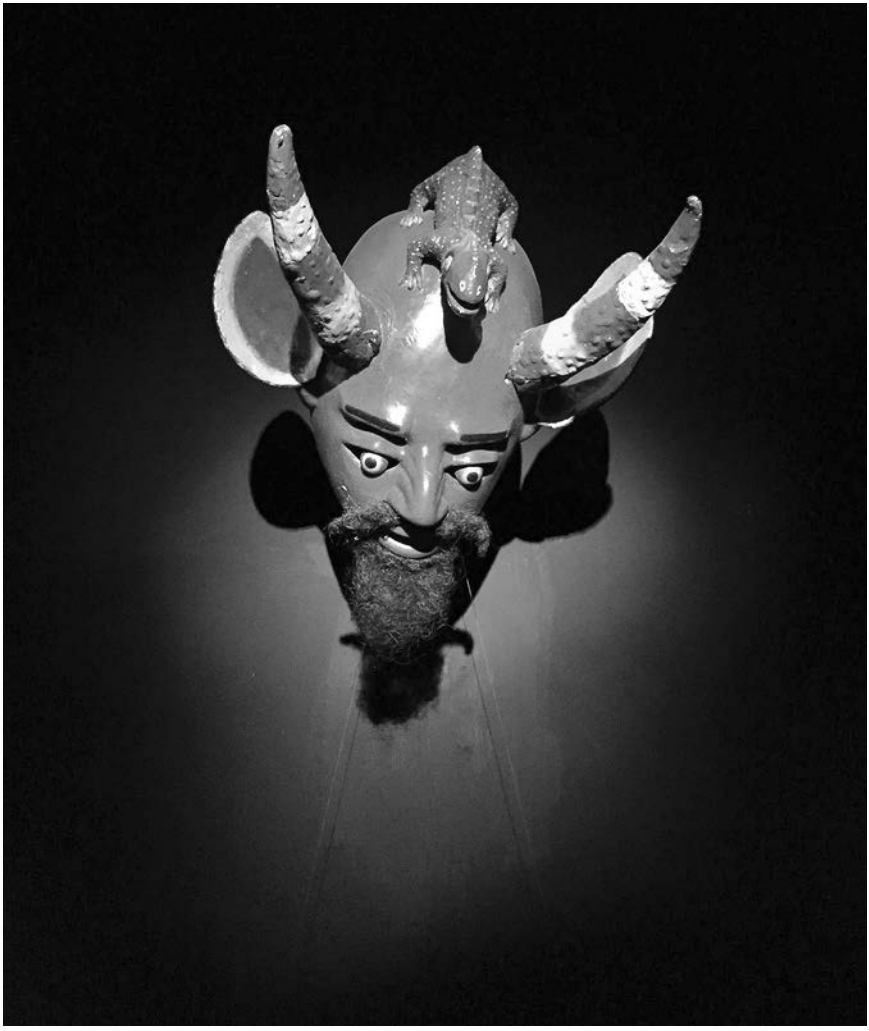

Image of Carnaval mask, City Museum, La Paz, Bolivia (2017)

Reporting on Indigenous Issues: The Extractive Matrix of Journalism vis-à-vis Native Latin Americans

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Abstract: The idea of the Native American Indian was constructed by the chronicles of the conquistadors and rooted in those same colonial narratives. It was then popularized in books for centuries and school manuals, movies, and television shows for decades. Understanding some aspects of the coverage of mining and drilling in the Amazon Basin and, more recently, the coverage of the disappearance of tattoo artist Santiago Maldonado in Patagonia, will serve to unpack aspects connected to the representation of Native Americans in the southern part of the continent in order to propose better alternatives to what is here called a *colonized narrative* approach.

Keywords: Native Latin American – journalism – colonialism – narrative

This article is the product of a panel on Indigenous literary journalism, thus it is imperative that the first idea discussed here be the very notion of *Indigenous*, a highly problematic concept. *Indigenous* and *Indian*, its predecessor, are qualifiers that, as Mexican ethnographer Guillermo Bonfil Batalla has noted, can only be anchored in the idea of colonization:

> The Indian is born when Columbus takes possession of Hispaniola on behalf of the Catholic kings. Before the European discovery, the population of the American continent was formed by an array of different societies, each one with its own identity. . . . There was no such thing as 'Indians' nor any concept that unified the entire population of the continent. . . . In the colonial order, the Indian is the defeated, the colonized. The subsequent consolidation of the colonial regime makes explicit the content of Indigenous as a category into a system.[170]

To the extent that Indigenous, as a signifier, both reinforces the idea of the Native American as a subject who was colonized and defeated, and continues to reduce the Aboriginal peoples to a symbolic position of inferiority, it is safe to assume notions such as *Indigenous issues* will prevent a fair understanding of the topic, and shape the researcher's vision so as to accommodate a preexisting narrative imposed by the violence of domination and colonialism.

But the discussion of the term Indigenous goes far beyond a debate around nomenclature, or the purely symbolic level of language. As Bonfil points out throughout his work,[171] the notions of Indian and Indigenous hide a physical, material dispossession, the deprivation of a land and a culture that the white conquistadors imposed on the natives of America, and which their white progeny perpetuates. This material effect on the world cannot be swiftly swept under the rug through the magic pass of a new signifier.

A third problem with the definition of Indigenous to refer to this area of human tension as an area of scholarly inquiry is that there is no such thing as a homogenous Indigenous identity. There are, on the contrary, thousands of nations, each with a material history, and a symbolic one, with their legends, mores, and uses; but also, and more importantly, a present and a future. As Bolivian ethnographer Sarela Paz put it, in an interview in Cochabamba in 2015, there are no pure Indigenous identities, but "agents" who move across social settings and conform their performance to their changing circumstances.[172]

The idea of the Native American Indian was constructed in the chronicles of the conquistadors and rooted in these same colonial narratives. For centuries the image was then popularized in books, and for decades in school manuals, movies, and television shows. A sketch of this portrayal of the Latin American Aboriginals was distilled by Novaro: The *Indian* of the school man-

uals is a black and white entity, he [the pronoun corresponds with the portrayal] is ragged, lives in a hut, is malnourished and, for all of these reasons, cannot want to be whoever he is.[173]

In a recent piece for *Columbia Journalism Review* about the closure of the Indian Country Today Media Network, Mary Annette Pember evoked the portrayal that the American legacy media offer of the natives in the North: "My colleague Wilda Wahpepah, former metro editor at *The Oregonian*, noted that Indians are often caught in a '3-D paradigm' in the legacy press. Wahpepah—of the Kickapoo and Ho Chunk Nations, and a master of brevity—noted that, if Indians appeared in the newspaper, then they were usually, 'dead, drunk or dancing.' "[174]

But despite the similarities there are clear differences between these portrayals. These narratives circulate through and depend on specific historical and material context. It is in the best interest of reporters to grapple with the particularities of each context, and the duty of long-form writers—those who have extra time, space, and resources—to point out, and show how to avoid, these *topoi*, and to help construe new, fairer, and more accurate representations of Native Americans in the media.[175]

Understanding some aspects of the coverage of mining and drilling in the Amazon Basin and, more recently, the coverage of the disappearance of Santiago Maldonado in Patagonia, will serve to unpack some aspects connected to the representation of Native Americans in the southern part of the continent. We will discuss some of the key mechanisms in the portrayals of Native Americans and will try to propose better alternatives, that is, to what we call a *colonized narrative* approach.

"Beggars Sitting on a Sack of Gold"

In January 2012, Ecuadorean president Rafael Correa repeated a public statement that he had been blasting since 2010. This time, he did so amidst the opening of the Eleventh Oil Round, his government's attempt to expand the country's drilling frontier from the booming North into southern Amazonia.

"We cannot be beggars sitting on a sack of gold," he said, referring to the unexploited oil reserves that lay under the southeastern region of Ecuador's Amazon basin. The previous oil rounds in the country had left a trail of devastation and insurmountable pollution at the core of the Amazon territories, which are mostly occupied by native Ecuadorians. However, Correa's statement asserted that the destruction could be reversed, something that had not occurred in the past fifty years. His full statement read:

> We cannot be beggars sitting on a sack of gold. Let us reject those foolish

> actions [protests] that have no support whatsoever, which do not withstand the minimum analysis. That mining damages nature. . . . All human activity has an effect on nature. If we want zero pollution let's stop driving cars, because cars pollute. What we strive for is the right balance, and repair the environmental damage. Do you know that mining produces less environmental damage than farming? And that ninety-five per cent of environmental damage can be reversed? This I have read into it, I have informed myself, because I did not know about mining, and I tended to believe in what certain fundamentalists said: no to mining because it goes against our ancestral cultures, it affects the Pacha Mama. And I started to look into it, and it is not like that. So, my fellows, we cannot be beggars sitting on a sack of gold.[176]

The first phrase was lifted and reproduced across all media platforms, as a sound bite on radio and television, and as a one-liner by most if not all Ecuadorean newspapers. It even reached *El País* in Spain and the BBC in London. It spread because the underlying idea was already part of a dominant paradigm, easy and catchy. The oil wealth buried under Ecuadorean soil had been hijacked by a group of primitives, believers in the Pacha Mama, the Kichwa name for Mother Earth. Progress, and modernization, encouraged by the Ecuadorean government, were at risk, challenged, and stalled by the primitive beliefs of a group of natives.

Superficially read, there is no literal, overt racism in Correa's statement, nor direct discrimination. But there are two elements that are not reflected in the statement: The first one is that oil and mining in the Amazon basin have caused irreversible damage (or, a kind of damage that has not yet been reverted by the Ecuadorean government or its partners in the oil and mining business). A clear case is the devastation suffered by the Cofán nation in the province of Sucumbíos, where hundreds of open oil pools and formation water still pollute over 1,700 square miles of rivers and groundwater, and have caused an increase in cancer and skin illness for the nation and all the residents in the area.[177] The aversion to oil exploitation doesn't stem simply from an "archaic" belief but from the direct experience of reality.

But Correa's statement spread easily because it was grounded on a preexisting, colonized narrative, easily assimilated by Western readers. In one of its most brutal iterations, this narrative lays on Sarmiento's inaugural *topos*: civilization or barbarism.

> Can we exterminate the Indians? For the savages of America I feel an invincible repugnance and I'm unable to remedy it. These bastards are nothing but filth whom I would hang right away if they reappeared. Lautaro and Caupolicán are nitty Indians, that's the way they are. Impervious to progress, their extermination is providential and useful, sublime and great. They

> must be exterminated without even forgiving the child, who already has the instinctive hatred of the civilized man.[178]

In the dyad, everything originally American is aggregated under the column of barbarism. Imperviousness to progress, primitivism, poverty, and filth were immediately connected to the American Indians. This narrative had enough power to justify and guide the genocide of the American natives in the southern part of the continent, from Venezuela to Argentina.

It could be argued, with Bruner, that "once shared culturally . . . narrative accruals achieve, like Émile Durkheim's collective representation, 'exteriority' and the power of constraint."[179] That exteriority, which can also be described as neutrality, allows for ideas to circulate more or less freely through the mass media as objective assessments, impartial observations that can confirm certain social constructs. In most cases, these constructs are functional and accommodate to the cultures that originated them. It is not surprising, then, that the "lazy Indian" narrative, or the "anti-progress native" one, be functional to the Ecuadorean government on its most extractive, industrial, and "modernizing" phase, while it is brandished amidst Correa's intent to breach the ancestral territories, which are legally protected by the Ecuadorean constitution itself.

Instead of unpacking the narrative, the stories that followed Correa's statement reinforced it, albeit by not questioning it. *El País* replicated the scientific and technical "guarantees" that the government had offered to the Indigenous nations without reminding readers that little or none of the pollution caused by these same oil companies in the north had been cleaned up or reverted.

> The main challenge that the mining plans of Rafael Correa's government will face is the opposition of indigenous and social organizations, such as the National Confederation of Indigenous Organizations of Ecuador (Conaie), which has expressed its preoccupation with large scale mining polluting the water, having a large environmental impact, and having an impact on collective rights. . . . Facing these challenges, vice-minister Auquilla said that the mining projects prepared in Ecuador include environmental studies and studies on water usage, and emphasized that there is "a guarantee from the Ecuadorean state that the technologies used by the companies will be the least polluting ones, and the impact will be corrected in time."[180]

In the two sides of the story (the Conaie's and the government's), the experts and technical knowledge usually weigh on the side of the government and buttress the Western narrative of progress, whereas the native Ecuadorean is mainly a defensive point of view, based on "collective" and ancestral "rights."

Santiago Maldonado and "Surprise" Indians

Far from being all-encompassing, these cases are examples of a narrative that has been reproduced to a point of naturalization. The case of Santiago Maldonado, an Argentine tattoo artist who disappeared under confusing circumstances on August 1, 2017, in Patagonia, has reawakened some of the most ancestral lines of hatred and colonialism.

Maldonado, who was protesting together with the Mapuche natives of Patagonia, was last seen by witnesses being escorted by officers of the Argentine Gendarmería Nacional, a military body of border agents, after a clash between protesters and the force near the lands of fashion tycoon Luciano Benetton. The Mapuche claim that the land Benetton bought from the Argentine government is part of their ancestral territories and subject to international treaties that warrant the Mapuche its possession and use. The case triggered a popular outcry and several articles that directly or indirectly questioned the Mapuche side of the narrative and doubted the sacred nature of the territories. But it was one editorial piece, written by media star journalist Jorge Lanata and published in *Clarin* newspaper,[181] that summarized Sarmiento's *topos* with utmost clarity, perpetuating the colonized narrative that, as Novaro noted in her 2003 essay, makes the Aboriginal nations examples of a barbarism that needs to be outgrown, and considers the ancestral nations as outsiders of history.[182]

While describing the context of the disappearance of Maldonado in his editorial of August 26, 2017, Lanata first questioned the legitimacy of the Indigenous groups:

> The indiscriminate distribution of land has taken decades of irregular procedures, supposed ancestral groups who are no such thing, illegal and violent occupations, political strongmen in disguise, etc. . . . Even Law 23,302 says that "the self-identification of peoples in the complementary census of indigenous populations" has an "open end." The list keeps constantly growing—the law says—as part of the dynamic process of self-identification in which the aboriginal peoples of this country live," as if, according to the needs of every new government, new "surprise" Indians were to appear.[183]

Later in the piece, Lanata equates the protestors with hordes from the seventies who believe that the war is ongoing.[184] The protestors are portrayed in vivid detail as:

> . . . a lovely group of sensitive militants with curly hair who fight to declare Mapucheland as an independent state in order to go back to living in the eighteenth century. Since 2013 there have been seventy-seven attacks perpetrated by RAM, the Ancestral Mapuche Resistance, in Río Negro, Chubut, and Neuquén arson, threats, kidnappings, rustling, destruction of

> machinery, etc. . . . RAM on the Argentine side and CAM, the Araucan-Malleco Coordinator, pursue with armed force a fight to create a Mapuche nation which in Argentina would stretch over the territories south of the Salado and Colorado rivers. The snob middle classes sympathize with the Indians: they imagine them as peaceful ashtray artisans who once a year pray to the Earth. Exploiting that guilt, the North American Indians succeeded in keeping most of the casinos in their hands. Now there are groups who want to go back to the ancestral state. If that happens, will the Mapuche still buy their women as they have always done? Will they keep children of two lineages and be polygamous? Will they have a different legal system? Will they stone adulterous women like they do in Bolivia? Should we respect cannibal cultures by eating the students?[185]

Clearly, Lanata's editorial is an extreme case of palpable racism and an attempt to naturalize several colonized narratives, and it reads almost as a provocation. But the case of Maldonado is captivating because many other news stories, more neutral in their tone, also crystallized the same bias due to historical ignorance or denialism—or economic/material ownership. Ignorance of historical facts, and a soft approach to contextualization allowed for these reactions to freely circulate in the mainstream press (*Clarín* is the largest daily in circulation in Spanish-speaking South America).

Unpacking Colonized Narratives

Identity, as Bonfil points out, is not a one-way avenue. An Indigenous identity cannot be reduced to race, DNA, language, or even culture as a broader, more general indicator. In Bonfil's terms, the Indigenous identity is a result of self-identification and several cultural markers. But even these are much more complex than the simplifying narratives with which the ancestral cultures are associated in the press.

During my coverage of the Sápara of Ecuador,[186] I resorted to a few techniques that helped me deconstruct some of these narratives in order to aim the coverage in the right direction. Most of the work had to do with digging into the long historical context, keeping myself wary of any exoticism, and avoiding what I have called the "extractive matrix" of Western journalism, which has had a direct, material resonance in the lives of the natives.

As Novaro argues,[187] when the Indigenous narratives focus on the "exotic" as opposed to the "norm," that exoticism is contingent on the ignorance of the observer, much more so than on an intrinsically extravagant attribute of the Aboriginals. In that vein, during my reporting I tried to remain aware of the cultural differences, and whenever an event or an approach surprised me, I reflected upon the reasons for my own surprise. These reasons usually had to do more with my background, upbringing, and expectations than with the events themselves.

Understanding the historical, material context of these nations was also instrumental for understanding their plight and their mistrust, while guiding the reporting in more fruitful directions. Coming into Sápara territory, it became clear that the years of exploitation, the decimation of the Sápara population by Western rubber companies in the early twentieth century, their enslavement, and the appropriation of their territory by the Ecuadorean government, had resonated deeply into the community. These events had to be in the background of their stories today. And those stories could only be accessed through human empathy and participation. In the end, the journalistic narratives became part of a negotiation, a dialogue that included the discussion of a certain approach, and the setting—if possible—of a common goal. It was important, as part of that process, to recognize the limits of the journalistic language vis-à-vis its objects: The notion of a "source," for instance, had a deeply instrumental resonance, and wasn't conducive as a framework for this kind of work. Reducing the communication with my informants to a sourcing process would have framed the reporting within the same kind of extractive matrix I was trying to avoid.

It became clear that the best approach to the construction of these narratives was to use the tools of an ethnographer (participant observation, thick descriptions) who is devoted to the development of a testimony or an oral history. In many instances during my reporting, the narrative was built as a collaboration. Sometimes even the notion of authorship (as problematic as this already is) remained diluted. In many ways, this collaboration was a further attempt—albeit imperfect—to avoid replicating the inherently extractive and colonizing matrix that underlies both journalism and certain kinds of Western literatures.

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Notes: Martin, Writing Aboriginality

[1] Walkley Foundation, "The Walkley Awards for Excellence in Journalism"; Walkley Foundation, "History"; Hurst, *The Walkley Awards*. The 1956 Walkley Awards were established a full twenty-three years before the U.S. Pulitzer Prize established its own feature category in 1979. Pulitzer Prizes, "Feature Writing."

[2] Martin, " 'Inscribing Virtues in Australian Literary Journalism'."

[3] This article is based on Martin, "Writing Aboriginality: A Case Study."

[4] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 53–67.

[5] Burton, "The Walkley Review," 20.

[6] Meadows, "A Time for New Voices," 23.

[7] Education Services Australia. "The 1967 Referendum," para. 4. While "it is often stated that the 1967 referendum granted citizenship and the right to vote to Aboriginal people, for the first time. This is not strictly true. In 1962, the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* was amended so that all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people could vote. Unlike the situation for other Australians, voting was not compulsory. The 1967 referendum [. . . made two important changes] to the Australian Constitution. The sections of the Australian Constitution under consideration were:

Section 21: "The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to: . . . (xxvi) The people of any race, *other than the aboriginal people in any state*, for whom it is necessary to make special laws" (italics added).

Section 127: "In reckoning the numbers of people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, *aboriginal natives should not be counted*" (italics added).

The change gave the Commonwealth (rather than the States) power "to make laws for Aboriginal people" and "to make it possible to include Aboriginal people in the census, which in effect made them count as Australian citizens for the first time." (Under Section 127, this was not possible.) The debate centers upon the opposition to a "symbolic" recognition of Indigenous Australians in the constitution in favor of a treaty that is developed in consultation with the many diverse Aboriginal communities.

[8] Recognise, "Support for Change," para. 12.

[9] Liddle, "Constitutional Recognition Survey."

[10] McQuire, "Online Poll Finds Majority of Black Australia Opposed to Recognise Campaign," para. 1.

[11] Latimore, "Jumping the Gate," para. 3.

[12] Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism*, 152; see also Hage, *Alter-Politics*.

[13] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 16.

[14] IALJS-12, "Literary Journalism: From the Center, from the Margins."

[15] Neill, "Our Shame," 1–2.

[16] Mason, "The Girl in Cell 4," 56–61.

[17] Tippet, "Slaying the Monster," 1.

[18] Guilliatt, "The Lost Children," 18–23; Toohey, "Highly Inflammable," 24–28.

[19] Hooper, "The Tall Man."

[20] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 53–67.

[21] See also Meadows, "A Time for New Voices," 23; Attwood, *Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History*; Clark, *Scars in the Landscape*.

[22] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Social and Emotional Wellbeing: Removal from Natural Family"; Australian Human Rights Commission, "Bringing Them Home."

[23] Parliament of Australia, "Australian Citizenship: A Chronology," para. 1. "Australian citizenship was created through the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, and came into effect 26 January 1949. . . . Prior to 1949, Australians could only hold the status of British subjects." After 1949 an Australian citizen was also considered a British subject. The Citizenship Act 1969 changed the status from being British subjects to "having the status of a British subject." This distinction gave primacy to the term "Australian citizen" (para. 86, under sub-heading: "Nationality and Citizenship Act 1966").

[24] Education Services Australia. "The 1967 Referendum," para. 4: "It is often stated that the 1967 referendum granted citizenship and the right to vote to Aboriginal people, for the first time. This is not strictly true. In 1962, the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* was amended so that all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people could vote. Unlike the situation for other Australians, voting was not compulsory."

[25] The University of New South Wales published a guide on the use of Indigenous terminology that caused media controversy for using the word "invasion," not "settlement," to describe European colonization. Radio announcer Kyle Sandilands said the term was "divisive" and Australians should "get over it." Cruikshank, "Threatening History," para. 8; see also Aly, "Why Australia Lies to Itself," para. 17; Kerin, "UNSW Defends Indigenous Guidelines."

[26] RCADIC. *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Report*.

[27] Australian Indigenous Health Infonet. "Mortality"; Australian Indigenous Health Infonet, "Summary of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health, 2016."

[28] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "4704.0: The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples"; Latimore, "Not an Event But a Structure."

[29] Latimore, "Not an Event But a Structure," para. 8.

[30] Australian Bureau of Statistics, "4704.0: The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples"; Australian Human Rights Commission, "Bringing Them Home"; Victorian Health Department, "Violence against Women in Australia: Research Summary."

[31] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight."

[32] Tony Birch as quoted by McLaren, "Approaching Indigenous Characters and Culture," para. 1 (emphasis in the original).

[33] Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority, "ACARA: Development of the Australian Curriculum."

[34] Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs Australia (MCEETYA), "A National Strategy for the Education of Aboriginal and

Torres Strait Islander Peoples 1996–2002."

[35] MCEETYA, "Australian Directions in Indigenous Education 2005–2008."

[36] MCEETYA, "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Action Plan 2010–2014."

[37] ACARA, "Cross Curriculum Priorities: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures," para. 2.

[38] Booth, "Teaching Aboriginal Curriculum Content in Australian High Schools," 139.

[39] Booth, 140; see also Sarra, *Strong and Smart*.

[40] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 16.

[41] Barbara Blackman, e-mail to the author, April 6, 2016, Subject "Walkley Judges – Indigenous?"

[42] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 16.

[43] Walkley Foundation, "Walkley Awards Judging Criteria."

[44] Attwood, *Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History*; Bacon, "A Case Study in Ethical Failure," 17–41; Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness*; Prentis, *A Concise Companion to Aboriginal History*.

[45] Lucashenko, "Melissa Lucashenko: Author Profile," para. 1.

[46] Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner*; Mason, "Journalism Practice and Critical Reflexivity," 158–79; Bacon, "A Case Study in Ethical Failure," 17–41.

[47] The Walkley Foundation, "Melissa Lucashenko."

[48] Aristotle, *The Ethics of Aristotle*, *NE*II.7, 1107b18–20.

[49] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 67.

[50] Walkley Foundation, "Melissa Lucashenko."

[51] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 66.

[52] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 48–59.

[53] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 54.

[54] Lucashenko, 56.

[55] Coward, *Speaking Personally*, 29.

[56] Lee, *Our Very Own Adventure*, iv.

[57] Aare, "A Narratological Approach to Literary Journalism," 133, 134.

[58] Genette and Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," 261.

[59] Lucashenko, "Melissa Lucashenko: Author Profile," para. 1.

[60] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 66.

[61] Lucashenko, 66.

[62] Gildersleeve, " 'Ropes of Stories'," 80.

[63] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 53–67.

[64] Aare, "A Narratological Approach to Literary Journalism," 106–39.

[65] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 16.

[66] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 53; Browitt and Nelson, *Practising Theory*; Benson and Neveu, *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*.

[67] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 53.

[68] Lucashenko, 65.

[69] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 54. The phrase, "Ah, the serenity," is

a line from the popular 1997 Australian film, *The Castle*, which tells the story of a working-class family who fight to stop the demolition of their home.

[70] Lee, *Our Very Own Adventure*, 8–9.

[71] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 54.

[72] Lucashenko, 54.

[73] Lucashenko, 55.

[74] Lucashenko, 54.

[75] Lucashenko, 54.

[76] TAFE is an acronym for "Technical and Further Education" and is an Australian tertiary education system that delivers vocational training courses at their numerous colleges and institutes, such as QUT, Queensland University of Technology.

[77] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 59.

[78] Lucashenko, 55.

[79] Martin, " 'Inscribing Virtues in Australian Literary Journalism'," ii.

[80] Lucashenko, "Sinking Below Sight," 102.

[81] Hage *Alter-Politics*, 20; see also Preston, *Understanding Ethics*; MacIntyre, *After Virtue*.

[82] Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism*, 88.

[83] Thomson et al., "Why the Where Matters," 154.

[84] Ahmed, "Collective Feelings," 27.

Notes: McCue, Seeking Debwewin

[85] Hello! My name is Aankwadaans. I am Wolf Clan. I am from the Chippewas of Georgina Island. I am Anishinaabe (translation mine).

[86] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Calls to Action, 10. Commonly known as The Truth and Reconciliation Report (TRC), Call to Action 86 states: "We call upon Canadian journalism programs and media schools to require education for all students on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal-Crown relations."

[87] Reynolds, "Indigenous Literary Journalism."

[88] McCue, *The Shoe Boy*.

[89] Pratt, *Brébeuf and His Brethren*, Section VI, "(*The Mission to the Petuns and Neutrals*)."

[90] Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide*.

[91] Calvi, "Reporting on Indigenous Issues."

[92] The Seven Grandfather Teachings are *Nibwaakaawin* (Wisdom), *Zaagi'idiwin* (Love), *Minaadendamowin* (Respect), *Aakode'ewin* (Bravery), *Gwayakwaadiziwin* (Honesty), *Dabaadendiziwin* (Humility), and *Debwewin* (Truth). See also Bimaadiziwin and Baker, An Ojibwe Peoples Resource.

[93] Basil Johnston, quoted in Eigenbrod, *Travelling Knowledges,* 4.

[94] Treuer, *Rez Life: An Indian's Journey*. See also Coward, "Writing from the

(Indigenous) Edge."

[95] Johnston, quoted in Eigenbrod, said, "In so doing the tribe was denying that there was an absolute truth; that the best a speaker could achieve and a listener expect was the highest degree of accuracy." Eigenbrod, *Travelling Knowledges,* 4.

Notes: Coward, Writing from the (Indigenous) Edge

[96] Lincoln, preface to *The Good Red Road,* xvii.

[97] Treuer, *Rez Life: An Indian's Journey*.

[98] See Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*; Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*; and Moses, *Wild West Shows*. See also Coward, *Indians Illustrated*.

[99] Rollins and O'Connor, eds., *Hollywood's Indian.*

[100] Lincoln, preface to *Good Red Road*, xv.

[101] Lincoln, xv.

[102] Lincoln, xvi.

[103] Slagle writes, "We have sometimes altered names, the order of incidents, and the places where they actually occurred." Slagle, afterword to Lincoln with Slagle, *Good Red Road*, 263.

[104] Lincoln writes that he was "adopted" into the Monroe family of Alliance, Nebraska, and became part of their "extended family." The father of the family, Mark Monroe, "gave me his Lakota name, *Mato Yammi* or 'Three Bears'." Lincoln, preface to *Good Red Road*, xvii.

[105] Lincoln, xvii.

[106] Lincoln, with Slagle, *Good Red Road*, 39.

[107] Lincoln, with Slagle, 170–78.

[108] Lincoln, with Slagle, 166.

[109] Lincoln, with Slagle, 198.

[110] Lincoln, with Slagle, 198.

[111] Lincoln, with Slagle, 200.

[112] Lincoln, with Slagle, 201.

[113] Lincoln, preface to *Good Red Road*, xv.

[114] Lincoln, xvi.

[115] Lincoln, xv.

[116] Slagle, afterword to Lincoln with Slagle, *Good Red Road*, 263.

[117] Treuer, *Rez Life: An Indian's Journey*, 5.

[118] Treuer, 6.

[119] David Treuer, University of Southern California.

[120] Treuer, *Rez Life: An Indian's Journey*, 10.

[121] Treuer, 10.

[122] Treuer, 17.

[123] Treuer, 188.

[124] Treuer, 189.

[125] Treuer, 189.

[126] Treuer, 190.

[127] Treuer, 190–91.

[128] Treuer, 192–93.
[129] Treuer, 193.
[130] Treuer, 38–42.
[131] Treuer, 41.
[132] Treuer, 300 (italics in original).
[133] Treuer, 300.
[134] Treuer, 300.
[135] Treuer, 300, 321.
[136] Treuer, 300, 321.
[137] Treuer, 20.
[138] Treuer, 305.
[139] Lincoln, with Slagle, *Good Red Road*, 200.
[140] Treuer, *Rez Life: An Indian's Journey*, 3.
[141] Keeble, "Expanding the Horizons of Literary Journalism," 170.

Notes: Reynolds, "Indigenous Literary Journalism"

[142] David, "Anarchy at Kanehsatake."
[143] National Magazine Awards (NMAs), Searchable Archive.
[144] David, "All My Relations."
[145] NMAs, Searchable Archive.
[146] *This Magazine*, "About *This Magazine*."
[147] MacFarquhar, "Outside Agitator."
[148] Additional historical information on the magazine, including ownership, philosophy, editorial focus and content, staff and contributors, drawn from issues of the magazine, minutes of the board, and other documents in the author's private collection.
[149] Actually, Dan David says that his father's birthplace story is quite a bit more complicated: "Walter M. David Sr.'s family lived on Cornwall Island. A home birth, as most were back then, but registered by the Catholic Church in Hogansburg, New York, which is also on Akwesasne Territory. This has always caused confusion with [federal government] bureaucrats in Ottawa who think one-dimensionally. Akwesasne comprises these jurisdictions: 1) U.S.A., 2) Canada, 3) Ontario, 4) Quebec, 5) New York State, 6) St. Regis (American tribal council), 7) Akwesasne (Canada band council), and 8) Haudensosaunee (traditional government, aka the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy)." E-mail interview with the author, September 12, 2017.
[150] Dan David, in-person interview with the author, Balzac's Café, Ryerson University campus, Toronto, March 24, 2017.
[151] David, "Anarchy at Kanehsatake," 12 (SQ definition added; bracketed content in the original).
[152] David, 12.
[153] David interview, March 24, 2017.
[154] Fitterman, "Newsman Don Obe Shared His Passion for Good Writing," para. 17.

[155] David, "All My Relations," 27.

[156] David, 27.

[157] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Calls to Action*, 10. Commonly known as The Truth and Reconciliation Report (TRC), the report issued ninety-four calls to action. Call to Action 86, which was directed specifically at journalism programs (see note 86, page 55), the prime motivation behind putting together a panel on Indigenous literary journalism for IALJS-12 in Halifax, Canada, May 11–13, 2017. The thinking was: Why stop at Canada? Why not internationalize the call?

[158] David interview, March 24, 2017.

[159] Truth and Reconciliation Report, 4.

[160] David, "All My Relations," 27.

[161] Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 1. In his introduction, Hartsock talks about how human beings like to impose idealized ambitions on themselves, idealizations that can "be reduced back from whence they came, the phenomenal world, the world of consequences, as a result of the negotiation between the testimony of our vital senses—the aesthetics of experience—and the murky ambitions of abstract consciousness." Hartsock, 1. Here, I am interpreting David's turn in the story as just that kind of negotiation.

[162] David, "All My Relations," 28.

[163] Beers, in interview with author, as quoted in Reynolds, "The Edge of Canadian Literary Journalism," 74–75.

[164] Wolfe, "The New Journalism," *Bulletin*, 22. In his introduction to *The New Journalism with an Anthology*, Wolfe opines that many journalists are not cut out for the rigor of saturation reporting. "Assuming this side of it isn't too overwhelming, Saturation Reporting, as I think of it, can be one of the most exhilarating trips, as they say, in the world. Often you feel as if you've put your whole central nervous system on red alert. . . ." Wolfe, in "The New Journalism," Part 1, 52. The reader feels this red alert in David's reporting when he says:

> I hate these people and their guns. One Warrior kid—he must have been about 14 years old—stops my car on the way into the Pines. It's near the end of summer. We all know the army's going to sweep through the territory any day. . . . Some of the Warriors have been out there at checkpoints like this for days without rest. But I need to get my dad out of the Pines. The kid tells me to turn my car around and go back. . . . This is my land. And I'm going to pick up my dad.
>
> He raises his AR-15 and aims it at my gut. . . . I look into the kid's eyes. They're empty. He could blow me away without a pause, without a flicker of concern. The look in his eyes isn't much different from the look I've seen all summer from the police and the army at their roadblocks. It's the look of people too whacked out by military mindset, fatigue or dope to care anymore. For the first time inside the barricades, I'm scared." David, "All My Relations," 27–28.

[165] David, "All My Relations," 27.

[166] Dan David, e-mail interview with the author, September 7, 2017.

[167] David, "All My Relations," 32.

[168] David interview, March 24, 2017.

[169] David, e-mail interview, September 7, 2017.

Notes: Calvi, Reporting on Indigenous Issues

[170] Bonfil Batalla, *México Profundo: Una civilización negada,* 110–11 (translation mine); see also Bonfil Batalla, "El concepto de indio en América," 17–32.

[171] Bonfil Batalla, "El concepto de indio en América," 17–32; see also Bonfil Batalla, *Mexico Profundo*.

[172] Sarela Paz, Bolivian ethnographer, interview with author, December 19, 2015.

[173] Novaro, " 'Indios', 'Aborígenes' y 'Pueblos Originarios'," 199–219; see also, Novaro, "Pueblos indígenas y escuela"; Dussel, *1492 el encubrimiento del otro.*

[174] Pember, "*Indian Country Today* Hiatus," para. 8.

[175] Machaca, *La escuela argentina.*

[176] Correa, *Sabatina* (translation mine); Bonilla, "No podemos ser mendigos sentados."

[177] Calvi, "Secret Reserves," 74–87.

[178] Sarmiento, *El Nacional*, November 25, 1876 (translation mine).

[179] Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," 19.

[180] Mena Erazo, "Ecuador apuesta su crecimiento a la minería a gran escala," para. 9, 11 (translation mine).

[181] Lanata, "Un grupo de militantes 'sensibles'."

[182] Novaro, " 'Indios', 'Aborígenes' y 'Pueblos Originarios'," 199–219; see also Hacher, "Bordar el genocidio mapuche"; Enriz, "El verso del indio trucho."

[183] Lanata, "Un grupo de militantes 'sensibles'," para. 3–4 (translation mine).

[184] When Lanata mentions the "war" he is referring to the Argentine "Dirty War" during which the state "disappeared" some 30,000 civilians, according to the *Nunca Más*, a document elaborated by the CONADEP (National Council for the Disappearance of People). In that document the idea of a "war" is debunked, and is redefined as terrorism of state.

[185] Lanata, "Un grupo de militantes 'sensibles'," para. 1–5 (translation mine).

[186] Calvi, "Secret Reserves," 74–87. The remaining four hundred Sápara live in the South-Eastern province of Pastaza, deep in the Ecuadorean Amazon basin. They have been opposing oil drilling in their territory since the late 2000s. My long-form piece reports on that plea and is the result of several years of reporting in the field.

[187] Novaro, " 'Indios', 'Aborígenes' y 'Pueblos Originarios'," 199–219.

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OBS-Arbeitsheft 93 "Die 'Flüchtlingskrise' in den Medien" — Tagesaktueller Journalismus zwischen Meinung und Information [The "Refugee Crisis" in the Media: Daily Journalism between Opinion and Information]

"Why We Fled from Grosny? Nobody Has Asked Us This Question Yet": German Media and Immigration

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Abstract: According to the Ministry of Migration and Refugees (BAMF), close to 750,000 people applied for asylum in Germany in 2016. However, these data do not account for the growing number of refugees who are seeking sanctuary. If they make it to Germany, their legal status is in limbo—sometimes for years—as they await either deportation or the right of residence. Because of this situation, a typically marginalized topic has become ubiquitous in public discourse. One might think that journalism would supply an array of discursive strategies to shape public discourse on immigration and provide a forum to work toward a humanitarian or at least a bureaucratic solution. Yet, by and large, journalists fail to overcome conventional patterns of coverage, which rely on news and opinion texts. Rarely do journalists immerse themselves in the everyday life of refugees in order to provide a more complex perspective beyond the voices of media professionals. This study explores how different forms of narrative journalism can challenge dominant research practices and discursive strategies for reporting on immigration to Western Europe. Three reportages have been selected for analysis: Wolfgang Bauer's "Und vor uns liegt das Glück" [And Happiness Lies Ahead] (*Die Zeit*); Paul Ronzheimer's "Flucht aus der Hölle" [Fleeing from Hell] (*Bild*); and Carolin Emcke's "Willkommen in Deutschland" [Welcome to Germany] (*Die Zeit*). These examples of narrative journalism provide a framework for a textual analysis that sheds light on journalists' approaches in researching and representing the situation of immigrants on their odyssey to Western Europe.

Keywords: migration – corporate media – reportage – ethics – narrative techniques

The so-called refugee crisis has made front-page news in media across Europe since 2014. This study explores how different forms of narrative journalism can challenge the dominant research practices and discursive strategies for reporting on immigration to Western Europe, focusing on three case studies that illustrate different discursive strategies and research practices. The aim is two-fold: first, to find out how journalists' specific research practices influence the configuration of narrative forms; and second, to determine the extent to which different discursive strategies are used to provide an alternative story about the situation of immigrants.

The study is structured as follows. First, inconsistencies in German corporate media coverage of the "immigration wave" since August 2015 are addressed, followed by a detailed overview of the reportage articles.[1] The next section establishes analytical categories based on the theoretical backdrop of a critical ethical narratology. These provide a framework for the ensuing textual analysis of the three examples of reportage, to illuminate the journalists' approaches in researching and representing the situation of immigrants on their odyssey to Western Europe. The study concludes with a contrastive discussion and summary.

Coverage of Immigration in German Media

An extensive quantitative content analysis conducted by Michael Haller and the Hamburg Journalism school, analyzing media coverage on immigration for thirteen months, from February 2015 to March 2016, shows a sharp rise in reporting on migration to Western Europe, from July to September 2015, when migration on the Balkan route was at its peak. While the topic was already being covered in German media, by the summer of 2015 it had started to dominate public discourse.[2] The researchers found that corporate media—public broadcasting, national newspapers, and magazines—followed a similar thematic agenda. During August and September, German media promoted what Haller describes as a "conceited welcoming culture," in which media coverage on the topic was overwhelmingly positive and critical voices were absent.[3] The findings suggested journalists and politicians cooperated to shape public discourse on immigration to Germany. In retrospect, this coverage did not do justice to the complexity of the topic and did not help alleviate anxieties about the future of the country among parts of the German public. What can be observed since early 2016, Haller found, is a shift from one extreme to the other[4]: The pre-2016 media frame of a welcoming culture had changed to a skeptical, somewhat reactionary frame defined by themes of national and economic security.[5]

Contrasting these positions, Haller asks how public knowledge, opinions,

and attitudes about issues such as immigration to Western Europe are shaped through the media. The researchers conclude that media coverage of such weighty issues should be founded in journalistic knowledge drawn from experience and expertise, rather than relying on second-hand information, such as material issued by press agencies and state institutions. In order to solve existing deficits in media coverage about refugees, Haller suggests broadening the repertoire of discursive forms so journalists can make appropriate claims about the situation and address relevant questions of political action.[6] In this context, it is worthwhile to turn attention to journalistic genres such as *reportage*, defined as reporting that relies on personal experience, in-depth research, different perspectives, and an authentic journalistic voice to overcome social boundaries and engage readers emotionally.[7] Reportage is a journalistic form that presents a mix of discursive strategies and research practices that differ substantially from standard reporting and better enable journalists and readers to approach the issue of immigration to Western Europe.

