

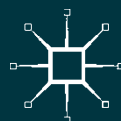
CULTURAL
SOCIOLOGY

Contemporary Journalism in the US and Germany

Agents of Accountability



Matthias Revers



Cultural Sociology

Series Editors

Jeffrey C. Alexander
Center for Cultural Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut, USA

Ron Eyerman
Center for Cultural Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut, USA

David Inglis
Dept of Sociology Philosophy and Anthropology
University of Aberdeen
Exeter, Aberdeenshire, United Kingdom

Philip Smith
Center for Cultural Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut, USA

Aims of the Series

Cultural sociology is widely acknowledged as one of the most vibrant areas of inquiry in the social sciences across the world today. The Palgrave Macmillan Series in Cultural Sociology is dedicated to the proposition that deep meanings make a profound difference in social life. Culture is not simply the glue that holds society together, a crutch for the weak, or a mystifying ideology that conceals power. Nor is it just practical knowledge, dry schemas, or know how. The series demonstrates how shared and circulating patterns of meaning actively and inescapably penetrate the social. Through codes and myths, narratives and icons, rituals and representations, these culture structures drive human action, inspire social movements, direct and build institutions, and so come to shape history. The series takes its lead from the cultural turn in the humanities, but insists on rigorous social science methods and aims at empirical explanations. Contributions engage in thick interpretations but also account for behavioral outcomes. They develop cultural theory but also deploy middle-range tools to challenge reductionist understandings of how the world actually works. In so doing, the books in this series embody the spirit of cultural sociology as an intellectual enterprise.

More information about this series at
<http://www.springer.com/series/14945>

Matthias Revers

Contemporary Journalism in the US and Germany

Agents of Accountability

palgrave
macmillan

Matthias Revers
Department of Sociology
Goethe University Frankfurt
Frankfurt, Germany

Cultural Sociology
ISBN 978-1-137-51536-0 ISBN 978-1-137-51537-7 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-51537-7

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016957173

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover image © Matthias Revers

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Nature America Inc.
The registered company address is: 1 New York Plaza, New York, NY 10004, U.S.A.

Für meinen Adam

SERIES EDITOR PREFACE

Journalism has all too rarely been a topic for contemporary sociology, which is quite extraordinary given its vital importance in contemporary societies. Sociologists seem to take it for granted that journalism provides information, for the institutions, movements and associations that form the usual topics of their study. In his deeply researched and elegantly theorized comparative study, however, Matthias Revers shows this is hardly the case. The factual status of journalism is sociologically constructed. It is rooted in deep cultural structures that must be continuously performed in public and in private, so that influential audiences will “see” the factual status as true.

To maintain the mythology of objectivity, Revers suggests, journalists devote themselves, not just to reporting and interpreting news but also to cultivating and sustaining the boundaries of their professional ethics and organizations. Even as they usually maintain cordiality, they strive to separate themselves from the social powers upon whose actions and motives they report and from the sources upon whose information they depend. Maintaining boundaries is not about money but about meaning, about sustaining a moral community against fragmentation, conflict, and despair.

To study journalism in this manner one must practice a particular sort of cultural sociology.

At the core of the practice of independence Revers finds the idea of journalism as a sacred profession, one whose mythology celebrates heroes who have struggled courageously to reveal truth in the face of daunting, punishing and sometimes even physically dangerous conditions. Journalism that sustains autonomy is revered and storied as the foundation

of democracy; journalism that betrays autonomy is polluted and narrated as insidiously anti-civil. Upholding professional ethics and civil morals is not just pragmatic, something practical, but a symbolic performance, projected to other reporters and the public at large.

Journalists must continuously work to properly situate themselves, their research, their stories, and their reactions to the reactions to their stories—inside the sacred myths that portray professional purity. The boundaries of professional journalism are porous, the lines separating it from outside pressures and organizations uncertain. Maintaining boundaries requires continuous symbolic work, framing descriptions of, and declarations about, news reporters and their stories in frames that appeal to professional heroes and mythological imaginaries. When journalists succeed in aligning text, performer, and audience, Revers shows, they have the sense that they are making the broader moral community whole.

Comparative social scientists have sometimes described US journalism as quite alone in its insistence on professional autonomy. Revers confirms the more overtly political identities animating German reporting, but he finds deep concerns for independence as well. The question is not whether autonomy is valued, but how it is imagined differently in the national context. Separation, boundaries, and autonomy are sacred on both sides of the Atlantic, the distinctive mythology of contemporary journalism widely shared.

New Haven, CT, USA

Jeffrey C. Alexander

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was blessed throughout my sociological education with invaluable and unconditional mentoring. Three individuals deserve most credit. In chronological order: (1) Christian Fleck was my teacher in my first semester when I was studying sociology as an undergraduate student and was the first one who let me know that I had some talent for it. His relentlessly critical attitude towards the social (and especially academic) world not only inspired me but sustainably changed my outlook on life itself. He also materially nourished my sociological existence by employing me or getting me jobs at various points. Ever since my academic foci and inclinations moved in directions different from his, he also became a great intellectual sparring partner. (2) Meeting and talking to Robert Jackall in person inspired me to do ethnography, more than any book ever could have. He also gave me confidence in my abilities and advice for applying for a Fulbright scholarship, which eventually brought me to the USA. While I was on the East Coast, Bob was always my go-to person for field research advice. I always left these conversations smarter and more determined than before.

(3) I met Ronald Jacobs for the first time in January 2008 on a campus visit at SUNY-Albany. I could immediately imagine working with him but did not fathom the extent of what I would learn from him. While I had a rudimentary affinity towards theory before, he showed me, beyond mere text exegesis, what *thinking theoretically* means. Ron's ability to see the wood for the trees while in the thicket of empirical details blows my mind to this day. Despite its patriarchal undertone, the German term *Doktorvater* (doctor father) captures something about this relationship

which “doctoral adviser” or “chair” does not, and I could not have asked for a better one. As a committed father, Ron also served as a role model for how to balance family and professional life.

I would like to thank my dissertation committee, Ronald Jacobs (chair), Christian Fleck, Robert Jackall, Richard Lachmann, and Elizabeth Popp Berman, for providing immeasurable assistance and constructive feedback. I would also like to thank all members of the Culture Reading Group at the Department of Sociology at SUNY-Albany for numerous and stimulating intellectual discussions about issues of common intellectual concern. My deepest gratitude goes to the journalists who talked to me about their work, particularly to those who did not mind having me as a fly on the wall in their office. I learned so much from them, not only about journalism but also about my own strengths and weaknesses as a researcher.

I want to thank my wife and best friend, Judith Revers, who has rescued me several times during the last eight years from the depths of self-doubt following the hallmarks of academia: devastating criticism and rejection. Our relationship started only shortly before I moved to the US. The prospect of being reunited in my second year helped me survive my first year in Albany. This was only the first of many master plans we executed together, which is more romantic than it sounds. Thank you for continuously making things happen, for being in my corner and, above all, for loving and keeping up with me. Our son Adam entered our lives in 2012 and he introduced everything they say children do: meaning, happiness, and a shift of focus, all of which have been incredibly rewarding. This book is dedicated to him.

My parents, Margit and Rainer Revers, I would like to thank for making *me* possible, for facilitating a happy upbringing, for supporting and obstinately believing in me. Given that I am a parent myself now, I can understand much better now what they must have gone through. I sincerely apologize for all the distress and worries I must have caused them. I also want to thank my parents-in-law, Isabella and Rupert Gruber, not only for welcoming me in their family but also for accommodating me when I was teaching and doing research in Graz.

My friend Dana Abi Ghanem deserves credit for why I ended up doing a PhD in sociology. Our conversations in 2007 made me realize that what I liked most about journalism was what reminded me of ethnography. Many thanks to my friends and colleagues in Albany. Matt Vogel and Lauren Porter were key for my initiation in Albany and I thank them for making me feel welcome immediately. I spent endless hours studying with my

friend and cohort mate, Lina Rincón, in various libraries and coffee shops and her companionship was key for surviving graduate school. Karolina Babic was not only my roommate but also my family in the three years I lived in Albany. I don't know how I would have done it without her. Özlem Cosen joined in the second year and was followed by Lina Rincón in my third, who both became part of this transitory cosmopolitan family life. Because of you Albany came as close to home as it possibly could. Roman Polanski brought Brian McKernan, Ian Sheinheit and me together as collaborators and friends, and I would like to thank him for that.

I would also like to thank the administrative staff of the SUNY-Albany sociology department at the time I was there—Stacey Zyskowski, Kathleen Rose and Melanie Lawyer—for their support. Cathy particularly deserves credit for guiding me through the administrative jungle of US higher education, which was (and to some degree still is) literally foreign to me.

I would like to thank the following people for their insightful comments and questions on writings and presentations and inspiring conversations: Jeffrey Alexander, Mehmet Ozan Aşık, CW Anderson, Valerie Belair-Gagnon, Rodney Benson, Casey Brienza, Matt Carlson, Tom Crosbie, Christian Dayé, David Domingo, Alexandra Florea, Alison Gerber, Friedericke Hardering, Michael Hölzl, Heather Hofmeister, Robert Jackall, Joseph Klett, Daniel Kreiss, Anne Kronberg, Richard Lachmann, Stefan Laube, Matthew Mahler, Brian McKernan, Michael Meyen, Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Eunike Piwoni, Elizabeth Popp Berman, Werner Reichmann, David Ryfe, Michael Schudson, Florian Toepfl, Eleanor Townsley, Mascha Will-Zocholl, and the participants of the Workshop in Cultural Sociology at Yale University.

Researching and writing this book were made possible through funds or employment by the following institutions: Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD), Fulbright Austria (Austrian-American Educational Commission), Spectro GmbH Vienna, University of Graz, and University of Frankfurt.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction: Textures and Porosities of Journalistic Fields	1
2	Contextualizing US and German Journalism	19
3	The Sacred Discourse of Journalistic Professionalism	43
4	Staking Out the Boundaries of Professionalism: Good and Bad Journalism	79
5	Competitive Collegiality: The Press Corps Environment	113
6	Embedded Political Reporting: Boundary Processes and Performances	153
7	Digital Media and the Diversification of Professionalism	197

8 Conclusion: Occupational Cultures and Journalistic Fields in Germany and the USA	219
Appendix: Methods	231
Bibliography	249
Index	271

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Agence France-Presse
ARD	<i>Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland</i> (Consortium of public broadcasters in Germany)
BR	<i>Bayerischer Rundfunk</i> (Bavarian Broadcasting)
CDU	<i>Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands</i> (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)
CSU	<i>Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern</i> (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
DAPD	Deutscher Auslands-Depeschendienst
DPA	<i>Deutsche Presse Agentur</i> (German News Agency)
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FDP	<i>Freie Demokratische Partei</i> (Free Democratic Party)
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
GPA	George Polk Awards
HJFP	Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis
HNP	Henri-Nannen-Preis
LCA	Legislative Correspondents Association of New York State
LP	Bayerische Landtagspresse
NYT	<i>The New York Times</i>
PA	The George Foster Peabody Awards, simply Peabody Awards
PP	Pulitzer Prize

SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SZ	<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>
TWP	Theodor-Wolff-Preis
ZDF	<i>Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen</i> (literal translation: Second German Television Station)

LIST OF TABLES

Table A.1	Sample of German Obituaries of Journalists	233
Table A.2	Sample of US Obituaries of Journalists	235
Table A.3	Sample Journalism Award Jury Statements	236

Introduction: Textures and Porosities of Journalistic Fields

The secret documents leaked by Edward Snowden about the National Security Agency (NSA)-governed surveillance programs in 2013 not only stimulated international debates about government overreach, surveillance, privacy and state secrecy; journalists took the Snowden revelations and follow-up stories as instances for occupational self-reflection. Discussions centered on news media as stages for whistleblowers, balancing accountability and national security, and contemplations about the future of journalism.