Reportage Sample

The present investigation selected three articles for analysis: Wolfgang Bauer's "Und vor uns liegt das Glück" [And Happiness Lies Ahead], published in *Die Zeit*; Paul Ronzheimer's "Flucht aus der Hölle" [Fleeing from Hell], published in *Bild*; and Carolin Emcke's "Willkommen in Deutschland" [Welcome to Germany], published in *Die Zeit*.[8]

The use of narrative strategies in reporting was the primary criterion for the choice of texts. Historically, the popular press is a media form that promotes innovative forms of storytelling.[9] This motivated the choice of "Fleeing from Hell," a story published in Germany's leading tabloid *Bild* in August 2015.[10] Ronzheimer's reportage is a cross-media series in which he reports from the infamous Balkan route where he accompanies a group of Syrian refugees on their journey from Greece to the German border. Part of the reporting was accomplished via Periscope, a live-streaming application, which was followed by 77,000 viewers at times.[11] Video material and text elements were then combined to produce a multimedia story for *Bild* online, which Ronzheimer boldly labeled a "Periscoportage."[12] Additionally, an in-depth report was published in various print issues.[13]

To compare how different forms of reportage may challenge media discourse on migration and crisis, quality media that promote opportunities for narrative journalism were also surveyed. Thus, two examples were selected from the prestigious weekly *Die Zeit*: Carolin Emcke's "Welcome to Germany"[14] and Wolfgang Bauer's "And Happiness Lies Ahead."[15] The latter's reportage might be classified as a journalistic stunt. While U.S. journalism

has a vital history of this approach to reporting (recent prominent examples being Ted Conover's lengthy report on working in a cattle processing plant for *Harper's* magazine and Shane Bauer's even lengthier report on working in a private prison for *Mother Jones*),[16] in Germany an investigative practice only fully emerged in the 1970s. Its most famous representative is the reporter Günter Wallraff,[17] who became renowned for his undercover reporting as a Turkish itinerant laborer, an editor at *Bild*, and passed himself as a Somalian (!) in East Germany.[18] For his *Bild* story Wolfgang Bauer and photographer Stanislav Krupar posed as refugees and tried to secure a place on a boat that would take them from Alexandria, Egypt, to Italy in April 2014. Carolin Emcke, more conventionally, wrote about the experiences of different groups of refugees and their struggle to claim their right of residence in Germany in late 2013.

Besides a common topic, a unifying characteristic of these three journalistic texts is that the narratives are based on personal experience. Although the reporters use different researching and reporting strategies, their stories are primarily based on anecdotal evidence and do not rely heavily on secondary sources. Due to the lengthy involvement with their respective projects, all three reporters are immersed in their subjects. An in-depth analysis of the narratives will illustrate how their choices of immersion translate into different discursive strategies that express the reporters' recognition of ethical complications in representing the situation of refugees through the eyes of Western journalists.

Ronzheimer, Emcke, and Bauer draw from vastly different biographical and professional backgrounds to compose their stories. One could say that Ronzheimer is a next-generation journalist. Despite his young age (thirty), he is already reporter-in-chief at *Bild*. After attending the publishing house's journalism school, the Axel Springer Akademie, his reporting at *Bild* began amid controversy. During the financial crisis in Greece he handed out drachmas, Greek's pre-Euro currency, at protests in Athens and fired up the crowd.[19] Taking criticism for such actions, Ronzheimer has refrained since then from using such provocative techniques in his reporting. Instead, one of Ronzheimer's trademarks has become the use of social media as a reporting tool. Whether he reports from the trenches around besieged Mosul, in northern Iraq, or from the Maidan in Kiev during the 2014 revolution in Ukraine, he uses Facebook and Twitter to communicate directly with followers.

In contrast, Bauer, born in 1970, did not start out as a journalist but as a soldier in the German Bundeswehr. After his contract was finished, he attended university and studied Islam and history. Since 1994, he has been a freelance journalist for national magazines, such as *Geo* and *Focus*.[20] Since 2010, he has worked for *Die Zeit*. He was awarded the prestigious Henri-

Nannen-Preis for his documentary *Das Leben nach der Hölle* [Life after Hell], about women and children kidnapped by Boko Haram in Nigeria.[21]

Finally, Emcke is one of the most distinguished writers in Germany. Born in 1967, she studied philosophy in Frankfurt and Harvard and obtained her Ph.D. with a work on collective identities.[22] Critics herald her ability to be empathic and reflective in her reportage without being declamatory.[23] Between 1998 and 2013 she worked extensively in global conflict areas in the Near East, Colombia, and Afghanistan. Her journalistic works' overall theme is that of individual trauma and a critique of collective identity. Emcke publishes in *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit*, among others.[24]

Theoretical Foundation and Analytical Categories

The discussion of the reportage sample is founded in critical ethical narratology,[25] which argues that readers ascribe not only aesthetic value to narrative art but also "aesthetically value cognitive aspects of a work, such as the insight afforded or its expression of emotions."[26] Phelan identifies four "ethical *positions*" of interest, namely those of:

1. Characters in relation to each other and to the situations they face;
2. Narrator(s) in relation to the characters and to the narratee(s);
3. The implied author in relation to the characters, the narrator(s), and the implied and actual audiences;
4. Actual audience members (and the ethical beliefs they bring to the reading experience) in response to the first three ethical positions.[27]

Berning's theory asks which elements shape a text as a representation of reality and how conditions are created for readers to carry out any form of moral-intellectual reflection of the material that the stories present.[28] These "multi-layered intersections of narrative and moral values"[29] are of particular interest with respect to nonfiction narratives.[30] One aim of an in-depth narrative analysis of journalistic texts is to reveal how these texts figure as a foil for ethical and professional judgments of their authors and how these judgments are conveyed to readers.

In order to render the discursive strategies and ethical dimensions of a text intelligible, critical ethical narratology relies on analyzing the core categories of narrative: narrative situation, narrative time, character-spaces, and narrative bodies.[31] The analysis focuses not only on the *story* ("what is told") but on the *plot* ("how a story is told"), and aims to describe the *configuration* of situational narrative characteristics.[32] Arguably these core categories of narrative apply to all media texts and genres.[33]

The analysis of the *narrative situation* deals with questions of perspective, focusing on the relation of the narrator to the story-world evoked in a text

and the story's epistemic and emotional *focalizer*.[34] The concept of *focalization* "expresses the ratio of knowledge between the narrator and the characters."[35] With respect to reportage texts this perspective is helpful, as we can assume that the narrator of a reportage text and the author of the text are identical.[36] Therefore, the relative position of the narrator to the story, as a (central) protagonist, for example, reveals something about the ethical and professional aspects that lead to producing such a text. Further, an analysis of the narrator's language highlights attitudes toward the narrated events. Certain metaphors indicate the dominant ideological frame of the narrator.[37]

The concept of *narrative time* differentiates between *story time* and *plot time*, that is, the time-span of story events versus the presentation of this time-span through plot.[38] Plot time concerns the order in which the story is told, including the use of flashbacks and flash-forwards, changes in narrative speed, and iterative elements such as the recurrent presentation of specific events. The interplay of story time and plot time is analyzed with respect to the duration, order, and frequency of story events.[39] These analytical dimensions of narrative time help to describe the overall plot structure more precisely.

The narratological dimension of character-space elaborates the concepts of narrative space and narrative situation and highlights that the two are juxtaposed.[40] *Character-space* defines the sphere of action for characters.[41] This sphere of action can be analyzed by drawing on the difference between frame-space and thematized space. *Frame-space* defines the setting where action takes place.[42] On the other hand, *thematized space* is an "object of presentation itself,"[43] where space is not only a descriptive setting for character action but also a functional dimension where relations of characters or their inner conflicts are represented. Thematized space thereby may have a symbolic quality. It fulfills a story function and may mirror a narrator's attitudes or values toward the characters and emphasize their struggles and transgressions.[44]

The category of *narrative bodies* includes the role of body in narrative and addresses the complexity of representing characters adequately in nonfiction narrative.[45] The concept moves beyond the established narratological categories of characterization (say, the question of round or flat character profiles), and asks how the body is implemented as a story component through elements like plot and space. In contextualizing the mode of characterization this way the varying psychological, physiological, and social features of characters gain relevance for analysis. Furthermore, the concept may reveal how different conceptions of the corporeal are constructed by taking into account the general attitudes and ideologies of a narrative perspective.[46]

"Fleeing from Hell"

The perspective of the reporter determines the narrative situation. In his Periscoportage, Paul Ronzheimer is either directly present or provides voice-over commentary and descriptions. Although he interacts with characters, interviewing some of them to gain information, it becomes clear that he knows less than they do about the situation. By asking questions and letting refugees explain the process of fleeing, he relies on the refugees themselves as his primary source of information. He makes this transparent in his reporting. The viewer frequently depends on Ronzheimer as a mediator to develop an understanding of what is happening, which makes him the focal point of the story. It also prevents his readers (or viewers) from taking on the perspectives of other characters. This narrative strategy affects the creation of character-spaces and the representation of narrative bodies.

The narrator's value judgments are explicit, as Ronzheimer suggests he is imbued with a distinct moral authority. Halfway through the Periscoportage, he stops to explain why he believes it is important to accompany the refugees on their trek and assures his audience that *Bild* will keep providing refugees with a voice. At the end he describes his own feelings, claiming that the past twelve days en route to Germany constituted one of the most challenging situations of his career: "There are moments in the life of even the most experienced reporter when he doubts his own decisions."[47] Overall, Ronzheimer attempts to provide an authentic representation of the dangers and hardships of the refugees' situation to a German public. The video format helps establish a more direct connection with his audience in this context. For instance, when the Periscoportage ends with a shot of Ronzheimer in the dark, he is looking tired. He sighs, gives a thumbs-up, and thanks his viewers.

Narrative time is chronological in Ronzheimer's reportage. As he travels with the refugees, events are narrated only once and from his perspective.[48] The online print reportage, however, begins with a flashback to the refugees' past in Syria, as it was told to him when the Syrians met him at the camp on the Greek island of Kos.[49] Narrative speed is mostly accelerated as he sums up many events for his viewers. The manipulation of narrative time mirrors the refugees' progress and setbacks on their trek. The chronological storytelling engages users who follow Ronzheimer via Periscope, but also mirrors the idea of a journey.

Character-spaces determine an important narrative feature of Ronzheimer's reporting. First, the frame-space in which the action unfolds in time is used to create complications. The characteristics of the setting (the frame-space) are a corollary of his chronological reporting. The raiding of the trek by police in a field in Hungary, or a thunderstorm that hinders their progress, are

characteristics of frame-space. On the other hand, character-space is also thematized. This is evident as the changing setting and the increasing proximity to Germany mark the stages of the group's progress "from Hell." This progress mirrors their hopes and fears: Getting caught in Hungary is repeatedly addressed as the worst-case scenario, and the country becomes a symbolic place for reactionary European refugee policies. Furthermore, thematized space functions to reveal social relations between characters: for example, when Ronzheimer films a group of terrified refugees running away from police, whom the journalist does not have to fear in the same way. A social distance also becomes visible when the refugees are not allowed in a hostel in Serbia. Here the reporter steps up as a mediator and persuades the owners of the hostel to accommodate the refugees. This interference transgresses his journalistic role as neutral observer, but also underscores that his frequent value judgments are sustained by his actions.

The depiction of narrative bodies is a result of the reporter's perspective. The video reportage begins with the reporter introducing himself to the group: "I'm from Germany; my name is Paul and you are from Aleppo and now we are here together." With this introduction Ronzheimer emphasizes how far apart they are, not only geographically but also socially. He focuses the characterization on Feras, a handsome Syrian who has just married and who wants to study and learn German. By singling out Feras as the central narrative body in this group of refugees, he reproduces the stereotype of the well-educated, socially compatible Syrian, which is appealing to the reporter's German audience. He furthers this appeal by highlighting the relationship between Feras and other protagonists who fall ill or have trouble keeping up. Establishing the narrative bodies and highlighting their social relations in such ways is effective, because the group of refugees appears less a faceless mass than a tightly functioning community. This portrayal of characters makes the reporter's claims that he cares for those who are fleeing to Germany more authentic.

The results of the narrative analysis have to be considered with respect to the constraints of the tabloid medium. *Bild*'s tendency to simplify complex issues determines the essential style of Ronzheimer's reportage in the tabloid medium. Thus, "Fleeing from Hell" can be classified as a form of sensational immersion reporting. He emphasizes drama and conventional symbolism (like the teddy bear, left behind by the group in the mud, etc.) and puts the reporter at the center of the narrative. Yet the development of character-spaces and narrative bodies underscores the reporter's positive value judgments. Clearly he does not represent the refugees as deviant, nor does he evoke an image of the refugee as threat. In this regard, his reporting diverges from

Bild's standard editorial treatment of the issue. This might be possible because he is writing within the dominantly positive media discourse on immigration during the months of August and September 2015, a discourse with which the tabloid had otherwise complied.[50] However, readers cannot conclusively judge whether Ronzheimer's value claims are authentic. He claims to give a factual account of his experience, which is underscored by video material, but we do not know whether the reporter really stayed with the refugees throughout the entire journey, or where he slept, or how he traveled.

"And Happiness Lies Ahead"

Wolfgang Bauer's undercover method of reporting creates the least possible distance between the journalists (Bauer and photographer Stanislav Krupar) and their subjects. The journalists are the emotional and epistemic focalizers of the story. They also suffer psychological and physical abuse by human traffickers, for example, as they "were driven into the sea with clubs."[51] Unlike Ronzheimer, Bauer is fully immersed in the role of refugee and experiences the hardships of fleeing first-hand. Surprisingly, for a stunt-reportage, after the story begins with a conventional first-person narrative, the narrator is mostly silent, generally preferring to remain invisible as the story progresses. Throughout the text the reporter uses his own voice only in a few instances to clarify his situation.

After the group has been kidnapped, Bauer writes, "We, the reporters, are in a very delicate position now. What will the kidnappers do, if they discover who we really are?" In another instance Bauer confesses, "We were naïve," when he realizes that the dangers of fleeing are not limited to the crossing of the sea.

By making transparent his own fears in such instances, he manages to make the reporters appear to be more than silent observers. It is only when the group is finally on the boat that the loss of professional distance becomes fully apparent.

Bauer writes, "For the first time we believe that we have made it. We, the reporters, can barely separate our feelings from those of the refugees."

Arguably, this strategy of covert narration, which, combined with a limited epistemic perspective of the reporters, is what allows the story to resonate so well with readers. It makes the journalists accessible, possibly even reliable, narrators.

Bauer develops a story structure that keeps readers in suspense about the outcome of the situation. Therefore, narrative time is non-chronological and the story begins with the climactic scene of boarding the ships. A flashback to "one week before the day that we were driven into the sea with clubs" then

leads to the chronological unfolding of events. At the end, the story returns to the initial scene of boarding the ships to finally inform readers about its outcome. This "cliffhanger" strategy encourages the reader to stick with the piece to the end and serves to reinforce the intensity of Bauer's experience. Bauer also varies the narrative pace to provide atmospheric detail. For instance, when the group is captured he uses ellipses and time compression to describe the situation. This mirrors the repetitiveness of the days when they are kept prisoners of the Alexandria mob. On the other hand, the confusing events of the beach scene, when the group is boarding a boat that is supposed to take them to Italy, seem to be told simultaneously in real time. Narrating in the present tense, he is able to further capture a sense of immediacy.

Bauer's accounts of character are developed in a way that is similar to Ronzheimer's reportage. The frame-space constitutes a setting for action to unfold—the city of Alexandria, where most of the reportage takes place; the beach; and the island where the human traffickers dump the group. These settings are described in detail—providing a view from the apartment where the group stays before being kidnapped, for example—which adds precision to Bauer's accounts. The sea becomes an overarching theme, with Bauer seeing it as a symbolic space, at once the Mediterranean as Europe's cradle but also a divide between a happier future and the grim present. The title, "And Happiness Lies Ahead," underlines this theme. The sea also reflects the characters' fears, as Bauer writes: "We suddenly see, not more than fifty meters away, what we had anticipated for weeks, what we had feared for weeks. The sea. Glowing in the last sunlight at dusk." Further, the sea functions as a divide between characters. Bauer conveys this in a scene where a mother and her child are separated:

> Her mother wades through the waves; she lifts her arms out of the water. She calls to the boat which the men are steering toward the open sea. The backpack with the insulin drifts in the surf. Often families are separated boarding the ships. Often children reach Italy without their parents. Once on the ship, there is no going back.[52]

Within this somewhat conventional character-space, narrative bodies are more carefully developed than in Ronzheimer's piece. More than one central character is established. Bauer describes their physical traits and their psychological profiles. By calling attention to their clothing, the music they listen to, and their diet, the reporter positions the refugees as part of the Syrian upper middle class. This suggests that many of those fleeing to Germany are actually the economic and cultural elite of Syria. The reporter's descriptions hint at the fact that many who flee to Germany are also quite westernized. This strategy to build characters is similar to that used in "Fleeing from Hell." However,

Bauer's focus on the psychological state of the men and women in this group further highlights their vulnerability. He substantiates this claim by noting the pills they need, or emphasizing the shock when a child's insulin drops into the ocean. Generally this makes clear that Bauer pays more attention to detail than did Ronzheimer, which makes his value judgments more plausible and, furthermore, gives voice to his protagonists' value judgments. Without reportorial explanation, which is typical for "Fleeing from Hell," Bauer lets a Syrian man explain why he pays attention to his appearance: "In Italy I don't want to look like a crook," he says. Despite language barriers, Bauer attempts to let the protagonists speak for themselves. This is possible because Bauer relies on his Syrian friend Amar, his original contact man and translator.[53] Amar's work enables Bauer to use interview techniques more extensively than did Ronzheimer. He can give his characters voice, which makes his own judgments more plausible for readers as it sharpens the realistic representation of the Syrian refugees.

Compared to Ronzheimer's reporting strategy, "And Happiness Lies Ahead" can be classified as investigative immersion reporting. Rather than assuming the explanatory role of the reporter, Bauer uses interview techniques to develop narrative bodies and character-spaces in fewer broad-brush descriptions. The fact that the journalist was undercover means he could not possibly simulate his experience of the situation, as Ronzheimer did. This makes the reportage a more reliable piece to represent the situation of refugees. It has to be taken into account, however, that the journalistic stunt needs intense preparation and could only be carried out by relying on the resources of a newspaper such as *Die Zeit*.[54]

Although "And Happiness Lies Ahead" has a viable strategy of reporting on the migration crisis, Bauer's approach is not without ethical problems. Only Amar and his family know that Bauer and Krupar are journalists.[55] Generally, if a journalist has not revealed his identity to anyone, the publication of his story invades the privacy of the refugees. Also, it is unclear to what extent the refugees have given consent to Bauer's reporting or were allowed the option of confidentiality. Bauer's professional responsibility is further compromised if we assume that the reporter can, when danger approaches, drop his disguise as a migrant and profess his true identity as a Western journalist, which Bauer did when he found himself in prison following the failed flight attempt.

"Welcome to Germany"

In contrast to Bauer's film-like drama, narrative time in Carolin Emcke's reportage[56] is structured by the months she and her team spent with various groups of refugees in German refugee shelters. Her research period was substantial, lasting from April 2013 to January 2014. Emcke narrates the events

in present tense and in chronological order—no flashbacks or flash-forwards occur—which means that this simpler narrative structure does not create the usual dramatic tension. There is no *in medias res*, for instance.

Like Bauer, Emcke establishes a "we" narrative, including her team as an integral part of the perspective. As the primary narrator, she is a protagonist of the story and participates in the action. However, this participation is different from both Ronzheimer's and Bauer's. Emcke is an external focalizer who establishes the narration in a more ambivalent way than, say, Ronzheimer's. She demonstrates this ambivalence when she makes transparent the awkwardness of trying to communicate with the refugees. While getting to know two central protagonists, a young couple from Grosny in the Chechen Republic, Emcke shows how multifarious the backgrounds of refugees can be. In this way she challenges our stereotypical ideas about why people flee their homes. The reporter shows the reader that too often such questions remain unasked:

> "Why we fled from Grosny?" Kheda Dovletmurzaeva, 27, looks at the Russian translator in disbelief. She sits upright at the small wood table in the unheated visitors' room and hesitates. Since yesterday her husband Beslan, 26, and she have been refusing to eat, but nobody has noticed because barely anyone speaks Russian. Or not with them. Or not since yesterday morning. . . . "Since we are here, nobody has asked us this question yet."[57]

Emcke makes clear that reporters' best intentions are fruitless if communication fails. Whenever the team has a chance, they help the refugees communicate with German authorities. "Finally our translator, who waits outside, is allowed to translate the questions," Emcke writes. "If we hadn't been there by chance, the hearing would have been cancelled." Because the reporter encounters so many situations of speechlessness, she makes these situations central to the narrative of "Welcome to Germany." As Emcke sits down to listen to the refugees in the shelter, she portrays fragile human beings:

> It's December 10th, and it is the third interview in which the young carpenter from Damascus tries to tell his story. Again and again he stops as the fleeing is not over yet because, properly speaking, he fled not once but eight times and because every single one failed so horribly that he cannot tell it all at once. "Eight times I almost died, but I did not want to give up until I arrived in Germany," says he, "now I am here, now I can die."[58]

While the repeated telling of events intensifies the protagonists' struggle to find words, Emcke often reports only once events that happened numerous times. The daily schedule of several refugees is described to give an insight into their dismal life in Germany, the supposedly happier place. "Ghayeb Youssuf, 31, has every day structured in little pieces. He gets up every morning at 7, as if he had slept; he eats breakfast at 7.30, as if he were hungry."

Through descriptive reduction Emcke arguably attempts to maintain a dignified distance from the people she portrays.

The reporter also reflects her professional role in the narrative. When her team visits Kheda and Beslan, who have meanwhile been deported to Poland, the reporter is emotionally torn. "Here we are, in Europe's periphery with this young couple whom nobody wants to accommodate, and receive a lesson in hospitality and dignity. . . . On the drive back to Berlin we remain quiet. The remaining half of Kheda's cake lies properly wrapped on the backseat." The little detail of the cake wrapped on the backseat, provided by two people who barely have enough to feed themselves, reveals Emcke's two conflicting voices: One is professional, where the reporter is obliged to follow up on sources and finish her story; the other is more private and addresses the dilemma of being ashamed by her inability to make the couple's situation better. The conflicting voices also become audible when the narrator functions in an explanatory role. Addressing the refugees' trauma, she writes, "The end of escape is not arrival. At the end of an escape, escape repeats itself as a curse. On uneventful days in the shelter, past horrors become present, like numb-frozen feet that start hurting in the warm water after the cold is survived. In sleepless nights escape becomes a curse." The longer Emcke works on her story, it seems, the more she departs from her role as a professional journalist. She concludes the story by conceding, "What they all need is not another story about despair like this one, but a proper immigration law that at least implies a refugee really could be somebody fleeing from something."

In contrast to Ronzheimer and Bauer, Emcke rarely establishes proper character-spaces within a narrative setting. An explanation could be that the aforementioned reporters were actually acting within a dynamic setting. In Emcke's case, however, the setting of the refugee shelter, the primary frame-space, is a static environment; what little action occurs is deadening and repetitive. She describes it prosaically, mentioning pictures of drawings on the wall or the food served to the refugees. The shelter is a microcosm where Europe's reality is conveyed as a faceless bureaucracy. Emcke contrasts events in different places to emphasize that the shelter is just a backdrop to the larger humanitarian drama:

> It is November 18; in Berlin, coalition negotiations are still taking place, the refugee relief organization of the United Nations (UNHCR) reports that intense fighting around Aleppo and Damascus caused a new wave of refugees and in Room 126 of Building 5 in Eisenhüttenstadt three Kurds talk about their fleeing to Europe from war in Syria.[59]

The reflective strength of "Welcome to Germany" is underscored by its philosophical theme. Unlike Ronzheimer and Bauer, who establish a thema-

tized space rather conventionally, Emcke uses a metaphor to challenge our dominant perspective on refugees in Germany. The narrative is bracketed by this metaphor. The report begins:

> This is a story about proximity and distance. About a journey to the periphery, to the margins, where those are housed whose suffering mustn't be approachable. . . . This is a story about what happens, if you travel the scope of the circle and lose your distance. . . . If bit by bit not the margins come into perspective but the center, the inner circle: us.[60]

Emcke then ends her report with a conclusive note that sums up her experience with different refugees by pointing out that:

> Different kinds of invisibility exist. Some people are not seen because they hide, some are not seen because they live in areas where no one ever goes, on the periphery, and some are not seen because one looks away or through them. What is becoming visible, if you go to the margins and travel the scope of the circle, is not them, but us.[61]

The metaphor reminds us that our firm position, which we assume to occupy collectively as citizens of Germany, must be subject to reflection. Emcke's reportage does this, but not with the high-handedness that often characterizes the somewhat moralistic voice of the professional reporter. Instead, by leaving room for her own conflicted voice, she does not exclude herself from questioning a collective identity that is defined by proximity and distance that are social, not geographic.

Conclusion

"Welcome to Germany," "And Happiness Lies Ahead," and "Fleeing from Hell" offer different strategies to present the story of immigration to Germany and, as literary journalism, provide alternative readings of the refugee crisis. The reports convey a complex topic to readers who have grown increasingly distrustful of media coverage and journalism's various agendas.[62] The use of an authentic voice, relatable characters, comprehensible narrative structure, and symbolism enables reporters to convey a different perspective on migration to Western Europe. These narrative strategies contribute to forming readers' value judgments and accomplish a moral-intellectual probing of the issue that other genres cannot fully accomplish. The analyses of the journalists' reportage argue that their goals are to create transparency and empathy. Transparency is created because the reporters do not leave readers in the dark about how they have gained access to the information they present. Empathy is created because it becomes clear what kind of choices are available for establishing a relationship between us—journalists and readers—and them, the refugees seeking a better future in Europe. Each

text offers different choices to explore this relationship.

Ronzheimer provides a rather broad-brush perspective on the situation of refugees so the reporting works within the limits of a tabloid. He thus establishes an alternative to the discursive strategies of a tabloid. "Fleeing from Hell" can be contrasted, for example, with *Bild* reporting from Idomeni, such as "Dr. X the medic who knows refugees' nightmares" that—as the title already suggests—panders to the newspaper's strategy of cheap sensationalism.[63] Possibly Ronzheimer was sensitized by the backlash against his early reporting from Greece in 2009. In an interview with *Die Zeit* he commented on his more recent value judgments. He claimed that *Bild* has to be especially sensitive to morally charged issues because "we are in the spotlight and people are quick to judge us."[64] By filing follow-up reports on Feras's situation in Germany, Ronzheimer engages his readers repeatedly with original narrative.[65] Through consistent personalization (a mainstay of the popular press), audience interest is maintained more easily, but it also strengthens the value judgment that *Bild* will keep providing a voice to refugees.

While sensational immersion reporting brings the reporter into the spotlight and adds little to help the public reassess their attitudes toward refugees, Bauer and Emcke offer more nuanced approaches to the issue. Although Bauer uses discursive strategies of sensational reporting with regard to narrative elements such as dramatic structure and narrative space, his investigative immersion reporting gives readers a chance to reflect on the situation of fleeing to Europe, and provides an emotionally more engaging perspective than Ronzheimer's sensational piece. Bauer gives readers the chance to reflect on the issue from a personal perspective. This may be a more effective way of addressing the issue than impersonal reports, which dutifully record the growing numbers of drowned refugees in the Mediterranean. Emcke, on the other hand, offers a form of literary reportage where the reporter does not take center stage but still lets readers understand the pitfalls of reporting on such a delicate issue. Providing the marginalized with a voice and reflecting her own role as a professional journalist, she manages to reveal the humanitarian implications of not acting decisively on the issue of migration to Western Europe. It is characteristic for the reporters of the quality press to be more nuanced in their personal reflections than the tabloid reporter. However, this is not to say that their reporting is without its professional and ethical dilemmas.

Consequently, it is possible to argue that all three reportages add *viability* to journalistic coverage. On a systemic, macro-level these forms of narrative reporting increase the variability of themes in mass media. On an individual, micro-level such texts increase the trustworthiness of journalistic com-

municators and also offer useful information to readers.[66] Unlike the staple news content or standard journalistic commentary, reportage is a genre that takes many forms, while its journalistic function remains stable and offers an authentic representation of reality. The genre thus provides communicative solutions to prevailing communicative problems in society.[67] If reportage becomes more prevalent as a discursive alternative, journalistic media will become more immune to shifts in popular opinion because this form of journalism fosters more reflective approaches to covering an issue. The increasing viability of narrative journalism as a generic form may help to convey complex information to readers more effectively. It may even alleviate the crisis in the overall social system of journalism and information societies.[68]

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Notes

[1] Note that the term *reportage* is used to refer to the more intense reporting that is the focus of this study and must be differentiated from the common approaches to reporting used by, for example, German corporate media.

[2] Haller, *Die "Flüchtlingskrise" in den Medien*, 84. See also Haller, "Flüchtlingsberichterstattung."

[3] Haller, *Die "Flüchtlingskrise" in den Medien*, 132–39.

[4] Haller, 87–90. The events in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015, where hundreds of women were sexually assaulted by mostly immigrants, were arguably a watershed moment in German media coverage. See McGuinness, "Germany Shocked by Cologne New Year Gang Assaults on Women."

[5] Haller, *Die "Flüchtlingskrise" in den Medien*, 85–90; Haller, "Flüchtlingsberichterstattung." Further empirical evidence can be found in Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU*.

[6] Haller, "Flüchtlingsberichterstattung."

[7] Gehr, "Reportage," 166–86.

[8] Reportage article title and quote translations mine.

[9] Schudson, *Discovering the News*; Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*.

[10] Ronzheimer, "Live-Übertragung einer Flucht aus der Hölle," hereafter referred to as "Flucht aus der Hölle" [Fleeing from Hell] (translation mine).

[11] Winterbauer, "Periscoportage."

[12] Winterbauer, para. 1.

[13] See, for example, Ronzheimer, and Thelen, "Ein Leben ohne Heimat. Flucht aus der Hölle nach Europa. Bild begleitet vier syrische Flüchtlinge auf ihrem langen, gefährlichen Weg zu uns. Teil 1"; Ronzheimer, Thelen, and King, "Bild begleitet junge Syrer auf ihrem gefährlichen Weg nach Europa. Flucht nach Deutschland, Teil 2: Von Athen nach Gevgelija."

[14] Emcke, "Willkommen in Deutschland" [Welcome to Germany], (translation mine).

[15] Bauer, "Und vor uns liegt das Glück" [And Happiness Lies Ahead], (translation mine).

[16] Conover, "The Way of All Flesh"; Bauer, "My Four Months as a Private Prison Guard." Conover and Shane Bauer's works are actually closer to immersion reporting proper, since neither journalist sought to deceive anyone in capturing the story.

[17] Eberwein, "Literarischer Journalismus: Theorie–Traditionen–Gegenwart." This is not to say that a rich history of stunt-reporting in the German-speaking press, especially in Austria at the beginning of the twentieth century, did not exist; see Haas, *Empirischer Journalismus*, 243–56.

[18] Braun, *Günter Wallraff* (my emphasis).

[19] Gaede, "Ich arbeite auf der dunklen Seite: Der Boulevardjournalist."

[20] Bauer, "Vita."

[21] Die Zeit, "Auszeichnung für zwei Beiträge des *Zeit Magazins*."

[22] Emcke, "Zur Person."

[23] Hueck, "Worte für Unfassbares finden," para. 17.

[24] Emcke, "Zur Person."

[25] Berning, "Theoretical Framework," *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 12–46; see also Nünning, "Towards a Cultural and Historical Narratology," 345–73; Kieran, "In Defence of the Ethical Evaluation of Narrative Art," 26–38; and Phelan, "Narrative Ethics."

[26] Kieran, "In Defence of the Ethical Evaluation of Narrative Art," 29.

[27] Phelan, "Narrative Ethics," sec. 2.1, para. 6.

[28] Berning, "Theoretical Framework," *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 44–46.

[29] Phelan, "Narrative Ethics," sec. 2.1, para. 7.

[30] See, for example, Tulloch, "Ethics, Trust and the First Person in the Narration of Long-form Journalism"; Greenberg, "The Ethics of Narrative: A Return to the Source."

[31] Berning, "Theoretical Framework," *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 46.

[32] Lahn and Meister, *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse*, 101–02 (translation mine; italics added).

[33] Berning, *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 56.

[34] Lahn and Meister, "Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse," 104–9.

[35] Berning, *Narrative Means to Journalistic Ends*, 28; see Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 189–94.

[36] Berning, *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 59.

[37] Lahn and Meister, "Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse," 111–14.

[38] Lahn and Meister, 136.

[39] Berning, *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 72–73.

[40] Berning, 61.

[41] Lahn and Meister, "Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse," 248.

[42] Bal, *Narratology*, 136.

[43] Bal, 139.

[44] Bridgeman, "Time and Space," 60–63.

[45] Berning, "Theoretical Framework," *Towards a Critical Ethical Narratology*, 62.

[46] Lahn and Meister, "Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse," 235–46.

[47] Ronzheimer, "Fleeing from Hell." Unless stated otherwise, the observations and quotes in this section refer to or are from this source (translations mine).

[48] This is certainly also due to the technical constraints of live streaming.

[49] Ronzheimer and Thelen, "Ein Leben ohne Heimat."

[50] Nardelli, "This Is How Germany Fought Back"; see also Haller, "Flüchtlingsberichterstattung."

[51] Bauer, "Und vor uns liegt das Glück" [And Happiness Lies Ahead], para. 6. Unless stated otherwise, the observations and quotes in this section refer to or are from this source (translations mine).

[52] Bauer, para. 34.

[53] Bauer and his photographer could go undercover as refugees from the Caucasus and accompany the group of Syrian refugees because the reporter had established a contact with Amar when reporting for *Die Zeit* from Syria. See Bauer, "Journalist und Grenzgänger."

[54] Bauer, "Journalist und Grenzgänger."

[55] Bauer, *Über das Meer*, 8.

[56] Emcke, "Willkommen in Deutschland" [Welcome to Germany]. Unless stated otherwise, the observations and quotes in this section refer to or are from this source (translations mine).

[57] Emcke, para. 6.

[58] Emcke, para. 29.

[59] Emcke, para. 21.

[60] Emcke, para. 1.

[61] Emcke, para. 43.

[62] Hackel-de Latour, " 'Lügenpresse!?' " 123–25.

[63] Mühlbauer and Weiss, "Der Arzt, der die Albträume der Flüchtlinge kennt."

[64] Ronzheimer quoted in Gaede, "Ich arbeite auf der dunklen Seite: Der Boulevardjournalist," 2 (translation mine).

[65] Ronzheimer, Thelen and Pauly. "Happy End für Flüchtling Feras"; see also Ronzheimer, "First Job: @FirasRachid Works Now as Cashier."

[66] Weischenberg, "Die Medien und die Köpfe," 135–36.

[67] Günthner and Knoblauch, " 'Forms Are the Food of Faith'," 696.

[68] Eberwein, "Literarischer Journalismus," 190–94.

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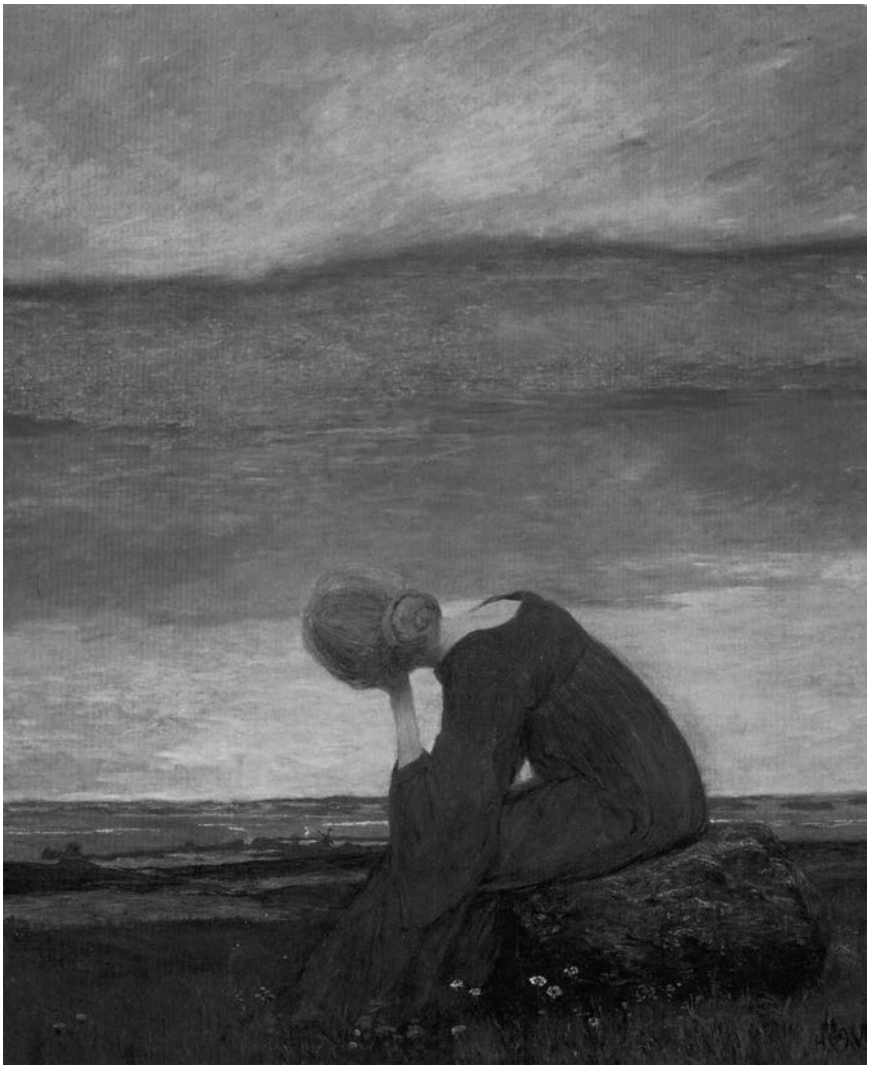

Heinrich Vogeler (1872–1942), *Sehnsucht* (Nostalgia), c. 1900, Künstlerkolonie (Artist's Colony) Worpswede. Wikimedia Commons, 2011.

The Role of Imagination in Literary Journalism

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Abstract: Despite a range of scholars, media ethicists, and practitioners claiming its centrality to journalistic practice, the role of the imagination in literary journalism is somewhat ambiguous and, consequently, often misunderstood. This is arguably due to the ambivalent relationship scholars and philosophers have historically had with this powerful mental faculty and the close connection between the imagination, invention, and the writing of fiction. As this essay argues, however, invention and imagination are not synonymous; indeed, according to epistemologist Lorraine Code, reason and imagination work together to produce narrative forms that are essential for the characterization of human action. This inquiry begins with a brief historical survey of the historical developments that inform a contemporary understanding of the role of the imagination and continues by offering an initial investigation into a range of ways such an understanding can impact literary journalistic practice. Some of the areas discussed include: time, immersion, emplotment, and the relationship between knowledge and understanding. The study also suggests that the imagination has an ethical role to play in the construction of literary journalism, arguing that imaginative projection should not be thought of as a fanciful invention, but rather as an epistemological and moral exercise that recognizes the potential radical difference of experience between practitioner and subject. Thus, the exploration finds that the imagination is indeed a key component of literary journalistic practice and further proposes that practitioners and theorists alike can benefit from a deeper understanding of its role in the representation of reality.

Keywords: imagination – literary journalism – representation – objectivity – responsibility and reliability

> Reason is to imagination as the instrument to the agent, as the body to the spirit, as the shadow to the substance. — Shelley, "A Defence of Poetry" (1821)

Given its association with *creativity* and *invention* in mainstream use, the term *imagination* might at first glance appear to sit uncomfortably in many journalistic traditions. After all, disciplines such as fact checking, verification, and employing empirical methods to test information and avoid bias have been considered core professional and moral responsibilities for journalists in modern times.[1]

Such discomfort is understandable: John Hartsock observes that "modern objective journalism" grew out of an Enlightenment belief that science could reform and renew society, and that this agenda emphasized verifiability, objectivity, and dispassionate prose.[2] However, in recent times "imagination" has been widely acknowledged by scholars as having a key role in journalism practice. In their introduction to the first volume of *Global Literary Journalism*, John Tulloch and Richard Lance Keeble open with a quote in which imagination and memory are likened to Siamese twins that cannot be easily separated: "Trying to re-create events on the page as you remember them, and building them into the form of a story," Jonathan Raban writes, "is an act of imagination, however closely you try to stick to what seem to have been the facts."[3] The second volume of the series references the "marginalization of the journalistic imagination,"[4] which is attributed to journalism's low status in literary and academic circles, but scholars argue that despite its low visibility, imagination is central to the reporting process. Journalism historian Michael Schudson, for example, observes that "no reporter just 'gets the facts.' Reporters make stories. . . . It cannot be done without play and imagination,"[5] and that "description is always an act of imagination."[6] Media ethicist Sandra Borden similarly notes that "journalists do not just passively transmit observations of empirical phenomena. Reporters actively construct news by giving narrative form to their sense making."[7] Former *Chicago Tribune* publisher and media ethicist Jack Fuller also addresses the role of the journalistic imagination when he writes: "Every waking moment we impose order on the flux of experience by an act of the brain that could be described as imagination. So it is not surprising that the imaginative ordering turns out to be common to the writing both of fact and fiction, or that one can inform the other in fundamental ways."[8]

Perhaps the most considered scholarship on the role of the imagination in journalism can be found in G. Stuart Adam's *Notes towards a Definition of Journalism*. Adam's central contention is that journalism is an imagined way

of knowing the world. He draws on sociological and philosophical traditions to highlight the imagination's dual role of forming and organizing images, defining journalism as "a cultural practice, a section or part of the modern Imagination that in its broadest and most comprehensive sense includes all the devices we use to form consciousness."[9] In this way, journalism is an invention: a thought experiment realized, normalized, and sanctioned through systematic methodological approaches. Adam proposes that the journalistic imagination resides in individuals—in their subjective experience of the world and way of organizing that experience—and collectively, as a cultural form of expression comparable to other art forms.[10] Framing journalism in this way allows Adam to open up analysis to "more ambitious forms" than hard news by focusing on what it is than that what it does.[11]

Literary journalism is arguably one of the most ambitious forms of journalism; it aims to reveal "a larger truth than is possible through the mere compilation of verifiable facts."[12] As such, it invites discussion of the imagination's role in representing reality from a unique angle. Thomas B. Connery notes that the genre merges what Archibald MacLeish has described as the concerns of journalism, that is, "the look of the world," and the concerns of poetry, or "the feel of the world."[13] This merging delivers what Connery elsewhere described as a "felt sense of the quality of life at a particular time and place."[14] Features such as narrative mode, fine detail, dynamic structure, voice, a literary prose style, scene construction, exhaustive research, dialogue in full, and use of symbolism or symbolic reality[15] invite reflection as much for the light they shed on the nature of representation as for the knowledge and truth claims asserted by the genre. As Keeble observes, "By stressing the creativity of journalism . . . we can identify it as a specific literary field, yet one closely linked to fiction—and the other arts."[16] Consequently, this research explores the role of the imagination in literary journalism and aims to clarify terminology that often causes contention in scholarship and practice. Some implications are considered in light of contemporary practice.

Reality, Reliability and Responsibility

By defining journalism as "a form of expression that is an invention. . . . a creation—a product of the Imagination—in both an individual and a cultural sense,"[17] Adam is drawing on a Kantian concept epistemologist Lorraine Code holds as "one of the most important innovations in the history of philosophy": the "creative synthesis of the imagination."[18] For Code, this synthesis accounts for "the *creative* nature of human cognition: a taking and structuring of experience, not a passive receiving and recording."[19] She emphasizes the active nature of knowers, as they select, judge, and structure

their experience, and recognizes that "the subjective possibilities of making sense of experience are many and varied" despite the "constraints imposed" by phenomenal world and our cognitive capacity.[20] In this sense, *knowing* is ultimately a creative process: The imagination forms images to produce conscious pictures of the world, creatively synthesizing this information to organize and make meaning. The term *fiction*, from the Latin verb *fingere* meaning "to make or shape,"[21] could therefore apply to all human cognition. But, crucially for Code, constraints imposed by the physical world and cognitive capacity limit the way knowledge can be structured and claims that can be made about real events.

One implication of conceptualizing imagination in this way for literary journalism is the emphasis on responsibility over reliability when representing reality. Theories that deny the possibility of representing reality are arguably antithetical to the practice of literary journalism. As practitioner Arnon Grunberg suggests: "Doubt and skepticism about what constitutes reality are very healthy, but denying the distinction between fiction and reality . . . points to an attitude that results from a lack of skepticism and doubt. Reality offers a few 'truths,' which leave not a lot of room for skepticism. Go and stand on a rail track for instance, and wait for the train to come."[22] This is not an argument for a simplistic relationship between cognition and reality, but rather an example of how reality materially affects the claims made about knowledge and experience. Grunberg's writing, however, calls for an acknowledgement of the complex relationship between verifiability and truth. Writing about Grunberg's *Chambermaids and Soldiers*, Agnes Andeweg observes: "As the narrative . . . shows, reality is multifaceted, . . . [Grunberg] makes his reader question what reality is. Not in the sense that he would deny reality exists (as the misguided representation of postmodernism goes), but in the sense of how to make sense of different versions of reality."[23] Andeweg also observes Grunberg is "very aware of the gap between truth and reality":

> Grunberg shows that "big" events break down into individual stories, into different realities, and that moral choices are never easy. A call for reality, or realism (factuality), does not necessarily bring us closer to the truth. *Realism can be understood as the privileged access to truth only when truth is just conceptualized in terms of the correspondence between representation and fact.* Truth and reality are two different things.[24]

The implication here is that truth is the product of process. It is not one end of a direct link between verifiable fact and truth; a more direct relationship exists between fact and accuracy.[25] Morrison similarly prefers to distinguish between fact and truth rather than fiction, as "facts can exist without human intelligence, but truth cannot."[26] Hartsock refers to part of this pro-

cess when he writes: "Facts can only be understood once there is a reflexive understanding of feeling or subjectivity that determines which facts are to be valued."[27] This opens up a range of possibilities for representing reality within the realm of "nonfiction," which "broaden[s] the scope of epistemology to include considerations of credibility and trust, of epistemic obligations and the legitimate scope of enquiry."[28]

Code differentiates here between "responsibilist" and "reliabilist" epistemic traditions. In her view, "a knower/believer has an important degree of choice with regard to modes of cognitive structuring, and is accountable for these choices; whereas a 'reliable' knower could simply be an accurate, and relatively passive, recorder of experience. One speaks of a 'reliable' computer, not a 'responsible' one."[29] This point illuminates a long-held distinction between mainstream and literary journalistic traditions: The degree of choice available to a daily journalist in both form and content when reporting an event is considerably less than that afforded a literary journalist. However, the "synthesis of the imagination" emphasizes the active, creative nature of all knowledge-seeking endeavors, orienting an ethical imperative from reliability to responsibility for all forms of journalism. Objectivity norms can obscure this point, but one can retain an objectivist approach towards reality while acknowledging—and even emphasizing—subjectivity. Such an approach calls for communities to actively construct and observe responsible ways of knowing, which transcend reliable ways of knowing. Adam discusses journalists in a way that highlights this issue: "Some are artists, which means they can invent with the invention, and some are bureaucrats, which means they can reproduce the invention without inventing. But all are imaginative. . . . They imagine and they fabricate images."[30] These terms sit uneasily in journalistic discourse; as John Hersey puts it: "The writer must not invent."[31] Hersey initially equates "invention" with "adding invented data," noting that distortion also stems from "subtracting observed data"; but his critique extends past content and into form. For example, he condemns the use of "tag lines": imbuing the final line of a chapter with heavy significance—often "as if" from a character's point of view.[32] The points can be made that the notion of distortion relies on an idealization of "undistorted reality," and that, as Schudson observes, "constructing" and "conjuring" the world are not the same thing.[33] But the real issue here appears to stem from a paradox: "Creating" is at once epistemically imperative and ethically taboo. While this creates an irresolvable tension, epistemic communities negotiate the way in which creativity is manifested in forms of representation. Norms and methods are arguably well established and theorized in mainstream journalism, but literary journalism scholarship and practice are still dynamic sites of negotiation.

Beyond Fact: Truth and Meaning

The process of producing knowledge that transcends fact, such as meaning and truth, can in part be explained by distinguishing between the reproductive (primary) and productive (secondary) imaginations. Heavily influenced by Immanuel Kant, Samuel Taylor Coleridge differentiated between the primary (image forming) function of the imagination, and a secondary imagination that "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify."[34] Blackburn notes that Coleridge "was the first aesthetic theorist to distinguish the possibility of disciplined, creative use of the imagination, as opposed to the idle play of fancy."[35] Importantly, "Coleridge reminds us that the primary and secondary imaginations are . . . not independent. The secondary imagination . . . takes the perceptions supplied by the more basic primary imagination and reconciles these perceptions with the full mind, not just with the understanding."[36] This dependent relationship has "a chronological implication"[37]: Judgments made by the primary imagination are immediate, while judgments are made by the secondary imagination over time. The primary imagination, in its connecting, associating, and rearranging can also be accurate or inaccurate, whereas the more creative faculty produces truthfulness through reflective judgments *and* artistic creation.

Importantly for literary journalism, "truth" here is not limited to verifiability, objectivity, and dispassionate prose, nor is it restricted to nonfigurative language. However, ways of understanding the world—and subsequent truth-claims that can be made—must be limited by reason and logic. Tarnas notes that this point is crucial: Reason and imagination have historically been understood as working in opposition to each other; but in the Kantian tradition "perception and reason are [now] recognized as being always informed by the imagination," giving rise to "an increased appreciation of the power and complexity of the unconscious, as well as new insight into the nature of archetypal pattern and meaning."[38] Another distinction between literary and more traditional forms of journalism is evident here: Objective, empirically driven journalism relies primarily on the reproductive imagination to make judgments that render the world meaningful, while literary journalists exercise the productive imagination by embracing subjectivity and affect, but more importantly to push into the symbolic realm.

Art, it can be concluded, is not limited to the domain of fiction; in fact, the synthesis of the primary and secondary imagination is vital to attain truth beyond "the mere compilation of verifiable facts."[39] This is perhaps most eloquently demonstrated through the arguments of John Dewey, who observed that the traditional role of art has been to move beyond or "break through the

crust of conventionalized and routine consciousness." He further wrote, "The freeing of the artist in literary presentation . . . is as much a precondition of the desirable creation of adequate opinion on public matters as is the freeing of social inquiry. Men's conscious life of opinion and judgment often proceeds on a superficial and trivial plane. But their lives reach a deeper level."[40] This is a strong rationale for the use literary elements in journalistic practice: Facts alone must be reconciled or synthesized not only with reason and objectivity, but with "the perceptions of the full mind,"[41] including the journalist's interpretive, subjective experience expressed through an artistic aesthetic. As Code writes, "images, metaphors, imaginings, and a governing imaginary are more and other than mere rhetorical devices, superimposed upon or embellishing an otherwise flat-footedly literal language capable, without their help, of mapping the 'outside world' congruently and with no leftovers."[42] On the contrary, the symbolic realm is vital for forming cultural consciousness and robust communities capable of transforming themselves.

Narrative Mode

For Code, narrative is an essential genre for the characterization of human action.[43] She writes, "one cannot hope to understand human action in isolation from lives, histories, contexts, and narratives, and I think it is equally true that one cannot hope to understand cognitive activity and intellectual virtue apart from lives, histories, and context."[44] Following both Adam and Code, narrative and expository modes of representation both rely on the imagination to structure and make meaning from experience. But narrative form increases the possible range of meanings that can be made in comparison to other modes of representation by virtue of its power to communicate meaning through structure. The implications here for literary journalism are important. As a genre that aspires to both accurate representation of the world and artistic or symbolic value, literary journalism may be constrained by the objects and events of the so-called real world but it also overtly relies on the creative free play and reflective judgments facilitated by the productive imagination. Time and immersion thus become keys to practice. Less constrained by time pressures of a press that increasingly relies on immediacy, the secondary imagination needs time to reflect on a range of patterns, themes, structures, symbols, and figures that could potentially represent its subject. While immersion is considered a key characteristic of literary journalism by scholars such as Bill Reynolds and Robert Boynton, who call immersion a "signature method" of reporting for literary journalism,[45] Tom Connery prefers more open boundaries, stating immersion "is *not* necessary for a work to be classified as literary journalism. Making immersion optional allows for a

broader, yet legitimate, application of the definition."[46] Connery allows that "immersion is crucial to longer, more complex articles or book-length works" but is wary of excluding texts on the basis of immersive reporting practices.[47] The role of the productive imagination would suggest, however, that time and immersion are two epistemic imperatives for knowing and representing well. While the primary imagination can recognize and schematize information both immediately and accurately, understanding issues at a deeper level and representing them in a distinctly literary manner—that is, with figurative language, symbolism, and creative consciousness—are crucially dependent on time, reflection, and the "creative synthesis of the imagination."

Emplotment

This conceptualization of the imagination also has an impact on *emplotment*. Through narrative, Vanhoozer explains the link between the literary imagination and the productive imagination: "The narrative act is a demonstration of that mysterious art, schematism, in operation. The plot, the central component of narrative, is nothing less than a creative synthesis of time, which makes a temporal whole out of an otherwise chaotic manifold of experience."[48] If this is so, reporting does not necessarily end with an event, but rather a tipping point in a practitioner's knowledge. For example, when asked when he finishes the reporting stage, William Finnegan replied: "When the story seems to have a beginning, middle, and end. When I think that the action, the narrative arc, is complete. But I'm often wrong about that, and more action often takes place while I'm writing. New endings appear. New beginnings, even."[49] Similarly, Australian writer Anna Krien reflects that she still felt like more research needed to be done after the publication of her book-length work of literary journalism, *Into the Woods*.[50] But, she states, the reporting was finished "when I went back to the island, probably for the third or fourth time, and all of a sudden I could have proper conversations with people. . . . [Before that] I was not really understanding.[51] Paul McGeough, New York–based correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and author of book-length literary journalism, uses metaphor to describe the process of producing meaningful reporting from on the ground:

> So you have to be able to . . . embrace the issue, be able to analyze it, deconstruct it, and put it back together in an envelope that's embroidered with the life and times of the people affected by the story. . . . If you're going to be regularly writing analysis and commentary on issues, you need to spend a lot of time on the ground, so that that experience—that exposure to people and circumstance—either directly or subliminally informs your writing when you're not on location.[52]

These can be understood as demonstrations of the productive imagination at work—examples of "that mysterious art, schematism, in operation."[53] And again, each example demonstrates the centrality of immersion to the literary journalistic endeavor to gather information for the secondary imagination to reflect on potential patterns, themes, structures, symbols, and figures to represent its subject(s).

Imagining, Discovering or Inventing?

Bill Reynolds's informative study of two practitioners, William Langewiesche and John Vaillant, illuminates some of the complexities created by the narrative form. Reynolds bases his article on the contention that "in long-form narrative, the story is rarely simply about the story—it is usually a metaphor for something much larger. While it is true that the best magazine pieces focus tightly on a theme, or in some cases multiple themes, there is always something else underneath the story."[54] He writes of Langewiesche's *American Ground* and Vaillant's *The Golden Spruce*[55] that "the writers discovered, first in the field and then in front of the computer screen sculpting words from the raw material of fact, the true significance and meaning of their stories."[56] Reynolds's language here is telling:

> As they searched for clues and assessed what they had found, the story began to reveal itself. It is only during this creative, artistic part of the process—the "Just what are we looking at here?" part, or the literary journalism part rather than the reporting and researching part—when their stories come to provide a worldview.[57]

The terms "discovered," "searched," and "reveal itself" here—perhaps inadvertently—indicate a belief that meaning is inherent in the events and needs to be discovered. However, Reynolds also describes the processes of assessing as the "creative, artistic part of the process." Are these ideas incongruous? Is meaning being created here? Or is it being discovered? Code's use of the "creative synthesis of the imagination" again helpfully illuminates the beliefs implied in Reynolds's article. Critically, the term "creative" here is not synonymous with "invention" or "conjecture" but rather signifies the process of structuring and synthesizing according to "many and varied" possibilities. The term "artistic" refers to the level of meaning to be attained: Abstracting meaning and truth requires higher cognitive processes than apprehending and recalling facts: This is the work of the productive imagination. Reynolds indicates as much as he notes Langewiesche's story is simple to start with. Initially it can be summarized in a sentence: "Two very large buildings collapse and a cluster of men spend several months on the cleanup."[58] However, "this deceptively simple story . . . suddenly becomes maddeningly complex."[59]

Langewiesche uses his experience as a pilot as an analogy for moving from close to long range in order to discover patterns that can be schematized into meaningful truths:

> The aerial view is something entirely new. We need to admit that it flattens the world and mutes it in a rush of air and engines, and it suppresses beauty. But it also strips the façades from our constructions, and by raising us above the constraints of the treeline and the highway it imposes a brutal honesty on our perceptions. It lets us see ourselves in context, as creatures struggling through life on the face of the planet, not separate from nature, but its most expressive agents. It lets us see that our struggles form patterns on the land, that these patterns repeat to an extent which before we had not known, and that there is a sense to them.[60]

There is an awareness here that objectivity is limited by perception. This observation is supported by the "Afterword to the Paperback Edition" in *American Ground*, where Langewiesche writes:

> It has been suggested that I must have been glad to be the only writer with free access to the inner world of the Trade Center site, but the opposite is true. There was obviously more happening there than I alone could know or describe. . . . The presence of the daily press would have served the useful role not only of informing the public but also clarifying the participants' views of themselves.[61]

The metaphor of an aerial view is invoked here again, this time in the form of the daily press as outsiders who are able to provide a wider perspective, and promote reflexivity amongst those immersed in their work at Ground Zero. This metaphor is a helpful one for literary journalists in its implication that perspective can be lost in immersive situations. As with Finnegan, Krien, and McGeough, it is important for Langewiesche that practitioners remove themselves from the immersive situation for a time—or seek perspective from other sources—in order to "know" the landscape "well."

Narrative Closure

The relationship between knowledge and understanding also has important implications for the function of closure in literary journalism. Code's work emphasizes the process or effort to achieve end-states of cognition; thus, both "knowledge and understanding are modes of interpreting experience."[62] She writes that humans can "structure experience into reasonably coherent patterns of knowledge and understanding, even though we may not know the precise relation of these patterns to the reality they purport to reflect."[63] This is in spite of the fact that "different aspects of what seems to be the *same* reality are coherent for different people in the same circumstances

and for the same person in different circumstances, and though our control over experience continually meets with limiting cases, reminding us that reality transcends our knowledge of it."[64] Knowledge, then, is apprehended from interaction with the world and structured through the imagination into patterns of understanding that cohere with—and modify—previous knowledge and understandings. For Code, understanding is "a process rather than a faculty."[65] It involves "tying one's knowledge down: relating it to a context, having some conception of the relation of this one 'bit' of knowledge to the rest of what one knows."[66]

> Understanding, then, involves a just apprehension of significance and endorses an ideal of seeing things "whole" in some sense. This characterization is somewhat paradoxical, given the unlikelihood of ever achieving perfect understanding, but *seeing things "whole" is subtly different from seeing them completely, understanding them utterly.* It has more to do with apprehending connectedness and significance. Indeed, one of the reasons understanding is so difficult and so neglected an epistemological concept may stem from its being always a matter of degree.[67]

The difference here between seeing things whole or completely may be subtle, but it affects degrees of narrative closure. Connecting elements of knowledge produces meaning; that is, connectedness produces significance; however, closure often imposes a single or limited meaning on events that are inevitably open to resignification.

To return to the example of *American Ground,* the narrative scope for Langewiesche was "readymade," according to Reynolds, "with the attacks [on the World Trade Center] at the beginning and a ceremony nine months later acting as natural bookends. But still, Langewiesche needed to find the story within these generous parameters."[68] Some may take issue with the term "natural bookends" but the point is that the attack marked the beginning of the World Trade Center's deconstruction, and the ceremony marked the end of that particular process. Evidently, these points have been chosen by Langewiesche to start and end his narrative, but they could be considered neither arbitrary nor random when considering their impact on narrative closure. Reynolds writes that "five weeks after the twin towers fell," Langewiesche "began to see the unfolding drama as a positive story in the midst of so much misery. . . . Buried underneath a mountain of man-made junk was the will to create a new world."[69] Langewiesche recalls: "It was obvious to me that we were looking at much, much more. That view came from being on the inside; it was not an external view at all. . . . An amazing experiment was happening before our very eyes. . . ." Reynolds observed that "Telling this story exposed," in Langewiesche's words, "to us (the observer, the writer, and then the reader) who we are."[70]

The accumulation of knowledge structured into coherent patterns of understanding produced, for Langewiesche, insight into the nature of U.S. citizens. The process of understanding and signification, however, did not end there. Interestingly, Langewiesche later modified his understanding of the meaning signified by the events he witnessed. Reynolds writes: "He decided he had been too absorbed in the tiny world of Ground Zero during those months of intense, on-site reporting to pay much attention to the George W. Bush administration's exploitation of patriotism and 9/11 for its own ends."[71] This observation illustrates Code's point that understanding is "a matter of degree."[72] Langewiesche's position on Ground Zero afforded him a "whole" view in that he, in Code's words, "apprehend[ed] connectedness"—or understood how the elements affected each other in coherent patterns, but his perspective was limited by his position on the ground. Time, distance from his subject, and new knowledge modified his understanding, which produced a new understanding from the events he researched. Consequently, this should be reflected in the degree to which a work of narrative literary journalism achieves closure: A high degree of closure is often inconsistent with a world that is open to a range of interpretive possibilities.

Imagination and the Ethical Imperative

As well as raising epistemic issues, the role of the imagination in literary journalism also has a strong ethical dimension. Susan Greenberg raised this point in her exploration into the relationship between ethics and aesthetics in narrative. Greenberg argues that the aesthetic dimension of literary journalism carries with it an ethical imperative. Based on the nature of the narrative situation, the writer has a responsibility to both the reader and the subject: to the former in "imagining the *effect* that words on a page might have on another person,"[73] and the latter in considering alternative ways of experiencing and representing reality that might be different from one's own experience.[74] Greenberg quotes Kenneth Burke to make the point that reason and imagination should work in dialogue with the "other": "Imagination can be thought of as reordering the objects of sense, or taking them apart and imagining them in new combinations . . . that do not themselves derive from sensory experience."[75] The imagination then is a faculty that allows for projection into another's experience; indeed the possibility *obliges* the literary journalist to consider alternate experiences of their subject. As Code writes: "The power of the imagination . . . is in its commitment to taking seriously the possibility—indeed the high *probability*—of radical difference: the possibility that points of commonality across lives, circumstances, and responses to them, ways of living in and with them, experiencing them, might very well

be far fewer than liberal theory and social-political policies designed according to its ready-made template often take, unimaginatively, for granted."[76]

The same point may be made for narrative structures or genres: For the literary journalist, the creative synthesis of the imagination means that experience can be structured in multiple ways to produce different truths or cohere to a range of narrative structures or archetypes. Implicit in this point is an encouragement to imaginatively project a range of possibilities rather than relying on a subjective experience of truth, as in the following anecdote from *The Gang Who Wouldn't Write Straight*: "The story was laying itself out for him like a tidy Hollywood movie, Sack thought, with a cast that represented a cross section of class and social attitudes, but he knew better than to prematurely impose neat parameters on it."[77] This kind of imaginative projection must be distinguished from fanciful invention; it is rather an epistemological and moral exercise that recognizes the potential radical difference of experience. As one historian reminds us, placing value on the accuracy of facts alone usually allows only one perspective from which those facts are viewed: This "may preclude the accurate representation of the *meaning* of an event to the differently positioned historical participants, let alone their descendants."[78]

Conclusion

This study has sought to explore a range of features, roles, and functions of the imagination in the context of literary journalism. Framing both theory and practice through *the creative synthesis of the imagination* is productive in a number of ways.

First, scholars who argue that the imagination is central to journalistic practice are clearly justified in doing so. As the primary or image-forming faculty, the imagination is crucial to the way humans apprehend and represent the world. Acknowledging its active, creative nature creates an ethical imperative to be responsible about not just what can be known, but also ways of knowing. But it also invites innovation, creativity and opportunity for reforming and representing experience within the framework of epistemic responsibility. As a creative faculty, the imagination synthesizes material reality in the form of symbols, images, and figures to create meaning beyond that produced by verifiable facts, allowing a community to *know* and reflect on itself in abstraction, which is often a necessary precursor for change. Its productive and reproductive functions reinforce the importance of allowing time to elapse before conclusions are drawn, judgments are made, or emplotment designed.

Immersion is also highlighted as a key literary journalistic practice—even as distance from a subject is also vital to change perspective and take a broader

or aerial view to allow for reflection and [re]configuration. Further, practitioners should be wary of imposing a high degree of closure in works of literary journalism in deference to the range of possibilities afforded by *imaginative*—which can be read as highly researched, interpretive, schematized, reflexive, symbolic, and epistemically justified—engagement with a subject. As Code notes, claiming a place for the imagination in the construction of knowledge "demands a certain epistemic humility prompted by wariness of premature closure . . . further complicated by a recognition that 'we' cannot always know the truths of our own lives."[79]

Finally, conceptualizing the role of the imagination in literary journalism in this way highlights the possibility of thinking "one's way into the situations of differently situated Others, including . . . the marginalized."[80] Given that one of literary journalism's purposes "is to narrow the distance between subjectivity and the object,"[81] the imagination clearly has an important role in structuring experience to minimize this gap. While Tulloch and Keeble are indeed correct in their observation that it has been marginalized, reassessing the imagination's role in literary journalism reaffirms that practitioners can take part in "the emancipatory practice of imagining *alternative* horizons of existence"[82] creatively, innovatively, and responsibly. As G. Stuart Adam writes, journalism is one starting point for civilized life and discourse, and as such "should be bathed in the light of the Imagination and the idea that journalism can be and often is one of our highest arts."[83]

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Notes

[1] Fuller, *News Values*; Kieran, "The Regulatory and Ethical Framework for Investigative Journalism"; Kovach and Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism*.

[2] Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 124–25.

[3] Tulloch and Keeble, "Mind the Gaps," 1:1; Raban, *For Love and Money*, 165.

[4] Keeble and Tulloch, eds., *Global Literary Journalism,* 2:3.

[5] Schudson, *The Power of News*, 96.

[6] Schudson, 108.

[7] Borden, *Journalism as Practice*, 52–53.

[8] Fuller, *News Values*, 161.

[9] Adam, *Notes towards a Definition of Journalism*, 45.

[10] Adam, 20.

[11] Adam, 46.

[12] Talese, *Fame and Obscurity*, vii.

[13] Connery, *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism*, 11; MacLeish, "Poetry and Journalism," 13; MacLeish, "The Poet and the Press," 43–44.

[14] Connery quoted in Sims, "The Art of Literary Journalism," 4.

[15] See Connery, *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism*; Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*; Lounsberry, *The Art of Fact*; Sims and Kramer, *Literary Journalism*.

[16] Keeble, "On Journalism, Creativity and the Imagination," in *The Journalistic Imagination*, 2.

[17] Adam, *Notes towards a Definition of Journalism*, 13.

[18] Code*, Epistemic Responsibility*, 77.

[19] Code*,* 77.

[20] Code*,* 77.

[21] Scholes, *Elements of Fiction*, 1–2; Hellmann, *Fables of Fact*, 17–18; see also Hollowell, *Fact and Fiction*.

[22] Grunberg quoted in Harbers, "Between Fact and Fiction: Arnon Grunberg on His Literary Journalism," 80.

[23] Grunberg, *Kamermeisjes en soldaten* [Chambermaids and Soldiers] (translations mine); Andeweg, "Searching for Truth: Arnon Grunberg's Literary Journalism," 63.

[24] Andeweg, 63 (emphasis mine).

[25] Kieran, "The Regulatory and Ethical Framework for Investigative Journalism," 156–76; Kovach and Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism*.

[26] Morrison, "The Site of Memory," 113; see also Lehman, *Matters of Fact*, 33.

[27] Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 180.

[28] Code, "Responsibility and Rhetoric," 3.

[29] Code, *Epistemic Responsibility*, 51.

[30] Adam, *Notes towards a Definition of Journalism*, 16.

[31] Hersey, "The Legend on the License," 68.

[32] Hersey, 80.

[33] Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, xiv.

[34] Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria,* 1:304.
[35] Blackburn, *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, s.v., "Imagination."
[36] Engell and Bate, "Editors' Introduction," in *Biographia Literaria*, xci.
[37] Engell and Bate, xcii.
[38] Tarnas, *Passion of the Western Mind*, 405.
[39] Talese, *Fame and Obscurity*, vii.
[40] Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems*, 183.
[41] Engell and Bate, "Editors' Introduction," xci.
[42] Code, *Ecological Thinking*, 213.
[43] Code, Epistemic Responsibility, 29.
[44] Code, 28.
[45] Reynolds, "A Metaphor for the World," 62; Boynton, introduction to *The New New Journalism*, xv; see also Lounsberry, *The Art of Fact*; Sims, "*Literary Journalists*."
[46] Connery, *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism*, 12.
[47] Connery, 13.
[48] Vanhoozer, "Philosophical Antecedents to Ricoeur's *Time and Narrative*," 41.
[49] Finnegan quoted in Boynton, "William Finnegan," in *The New New Journalism*, 96.
[50] Krien, *Into the Woods*.
[51] Krien, "Conversation," *The Monthly*; Krien, "Meet the Author: Anna Krien."
[52] McGeough, interview with the author, December 2, 2015.
[53] Vanhoozer, "Philosophical Antecedents to Ricoeur's *Time and Narrative*," 41.
[54] Reynolds, "A Metaphor for the World," 60.
[55] Langewiesche, *American Ground*; Vaillant, *The Golden Spruce*.
[56] Reynolds, "A Metaphor for the World," 60.
[57] Reynolds, 60.
[58] Reynolds, 63.
[59] Reynolds, 63.
[60] Langewiesche, *Inside the Sky*, 4.
[61] Langewiesche, "Afterword to the Paperback Edition," in *American Ground*, 210.
[62] Code, *Epistemic Responsibility*, 135.
[63] Code, 133.
[64] Code, 133 (emphasis in original).
[65] Code, 148.
[66] Code, 150.
[67] Code, 150–1 (emphasis mine).
[68] Reynolds, "A Metaphor for the World," 65.
[69] Reynolds, 67.
[70] Langewiesche, quoted by Reynolds, "A Metaphor for the World," 65, from first interview with Reynolds, November 4, 2002.
[71] Langewiesche, quoted by Reynolds, "A Metaphor for the World," 67, from third interview with Reynolds, August 2, 2004.

[72] Code, *Epistemic Responsibility*, 151.

[73] Greenberg, "The Ethics of Narrative," 521 (emphasis in the original).

[74] Greenberg, 520.

[75] Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 79; Greenberg, "The Ethics of Narrative," 520.

[76] Code, *Ecological Thinking*, 206 (emphasis in the original).

[77] Weingarten, *The Gang That Wouldn't Write Straight*, 152.

[78] Cowlishaw, "Arbiters of the Past," 211 (emphasis in original).

[79] Code, *Ecological Thinking*, 207.

[80] Code, 207.

[81] Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 132.

[82] Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination*, 30 (emphasis in original); Greenberg, "The Ethics of Narrative," 527.

[83] Adam, *Notes towards a Definition of Journalism*, 48.

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Andrew Borden, father of Lizzie Borden, slain in his house, Fall River, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Police forensic photograph, 1892. Burns Archive, https://imgur.com/a/DObvQ, public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=58261794.

The Journalist Who Was Always Late: Time and Temporality in Literary Journalism

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Abstract: This essay considers the role of time and temporality in literary journalism—and, more specifically, it investigates the temporal phenomenon known as *belatedness*, the common condition of the journalist's arriving late to a news scene. Along with considering the centrality of time to histories of modern American reporting, this essay also touches upon recent scholarly and theoretical thinking about time, timeliness, and time shifting in modern news writing. Meanwhile, the essay also explores—specifically in relation to the designation known as "slow" or long-form journalism—theoretical thinking about narrative time in nonfiction storytelling. The central interests here are in the stylistic, technical, and material dimensions of time in narrative journalism; the relationship between direct witnessing and retrospective hindsight; and the connections between narrative time and journalistic authority. Along with discussing long-form works by Michael Lewis, William Finnegan, Anne Fadiman, and others, the central text examined here is from Calvin Trillin's collection, *Killings* (1984), specifically, an essay originally published in his U.S. Journal series in the *New Yorker*.

Keywords: narrative journalism – time and journalism – temporality – hindsight – Calvin Trillin

Shots ring out in an alley on a cold winter night, and a body falls on a city pavement. Someone—probably, in fact, anonymously—thinks to call the police, and in due time they roll up in black and white patrol cars. The cops push a few early onlookers back, bend over the body, and then begin to roll out the yellow tape announcing Crime Scene: Do Not Cross. They do so because, as the great American journalist Stephen Crane once wrote in a mock headline: "When Man Falls, a Crowd Gathers."[1] And imagine, in and through that gathering crowd bobs a stubby, trench-coated man in a floppy hat, smoking a cigar, carrying a big box camera with an enormous flash that rattles the night. He's elbowing his way to the front, crouching down, capturing the glint of his own flashbulb off the graininess of the pavement: *Snap, flash*—the illumination races down and over the body, filling the alley for a split second, and perhaps allowing a glimpse of the steel-black revolver lying alone, several feet from a lifeless corpse, the gun pointing back at the man much like the camera itself.

Meanwhile, the photographer has parked his retro Chevrolet sedan illegally, on the other side of the street; the car's trunk is open, and it's stuffed with photo equipment, raggedy paper bags, loose sheets of paper—and, weirdly, as if sitting up on a pedestal, a heavy-gray typewriter, along with a small stool ready for perching over the car's bumper. From the photographer's chatter with the cops, it is clear he's intercepted their radio calls at his own apartment—a greasy grim place that he has had wired to connect directly to the police dispatcher, so to arrive at the scene as quickly as possible. And yet, through it all, as he's bobbing around, getting all the angles, the odd man is also cursing under his breath. He's angry because he arrived too late again. He didn't want just another crime scene photograph. He wanted to be there as the bullet arrived, *before* the body would fall. Secretly, he's been harboring a fantasy he calls "psychic photography": the hope that, someday, as if by magic, he could be present to shoot not the aftermath of a crime, but the moment it originally happened.

As some readers will know, the peculiar man of the scene just described is "Weegee" (Arthur Fellig), a U.S. tabloid photographer who became famous in the 1930s and 1940s. Fellig gave himself his odd trademark-name to remind others of the prophetic powers of a Ouija board, and thus to suture his private fantasy to his public reputation. But the essay that follows will not, alas, be about Weegee, who has received fine scholarly treatment elsewhere.[2] Rather, of interest here is the predicament Weegee's fantasy hoped to redress: the bind of temporal *belatedness*, or the practically inevitable fact that even the most ambitious reporters nevertheless typically arrive after a news event has occurred. This is a condition, in other words, more pervasive in modern

journalism than is often recognized—indeed, it probably affects writers of literary journalism even more deeply than beat reporters like Weegee. Much as Mark Kramer has argued in his oft-cited meditation on the "Breakable Rules" of literary journalism, writers of the long form often seem to be "fated to arrive late." ("Murderers," Kramer has pointed out rather laconically, "usually try not to do their work in front of writers.")[3]

Belatedness, however, is only the ultimate aspect of time and temporality to be explored in the following. There is also a need to consider that many different dimensions and even *meanings* of time impinge upon journalistic practice, and again especially on the forms of narrative or literary journalism sometimes called "slow." And although a lexical looseness with the customary distinctions of critical practice (narrative, literary, long form, "slow") may be troubling to some—the approach here will be intentionally eclectic and speculative. The initial argument will move through two distinct phases.[4] It will begin with a discussion of the role of time in general theories of news modernization, and then turn to how some theoretical thinking on time and temporality might shape approaches to long-form literary journalism in particular.[5] This second phase of the exploration will include some of the ways literary journalists signal the shifting time frames in their storytelling: traveling back to the past, dispensing with a linear or chronological storyline, or choosing—in the words of South African novelist J. M. Coetzee—to make "time bend and buckle."[6]

Ultimately, however, the discussion will return to where it began: to how narrative journalists use particular rhetorical devices, reporting routines, and story forms to negotiate the problem of belatedness and the related, risky powers of hindsight.[7] And it is here the discussion will also return to matters more central to scholarly debates in journals such as *LJS*. What, for instance, might attention to temporality and belatedness have to say about the focus on the "inconclusive present" John Hartsock has attributed to the tradition of U.S. literary journalism?[8] Indeed, what would such attention have to say even about the very distinction used above: the one between supposedly "fast" and "slow" journalism? And finally, can considerations of time and temporality be brought more directly into line-to-line analyses of individual long-form texts in a meaningful way? The main vehicle for addressing this last question will be a journalistic essay written by Calvin Trillin for his U.S. Journal series in the *New Yorker* in the 1970s. As it happens, the essay is itself an interesting meditation on time and temporality. The title of Trillin's piece is—well, I'll get to the title eventually.

Four Aspects of Time

It will surprise no one that scholars have tended to take time and temporality in journalism for granted, in part because is a tendency to see everyday reporting as enveloped in the present moment. Media scholars even begin the act of *defining* the news, often, by invoking the professional journalistic premium on the "now," particularly as it is expressed in the trade's reporting routines: for instance, in the importance of deadlines and datelines, of direct eye-witnessing, of offering—at an even more accelerated pace, with the rise of digital media—immediate coverage. Speed, as Barbie Zelizer has astutely observed, has largely become a stand-in for time as such.[9] In the nineteenth century—whether in the U.S. penny press, in the *National Police Gazette*, or in Pulitzer's and Hearst's newspapers—crime news was the principal beneficiary of the news' rationalization, a *speed up* usually with a direct correlation to increased sensationalism. Setting up shop in police station houses or criminal courts, reporters soon found their daily diet habitually became (as one journalist, Vance Thompson, put it) "the fall of man," and that "fall" was recorded quickly.[10] As Weegee's example suggests, the metropolitan or crime beat has remained the primary apprenticeship ground for learning the core lesson about reporting generally: of being "in the right place at the right time and filing the story before anyone else does."[11]

Such proclamations about the importance of the *now* commonly begin by emphasizing the larger impact of modernization. Whether they turn to E. P. Thompson or Benedict Anderson or David Harvey, journalism historians characteristically cite the modern hegemony of regimented, measured time and clock consciousness both within the journalism trade and without. Although this modern transformation is attributed to various social factors, historical accounts usually emphasize that the communications revolution created a modern subject who was propelled "ever forward in time" by the news's constant "replenishment of 'new' information."[12] In addition, many scholars have pointed to modernity's signature compression of time and space, even (as Karl Marx famously had it) the latter's annihilation in the industrial era.[13] New communication technologies—the telegraph, the photograph, the telephone—are thus pivotal to this broader story about journalism's rise to professional stature. Fittingly, then, in Robert Manhoff and Michael Schudson's path-breaking volume, *Reading the News*, the "5 W's" table of contents assigned the "When" chapter to Schudson, the author of one of the more influential histories of modern journalism's rise in the U.S.[14]

Schudson's thinking in *Reading the News* deserves an extended revisit, however, because it shows that scholarly discussions of time in journalism have been both more nuanced, and more ambivalent, than the too-quick

summary above might suggest. At one level, the *now* was certainly Schudson's keynote. "Getting the news fast and, ideally, getting it *first* is of passionate interest to journalists," he wrote, using his own present tense,[15] and "time," he went on to declare, is the very "scaffolding on which [news] stories are hung."[16] As Schudson suggested, that's why news is praised when it is called "timely."[17] On the other hand, Schudson singled out the modern conflation of time with the *now*, largely to criticize it. For instance, he complained about the always declining supply of in-depth, investigative reporting, or the lack of historical perspective in the news, or the misreporting that resulted from the quick-trigger, stopwatch mentality of the trade. He used the preoccupation with the now, moreover, to argue that the prevailing focus on scoops, eye-witnessing, and rapid production actually disguises the quite prosaic character of newsgathering. Although pundits and moviemakers still prefer to conjure up the reporter racing to the newsroom, the crackle of the telegraph wires, the slamming down of the city desk's telephone—the true situation, as Schudson put it rather glumly, is that "the representatives of one bureaucracy [are] picking up prefabricated news . . . from representatives of another bureaucracy."[18] As a result of the stopwatch mentality, the "more the media emphasize the immediacy of news, the more subject journalists are to manipulation by public officials."[19] Especially when reporters settle into routines keyed to the rhythms of government releases and election cycles, Schudson suggests, the situation was quite liable to affirm the status quo.[20]

Naturally, scholars have extended and modified these ideas since Schudson's writing. Lately, for example, it has been argued that the ever-accelerating pace of digital and online news production often positions non-Western, local, or supposedly primitive cultures as static temporal zones, somehow outside history. As Geoffrey Craig has argued, we need to be more aware of modernity's "*differential* temporalities."[21] Nevertheless, what has been striking is how often these critiques have seemed to do little to dethrone the notion that the present tense is what matters most. Ironically, even Susan Greenberg's invaluable 2007 postulation of long-form reportage as a "slow" journalism might have risked perpetuating this way of thinking by positing the cheap and the fast as the prevailing norm she was out to critique.[22]

Importantly, however, Schudson himself had explored a few strategies to find the way out of this fast/slow binary. For example, when he turned to how journalists actually *wrote* their stories, he saw that the relationship of time to everyday news storytelling was far more complex than simply a hegemonic present imposed by the news' rate of production. Reporters, for instance, implicitly drew upon other ways to calibrate time when they framed a story. Journalists might make reference to historical periods, or implicitly

call up biographical notions of the lifespan; they might refer to generational transitions, or position their political news within the political time frames such as the "postwar world."[23] News stories anticipated the future by suggesting emerging trends or policies. Moreover, Schudson delved not just into how stories measured time, he looked at the discourses in which time was represented. For instance, he argued that though headlines and datelines do typically speak in a present tense,[24] news stories themselves are actually often written in the past tense. Anticipating future scholarly work on serial news reading, he also wrote that time could be broken down into benchmarks in a developing news story, as new revelations necessarily push past versions of events aside[25]—a point I'll come back to in the discussion of Calvin Trillin. And then there was the curious difference between the time frame evoked by a report and the consumer's actual reading time. Readapting an old joke about how a print journalist would define Thursday (the punch line: it's the first word in a news story appearing on Friday), Schudson observed that the traditional print dateline may itself refer to something happening "today," even though we may be reading on the following one.[26]

Quite recently, in fact, this implicit broaching of temporal fluctuation within a single news text has received further scholarly exploration. For example, scholars examining the narrative structure of daily and serial news have suggested that everyday reports commonly invoke clusters or layers of temporality. Israeli scholars Motti Neiger and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt, for instance, have recently shown that news stories refer to distant or mid-range pasts or immediate and foreseeable futures, often shuffled or rearranged depending on the interpretive framework a reporter uses. What Tenenboim-Weinblatt calls "counting time"—subdividing, tracking, and even diverting the news plot into fillers that speak of change *over* time—provides readers both with retrospective place-holders and ritualized reassurance about the continuing relevance of the original news story. Other researchers have written about how the site of consumption can alter the rate of news reading or viewing; still others have explored the relationship between time and the processes of collective memory, the periodization of official or unofficial history, and so on.[27]

So far, however, this discussion has been largely about three aspects of time: *production* time, imposed by deadlines and publication schedules; *representational* time, or the external markers referred to (anniversaries of battles or national holidays, for example); and journalism's *discursive* conventions about time, the clusters or time shifts signaled, for instance, by verb tenses or the counting time described above. However, recent theorizing can also lead into a fourth, overlapping domain of time: that of *narrative* temporality, or

the elusive processes whereby a reader is led to feel as if he or she experiences time's passage in a given text. In long-form journalism especially, writers typically deploy rhetorical clues that invite readers to feel as if they are re-experiencing a temporal event rather than just reading about it. Entire sections of a journalistic text, for example, can create a sense of slowing down or—in Mikhail Bakhtin's term—a "thickening" of temporality.[28] Indeed, narrative temporality may be especially pertinent to the fast/slow binary itself, since it raises the question of how, exactly, production time or even narrative length might be calibrated to the actual pace experienced while reading. (Bakhtin's notion, it should be said, doesn't refer merely to "rate" or a slowing—but as he puts it, how "time . . . takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise [how] space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history.")[29]

Narrative temporality may therefore add texture, for instance, to Hartsock's proposition that a persisting signature of literary journalism has been its invocation of an as-yet "inconclusive" present, another concept that presumes the primacy of the now.[30] It would appear readers do commonly default to the *now* when they read news stories—and indeed, they are often asked to feel that this *present* is still open-ended, as Hartsock argues. Nevertheless, inside a text, a reader's sense of time can also be broken up, stopped, or elongated; moreover, a reader may be directed variously to think about where the journalist him- or herself stood in time *in relation to* the time frame of the event itself. (A narrative, that is, might create an account of its own production time, by recounting the reporter's legwork.) Moreover, such temporal signals are often critical to the control (or lack of it) that a reader may feel over the events being portrayed. For instance, he or she may feel helplessness or sympathy or a sense of loss—as time's passage takes on weight or importance as it slips away, or moves too fast, or conversely proceeds slowly and painfully. Inside a text, transfigurations of time can work at variable speeds, slowing any given text and speeding it up.