One salient theme was the fine line between journalism and activism with regard to Glenn Greenwald who broke the story in *The Guardian*. Greenwald appeared as a new archetype of a journalist in these stories. The “Greenwaldization” of journalism was identified as both inevitable and threatening to proven ways of journalism. Even though the question whether Greenwald could be considered a journalist was fundamentally about constitutional protection,¹ journalists used these discussions to negotiate occupational norms. Aside from the fact that leading US as well as German news outlets dealt with this issue, debates were colored and filtered by lenses specific to each occupational culture of journalism.

In discussing the difficulty to draw a line between journalism and advocacy, Günter Hack of *Zeit Online* argued that there was a reluctance to clearly delineate journalism in Germany, which went back to the rigid codification of occupational obligations during National Socialism. Post-war Germany preferred to have this definition “negotiated time and again” and to perceive indeterminacy as a “productive and necessary grey

area” (Hack 2014). In this grey area, a commentator like Hack firmly argued that it was impossible for journalists not to be actively involved in stories about surveillance. Another commentator of the same outlet and grey area evaluated the role of Greenwald differently days before: “Glenn Greenwald can no longer be considered a journalist. The NSA disclosures are not just stories for him anymore, they are a struggle for freedom” (Biermann and Beuth 2013).

Some German journalists were quick to undermine or dismiss Greenwald’s professional credibility: “Someone like Greenwald—passionately committed to his issue, irritable and a bit vein—inevitably makes mistakes” (Fischermann 2013). Sometimes, this led to Greenwald not even labeled as a journalist anymore: “The *blogger* Glenn Greenwald, who is not a profound authority on the NSA, obviously falsely interpreted some foreign cases [of government surveillance]” (Leyendecker 2013; my emphasis).

Despite the blow against Greenwald, Hans Leyendecker—a figurehead of investigative journalism in Germany—was generally positive and optimistic toward participatory data journalism (as long as it is practiced by *The Guardian*). After the release of Laura Poitras’ documentary film about the leak, Citizenfour, German news outlets judged more harshly: “Poitras and Greenwald are certainly not merely deliverers of Snowden’s message, they are also his escape agents. As his apostles, they also have to stay away from the USA to do their work” (Richter 2014).

Influenced by the government backlash to the Snowden leaks, some US news outlets took a much sharper turn by insinuating whether Greenwald should, in fact, be criminally persecuted, most notoriously in a TV interview on NBC Meet the Press (2013).² When several journalists lent support to this position, others, like David Carr, sprung to Greenwald’s defense by attacking these journalists for “giving the current administration a justification for their focus on the ethics of disclosure rather than the morality of government behavior” (Carr 2013b).

Whenever US news coverage on the Snowden leaks and its aftermath turned its attention to journalism, detailed discussions of practices and norms about a wide range of issues followed—from source protection to transparency, the loss of gatekeeping authority and dissolution of the business model of newspapers through the internet. Similarly, distinctions between journalism and activism were made much more firmly than in the German debate. David Carr disagreed with both positions, that a journalist is or should be a “political and ideological eunuch” and that activists are nothing more than ideologues (Carr 2013a). Carr warned, however, that

an activist agenda could “impair vision,” that the “tendentiousness of ideology creates its own narrative” and that its “primary objective remains winning the argument” rather than to “reveal the truth” (ibid.).³

In taking this position, Carr was in line with his former boss, at that point fellow columnist at the *New York Times*, Bill Keller. The lengthy e-mail exchange between Keller and Greenwald, which was published on the Op-Ed pages of the *Times* (Keller 2013), epitomizes tensions in US journalism that have grown since the rise of online news making. On the traditional side of the argument, Keller defended impartial journalism, which “in most cases ... gets you closer to the truth, because it imposes a discipline of testing all assumptions, very much including your own” (ibid.). Keller argued, on the other hand, that “journalism that starts from a publicly declared predisposition is less likely to get to the truth, and less likely to be convincing to those who are not already convinced” (ibid.).

Promoting journalism-with-a-stated-point-of-view, Greenwald argued, “all journalism is subjective and a form of activism even if an attempt is made to pretend that this isn’t so” (ibid.). More honest and trustworthy journalism, therefore, needed “honestly disclosing rather than hiding one’s subjective values” to both supply the public with “accurate and vital information ... [and] provide a truly adversarial check on those in power” (ibid.). Greenwald framed the journalistic mission personified by Keller and the *Times* as “donning a voice-of-god, view-from-nowhere tone that falsely implies that journalists reside above the normal viewpoints and faction-loyalties that plague the non-journalist and the dreaded ‘activist’” (ibid.). The kind of news stories that followed from Greenwald’s mission treated “official assertions [as] stating point to investigate (‘Official A said X, Y and Z today: now let’s see if that’s true’), not the gospel around which we build our narratives (‘X, Y and Z, official A says’)” (ibid.). Clearly, he put the journalism of the *Times* in the latter category.

Reading through a cross-section of articles in leading media outlets of both countries on this subject, one is struck by a more diverse and lively debate about journalism and advocacy in the US coverage. This is certainly connected to but not a mere consequence of the more rapid and profound weakening of the institutional authority of legacy news media in the USA since the early 2000s. The discussion also drew from specific bases of legitimacy, beliefs, and ongoing debates within US journalism. Even though objectivity and separating news from opinion are working practices in German journalism, this differentiation does not reach as deeply into their

conception of professionalism. The dignity of US journalists rests much more on these symbolic distinctions and their public display.

This study is about how German and US journalists define and perform professionalism. It deals with symbolic boundaries of journalism, that is, the criteria journalists use to distinguish between professional and unprofessional actors, practices, relations and pronouncements. It pays close attention to how journalists assert professionalism in performative action, including by displaying symbolic boundaries. The comparative analysis in this book shows that the intensity of performances of professionalism by US journalists does not accrue from particularly strong professional boundaries. To the contrary, I will argue that the assertiveness is a consequence of professional boundaries that are rather porous for deviating and novel norms and practices.

This book examines historically evolved cultural principles of journalism that are formative for the structure of its boundaries and the democracies it serves. The analysis utilizes the fact that self-monitoring, reassuring, renegotiating and adjusting of professional boundaries are constant companions of conversations between journalists, occupational practices, news coverage, and commemorative and celebratory occupational discourses. The main objects of investigation are conversations that I had with members of one press corps in each country, who I followed and observed for over 3 years. I talked to them about occupational norms and values and how they manifest themselves in political environments. The second component of the comparison is an analysis of jury statements of major journalism awards and obituaries of renowned journalists in both countries. This two-level approach allows inferences from discourses to practices. Before contextualizing occupational cultures in their institutional and historical context in each media system in Chap. 2, I will now discuss the theoretical framework that guides this analysis.

THEORIZING JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALISM

Journalistic Autonomy and Professionalism

Even though media sociologists have questioned whether autonomy is desirable at all cost,⁴ it is common sense that the democratic capacity of news media rests on whether journalism is free to apply scrutiny to and request accountability from representatives of the public. Autonomy is conditioned by the ambitions of journalism to serve the public independently as well as the media systemic conditions in which it takes place. Leaving aside material constraints for the moment, I conceive of professionalism

as the intrinsic aspirations of autonomy that arise from the occupational culture of journalism.

Journalism misses some crucial elements commonly associated with professions: It lacks formal knowledge and closure of its labor market, which means there are no clearly circumscribed qualifications required to enter the occupation.⁵ Beyond how it is organized as an occupational group, journalism is also defined as a field of practice that performs certain tasks more or less exclusively, which is what Andrew Abbott (1988) termed *jurisdiction*. The tasks of journalism are to gather, process, and distribute information to a broader public. Its power consists of conferring publicity to certain information and the actors providing or voicing this information. Journalism struggles for this jurisdiction in two main ways. First, since the internet age, journalism competes for discursive authority with other institutional actors and citizens on various digital infrastructures. Second, journalism has always struggled with specific institutions in each subject area it is involved with. Whether politics, arts, business, sports—journalism makes truth claims in these areas. Whereas challenges do not concern the jurisdiction of journalism in toto, institutions compete with journalism for interpretive authority within their specific domains.

The combination of relatively fuzzy professional boundaries and rather firm public service claims makes journalism an interesting object of study from a sociology of professions perspective. Fundamental agreement about a common purpose—serving the public with information—thus a unique position of the occupation and its service, goes a long way toward professional autonomy.⁶ According to Durkheim ([1957] 1992), this common purpose is substantiated with civic moral principles, even if the means to achieve this purpose are subject of ongoing negotiations and debates within occupations, even the most highly professionalized ones.

Civic morals are not only the ordering principles and bases of solidarity of these occupational groups but also of their special position in society, which is relatively autonomous from forces of the market and bureaucracy. Contrary to the general knowledge claims of these forces, professionalism is based on discretionary specialization and transcendent values of public service (Freidson 2001:105–123).⁷ In journalism, especially political journalism, *democracy* serves as a transcendental source of legitimacy and autonomy of action.

Of course, professionalism does not find complete and permanent expression. Besides the challenges on the jurisdictional level of occupational practice, autonomy is always limited by the material context which facilitates journalism—the media industry and news organiza-

tions. Tensions between journalistic professionalism and the institutional and organizational conditions of possibility of journalism are profound and continuous. These tensions epitomize the opposition between the material-institutional (*real civil society*) and ideal-aspirational (*civil sphere*) dimensions of civil society (Alexander 2006). As the realm of moral regulation according to shared civic values, the civil sphere originates journalistic professionalism. Because the civil sphere is the medium through which different social spheres (civil and non-civil, which includes state and economy) legitimate themselves and engage with each other, journalism has a special role in mediating between them as well as classifying their motives and relations in civil and uncivil terms (ibid.:75–85).

A comparative analysis of journalistic professionalism needs to account for the institutional conditions of its realization, which includes limiting and enabling material and cultural circumstances. The analytical tools of field theory (Bourdieu 1993, 1996; Fligstein and McAdam 2012) lend themselves for locating expressions and acts of journalism in their institutional context.⁸ Rodney Benson (1999, 2013; Benson and Neveu 2005) specified this framework for comparative media analysis and disentangled complex interactions between self- and other-determining influences on news media and public discourse. The analysis in this book mainly focuses on two dimensions of journalistic fields—its position and its logic (Benson 2013).⁹

Chapter 2 determines the position of German and US journalism in the larger field of power, in relation to market and non-market (civic) heteronomous powers.¹⁰ Between these two powers arises autonomy, which, as Benson emphasizes, “should not be privileged as the sole locus of journalistic excellence” (Benson 2013:13). This accounts for the fact that both profit-oriented news organizations, like the *New York Times*, as well as public service media which receive significant funding from the state and which are subjected to influence by political parties can produce hard-hitting accountability reporting and other professionally esteemed acts of journalism. I view these heteronomies as conditions of possibility for journalistic professionalism to be realized.