Collaterally, time is not always moving in a single direction—as, for instance, when we conceive of a narrative *flashback* as a transport backwards in time. Rather, as William Dowling has written in his exegesis of the ideas central to French philosopher Paul Ricoeur's *Time and Narrative*, we are just as likely to experience a "double temporality"[31] in what we read. That is, as Ricoeur sees it, there is commonly a dialectical interplay of *two* main movements of narrative time, one propelling the reader forward with the action, and a counter-flow that attaches importance or meaning to that forward movement while looking back in time (often, belatedly).[32] As Dowling has explained, this often-simultaneous interplay of forward-and-backward look-

ing narrative time is crucial to Ricoeur's sense of how stories construct shared communal meanings between authors and readers.[33] This was an idea Ricoeur drew, in part, from anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz: the premise that symbolic meanings are not simply conjured up by the storyteller alone. Rather, such meanings are typically forged in common with what readers learn or intuit along the path of reading.[34] (Perhaps this is why anthropologists jokingly refer to what *they* do as slow journalism.) As such, reciprocity may serve to actively suture the seams of cultural understanding between journalist and reader. If so, Ricoeur's model certainly applies to journalism's sense of its public role: The meaning of an event is not merely reported or described in the present tense, but forged in concert with one's reading public, often over time.[35]

Or, one might say, Ricoeur's model reinforces the idea that journalistic authority does not lie just with capturing the now. Indeed, it is all too easy to overplay the story of modernization's invisible hand on journalism's relationship to time. Few would dispute that technological changes in capturing and delivering the news have expanded exponentially over the centuries; to be sure, the undeniable feel of truth or authenticity in eyewitness testimony derives from its immediacy, its emotional richness, and its testimonial power. The news often seems to capture, as the U.S. publisher Henry Luce might say, a moment in *Time*. (Puns about time or "the times" are of course legion in newspaper and magazine mastheads.) Nevertheless, as Zelizer has argued in another context, we should not simply equate journalistic authority with direct witnessing.[36] Indeed, even photography (or, in another Luce coinage, in-the-moment *Look*ing) can retain associations of subjectivity and partial viewing.[37] Much like a seemingly indisputable confession, or an apparently rock-solid police line-up identification, eye-witnessing can prove to be entirely mistaken, self-interested, misleading, or all of the above. Which is also why, in the journalism trade, being on the scene is thought best balanced via the rituals of objectivity, fact-checking, or double-sourcing—and, speaking in a temporal vocabulary, by retrospect. Or, by what Zelizer, drawing on the work of Homi Bhabha, has called enacting a "double time."[38] In forms of slow journalism, these two core perspectives in time become mutually interdependent—the authority of each not surviving, at least for very long, without the contribution of the other.[39]

Literary Journalists Negotiate Time

It's time, however, to get down to specific long-form journalists, and to how they orchestrate matters of temporality in their texts. At the very least, paying attention to different varieties of time might expand scholarly discussions

of stylistic technique. As writers of fiction do, nonfiction writers use temporal shifts to create immediacy, to recreate the *lost time* of being enclosed or isolated, or to suggest the feeling of disorientation that can accompany movement across borders or through different historical eras. For example, in *Travels with Herodotus*, as Magdalena Horodecka has demonstrated, Ryzard Kapuściński inverts the standard modes of autobiographical time and archaic history to create a hermeneutic dialogue with his Greek counterpart.[40] Meanwhile, immersive writers like Suki Kim try to create the feeling of time's disappearance when, going undercover in North Korea, she finds herself cut off from the events of the outside world.[41] John Edgar Wideman, in turn, weaves Eastern and Western notions of time, different generational decades, and different eras of African American history into his memoir *Brothers and Keepers.* Working collaboratively with his imprisoned brother, Wideman refashions Zelizer's double time into a powerful call and response narrative that captures the *doing time* of prison and the sorrowful retrospect of *times* the brothers have both shared and lost.[42]

Such a rapid-tempo list, however, should not be taken to suggest that the manipulation of time is *only* a matter of style or theme. On the contrary, temporal considerations connect to the ethical and interpretive concerns journalists bring to their stories. How time is rendered, for example, connects to choices about whose voices will be represented—even to choices concerning point of view. Michael Lewis, for instance, commonly shuffles temporal frameworks in his books so as to trouble the comforting privilege of hindsight his subjects lacked in real time.[43] Likewise, John Hersey's decision to use what literary critics typically call a "restricted third person" point of view in *Hiroshima* obviously reflects an attempt to control retrospect.[44] He attempts to limit the intrusion of what was later known about the Atom Bomb and emphasize, instead, mainly what his Japanese (and Jesuit) informants knew and did not know. "At the time," Hersey announces at the end of his very first paragraph—the time he freezes at the start of every section, at first—"none of them knew anything"[45]; the bomb survivors initially believe, for instance, that that they have been doused in gasoline, "or some combustible gas, or a big cluster of incendiaries, or the work of parachutists."[46] Strategically leaking in parenthetical asides—the smell his characters detect is actually "(ionization . . . given off by the bomb's fission),"[47] for example—Hersey gradually lets the horrors of his scene accumulate, his own hindsight providing hints and small correctives that add to the tension in time.

Meanwhile, William Finnegan often uses the past present tense in recounting his journeys into the *Cold New World* of the criminalized American poor. In other words, instead of saying an informant "took me to" a movie,

Finnegan writes that "he takes me" there.[48] But Finnegan does that both to create a sense of immediacy and to avoid implying he had interpretive omniscience in real time. For instance, recounting an exchange with a New Haven mother worrying over her two sons—one a drug dealer named Terry, the other a disturbingly hyperactive toddler named Buddy—Finnegan writes this:

> "Terry's problem is, he's lazy," she goes on. "Buddy loves to work. He always got to be doing something. But Terry, he's not like that."
>
> Angelica is right about Buddy, at least, who is now swinging his paint roller wildly in an effort to dislodge her . . . from the paint cans. "More Paint! More paint!" Buddy has been pleading for more paint for an hour now. I've tried to suggest to Angelica and [her boyfriend] that he really could use some more paint, but I, too, am ignored. . . .
>
> . . . I'm reluctant to sit in judgment on Angelica's maternal performance. The state can do that. . . . Angelica has not come stomping uninvited into *my* life and, on the basis of a few conversations with my family, presumed to judge my performance as a son or a spouse or a citizen.[49]

Finnegan avoids, that is, something all too conventional these days: making retrospect seem as if it is the journalist's own uncanny wisdom and foresight.[50]

How time is represented is also intimately connected to the interpretive paradigms that journalists appropriate from other fields. For example, in *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*,[51] Anne Fadiman shifts her storytelling about a Hmong family between the lenses of anthropology and history, a process that entails radical shifts in how temporality interacts with her interpretations. Verb tenses track these shifts. In the anthropological mode that begins her book, Fadiman's subject-family is seen through the temporally static lens of ethnographic description: The "Hmong" "are" or "do" what they have always done.[52] But when Fadiman later turns to tracing that family through the lens of history, these same static cultural norms are irrevocably put in motion by the experience of mass transnational migration and war. "Every Hmong refugee has an exodus story," she now writes, ". . . Most Hmong walked. Some travelled in small extended-family bands, others in convoys of up to 8,000 people."[53] And she's not done shifting time. When Fadiman moves into psychological analysis of that family's members, time reverts to a case study mode that isolates emotionally pivotal events in time, and allows Hmong characters to testify as individuals. (" 'I am very stupid,' says the family's mother, '. . . too many sad things have happened to me and my brain is not good any more' "[54]). When Fadiman shifts into a memoir mode, we are in her own personal time frame as she begins to recount when

she actually arrived on scene, met her Hmong family, and breaks through. "I was to spend hundreds of hours in this apartment,"[55] she writes, introducing her *modus operandi* not in her preface or prologue, but a third of the way into her book, while projecting forward in time.

Therefore, temporality should not be viewed only as a theme or stylistic effect of narrative journalism. Rather, it is directly connected to the tactical, material, and ethical decisions that journalists face in ways that fiction writers often do not. The writer's heady power of mastering time, or again the power to impose hindsight, might be more constrained in narrative journalism than in fiction.[56] While literary critics, for instance, commonly seek out formalist notions of parallelism, foreshadowing, or even closure within works of narrative journalism, practicing journalists know all too well that the timespans of actual lives may not be so orderly, just as *journalistic* free-indirect discourse is, well—not quite as free.[57] Likewise, unlike fiction writers, journalists cannot simply locate themselves in time where they will: On the contrary, where they stood in time relative to the event, even where in time they were when they wrote the story, is often crucially related, again, to the authority readers are liable to grant them.[58]

This is also why thinking more about belatedness might be instructive. In the general sense, belatedness is a word used in English to capture the sense of arriving too late; older meanings, the *Oxford English Dictionary* reports, even connect to the sense of being left out after dark.[59] Belatedness can thus, obviously, carry a connotation of regret, having missed out, or of not having been somewhere when needed. However, the most promising meanings of belatedness are those that provide insight into the tensions between the fluid *flex*-time of narrative temporality and the *real*-time, news-production conditions in which journalistic texts operate, such as deadlines, the rhythms of court cases, and so on.[60] Yesterday's *now*, and its importance, has a habit not only of becoming impossible to witness, but being made irrelevant or irrecoverable, in effect slipping out of one's hands. In the simplest sense, journalists are beings who are bound by time: both in terms of the production timetables they are subject to and the actual location in time they occupy. As a result, they often develop routines and writing strategies to manage or redress their all-too-customary belatedness.

In fact, few better examples exist than the routines devised by Calvin Trillin for his various *New Yorker* essays, including the U.S. Journal series that focused on (as his recently reissued 1984 book title put it) *Killings*: accidental deaths, suicides, and murders in small towns and cities beyond his Manhattan home. Trillin has said that he commonly began these essays in New York with a tip culled from out-of-town newspapers; then he would venture out, much

like a travelling salesman in a rental car, with a typewriter lugged around into motel rooms while trying to follow, or catch up on, a local criminal trial.[61] Trillin likened those trials to "illumination devices," he said, "switched on by sudden death"[62]: They cast intense and immediate light, going right to the heart of local cultures and their conflicts. He would also talk to citizens, of course, including gathering up the rumors they would tell him. Meanwhile, Trillin said he would devote one week to visiting his towns, one to drafting his essay, and one to working on revisions. (He admitted, in fact, that he had often confined his town visits to a single week so as to leave time for the other two tasks.) Gradually, in turn, his essays would reflect that itinerary. That is, they would typically begin with what, initially, the locality only perceived dimly, or would only venture guesses about, through rumor or hearsay—including facts that might *not* actually be revealed by the ensuing criminal trials. And thus at its core, Trillin's art involved a repurposing of local news stories and local talk through retrospection, creating essays that often contained a sequential set of nested installments strung along his narrative line.

In short, belatedness is quite simply the structural premise of many of the *Killings* essays. Trillin's *New Yorker* readers, likewise, are necessarily put in a position of catching up themselves, asked to go back over local news archives and local opinion and thus re-experience what the local citizens had. The result is a story that typically unfolds, as if producing serial installments *inside* a single essay through a sequential refinement of the original story. The narrative arc of Trillin's *New Yorker* essays therefore create not only Ricouer's and Zelizer's double time, but what some narrative theorists have called *double directedness*: a reconstruction of local knowledge revised by cosmopolitan skepticism; they recast what has already happened at the local level with a more metropolitan eye.[63] However, Trillin is usually careful not to jump prematurely to ironic hindsight. Rather he preserves, for the narrative effect of tension, the processes of his reporting: Usually, his footprints remain in the sand of the text. Thus, much like the interplay Zelizer describes, Trillin reproduces, for his national audience of the *New Yorker*, a feeling of intimacy that is counterpointed at a distance both geographic and temporal.

How Trillin Manipulates Time

But here I should slow down, one final time, by turning to the specific Trillin essay in mind. The structure of this specific Trillin essay works much in the way described above: by reconstructing the events leading up to a tragic death and criminal trial. Specifically, Trillin's essay recounts the death of a young teenage girl named FaNee Cooper who, having grown up in a place called Halls Crossroads—a rural hill community outside Knoxville,

Tennessee—rebels from her parents' evangelical middle-class world. Young and sensitive, prone to bleak meditations, ironic and self-critical, she spirals into a tougher crowd. Increasingly desperate concerning her whereabouts, FaNee's parents in turn begin to seek help from her school and local community to track her movements until, in the horrid, penultimate phase of Trillin's essay, FaNee dies tragically while being chased down, over winding mountain roads, by a car driven by her own father. Trillin may well have readapted his essay from Associated Press reports of FaNee's death and the ensuing trial[64]—but in any event, in a familiar way, the essay begins with FaNee's background, builds to a climax at her death, and then offers a brief dénouement discussing the trials that follow. It is a relatively conventional Freytag pyramid of a plot.[65]

If, however, we focus on Trillin's manipulation of time, his essay starts to seem far less conventional. Here are its first lines:

> Until she was sixteen, FaNee Cooper was what her parents sometimes called an ideal child. "You'd never have to correct her," FaNee's mother has said. In sixth grade, FaNee won a spelling contest. She played the piano and the flute. She seemed to believe what she heard every Sunday at the Beaver Dam Baptist Church about good and evil and the hereafter. FaNee was not an outgoing child. Even as a baby, she was uncomfortable when she was held and cuddled.[66]

Here Trillin begins with a rather abrupt, nearly mid-point temporal marker: "Until she was sixteen." However, he then follows up this clause with a vague, nebulous past tense: "FaNee Cooper was what her parents sometimes called an ideal child," a doubly qualified assertion that only raises the question of what has not been said. Then, Trillin turns time on its head again, by switching to a hard-to-follow "non-continuous" past tense, as in her mother "has said" (in other words, an attribution that could have come from any moment in time).

What follows actually hops through the years of FaNee's childhood almost at random. Indeed, Trillin's plot line—which might otherwise seem simply a chronological story propelling FaNee Cooper forward to her death—actually hopscotches all around her childhood. And as a result, Trillin's constant shifts in time make the "when" of FaNee's supposed *fall* much harder to locate or reason out. And he's not done bending time even when he gets to the dramatic climax of his story. There, Trillin will shift gears again, moving into Bakhtin's thickening of narrative temporality. That is, right when the action might be thought to be speeding up—after all, it's a description of a car chase—Trillin actually slows down, starting on the very day of FaNee's death, itemizing the movements she makes, step by step. At the end of this penultimate downshift, Trillin then slows down his narrative clock even further, into a slow-motion

time, as FaNee's father Leo Cooper watches her car turning over and over in the air, followed by: "I thought it was an eternity before I could find her body."[67] For FaNee's father, we might say, conventional clock time has become what some call trauma's frozen or forever time, lived over and over again.[68]

As if that were not enough, Trillin also deploys several complicated effects to build the antithetical forces of double temporality. Trillin's protagonist and his readers are simultaneously pulled forward in time, as if against their will. To accentuate this pull forward, he also grants FaNee Cooper the eerie power of premonition, of seeing forward into her own fate but having no power over it: As if she has her own Ouija board, she even writes a poem a week before the accident, suggesting she's going to die without knowing why.[69] Meanwhile, Trillin, the self-effacing "deadline poet"[70] himself, crystallizes a temporal marker into a poetic refrain, a phrase repeated throughout the essay: FaNee starts saying everything is "too late," or "it's just too late"[71] without ever clarifying what the "it" is.

Of course, this all creates a mood of fatality. But the poignancy of these events is better understood through the belatedness with which they are viewed. The reader may recognize, for instance, that Trillin himself has somehow gotten access to FaNee's private materials, principally a diary, "written in a remarkably neat hand"[72] that contains FaNee's premonitions. Like FaNee's parents, he has gathered up the evidence with hindsight, but even he, writing in his now, can do little with it to change or explain events. Simultaneously, Trillin allows the belatedness of his own position to resonate with the intentionally nebulous denotations of his book's title, *Killings*, which (much like a refrain itself) begins to assert itself within this particular essay. That is, as the essay begins, readers may be unsure about *how* FaNee will meet her death—suicide, accident, murder—even if they suspect she will. But rather than moving towards clarification, Trillin leads his readers to feel that FaNee's *killing* could be interpreted under any one of those three labels. Indeed, the narrative voice refrains from invoking the insight that Trillin's hindsight would seem to have offered him. FaNee thus becomes as removed from readers as she is from the people who begin to testify about her: Readers realize, perhaps, they are out of time too. Again, as FaNee says, "It's too late."[73]

These in-text effects of belatedness also might refer back to Trillin's professional routine. That is, the time gap between FaNee's death and the moment the essay was originally produced has clearly forced Trillin to rely on attribution, or the testimony of persons who actually did witness these sad events. And as such, he only discovers the limits of that reliance.[74] For one thing, it means that Trillin was forced to work through the incomplete knowledge of the community surrounding FaNee—through the half-knowledge of her par-

ents, especially. As if to acknowledge that bind, Trillin begins to introduce a wry repurposing of the evangelical discourse that FaNee's parents themselves have used, even though obviously that vocabulary had failed to forestall her fate. When she had been discovered smoking cigarettes at age thirteen, her parents no longer saw her as their "perfect" angel. (Sadly, FaNee had begun to use some of that vocabulary herself—writing, for instance, about demons and serpents attacking her sanity.[75] It is as if Trillin admits resorting to the very attributions he cannot agree with, often by making them seem even more unreliable than they were originally. He reports, for instance, FaNee's former-cheerleader and high school principal parents saying that "They thought [FaNee] might [merely] be self-conscious" about the combination "of braces and glasses,"[76] or that, in FaNee's high school, the self-proclaimed "Jocks" will "talk about having a really good . . . witness" at church.[77] FaNee's story needs a witness, but it seems not to have any.

Faced with such weak rationalizations, the reader might insist, variously, that FaNee's self-attributed "lateness" referred to a sense of having sinned or *fallen*, or having passed a crossroads of some kind, or having become pregnant (that is, being *late*). Yet the half-attributions in Trillin's prose also work to remind the reader that, in the rural domain of Halls Crossroads, such a center of meaning may not have been recoverable. As FaNee Cooper moves forward in her time, escaping her parents, she also moves out into a kind of unstable void, a place that Trillin says "has no center"[78] despite all those evangelical claims of community cohesion. Even the criminal and civil trials that follow do not end up probing (in Trillin's telling) FaNee's motives for running away, and they clearly whitewash Leo Cooper's own complicity in her death. Using the trademark local vocabulary, the courts affirm that Leo Cooper had merely "done what any daddy worth his salt would have done."[79] And thus, the cost of Trillin's belatedness is only doubled: undermined both by the fragmented record of FaNee's death and by the inadequacy of the local discourse—communities that, as a journalist, Trillin might have re-crafted to explain her crisis.

Trillin's predicament becomes even more visible if we go back in time to the scene where Leo Cooper chases FaNee as she tries to escape in a car driven by her boyfriend, Charlie Stevens. In its earliest phases, the sequences leading up to the car chase have been presented in a thickened narrative time, as if Trillin means to transport the reader back in time. Trillin's lines have the aura of realism, of being there, of eye-witnessing:

> At a fork, Cooper thought he had lost the Pinto. He started to go right, and then saw what seemed to be a spark from Stevens's dragging muffler off to the left, in the darkness. Cooper took the left fork, down Salem Church Road. He went down a hill, and then up a long, curving hill to a crest,

> where he saw the Stevens car ahead. "I saw the car airborne. Up in the air," he later testified. "It was up in the air. And then it completely rolled over one more time. It started to make another flip forward, and just as it started to flip to the other side it flipped back this way, and my daughter's body came out."[80]

This is tough stuff, to be sure: enthralling, grim, perhaps another body in a crime scene. But in the chase sequences, the reader should also notice that only with the belated arrival of Trillin's temporal attribution of "he later testified"[81] does it become apparent that this testimony is derived from a courtroom, from none other than Leo Cooper himself, thinking back in time. But that is precisely what, of course, creates the rub: FaNee Cooper's father, now revealed as the *source* for the transporting scene, is on trial for *causing* FaNee's death. Zelizer's point about the uncertainty of ocular proof and eye-witnessing is certainly relevant here: The very immediacy, emotional saturation, and slow time of Leo's testimony are also what make it so suspect. Ultimately, it is possible to come to think of Trillin himself as FaNee's doppelgänger in journalistic time: If local headlines have plunged him back in time, she has moved forward *into* those headlines. And, in a way, now, out of them, as if beyond human time itself.

Oh, and here is the title of the Trillin essay I've been describing: "It's Just Too Late."

Conclusion

Sitting alone while reading this essay, in whatever moment in time, some of my own readers may protest that, after all, the title of a long-form journalistic work is something encountered at the start of reading—not, that is, so belatedly. A title, one thinks, is the writer's first move, an opening gambit, telling us where the story is going.

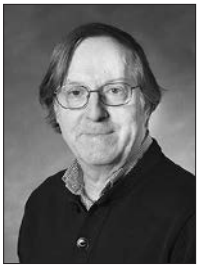
Instead, following Ricoeur, perhaps it can be said: A title is also something that accompanies us as we are propelled forward in narrative time. Trillin uses both his titles (essay and book) in this way: As refrains we might repeat to ourselves, even as they alter in importance over the course of narrative time. A title's meanings are sequentially layered and transformed by narrative retrospect. Only when the reader arrives at the end time of a long-form work may this broader function of the title seem completed.[82] Or, perhaps, in some forms of slow journalism, *not* completed at all: left partial, slightly out of reach, because of the belatedness of journalistic practice. In some ways, Leo Cooper's dilemma is Trillin's, as it is the reader's: "Even if Leo Cooper continues to think about that night for the rest of his life, there are questions he can never answer."[83]

Admittedly, the issues about time and belatedness explored in "It's Just

Too Late" may be idiosyncratic to Trillin himself; not every work of narrative journalism is quite as self-reflexive as this one. For one thing, Trillin's apparent desire to leave a sense of incompletion within the FaNee Cooper story will not satisfy every reader; some might say that the real-time constraint Trillin had allotted himself (his three-week routine) itself imposed limits on the depth of his inquiry. Indeed, in book versions of these *New Yorker* essays, Trillin typically felt the need to append updates on trials, verdicts, and their aftermath, as if more could always be said. Moreover, retrospection necessarily creates its own simplifications and distortions. In Trillin's case, belatedness forced him to rely on witness-attribution that created a double bind: trying to create a transport in time, but using rationalizations offered up by the very agents that caused the facts of a story to disappear or be distorted.[84] Nor is Trillin's occasional resorting to cosmopolitan irony always satisfying. There are elements in "Always Late," that turn Trillin's small town into a locale frozen in time, outside history, as if Halls Crossroads will always be what it was.[85]

However, even these limitations turn us back to belatedness, and considerations that may often be in play even in the seemingly luxurious, slow time of the narrative journalist. On the one hand, freed from deadlines and the stopwatch mentality, narrative journalists are indeed free to explore many different modes of temporality, many of which push back against the pressures of the now, offer ways to reinterpret headline events, and complicate the conventional notions of authority that say only eye-witnessing counts. And yet, Trillin's predicament also illustrates why belatedness matters: As *journalists*, none of these experiments in temporality float free of the real-time parameters around the text—matters shaping the text's production, qualifying its imaginary transports in time, and even suffusing its claims to *being there* and making a difference. Not all forms of time, *pace* Coetzee, can be made to bend at the journalist's will. Paradoxically, the moments when Trillin's story is most slow, engaging, and transporting are perhaps also the ones when it is most shadowed by its predicament of being too late.

As such, it is possible to imagine Trillin saying back to Weegee's fantasy of a present tense one might fully capture, something like the following: Through the ability to bend and buckle time, and transpose hindsight into narrative foresight, a journalist can come to think of his or her storytelling as conquering time, multiplying perspectives, and hopefully forging new meanings with readers. But sometimes the information that journalists gather is not psychic photography at all, and certainly not anything that takes the reader back into the actual past. Indeed, even the quick flash of the news' illumination can leave us feeling that time has already receded, the body has grown cold—and we are merely caught out after dark.[86]



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Notes

[1] Crane, "When Man Falls, a Crowd Gathers," 600–604.

[2] This discussion of Weegee is partly adapted from my digital classroom text, *Reading Narrative Journalism: A Guide for Students* (2018). For a good online sampling of Weegee's crime photos, go to https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2012/jan/19/weegee-murder-photographs-pictures-new-york. For an incisive discussion of Weegee's career, see Orvell, "Weegee's Voyeurism," 18–41.

[3] Kramer, "Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists," *Nieman Storyboard*. Kramer's essay also appeared in *Literary Journalism*, 21–34, 28.

[4] In other words, leaving aside the obvious fact that the generalizations in the following apply only to print media forms, the goal here is not to define literary journalism's distinctive temporal practices, or secure the distinctions between notorious labels like "long form," "literary," and so on. Rather, my sense is that the diversity of such practices, and the manifold ways of reading we bring to them, usually defies the project of considering such forms as a singular genre. However, I do use *temporality* to refer to the general sense of experiencing or being "in" time, and rely heavily on Susan Greenberg's rightly influential characterization of " 'slow' journalism," a term she used to refer to matters of production (e.g., extended writing and research time), to more ethical treatment of journalistic subjects, and to improved verifiability. See Greenberg, "Slow Journalism," and Greenberg, "Slow Journalism in the Digital Fast Lane," 381–93.

[5] As Barbie Zelizer recently concluded in a special issue on temporality in *Journalism* [*Theory, Practice, and Criticism*] (January 2018), this subject is still "in need of further excavation," 111. See Zelizer, "Epilogue: Timing the Study of News

Temporality," 111–21.

[6] Coetzee, *Doubling the Point*, 204. For Coetzee, famously, "an altered experience of time" is in the very nature of narrative, a "heady" experience for both reader and author, who share in the "bunching" or "skipping" of "clock . . . or calendar time." It is, he says, the very "heart of" fiction's "narrative pleasure." Coetzee, 203–4. See also Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 6.

[7] The notoriously risky imposition of hindsight, for instance, is a commonplace theme in many fields. For a fine discussion of its particularly thorny relation to economics and sports prognostication, see Lewis, *The Undoing Project*.

[8] Hartsock's argument—which readapts Mikhail Bakhtin's theories about the early modern novel to describe the American tradition leading to contemporary reportage—was originally posited in *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 49ff., and is most recently expanded upon in his *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 28–31, 56–59. A portion of his new study was republished in "The Literature in the Journalism of Nobel Prize Winner Svetlana Alexievich."

[9] Zelizer, "Epilogue," 112–13.

[10] Thompson, "The Police Reporter," 283. See also this line of argument in Wilson, *The Labor of Words*, 38.

[11] Schudson, " 'When?': Deadlines, Datelines, and History," 79. See discussion of the enduring idea of the "cop shop" as an apprenticeship ground in Wilson, *Cop Knowledge*, 130–68.

[12] Craig, "Reclaiming Slowness in Journalism," 464; or, more broadly, as Benedict Anderson puts it, the process by which a modern subject moves "calendrically through homogenous, empty time." Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 26.

[13] Marx, *Grundrisse*, 539.

[14] Schudson, " 'When': Deadline, Datelines, and History," 79–108; Schudson, *Discovering the News*.

[15] Schudson, " 'When': Deadline, Datelines, and History," 80 (italics in the original).

[16] Schudson, 97.

[17] Schudson, 97.

[18] Schudson, 81.

[19] Schudson, 81.

[20] Schudson, 81. Steve Chibnall has written, for example, that we should probably start calling crime reporters "*police* reporters," underscoring this dependence. Chibnall, "The Crime Reporter," 51 (emphasis in the original).

[21] Craig, 463–64 (italics in the original).

[22] Greenberg, "Slow Journalism." Scholars eager to embrace Greenberg's term as a genre category might also be reminded how much her emphasis originally fell on matters of marketing and upon ethics in journalism education—not just, that is, to the length of reading time. For more recent discussions of her term, see Le Masurier, "What Is Slow Journalism?" 138–52; Le Masurier, "Slow Journalism: An Introduction to a New Research Paradigm," 439–47; and Hermann, "The Temporal Tipping Point," 492–506.

[23] Schudson, " 'When': Deadline, Datelines, and History," 88.

[24] Schudson, 89.

[25] Schudson, 90.

[26] Schudson, 97.

[27] See Tennenbaum-Weinblatt, "Counting Time"; Neiger and Tennenbaum-Weinblatt, "Understanding Journalism," 139–60; Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger, "Temporal Affordances in the News," 37–55. See also Keightley and Downey, "The Intermediate Time of News Consumption," 93–110.

[28] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," 84.

[29] Bakhtin, 84.

[30] See Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 53, 56–57.

[31] The phrase "double temporality" is Dowling's, in *Ricoeur on Time and Narrative*, 83.

[32] See, for instance, Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 2:103; see also Dowling, *Ricoeur on Time and Narrative*, 83–4; Fleming, "Belatedness: A Theory of the Epic," 525–34.

[33] Dowling, *Ricoeur on Time and Narrative,* 2–3.

[34] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 1:57–58.

[35] The argument here draws upon Radway, "Identifying Ideological Seams," 93–123.

[36] Zelizer, "On 'Having Been There'," 408–28.

[37] Michael Ayers Trotti has argued, for example, that the technical advance from woodcuts to photography did not necessarily improve the forensic reliability of crime reports. Trotti, "Murder Made Real: The Visual Revolution of the Halftone," 379–410.

[38] Zelizer, "Journalists as Interpretive Communities," 224; Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," 297.

[39] The professional associations of objectivity with the processes behind, rather than in the news "product" itself, are legion. See Kovach and Rosensteil, *The Elements of Journalism*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the most common sense of "hindsight," as "seeing what has happened, and what ought to have been done, after the event; perception gained by looking backward," and dates only from 1883. *Oxford English Dictionary,* Online (Oxford University Press, 2018, http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/), s.v. "hindsight."

[40] See Horodecka, "The Hermeneutic Relation between Reporter and Historian," 118–31.

[41] Kim, *Without You, There Is No Us*.

[42] Wideman, *Brothers and Keepers*.

[43] Lewis, *The Undoing Project*. For a discussion of these narrative strategies, see Wilson, "Michael Lewis and the Business of Sport," 112–29.

[44] Hersey, *Hiroshima*.

[45] Hersey, 4.

[46] Hersey, 65–66.

[47] Hersey, 47.

[48] Finnegan, *Cold New World*, 22.

[49] Finnegan, 54 (emphasis in original).

[50] See Finnegan's discussion of his avoidance of omniscience in Boynton, "William Finnegan," in *The New New Journalism*, 90.

[51] Fadiman, *The Spirit Catches You*.

[52] Fadiman writes, for instance, "The Hmong believe that illness can be caused . . . ," 10, or "the Hmong viewed the Chinese as meddlesome and oppressive, . . ." 14.

[53] Fadiman, 161.

[54] Fadiman, 103.

[55] Fadiman, 98.

[56] Cf. David Shields's remarks on "the epistemological insecurity" of narration in nonfiction. Shields, entry 389, *Reality Hunger: A Manifesto*, 132.

[57] For a discussion of this tension in relation to the use of free-indirect discourse in more experimental narrative nonfiction, see Wilson, "The Chronicler: George Packer's *The Unwinding*."

[58] Joe Brooker has argued that James Joyce puts his followers in an anxious position of having arrived too late, like "guests wondering whether there's anything left to drink." Brooker, "The Fidelity of Theory: James Joyce," 202.

[59] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "belatedness."

[60] For discussions of belatedness as the deferral of meaning or the delayed arrival of revelation, see Brooker, "The Fidelity of Theory: James Joyce," 201–21; Keniston, " 'Not Needed, Except as Meaning'," 658–83; and Ohi, "Belatedness and Style," 126–46.

[61] Boe, "An Interview with Calvin Trillin," 71–88. See also Boynton, "Calvin Trillin," 379–403.

[62] Trillin, *Killings*, xv–xvi.

[63] Pelizzon and West bring together the idea of "double directedness," from Joseph Valente, "The Novel and the Police (*Gazette*)," 14, with James Phelan's idea that tabloid readers are both "skeptics" and "believers," Phelan, "Narratee," 145. See Pelizzon and West, *Tabloid, Inc.: Crimes, Newspapers, Narratives*, 32, 36. Elsewhere, I have argued that Trillin's manipulation of this double perspective was crucial to the authority and cultural disposition of the *New Yorker* itself. See Wilson, "A Rumor of Noir," 1–16.

[64] See AP story, "Chase Ends in Girl's Death," *Victoria* [TX] *Advocate*, March 9, 1977, 7A.

[65] *Encyclopedia of Literature*, s.v. "Freytag's pyramid."

[66] Trillin, "It's Just Too Late," 133.

[67] Trillin, 143.

[68] Many trauma theorists, for example, reason that ruptures in the narration of time typically express a powerlessness in the grip of past events not fully assimilated at the time of their witnessing. See Keniston, " 'Not Needed, Except as Meaning,' " 658–83.

[69] Trillin, "It's Just Too Late," 148.

[70] Trillin, *Deadline Poet.*

[71] Trillin, "It's Just Too Late," 141.

[72] Trillin, 133.

[73] Trillin, 139.

[74] For a discussion of the relation of attribution to rumor, see Wilson, "A Rumor of Noir," 4–6, 8, 12.

[75] Trillin, "It's Just Too Late," 134, 137.

[76] Trillin, 135.

[77] Trillin, 137.

[78] Trillin, 136.

[79] Trillin, 145.

[80] Trillin, 143.

[81] Trillin, 143.

[82] As Paul Cobley writes in *Narrative*: "Like [Peter] Brooks, [Ricoeur] stresses the importance of the end point of a narrative, arguing that the understanding of successive actions, thoughts and feelings in a narrative is dictated by anticipation of the conclusion, and also, that reaching the conclusion enables a backward glance at the actions that led up to it," 19.

[83] Trillin, "It's Just Too Late," 148.

[84] Journalists are, Trillin has said, "*always* working in someone else's field of expertise" and explanation, and thus subject to their authority. As quoted in Boynton, "Calvin Trillin," 390.

[85] In reference to the poetry of Dorothy Parker, like Trillin a writer associated with the *New Yorker*, Burstein calls this element "epigrammatic compression"; see Burstein, "A Few Words about Dubuque," 237. Here, as earlier, I am also suggesting a limit on Ricoeur's notion of communal meaning making and re-integration at narrative's end.

[86] For their support, comments, and expertise, the author would like to thank Bill Reynolds, Roberta Maguire, Marcia Prior-Miller, the anonymous readers of *LJS*—and especially Robert Chibka, for time together so well spent.

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Jeff Neely talks to a University of Tampa student about the value of literary journalism for helping us become better thinkers and writers. He uses texts such as *The Art of Fact* in his Academic Writing 101 course to teach students how to think critically and write persuasively. Photo by Jamie Pilarczyk, University of Tampa Office of Public Information.

Teaching LJ . . .

The Write Stuff: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Classroom

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Abstract: This study presents a mixed-methods inquiry into post-secondary instructors' perceptions of student writing proficiencies and how those bear on teaching literary journalism. Based on survey data, both qualitative and quantitative, along with interviews, the authors identify perceived challenges that writing deficiencies present for teaching literary journalism. They also identify unique opportunities the genre of literary journalism offers to improve students' critical thinking and writing skills. Survey results indicate instructors perceive an overall decline in student writing abilities. At the same time, some instructors suggested that these perceptions may be exaggerated, and that teachers often forget learning to write well takes time and life experience that college students have not had. Based on the results of this research, the authors argue that while deficiencies in student writing abilities present legitimate practical and pedagogical concerns for teaching literary journalism, the genre's combination of rich descriptive prose and deep, fact-based reporting makes it uniquely well qualified to help students improve on these precise deficiencies.

Keywords: pedagogy – teaching – literary journalism – writing – composition – critical thinking

A growing body of research provides empirical evidence that an increasing number of students are entering college without the writing skills they need to succeed. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), a congressionally mandated project administered since 1969 by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), out of 28,100 twelfth-grade students surveyed in the United States in 2011, only twenty-seven percent were proficient or advanced in writing.[1] In a data profile of college-bound high school seniors, the College Board reports that mean sat Reading scores have dropped from 530 in 1972 to 494 in 2016 and mean sat Writing scores (a newer portion of the test) have dropped from 497 in 2006 to 482 in 2016.[2] Interestingly, an analysis by Jameson suggests the proportion of high school students with solid writing skills has actually remained fairly steady and small. However, the proportion of high school graduates who go on to higher education has grown dramatically. In other words, the "rapid expansion of higher education has outpaced student achievement."[3] This is particularly concerning in light of research from Beil and Knight, who found that high school students are often asked to produce writing that offers and supports their own opinions, but are rarely expected to demonstrate the kind of writing that will be expected at a college level—that is, "criticizing a written argument, defining a problem and proposing a solution, and analyzing the needs of a writing audience."[4]

Writing enriches humans' lives in many ways. For one, it helps people learn. More specifically, particular kinds of writing—writing that engages the cognitive processes of elaboration and organization—enhance learning.[5] *Elaboration* is the act of comparison and contrast, of making connections between what people are learning and what they already know or have experienced.[6] *Organization* is the process by which individuals mentally structure material they are learning into a framework that is consistent with existing knowledge and experience, often restructuring previous frameworks.[7] The kind of writing often required in literary journalism courses—essays, analytical papers, rich narratives, etc.—has proven effective for learning because it requires students to elaborate on ideas, both of their own and from their texts, and it requires them to situate, or organize, these ideas in accordance with their existing knowledge and experiences.

The combination of these two premises—that (1) writing abilities among most post-secondary students are insufficient for college-level expectations, and (2) higher-order writing is an important and commonly used tool for learning in literary journalism classrooms—presents challenges for the future of students studying the genre and for the instructors who teach it. The research findings presented here, however, suggest there is reason to be opti-

mistic about literary journalism's pedagogical potential for addressing these challenges.

Method

Data presented in this report derive from a survey and interviews conducted in 2017 as part of a multi-year project examining literary journalism and pedagogy. The writing focus was developed in response to feedback received at the 2016 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) conference presentation.[8] Research from related surveys and interviews have been presented at conference panels in previous years for both the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies (IALJS) and AEJMC.[9]

For the current study, a web-based survey was developed to explore two primary research questions: (1) What are educators' perceptions of students' incoming writing skills? And, (2) How are students being taught to write?[10]

An email call to participate in the survey and two reminders were sent to the IALJS email list, the AEJMC Magazine Division listserv, and the AEJMC Small Programs Interest Group (SPIG) listserv.[11] Announcements for the survey were posted to IALJS and SPIG Facebook groups and tweeted from IALJS and SPIG Twitter accounts. Separate links were used for each of the calls. Four responses were directed from social media links; the remainder of the responses came from the email links. Of the 120 educators who teach or have taught writing in twenty-one countries who responded to the call, 114, or ninety-five percent, completed the survey. Responses to closed-ended questions were analyzed using Microsoft Excel; responses to open-ended questions were analyzed with QSR NVivo.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with twenty-six instructors—fourteen women and twelve men—all of whom have taught or plan to teach courses involving literary journalism.[12] The interviewees were solicited first through a call for participants sent out on the IALJS email list and the listserv for the AEJMC Magazine Division. Invitations to participate were also sent directly to instructors who had written in the Teaching Tips section of the IALJS newsletter.[13] From this pool of potential interviewees, participants were purposively selected to obtain the most representative qualitative sample possible, resulting in instructors who ranged in their teaching experience from graduate students to retired faculty at institutions with student body populations ranging from roughly 1,000 to more than 33,000. As part of their prior consent to participate, interviewees indicated whether the researchers were permitted to use their names or if they preferred to remain anonymous. While many instructors agreed to allow the researchers to use

their names in publication, the authors have chosen to keep all interviewees confidential in this study, for the sake of consistency.

An interview guide was developed with initial questions designed to be broader in scope so as to allow the participant the greatest latitude to respond to the topic of pedagogy and literary journalism instruction[14] (e.g., "Why is it important to teach literary journalism, or what value do students receive from studying literary journalism?" And "What are some of the most significant challenges in teaching literary journalism?").

Responses to questions were probed with follow-up questions, specifically about the role of writing and critical thinking in teaching literary journalism. The average interview time was approximately fifty-three minutes, with the shortest running roughly thirty-seven minutes and longest running roughly 107 minutes. Once the interviews were completed, responses were analyzed inductively, identifying common themes that emerged across interviews and comparing those data with results from the survey. Findings from the survey and interviews were merged and are presented in the following section.

Findings: The Challenges, Course Contexts

Writing as part of literary journalism instruction takes a variety of forms. An important factor guiding the kind of writing required of students is the structure and objective of the course at hand. Instructors indicated that they are incorporating a variety of emphases and teaching approaches in courses in which literary journalism is studied. This finding from interviews conducted for the current study is consistent with results from previous related surveys and interviews.

Findings from the study also show literary journalism courses to be differentiated by their emphasis on either praxis or analytical study. On the one hand, multiple respondents described their college courses in literary journalism as aiming to teach students how to write their own works of literary journalism by applying learned techniques and strategies of the practice. These courses leaned heavily on the applied, exploratory pedagogical approaches of the writers workshop, peer editing, and immersive observation. Other college courses take a more academic, or abstract, approach to studying literary journalism, where the focus is entirely on reading and critically evaluating various texts in the genre. These courses were more likely to employ traditional methods of critical literary studies, rhetorical analysis, and close reading in their pedagogy.

Other respondents described courses that blend academic and applied approaches to varying degrees. In these courses, instructors ask students to closely analyze and evaluate literary journalism texts, to tease out and identify

specific reporting or rhetorical techniques they can apply in their own, original journalistic work. Conversely, one instructor described asking students to go into the field to conduct first-hand immersive observation in order to better understand how a work of literary journalism derives its meaning. A number of courses are designed not primarily to teach literary journalism, but to use texts and common reportorial practices of the genre to illustrate and illuminate the focal topic of some other field of study. Examples include composition courses that use literary journalism texts as writing exemplars, and foreign language classes that use works of literary journalism in those languages to strengthen a factual understanding of relevant social, historical, and cultural contexts.

These findings about course offerings indicate the very nature of literary journalism is that it straddles, defies, and transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries. It is, however, important to recognize this variegated range of teaching contexts when examining the role of writing as a pedagogical tool in literary journalism instruction. The research results suggest that literary journalism instruction, in all these various contexts, offers rich opportunities to improve students' writing abilities, albeit not without challenges for students and teachers.

Findings: The Challenges, Student Writing Skills

The survey and interview findings suggest that post-secondary instructors are observing the same trend of more students entering college without sufficient writing abilities that has been documented in other research.

In response to the survey question, "Do you believe that basic writing skills have eroded among students?": Eighty-eight, or slightly more than three-quarters of the 114 participants answered "yes" (see fig. 1). One educator noted "Honestly, I am unhappy choosing 'yes' or 'no' . . . because it's more complicated than that. Their strengths and weaknesses in writing have changed."

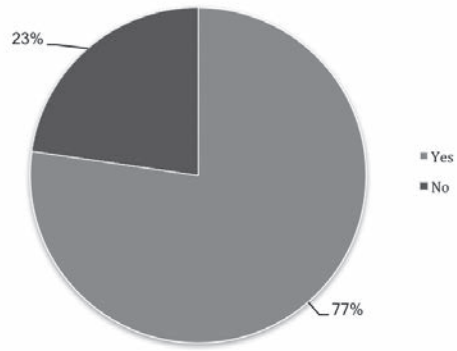

Figure 1: Reponses to "Do you believe that basic writing skills have eroded among students?"

In a follow-up interview, one instructor at a Canadian college suggested students are not being prepared for the writing that

will be expected of them at a post-secondary level. "High schools have a lot to answer for," he said. He further noted that incoming students with even the best writing assessment scores fell short in their demonstrated writing skills. Another instructor suggested that prior to entering college, students are engaged in education that doesn't emphasize critical thinking or critical writing skills "so much as getting them to replicate correct answers. So it's not conducive to good writing." She noted that many students aren't prepared with the mechanical skills of writing that are necessary at the college level, with the deficiencies ranging from basic grammar to elementary academic writing conventions, such as the purpose of a bibliography and citations. A survey respondent suggested, "Overall, students seem to be overworked (as in, needing part-time jobs), they seem to be distracted by the virtual world, and they seem to be not as dedicated to concentrated reading and thinking time." Another noted, "They can't think on their own."

Among survey respondents, the most commonly reported areas of growing weakness in student writing were grammar and spelling, followed by clarity, organization, and focus/clear point (see fig. 2). Educators expanded on their responses in the comments section. "Basic vocabulary has eroded," wrote one instructor. "Their weakened vocabularies make clarity a significant issue: They cannot find the words they need to make their points." Another instructor wrote, "They think in bits and pieces. And while we all do a little of that, some millennials have trouble getting beyond the text, post, snapchat phase."

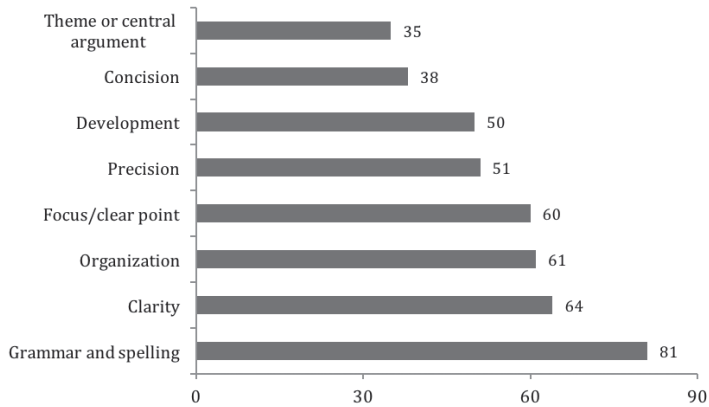

Figure 2: Number of responses to the item, "In what aspects of writing have you seen these changes [in basic writing skills]? Please check all that apply."

At the same time, some instructors questioned whether this decline in writing abilities was at least partially exaggerated perception more than reality. One instructor, who had retired from teaching journalism at a U.S. university, suggested during an interview that the generation gap often found between student and teacher can make instructors forget how much there still is to learn when you are a young college student. "I woke up one day and I realized that my students were still students; it was I who had changed. I had gotten older," he said. "I just try not to say, 'Oh students change,' because it's not fair to them. And I don't recall anything out of the ordinary with my students from when I retired in 2003 than when I started teaching in 1975." Another instructor noted on a survey comment: "It's easy for college-level instructors to forget how bad at writing they really once were."

Still, seventy percent, or eighty, of the 114 respondents reported spending a substantial amount of class time teaching the basics of writing (see fig. 3). The most commonly reported strategy for doing this was providing examples and models, followed by peer reviews, referring to a campus writing center, and providing strategies for reading (see fig. 4). In addition, instructors noted in both interviews and open-ended survey questions that important components of teaching students how to write better are practice and editorial feedback. "The more they write, the better they get," was one survey respondent's succinct comment. Another survey respondent found using the Track Changes feature in Microsoft Word and the program's option to add comments in the document's margins to be effective means of helping students see exactly where and why edits had been made. Complementing these comments, multiple instructors mentioned in interviews that they believed one reason students are ill-equipped for the writing required in college is that they have never received this kind of detailed, specific editing.

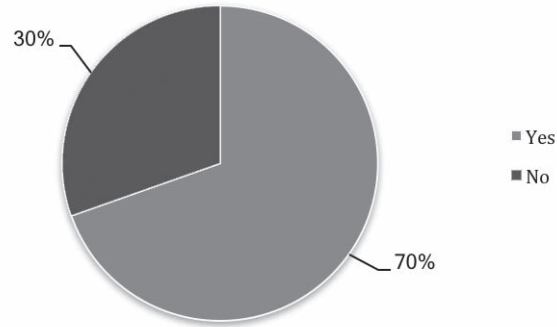

Figure 3: Responses to "Are you finding yourself having to take a lot of class time to teach basics of writing?"

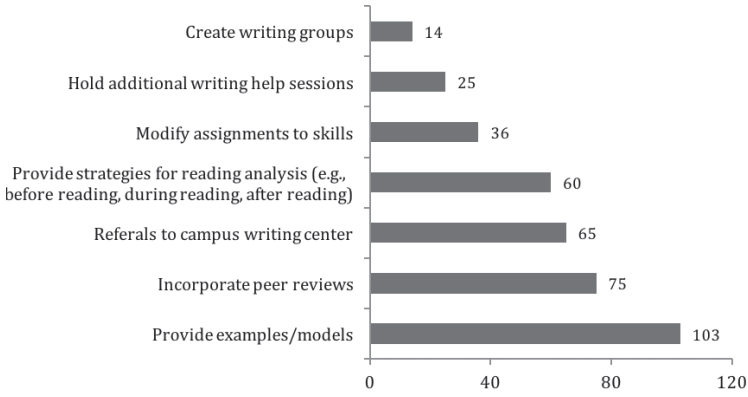

Figure 4: Number of responses to the item, "What strategies do you use to help students improve their writing? Please check all that apply."

At the same time, several educators noted in the survey that teaching students how to write at the level they expect is time-consuming and impractical when they are trying to focus on more advanced concepts. "I can't afford to use class time to teach writing skills," one instructor wrote. "The gap between where students are and where they need to be is simply too great." Another instructor put it this way: "Some students are far more skilled than others. Taking time to teach basic skills is not a good use of my class time."

Certainly, the aims and scope of any given course will dictate and limit the amount of time an instructor may be able to devote explicitly to improving students' writing. However, as some instructors pointed out in their interviews, practicing writing need not necessarily occur in the classroom, and assignments don't have to be excessively lengthy or deeply developed. One instructor said he requires students to complete short, 350-word analytical responses to weekly readings, and then does a close line edit of each student's paper. Other instructors said they require students to observe and write just a single scene, paying attention to clarity and detailed description in their writing. Indeed, instructors employed this strategy in applied literary journalism courses, in courses that were more historical and academic in nature, and even in a French language course where students were learning to connect sophisticated French composition to important social issues. On the other hand, regardless of whether assignments are done in- or outside of class, more writing does mean more grading, a concern that was raised during the panel presentation of this research at the 2017 IALJS conference.[15] Given the multi-

ple demands placed on post-secondary faculty members, this additional time commitment is a legitimate practical concern that instructors must consider.

Along with the stronger command of mechanics and compositional skills that instructors observed their students need, participants in this study noted that some college students simply do not have the maturity or life experience necessary for the rich critical thinking or analytical understanding that college faculty would like them to bring to a text, whether it be students' own work or that of someone else. However, instructors also remarked that in any given course, teachers are certain to find a range of abilities, experiences, and maturity levels among the students in their class. One instructor who teaches applied literary journalism at a U.S. university said writing strong narrative requires an ability to bring insight and depth into what the writer observes. "Some students have life experience by the time they're twenty-two that others won't get until they're sixty," she said. "So it's not age and it's not talent; it's experience and maturity. And yes, if you've got students in your classroom who have that, then you've got potential."

Given the challenges to students' writing abilities that were noted by instructors in this study, one of the most hopeful findings came from comments of multiple participants who suggested teaching literary journalism is a richly fruitful opportunity to help students grow and develop in exactly these capacities. Participants who had taught applied literary journalism courses noted that when students read selected works from notable writers, they pick up stylistic techniques that they can apply in their own work. Instructors who had taught literary journalism in a more academic context noted that exposing students to literary journalism texts offers an engaging way for students to critically consider and reflect on historical events or important periods of social change. In an email response to questions on the interview guide used in this study, one instructor from Portugal wrote:

> Literary journalism opens horizons as far as the understanding of contemporary societies and political issues are concerned. It is used, or at least in the case of my classes, to establish a comparison with official/mainstream discourse. I also use it so social sciences students understand that the study of the social body can also be obtained through this kind of journalism and not only ethnographic and anthropological research.

Other instructors who incorporate literary journalism into broader writing courses suggested that literary journalism offers students examples of prose that are not only clear and accessible in their deliveries, but also rich and compelling in their narratives. One journalism teacher at a U.S. university commented during an interview that, yes, students need to be taught how to write, but they also need to be inspired. "I just feel like the more exposure

we can give them to really good work early on, the better writers they're going to be."

Of course, knowing how to translate challenge into opportunity, how to build strength from weakness, and how to move from deficiency to proficiency, is no small task. It is, perhaps, the charge presented to every educator, and one they spend their careers trying to master. Thus, employing literary journalism as a vehicle for developing students' writing skills does not simply happen. Of the 114 respondents to this study's survey, sixty-five, or fifty-seven percent, reported having received specific training on how to teach, and fifty, that is, forty-three percent, reported they had not (see fig. 5). Of those who had received formal training, the top six categories of training (how or where they received it) are listed in fig. 6.

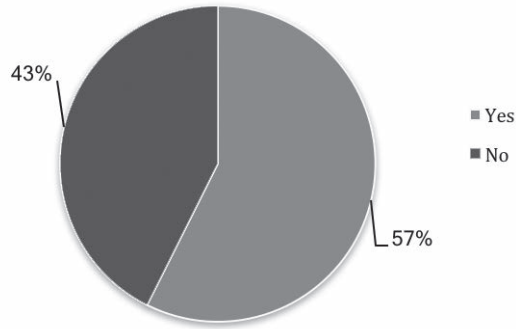

Figure 5: Responses to "Have you received specific training on how to teach?"

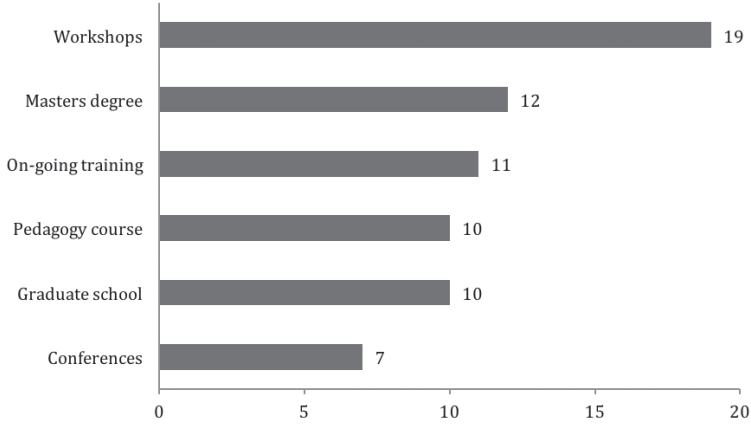

Figure 6: Number of responses for the top six categories of training received.

The good news, in looking at the top six categories, is that pedagogical training is being offered at various points in instructors' careers. The frequency of responses indicating that survey participants received training in graduate school and as part of their Master's degrees is encouraging, in that it shows at least some schools are building formal pedagogical training into their advanced degree programs. Likewise, the mentions of professional development received at conferences, workshops, and as part of ongoing training suggests that instructors have—or make—opportunities to improve their pedagogy as they progress through their careers.

The not-so-good news is that among all survey respondents, forty-three percent, or forty-nine, indicated that they had never received formal pedagogical training. Of course, this is not to say that one must be formally trained in pedagogy to be a good teacher; nor is it to say that receiving formal training necessarily makes one a good teacher. However, when considering the specific, oft-noted challenges presented by deficiencies in students' writing abilities, it would seem that formally coordinated efforts to equip instructors with research-based pedagogical skills would be an important component in systematically addressing this need. Building more of these opportunities for training into academic programs and professional organizations seems prudent, and instructors who emphasize writing in their classes would do well to actively seek out and seize these opportunities.

Final Thoughts: Back to the Start, the Hope

The findings from this study suggest the literary journalism classroom is fertile ground for helping students experience intellectual growth. As journalism, the genre presents factual information about historic periods, intriguing personalities, curious trends, and unique subcultures that instructors and students can thoughtfully consider and discuss. In its literary style, it offers exemplars of how writing need not necessarily be a sterile tool for information transmission. Writing can breathe and move with the aesthetic beauty of human experience. Put simply, literary journalism offers a unique opportunity to reach both mind and heart.

Yes, higher-order writing—the kind that requires students to elaborate on and organize ideas into cognitive structures consistent with existing knowledge experience—is an important component of learning and an important component in literary journalism classrooms. Students who come to the classroom better equipped with these writing skills are likely to have an advantage in terms of gleaning a more advanced or sophisticated appreciation of the material. And yes, when college students are particularly deficient in these skills, both they and their teachers are likely to be frustrated, depending

on the level of writing expected in a given course. Each student is at a different stage of this developmental process. Is there room for secondary and even primary schools to improve in preparing students with better writing skills before entering college? Perhaps. The research cited earlier in this article suggests there is. But once they arrive in university classrooms, instructors must do the best they can to reach these students where they are. Literary journalism appears to be a great vehicle to help get instructors and students on common ground.[16]

Jeffrey C. Neely is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Tampa. His research interests include literary journalism analysis, the teaching of literary journalism, and the role of youth media in community building.

Mitzi Lewis is an associate professor in the Department of Mass Communication at Midwestern State University in Texas. Her research interests include literary journalism pedagogy.

John Hanc is an associate professor at the New York Institute of Technology, where he teaches journalism and literary journalism. A professional writer, he contributes to the New York Times, Newsday, *and* Smithsonian. *He has authored or co-authored fifteen general interest books, including a number of award-winning memoirs.*

Robin Reid is a senior in the Department of Mass Communication at Midwestern State University in Texas. She has conducted literary journalism research under the mentorship of Mitzi Lewis and John Hanc since spring 2016.

Appendix I

Call to Participate in Survey

Greetings, [specific group] colleagues:

We are writing today to ask you to help us better understand how educators are dealing with the challenge of what is perceived by some to be an erosion of basic writing skills among today's students.

Participation is, of course, completely voluntary, but we'd appreciate you taking a few minutes to answer a short survey at the following link: [link went here]

The survey will remain open through February 27th. [Note: the survey deadline was later extended to March 6.]

We will present survey results of this survey are scheduled for presentation as part of on panels at two conferences:

• International Association for Literary Journalism Studies conference, May 11–13, 2017, University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada; and

• Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication conference, August 9–12, 2017, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

As in the past, we will also make the presentation slide deck available online. Feedback indicates that prior survey findings have been helpful to long-form journalism educators. We hope to continue—and broaden—this tradition with your help.

Thank you for considering providing feedback!

John Hanc, associate professor, New York Institute of Technology; Mitzi Lewis, associate professor, Midwestern State University; and Robin Reid, student research assistant, Midwestern State University.

The @IALJS and @AEJMCSPIG tweets read: How are you teaching #writing? Give feedback in a 5–10 min. survey: [link to survey] Results will be presented at #IALJS12 & #AEJMC16.

The IALJS Facebook Group posting began with "Passing on a survey that some of our IALJS colleagues are currently running. Findings will be presented at #IALJS12" and then contained a copy and paste from the email call, starting with the words "To help better understand. . . ."

The SPIG Facebook Group posting read: "John Hanc and Mitzi Lewis are researching how educators are dealing with the challenge of the perceived erosion of basic writing skills among today's students. You can help by taking this survey: [link to survey]."

Appendix II
Call for Interview Participants, and Interview Outline

Call for Interview Participants:

Literary Journalism and Pedagogy

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Jeffrey C. Neely, Journalism, University of Tampa, United States, jneely@ut.edu.

Background:

I am an assistant professor of journalism at the University of Tampa. I am conducting semi-structured, qualitative interviews as part of a book chapter, co-authored by Mitzi Lewis, for *The Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*, edited by William Dow and Roberta Maguire [forthcoming].

Building on previous studies, presented by Lewis, myself, and other colleagues at annual meetings of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies and the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, this study seeks interviews with post-secondary instructors of literary journalism to understand how the genre has been and is being taught, as well as possible emerging trends observed by instructors.

This is an opportunity to contribute to our understanding of the experiences of academic migrants whose voice is frequently absent from debates on migration and careers, in particular how migratory status intersects with other characteristics to inform these experiences.

The Study:

I would like to interview a total of twenty individuals of all genders who teach or have taught literary journalism (sometimes referred to as narrative journalism, reportage, creative nonfiction, narrative nonfiction, long form, etc.) at a range of different institutions across the globe.

I am looking for participants who collectively represent the diversity of teaching experiences at private and public institutions of small, medium, and large student bodies, across academic ranks and positions, and from various racial and ethnic backgrounds (both students and instructor participants). I would like to interview participants with a range of teaching experience, from emerging scholars to seasoned classroom veterans.

Participants may focus their courses on analytical textual analysis of and critical response to literary journalism, applied production of literary journalism, or a combination of both. Participants may be housed in a variety of disciplinary programs or departments (e.g., journalism, communication, English, literature, creative writing, etc.)

These interviews will last approximately sixty minutes and will cover:

• Successful and unsuccessful teaching approaches (e.g., course structure, lesson plans) for the study of literary journalism;

• Successful and unsuccessful assignments for the study of literary journalism;

• Most/least well-received texts among students and reasons/criteria for selection of texts;

• The perceived value of literary journalism studies in post-secondary (undergraduate, graduate, professional, etc.) education;

• Changes in teaching literary journalism;

• Incorporating literary journalism into other kinds of courses not dedicated solely to the study of the genre;

• Common challenges and pitfalls in teaching literary journalism;

• Other lessons learned;

• Teaching literary journalism in the digital age.

The study has received approval from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Tampa. Should you agree to participate, I would like to record the interview to facilitate analysis. Recordings will be transcribed. I would like to use the names and affiliation of participants who are willing. However, if you prefer that your responses be anonymous, all identifying information will be removed from your transcript, and the recording of our interview will be destroyed after it has been transcribed. Participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without providing any explanation.

I would like to conduct interviews via Skype or FaceTime, if possible, or by phone call.

I hope you will agree to participate in my study. If you would like to take part, please contact me at jneely@ut.edu to schedule an interview. If you know of other colleagues who would be interested in participating please feel free to pass this information along to them.

Thank you for your time. I look forward to hearing from you.

Notes

[1] National Center for Education Statistics, "The Nation's Report Card," 1, 28.

[2] College Board, "2016 College-Bound Seniors," iii.

[3] Jameson, "Literacy in Decline," 31.

[4] Beil and Knight, "Understanding the Gap," 7.

[5] Arnold et al., "Understanding the Cognitive Processes."

[6] Arnold et al., 116.

[7] Arnold et al., 116.

[8] Abrahamson et al., "Longform Journalism and the Conceptual Conundrum."

[9] Abrahamson et al., "But Will They Read It?"; Capouya et al., "Engaging Students with Literary Journalism Readings"; Capouya et al., "Teaching the New Narrative"; Abrahamson et al., "Teaching the New Narrative"; Hanc et al., "Story Talk, Story Craft"; Abrahamson et al., "Longform Journalism and the Conceptual Conundrum"; Abrahamson et al., "The Challenges of Writing 101"; Abrahamson et al., "The Eternal Question."

[10] For a copy of the survey questionnaire, contact Mitzi Lewis (mitzi.lewis@mwsu.edu).

[11] See Appendix 1, Call to Participate in Survey.

[12] The sample size is consistent with the recommendation that grounded theory qualitative studies employ a sample size of 20–30 participants for saturation. See Marshall et al., "Does Sample Size Matter in Qualitative Research?" 20.

[13] See Appendix 2 for the emailed Call for Interview Participants, and Interview Outline. Data for the present study were collected from interviews conducted as part of a larger study examining the pedagogy of literary journalism instruction and liberal post-secondary education, to be published as Neely and Lewis, "Literary Journalism and the Pedagogy of Liberal Education," in the forthcoming volume, *The Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*, edited by William Dow and Roberta Maguire.

[14] The interview guide was developed as part of the larger study examining the pedagogy of literary journalism instruction and liberal post-secondary education (see note 13). For the present study, participants' responses to a question on the interview guide regarding the role of writing in literary journalism instruction were probed extensively. Likewise, when participants' responses to other questions on the interview guide addressed the role of writing in literary journalism instruction, the interviewer probed these individual responses to collect data for the present study. For a copy of the interview guide, contact Jeffrey C. Neely (jneely@ut.edu).

[15] Abrahamson et al., "The Challenges of Writing 101."

[16] The authors thank David Abrahamson and Kevin Lerner for their assistance and contributions to the project.

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The World Trade Center on 9/11 shortly after the North Tower collapsed.
Photo by Wally Gobetz, Wikimedia Commons.

Research Review . . .

Recent Trends and Topics in Literary Journalism Scholarship

Roberta S. Maguire, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, United States
Miles Maguire, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, United States

This survey of literary journalism scholarship published in print during 2017 is intended as a guide to recent trends and topics in the field rather than a comprehensive listing of all research and commentary. The publication descriptions that follow focus primarily on peer-reviewed journals and books. Some works may have appeared online before print publication.

BOOKS

Historical Development

Joanne Shattock's edited volume *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth Century Britain*[1] is a welcome addition to the conversation about the development of literary journalism. The premise of the volume is that an understanding of the evolving role of the press in Britain during the nineteenth century and the contemporaneous debates about the relationship between literature and journalism tells us much about that century's history. Of the book's four sections, the last section's six chapters are devoted to individual writers and are of particular value for scholars of literary journalism. Two chapters are devoted to the journalism of Charles Dickens and Oscar Wilde, both of whom are often identified with literary journalism. The remaining four chapters focus on writers less frequently discussed, and include Harriet Martineau and Margaret Oliphant, whose journalism engaged contemporary social issues and led to their later fiction writing. Of special note is Graham Law's chapter on Wilkie Collins, which looks at what Law terms Collins's

"personalised journalism" which commingles fact and fiction to help create a "new mode," which is recognizable as a form of literary journalism.[2]

L. Ashley Squires expressly focuses one chapter in her book, *Healing the Nation: Literature, Progress, and Christian Science*,[3] on literary journalism. Overall, Squires seeks to look at the religion of Christian Science in relation to U.S. literary culture and describes her methodology as "using literary studies as a lens for examining the cultural impact of Christian Science."[4] To that end, she outlines the many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers who engaged with Christian Science, negatively and positively, and focuses especially on those writers who were also journalists. Her fourth chapter, "All the News Worth Reading: Literary Journalism and the *Christian Science Monitor*," takes up the biography of Mary Baker Eddy, Christian Science's founder,[5] that *McClure's* published in fourteen installments in 1907 and 1908. Squires considers more thoroughly than has appeared elsewhere the role that literary journalists Willa Cather and Ida Tarbell likely played in the development and presentation of the *McClure's* articles. Squires also contrasts the journalistic approach of *McClure's* with that of the *Christian Science Monitor*, which saw itself as moving away from storytelling to more objective and "nonsensational" journalism.[6]

In *Writing the 9/11 Decade: Reportage and the Evolution of the Novel*,[7] Charlie Lee-Potter, a British journalist and university instructor, investigates the relationship between journalism responding to a traumatic event in real time—in this case, the destruction of New York's World Trade Center—and the fiction written later that focuses on the same event. While *Writing the 9/11 Decade* is concerned primarily with fiction, what makes this text of special interest to scholars of literary journalism is Lee-Potter's focus on how not only memory, but also the changing socio-political environment affect representation and assessment of a traumatic event. By analyzing the journalism of writers such as Richard Ford and Ian McEwan, who were called on to offer responses immediately after the fall of the Twin Towers, and their later fictional responses, Lee-Potter shows how the "consolation myth" that largely overwhelmed news reporting, became more nuanced, reflective, even critical, with the passage of time.[8] Of particular interest is Lee-Potter's fourth chapter, "The Long View," in which she looks at the work of several Pakistani writers and how they have sought to escape the "imprisoning grip of the traumatized present, so often the territory of the journalist," to create "fictions" that are "deliberately provocative."[9] Yet, as one of her writers, Mohsin Hamid, explains, one way to do that is through literary journalism: He describes his own work as increasingly a conflation of fiction and nonfiction, a "hybrid . . . with neither journalism nor fiction taking precedence."[10]

National/Regional Studies

Two new books focus on regional issues with national implications in the United States. A new addition to the Routledge Research in Journalism Series, *News of Baltimore: Race, Rage and the City*,[11] takes a look at coverage of the 2015 arrest of Baltimore resident Freddie Gray, who fell into a coma while riding in a police van and then died a week later from spinal cord injuries. This fourteen-chapter volume, edited by Linda Steiner and Silvio Waisbord, uses that incident as a jumping-off point for considering "journalism's responsibility to cover state institutions that avoid scrutiny, neighborhoods or communities that may not be the preferred audiences for media management, and questions about who has the authority, credibility and the power to tell stories and to be heard,"[12] all longstanding concerns addressed by practitioners and scholars of literary journalism. The volume has a number of chapters of interest, including two on social media: one on its role specifically in the Freddie Gray incident, and a second on the Black Lives Matter movement generally. Another chapter focuses on the need for a sociological approach to covering events such as Gray's arrest and its aftermath. Other chapters are ultimately aimed at "offer[ing] guidance for covering urban problems" that suggest an ethnographic, immersive, and empathetic approach.[13] Especially notable is Sarah J. Jackson's chapter, "The Black Press and Baltimore: The Continuing Importance of African American Journalism During Urban Uprisings." Jackson found that in the local coverage of the Freddie Gray story it was the Black press, using literary journalistic approaches to reporting, that produced stories giving a more comprehensive as well as more intimate picture of the event and its context than did the mainstream press.[14] And it is precisely that kind of reporting that the volume holds out as a model for covering such matters.

Another critique of journalism practices emerges in Michael Clay Carey's *The News Untold: Community Journalism and the Failure to Confront Poverty in Appalachia*.[15] Carey looks at three economically distressed communities in Appalachia—given the pseudonyms Greenburg, Priorsville, and Deer Creek—where the local media have failed to cover each community's poverty. In particular, Carey focuses on the failure to represent the voices of the poor in local reporting, which, he argues, ensures that conditions remain unchanged. The author is calling for a "broader, more inclusive depiction of Appalachia,"[16] beginning in local reporting and moving to national stories. The attitudinal change that he proposes needs to happen is the news outlet going from objective reporter to "*concerned friend* of the community,"[17] which has implications for how journalists both gather and report their stories. In his call for identifying with the "other" through this process, Carey invokes John Hartsock's descriptions in *A History of American Literary Journalism* of

the impetus underlying much of the work produced in the genre during the twentieth century.

Digital Technology

The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism Studies, edited by Bob Franklin and Scott A. Eldridge II, in its fifty-seven chapters touches on a number of topics related to literary journalism studies—ethnography, community, and hyperlocal journalism; the possibility of objectivity in real-time online reporting; and how best to tell stories using digital tools.[18] As in literary journalism studies, ongoing matters such as the field's boundaries and the ethical implications of digital work receive focused attention. One chapter expressly addresses literary journalism: In "Longform Narrative Journalism: 'Snowfall' and Beyond,"[19] authors David Dowling and Travis Vogan look at "snowfalling" as a marketing strategy, whereby advertising and content are aligned, rather than functioning entirely independently, to convince readers to spend more time on the site.[20]

Individual Author Study

An especially noteworthy study of an individual writer that appeared in 2017 is Joan Ramon Resina's *Josep Pla: Seeing the World in the Form of Articles*.[21] Pla was a prodigious, twentieth-century Catalan writer whose work has only in the last few years been translated into English. His *Collected Works*, published before his death, numbered thirty-eight volumes, and the work he produced, Resina argues, needs to be understood as literary journalism. To place Pla in the context of literary journalism, Resina explores the history of journalism and its relationship to literature while engaging with the critical debates about literary journalism that have evolved over the last two decades. Pla tackled a range of subjects in his journalism, which Resina's book gathers in chapters with such lyrical titles as "Of Women and Days," "Shipwrecks with Monsters," and "Remembering the Region." Overall, Resina's goal is to place Pla among such literary journalism icons as Ryszard Kapuściński, Norman Mailer, Truman Capote, and George Orwell, arguing that Pla's enormous oeuvre "is significant as a paradigm of the epochal shift towards a re-evaluation of journalism as literature . . . "[22]

SCHOLARLY ARTICLES

Individual Author Studies

The year 2017 was one in which scholars took time to look closely at the work of a number of journalist-authors.

In his *Literary Journalism Studies* article, "Writing Men on the Margins:

Joseph Mitchell, Masculinity, and the Flâneur," Peter Ferry looks at *New Yorker* writer Joseph Mitchell, using the lens of masculinity studies and emphasizing the ways in which Mitchell embodies the philosophy and practices of a *flâneur*.[23]

Ted Conover's movement through different realms of writing—journalism, ethnography, and memoir—is the subject of Patrick Walters's article, "Ted Conover and the Origins of Immersion in Literary Journalism," also published in *Literary Journalism Studies*. Walters argues that Conover is redefining immersion journalism in the progression of his work.[24]

George Warrington Steevens, a popular British journalist of the nineteenth century, is the subject of Andrew Griffiths's *Literary Journalism Studies* study, "Literary Journalism and Empire: George Warrington Steevens in Africa, 1898–1900." Griffiths describes the role Steevens's vivid writing played in furthering British imperialism, in contrast to the more typical role of literary journalism in challenging oppression.[25]

Juan J. Rodriguez Barrera in *Science & Society* examines the way Langston Hughes self-censored earlier newspaper reporting in his 1956 autobiography, *I Wonder as I Wander*. Rodriguez Barrera cites the strong anti-Communist agenda/regime of the time as one of the factors affecting the author.[26]

The legacy of U.S. reporter-correspondent John Reed's coverage of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia is the subject of an essay by James Rodgers in *British Journalism Review*. Rodgers argues that Reed's work remains a useful example for foreign correspondents of today.[27]

Samantha Peko and Michael S. Sweeney revisit the undercover journalism of Nell Nelson in their *American Journalism* article, "Nell Nelson's Undercover Reporting." Nelson was a stunt girl reporter who in the late 1880s produced narratives that attracted attention to unfair U.S. labor practices and demonstrated the ability of women to work as reporters.[28]

Mauricio D. Aguilera-Linde, writing in the *Complutense Journal of English Studies,* examines U.S. Spanish Civil War correspondent Martha Gellhorn's "Zoo in Madrid." The essay raises questions about Gellhorn's role as a war correspondent and her method of reportage.[29]

National/Regional Studies

Three studies were identified that focus on regional and national issues in Europe and the Middle East.

In *International Humanities Studies*, Bassam Yousef Ibrahim Banat and Khitam Ajarma explore the glorification of the suicide martyr in Palestinian culture. They describe literary journalism as one of the venues for projecting both anger and defiance, contributing to this phenomenon.[30]

Elizabeth Amann, writing in *Confluencia: Revista Hispanica de Cultura*

y Literatura, describes a Spanish version of the flâneur, as a journalist taking advantage of the streetcar in Madrid to visit different parts of the city and comment on what can be observed on the inside and the outside.[31]

In *Journalism* [*Theory, Practice, and Criticism*], Kobie van Krieken and José Sanders examine the ways in which narrative journalism has been framed among readers and practitioners in the Netherlands. Based on their case study, the authors argue that narrative journalism has been positioned as a pinnacle achievement but at the risk of eroding traditional standards.[32]

Historical Development

In *Literary Journalism Studies*, Jonathan D. Fitzgerald traces the origins of literary journalism into the sentimental era of the first half of the nineteenth century and highlights the special role played by women writers in the United States.[33]

Thomas R. Schmidt, also writing in *Literary Journalism Studies*, looks at how the *Washington Post* introduced the magazine-style techniques of the New Journalists into daily newspapers, beginning in the 1960s. Schmidt focuses in the study on the paper's Style section and describes its role in expanding the use of narrative journalism in U.S. newspapers.[34]

The way poetry affected journalism in the nineteenth century is examined by F. Elizabeth Gray in *Journalism Studies*, highlighting the fact that poems often appeared in U.S. newspapers alongside factual accounts of the same events. She argues that poetry played a role in changing the conceptualization of journalism.[35]

Also writing in *Journalism Studies*, Michael Fuhlhage, Donald L. Shaw, Lynette Holman, and Sun Young Lee explore the roles books play in setting the political agenda. Their study starts with Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and ends with Eric Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation*.[36]

Digital Technology

In *Explorations of Media Ecology*, Ellen Rose uses a Foucauldian genealogy to consider the digital production of narrative over the last three decades. Her article considers the contrasting perspectives of programmers, authors, and scholars.[37]

Fiona Giles and Georgia Hitch, writing in *Literary Journalism Studies*, adopt the concept of the "narra-descriptive" text to explore and analyze the implications of digital technology for the form, using a three-stage typology.[38]

David O. Dowling analyzes the aesthetic evolution of digital literary journalism over the last few years. Writing in *Literary Journalism Studies*, Dowling describes a movement toward adapting content for mobile devices and developing techniques for increased user engagement, which in turn are expanding

the reach of and increasing the demand for narrative long-form journalism.[39]

Writing in *New Literary History*, Aarthi Vadde explores the impact of digital publishing practices on the field of contemporary literature. The article focuses on the ways amateur creativity and professional production can intersect and reshape traditional categories and roles.[40]

Sarah Jones, in *Journal of Media Practice*, looks at the way virtual reality is giving a new meaning to the idea of immersion journalism. She uses focus group studies to identify the types of narrative used and their impact in 360-degree journalism films that are viewed using headsets.[41]

Ethics

Bunty Avieson and Willa McDonald contributed an article to *Media International Australia* that uses standpoint theory to examine the work of three undercover print journalists. The authors argue that this theory, with its emphasis on looking at society from the perspectives of marginalized people, provides an ethical framework for reporting on the disadvantaged.[42]

In *Literary Journalism Studies*, Julie Wheelwright examines the ethical issues that arise when a literary journalist, in this case Gay Talese, reports on sexual behavior. She considers an early work by Talese and a later, more problematic example, in her study of his books, *Thy Neighbor's Wife* and *The Voyeur's Motel*.[43]

Practice

Christopher P. Wilson describes how two journalists use contrasting forms of narrative, what he calls Dickensian and modernist, to cover the topic of foster care. Writing in *College Literature*, he discusses critical reaction as well as the relationships formed between reporter and subject.[44]

In *Journalism* [*Theory, Practice, and Criticism*], Geoffrey Baym argues that hybridity has come to define contemporary broadcast journalism. In particular, he holds up the example of hybrid public affairs narratives, which, though fictional, can play a journalistic role in highlighting socio-political issues.[45]

Isabel Soares, in *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, examines the ways in which literary journalism and sociology intersect on the basis of methodology when dealing with urban problems. Content and discourse analyses are used to explore the way that some literary journalists helped shape the understanding and depiction of social problems.[46]

Edson C. Tandoc Jr. and Ryan J. Thomas examine the question of whether transparency boosts credibility. In a study published in *Newspaper Research Journal*, their findings from an online experiment show that nontransparent articles are viewed as more credible than transparent ones.[47]

In a *Journalism Practice* article, Lauri Haapanen reports a study of the

use of monologization, that is, monologues, as a technique for journalists to control the contents of an article while still separating facts from personal opinions. The study is based on a comparison of the recorded and printed versions of interviews.[48]

Based on a content analysis of three internationally read, U.S.-based newspapers from 1988 to 2013, Miki Tanikawa shows that publishers have moved away from event-centered news to put greater emphasis on interpretation and analysis with broad implications for journalism theory and practice. This research on the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *International Herald Tribune* [now the *International New York Times*] appears in *International Journal of Communication*.[49]

Scott R. Maier, Paul Slovic, and Marcus Mayorga demonstrate that conventional news accounts lack the necessary elements to engage audiences when reporting on mass suffering. Their study applies psychological principles to the practice of reporting and appears in *Journalism* [*Theory, Practice, and Criticism*].[50]

Robert E. Gutsche Jr. and Erica Salkin, also writing in *Journalism* [*Theory, Practice, and Criticism*], explore the way that evil is depicted in news. They focus on the 2006 Amish schoolhouse shooting in Pennsylvania.[51]

Kenan Koçak's article in the *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* seeks to define comics journalism, linking the form to the New Journalism in the United States.[52]

Teaching

The challenge of assessing student creativity is addressed by Jeffrey S. Smith in *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*. He explores the question of rubric design with the goal of communicating expectations and providing feedback.[53]

Writing in *Literary Journalism Studies*, Brian Gabrial and Elyse Amend investigate the emerging canon of literary journalism texts and show its limitations of gender, geography, and language. The work is based on an analysis of reading lists submitted by members of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies.[54]

Anne Kirstine Hermann's research, published in *Journalism Studies*, explores the value of teaching ethnography and other social science techniques to journalism students. She proposes this approach as a way to resolve the gap between journalism and social science research as well as to prepare students to make the most of the current emphasis on narrative.[55]

Finally, writing in *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, Giselle A. Auger, Zeynep Tanes-Ehle, and Charlie Gee report on a study of a multi-

platform course that required students to work in traditional and emerging forms of reporting. The researchers concluded that the convergence approach strengthened both the technological ability of the students as well as the traditional skills of interviewing and story construction.[56]

Notes

[1] Shattock, *Journalism and the Periodical Press.*

[2] Law, "Wilkie Collins and the Discovery of an 'Unknown Public'," in *Journalism and the Periodical Press*, ed. Shattock, 340.