The main subject of this book, however, is professionalism as the cultural logic of the journalistic field, which is based on occupational traditions, symbols, and historically conditioned norms and practices. Benson conceived news formats, that is, stylistic differences of news presentation, as the most reliable empirical manifestations of these logics while dismissing journalists’ subjective beliefs as “surface discourse” one needs to “dive below” of (Benson 2013:26). This book, on the contrary, *dives deeper*

into these discourses. This is not only due to a different theoretical position but also encouraged by recent empirical research suggesting a strong correlation between journalists' role conceptions and news outcomes (Albæk et al. 2014). Besides questioning the correspondence between occupational practices and beliefs, Benson underplays the power of field logic as a stable source of professional autonomy,¹¹ which in his mind is inherently transitory and negotiated (Benson 2013:13). I conceive of professionalism as a stable resource of journalistic autonomy.

State house press corps serve as miniature fields, remaining cognizant that political reporting represents one particular yet important subfield of journalism. Subfields are *embedded* within and subordinated to larger fields, which means that positions and relations carry forward into lower field orders (Fligstein and McAdam 2012:59–64). From a Bourdieuan perspective, relations within the field are exclusively competitive and its members primarily motivated by status enhancement and the desire to shape the rules of the game in order to generate dominant interpretations of reality.¹² Thus, Fligstein and McAdam's argument that actions in fields are at least as much about cooperation as competition is a useful addition to this theory. In their view, humans share an existential need to associate and cooperate with each other "by appealing to and helping to create shared meanings and collective identities" (ibid.:46). The following section deals with how journalists make sense, ritually affirm, and negotiate shared meanings of occupational identities. It presents an analytical framework to examine these expressions of professionalism.

Professionalism as Cultural Practice

With its in-between status, the study of professionalism promises to be a particularly rich subject for cultural sociology. It is a code that guides members of the moral community in distinguishing professional from unprofessional motives and relations. This system of moral classification is ingrained in shared symbols of the occupation, which are expressed in narratives and rituals. With the help of this symbolic vocabulary, journalists make sense of their collective experience, negotiate and contend professional worth with each other, and assert themselves toward other institutions and within civil sphere more generally.¹³

This book looks closely at acts and expressions of purification and pollution to sanctify and revive shared values and condemn transgression within the moral community of journalism. With this in mind, this study exam-

ines professionalism at two strategic research sites (Merton 1987): (1) Celebratory and commemorative discourses of professionalism, specifically in obituaries of journalists and journalism award statements, and (2) state house press corps in which journalists constantly seek to maintain their professional worth toward each other and defend and negotiate their professional autonomy against the appropriation by political interests. This struggle for worth and autonomy is intensified at a time of economic predicament and technological upheaval of the news business. The maintenance of professional authority in a state of crisis unfolds as a perpetual *social drama* (Turner 1974) for journalists, a continuous struggle over their integrity and relevance.

Two, partly overlapping, cultural practices help journalists accomplish these celebratory, differentiating, distancing, and self-elevating demands: boundary work and performance. Boundary work is relevant to journalists in two ways (see Gieryn 1983): Firstly, to protect their autonomy, which mainly concerns relations with politics and involves procedures of boundary maintenance. However, I will show that journalistic autonomy also involves a selective blurring of boundaries. I refer to the interplay between maintaining and blurring of boundaries as *boundary management*. Secondly, to expand their professional authority, which is particularly relevant since the rise of the internet and the broadening of the field of news production through participatory media (Singer et al. 2011). Because journalism, like any other professional project, seeks *cognitive exclusivity* over its task domain (Larson 1977), it has to adapt to new conditions of the networked public sphere in order to confront the gradual dissolution of established institutional authority (Benkler 2006; Friedland et al. 2006). Adaption involves advancing into participatory media spaces in which “everyone can be a journalist” by showing the qualities of “real journalism.” These engagements are not friction-free and set off discussions within journalism about means and ends of the occupation.

The motivation of boundary work cannot be reduced to status and power interests but involves the realization of moral and cultural convictions. Accordingly, autonomy aspirations and assertions in journalism are also rooted in beliefs about the inherent purity of the professional project. These beliefs are partly universal, partly informed by nationally specific cultural representations and *schemas of evaluation* (Lamont and Thévenot 2000).

In the first instance, symbolic boundaries are cognitive schemas. They are “conceptual distinctions that we make to categorize objects, people, practices, and even times and space” (Lamont 1992:9). But they are not

only that. Journalists externalize boundaries toward others in *boundary performances*. Performances are not merely situationally conditioned, as Goffman (1956) examined them, but draw authenticity from appearing as “motivated by and toward existential, emotional, and moral concerns” (Alexander 2004:530). Performers create these impressions by referring to collective belief systems. In this particular case, boundary performances signal symbolic affirmation of professionalism or opposition to *un*professionalism.¹⁴

The effectiveness of performances rests on their “ritual-like” character, which is the case when participants and audience members “share a mutual belief in the descriptive and prescriptive validity of the communication’s symbolic contents” (ibid.:527).¹⁵ Establishing shared belief is key, since the purpose of any performance is to fuse dispersed elements of meaning. Applied to journalism, what a performance of professionalism seeks to accomplish by aligning text, performer and audience is to make the moral community whole, which in Durkheim’s understanding is consonant with civil society.

‘Making the moral community whole’ is, furthermore, particularly prevalent at a place (state government) where journalistic autonomy is constantly attacked and a time when news making is in search of a viable business model and slipping professional journalism’s jurisdictional authority. These somewhat aggravating locational and historical circumstances bring forth salient features of occupational cultures of journalism, especially by examining their varying ability to innovate, adapt, and resist change.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

I examined boundary work and performances in different venues and situations: when reporters dealt with sources; in conversations they had with each other and that I had with them; in metadiscourse, that is, when journalists talked about journalism in situ as well as in the news¹⁶ and other public venues; at ritual moments of occupational consecration.

The main portion of the empirical analysis is based on field research on two state house press corps: The Legislative Correspondents Association (LCA) in Albany, New York, and the Landtagspresse (LP) in Munich. I chose state capitals over national capitals to study national press culture because the latter are places of exceptional concentrations of political power and media competition. I was in the field between April 2009 and August 2012. The first part of the research was in Albany and lasted until July 2011,

with a 2-week follow-up in February 2012. I continued my research in Munich in October 2011 and stayed in the field until the end of July 2012.

Field research involved observation of reporting practices and 72 interviews with journalists from 31 different news organizations and spokespeople from different branches of government and legislature. In Albany, I did a total of 42 interviews with 31 journalists (seven of whom I interviewed twice) and four spokespeople; in Munich, 30 interviews with 24 journalists and six spokespeople. The larger part of the 300 hours of observation in Albany occurred between Governor Andrew Cuomo's election in the fall of 2010, and the end of his first legislative session in office in June 2011. In Munich, I gathered 50 hours of observational data. I developed a coding matrix to analyze interview and observational data, using the Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) application HyperResearch.

Interviews were semi-structured, which means I used an interview guide with a list of issues and questions and saw my role as an interviewer in facilitating narration and keeping it on the issues of interest. This required varying efforts of probing and steering conversations. I asked reporters what they considered bad journalism, occupational virtues, their responsibility to the public, and triumphs and failures of their national press culture. I confronted them with the notion of pack journalism—a pejorative term for press corps reporting—and asked them how they felt about it. Aside from this conversation about occupational values, I talked to them about what they considered the most fundamental changes in their work lives. If they did not address digital media themselves (most of them did) I asked them directly. Another section of the interviews dealt with the specific conditions of newsgathering within a political institution (including spatial arrangements), source relations, and professional autonomy. I talked to spokespeople about some of these issues, especially about press-politics relations.

Regarding observation, I spent time in the general area of the LCA, went to press conferences and witnessed more casual encounters between reporters and politicians. I shadowed four specific reporters in their offices at the State Capitol and followed them around, two of them extensively. Observation in Munich was basically reduced to plenary session days since journalists were only at the Landtag on these occasions for the most part. On those days I spent most time in the common area at the Maximilianeum (the state legislature). Observation in Munich was limited for reasons of spatial arrangement and access (see Appendix). Because of this imbalance,

observational data play a subsidiary role in this book, more for illustrative purposes than systematic comparison.

Chapter 3 is mostly based on a comparative analysis of sacred discourses of professionalism and occupational mythologies in journalism. I considered jury statements of major national journalism awards in both countries between 1980 and 2013: The George Polk Award, Peabody Award and Pulitzer Prize in the USA; Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus, Henri-Nannen Preis, and Theodor-Wolff-Preis in Germany. The sample included a total of 417 award statements. Furthermore, I analyzed obituaries of journalists in national newspapers and news magazines. Most of these were randomly chosen from a list of winners of aforementioned journalism awards who deceased between 1980 and 2013, amounting to a total of 151 obituaries of 88 journalists.

In the discourse analysis of award statements and obituaries I looked for reoccurring conceptions of good journalism and professional worth. The analyses of these two distinct bodies of text partly overlapped, partly complemented each other. Obituaries expressed ideas of professional worth through the achievements and embodied qualities of commemorated journalists. Award statements discussed professional worth more through journalistic works of excellence, the more or less particular accomplishments (specific news stories or lifetime achievements), and the reporting that made them possible. Another way how both bodies of text articulated criteria of good journalism was by drawing boundaries toward bad journalism.

OVERVIEW AND KEY FINDINGS

Chapter 2 situates journalism in its institutional and cultural context in Germany and the USA. On the institutional level, it compares the two media systems, focusing particularly on market and non-market influences and professional organizational infrastructures of journalism. On the cultural level, it examines the history of journalism in each country and connects it to national repertoires of evaluation. This chapter suggests a pervasiveness of market logics, weaker and more malleable professional boundaries, less occupational solidarity, and a more differentiated journalistic field in the USA. The influence of market and non-market heteronomies are more balanced in the German journalistic field, which is defined by relative economic health, collectivist professional organizational infrastructures, and influence of politics, especially in the public service media sector.

The empirical analysis is written as a continuous rather than a segmented comparison (à la: German case—US case—comparison) and tackles professionalism on different levels: Chapter 3 focuses on sacred discourse encapsulated in mythologies and articulated in moments of occupational consecration. The discourse analysis of journalism award statements and obituaries of journalists is followed by an examination of interview data of reporters of the two press corps engaging in occupational mythologizing. This chapter demonstrates a greater emphasis on the concrete social impact of journalism in the USA, corresponding to the image of the ideal journalist as a change agent of history. The German professional imaginary envisions less immediate impacts of journalism, focusing more on revealing wrongdoing and hidden aspects of our world and shaping public debates.

The following field-research-based chapters examine occupational self-conceptions and cultural practices asserting the professional autonomy of German and US journalists. Chapter 4 maps US and German journalists' definitions of occupational virtues and ideals, public responsibility, and boundary drawing between “good” and “bad” journalism. US reporters stood out by engaging in much more self-examination in metadiscourse and drawing boundaries more assertively toward each other (implicitly and explicitly). Rhetorically, they strictly separated news and opinion, despite continuous softening of this requirement, and defined their public responsibility in terms of accountability journalism. German reporters stressed the importance of taking positions in the news and were more modest in articulating their responsibility to the public, more as *Einordnung* (contextualizing) and explaining issues than acting as a countervailing power of politics.