[3] Squires, "All the News Worth Reading: Literary Journalism and the *Christian Science Monitor*," in *Healing the Nation: Literature, Progress, and Christian Science*, 118–56.

[4] Squires, 8.

[5] Squires, "All the News Worth Reading," 118–56.

[6] Squires, 149–51, 125.

[7] Lee-Potter, *Writing the 9/11 Decade*.

[8] Lee-Potter, 5.

[9] Lee-Potter, "The Long View," in *Writing the 9/11 Decade*, 151–88, 151.

[10] Lee-Potter, 152.

[11] Steiner and Waisbord, *News of Baltimore*.

[12] Steiner and Waisbord, 2.

[13] Steiner and Waisbord, 2.

[14] Jackson, "The Black Press and Baltimore," in *News of Baltimore*, ed. Steiner and Waisbord, 139–57; 148–49.

[15] Carey, *The News Untold*.

[16] Carey, 7.

[17] Carey, 7 (emphasis in the original).

[18] Franklin and Eldridge, *The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism*.

[19] Dowling and Vogan, "Longform Narrative Journalism: 'Snowfall' and Beyond," in *The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism Studies*, ed. Franklin and Eldridge, 478–86.

[20] Dowling and Vogan, 479.

[21] Resina, *Josep Pla: Seeing the World in the Form of Articles*.

[22] Resina, 19.

[23] Ferry, "Writing Men on the Margins," 52–73.

[24] Walters, "Ted Conover and the Origins of Immersion in Literary Journalism," 8–33.

[25] Griffiths, "Literary Journalism and Empire," 60–81.

[26] Rodriguez Barrera, " 'Tightrope of Words'," 172–96.

[27] Rogers, "This First Draft of History Lasts," 48–52.

[28] Peko and Sweeney, "Nell Nelson's Undercover Reporting," 448–69.

[29] Aguilera-Linde, "Martha Gellhorn's 'Zoo in Madrid'," 143–58.

[30] Banat and Ajarma, "Palestinian Culture and the Glorification of Suicide Martyr (Istishhady)," 44–60.

[31] Amann, "Tram *Flânerie*: Streetcar Impressions of Nineteenth-century Madrid," 167–77.

[32] Van Krieken and Sanders, "Framing Narrative Journalism as a New Genre," 1364–80.

[33] Fitzgerald, "Nineteenth-century Women Writers and the Sentimental Roots of Literary Journalism," 8–27.

[34] Schmidt, "Pioneer of Style: How the *Washington P*ost Adopted Literary Journalism," 34–59.

[35] Gray, "Journalism and Poetry in the Nineteenth Century: Calls to Action," 807–25.

[36] Fuhlhage, Shaw, Holman, and Lee, "Blowing Embers: An Exploration," 1593–612.

[37] Rose, "A Genealogy of Computer-generated Narrative," 7–20.

[38] Giles and Hitch, "Multimedia Features as 'Narra-descriptive' Texts," 74–91.

[39] Dowling, "Toward a New Aesthetic of Digital Literary Journalism," 100–116.

[40] Vadde, "Amateur Creativity: Contemporary Literature and the Digital Publishing Scene," 27–51.

[41] Jones, "Disrupting the Narrative: Immersive Journalism in Virtual Reality," 171–85.

[42] Avieson and McDonald, "Dangerous Liaisons: Undercover Journalism," 137–50.

[43] Wheelwright, "The Orgy Next Door: An Exploration of Ethical Relationships," 28–51.

[44] Wilson, "Orphans of Our Reading," 58–87.

[45] Baym, "Journalism and the Hybrid Condition," 11–26.

[46] Soares, "At the Intersection of Risk," 63–80.

[47] Tandoc and Thomas, "Readers Value Objectivity over Transparency," 32–45.

[48] Haapanen, "Monologisation as a Quoting Practice," 820–39.

[49] Tanikawa, "What Is News? What Is the Newspaper?" 3519–40.

[50] Maier, Slovic, and Mayorga, "Reader Reaction to News of Mass Suffering," 1011–29.

[51] Gutsche and Salkin, "Behold the Monster," 994–1010.

[52] Koçak, "Comics Journalism: Towards a Definition," 173–99.

[53] Smith, "Assessing Creativity: Creating a Rubric," 24–36.

[54] Gabrial and Amend, "The Ammo for the Canon," 82–99.

[55] Hermann, "J-school Ethnography: Mending the Gap," 228–46.

[56] Auger, Tanes-Ehle, and Gee, "A Phenomenological Study of Student Experiences," 212–27.

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David Foster Wallace giving a reading at All Saints Church, San Francisco, 2006.
Image by Steve Rhodes. Wikimedia Commons.

Scholar-Practitioner Q & A . . .

Derivative Sport: The Journalistic Legacy of David Foster Wallace

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Abstract: The late writer David Foster Wallace is best known as the author of the 1,079-page novel *Infinite Jest*. But he also produced some of the most well known pieces of magazine journalism throughout the 1990s and 2000s. He was a three-time finalist for the National Magazine Award, winning once in 2001 for his *Rolling Stone* profile of Senator John McCain's presidential campaign, "The Weasel, Twelve Monkeys, and the Shrub." Because of his distinct voice, ability to blend high and low culture, and innovative use of footnotes, Wallace cast a long shadow of influence on a generation of literary journalists. In order to better understand the impact Wallace had on contemporary magazine writers, I spoke to his former editors, Colin Harrison and Joel Lovell, as well as current writers Maria Bustillos, Leslie Jamison, Michelle Orange, Jeff Sharlet, and John Jeremiah Sullivan about what it was like to work with him and how he influenced their own work. I've compiled those interviews into a kind of roundtable-style discussion that tells the story of Wallace and his contributions to literary journalism in the United States. (This piece, in slightly different form, was originally published on Longreads.)

Keywords: David Foster Wallace – *Harper's* – editing – magazine journalism – long form – fabrication

At a hip Manhattan book launch for John Jeremiah Sullivan's 2011 essay collection *Pulphead*, David Rees, the event's emcee, asked the two-time National Magazine Award winner, "So John . . . are you the next David Foster Wallace?"[1] The exchange is startling for its absurdity, and Sullivan shakes his head in disbelief before finally answering, "No, that's—I'm embarrassed by that." But the comparison has attached itself to Sullivan and a host of other young literary journalists, who, critics have noted, bear resemblance to Wallace in style, subject matter, and voice.

When Leslie Jamison published *The Empathy Exams*, her 2014 collection of essays and journalism, a Slate reviewer said "her writing often recalls the work of David Foster Wallace."[2] Similarly, when Michelle Orange's *This Is Running for Your Life* appeared a year earlier, a review in the *Los Angeles Review of Books* proclaimed: "If Joan Didion and David Foster Wallace had a love child, I thought, Michelle Orange would be it."[3]

Wallace was, himself, a three-time finalist for the National Magazine Award, winning once, in 2001[4]; yet he compulsively identified himself as "not a journalist" both in his interactions with sources and reflexively as a character in his own stories.[5] Nonetheless, he casts a long shadow in the world of literary journalism—a genre of nonfiction writing that adheres to all the reportorial and truth-telling covenants of traditional journalism, while employing rhetorical and storytelling techniques more commonly associated with fiction. To give better shape to that penumbra of influence, I spoke with Sullivan, Jamison, and Orange, along with Maria Bustillos, Jeff Sharlet, Joel Lovell, and Colin Harrison about Wallace's impact on today's narrative nonfiction writers. They spoke about comparisons to Wallace, what they love (and hate) about his work, what it was like to edit him, their favorite stories, posthumous controversies, and his influence and legacy.

Joel Lovell worked with Wallace only on one brief essay. Despite that singular experience, Lovell's editorial time at *Harper's* and elsewhere in the 1990s and 2000s put him in great position to witness Wallace's rising status in the world of magazine journalism. He was unequivocal when I asked him which nonfiction writer today most reminds him of Wallace.

Joel Lovell, *Harper's*, editor: The clear descendant is John Jeremiah Sullivan, of course. For all sorts of reasons (the ability to move authoritatively between high and low culture and diction; the freakishly perceptive humor on the page), but mostly just because there's no one else writing narrative nonfiction or essays right now whose brain is so flexible and powerful and whose brainpower is so evident, sentence by sentence, in the way that Wal-

lace's was. No one who's read so widely and deeply and can therefore "read" American culture (literature, television, music) so incisively. No one who can make language come alive in quite the same way. He's an undeniable linguistic genius, like Dave, who happens to enjoy exercising that genius through magazine journalism.

Josh Roiland: Colin Harrison worked with Lovell at *Harper's*. He commissioned and edited Wallace's two most famous magazine pieces, "Ticket to the Fair"[6] and "Shipping Out."[7] Those experiences, plus his brief overlap with Sullivan at the magazine, produced a different take than his colleague's.

Colin Harrison, *Harper's*, editor: John is a fabulous writer, but I did not think of them in the same space, probably because they're so personally different. John is a very—it's been a long time since I've talked with him—but John is a very sort of pulled-together, orderly person. And Dave was, you know, Dave. Physically very different. That doesn't mean there aren't similarities to be seen; I just didn't see them.

Roiland: For his part, Sullivan told me that while he doesn't necessarily enjoy the comparison to Wallace, it no longer bothers him.

John Jeremiah Sullivan, writer: It was freaky when that started happening. I've just decided to try to stay in my mind and not be affected by all that hype/backlash either way because I think what I think about his work and that hasn't changed. If anything, my appreciation for it has deepened, even as I've become more critical of it.

Roiland: For Jamison and Orange, whose work has also drawn considerable comparisons to Wallace's, that appreciation—as well as his influence—has also been substantial.

Leslie Jamison, writer: I should probably start by saying—and the very insertion of this disclaimer is itself probably a symptom of Wallace's imprint on my style, the sudden plunge into intimate conversation with one's reader, not infrequently by way of apology!—that *Infinite Jest* has been, by quite a bit, the most personally meaningful to me of all of the Wallace writing that I've read. Partially because he's so moving on recovery, material he preferred to treat in fiction. But also for the sheer energy and complexity and wrinkledness of its imagination, for the way that imagination never once forgot it was animated by beating human hearts there in the text. And Wallace's interest in the possibilities of sincerity, the way that it wasn't necessarily opposed to rigor but could be its ally—that's really artistically and humanly inspiring to me.

Michelle Orange, writer: What I love about . . . all of Wallace: the way he moves between, and indeed creates, an essential connection between acute observational detail and grand-scale perspective. Few writers, especially of nonfiction, show either the relentlessness or the dexterity he does in pulling

off that trick. I could gas on and on about it. Instead I'll just say his hold on the endlessly complex relationship between entertainer and audience is for me the central allure of his work. He sets up different versions of that dynamic over and over again, in all sorts of contexts; it's also embedded in the text itself, which is to say . . . that he performs like few others on the page.

Roiland: Of course, there isn't consensus among nonfiction writers regarding Wallace's journalistic importance. Jeff Sharlet, who won the 2015 National Magazine Award in the category of Reporting for his *GQ* story, "Inside the Iron Closet," sees little beneath the surface of Wallace's affected voice and pithy observations.

Jeff Sharlet, writer: I mean, there's plenty of it that's good—smart characterizations, dense detail, lovely prose. But I don't find it exceptional. The one [article] I thought I could teach, from *Rolling Stone* right after 9/11,[8] I gave up on because my students . . . called bullshit on it. They thought it was thin. I feel the same way about "Federer," which is built around what I find [to be] a banal Religious Studies 101 idea.[9] Yes, there's some great language. But great language isn't enough without great reporting. And I just don't see Wallace as ever very interested in reporting. Which is ironic, given the density of his fiction. I mean, yes, he looked shit up for his journalism—but in a whimsical way.

Roiland: Sharlet's criticism shows that writers' annoyances and displeasures with Wallace's work existed long before the spate of hot takes that slowly sprouted up online in the years after his death in 2008.

Sharlet: I have never, not once, had a conversation about DFW with another working journalist. I'm sure many have read and enjoyed him, but in terms of frequency with which he's invoked, he's behind Didion, Agee, Mitchell, Mailer, Wolfe, Thompson, Herr, Orwell, Liebling, Baldwin.

Roiland: When Wallace died, a literary tide initially carried out his reputation, to be lovingly gazed at, beyond reach and reproach. He was called "the best mind of his generation."[10] His 2005 Kenyon College commencement speech emerged from internet obscurity,[11] to pocket-sized devotional,[12] to viral meme.[13] Some anointed him "Saint Dave."[14] A cottage industry of scholarly and popular work sprang up.

When the waters returned, however, they carried with them the flotsam of scrutiny, depositing detritus along the internet's shoreline.[15] Charges of exaggeration and fabrication collected like driftwood.[16] A travelogue[17] and a biography[18] emerged. Wallace (or, at least his male readers) became shorthand for the mansplaining "lit-bro."[19] He was responsible for the "slangy" casualness of blog culture.[20] He gave readers rashes.[21] And in an inevitable, ironic full circle, Wallace's work and life became The Entertainment with the biopic

The End of the Tour.[22] No longer did critics have to read Wallace to render judgment; they could opt out and judge him based on secondary sources.[23]

Such synecdoche, however, glosses over how the self-described "library weenie from the lower level of Frost Library at Amherst College" became the cultural figure David Foster Wallace.[24]

It was at *Harper's* in the 1990s where Wallace published both celebrated short stories as well as renowned works of nonfiction. He worked closely with Harrison at the magazine and, to lesser extent, with Lovell and Sullivan. But it was a fiction editor who originally brought him onboard.

Harrison: Charis Conn knew Dave long before I did. She was the one who probably brought his fiction into the magazine originally.

Lovell: He was close friends with Charis, who edited his fiction at *Harper's*. Charis loved editing him and spoke a kind of private language with him, and he recognized her singular genius and respected it.

Harrison: We did not actually talk about his magazine pieces—the big pieces—that much. Charis felt possessive of David, as editors feel possessive of writers, and I don't know what she thought of those pieces. I suspect she admired them, but I don't know.

Roiland: Others admired them as well. The writer David Lipsky called "Ticket to the Fair" and "Shipping Out" "some of the most famous pieces of journalism of the past decade and a half."[25] Despite the great popularity that would attend those magazine stories, it was not a natural venue for the novelist Wallace, which created editing issues.

Lovell: My somewhat distant sense is that the biggest challenge to editing Dave's nonfiction was in striking a balance between the magazine's needs and his instinctual impulse to not give a fuck about what the magazine needs. That was the tension that led to his best work—when he was forced to play within boundaries and by rules that he wanted to ignore. From the limited knowledge I have of various editors' experiences with him, some were better at engaging in that struggle than others. I don't mean it was simply a matter of imposing word counts or house grammar style or whatever, but more of calibrating how much indulgence was the perfect amount of indulgence. Colin Harrison, who edited his big nonfiction pieces at *Harper's*, was probably better than anyone at knowing how to productively fight with him about that stuff.

Harrison: The challenges in the case of the first two pieces we commissioned were that they were just way too long for the magazine. I don't remember the original length that the state fair piece was commissioned at but it came in much longer than that. The cruise ship piece was the longest piece I'd ever done; it was the longest piece we'd ever done at *Harper's* in my

time there. And so, when those pieces came in I read them and was greatly admiring of them but the fact of the matter is it was a magazine, not a book. Then Dave and I would have to start to talk about cutting it to get it into to a shape . . . and with Dave every edit that one did needed to be discussed. I've said it before, it was like a tennis match with the conversation back and forth.[26] He would give or not give. Sometimes he'd really disagree and just dig in his heels. It was kind of part of the fun of it, though, too.

Roiland: Lovell edited Wallace once. They worked together on a short piece that probed Franz Kafka's dark humor. Today that essay is perhaps best known for the menacing fax that Wallace sent to Lovell warning him not to "copy edit this like a freshman essay." That letter is collected with the rest of Wallace's papers at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. It was leaked online and subsequently went viral. Wallace closed by telling Lovell: "I will find a way to harm you or cause you suffering if you fuck with the mechanics of this piece."[27]

Lovell: That Kafka piece for the *Harper's* Readings section was an adaptation of a talk Dave had given. My memories of our conversations around the essay are much more pleasant than what that fax with the skull and crossbones (with tongue sticking out) and threats to cause me harm might suggest. (Incidentally, I can't tell you how much I wish I'd saved the fax.)

Sullivan: There may have been some humor in that [fax]. And there are some mechanics of magazine production involved because, unless I'm wrong, that Kafka piece was going into the Readings section, and that was the section where they would take things and really make them their own and condense them by eighty percent. It was maybe the case that Wallace had something in Readings before.[28] I feel like, in fact, almost certainly he had. And if that's the case then he may have just felt like: *I know what you guys do in Readings, and don't do that to me*.

Lovell: We talked about what the piece might need to work in the magazine, and while I was a very young editor at the time and my brain was of course a BB to his battleship, he still treated me like I actually had suggestions that were worth his time and energy—which meant a great deal to me at the time and still does.

Roiland: For Maria Bustillos, "Laughing with Kafka" is the Wallace essay that most resonates. Near the end, Wallace identifies what he calls "the really central Kafka joke,[29] and it's not hard to read it as a stand-in for a philosophy that Wallace himself held: "[T]hat the horrific struggle to establish a human self results in a self whose humanity is inseparable from that horrific struggle. That our endless and impossible journey toward home is in fact our home."[30]

Maria Bustillos, writer: [It] decocts a whole worldview so compactly,

and because it is a master class in black humor.

Roiland: Lipsky notes in his *Rolling Stone* obituary that Amy Havens Wallace told him that in high school her brother "pinned an article about Kafka to [his bedroom] wall with the headline THE DISEASE WAS LIFE ITSELF."[31] Moreover, in the book version of the state fair essay, renamed "Getting Away from Already Being Pretty Much Away from It All," Wallace writes that his particular neurological make-up is "extremely sensitive: carsick, airsick, height sick." He then added: "My sister likes to say I'm 'life sick.' "[32]

Such existential dread led Wallace "to endorse and instantiate single-entendre principles" in his work.[33] For example, he believed works of fiction helped readers feel "less alone inside."[34] But even in his nonfiction, readers can easily identify his attempts to "treat plain old untrendy human troubles and emotions in U.S. life with reverence and conviction."[35]

Jamison: Wallace—in fiction and nonfiction—is earnestly committed to sentiment; to probing it and understanding how it works, to resisting the ways that irony sort of carelessly pushes back against it. I'm not sure he'd call it an earnest appeal to sentimentality, but I do think he was interested in thinking about why people pulled away from sentimentality, or resisted it, when it became an easy punching bag.

Orange: Wallace showed himself unremittingly, in his nonfiction, as an artist *above all* seeking and moved by the real, the sincere, the sublime, the untroubled moment, the unclogged line of communication, of apprehension.

Jamison: More than anything, he felt we owed each other an earnest commitment to respecting and imagining one another's consciousnesses. I'm thinking also the end of James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*—that call to insist on the consciousness of another[36]—feels integral to "This Is Water."[37] I do feel that, yes, Wallace was speaking to an audience, but he also really meant what he said in that speech, and its idea[s] motivate other writing even if they don't get quite the same blunt articulation in other pieces.

Roiland: Despite the at times heaviness of his philosophical examinations, Wallace was able to draw readers in and engage them via the most singular feature of his nonfiction: voice. A. O. Scott aptly characterized Wallace's writing voice as "hyperarticulate, plaintive, self-mocking, diffident, overbearing, needy, ironical, almost pathologically self-aware. . . . It was something you instantly recognized even hearing it for the first time. It was—is—the voice in your own head."[38]

Orange: The voice of Wallace's nonfiction feels calibrated to perform some very specific tasks, and chief among them is the task of connecting with and disarming a particular kind of reader. I imagine Wallace addressing a Wallace-like reader: hypersensitive and perceptive, witty and incredulous,

sincere but helplessly knowing. By exaggerating those parts of himself in his observations of a shared or familiar reality, he instills a certain trust in the reader. Forming that trust is the job of any narrator, but especially a narrator of nonfiction.

Harrison: There was an ongoing broadening and loosening of the first-person voice in long-form magazine journalism. That said, Dave brought into his nonfiction highly developed fictional technique and a willingness to get naked with everybody about his own psychological moods, the result being a kind of hyper-wet intimacy.

Orange: Wallace lit up his subjects with a voice that spoke directly from and to his cynical, media-saturated, mid-nineties moment. For a reader that kind of voice—that kind of communion—provides tremendous relief. It's almost sexual, and can't be faked. Of course we're all chasing that.

Roiland: There is a difference, however, between chasing and co-opting. The writers I spoke with, while admiring of Wallace's style, were also guarded against it influencing their own work too much.

Sullivan: Asking a writer about his or her influences is like asking about a childhood trauma—the way it happens is so chaotic. If I could actually project myself back into that brain, how insecure it was, how ambitious it was, encountering a writer like Wallace, what really happens in that moment, if you really want to get into it, it's messy. You encounter a strong voice and it's like, *Okay, I have to protect myself against this*. At the same time, it's going to be asked of me by readers that I have to operate at this level, so I have to learn what's going on here. And that's before you even get into a world where you might know these people personally and have to deal with the whole level of bullshit that comes with that. It's fucked up.

Orange: Sometimes flattering or heady comparisons confront a writer with an influence, the extent of which she had not previously grasped or which she might not be willing to acknowledge. Sometimes they feel off the mark, or lazy. Almost always they are mortifying. It's about being unworthy, obviously, but it's also about the fight to exist in your own right and to find whatever level you're actually capable of reaching.

Harrison: You can find pieces of his style all over the place, whether it's increased use of the word "hideous" or *-ish* attached to all sorts of words, or the sort of meta-text of footnotes, and so forth. All of his idiosyncratic tics were noted by the next generation of young writers and were used and spread like little tiny rhetorical memes. It's like a cone that fed out from him over time; you'd have to account for all those people.

Lovell: You see Wallace's influence all over the place—Wells Tower, Molly Lambert, Alex Pappademas, Rachel Kaadzi Ghansah, Tom Bissell. This is

off the top of my head. There are obviously lots of others, critics like Sam Anderson and Emily Nussbaum and Wesley Morris, people who are totally steeped in magazine conventions but also in literary/film/music/etc., criticism, in popular culture, in the art of building an argument, and also happen to have great comic sensibilities and a highly sensitized awareness of their audience at every given moment. At their best, all of these writers have the ability to reawaken some pretty stale forms.

Orange: I'm not sure I know myself how his nonfiction influenced mine. I suspect a baseline influence once or twice removed—that is, I was first influenced by writers who were themselves clearly influenced by Wallace.

Harrison: By the time I encountered Dave I had probably published four novels, so in that sense no. My writing is very different in all respects. That said, certainly, like a lot of writers, when you are amused by a writer, then the spore of that writer's sensibility enters you whether you want [it] to or not. Like a lot of people, I'm sure there are sentences here and there that I've written that might have a tiny bit of DFW stamp on them.

Orange: In flourishes here and there it's hard to resist. At the tic level it's something to avoid and weed out, though, like any other tic. That can be a matter of mindfulness—developing the confidence and rigor to sustain one's own voice. But maintaining a molecular awareness of influence is as impossible as maintaining a molecular awareness of anything.

Roiland: Wallace's influence on these writers was more inspirational, rather than imitational, often freeing them up to take their own rhetorical risks.

Jamison: I'd say less that I've ever experienced myself as consciously copying his style, and more that reading him can be a liberating experience—almost like it grants permission to transcribe thought, in all its complication and shagginess, onto the page rather than feeling a pressure to tidy it up.

Bustillos: He helped to free me, as he did many of his contemporaries, to own all that antic influence of the late 1970s we'd inherited through Marcus, Burroughs, Bukowski, and Bangs, the (correct) conviction that the objects of mass culture are worthy of the most serious consideration. Wallace is like a prism for that insight.

Orange: Most often with Wallace I find myself returning to his work when I'm stuck and need to loosen up, regain that sense of what's possible. In addition, I was attracted to an atmosphere or larger project or sensibility that Wallace's writing helped set into motion. When I met it directly, his was a voice and a style that gave me a particular and deeply exciting sense of what is possible in writing that I didn't have before. In the simplest terms, his writing made me want to write.

Bustillos: Both of us grew up on Bangs and the *NME* and *The Doors of Perception* and Carlos Castaneda, and so on. Junior Intellectual Stoners, super prolix, I mean that was such a thing in the late 1970s/early '80s. Such overlap as there was and is had been bred in the bone (Brian Eno!!). I am not as skilled a prose stylist as he, but I consider him like a comrade—or a classmate?

Sullivan: I always felt more inspired by Wallace than influenced. And the reason for that has partly to do with chronology. Because of my dad [sportswriter Mike Sullivan] and because of going to Sewanee and because of getting into publishing right after college, I wound up reading all that New Journalism really early. And not just the New Journalism, but Twain, and then as an undergraduate I got really into the eighteenth century so I started reading Swift and Defoe and stuff. When I encountered Wallace the thing he was up to didn't seem new. At the same time, there was a sense of excitement that went along with that because I saw that he was similarly keyed into this tradition of writing and was doing new things with it. And that was inspiring and made it feel like that it was still alive. That's the main feeling I remember getting from *A Supposedly Fun Thing*, like, *it's still alive*; this isn't a historical thing.

Harrison: The New Journalism starts in the '60s [and brought with it the] intrusion of the first-person voice, the *narrative of the writer's perceptions* is the narrative of the piece.[39] It's participatory. It's overtly subjective. Objective reporting is submerged and not seemingly the primary focus, and so there was a lot of that long before Dave Wallace came along. Other writers have done it quite well. I mean if you go back to *Esquire*, then later *GQ*, they did a lot of it. Some of it found its way into *New York* magazine, the *New York Times Magazine*.

Sullivan: I feel like that total stylistic freedom had already been established. That's the simplest way for me to say what I mean about [influence]. I'm not trying to sound pretentious about chronology and reading and all that. I read all of Terry Southern before I read David Foster Wallace, and that does something to you. [Wallace's style] just didn't seem that freaky. In fact, I'm not sure it even seemed that Wallace was going to go quite as far. But he was doing it really well, and he was dealing with problems, and I liked that he had retreated a little bit of that snide tone that ran through so much of the New Journalism. He made his characters vulnerable in a way that those guys didn't. Either they didn't have the guts to do it or it wouldn't have occurred to them, or even been desirable to them.

Roiland: Sullivan, of course, is correct. There is a long tradition of American literary journalism, and it stretches much further back than just the New Journalism. That said, the genre has experienced an extended renaissance over the last decade and, with it, numerous conversations about its conventions

and controversies.[40] Much of the popular discourse about this resurgence—often under the problematic moniker "long form"[41]—has been somewhat shortsighted and ahistorical. Jeff Sharlet wondered if the celebration of Wallace's journalism—defined, as he saw it, by an indulgent narrative voice—was symptomatic of such myopia.

Sharlet: I suppose you could make an argument that he's responsible for that turn toward the baroque one sees in the work of some men's magazine literary journalists—though I'm not sure that's true.

Sullivan: Now when I look, in fact, I see that it was everywhere. There were a lot of those sportswriters—and probably writers in other sections of the paper too, that I wasn't paying as close of attention to—they thought of themselves as kind of an army of junior Gonzo reporters. Like, "we were gonna have fun with [it]!" That had always been there in the sports writing world to some extent; in fact, it's probably where the original Gonzo impulse—that Gonzo impulse definitely drew on the *self-identifying hack journalist*. And that goes all the way back to Grub Street.

Sharlet: [Is it] the institutionalization of literary journalism in J-schools and creative writing programs, and the subsequent canonization of and overdependence on Tom Wolfe, and, to a lesser extent, Gay Talese? Is it the neoliberalization of Gonzo?

Roiland: For his part, Wallace called the Gonzo impulse within the New Journalism "naïve and narcissistic."[42] He told the French journalist Didier Jacob that he disliked much of Hunter S. Thompson's writing, except for his book, *Hell's Angels*.[43] Nor did he care for Tom Wolfe, preferring instead James Baldwin, Joan Didion, John McPhee, Cynthia Ozick, and, later, Annie Dillard.[44] Consequently, Harrison did not see much direct influence from the New Journalists on Wallace's work.

Harrison: No, not really. He was *sui generis*. He was *ab ovo*. He was his own thing. He was imitated more than he imitated.

Roiland: So then are any of these similarities—either historical or contemporary—really of any use? Or are they just a byproduct of the business of blurbing and selling books in an oversaturated market?

Orange: I understand the impulse behind those types of comparisons, but yes, they can be frustrating, as well as awkward and uncomfortable. Just last week, a student of mine quoted that "love child" line [from the *LA Review of Books* review of *This is Running for Your Life*] while introducing me at a faculty reading, and rather than face the room I considered crawling to the nearest exit. In general, I try not get too worked up about comparisons, if only because it's all beyond my control. It's part of the marketing process and a facet of how books are metabolized by the reading and reviewing pub-

lic. Certain names come to stand in for certain qualities or concerns, a style or sensibility—the Didion thing has become a sort of joke. Another student recently commented on her lack of enthusiasm for a writer she understood to be "Joan Didion's heir apparent." I couldn't resist replying that she shouldn't be too disappointed, as Didion now gives birth roughly every other week.

Roiland: The lineal relation between Didion and Wallace is voice. For many contemporary writers publishing in online narrative publications, such as the late Grantland and FiveThirtyEight, Wallace's ancestral influence—for better or worse—is ushering in an age of journalistic paratext, via his voluminous use of footnotes. These digressions and diversions were absent in "Ticket to the Fair," but overwhelmed "Shipping Out" and much of his later work. In a 1997 television interview with Charlie Rose, Wallace admitted that the footnotes "become very, very addictive and it's almost like having a second voice in your head."[45]

For some readers, that was one voice too many. Rather than being distracted by Wallace's footnotes, however, Jeff Sharlet was plainly dismissive of the idea that Wallace pioneered a technique that would later become de rigueur.

Sharlet: When I think of footnotes, I think of where I first encountered them as a central part of a creative text, Oliver Sacks's *Awakenings*, written while DFW was a kid. And then, later, as part of Eggers's pre-fame initiative, *Might* magazine. But I'm sure Sacks wasn't first. That's nothing against Wallace's footnotes—I just don't see them as a big deal. The celebration of his footnotes represents the same banal ahistoricism at work in the coinage of the term *long form*.

Roiland: Wallace certainly wasn't the pioneer. But that didn't mean he wasn't an editorial pain in the ass.

Harrison: In some cases, there were so many footnotes we could not accommodate them from a layout point of view. I mean, if you remember, the two-column format with art, and some of the art was run-around collage, and, what you want is for the footnote to correspond to the thing being footnoted, in the same column, and if there are a whole stack of footnotes they begin to run to the next column, or the next page, and it just becomes untenable, it just becomes impossible to lay out the magazine. This is why I say he was writing something that was a magazine piece as opposed to writing a magazine piece. You can do that sort of crazy footnoting on and on and on in a standardized manuscript page; it just runs to the next page. So we *had* to do battle over that. I don't remember which ones we cut, but I know we cut them. I would say things to David like, "Hey Dave, this is a brilliant footnote. It's incredibly funny, it's fabulous. I wish we could run it the way you have written it, but we actually can't do it." And you know, he didn't like that. And I remember there

was one footnote, which was just an exclamation point. I said, "Dave, c'mon, what are we doing here?" We kind of lingered over it, and I said, "All right, fine." I gave as much to him as I could give to him, under the circumstances.

Roiland: Sullivan thought the footnotes could, at times, detract from the overall storytelling in some of Wallace's later prose, especially in a story about conservative talk radio for the *Atlantic* titled "Host."[46] In that piece, Wallace used paratextual boxes and a dizzying array of lines and arrows crisscrossing the page to repeatedly redirect the reader's eye.

Sullivan: It's almost a little sadistic, isn't it? You feel with Wallace sometimes what you feel with so many experimental/modern/postmodern writers is that they got weaker when they lost their grip on the storytelling a little bit. Anytime any other element of what was going on was allowed to become even slightly more interesting than the storytelling, you feel a lot of air go out of the tires. And it's like, at this point we're kind of watching you on a tight wire. You're solving technical prose problems and that's not why we're here. That's *your* obsession.

Roiland: For Harrison the footnote fracases were just symptomatic of the ongoing struggle to get a writer best known for writing a 1,079-page novel to conform to the standards of a much slimmer medium.

Harrison: Again, not to sound like a broken record, but a magazine is a magazine, and the pieces in a magazine have to live in proportion to the overall magazine itself, to the other pieces of the magazine, even in relationship to the advertising, and then of course in proportion to themselves. [With] those two pieces we were really stretching the boundaries and limits of what a magazine piece was and could do, and in a fascinating and successful way. But they were still magazine pieces in a magazine. I remember reading both pieces in the original form and saying, "There's a magazine piece in this and it's fabulous, it's brilliant, it's, you know, a firehose of Dave. But we have to find the piece that moves and ends successfully."

Roiland: There were thirty-three footnotes in "Shipping Out" (that number bloomed to 137 in the retitled, ninety-seven-page book version, "A Supposedly Fun Thing I'll Never Do Again."[47] Most of the writers I spoke with pointed to the cruise ship story as their favorite. Those selections, however, were not without equivocation, because the writers admired many of his other stories as well.

Orange: Oh, the cruise ship essay. I could try for the left fielder, but the obvious choice is obvious for good reason. It offers the better part of who he was as a writer, his larger project, his skill and soul, his despair and his abiding humor. Everything that made him problematic and everything that made him truly great—for me the whole thing is in that piece.

Sullivan: Hmm. I don't want to say the cruise ship thing because that would be so obvious, but it may still be the one that, if you could just save one or teach one, that might be it.

Lovell: Man, that's a tough one. Personally, the state fair and cruise ship pieces were totally revelatory, just because of where I was at that point in my reading/editing life.

Jamison: I love "Shipping Out" because it plunges into feeling and mattering when I'm not expecting it; because it's funny but he also implicates himself; because it understands that there is meaning in everything but also has fun with that notion [and] doesn't take it too seriously; because "Methamphetaminic"; because "trilingual lifeboat."

Sullivan: But also, you know that I love the one about Michael Joyce.[48] It's much better than the Federer piece. I also love the one he wrote about playing tennis when he was younger.[49] Toward the end there were some things that I admired more than enjoyed, like the radio deejay piece.[50]

Lovell: But McCain is the piece that I admire the most, just because there's no genre more constrained than the political profile, and he somehow managed to make something intensely real out of the most inauthentic process and to raise questions and ideas and venture opinions without any pretense regarding the essential rightness of his conclusions.[51] It was a many-many-thousand-word call for engagement, which I still find incredibly stirring.

Roiland: Harrison, too, declared himself to be an obvious fan of "Shipping Out." But he noted that there were more difficulties with that story than simply shoehorning all of Wallace's footnotes into the magazine.

Harrison: Magazine pieces need an ending. They need to end. They need to end in a way that you know what the ending is and why you read it and what it all meant. As I recall, we struggled a little bit more with the cruise ship ending. David just needed to make an ending, and not just fuzz away into his thinking.

Roiland: It wasn't Wallace's messy endings, however, that bothered Jeff Sharlet; it was the ironic tone laden throughout his work. Sharlet also identified both "Ticket to the Fair" and "Shipping Out" as "formative" for him—albeit for a much different reason.

Sharlet: Seriously. I hated them so much when they came out in *Harper's*. Many a time I've reined in the snark in an essay thinking of those pieces, thinking of the narcissistic, defensive self-deprecation.

Roiland: More recently those early stories have also come under scrutiny for reasons other than their effulgence.

Sullivan: Our understanding of that one [the cruise ship story] has had to evolve a little bit, hasn't it? Because learning that he made up, what sounds

like, big parts of it, which is a real bummer.

Roiland: Wallace's reporting would be called into question after his death. Jonathan Franzen and David Remnick made public comments that averred Wallace wasn't always faithful to the facts.[52] D. T. Max probed these accusations in his biography, *Every Love Story Is a Ghost Story: A Life of David Foster Wallace*. And I added my own voice to the conversation with an essay[53] explaining the complex journalistic philosophy Wallace, a novelist, constructed for himself. How did the person who commissioned and edited those seminal stories feel when the accusations surfaced?

Harrison: Basically a shrug.

Roiland: Really?

Harrison: Whatever Dave was doing in those two pieces for *Harper's* he was not pretending to be a hardcore "journalist." And so, the rhetorical footprint of the pieces was larger than the footprint of a typical journalistic piece of reportage [such] that I just didn't really worry about it. You read those pieces to get Dave's mind and his language and his eye. Again, a shrug.

Sullivan: Knowing a little bit about how the circumstances of that piece came about, it's really hard not to think of it [as journalism]. It was conceived precisely as a piece of journalism and reporting. That was the joke. Charis loved Wallace's fiction, which is amazing, because it was so early, but she really saw something in it, and she went to Colin and said, *You guys do this weird nonfiction shit. I don't do that. But this guy is a really interesting writer. Why don't you send him on one of your capers?* That's how it happened. That was the conception of the piece: Insert genius into Gonzo. And, it worked.

Roiland: Harrison's indifference to these later critiques, however, did not stem from an unfamiliarity with journalistic rigor. Nor was he defensive about the accusations or his role in the editorial process.

Harrison: By way of context, as a magazine editor and as a journalism editor, I've done a lot of really serious, strict, straight-up journalism, okay? I know what that is. I know what fact checking is. I know what libel law entails. One of the books I published this last year was the *Washington Post* on Donald Trump.[54] That's where I am coming from, in one respect. When I was working with Dave, I had done pieces on George W. Bush's political background and where his money had come from. I had done some serious journalism. I was very familiar and onboard with the rigorous requirements of serious journalism. I wasn't just wandering out of the woods.

In the case of Dave, again, if you wanted to read about the cruise ship industry or how the cruise ship worked, etc., there were lots of places a reader could go. If you wanted to find out what it was like to gaze upon the showerhead in a cruise ship bunk and contemplate the watery fellatio it can per-

form—whatever it is that he plays around with—you have to go to someone like Dave Wallace. And a lot of his so-called "violations" of the form, they were not really that. They were simply meanderings through his own head. You can't fact check what your writer was thinking about at a certain time. You just can't do it. So he wants to imbue his thoughts retroactively into a piece—how do you disprove that? And if you can, why would you want to do it anyway in the case of David Foster Wallace? These are creative pieces.

By the way, let's not forget, they *were* fact checked. If he said that the ship was of a certain length, or if there was a certain ride at the Illinois State Fair—and there was, and they *were* fact checked. Whatever sort of reportorial violations may have occurred, they were at the margins where reporting and reportage began to go watery and become "the world according to Dave." I knew that. I saw that going into it, and retrospectively it's shown to be an okay thing.

Orange: Yet another student asked me why, given the embellishments in some of Wallace's nonfiction, he didn't publish them as fiction. I just sighed.

Harrison: [The controversy] wasn't worth a lot of contemplation, for me. But I respect the people who want to go into it because what they're really trying to do is to understand how his mind works, and how he perceives what he was doing, and that is an entirely legitimate intellectual issue. People *should* talk about that if they want to. I'm just—that's not where I am, but I get that people want to talk about that.

Roiland: Despite the posthumous questions of factual fidelity, none of the writers I spoke with said those indiscretions ultimately changed their opinion of Wallace and the impact he had on their writing lives and on the world of magazine journalism.

Sullivan: I mean, if I step outside of myself and look at it, almost physically, one thing sticks out very quickly and that is that my copies of all the books I had while I was at Sewanee and in Mississippi—there was like a five-year period when, you know when you're reading so much that you don't eat? When I look at the books from that period of my life, all of the old books from the seventeenth century forward are all marked up and penciled. And the contemporary stuff, I just didn't do that with. It was partly—it was arrogance or a self-protective thing maybe. I didn't want to allow that in somehow. Except for [*A Supposedly Fun Thing I'll Never Do Again*]—which every page is just covered. And my writing is like testy and competitive and incessantly trying to catch him in a bullshit move. And so that almost says more to me about what was really going on than anything I could really say now, that has an honesty to it. It just shows that he did something; he got his finger into a certain wound and was moving it around.

Jamison: I love all of these things that I've found in his nonfiction: the form and energy and unapologetic purpose of the digression, the willingness to dig deep into detail, the *faith* in detail as something that matters, but the refusal to indulge in the easy metonymy of letting one detail stand for everything. He's wonderful at articulating pleasure and appreciation and tackles his objects from so many angles. The multiplicity of perspectives feels almost like an ethical stance—the refusal of the single view.

Roiland: All the rhetorical features that Jamison declaimed, Jeff Sharlet regarded as artifice. He dismissed both Wallace's reporting and his writing.

Sharlet: I don't see him as having a legacy in journalism. Certainly not when we consider the big umbrella of journalism, where his work is essentially irrelevant, but not in literary journalism either.

Roiland: As did Sullivan earlier, Sharlet saw Wallace as a latter-day Gonzo. But Sharlet believed Wallace lacked the political fangs of his predecessors. As a result, his bequest to the next generation of nonfiction writers was the toothless substitution of style for substance; stories as ornamental baubles.

Sharlet: For years so many young male literary journalists wanted to be Hunter Thompson. I don't see that anymore. Which is mostly good news. But perhaps the baroque turn represents the super-stylization of Thompson—style as some kind of display of virility—absent Thompson's politics. The irony of the erasure of Thompson is that what was jettisoned was his most journalistic quality: his commitment to fucking those with power. Maybe the baroque turn represents what remains. Maybe Wallace's journalism represents what remains.

Roiland: Those who worked with Wallace at *Harper's*, however, admired his stylization. Colin Harrison believed Wallace not only cemented his literary reputation with "Ticket to the Fair" and "Shipping Out," but actually elevated the standards for all other writers at the magazine.

Harrison: If you go back to Dave's short stories that he did with Charis, and the tennis and tornados piece, which we ran in the Readings section—those were considered wonderful pieces. But we were publishing wonderful pieces all the time. It was not until the state fair piece that we kind of "blew it out," and that really kind of reset the bar at a higher level for him and the magazine. I remember taking the [state fair] manuscript to Lewis Lapham, taking it into his office and saying, "You are really gonna love this." And I was right. I went in and talked to him later in the day or the next day, and he was just gobsmacked at how fabulous it was. Lewis was all about good writing.

Roiland: Despite, or maybe because of the direct comparisons, Sullivan, whose *GQ* review of Wallace's posthumous novel *The Pale King* contains some of the best observations and analysis on Wallace's journalism, is a staunch ad-

vocate for Wallace's place in the history of literary journalism in America.[55] We spoke by phone for more than an hour for this interview. Afterward, he was left with a nagging sentiment of something still unsaid. He emailed me a half hour after we hung up, and his message encapsulates the paralyzing power of Wallace's legacy, something that writers feel both inspired and haunted by.

Sullivan: Something I wanted to say—and something that, when you consider the accuracy of it, ought to make clear the fundamental silliness of this new dismissiveness toward DFW—is that his work did more than anyone's, during the period between 1990 and his death, to generate sheer interest in the art of literary journalism. I was there, so I can state this as something close to a fact. Even though the pieces I saw come through *Harper's* (the language essay was the only one I had any involvement with, and that very slight)[56] were not as good, or at least not as exciting as the early stuff, we still treated them like holy objects when they came into the office, from Lapham on down to the copy editors. Everybody knew. And the younger people (mostly men, admittedly) who were writing for the magazine, they wanted to write stuff as good as what Wallace had done. That was the unspoken, and sometimes spoken, ambition that hung in the air. When "Horsemen, Pass By"[57] came out, I got a note from [a senior *Harper's* editor] saying it was "the best thing *Harper's* had done since Wallace's cruise ship essay." I was thrilled by that, and encouraged by it. But what did it say, implicitly? The best thing *since* that essay. Right? You see? It's stuff like that, that can drive some people nuts.

This essay was originally published on Longreads, December 7, 2017. Reprinted by permission.

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Notes

[1] FSG Originals, "John Jeremiah Sullivan + Caveman."
[2] O'Connell, "The Flinch," Review of *The Empathy Exams*, graph 7.
[3] Bassist, "Elissa Bassist Interviews Michelle Orange," graph 1.
[4] ASME, "National Magazine Award Winners 1966–2015," Feature Writing.
[5] Harrison, "In Memoriam: On David Foster Wallace," graph 3.
[6] Wallace, "Ticket to the Fair," 35–54.
[7] Wallace, "Shipping Out," 33–56.
[8] Wallace, "David Foster Wallace on 9/11."
[9] Wallace, "Roger Federer as Religious Experience."
[10] Scott, "Best Mind of His Generation."
[11] Bissell, "Great and Terrible Truths."
[12] Wallace, *This Is Water: Some Thoughts.*
[13] Wallace, "This Is Water," YouTube.
[14] Max, "Why David Foster Wallace Should Not Be Worshipped."
[15] Lorentzen, "The Rewriting of David Foster Wallace."
[16] Randall, "Jonathan Franzen Said David Foster Wallace Fabricated Some Nonfiction"; Max, *Every Love Story Is a Ghost Story*.
[17] Lipsky, *Although of Course You End Up Becoming Yourself*.
[18] Max, *Every Love Story Is a Ghost Story*.
[19] Fischer, "Why Literary Chauvinists Love David Foster Wallace," graph 2.
[20] Newton, "Another Thing to Sort of Pin on David Foster Wallace," graph 5.
[21] Dyer, "My Literary Allergy."
[22] Segel and Eisenberg, *The End of the Tour*.
[23] Hungerford, "On Not Reading."
[24] Rose, "David Foster Wallace," 29:40.
[25] Lipsky, "The Lost Years and Last Days of David Foster Wallace," graph 67.
[26] "Finite Jest: Editors and Writers Remember David Foster Wallace," graph 15.
[27] Wallace, fax to Joel Lovell.
[28] Wallace, "Tennis, Trigonometry, and Tornadoes," 68–78.
[29] Wallace, "Laughing with Kafka," 23, 26–27.
[30] Wallace, 26.
[31] Lipsky, "The Lost Years and Last Days of David Foster Wallace," para. 13.
[32] Wallace, "Getting Away from Already Being Pretty Much Away from It All," 99.
[33] Wallace, "E Unibus Pluram," 81.
[34] McCaffery, "An Interview with David Foster Wallace," 127.
[35] Wallace, "E Unibus Pluram," 81.
[36] Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time*.
[37] Wallace, "This Is Water."
[38] Scott, "Best Mind of His Generation," graph 5.
[39] Emphasis Harrison's in interview with author.
[40] Mahler, "When 'Long-Form' Is Bad Form"; Packer, "*Rolling Stone* and the Temptations of Narrative Journalism"; Bennet, "Against 'Long-form Journalism,' "; Hannan, "Dr. V's Magical Putter."

[41] Roiland, "By Any Other Name," 60–89.
[42] Jacob, "Interview with David Foster Wallace," 155.
[43] Jacob, 155; Thompson, *Hell's Angels*.
[44] Jacob, 154–55.
[45] Rose, "David Foster Wallace," 18:06.
[46] Wallace, "Host," 51–77.
[47] Wallace, "A Supposedly Fun Thing I'll Never Do Again," 256–353.
[48] Wallace, "The String Theory."
[49] Wallace, "Tennis, Trigonometry, and Tornadoes," 68–78.
[50] Wallace, "Host," 51–77.
[51] Wallace, "The Weasel, Twelve Monkeys, and the Shrub," 53–65.
[52] Dean, "A Supposedly True Thing Jonathan Franzen Said."
[53] Roiland, "The Fine Print,' " 148–61.
[54] Kranish and Fisher, *Trump Revealed*.
[55] Sullivan, "Too Much Information."
[56] Wallace, "Tense Present," 39–58.
[57] Sullivan, "Horseman, Pass By," 43–59.

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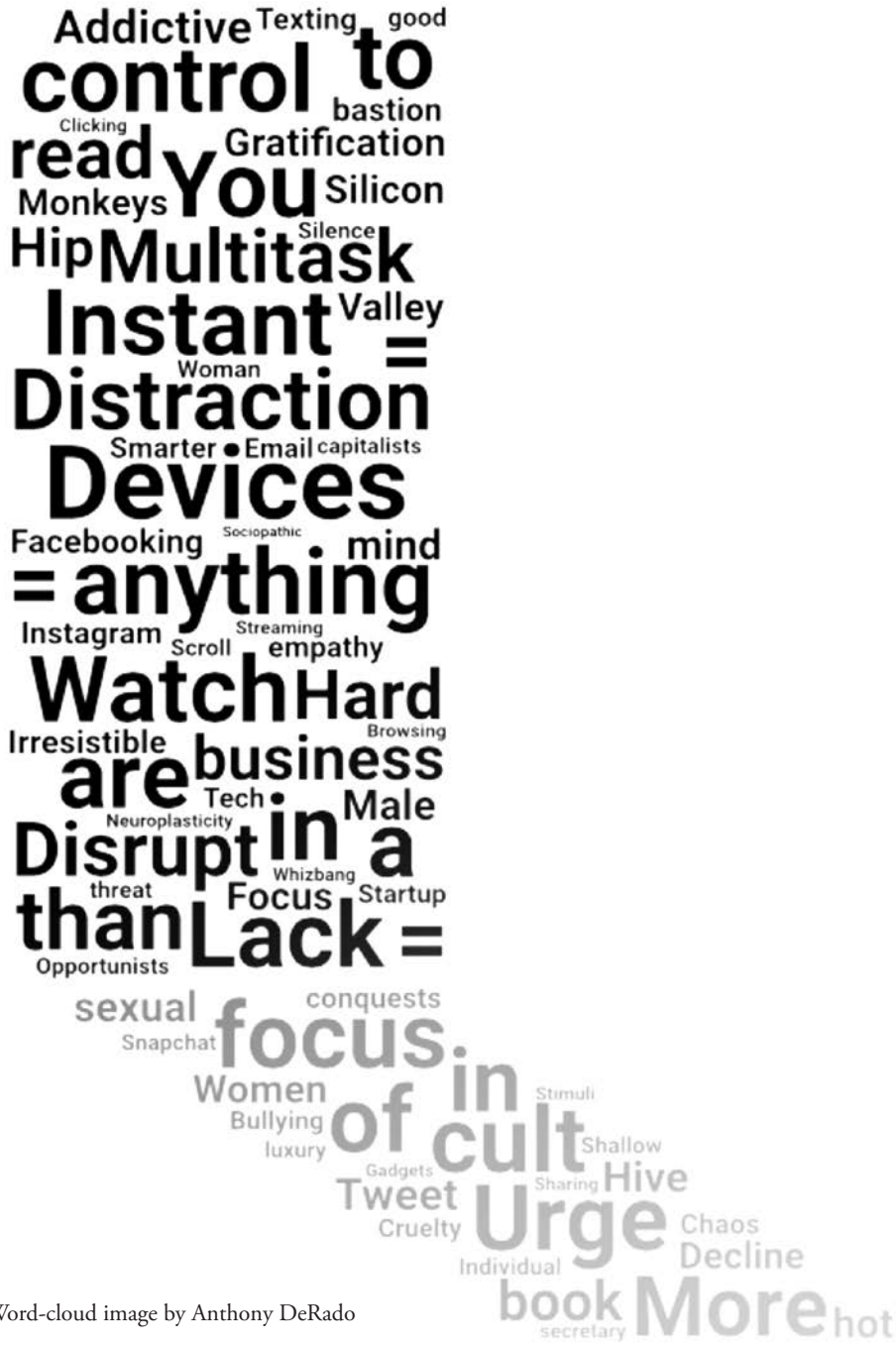
Nancy L. Roberts, Book Review Editor



Word-cloud image by Anthony DeRado

The Tech Threat: Literary Journalism in the Age of Interruption

Jacqueline Marino
Kent State University, United States

Works Discussed:

Irresistible: The Rise of Addictive Technology and the Business of Keeping Us Hooked by Adam Alter. New York: Penguin Press, 2017. Illustrations. Notes. Hardcover, 354 pp., USD$27.

The World beyond Your Head: On Becoming an Individual in an Age of Distraction by Matthew B. Crawford. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015. Notes. Index. Hardcover available. Paperback, 305 pp. USD$15.

Disrupted: My Misadventure in the Start-up Bubble by Dan Lyons. New York: Hachette, 2017. Hardcover available. Paperback, 258 pp., USD$16.

Chaos Monkeys: Obscene Fortune and Random Failure in Silicon Valley by Antonio García Martínez. New York: Harper, 2016. Index. Hardcover, 515 pp., USD$29.99.

Smarter Than You Think: How Technology Is Changing Our Minds for the Better by Clive Thompson. New York: Penguin Press, 2014. Notes. Index. Hardcover available. Paperback, 352 pp., USD$17.

You could be doing so many other things besides reading this essay: You could be shopping online, updating social media, or responding to text messages. You could be playing *Words with Friends* or asking your electronic assistant to add milk to your grocery list. You could be watching the next episode of your favorite television series through a streaming service on your tablet or giving in to the urge to check your email.

If you really do feel like reading, you could be Googling any work of literary journalism and likely finding it—or some part of it—at Longreads.com, some other publisher's website, or even on Google itself.

It has never been easier to read anything you want to read—and it's never been harder to actually find the time.

While choosing to spend time in a more instantly gratifying way online is not an acceptable excuse for putting off doing the *Hiroshima* assignment, it is a believable one. Many people are sacrificing things they need to do in order to shop online or scroll through Facebook.

In *Irresistible: The Rise of Addictive Technologies and the Business of Keeping Us Hooked*, Adam Alter outlines the biological, cultural, and behavioral reasons so many of us find it difficult to distance ourselves from our devices. Yet, technological advances also allow access to more knowledge than ever before, freeing us from having to rely on memory, personal experience, and in-person networks. In *Smarter Than You Think*, Clive Thompson argues that technological changes are more positive than negative, and that by learning to use technology we can learn more and do better. None of the five books discussed here is examined as literary journalism. Rather, this essay explores the effects of technology *on* literary journalism. These books will be of interest because of the authors' takes on the cultural shifts technology has set in motion, and how those shifts may impact literary journalism in an era of unprecedented access, communication, and distraction.

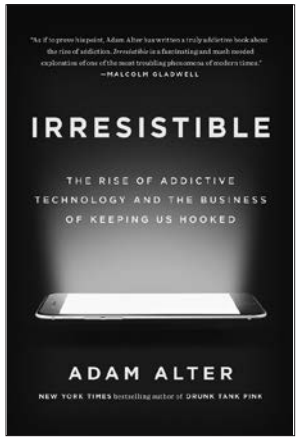
Literary journalism requires a commitment from both writer and reader. The reporting and writing demands exceed those of most other kinds of journalism. The reader must summon the attention span needed to engage with written works that are both long and meaningful. The fictional equivalent is not the airport novel but the work of literature. An investment in literary journalism presents its own rewards for readers. In his 2016 IALJS keynote address, William Dow explained this succinctly and well: "Literary journalism is foremost a pairing of literature and journalism—a combination perhaps more intimately related than any other two narrative genres because it is a way of posing problems and pursuing solutions in ways that no other paired or interfused genres can."[1] Literary journalists have always taken on the social, cultural, and political problems of their times, captivating their readers with exhaustive reporting and innovative approaches to writing. They take us into the experiences of people living through difficult things, such as war (cue Hemingway, Gellhorn, Hersey, and Herr), poverty (so many from which to choose, from Jack London to Barbara Ehrenreich), even guarding prisoners (enter Ted Conover and Shane Bauer). Through these true tales comes an understanding of pressing issues as well as of the human condition, one that can't be achieved through poems or novels, inverted pyramids or data visualization.

Among the positive developments of technology, Longreads.com and startups, such as Latterly and Catapult, deliver excellent works of long form and literary journalism to your inbox. Facebook makes these works easy to share. When stumbling across an intriguing article while browsing social media or clicking a link on another web page, free tools, such as Pocket, allow you to save the story, as does Facebook, to read later. In this fast-moving, technologically enhanced world, however, "later" may never come.

This essay pulls from Nicolas Carr's landmark work, *The Shallows*,[2] in which he examines research into neuroplasticity, the ability of the brain to change in response to one's environment and experiences. Carr explains that the brain continually

changes in response to environments. Early humans adapted to the use of tools. In the current age, our brains are becoming adept at dealing with environments developed by technology, becoming better at skills such as multitasking and worse at focusing attention. As a result, our brains might be changing so it is becoming harder to read longer texts. The average person's attention span was twelve seconds in 2000; it was only eight seconds in 2013.[3]

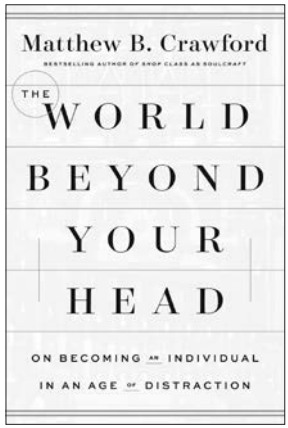
"Dozens of studies by psychologists, neurobiologists, and educators point to the same conclusion: When we go online, we enter an environment that promotes cursory reading, hurried and distracted thinking, and superficial learning," Carr wrote. "Even as the Internet grants us easy access to vast amounts of information, it is turning us into shallower thinkers, literally changing the structure of our brain."[4]



In *Irresistible*, Alter writes an even darker conclusion. Not only is technology making us shallow, it is making us addicted. In our tech-immersive culture, the signs of addiction creep up slowly and are easy to miss. According to Alter, the six ingredients of behavioral addiction are "compelling goals that are just beyond reach; irresistible and unpredictable positive feedback; a sense of incremental progress and improvement; tasks that become slowly more difficult over time; unresolved tensions that demand resolution; and strong social connections."[5] Behavioral addictions have increased rapidly over recent decades, thanks to entrepreneurs' electronic engineering for increasingly addictive behaviors propagated by the psychological and social rewards that come with the swiping, feedback, and fun experiences provided by an ever-evolving galaxy of affordable gadgets. While companies that make these devices continually promote the impression that the consumer is in control and that life is better because of the ability to look up anything, watch anything, and communicate with anyone, the personal and social costs of the near-constant interaction with screens are irrefutable. Alter is sure the technology entrepreneurs who have engineered truly addictive digital devices and activities knew what they were doing. Some of their greatest innovators, he notes, including Steve Jobs and Evan Williams, kept their creations out of the hands of their own children.[6]

Alter draws a parallel between behavioral addiction and chemical addiction. How easy it is to look back at the early proponents of cocaine, including Sigmund Freud, with superiority. Today we know of the drug's dangers. "But perhaps our sense of superiority is misplaced," Alter writes. Just as cocaine charmed early adopters a century ago, "today we are enamored of technology. We're willing to overlook its costs for its many gleaming benefits: for on-demand entertainment portals, car services, and cleaning companies; Facebook and Twitter; Instagram and Snapchat . . . and the rise of a new breed of obsessions, compulsions, and addictions that barely existed during the twentieth century."[7]

Proponents of literary journalism should also be concerned about findings Alter relays about the decline in empathy among college students. Instances of online bullying and harassment are well documented, with teenage girls being especially cruel to one another on social networks.[8] Literary journalism requires an interest in other people's lives. Whereas the New Journalists of the 1960s "called attention to their own voices"[9] in pushing the boundaries of journalistic writing, as Robert Boynton has noted, the "new, new journalists" distinguished themselves from the literary journalists of Tom Wolfe's heyday through their reportorial feats, some of which included spending months or even years with their subjects.[10] Conover spent nearly a year as a prison guard for *New Jack*, and Adrian LeBlanc spent almost a decade reporting *Random Family*.[11] With online communication and texting overtaking face-to-face interaction, it is unclear how the changes in communication patterns will affect empathy: that is, can it develop adequately in the digital world? How will the next generation of literary journalists work in a culture that places little value on trying to understand other people's experiences? Will the next generation of literary journalists have the conviction to pursue such deeply reported work?



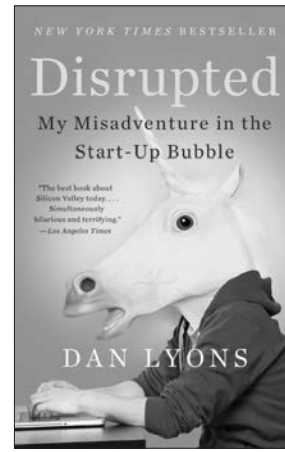
As did Alter, Crawford in his book, *The World beyond Your Head*, characterizes technology, especially the creators and marketers of technology, as a threat, but not because of technology's addictive nature. Crawford believes technology is making the world too easy for us. In *The World beyond Your Head*, he describes the disturbing forms many technological advances are taking, separating who we are from what we do in the world. Autonomous automobiles, near-constant electronic stimulation, and on-demand entertainment distract us from the difficult work of becoming individuals who make things and make mistakes. "Silence is now offered as a luxury good," Crawford writes.[12]

To realize one's potential as an individual, each person must engage with the world. Crawford gives examples of individuals who mastered their environment, reaching their potential: The motorcycle driver who develops connections to both the motorcycle and the road, the short-order cook who achieves a well-orchestrated arrangement of ingredients and implements, and the hockey player who wields the stick as if it's another body part. As engineers and other technologists develop more ways for people not to engage with the real world, however, easiness, not excellence in our individual areas of aptitude and interest, becomes the goal.

In *The World beyond Your Head*, Crawford cites his own inability to focus on Aristotle when he knows he could just watch *Sons of Anarchy*, a television series he could talk about the next day with friends. "There is, then, a large cultural consequence to our ability to concentrate on things that aren't immediately engaging, or our lack of such ability: the persistence of intellectual diversity, or not. To insist on the importance of trained powers of concentration is to recognize that independence

of thought and feeling is a fragile thing, and requires certain conditions."[13]

Dan Lyons and Antonio García Martínez, in their respective memoirs, further the argument for not surrendering our culture to the whims and whiz-bang products of technology companies. Despite the appearances and hype, they learned that the technology startup world does not champion independent thought as much as it rewards moxie and marketing. Their accounts characterize the leaders of technological innovation, not as people with altruistic intentions nor, for the most part, remotely deserving of the hero status contemporary culture bestows on them. Instead of being evangelists for social and intellectual progress, the people at the helm are, in Lyons and Martínez's experience, opportunists seeking personal wealth and status.



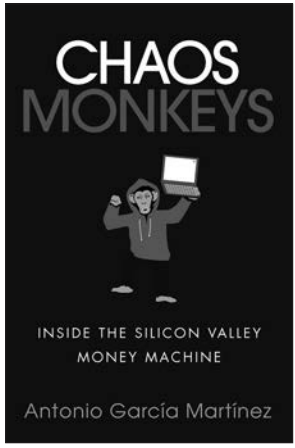
In *Disrupted: My Misadventure in the Start-up Bubble*, former *Newsweek* writer Lyons chronicles his experiences while aspiring to become a "marketing wizard"[14] at a Boston-area software startup. Lyons's hopes crest and fall in this classic fish-out-of-water story as he realizes the hip, venture capital–infused company with candy dispensers in the walls was more cult than business. "HubSpot is like a corporate version of Up with People, the inspirational singing group from the 1970s, but with a touch of Scientology. It's a cult based around marketing. The Happy!! Awesome!! Start-up Cult, I began to call it."[15]

Lyons came to HubSpot after being laid off at *Newsweek*. "I think they just want to hire younger people," his boss had told him. "They can take your salary and hire five kids right out of college."[16] He finds a job at HubSpot after a stint at a technology news website. He makes it through several rounds of interviews, including with the company's cofounders, who seem excited by his ideas and hire him to help improve the company's place in the marketing world. Or so he thinks. "The work I'm doing will exist in a gray area—a mix of journalism, marketing, and propaganda. Halligan and Shah don't know what this will look like, and neither do I. But it could be an interesting experiment."[17] Along with the work, he anticipates his stock options will turn into lots of cash once HubSpot goes public at some point in the future. What he finds is a company built on smoke and mirrors—and run by "bozos" who now "hire bozos."[18] Its product is sold to businesses the owners have decided need marketing software. Lyons finds that HubSpot's sales and marketing workforce outnumbers that of its software development staff. He becomes a recorder of the hype—from the trainer who tells him and the other new hires, "HubSpot is *changing the world*,"[19] to Fearless Fridays doing arts and crafts or anything, as long as it's not their actual job.

This is the kind of company Lyons and Martínez see attracting venture capital in the United States today.

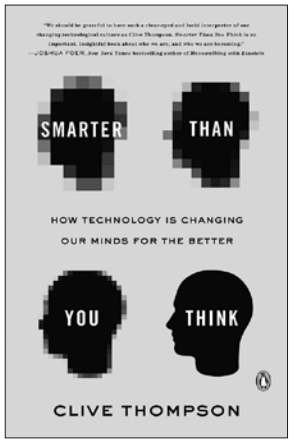
Other kinds are chronicled in Martínez's memoir, *Chaos Monkeys: Obscene Fortune and Random Failure in Silicon Valley*. While Lyons gives an outsider's look at start-up culture, Martinez immerses us in the sausage making at the factory floor

level. But Martínez makes sure the readers know he's not the typical technology entrepreneur: Lacking fortuitous "happenstance" or "membership in a privileged cohort"—paths others have taken to success in Silicon Valley—he succeeded through pure "skullduggery."[20] His views on just about everyone in that space, from venture capitalists to his old boss, Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg, are cultural-myth shattering. His is a tell-all, no-holds-barred, in-your-face memoir with lots of explanation breaks. (This is how Google makes money selling ads. This is the definition of a derivative.) Martínez's Silicon Valley is a haven for sociopaths with work addictions, a mostly male bastion of ego-infused tech culture where women are either hot receptionists and/or sexual conquests.



Chaos Monkeys is part ego trip, part how-to book. Although Martínez doesn't seem to be a trustworthy sort of person who has the reader's best interest at heart, his approach to his subject matter is lively, authoritative, and unconventional. His book is definitely a worthwhile read.

Both memoirs make clear that tech culture doesn't reward introspection, empathy, or other attributes required for literary journalism to be written and read. Of the five books reviewed here, only Clive Thompson's *Smarter Than You Think* is hopeful, making the argument that technology may be changing us for the better. Humans can use—and are using—technology to enhance their thinking, communicating, and problem-solving skills. He rightly points out that new technological shifts in media have always caused anxiety. Scholars worried the printing press would result in huge quantities of books without any way for the truly great ones to stand out.[21] Instead of imperiling writing, however, the Internet has led to more people doing it. "They were all writers who were reading each other's stuff, and then writing about that, too."[22]



Thompson qualifies this rosy picture with an acknowledgement that he is choosing to focus on the positives technology offers. He agrees with Carr that new digital tools are making it more difficult to concentrate, that it's up to individuals and institutions to know when and how it's most beneficial—and least destructive—to use them. "At their best, today's digital tools help us see more, retain more, communicate more. At their worst, they leave us prey to the manipulation of the toolmakers. But on balance, I'd argue, what is happening is deeply positive."[23]

Among the positive developments for literary journalism has been the explosion of multimedia-infused, long-form journalism sparked by the *New York Times*'s "Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek," which won the Pulitzer Prize in Feature Writing in 2013. Over the years, developers have streamlined these presentations for easy viewing on mobile devices,[24] where news consumers, especially millennials, are spending much of their media time.[25] But the phone is a distracting technology, especially when used in public spaces filled with other electronic stimuli, such as television. Crawford says we need an "*attentional commons*," urging us to fight for distraction-free zones with the same urgency with which we preserve public spaces like libraries and parks.[26]

To "reclaim the real" in a more general sense, however, Crawford recommends shifting focus from technology to "the intention that guides its design and its dissemination into every area of life."[27] As we learn more about the siren song of addictive technology, we are becoming more suspicious of it. For literary journalism, the warnings sounded by authors such as Alter bode well. He believes the answer to behavioral addiction lies with consumers reining in their own use and that of their children. Digital tools can still benefit their users as long as they do not overpower personal relationships and social bonds.[28] Corralling technology's reach is also important on a personal level. While we often watch, swipe, and interact with social media to amuse ourselves, we read literary journalism and other thoughtful, well-crafted texts to achieve greater things. "It matters," writes literary critic Harold Bloom, "if individuals are to retain any capacity to form their own judgments and opinions, that they continue to read for themselves."[29]

It's not more time we need to get to that great read, or even fewer devices. It's a different outlook.

Notes

1 Dow, "Reading Otherwise," 119.

2 Carr, *The Shallows*.

3 Microsoft Canada, *Attention Spans*, quoted in Alter, *Irresistible: The Rise of Addictive Technologies*, 28, 325n28.

4 Carr, "The Web Shatters Focus," graph 5.

5 Alter, *Irresistible: The Rise of Addictive Technologies*, 9.

6 Alter, 1–2.

7 Alter, 38–39.

8 Alter, 40–41.

9 Sims, "The Literary Journalists," 3.

10 Boynton, *The New New Journalism*, xiii.

11 Boynton, 6, xiii.

12 Crawford, *The World beyond Your Head*, 12.

13 Crawford, 17.

14 Lyons, *Disrupted: My Misadventure*, 56.

15 Lyons, 48.

[16] Lyons, 13.
[17] Lyons, 35.
[18] Lyons, 77.
[19] Lyons, 41 (emphasis in original).
[20] Martínez, *Chaos Monkeys*, 229.
[21] Thompson, *Smarter Than You Think*, 12.
[22] Thompson, 51.
[23] Thompson, 6.
[24] Dowling, "Toward a New Aesthetic of Digital Literary Journalism," 100–116.
[25] The Media Insight Project, "How Millennials Get News," 2.
[26] Crawford, *The World beyond Your Head*, 11 (emphasis in original).
[27] Crawford, 247.
[28] Alter, *Irresistible: The Rise of Addictive Technologies*, 319–20.
[29] Bloom, *How to Read and Why*, 21.

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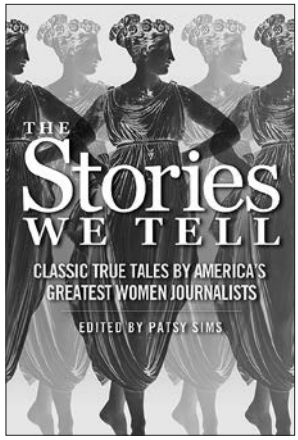
An Anthology of One's Own

The Stories We Tell: Classic True Tales by America's Greatest Women Journalists edited by Patsy Sims. La Jolla, California: Sager Group, 2017. Paperback, 390 pp., USD$25.90.

Reviewed by Sheila Webb, Western Washington University, United States



The Stories We Tell showcases twenty-three long-form nonfiction stories by authors ranging from Lillian Ross to Gerri Hirshey to Janet Malcolm to Joyce Wadler to Isabel Wilkerson. In stories dating from 1964 to 2016, the collection features first-person health narratives, historical and cultural analyses, and interviews with iconic artistic figures. The collection illustrates the critical role that magazines play in nourishing long form: nine appeared in the *New Yorker*, two in *Esquire*, and four in the *New York Times Magazine*.

Editor Patsy Sims has done an exemplary job in selecting renowned authors. She took the interesting approach of asking each author to choose which article to publish. This has obvious benefits, the primary one being that we can depend on the author to showcase her best work. This does, however, create a volume without a clear theme or stance, which is a drawback in an anthology that might be used as a textbook. Further, this approach means that some stories suffer. For example, "Holy Days: The World of a Hasidic Family" by Lis Harris originally appeared in three *New Yorker* installments. No doubt because of space constraints, only an excerpt from the second part of the series is published here, which creates a loss of context.

Although each of the stories deserves mention, a few offer special insights into the writing process. "The Last Day" is a master class, on paper, of how to write a feature story. Robin Marantz Henig's poignant portrait of Sandy Bem charts Bem's decline due to Alzheimer's and how Bem took control of her end of life. Henig movingly portrays Bem, her life and academic career, all related to her ex-husband and academic partner, and their two children. The article reads like a scientific and political treatise as well. Henig describes research on Alzheimer's and outlines state laws that determined the course Bem took. A judicious use of quotes lets each character be heard.

Joan Didion evokes her striving California, a state where people go to start over but drag their problems with them instead, in her gem "Some Dreamers of the Golden Dream." In "My Breast," Joyce Wadler offers a humorous blow-by-blow of her diagnosis and subsequent treatment for breast cancer, all told with her acerbic self-aware wit, as she negotiates medical information; muses over decisions she has to

make; navigates an on-again, off-again relationship; and describes her confusion and panic, all while continuing to work for *People* magazine. Finally, although published in 1964, Gloria Steinem's "Mrs. Kennedy at the Moment" stays fresh. Along with other pieces in this collection, the article still resonates as Steinem describes the cultural role politicians and their families fulfill; shows the intense pressure from publicity at the time, and how Mrs. Kennedy both was affected by it and also manipulated it; and describes the press's and public's laser focus on Mrs. Kennedy's appearance, fashion, and domiciles, in much the same way that current stories focus, for example, on the British royals and their soon-to-be newest member. Steinem's story thus illustrates the complex way in which political figures interact, exploit, and are interpreted by and through cultural myths, expectations, and the publicity machine—in this case, a highly gendered one.

The stories are arranged alphabetically by author and include notes on each author's career history. The anthology would benefit from additional author grounding in several ways: by informing the reader why the author chose the story she did, how the story fits into the time and place of its publication, and how the story exemplifies the style or concerns of both the author and the era. Publishing credits appear at the end of the volume, but the reader would also be served by including publication date and magazine title with the article to help situate the story in its historical context.

An anthology of women journalists inevitably raises the question: If and when will such anthologies no longer be necessary? As Adrian Nicole LeBlanc, one of the authors in the collection, notes: ". . . won't it be a fine day when [an] anthology specifically focused on women journalists won't make any sense?" (Sims, "Notes from Our Contributors," i). Such anthologies aim to provide equity and to address the implicit bias in publishing, a charge taken on by the VIDA Count, which since 2010 has done a yearly tally of gender ratio in magazines and now is looking at ethnicity, LGBT, disability, and age. VIDA data show that in 2016, women wrote thirty-nine percent of *New Yorker* pieces (VIDA 2017, para. 6), while men wrote sixty-one percent.

But counting only gets us so far. In their 2016 study of book reviews in the *New York Times*, Andrew Piper and Richard Jean So found that a higher ratio does not guarantee that women writers are being reviewed equitably. They note that women continue to be stereotyped in reviews: "Women writers are still being defined by their 'sentimental' traits and a love of writing about 'maternal' issues, while men are most often being defined by their attention to matters of science and the state" (Piper and So, "Women Write about Family, Men Write about War," *New Republic*, April 8, 2016, para. 8).

Cynthia Ozick viewed the phrase "woman writer" as political because it was not used descriptively (Walden, 2–3 ["The World of Cynthia Ozick: An Introduction." *Studies in American Jewish Literature (1981–)*, no. 6 (Fall 1987): 1– 4]). Further, even if "total equality" (pay parity, equal numbers in editorial positions, etc.) could be achieved, women will still have a different *social* history and, therefore, a particular interpretive lens, so this kind of anthology might always be relevant. Yet, the idea of

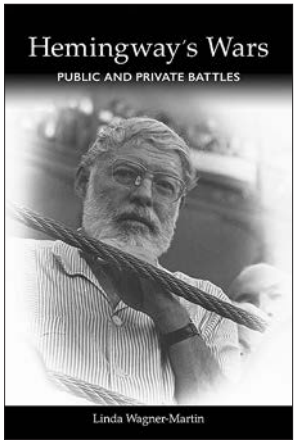
the essentialism of women's writing has been debated for centuries. So, a second question the reader might ask is: Can we identify a woman's voice or a woman's perspective? To answer this, we might look at the ways in which women bring both a political and cultural perspective to content. This is particularly evident in Joyce Wadler's "My Breast." Thus, given that this anthology includes a range of story genres, it would benefit from being grounded in theoretical issues of gender representation for use in academic settings.

This anthology would be suited to classes in literary journalism, feature writing, or even advanced reporting, for, among other virtues, its authors' adept use of descriptive language, deft handling of quotes, and application of personal narrative. It will also be of interest to those interested in the role women have taken in magazine writing.

Hemingway through the Trauma Lens

Hemingway's Wars: Public and Private Battles
by Linda Wagner-Martin. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2017. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Hardcover, 250 pp., USD$38.

Reviewed by Doug Underwood, University of Washington, United States



Sometimes the best way to learn more about a famous writer is to focus on a framework—an angle—and explore it so deeply that it yields new insights. Sometimes this happens when an old and well-examined framework—such as Ernest Hemingway's war experiences and how his wounding contributed to his life story and his writings—is explored anew, and a fresh portrait emerges. Such is the case with Linda Wagner-Martin's *Hemingway's Wars: Public and Private Battles*, in which the impact of Hemingway's war injury and rehabilitation—once called by Hemingway scholars the "wound theory"—is reexamined within the context of contemporary trauma studies and what is now known about the way trauma's symptoms can seep into every aspect of a writer's life.

The book is a biography of sorts, but it is mostly an exploration of Hemingway's writing philosophy in the context of his many traumas—within his family upbringing and his marriages, in his response to his father's suicide, but mostly in his history of war reporting and his suffering of a terrible mortar shell wounding during his work as an ambulance driver on the Italian front during World War I. The book also draws upon—and then attempts to move beyond—the many scholarly writings and studies that have examined the impact of war and its consequences for Hemingway's troubled psyche, including his alcoholism, his books obsessed with war as a theme, his own eventual suicide, as well as his fame for both denying the deeper emotional impact upon him of his war experiences and trading upon them in his posturing as one of American literature's greatest "man's man."

Trauma leaks out of Hemingway's novels and stories in many places, and Wagner-Martin chronicles this thoroughly by closely examining some of his most celebrated writings with war as a theme or sub-theme and exploring the many scholarly analyses of these works: the novels *The Sun Also Rises*, *A Farewell to Arms*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *Across the River and into the Trees*, and short stories such as "Soldier's Home," "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," and "Hills Like White Elephants." Hemingway has long invited psychological examinations of his writings and even more so, his celebrity profile with its grandiose self-mythologizing and its tragic undercurrents.

Wagner-Martin's approach is to lay out her study within a biographical time-

line of Hemingway's life and then dip regularly into the places where trauma and emotional suffering can best be seen as manifested in his life and art. In this sense, the book seems to zigzag through chronology, textual evidence in Hemingway's own works or his quotations, and what scholars have made of his trauma chronicles. When there are differences of opinions (and there are), Wagner-Martin tends to quote people on both sides of the issue, but frequently adds her own viewpoint. As the former president of the Ernest Hemingway Foundation and Society, she has a tendency to present Hemingway in as worshipful a manner as he often presented himself, but she moderates this with clear-eyed insights and critical analysis of the ways Hemingway was unable to acknowledge how deeply he was wounded as a person (and thus less forthcoming as a writer). She includes with this the comments of scholars who do not accept Hemingway's way of interpreting his own life, his suffering, and his skills as a novelist.