Chapter 5 examines collective dynamics of German and US journalism. Even though competition and solidarity are realities of both groups of reporters, the analysis identifies the US case above all as a competitive press culture and the German case as an associational press culture. While US reporters thrive on competition, German reporters evaluate it as inherently negative. While US reporters contest associational structures, German reporters fall back on them. These differences accrue from varying strengths of market logics, individualism, and collectivism, which also yield different kinds of pack journalism.

The specificity of the research setting—reporters embedded in political institutions—is utilized in Chap. 6 to examine the maintenance of professional autonomy. Source relations constitute a continuous social drama for US journalists and involve meticulous signaling of professional boundaries (*boundary performance*) and perpetual adjustments of closeness and

distance (*boundary management*), performatively and otherwise. German reporters treated their social context much more matter-of-factly, and their lives were not at all pervaded by the elaborate purification rituals their US counterparts took on. These findings reflect varying levels of historically evolved and symbolically significant institutional distances between media and politics. Yet, despite the consecrated distance, there were substantial deviations of this cultural consensus in the US press corps.

The conclusion of relative porousness and malleability of professional boundaries in US journalism and rigidity in German journalism is further corroborated in Chap. 7. It focuses on resilience and change of professionalism with respect to digital media. For US reporters, the hybridity of traditional and online journalism did not only have practical implications but also changed their professional self-understanding. Even though German reporters used the same media (except blogs), they had relatively little impact on their work and professional identity. Especially Twitter featured US reporters as susceptible to an ethic of transparency, even though it clashed with traditional occupational norms and their greatest defenders in the press corps. I conceive this shift in the US case as a diversification of professionalism.

NOTES

1. The late David Carr, media columnist for *The New York Times*, put it most poignantly: “[W]hen it comes to divulging national secrets, the law grants journalists special protections that are afforded to no one else. To exclude some writers from the profession is to leave them naked before a government that is deeply unhappy that its secret business is on wide display” (Carr 2013a).
2. The critical passage starts at minute 9:12.
3. Tragically, Carr died only hours after hosting a panel discussion with the filmmaker Laura Poitras, Greenwald and Snowden (via video conference) about the film “Citizenfour” which documented the leak.
4. Schudson (2005) problematized the normative preference of “journalistic autonomy.” Complete self-determination does not inherently promote “good journalism”; it can actually be systematically out of tune with issues of public concern. Nor is other-determination inherently promoting “bad journalism.” Benson (2013) conceives of journalistic autonomy as a transitory state that is constituted by the tension between market and non-market heteronomies.

5. Rather, as Silvio Waisbord put it, journalism represents a *professionalizing project* that seeks to “streamline practices and ideals across newsrooms” and is driven by “the desire to preserve integrity and authority over a certain field of practice” (Waisbord 2013:89–90). Barbie Zelizer (1993) suggested that we should not even bother ourselves with conceiving journalism in professional terms but rather consider it as an *interpretive community* that defines itself through collective interpretations of events.
6. Another important element of professional autonomization, which Larson (1977) so aptly defined as the *negotiation of cognitive exclusiveness*, is regulation of training and access to the occupation.
7. Though Talcott Parsons assigned considerable importance to profession for social integration, he believed that they follow the same principle differentiation logic as bureaucracies—according to functional specificity (cf. Dingwall 2008).
8. On a metatheoretical level, the approach suggested here departs from a full-blown Bourdieuan analysis in two fundamental ways, subsumable under the heading of the interpretivist paradigm (Reed 2008): It takes a weak ontological position of assuming arbitrariness of social formations. Furthermore, it seeks “truth” at the intersection between the interrelated “systems of signification” of researcher and research subject. In other words, this approach is carried by the conviction that research subjects can make sense of their actions and, thus, so can the researcher. From this vantage point, what comes closest to a social ontology—culture—is neither conceived as an objective, external determinant nor purely based on individual intentions but conventional and subject to interpretive analysis.
9. The analysis in this book only roughly differentiates individual journalists and their organizations according to the internal *structure* of the field, which is mainly defined by status hierarchies between and within news organizations and class relations and affinities between media professionals and audiences. There is a practical and a theoretical reason for this: Practically, the ability to relate status and affiliation of informants to their pronouncements and actions are limited by field research confidentiality agreements. If relevant, however, I will situate individual reporters according to the type of medium they worked for (e.g. tabloid, broadsheet and public service media) and to their (and their organizations’) status within their news ecosystems. Theoretically, the analysis starts from the assumption that the underlying cultural commitments of journalism are the same across the journalistic field, even if they are expressed differently at different locations. The empirical results confirm this assumption.
10. Journalism is not only a field of cultural production but also part of the field of power, which is not a field in the strict sense of the word (an institu-

tion with a certain degree of autonomy) but a “meta-field” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:18n32) or “a general space where the state exercises influence ... over the interrelations between all specific fields” (Couldry 2003:666).

11. With some exceptions, for instance when explaining outcomes: "However, other cross-national similarities can be understood to derive from the ongoing aspiration for journalistic professional autonomy in both countries. The perceived need to maintain a certain credibility with audiences and sources alike ... may serve to unite the most prominent “mainstream” newspapers across all democratic societies” (Benson 2013:171).
12. In the field of power journalism competes with other fields for “the imposition of the dominant principle of domination” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:76n16).
13. Although their substance is largely withdrawn from individual agency, symbols are polysemous and thus malleable in their interpretation. Thus, actors have some creativity in terms of how they use symbols in interaction. As Eliasoph and Lichterman noted, “speakers must invoke the same codes *even when they make arguments on opposite sides of a political debate ...* people improvise; they think with the codes creatively as they formulate particular arguments” (2003:744).
14. Since the cultural logic of journalistic professionalism is diluted by market and civic, non-market *heteronomies* (Benson 2013), performances are not strictly self-referential. Taking an obvious example of a fundamental collective representation in US journalism, *objectivity* is more a civic than an exclusively journalistic symbol (Schudson 1978:121–159). This study mostly focuses on performances in the semi-public domain, that is, in the context of reporting, which only in the next step, actual news, facilitate public performances which applications of this perspective focus on (Alexander 2010; Alexander et al. 2006).
15. Tuchman’s (1972) notion of the “strategic ritual of objectivity” of journalists suggests that ritual practices are disconnected from ends, *compulsively* exercised and concealed by a purported “sacred professional knowledge.” Journalists’ commitment to this ritual, in other words, is rooted in false consciousness and ultimately serves other interests. This notion of ritual is too narrow to account for the full extent of how journalists engage and identify with the symbolic resources at their disposal.
16. Metadiscourse means news that deal with their own conditions of production and journalism in general. Journalism and media scholars denote these discussions variably as *journalistic metadiscourse* (Thomas and Finneman 2014); *metajournalistic discourse* (Carlson 2013), which is different from the original meaning, discussed by Lanigan and based on a doctoral dissertation on *metajournalism* by David Eason (cited in: Lanigan 1983) on

the semiotic relation between our experience and the mediated account of others' experience produced by the media; *metacoverage* (Esser et al. 2001). For the specific case of news commentary, Jacobs and Townsley (2011) used *metacommentary*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, Andrew Delano. 1988. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Albæk, Erik, Arjen Van Dalen, Nael Jebril, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2014a. *Political journalism in comparative perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Albæk, Erik, Arjen Van Dalen, Nael Jebril, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2014b. *Political Journalism in Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2006. *The Civil Sphere*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2010. *The Performance of Politics: Obama's Victory and the Democratic Struggle for Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast. 2006. *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Benkler, Yochai. 2006. *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Benson, Rodney. 1999. "Field Theory in Comparative Context: A New Paradigm for Media Studies." *Theory and Society* 28(3):463–98.
- Benson, Rodney. 2013. *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Benson, Rodney and Erik Neveu. 2005a. *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
- Biermann, Kai and Patrick Beuth. 2013. "Chaos Communication Congress: Der Freiheitskämpfer Glenn Greenwald." *Zeit Online*. Retrieved November 27, 2015 (<http://www.zeit.de/digital/internet/2013-12/30c3-keynote-glenn-greenwald>).
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carlson, Matt. 2013. "Gone, But Not Forgotten." *Journalism Studies* 15(1):33–47.
- Carr, David. 2013a. "Journalism, Even When It's Tilted." *The New York Times*, June 30. Retrieved November 27, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes>).

- [com/2013/07/01/business/media/journalism-is-still-at-work-even-when-its-practitioner-has-a-slant.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/01/business/media/journalism-is-still-at-work-even-when-its-practitioner-has-a-slant.html)).
- Carr, David. 2013b. "War on Leaks Is Pitting Journalist vs. Journalist." *The New York Times*, August 25. Retrieved December 28, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/26/business/media/war-on-leaks-is-pitting--journalist-vs-journalist.html>).
- Couldry, Nick. 2003. "Media Meta-Capital: Extending the Range of Bourdieu's Field Theory." *Theory and Society* 32(5-6):653–77.
- Dingwall, Robert. 2008. *Essays on Professions*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Durkheim, Emile. [1957] 1992. *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Eliasoph, Nina and Paul Lichterman. 2003. "Culture in Interaction." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(4):735–94.
- Esser, Frank, Carsten Reinemann, and David Fan. 2001. "Spin Doctors in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany: Metacommunication about Media Manipulation." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6(1):16–45.
- Fischermann, Thomas. 2013. "Glenn Greenwald: Der Jäger Als Gejagter." *Die Zeit*, August 29. Retrieved December 21, 2015 (<http://www.zeit.de/2013/35/glenn-greenwald-edward-snowden>).
- Fligstein, Neil and Doug McAdam. 2012. *A Theory of Fields*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedson, Eliot. 2001. *Professionalism: The Third Logic*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Friedland, Lewis A., Thomas Hove, and Hernando Rojas. 2006. "The Networked Public Sphere." *Javnost-The Public* 13:5–26.
- Gieryn, Thomas F. 1983. "Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists." *American Sociological Review* 48(6):781–95.
- Goffman, Erving. 1956. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh,: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre.
- Hack, Günter. 2014. "Journalismus: Das Greenwald-Paradoxon." *ZEIT ONLINE*. Retrieved November 27, 2015 (<http://www.zeit.de/digital/daten-schutz/2014-01/Greenwald-Journalisten-Aktivisten-Paradoxon>).
- Jacobs, Ronald N. and Eleanor Townsley. 2011. *The Space of Opinion: Media Intellectuals and the Public Sphere*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Keller, Bill. 2013. "Is Glenn Greenwald the Future of News?" *The New York Times*, October 27. Retrieved December 11, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/28/opinion/a-conversation-in-lieu-of-a-column.html>).
- Lamont, Michèle. 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Lamont, Michèle and Laurent Thévenot. 2000a. "Introduction: Toward a Renewed Comparative Cultural Sociology." Pp. 1–22 in *Rethinking comparative cultural sociology: repertoires of evaluation in France and the United States*, edited by M. Lamont and L. Thévenot. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lanigan, Richard L. 1983. "Précis of Merleau-Ponty on Metajournalism." Pp. 39–48 in *Semiotics 1981*, edited by J. Deely and M. Lenhart. Springer US. Retrieved (http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-9328-7_5).
- Larson, Magali Sarfatti. 1977. *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Leyendecker, Hans. 2013a. "Einblick Ins Schattenreich." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, November 27, 31.
- Merton, Robert K. 1987. "Three Fragments From a Sociologist's Notebooks: Establishing the Phenomenon, Specified Ignorance, and Strategic Research Materials." *Annual Review of Sociology* 13:1–29.
- NBC. 2013. *Meet the Press: Snowden, National Security and Immigration Reform*. Retrieved December 28, 2015 (<http://www.nbcnews.com/video/meet-the-press/52288617>).
- Reed, Isaac. 2008. "Justifying Sociological Knowledge: From Realism to Interpretation." *Sociological Theory* 26(2):101–29.
- Richter, Peter. 2014. "Snowden Reloaded." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 13, 11.
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schudson, Michael. 2005. "Autonomy from What?" Pp. 214–23 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Singer, Jane B. et al. 2011. *Participatory Journalism: Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers*. Chichester, West Sussex, U.K ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Thomas, Ryan J. and Teri Finneman. 2014. "Who Watches the Watchdogs?" *Journalism Studies* 15(2):172–86.
- Tuchman, Gaye. 1972. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *American Journal of Sociology* 77(4):660–79.
- Turner, Victor Witter. 1974. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Waisbord, Silvio. 2013. *Reinventing Professionalism: Journalism and News in Global Perspective*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
- Zelizer, Barbie. 1993. "Journalists as Interpretive Communities." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 10(3):219–37.

Contextualizing US and German Journalism

The following chapters examine professionalism in its own terms initially. Considering cultural practices as consequences of other social forces from the get go obscures understanding of its internal logic and reproduction (Kane 1991): Its contribution to social outcomes can only be assessed by considering culture analytically distinct before linking it back together to institutional structures which are defined by it and which define it in turn. Chapter 3 takes a broader look on discourses of journalistic professionalism, and a large part of this book examines self-conceptions and practices of individual journalists. This chapter considers institutional and cultural conditions a possibility for journalistic professionalism in Germany and the United States. It situates journalism in relation to market and non-market (civic) powers (Benson 2013) and its professional organizational context. The following section considers two cultural parameters of professionalism: (1) historical trajectories of the two journalism cultures and previous research about their distinctive normative commitments, especially in relation to politics, and (2) broader national repertoires of evaluation in the United States and Germany.

CULTURAL PARAMETERS OF JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALISM

Occupational Historical Trajectories: Professionalization and Relations to Politics

As an older democracy, the United States has a longer and continuous history of a free press. US media differentiated earlier and more rigorously from other social systems, particularly from social classes and associated parties (Alexander 1988). One consequence of the early differentiation of media and politics is that there has essentially been no party press in the United States since the nineteenth century. In Germany, small party newspapers were only hesitantly licensed by the allied forces in Western Germany after the Second World War (Koszyk 1999) but were quite common in Germany up until the 1960s (Schütz 1999). Since then they have almost completely vanished.¹

The beginning of modern journalism in the United States is usually located in the late nineteenth century, which is when newspapers became big businesses and professional organizations of journalism (journalism schools, awards, associations) emerged (Chalaby 1996; Krause 2011; Schudson 1978). The turn of the century also marks the beginning of investigative journalism, or *muckraking*, as an important occupational practice and objectivity as the central occupational norm. Media scholars view the emergence of journalistic professionalism as closely intertwined with American political culture, particularly the distinctively anti-partisan Progressive Era and a belief in science (Kaplan 2002; Schudson 1978).

National Socialism and its propaganda apparatus required a radical historical break in German media at the end of the Second World War (Wilke 1999), even though some have argued that National Socialism had more lasting effects on the occupation than denazification and re-education efforts by allied forces suggested (Hachmeister 2002).² The German news media landscape of the early twenty-first century really had its beginning in 1945,³ even though some newspapers that existed before (and in part during) National Socialism resumed business after 1949.⁴

The period after the war, which was defined by reconstruction in Germany, distinguished itself by political consensus—prepared by the New Deal and reinforced by the Cold War—and economic prosperity of the media industry in the United States. In this era of *high modernism* in American journalism (Hallin 1992), which was defined by high

occupational esteem and confidence, American (alongside British) allied forces sent press officers and coaches to German newsrooms to teach principles of objective and fact-driven journalism and its separation from opinion (Donsbach 1999). These efforts met considerable resistance by the German press culture, however (Wilke 1999).

Despite the general de-ideologization of media in Western Europe, the dominant practice of separating news and opinion editorially, partisan and advocacy journalism reverberate more strongly to this day as a consequence of more enduring links between media and ideological blocks in Germany. Relative to the United States, research has found that German journalists are more inclined to advocate certain political ideas, to influence public opinion and have stronger aspirations to become commentators and columnists.⁵

According to Donsbach (1999), two historical conditions were imperative for the formation of journalistic professionalism in Germany: (1) The era of enlightenment, which fostered a professional role in which the journalist is expected to advance critical ideas from a subjective point of view and act as a “spy of the public, moralizer and advocate for humanity” (Wilke 1993; my translation of the title). (2) The late freedom of the press in 1949 (in East Germany in 1989), over 200 years after the United States and the United Kingdom. This hard-won freedom involved privileges and protections against state influence exclusive to journalism. Press freedom in the United States, in comparison, is more closely linked to rights that belong to all citizens (Donsbach 1999:499).

The combination of a greater impetus to advocate and a sense of privilege relates to what Köcher (1986) has termed the *missionary stance* of German journalism, a more political, intellectual, and ultimately paternalistic occupational self-conception. German journalism is thus much less inclined to act as an autonomous power that actively intervenes in political affairs across the ideological spectrum. The script of watchdog reporting, on the other hand, is much more dominant in US journalism and fosters a greater adversarial milieu in the occupational culture (Esser 2008; Hanitzsch 2011; Weaver and Willnat 2012). Related to this, comparative researchers have also found that public discourse is more media-driven in the United States and more politics-driven in Germany (Ferree et al. 2002; Pfetsch 2001).

Granted, US newspapers do assume political positions in the editorial pages and even endorse political candidates, which is less common in Germany. However, there is a stronger division between the tasks of

producing news and expressing opinions, aside from more centralized editorial control in US newspapers (Donsbach 1999:497). German journalists are not only bestowed with more individual agency (Esser 1998)⁶ but also with a less strict organizational division of labor, which means that a newspaper journalist may often report and write a news story as well as commentary on the same topic in one newspaper issue. Given the salience of the cultural value of individualism in the United States, this may seem counterintuitive. It seems that objectivism—supported by organizational control measures—trumps individualism, which renders a more subjective occupational role impossible. Chapter 7 will argue that this tension loosens in the social media age, however.

National Cultural Repertoires

Institutional arrangements of news media and occupational cultures in each country also have to be understood as embedded within and informed by national cultures and the “repertoires of evaluation” (Lamont and Thévenot 2000a) they provide.⁷ Three broader national cultural differences between Germany and the United States have to be considered as conditions of possibility for professionalism. These differences should be understood as a relative dominance of values, which coexist in each country.

1. One of the general agreements in comparative research is that the stronger emphasis of collectivism in Germany and individualism in the United States are central for explaining cross-national differences (Hofstede 1980). A study on property rights (Beckert 2007) enlightens this issue by ascribing different beliefs in equality, held strongly in both countries, to this fundamental opposition: German law assesses equality according to outcomes and promotes social justice to this end. The United States have a stronger concern with the preconditions of equality (equal opportunity), in line with the individualist philosophy of meritocracy. In the first instance, de facto inequalities are moderated while they are left to open competition in the latter. In a similar vein, individualism has been linked to economic liberalism and the centrality of socioeconomic status and achievement in the United States (Lamont 1992:137–139). Several studies, assembled in an edited volume (Lamont and Thévenot 2000b), found higher valence of arguments following a market logic

in the United States than in France, while the reverse is true for evaluative criteria focusing on civic solidarity.

2. Another important contrast between the United States and Germany revolves around the contrast between pragmatism and intellectualism. While there is a stronger preference to find practical solutions rather than implement rigid principles, dogmas or theories in the United States, the country of *Dichter und Denker* (poets and thinkers), with its emphasis on *Kultur und Bildung* (culture and education) and idealism, is the opposite in this respect. Kalberg (1987) identified the intellectualism and anti-materialism of German educated classes as root causes for the influential cultural pessimistic critique of modernity at the turn of the twentieth century.

As a consequence of pragmatism, Michèle Lamont concluded that the United States is a “loosely bounded culture” with less clearly coded classification systems, more tolerance for transgression and flexibility for cultural innovation (Lamont 1992:115). Even though she contrasted this with the more “tightly bounded culture” of France, a comparative study of cultural criticism reached a similar diagnosis for Germany: more rigid boundaries of aesthetic evaluation that favor high art in Germany and less hierarchical and more fluid evaluations of culture based on less rigid boundaries between high and popular culture in the United States (van Venrooij and Schmutz 2010).

3. Another cultural difference has less substantive than expressive implications. I will call this dimension *mode of civil religious discourse*. Religion has great import in political discourse and legitimation in the United States (Bellah 1991:168–189). Elevating the civil community through religious symbols became untenable in Germany after the Holocaust, however. This is not to say that religion is absent in German political culture but that it is wrong to think of it as a civil religion comparable to the United States (Minkenberg 1997). Yet, it is hard to imagine an absence of religious-like moral discourses and binaries, especially concerning the centrality of the Holocaust in German history. The point is that because of the relative inability to celebrate Germaneness, the mode of German public discourse is typically *low mimetic* (Frye 1973), which implies that moral oppositions between heroes and villains in public narratives are less clearly differentiated (P. Smith 2005). This is why media research finds more moral and emotive discourse in US

news compared to Germany, which appears more matter-of-fact and detached in comparison (e.g. Ferree et al. 2002; Umbricht and Esser 2016). The discursive mode in the German public sphere would seem to also extend to the self-presentation of its participants, including journalists, and to how they conceive of themselves and perform professionalism.

INSTITUTIONAL PARAMETERS OF JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALISM

Despite the differences between occupational cultures of journalism in Germany and the United States, it should be emphasized that there is probably more that unites German and US journalism than what sets them apart. This includes a common understanding of journalism as a facilitator of public debate, a force of public accountability, a resource for citizens to better exercise civil rights, in short: a conduit for democracy. As the remaining chapters of this book will demonstrate, there are important differences and emphases on these values in the two journalism cultures, however.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) consider Germany and the United States as representatives of two distinct models of media systems: the democratic-corporatist and the liberal model, respectively. Whereas the United States has a longer and continuous history of a free and commercial press, German media are defined both by commercialization and stronger ties to political and social groups (parties, unions, interest groups and religious groups). Although these ties have softened, they still reverberate as a greater *political parallelism*, that is, German media reflect political ideological divisions and their particular topical agendas and views much more than US media among other things.⁸ Apart from that, both media systems are highly professionalized in that they exhibit a broad consensus over institutional norms and a high degree of autonomy. Both countries constitutionally protect press freedom, but the German state is more interventionist, especially in the public service media sector.