For example, her critique of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is highly admiring and generally accepting of Hemingway's heroically self-sacrificial and spiritual approach to fictionalizing the combat he witnessed as an observer of the Spanish Civil War. But this chapter is followed by a discussion of his role in World War II, where he underwent harrowing and life-threatening experiences during his frontline reporting in Europe (as well as sometimes moving into a combat role himself). Drawing on the work of scholar James Meredith, Wagner-Martin notes that Hemingway had never "been *trained*" for combat, he "knew nothing about military discipline, or about surviving, or about injuring or killing other people" (Wagner-Martin, 151). She quoted Meredith, who had written, "Hemingway was traumatized not just by all the death and destruction he witnessed, but also by the fact that he became directly involved in the killing . . . Hemingway, the forty-six-year-old world-famous novelist, who had no business being there, *was* there," and this haunted him "throughout the rest of his life" (Wagner-Martin, 151, quoting Meredith, 408 ["War: World War II," in *Ernest Hemingway in Context,* edited by Debra A. Moddelmog and Suzanne del Gizzo, 402–8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013]).

Wagner-Martin's takeaway from this is that in the larger sense, Hemingway never really tried to write his great novel about World War II—it was too complex and difficult for him. The postures he had taken in his earlier writing about war felt false to him, his understanding of self-sacrifice too limited. "He was not the 'scholar of war' that he pretended to be," she writes. Hemingway could not write—in his term—"truly" about war in his fiction or in his *Collier's* essays about World War II, she said, where he "dodged the facts of conflict, and he wrote about situations oblique to the real" (Wagner-Martin, 158). Published in 1950, *Across the River and into the Trees*—although its lack of critical success frustrated Hemingway—was effective, Wagner-Martin concludes, in its recounting of World War I brutalities through the memories of an old colonel, Richard Cantwell. But she seems less confident that in writing about these "combat dreams," Hemingway resolved his post–World War II ambivalence about warfare or his loss of faith that he knew how to directly approach the subject anymore. This was what led some scholars to conclude that he turned for the rest of his writing career to stories about "the majesty of the sea, the marlin and

sharks, the non-manmade skirmishes that could be read metaphorically as well as literarily" (157).

In referring to Hemingway's new approach to writing, Wagner-Martin is largely talking about *The Old Man and the Sea*, which won the Nobel Prize. Hemingway was often at his best when he immersed himself in other cultures. There he could tap into the dignity and spiritual depths of foreign peoples, whether it was the fictional Spanish bullfighter, Pedro Romero, in *The Sun Also Rises*; or the communist soldier, Anselmo, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*; or Santiago, the old Cuban fisherman, in his iconic contest with his mythical marlin. However, Hemingway's presentation of death and trauma can take on such elevated meaning in his fictional portrayals of non-Anglo cultures that he has been accused of fetishizing trauma as part of his romanticizing of people he believes live more authentically than U.S. Americans and Brits. This becomes clear in one of his best-known pieces of literary journalism, *Green Hills of Africa*, where, in his real-life chronicle, he comes across as treating the locals like a white bwana and where his only interest in the animals is in shooting them. After the writing of *The Old Man and the Sea*, Hemingway became mostly a broken man, suffering from alcoholic psychosis, displaying celebrity hauteur in his feuds with and comments about other writers, and "slops" over into posturing and sentimentalism when he abandoned the hard, objective style of his youthful works (Wilson, 404 ["Hemingway: Gauge of Morale," in *The Portable Edmund Wilson*, 403–7, New York: Viking, 1983]).

Psychoanalyzing Hemingway and his writings has long been a favorite pastime of critics, and refining this to the study of trauma in his art and life seems a natural extension of this endeavor. In a writer who mixed emotional denial with grandiose posing, self-mythologizing with delicate subtextual references to his suffering, and macho and sharp-edged objective journalistic style with allusions to the pain and weakness that he signaled could be found by reading between the lines, Hemingway prodded his fellow ex-patriot writer and erstwhile friend, Gertrude Stein, to say that she wished he "would give up [the] show-off soldiering" and the "phoney [*sic*] grace under pressure" (Wagner-Martin, 44, quoting Alix Du Poy Daniel, 17 ["The Stimulating Life with Gertrude & Co.," *Lost Generation Journal* 6, no. 1 (Summer 1979): 16–18]) if he wanted to fully realize his talents. In this, it is tempting to conclude that at least some of Hemingway's appeal is the satisfaction gained in allowing ourselves to act as if we know so much more about Hemingway than he acknowledged about himself—and to discount the real pain that trauma inflicted in his life. At the same time, his denial and lack of insight into his own life—combined with his substitution of confident external narrative for deep introspection into his anguish and insecurities—have left him a persistent mystery for the many readers who have found wisdom within his obviously fragile nature and strength in the hurt that he could only faintly acknowledge.

Wagner-Martin's effort to turn these insights into a direct and comprehensive examination of trauma, with all the clinical and diagnostic elements that now go with it, might have seemed too blunt a force for Hemingway himself, but it is effective in an age where we are now encouraged to confess to our emotional weaknesses

and find the signs of psychological crisis in our efforts to hide them. Sometimes Wagner-Martin's oscillating route—in some pages quoting people as if Hemingway were a battlefield genius, in other places talking about how little he really knew about war—suggests a synthesis of these contradictions that is not always in her analysis. The biographical sections and connecting material can sometimes be less than satisfying for those interested in a writer who has had so many biographies written about him. But the continued weaving of this biographical and textual material into what we now know about how trauma can work within a great writer holds the book together and effectively so. In *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway deals with trauma only obliquely; in *A Farewell to Arms*, sentimentally; in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, mystically and heroically. But throughout Wagner-Martin's work, the symptoms of war trauma in his protagonists, Jake Barnes, Frederic Henry, and Robert Jordan, are manifested in ways that convincingly expand our understanding of the connection between trauma and literature.

In my view, Hemingway does denial the best—both in his evading of the full impact of trauma in his life and in the way he imports the technique into his literary characters. His direct observations of and philosophizing about war, and the noble pain and courageous stoicism that he finds in it (particularly in his later writings), often do not feel persuasive or true to real human experience. As he aged, Hemingway became obsessed that he had lost the genuine touch of his youthful writing. It is an irony that as he accumulated more battlefield experience—particularly in World War II—he lost the ability to convey the effects of war in as artful or resonant a fashion as he had once done. In his early reading, Hemingway was greatly influenced by Stephen Crane and Rudyard Kipling—two writers who made their youthful reputations, in part, by writing about war without having seen much of it. Hemingway got much literary mileage in his early career from his mortar shell wound while delivering candy to the frontline troops. But like Crane, whose literary prowess declined as he sought more opportunities to see warfare up close, Hemingway lost much of his writing edge when he grew determined to immerse himself in the consequences of combat. And yet, clearly it was the long-term effects that commonly plague those struggling with traumatic memory—drinking to excess, night sweats and troubled sleep, anxiety, depression, and restlessness, and suicidal thoughts and psychological instability—that contributed to Hemingway's demise.

Perhaps it is hard to write an integrated book about trauma's effects in an author who never fully integrated the impact of his own trauma on his own life. But in this thoughtful and well-researched book, Wagner-Martin succeeds, despite the sometimes scattershot combination of general biography with research into Hemingway's traumatized psyche, in producing a portrait of a life that was intertwined with trauma throughout and in filling in our understanding of its role in the career of one of our culture's most celebrated, so-called suffering artists.

Short, Sharp Canadian Literary Journalism

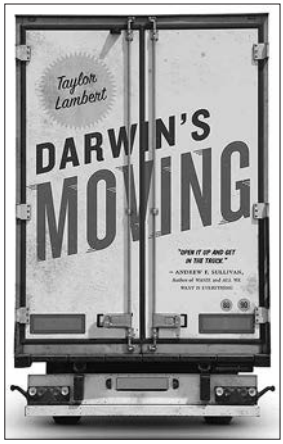
The Shoe Boy: A Trapline Memoir
by Duncan McCue. Vancouver: Nonvella Publishing, 2016. Paperback, 86 pp., CAD$16.95.

Darwin's Moving
by Taylor Lambert. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2017. Paperback, 145 pp., CAD$19.95.

Reviewed by Brian Gabrial, Concordia University, Canada

Looking for some Canadian literary journalism (eh)? Duncan McCue's *The Shoe Boy: A Trapline Memoir* and Taylor Lambert's *Darwin's Moving* might be worth a read. While *The Shoe Boy* captures an adolescent's disconnect from his surroundings and from himself, *Darwin's Moving* is about adults disconnected for whatever reasons (and there are many) from social norms and behaviors that most people understand. Lambert looks outward for his story, whereas McCue looks inward.

At seventeen, McCue, now a CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) reporter and anchor, spent five months working a trapline in East James Bay, Québec, learning from a Cree elder named Robbie Matthew Sr. about what it means to be an Indian. The experience—really a gift from his father—"promised deliverance from the self-doubts that nagged me, even if I did worry about not having a clue what I was going to be doing out there" (McCue, 19). The teenager quickly experiences greater self-doubt, realizing that only three things matter in the wild: "food, shelter, and fire" (29). He is a terrible hunter, living among people who put "good hunters" on the top. "No question: I am on the bottom" (50), McCue writes. In all, he feels like a "pretty lousy Indian" (64), who tires "of daily reminders of my inadequacies" (61). At one point, the young man contemplates suicide before being saved by a little gray bird landing in a nearby tree. The rustling noise breaks McCue's sad reverie.



Adding to his alienation is his lineage: "I was an Ojibwe kid who went from being the only Indian in my elementary school to a high school where the kids called me *waamishtikushiiu* ("white man") because I didn't speak Cree" (11). He is an outsider. Even Matthew calls the boy "Mis-ah Duncan" and refers to him

as "Shoe Boy," a somewhat derogatory term for Indian children ripped from their families and forced to attend residential schools run by white people (50).

Still, Matthew's teaching—"He rarely instructs me, or even corrects me" (67)—pays off because the boy transforms into an adult under Matthew's patient, subtle guidance. McCue eventually leaves the trapline and his Cree family. "You should have been a Cree" (78), they finally tell him. But McCue knows better: "I was never going to become a wise and successful hunter of bears and geese, caribou and beaver . . . I would always be the shoe boy" (83). McCue loses contact with them until one day a Facebook friend request from Bruce Matthew, Robbie's son, appears. That his ties to the Matthew family transcended time is mirrored in McCue's dedicating this memoir to his biological mother *and* his Cree mother, Sally.

At the outset of *Darwin's Moving*, former *Calgary Herald* reporter Taylor Lambert tells the reader, "Journalists are generally advised that writing about close acquaintances is full of pitfalls" (Lambert, x). Lambert ignores that advice by presenting a study of class, of haves and have-nots, and of savory and not-so-savory characters, who enter strangers' homes and move them from one place to another.

Lambert met Darwin, of Darwin's Moving, when Lambert, then a university student, needed a summer job. He stuck around the job to support his later freelance journalism career. Lambert comes to this ten-year-long immersive journalistic project organically. His intent is not to expose wrongdoing but to tell readers about the flawed souls hired to care, if briefly, for a family's most precious possessions. Thus, *Darwin's Moving*, Lambert's fourth book of nonfiction, is populated with characters who have few emotional tools to succeed in a complicated world. As Lambert earns their trust, they willingly share the "emotional, difficult, shadowed parts of their lives" (x) with him. In kind, Lambert reveals their professionalism and humanity.

Taylor, like McCue, shares an initial sense of alienation with coworkers he calls "the flip side of the boom coin" (32). He states, "I did not come from this class [of people] . . . we came from different *places*. . . they grew up poor and I did not." Lambert, like McCue, learns about himself as watches these men. "Moving furniture taught me more about humanity and about my own shortcomings," he observes, "than I could have ever imagined" (31–32).

Except for Darwin, a "giant of a man" (28) with "high standards he holds his workers to" (ix), the movers Lambert describes are not nice people, but they like him. "I can't imagine what I would have to do for them to want to harm me as they have harmed others," he writes (103). Jesse, for example, can keep his "drinking and drug habits . . . under a self-imposed check" until he can't (90). Keith, horribly abused as a child, "looks like he'd rob you, then cut you anyway, just for fun" (104). Lambert once asked Keith what he would be had his life been different: A cop, he answers, "Because I could have helped people" (145). Yet, these near sociopaths fool most customers with their charming glibness as they tote housefuls of belongings from one expensive home to another. Darwin, their boss, understands them because, if not for a few lucky breaks, he could be them.

Both Lambert and McCue are journalists, and their prose shows that training. McCue's *The Shoe Boy* is written with a television reporter's acuity with short, sharp,

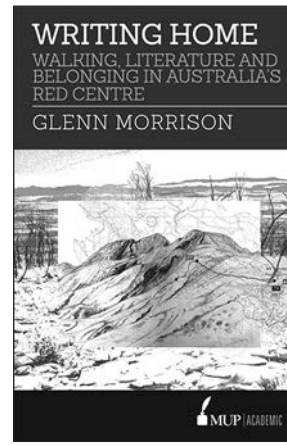
clear sentences. Lambert devotes more space to each of his descriptions. Both men do their reporting, too, with each book containing rich veins of information. While Lambert's journalistic focus is Calgary and its sprawling housing developments, McCue targets hydroelectric projects that destroyed traditional Indigenous hunting lands, suicide among aboriginal youth, and even roads that opened the Canadian north to tourism.

At the end of *The Shoe Boy*, when McCue reconnects with his Cree family, he remembers the lessons of living along the trapline and realizes he did, in fact, become a hunter, "a hunter of stories" (McCue, 84). It is a vocation that he and Lambert share. In a lovely coda, McCue writes, "I sing to the stories, asking them to come to me, to feed me, to nourish my family and my people" (84). *The Shoe Boy* and *Darwin's Moving* offer good fare for anyone wanting to taste some Canadian literary journalism.

Literary Journalism's Walkabout

Writing Home: Walking, Literature and Belonging in Australia's Red Centre
by Glenn Morrison. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2017. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Paperback, 326 pp., AUD$49.99.

Reviewed by Fiona Giles, University of Sydney, Australia



Glenn Morrison's ambitious analysis of the ways in which Australian writers have constructed the central region of the world's largest island and smallest continent—their country—is a welcome addition to a much neglected area of Australian studies, as well as literary journalism scholarship. In addition to filling a gap in the research, the work balances an exploration of the role of walking in narrative, together with a sense of home, nation, and the relationship of settler to Indigenous culture. The discussion of these elements is conducted through the lenses of six narrative nonfiction works or bodies of literature: "A Man from the Dreamtime" (Thompson 2003, 20–37), as told to anthropologist Myfany Turpin by Keytetye elder Tommy Kngwarraye Thompson (In *Growing Up Kaytetye: Stories by Tommye Kngwarraye Thompson*, edited by Myfany Turpin, Alice Springs: Jukurrpa Books); the explorer John McDouall Stuart's account of his journey from the south to the north of the continent in 1860 (Stuart 1860/1983 [*Fourth Expedition Journal*, *March to September 1860*. Adelaide: Sullivan's Cove]); the memoir *Journey to Horseshoe Bend* by anthropologist T. G. H. Strehlow about his childhood journey down the Finke River in 1922 (Strehlow 1969 [Adelaide: Rigby]; *I Saw a Strange Land* by conservationist Arthur Groom, which constructs the Red Centre as what can be called a "tourist playground" (Morrison 1950, xix [Groom, New York: Viking]) in an untainted wilderness Bruce Chatwin's best-selling travel narrative *The Songlines* (Chatwin 1987 [New York: Viking]), which represents the first serious attempt to explain the complex and spiritually significant tracings of Indigenous journeys across the continent; and Eleanor Hogan's memoir-based *Alice Springs* (Hogan 2012 [Sydney: UNSW Press]), which reasserts the town as an "Aboriginal problem" in more reductive socioeconomic terms. These are not all, strictly speaking, literary journalism, encompassing sometimes more expositional forms as well as narrative accounts, and including the semi-fictionalized work of Chatwin.

Nevertheless, a close reading of the selected texts provides key insights into the way Central Australia has been constructed by an Australian population that lives primarily on the coastal fringes, paradoxically both revering and disparaging its complex and, to many, elusive meanings. That is, while considered by many to provide a

more "authentic" Australia than the cities and urban sprawl, those who live there are considered "outsiders" (Morrison, 31). As Morrison writes, "This regional struggle for cultural equilibrium echoes a broader settler Australian struggle to belong, which since the 1990s has emerged as a matter of deepest concern to some Australians" (31). The texts also have in common their attention to the journey, primarily through walking, which Morrison captures in a quote from Robert Spencer's literary textual analysis of Palestinian writer Raja Shehadeh's *Palestinian Walks: Forays into a Vanishing Landscape*—"each meandering walk [enabled him] to amble no less circuitously around received ideas about the region in order to peruse them from an alternative point of view" (Morrison, 43, from Spencer 2010, 40 ["Ecocriticism in the Colonial Present: The Politics of Dwelling in Raja Shehadeh's *Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape*." *Postcolonial Studies* 13, no. 1 (March 2010): 33–54]; Shehadeh 2008 [New York: Scribner]). Or, more pithily, in referring to the Romantic poets as well as Thoreau and Baudelaire (among others), Morrison writes, "It is important to remember that ideas of home, nation and, consequently, belonging or frontier, can all be explored on a walk" (Morrison, 43).

The crux of Morrison's thesis is to provide a critique of the way in which many dominant Australian historical and geopolitical texts have constructed the Red Centre as a frontier, with all that implies regarding lawlessness, and the impermeable borderlines between civilized and uncivilized, law-abiding and lawless, culture and nature, among other hierarchical binaries. The close readings show how the different works echo, trouble, or deconstruct this frontier imaginary, providing varied understandings of the place, and more or less sympathetic representations of its Indigenous cultures. Morrison sees the persistence of the frontier mentality as "a failure of the Australian imagination" that divides ideas of belonging from a frontier perspective, "one that hampers the capacity of non-Indigenous Australians to reimagine the Centre as home" (32). His book provides a more nuanced, accurate and intriguing alternative based on the works of those who report from the stance of an intimate and embodied engagement with the land.

The chapters focusing on the texts are preceded by theoretical accounts of the meaning of frontier, of home, of nation and belonging, together with a useful history of philosophy concerning space and place. Incorporating the ideas of Relph and Marx, Morrison distinguishes between a humanist lineage concerned with a sense of place and the spaces of production, in turn corresponding to the phenomenological work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger's concept of dwelling through "being-in-the-world" and "a Marxist apprehension of space [in which] both space and place are socially produced and consumed" (16) work provides a lucid and illuminating guide to a maze of difficult theory, providing a useful grounding for the textual analyses to follow.

Morrison's suggested re-imaging of the frontier as home is based on the idea of a palimpsest, rather than a single or unitary concept, so that the "links to nation that emerge among and between the texts . . . [the palimpsest] speaks to an Australian ecopoetics" (258) that remains open and shifting. Detouring between both phenomenological and Marxist understandings of the land encountered via the journey

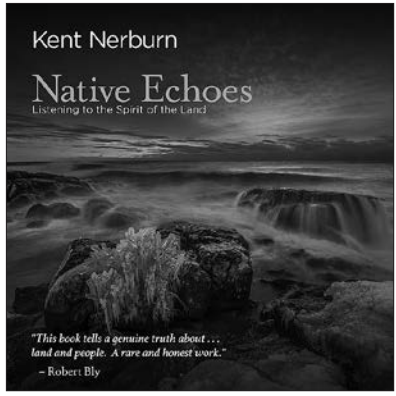
enables him to build what he calls an "epistemological bridge" and "negotiate historically competing understandings" (259). He cautions, though, that walking through a landscape of itself (and writing of that walk) does not guarantee "an inclusive or even moral narrative" (259). This is important in avoiding an essentializing or idealization of walking practice, yet the implication is that walking is a necessary, if not always sufficient, part of the process.

Without making grand claims to any (or even all) texts replacing the idea of frontier with that of home, Morrison's work makes an impressive contribution to a more measured understanding of their relationship, and possibilities for a constructive mutuality emerging from that entanglement; or as he prefers to write, its "layering" (260). Hybridity is also a metaphor that Morrison adopts, allowing that this, together with ambiguity, forms a useful and truer basis for an Australian sense of self.

Spirit, Land, and Contemplation

Native Echoes: Listening to the Spirit of the Land
by Kent Nerburn. St. Louis Park, MN: Wolf nor Dog Books, 2017. Paperback, 142 pp., USD$18.95.

Reviewed by Nancy L. Roberts, State University of New York at Albany, United States



This quiet, contemplative work offers profound insights about "the power of the great natural forces that surround us and shape our hearts and spirits" (Nerburn, Author's Preface). Kent Nerburn, who has lived and worked among Native American peoples in his northern Minnesota home, bridges Native and non-Native (Judeo-Christian) cultures in eloquent prose that invites comparison to Anne Lamott and Annie Dillard.

In a new preface to this edition (earlier published in large part as *A Haunting Reverence* by New World Library, 1996, and University of Minnesota Press, 1999), Nerburn explains that he sought "to meld the richness and insight of our western spiritual tradition with the Native heartbeat of our American land—a search, if you will, for an authentic American spirituality" (Author's Preface). His literary journey takes him across a varied terrain, from a young Indian boy's funeral by "a northern lake on a windswept point of land" (7), to a buffalo ranch where he encounters a mysterious bull that trails him, staring with "dark, flat eyes" (75), to a farmhouse, "abandoned, swaybacked, empty," where the wind "is filled with banshee howls, screams, and distant laughter" (93).

The book is divided into twenty-five short chapters, organized into six groupings: Whisperings, Wanderings, Solitudes, Darkenings, Awakenings, and Solaces. Nerburn explains that he wrote the book "during the coldest winter in recent memory" (Author's Preface), and he fully evokes that season in a piece entitled "Winterwatch" (57–59), in the Solitudes section: "We know it is coming. We can see it in the animals' eyes. The sky is too cold; the wind, too raw. Leaden clouds loom heavy on the horizon. Darkness grows stronger than light." From the northwest, he perceives "a sound there, beneath hearing, like the distant rhythm of an approaching army. In its cadence is the heavy breath of winter" (57). In another piece he describes freshly fallen snow as "a prayer shawl donned upon the land" (61).

And, elsewhere, "If you would live in winter, you must give yourself to blue" (65). Because, he explains:

> The blue-hued snow betrays its water source within. . . . Even the wind blows blue—cool, edgy, soothing and serene. And above it all a cobalt sky vaults insurmountable in cloudless brilliance, casting shadows long and lavender across the land. It is the palette of a genius painter, this winter day; a Chinese watercolor, but with edges sharp and cutting as a knife. (65)

In the "Legacy" chapter (part of Solaces), Nerburn characterizes an old pine tree as "virtuous, unwavering, singular in his devotion to the sky," with "a growing weariness within him" (133). No longer do children "play beneath his branches. He is too dark; his needles are too sharp. . . . They run to him only when sticks are needed for a fire. His dead limbs snap like fingers, burst quickly into flame" (133–34). But Nerburn refuses to cut down the "old brittle" tree that, a neighbor warns, could fall on his house. The tree brings to mind the spirit of his father, who in old age once sat underneath this very tree.

Nerburn is a keen observer of these powerful natural forces all around us. One night in a blinding snowstorm on a remote road, he picks up an old man who needs a ride to the Indian reservation some twenty miles further. Yet he finds he is more alone than ever because of the man's unnerving silence: "His eyes are avian, seeing far and minute, looking for a single movement or a hint of meaning in the violent storm that rages around us" (86).

Born and raised near Minneapolis, Nerburn earned a bachelor's degree (summa cum laude) in American studies from the University of Minnesota and Ph.D. in religious studies and art at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley in conjunction with the University of California, Berkeley.

His website explains that for many years he created over-life-sized sculptures from tree trunks and lived in Europe where he could study the works of his "heroes, Michelangelo, Donatello, and Rodin" (Nerburn, kentnerburn.com/kent-nerburn/about/). When he returned to Minnesota, he lived in the pine and lake country near the Canadian border and worked for several years on the Red Lake Ojibwe reservation. His job "helping students collect the memories of the tribal elders" (Nerburn, "About") was transforming, as it introduced him to Native American spiritual traditions that he has long found compelling. He writes:

> My work has been a constant search, from various perspectives, for an authentic American spirituality, integrating our western Judeo-Christian tradition with the other traditions of the world, and especially the indigenous spirituality of the people who first inhabited this continent. Someone once called me a "guerilla theologian," and I think that is fairly accurate. I am deeply concerned with the human condition and our responsibility to the earth, the people on it, and the generations to come. I believe that we are, at heart, spiritual beings seeking spiritual meaning, and I try to honor this search wherever I discover it in the course of my daily life. (Nerburn, "About")

Nerburn turned from sculpting to writing about twenty years ago because he felt it would let him reach more people. Since then he has written seventeen books on spiritual values and Native American subjects. They include a trilogy of spiritual essays: *Simple Truths*; *Small Graces*; and *The Hidden Beauty of Everyday Life* (recently

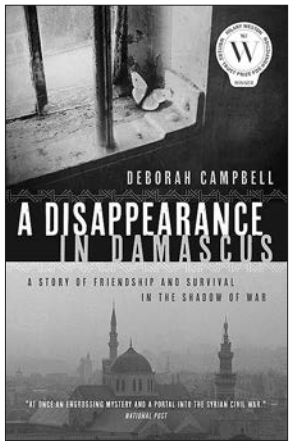
reissued as *Ordinary Sacred*); and *Make Me an Instrument of Your Peace*; and *Road Angels: Searching for Home on America's Coast of Dreams*. He has also written *Letters to My Son* (essays); *Neither Wolf nor Dog: On Forgotten Roads with an Indian Elder*, which won the Minnesota Book award for creative nonfiction in 1995; and *The Wolf at Twilight: An Indian Elder's Journey through a Land of Ghosts and Shadows*, which won the same award in 2009.

Native Echoes is an excellent introduction to the work of this gifted writer. Nerburn's prose offers masterful sensory description and metaphor that, with his thoughtful reflections on the natural forces that shape us, make his work a compelling addition to the canon of literary nonfiction.

Full Immersion in Syria's Little Baghdad

A Disappearance in Damascus: Friendship and Survival in the Shadow of War by Deborah Campbell. New York: Picador, 2016. Notes. Bibliography. Paperback, 2018. Hardcover, 342 pp., USD$27.

Reviewed by Bill Reynolds, Ryerson University, Canada



Deborah Campbell's latest book, *A Disappearance in Damascus*, focuses on the urgent domino story of our time, the second Iraq invasion and its concatenation: the inevitable Iraqi refugee crisis, the spawning of ISIS, the Syrian civil war, and the ensuing Syrian refugee calamity. In her career as a literary journalist, the Vancouver-based Campbell has among other endeavors spent months on the ground to find out for herself what was going on among regular Israeli, and written a book about it, *This Heated Place* (2002); in Iran, stretched her stay as a freelancer to six months to get past the usual caricatures to understand how real people live their lives in- and outside of Tehran, and filed her story, "Iran's Quiet Revolution," to *The Walrus* magazine in Canada (2006); and followed that magazine feature with an extended stay in Damascus to find out how ordinary Iraqis were coping with being forced out of their homeland, and filing "Exodus" to *Harper's* magazine (2008). That latter story has been expanded here to book length because she had an additional, personal story to tell. Ahlam, the woman who became her fixer and eventually her confidante and friend, disappeared. After coming home to Canada following her first extended stay, Campbell returned to Damascus to try to find Ahlam. This second sojourn especially tested her assumptions about the city, the surveillance state, and, indeed, the nature of immersion methodology.

Campbell tells her story with a sharp journalistic eye, but also, because of the flourishing bond between the journalist writing about the Iraqi diaspora in Syria and the fixer based in Damascus, an emotional edge. Perhaps the most pertinent aspects of the story, from the literary journalism point of view, are the recurring ruminations on immersion methodology.

About fifty pages into the book, Campbell provides a summary. She says the Syrian civil war was not sectarian but rather a class war between relatively prosperous city people and the farming families fleeing drought-stricken lands and flocking to the city in search of work. When the Arab Spring erupted, in spring 2011, and the government fired on protestors, Saudi Arabia capitalized on the chaos by attacking Syria, the ally of its enemy, Iran. Only then did the uprising become sectarian, as proxy war jihadists—caring nothing for Syria itself or any struggle for democracy—piled into

Syria from Turkey to rain grief on the people (48–49).

Campbell is able to conjure images quickly through description. On the departing Iraqi professional class, she writes: "Some looked dressed for the office, women in high heels and oversized sunglasses, men in pleated dress pants and button-down shirts, as if they'd walked out of work, grabbed the kids and the cash, and just left" (6). When she visits the family of a former Iraqi intelligence officer, whose farmhouse was shelled by RPGs (rocket-propelled grenades), she finds anguish and horror. The officer's wife was paralyzed, his youngest daughter was burned, his oldest daughter was killed, his eldest son was tortured afterward, and now they are stuck in Syria. When Campbell suggests to her fixer that the facially disfigured nine-year-old daughter, despite being tormented by classmates, should be in school, learning, the reply is chilling: " 'She will marry a man who beats her and have children who can't read.' " (58). This level of fatalism is also on display in Campbell's description of Little Baghdad, the somewhat medieval looking suburb a of low-rise tenements in Damascus: "Farther along were the gold shops where Iraqi widows performed alchemy, turning their jewellery into bread; some did the same with their bodies once the gold was gone" (30).

On post-invasion Baghdad, Campbell supplies this indelible image:

> One day, on a street corner, they came across a magnificent white stallion. The stables of Uday Hussein had been looted, and this stunning creature had been hitched to an impoverished street vendor's rickety cart. Spooked by gunfire, the horse bolted, launching itself into a barrier of razor wire the Americans had set up. The soldiers scrambled for a forklift while a crowd of Iraqis watched the horse bleed to death on the sidewalk. (114–15)

On the impending destruction of Damascus, she writes of Souk al-Hamidiyeh, the bazaar in the Old City:

> . . . I needed the souk: a dim and cavernous tunnel where I could dissolve into the cosmopolitan stew of nationalities and religions. Greek Orthodox priests in flowing robes striding past women in jeans and men in business suits; white headscarves, no headscarves, nuns in habits, kids in school uniforms, tourists in shorts . . . this age-old tradition of pluralism would shortly disappear, adding millions of Syrians to the millions of Iraqis seeking refuge in the outside world." (189–90)

Back in Iraq, she pinpoints the imbecility of al-Qaeda aggression against farmers: " 'They've started hanging cloth over the animals' backsides. Cows, donkeys, sheep. Only the chickens are exempt because they can't tell male from female'." If that is a new first in egregious illogic, it is bested by the correct way to sell tomatoes (female) and cucumbers (male), which is to say, not side by side in the marketplace, and not served together in salads. Tomatoes mingling with cucumbers—things might get hot (52).

As for the U.S. presence, Campbell's summation of Paul Bremer's Coalition Provisional Authority's Order Number One, de-Baathification, which banned Sadaam Hussein's party members from working in the post-invasion society, is succinct: It "effectively lobotomized the country" (54).

And, finally, among the many pithy observations, is her assessment of the U.S.'s

culpability in creating the incubator for Daesh: "Indeed, without the American prisons in Iraq, Islamic State would not exist" (122). In other words, the Camp Bucca detention facility in Um Qasr, about an hour's drive south of Basrah, brought jihadists together and supplied them with impressionable recruits.

Campbell readily admits she "hate[s] reporting in packs" (7). She has always been a freelancer and, after a couple of decades in the business, has become crusty and protective of her independence. She identifies with her fixer because "neither of us liked being told what to do . . . , a mentality that is characteristic of freelancers who prefer to go their own way, follow their own stories, which is to say their own minds" (82).

Just her luck, at the border post she inadvertently lands in just this pack situation. She arrives at the same time as "the cavalry," a U.S. TV news team (6). Based in Jerusalem, which the cameraman calls "Dixie" (his crew's code word for the "Zionist entity"), he has two admissions (7). One, they are not interested in the refugees and the crisis; they want dirt on the Iraqi terrorists that might be hidden among the refugees and staging their activities from Syria (10). That is the story that will play back home. And two, he goes back into Iraq to report only to justify his paycheck. The network ensures its reporting teams are heavily guarded—rightly so, since so many journalists have been killed. Campbell cannot help but point out: "This was good for the staff but bad for journalism" (7).

At the border Campbell explains that she is working on a story for *Harper's* about Iraqi refugees fleeing their disaster of a country—a story about civilians, not military personnel or government officials. In so doing she tells us a little bit about her method: "While most reporting focuses on those who 'make history,' what interests me more are the ordinary people who have to live it" (9). What was it that Norman Sims said in his introduction to *True Stories* (2007)? "Among the shared characteristics of literary journalism [is] . . . a focus on ordinary people . . ." (6). In so doing Campbell points out that she has come to Syria on a typical tourist visa, not a working journalist visa. There is a good reason for that: "To request an official journalist's visa is to advertise your intentions to those whose job it is to get in your way" (13). Of course, this style of reporting can make a mockery of Gay Talese's famous "hanging out" method. Sometimes, she says, hanging out feels more like "drowning journalism" or "thrashing around journalism" (20). Not that this ironic feeling of futility stops her. She believes, perhaps fearlessly, perhaps foolishly, it is her right to ask questions and follow the trail she sets out for herself. She says, "I have found this in journalism too: that if you believe you have the right to be somewhere, or talk to anyone no matter how powerful or barricaded, nobody blinks" (132).

As she settles in Little Baghdad, Damascus, and the immersion process naturally takes over, Campbell becomes somewhat less worried about her alien appearance (white, blonde, six feet tall) and being observed. She even flirts with the idea that she is fading to fly-on-the-wall status: "I felt myself, slowly, become part of the background. Part of the scene, where I like to be. Not that I completely disappeared—that wasn't possible" (147). While everyday people in Little Baghdad no longer shoot questioning glances her way, the fact of her comradeship with her fixer foils any truly objective fly-on-the-wall status.

Which is to say, the complexity of the journalist-source relation laid bare in the text is good for the sake of literary journalism. Yet doubt about her noble immersion project lingers. She believes she can and will write a more nuanced piece than the work of "parachute" journalists who drop from the sky and form near-instant opinions for the audience back home, and then bail. And it is true Campbell does spend an excruciating amount of time trying to understand what is happening around her, especially when Ahlam (which means "dreams") is threatened by authorities and, ultimately, disappears. Despite the usual wariness when a journalist begins working with a recommended fixer—who could be a double agent, working for the government; and most of whom would need the money, so it would not come as a surprise—Campbell, with her goal of explaining the ordinary experience of displaced Iraqis, struggles with motivation. At one point, when questioned by a comrade about the effectiveness of her writing, she asks herself, "One article, a thousand articles, however in-depth and penetrating, what could they actually do beyond letting me say I had tried?" (25).

More than tried. If one of the time-tested devices of successful narrative is to find a lead character through which to tell the story, Campbell could not have done much better than her energetic, optimistic, indefatigable fixer. Ahlam's father, Ahmed, was unusual, raising his daughter like a boy. That is to say, he taught her to depend on herself. He drilled into her precepts for living such as: begin and the rest will follow; if you are afraid do not speak, and if you speak do not be afraid; there is no difference between rich and poor; and there is no difference between Sunni and Shia. He orders Ahlam's brothers to teach her how to swim (something girls did not do). He also looked the other way when she rebelled against traditional female housework, instead indulging her hunger for books and knowledge of other worlds beyond her own. " 'I'm a bad housewife,' " she said in her apartment to Campbell, who noted the messy interior. "She sounded unapologetic. She sounded amused" (41).

Campbell then reveals a bit more about her method. Books are an important indicator of personality, she believes. She says:

> Whenever I go to someone's home and see books, I automatically start to flip through them, ignoring everything else, ignoring even the propriety of looking through someone's belongings, the inner workings of their mind perhaps, their ideals or passions or pretensions. The books they read or wish you to think they read can tell you as much or more than can be gleaned in conversation. (41)

But her comfort zone for immersion reporting is often tested. For instance, in Damascus, a standard cultural practice turns a journalist's ethical principle on its head. When a woman, who cannot afford to give personal objects away, offers her a bottle of perfume, Campbell feels she must accept the gift for the sake of not offending her. "I felt the awkwardness of taking their gifts, and then taking more: their stories, the accounting of what had been lost" (60). Campbell, perhaps inadvertently, raises the sketchy and ethically worrisome issue of immersion journalists getting something (the story) for nothing. In this case, the source not only receives nothing, but she also gives away her few possessions.

Campbell dwells on the cost of doing this kind of immersion work as empathy

for her fixer grows over time. There is a thematic layer in the book that twins Ahlam's personal crises—breaking up with her husband and keeping track of her children—and the author's deteriorating relationship with her longtime live-in boyfriend, who remains in Vancouver and suffers alone or through Skype conversations during her many trips abroad to immerse herself in long-form international political stories. When she returns to Damascus, not only the relationship but also her ruminations on method reach their nadir: "Tracking down people for information I needed was my profession, yet this time I had no idea where to start" (204). Ahlam's disappearance occurs just over halfway through the book, and Campbell is implicated. At one point a journalist tells her "they" think she is a Mossad or CIA agent, and that is why Ahlam was taken away. Campbell wonders who "they" are (187).

There are a few quibbles with the "whodunit" structure. There is a section in the middle of the book that dwells on the author's psychological state too much. The reader starts to wonder: *Is this book about the fixer or the author?* Well, it is about both, but in this section the writer's anxieties are a bit too glaring. Another issue is that the rat in the story, that is, the identity of person who tells lies about Ahlam to the Syrian authorities, feels a little telegraphed, at least to this reviewer. And from some of the key phrases in the story—such as Ahlam's father's advice (and warning) to her daughter that while learning to swim in water is easy, learning to swim in life is difficult—the reader gets the feeling that he has not heard the last of this morsel. And, finally, a few scenes are static. When the most compelling action is the pouring of wine, it recalls the literary journalist's nightmare scene location to meet a source—the coffee shop.

Despite these quibbles, and they are quibbles, Campbell takes us inside a confusing, incomprehensible, and sometimes terrifying world of toxic national identity and shifting alliances—a world of having something, maybe everything, and then losing it all, perhaps overnight. How people deal with this loss, for better or worse, is based on how much money they have or how many goods they can barter, and these "goods" may include their daughters' bodies. Deep inside this world, peace and sociability and shopping in markets and sipping at coffee oases give way to a corrosive instinct for survival.

And there they are, hidden in plain sight: the secret police, the spies, and the turncoats, about to ransack your life—a life that, literally or effectively, may be over because someone with a grudge, or someone who perceived an opportunity, told authorities an outright lie about you, or perhaps it was an exaggeration of what was reality. It does not matter. You are in a jail cell, no one knows where you are, you are being interrogated and tortured, and, as for habeas corpus, what is that? If you happen to survive the ordeal be grateful to have escaped with only a little PTSD.

Mission Statement
Literary Journalism Studies

Literary Journalism Studies is an international, interdisciplinary blind-reviewed journal that invites scholarly examinations of literary journalism—a genre also known by different names around the world, such as literary reportage, narrative journalism, the New Journalism, *nuevo periodismo*, reportage literature, literary nonfiction, narrative nonfiction, and creative nonfiction—focusing on cultural revelation. Published in English but directed at an international audience, the journal welcomes contributions from different cultural, disciplinary, and critical perspectives. To help establish comparative studies of the genre, the journal is especially interested in examinations of the works of authors and traditions from different national literatures not generally known outside their countries.

There is no single definition of the genre, but the following descriptions help to establish a meeting ground for its critical study:

• "The art and craft of reportage—journalism marked by vivid description, a novelist's eye to form, and eyewitness reporting that reveals hidden truths about people and events that have shaped the world we know." —*Granta*

• "Reportage Literature is an engagement with reality with a novelist's eye but with a journalist's discipline." —Pedro Rosa Mendes, Portugal

• "I think one of the first things for literary reportage should be to go into the field and to try to get the other side of the story. —Anne Nivat, France

• "A good reportage must not necessarily be linked with topical or political events which are taking place around us. I think the miracle of things lies not in showing the extraordinary but in showing ordinary things in which the extraordinary is hidden." —Nirmal Verma, India

• Literary journalism is a "journalism that would read like a novel . . . or short story." —Tom Wolfe, United States

Such definitions are not comprehensive and may at times conflict, but they should help to establish an understanding of this fundamentally narrative genre, which is located at the intersection of literature and journalism.

At the critical center of the genre lies cultural revelation in narrative form. Implicit to the enterprise are two precepts: (a) that there is an external reality apart from human consciousness, whatever the inherent problems of language and ideology that may exist in comprehending that reality; and (b) that there are consequences in the phenomenal world, whether triggered by human or natural agency, that result in the need to tell journalistically-based narratives empowered by literary technique and aesthetic sensibility. Ultimately, the emphasis is on the aesthetics of experience.

International Association for Literary Journalism Studies

The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies is a multidisciplinary learned society whose essential purpose is the encouragement and improvement of scholarly research and education in literary journalism (or literary reportage). For the purposes of scholarly delineation, our definition of literary journalism is "journalism as literature" rather than "journalism about literature." Moreover, the association is explicitly inclusive and warmly supportive of a wide variety of approaches to the study and teaching of literary journalism throughout the world. The association's web address is http://www.ialjs.org.

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