For practical and topical purposes, the following sections mostly focus on the newspaper industry and political journalism. In state house press corps—the main object of empirical analysis in this book—newspapers are numerically dominant. Newspapers still enjoy great prestige within the two journalistic fields in general,⁹ furthermore, and the same goes

for political journalism.¹⁰ Despite this specific focus, I will mostly use the general designation *journalism* throughout the book. I will contextualize journalism within media markets, states and civil society, and professional organizational structures in the United States and Germany in the following sections. The goal is to specify the different compositions of heteronomous influences that act on each journalistic field, what Benson (2013) termed field position.

Market Power and Journalism

Market Position and Commercialization

The number of daily newspapers was 1331 in the United States in 2014 and 351 in Germany in 2015 (BDVZ 2015a; NAA 2015). Relative to the population, one daily served about 240,000 people in the United States and 230,000 people in Germany in print at that time. Standardizing print circulation relative to population shows that US daily newspapers have three-fifth the reach of German newspapers, which has to do with a stronger newspaper readership base in Germany (discussed below).

Overall newspaper circulation has decreased by 30 percent in Germany and 28 percent in the United States between 2000 and 2014 (BDVZ 2015b; NAA 2015), which means an average drop of about 500,000 print copies in Germany and about 1,000,000 in the United States per year. As one of my German informants pointed out, this annual drop in daily circulation was as if one *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) died each year. Similarly, an annual decrease of one million sold copies per day equals the death of two *Washington Posts* per year in the United States.

Despite similar drops in overall newspaper circulation, the German newspaper industry has not experienced as dramatic declines of revenue as in the United States. The reason is that US newspapers are more advertisement-driven and were hit harder by the recent economic crisis than German newspapers, which are more newspaper-sales-driven. In 2008, revenues were almost equally distributed on copy sales (49 percent) and advertisement (51 percent) in Germany (WAN 2010), while US newspapers generated a proportion of 87 percent through advertisement against 13 percent through copy sales (OECD 2010). Statistics suggest a dramatic decline in the advertising business, the result being that in 2013 US newspapers generated only 63 percent of their revenue through advertising and Germany 44 percent (BDZV 2013; NAA 2014).

A significant share of the effective circulation drop in Germany can be attributed to tabloid newspapers and *Bild* in particular, which lost 2 million (or 44 percent) of sold circulation between 1998 and 2012 (it was 4.6 million in 1998). National newspapers remained relatively stable during the same time period: SZ gained 2 percent, FAZ lost 8 percent, and the weekly *Die Zeit* gained 9 percent in circulation (IVW 2016).

As mentioned above, Germany traditionally has had a much stronger newspaper readership base for a long time. The newspaper market in Germany is segmented and relatively weakly competitive—with strong regional as well as ideological identities and many small, family-owned newspapers. Both regional and editorial divisions are associated with high reader loyalty (Esser and Brüggemann 2010). The reach of newspapers, which means daily exposure to the medium among the adult population, has decreased from 78 to 70 percent in Germany between 1999 and 2009. In the United States, the reach of newspapers decreased from 54 to 43 percent between 2001 and 2007 (WAN 2006, 2010). According to another statistic, in 2015, the reach of print newspapers was 64 percent in Germany compared to 45 percent in the United States (Statista 2016).¹¹

Newspaper readers in Germany have not migrated to the internet as quickly as in the United States. In 2008, 57 percent of the US adult population read online newspapers compared to only 21 percent in Germany (Wunsch-Vincent 2010). A 2015 research report of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism suggests that Germany caught up: 60 percent of respondents in a representative survey reported they used online sources of news in the previous week, compared to 74 percent in the United States (Newman et al. 2015:52).¹²

Market Concentration and Ownership

The concern about media concentration is ultimately about the decrease in pluralism and diversity of public debate. Two measures for the concentration of newspaper markets will be considered here: The proportion of circulation shared by top newspapers and concentration of ownership. Circulation concentration is higher in Germany than in the United States: In 2009, the top three daily newspapers shared 22.5 percent of the total average sold circulation. This is mainly due to the dominance of *Bild* with an average weekday circulation of 3.18 million copies in that year. The top eight newspapers shared 30.8 percent of the total circulation (IVW 2016; WAN 2010).¹³ In the United States in 2009, the top three papers shared 10.5 percent of the total circulation and the top eight 16.4 percent

of it (Calderone 2009; WAN 2010).¹⁴ No newspaper in the United States has comparable dominance as *Bild*, with the top circulating *Wall Street Journal* slightly over two million and *USA Today's* slightly under. Hence, the US newspaper market is less concentrated than the German newspaper market with regard to circulation.

Regarding media ownership, there are different measures available in Germany and the United States. Since few German publishers are public companies, they do not report annual revenues in contrast to most US newspaper publishers. One alternative is the total average sold circulation of each publisher (composed of all newspapers it owns). The World Association of Newspapers (2010) reported that the top ten newspaper publishing houses in Germany together shared 94 percent of the total daily newspaper circulation of 13 million in 2008. Axel Springer AG alone held 32 percent of those, which means 4.25 million copies per day.¹⁵ US newspaper publishers are ranked according to revenues generated. The top ten companies shared 41 percent of overall revenues and the biggest newspaper publishing house, Gannett, only 8 percent (\$4.6 billion) of the \$55 billion overall (ibid.).¹⁶

Of course, these measures only approximate the power balance within each media system. The influence of News Corp, for instance, is much greater than this ranking suggests (eighth in terms of its share of the US newspaper market). Germany's population is a fourth of the United States and so is the number of its newspapers. Furthermore, there is some discordance in media scholarship regarding how strongly media concentration, in fact, restricts the autonomy of individual news organizations.¹⁷

Most of the newspapers represented in Albany are owned by publicly traded companies, and most of those represented in Munich are part of limited liability companies, which are typically family owned in the case of regional newspapers. Generally, there is greater diversity of ownership structures in Germany, the most famous examples being *Der Spiegel*, whose majority owner is a limited partnership of employees (Spiegel-Mitarbeiter KG), and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which is owned by a charitable foundation (the Fazit-Stiftung).

Non-market Power and Journalism

Journalism is enabled and restricted in different ways by civic, non-market power, especially imparted by the state. On the enabling side, the constitutions of both countries explicitly demand press freedom. As Hallin and

Mancini argued, however, the first amendment of the US constitution is treated “in a more absolutist way” (Hallin and Mancini 2004:229), contrary to Germany, where freedom of speech and the press are balanced against other public concerns: privacy, hate speech, political pluralism, public order (ibid.:163).

Besides these limitations, principles of press freedom extend to other important laws: Specific rights for journalists, for instance, shield laws (to protect sources, including the right to refuse to give evidence), as well as laws that apply to any person or entity that benefit journalism, for example, disclosure laws. There is no federal law but most states—including New York (Digital Media Law Project 2012)—have implemented shield laws with varying strength in the United States. In Germany, general shield laws can be deduced in part from constitutional provision of press freedom, which has been affirmed in a Federal Constitutional Court ruling (Bundesverfassungsgericht 2003). Regulations are spread in other legal areas, for instance, a *Zeugnisverweigerungsrecht* (right to refuse to give evidence) in criminal law (§53 StPO). The United States first enacted disclosure laws in 1966, titled Freedom of Information Act (FOIA, 5 U.S. Code §552), and added important amendments with the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 U.S. Code §552a). Germany has an equivalent only since 2005, called *Informationsfreiheitsgesetz* (BGBl. I S. 2722), which merely pertains to federal authorities and thus lacks in reach. Many German states have passed similar laws, but Bavaria is not one of them.

One way in which journalism is regulated in Germany is through a right-of-reply, which is legislated on the state level. The press law of Bavaria (Art. 10 BayPrG), for instance, demands the possibility of factual counterstatements in media outlets. Since the repeal of the fairness doctrine in broadcasting in 1987, which granted a right to reply to political endorsements and potentially damaging news stories for individuals (Schultz and Vile 2005:778), there is no such law in the United States.

Beyond positive law, however, the effective level of press freedom is ultimately decided in practice as the World Press Freedom Index suggests (Reporters Without Borders 2015). The United States has not performed well in 2015, ranking 49th out of 180 countries and below several African nations. Germany ranked 12th. Press freedom may be restricted by self-censorship (which is included in the regular survey conducted by Reporters Without Borders), submissiveness to the state, according to current affairs and geopolitical circumstances. Media scholars, for instance, found that

US news media assumed a more state-supportive role and engaged in “patriotic journalism” after 9/11 (Zelizer and Allan 2003).

Hallin and Mancini view press councils as phenomena of Democratic Corporatist states and their political culture in which news media are primarily viewed as social institutions rather than businesses (Hallin and Mancini 2004:163–164). Organizationally, the German *Presserat* is governed and was founded by newspaper publishers and journalists and thus a body of occupational self-regulation (see the following section).

Direct press subsidies are non-existent in both countries. Germany is an exception relative to other Democratic Corporatist media systems (Hallin and Mancini 2004:161). As in other European countries, however, there is an indirect press subsidy in Germany in the form of a sales tax cap (Puppis 2010; WAN 2010). The German state has a more interventionist role in electronic media as it defines the legal framework of public service broadcasting, including its funding structure. One trend in the United States is that other civic actors, namely foundations and philanthropists, have been funding, acquiring, or founding media operations. Prominent examples are the 2013 acquisition of the *Washington Post* by Amazon founder Jeff Bezos for \$250 million (Farhi 2013) and the establishment of the online journalism site *The Intercept* by eBay founder Pierre Omidyar in 2014. Foundations that are known to fund existing or new journalistic ventures are the Knight, McArthur, Ford Foundations, and Pew Charitable Trust.

The strength of the German public service media sector is primarily a function of funding and reach. They are to a large part funded by license fees, amounting to about 86 percent of total revenues compared to 40 percent in the United States (Benson and Powers 2011). In the 14 countries Benson and Powers compared, the United States ranked lowest in public funding (\$3.75 per capita of the total population per year) and Germany highest (\$131.27) in 2008. The market share of public service television in Germany was 42.9 percent in 2009 (Puppis 2010:281). In contrast, Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is not only underfunded but also has an average audience reach of less than 5 percent (Benson 2013:43).

While the German state only determines frame conditions of public service media, political parties and other civil society actors shape these organizations internally by appointing members of broadcasting councils. Because public service media are governed on the federal state level in Germany, the political party balance of each state manifests itself in broadcasting councils. Besides the fact that public service media are obliged to cover political parties equally,

it is safe to assume significant influence of the conservative party *Christlich-Soziale Union* (CSU) in Bavaria on the Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR).

Professional Organization of Journalism

Broadly speaking, both journalistic fields are highly professionalized. Internally, professionalization manifests itself and is furthered by institutions, whose main function is to organize and control occupations (Abbott 1988:79).¹⁸ I will briefly discuss four such institutions: journalism schools, associations, press councils, and journalism awards. Although some of these are enabled or supported by other civil society actors (e.g. universities and unions), I do not conceive of them in terms of civic power but primarily as separate, *professional* institutional efficacies. Besides their more specific functions, they all promote an ongoing discourse within the occupation about norms, ethical standards, and criteria of excellency.

The professional knowledge of journalism is a more applied knowledge of how to generate, organize, and process information. It is thus less abstract and rationalized than many other forms of professional knowledge but has its specificity and distinctiveness nonetheless (Waisbord 2013:131). The prevalence of journalism education indicates some degree of shared professional standards and norms and codification of professional knowledge. More proximately, it points to relatively uniformly trained professionals that exercise and pass on these norms and standards in practice.

According to survey research, 14 percent of German journalists received education in non-academic journalism schools,¹⁹ another 14 percent studied journalism at university and 17 percent received degrees in communication science or media studies (Weischenberg et al. 2012). The most common journalistic education in Germany, however, comprises 2-year trainee programs many news organizations offer. Sixty-two percent of respondents reported they have received such education (ibid.). In the United States, 36 percent of working journalists majored in journalism at college and 9 percent held graduate degrees in journalism (Weaver et al. 2007).

Membership in journalism associations and unions is a frequently used but problematic indicator of professional organization.²⁰ A survey in 1992 reported that 36 percent of US journalists were members in “journalist organizations,” which included associations, guilds, and unions (Weaver 1998). For lack of data, an estimation in 1999 suggested that over 60 percent of German journalists were members in trade organizations (Donsbach

1999:495). Self-reported figures by the two main professional associations are not reliable. There are about 48,000 journalists overall in Germany, including freelancers (Weischenberg et al. 2012). One journalism union in Germany, Deutsche Journalistinnen- und Journalisten-Union (DJU), has 22,000 members, two-third of which are freelancers (DJU n.d.). The other main union, Deutscher Journalisten-Verband (DJV), reports 38,000 members (DJV 2016). Both have broad criteria for membership, admitting students of journalism, communication, and graphic design in the case of DJU and practitioners of PR and “information processing” in the case of DJV. In spite of this, higher associational membership seems to be a plausible working hypothesis for the German journalistic field.

Press councils act as internal control apparatus of ethical and professional conduct and are markers of self-regulation and public service orientation of media systems (Hallin and Mancini 2004:36–37). Professional associations of publishers and journalists govern the German *Presserat*. It codified ethical standards of German journalism, hears complaints by citizens about violations against these standards and issues non-public and public rebukes. Publication of the latter in reprimanded outlets is obligatory (Presserat 2015). As in most other liberal media systems, professional self-regulation in the United States “is organized primarily in an informal way, within individual news organizations” (Hallin and Mancini 2004:224). The organizational equivalent of press councils is the newspaper ombudsman in the United States, which is most typical for broadsheet daily newspapers (e.g. the public editor of the *New York Times*). They receive and respond to audience complaints and write about them in the paper.

Journalism awards are important reward structures of the journalistic field. They serve to acknowledge and define criteria of professional excellency. There are a number of journalism awards in both countries, many of which are not mere PR instruments for particular lobbies or interest groups and have significant professional prestige attached to them. One important difference, however, is that journalism awards are not as clearly hierarchized in Germany as they are in the United States. There are no single awards in Germany as the Pulitzer Prize for newspapers and the Peabody for electronic media in the USA which undoubtedly carry the most professional prestige. Instead, there are a handful of prestigious awards, which are subject of the analysis in Chap. 3.

CONCLUSION

In lieu of testable hypotheses, I will relate and condense the conditions of possibility of journalistic professionalism discussed in this chapter and translate them into expected outcomes for the analysis in the following chapters.

The journalistic field is more deeply pervaded by market logic, and this reflects in a distinctive professional imaginary in the United States. The weaker audience base of newspapers and public service media—major sources of journalistic excellence—and the more rapid and substantial migration of audiences to the internet further destabilized the professional status of US journalism. Arisen within a pragmatist cultural context, US journalism exhibits less unity of normative and moral commitments and more diversity and malleability of professional performances. Combined with a more severe economic crisis of newspapers, in particular, one would expect a greater compulsion and willingness to innovate with new platforms and forms of journalistic engagement.

The German journalistic field is more shielded from market power in comparison, although newspapers are not subsidized as in many other European media systems. Embedded in a national culture committed to idealism and intellectualism, journalistic values are not only more closely wedded to the academic and literary fields, similar to France (Chalaby 1996), but also more unitary and robust toward external influences. Taken together, these conditions would seem to translate into more unanimous criteria of worth in German journalism and resistance toward professional change in general and digital media in particular. Given the low mimetic discursive mode in the German public sphere, shared cultural commitments are not expressed with the same vigor as in the United States.

The power of individualism together with the high commercialization of news media in the United States will likely affect competitive relations and offset occupational solidarity. This is already indicated on an institutional level: While professional organizations that confer merit and prestige (awards, education) are strong in the United States—indicating clear reward structures²¹ and lively spaces of metadiscourse—those that protect collective interests (associations) and control occupational practice are weak. Germany has a more consistent structure of professional self-control through the press council, compared to the rather arbitrary newspaper ombudsmen in the United States (which also exist in Germany). Next to the press council, professional associations are extra-organizational

sources of solidarity and professional socialization in the moral community of journalists, next to the dominant source: newsrooms.²²

Both countries provide legal conditions for press freedom to thrive, with some limitations regarding access to public records and laws restricting freedom of speech in Germany. This resonates with weaker interventionist and stronger advocative professional aspirations and the journalistic field that is less clearly differentiated from politics. Especially the strong public service sector in Germany combines relative autonomy from commercial pressure, facilitating journalism in service of the public, with significant influence by political parties and other interest groups in personnel decisions and direction of programming.

NOTES

1. To my knowledge, the only party newspaper which has not turned into a member journal (as the Social Democratic *Vorwärts*) is the CSU-owned *Bayernkurier*, founded in 1950s, which has appeared weekly up until 2015 and since then as a monthly magazine. See *Bayernkurier*. n.d. In *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*. Retrieved March 10, 2016 (<https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Bayernkurier>).
2. Especially after 1949 but in many cases as soon as 1946, many journalist who used to write Nazi propaganda were able to resume their work because of a lack of personnel, which was less the case in broadcasting than in newspapers (Donsbach 1999:493). There were hardly exceptions of media organizations to this rule, including more left-leaning outlets as *Der Spiegel* or *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ). There was a similar continuity after the German reunification in that most former GDR journalists were able to continue their work after the political transformation (Donsbach 1999:512).
3. Most *Leitmedien* (leading media) of the twentieth century were founded or re-established in the immediate post-war period, like *Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), *Stern*, and SZ. FAZ, for instance, published its first issue in November 1949 but was continuation of the former *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which appeared from 1866 until it was banned by Hitler in 1943 (Siering 2002).
4. The immediate post-war era from 1945 to 1949 was marked by the influence of the allied forces, which licensed newly established media organizations. Some outlets, especially magazines that published between 1933 and 1945 were able to continue as soon as 1946. With the establishment of the Federal Republic, all former media publishers (*Altverleger*) were able to resume business (Wilke 1999). This four-year delay was a major

disadvantage, however, and many of these *Altverleger* that re-entered the market between 1949 and 1954 fell victim to press concentration. Many small newspapers faced a similar fate in the era of press concentration that started in the 1960s (Schütz 1999). Between 1954 and 1976 the number of independent journalistic units (excluding local, regional editions) was reduced from 225 to 121 (Stöber 2000:295).

5. Patterson and Donsbach (1996) showed that German journalists are more likely to work for media outlets whose political position match their own and are more concerned with influencing politics by backing certain ideas and values than just providing information (as their American counterparts). Another study has shown a decline of the “missionary role” over time (Schneider et al. 1993). Though objectivity is an important professional norm in both contexts, comparative research suggests that it has different meanings (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Esser and Umbricht 2013; Hanitzsch et al. 2011). While factual reporting is important in both countries, US journalists are more inclined toward interpretive/analytical reporting while German journalists are more open to opinion commentary.
6. Frank Esser’s findings are based on a comparison of newsrooms in Germany and the United Kingdom but would largely hold true for US newsrooms as well. Jean Chalaby (1996), for instance, discussed US and UK journalism in conjunction as *Anglo-American journalism*. Aside from this, editorial control and journalistic agency vary considerably across German news organizations. For instance, *SZ* understands itself as an *Autorenzeitungen* (authorial newspapers) while others, like *Der Spiegel*, are known for their unified voice.
7. Michèle Lamont (1992:129–149) argued that national repertoires of evaluation are shaped by dominant values in the history of countries, institutions and actors engaged in “cultural production and diffusion” (including education system, mass media, cultural institutions, and intellectuals), demographic factors, stratification, the shape and size of the public sector and so on. To Benson (2013), the state represents the central facilitator and restrictor of national cultural preferences, which manifests itself in market and non-market conditions of journalism. Thus, legal protections of journalistic freedoms as well as regulation of media markets may be fundamentally rooted in collective beliefs and valuations but to Benson only express themselves by who is being elected into public offices, which laws are passed, how they are talked about and what kinds of resources are provided to protect them.
8. Hallin and Mancini define political parallelism as “the extent to which the media system reflects the major political divisions in society” (2004:21) and add that “more often [media] are associated not with particular parties,

but with general political tendencies (ibid.:27). Besides most obvious manifestations in media coverage, they also refer to “organizational connections ... the tendency for media personnel to be active in political life ... [the] tendency in some systems for the career paths of journalists and other media personnel to be shaped by their political affiliations ... partisanship of media audiences ... [and certain] journalistic role orientations and practices” (ibid.:28) as expressions of political parallelism.

9. It should be added, however, that because of the strong public service media system in Germany, electronic media generate considerable amounts of public service and accountability journalism, which yields these news forms more professional recognition than they enjoy in the United States.
10. Granted, political journalism is a subfield and specific location within the journalistic field writ large, which also includes arts-, sports- and fashion journalism. All of these journalistic genres pursue distinctive goals and are subjected to their own particular heteronomies. Political journalism, however, enjoys a privileged position in the field (Champagne and Marchetti 2005; Marchetti 2005), which has to do with the fact that its subject area involves matters of common concern—governance, democracy, social justice, law—rather than particular interests. Economic journalism is the only other subfield that covers a substantive area as overarching (and publicly relevant) as political journalism but lacks in size to have a similar position in the occupation.
11. Here, the question in the representative survey was: “Which, if any, of the following have you used to access news in the last week?”
12. The report also distinguished different segments of news consumers, which categorized 41 percent as mainly digital users and 25 percent as traditional users in the United States (the rest belongs to both categories equally). In Germany, it is exactly the reverse: 26 percent digital against 41 percent traditional users (Newman et al. 2015:54).
13. Sold circulation, average 1st–4th quarters, Mon–Sat, *Bild*: 3,179,796, *WAZ gesamt*: 832,590, *SZ*: 438,107, *Rheinische Post*: 382,226, *FAZ*: 369,170, *Südwest Presse*: 310,015, *Freie Presse*: 293,663, *Sächsische Zeitung*: 267,898, with a total average circulation of 19,746,000 per day.
14. Sold circulation: *The Wall Street Journal*: 2,024,269, *USA Today*: 1,900,116, *The New York Times*: 927,851, *Los Angeles Times*: 657,467, *The Washington Post*: 582,844; *New York Daily News*: 544,167; *New York Post*: 508,042; *Chicago Tribune*: 465,892, with a total average circulation of 46,278,000 copies.
15. Top German newspaper owners in 2008 (circulation in thousands): Axel Springer AG: 4250, Verlagsgruppe Stuttgarter Zeitung/Rheinpfalz/Suedwest Presse/Sueddeutsche Zeitung: 1750, Schauberg: 1270, WAZ-Gruppe: 1240, Ippen-Gruppe: 830, Madsack: 800, Holtzbrinck: 770,

- Verlagsgruppe FAZ: 620, DDVG, Deutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft mbH: 500, Gruner + Jahr: 330, total: 13,114 (WAN 2010).
16. Top US newspaper owners in 2007 (revenue in million \$): Gannett: 4618, Tribune: 3616, The NYT Co.: 2840, McClatchy: 2187, Advance Publications: 2073, MediaNews Group: 1787, Hearst: 1522, News Corp.: 1499, Cox Enterprises: 1400, Lee Enterprises: 1128, total: 55,815 (WAN 2010).
 17. Scholars in the field of political economy of news (Bagdikian 2000; Herman and Chomsky 1994; Herman and McChesney 1997) believe that concentration of ownership lessens competition and narrows debate ideologically in media systems. Others have argued that technological convergence of media also leads to convergence of formerly separate corporate and editorial divisions of news organizations (Klinenberg 2005). Many have challenged this assertion and argue that the political economy perspective overemphasizes the influence of business branches of news organizations on the news. These scholars argue that the state has a much greater influence on news outcomes than the economy (Benson 2006; Cook 1998; Couldry 2003; Hallin and Mancini 2004).
 18. Abbott (1988:82–83) emphasizes the implications of professional organization on jurisdictional struggles, which he saw in being able to more effectively making claims within the workplace, in public, and toward the state through a greater ability to mobilize members and to assert claims to professional status through media and academia.
 19. Some of the most prestigious journalism schools have non-degree options. For instance, the Deutsche Journalistenschule in Munich has a 16-month non-degree program as well as a two-year master program (in cooperation with the University of Munich). The Berliner Journalisten-Schule has a 15-month non-degree program, the Henri-Nannen-Schule in Hamburg a 18-month non-degree program.
 20. Associational membership has different meanings in different cultural contexts. In Germany, as in many other European countries, there are economic incentives to be a union member regarding collective bargaining agreements. Press IDs, which are also issued by associations, provide journalists not only with credentials but also with certain discounts. Both of these incentives do not exist in the United States. Therefore, union and associational membership may have more purely professional underpinnings in the United States, whereas in Germany they are diluted with other concerns (economic as well as political). Furthermore, many unions provide information about their overall membership but not regarding how many members work full-time as journalists.
 21. Chapter 3 will argue that criteria of excellence are more precise and less contested in the United States compared to Germany.
 22. Waisbord (2013:131) argued that journalism actually prides itself that the journalistic doxa can basically only be learned within the newsroom.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, Andrew Delano. 1988. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1988. "The Mass News Media in Systemic, Historical, and Comparative Perspective." Pp. 107–52 in *Action and its Environments: Toward a New Synthesis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bagdikian, Ben H. 2000. *The Media Monopoly*. 6th Beacon pbk.ed. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.
- BDVZ, Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger. 2015a. *Die Deutschen Zeitungen in Zahlen Und Daten 2015*. Retrieved January 20, 2016 (http://issuu.com/bdzv/docs/zahlen_daten_2015).
- BDVZ, Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger. 2015b. "Wirtschaftliche Lage." *BDVZ*. Retrieved January 20, 2016 (http://issuu.com/bdzv/docs/zahlen_daten_2015).
- BDVZ. 2013. "Zur Wirtschaftlichen Lage Der Zeitungen in Deutschland 2013." *BDVZ*. Retrieved January 20, 2016 (http://www.bdzv.de/maerkte-und-daten/wirtschaftliche-lage/artikel/detail/zur-wirtschaftlichen-lage-der-zeitungen-in-deutschland_2013/).
- Beckert, Jens. 2007. The 'Longue Durée' of Inheritance Law : Discourses and Institutional Development in France, Germany, and the United States since 1800. *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie/ Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie* 48 (1): 79–120.
- Bellah, Robert N. 1991. *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benson, Rodney. 2006. News Media as a 'Journalistic Field': What Bourdieu Adds to New Institutionalism, and Vice Versa. *Political Communication* 23 (2): 187–202.
- Benson, Rodney. 2013. *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Benson, Rodney and Matthew Powers. 2011. *Public Media and Political Independence: Lessons for the Future of Journalism from Around the World*. Washington, D.C.: Free Press. Retrieved February 19, 2016 (<http://www.freepress.net/sites/default/files/stn-legacy/public-media-and-political-independence.pdf>).
- Bundesverfassungsgericht, 1 Senat. 2003. "Bundesverfassungsgericht – Entscheidungen – Zur richterlich angeordneten Auskunft über Verbindungsdaten der Telekommunikation im Rahmen der Strafverfolgung: Schutzbereich des Fernmeldegeheimnisses berührt – Eingriffe nur bei Straftaten von erheblicher Bedeutung und bei konkretem Tatverdacht gerechtfertigt." Retrieved February 24, 2016 (http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/entscheidungen/rs20030312_1bvr033096.html).

- Calderone, Michael. 2009. "Newspaper Circulation Drops; WSJ on Top." *Politico*. Retrieved February 18, 2014 (http://www.politico.com/blogs/michaelcalderone/1009/Newspaper_circulation_drops_WSJ_on_top.html).
- Chalaby, Jean K. 1996. Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s. *European Journal of Communication* 11: 303–26.
- Champagne, Patrick and Dominique Marchetti. 2005. "The Contaminated Blood Scandal: Reframing Medical News." Pp. 113–34 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Cook, Timothy E. 1998. *Governing With the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Couldry, Nick. 2003. Media Meta-Capital: Extending the Range of Bourdieu's Field Theory. *Theory and Society* 32 (5–6): 653–77.
- Digital Media Law Project. 2012. "New York Protections for Sources and Source Material." *Digital Media Law Project*. Retrieved (<http://www.dmlp.org/legal-guide/new-york-protections-sources-and-source-material>).
- DJV, Deutscher Journalisten-Verband. 2016. "Mitglied Werden." Retrieved January 29, 2016 (<http://www.djv.de/startseite/profil/mitglied-werden/vorteile.html>).
- Donsbach, Wolfgang. 1999. "Journalismus Und Journalistisches Berufsverständnis." Pp. 489–517 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang, and Bettina Klett. 1993. Subjective Objectivity. How Journalists in Four Countries Define a Key Term of Their Profession. *International Communication Gazette* 51 (1): 53–83.
- DJU, Deutsche Journalistinnen und -journalisten-Union. n.d. "Freie Journalisten." *DJV – Deutscher Journalisten-Verband*. Retrieved January 29, 2016 (<http://dju.verdi.de/++file++51dacfa890e9b428e000408/download/%5CBLNPF501%5Cjournal%24%5CRelaunch%5CJournalismus%20konkret%5CFreie.pdf>).
- Esser, Frank. 1998. Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms. *European Journal of Communication* 13 (3): 375–405.
- Esser, Frank. 2008. Dimensions of Political News Cultures: Sound Bite and Image Bite News in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (4): 401–28.
- Esser, Frank and Michael Brüggemann. 2010. "The Strategic Crisis of German Newspapers." Pp. 39–54 in *The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy*, edited by D. A. L. Levy and R. K. Nielsen. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Esser, Frank, and Andrea Umbricht. 2013. Competing Models of Journalism? Political Affairs Coverage in US, British, German, Swiss, French and Italian Newspapers. *Journalism* 14 (8): 989–1007.

- Farhi, Paul. 2013. "Washington Post to Be Sold to Jeff Bezos, the Founder of Amazon." *The Washington Post*, August 5. Retrieved February 26, 2016 (https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/washington-post-to-be-sold-to-jeff-bezos/2013/08/05/ca537c9e-fe0c-11e2-9711-3708310f6f4d_story.html).
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Frye, Northrop. 1973. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hachmeister, Lutz. 2002. "Einleitung: Das Problem Des Elite-Journalismus." Pp. 7–34 in *Die Herren Journalisten: die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945, Beck'sche Reihe*, edited by L. Hachmeister and F. Siering. Munich: Beck.
- Hallin, Daniel C. 1992. The Passing of the 'High Modernism' of American Journalism. *Journal of Communication* 42 (3): 14–25.
- Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2011. Populist Disseminators, Detached Watchdogs, Critical Change Agents and Opportunist Facilitators: Professional Milieus, the Journalistic Field and Autonomy in 18 Countries. *International Communication Gazette* 73 (6): 477–94.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas, et al. 2011. Mapping Journalism Cultures Across Nations. *Journalism Studies* 12 (3): 273–93.
- Herman, Edward S., and Noam Chomsky. 1994. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. London: Vintage.
- Herman, Edward S. and Robert Waterman McChesney. 1997. *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. London; Washington, D.C.: Cassell.
- Hofstede, Geert H. 1980. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications.
- IVW. 2016. "Quartalsauflagen." *Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern*. Retrieved March 18, 2016 (<http://daten.ivw.eu/index.php?menuid=1&u=&p=>).
- Kalberg, Stephen. 1987. The Origin and Expansion of Kulturpessimismus: The Relationship between Public and Private Spheres in Early Twentieth Century Germany. *Sociological Theory* 5 (2): 150–64.
- Kane, Anne. 1991. Cultural Analysis in Historical Sociology: The Analytic and Concrete Forms of the Autonomy of Culture. *Sociological Theory* 9 (1): 53–69.
- Kaplan, Richard L. 2002. *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865–1920*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Klinenberg, Eric. 2005. Convergence: News Production in a Digital Age. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597 (1): 48–64.
- Köcher, Renate. 1986. Bloodhounds or Missionaries: Role Definitions of German and British Journalists. *European Journal of Communication* 1 (1): 43–64.
- Koszyk, Kurt. 1999. “Presse Unter Alliiierter Besatzung.” Pp. 31–58 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Krause, Monika. 2011. Reporting and the Transformations of the Journalistic Field: US News Media, 1890–2000. *Media, Culture & Society* 33: 89–104.
- Lamont, Michèle. 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamont, Michèle and Laurent Thévenot. 2000a. “Introduction: Toward a Renewed Comparative Cultural Sociology.” Pp. 1–22 in *Rethinking comparative cultural sociology: repertoires of evaluation in France and the United States*, edited by M. Lamont and L. Thévenot. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lamont, Michèle and Laurent Thévenot. 2000b. *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marchetti, Dominique. 2005. “Subfields of Specialized Journalism.” Pp. 64–82 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Minkenber, Michael. 1997. Civil Religion and German Unification. *German Studies Review* 20 (1): 63–81.
- NAA, Newspapers Association of America. 2014. “Business Model Evolving, Circulation Revenue Rising.” Retrieved January 20, 2016 (<http://www.naa.org/Trends-and-Numbers/Newspaper-Revenue/Newspaper-Media-Industry-Revenue-Profile-2013.aspx>).
- NAA, Newspapers Association of America. 2015. “Newspaper Circulation Volume.” Retrieved January 20, 2016 (<http://www.naa.org/Trends-and-Numbers/Circulation-Volume/Newspaper-Circulation-Volume.aspx>).
- Newman, Nic, David A. L. Levy, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. 2015. *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2015: Tracking the Future of News*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved February 24, 2016 (<http://bit.ly/digitalnews2015>).
- OECD. 2010. *The Evolution of News and the Internet*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Retrieved February 5, 2014 (<http://www.oecd.org/internet/ieconomy/45559596.pdf>).
- Patterson, Thomas E., and Wolfgang Donsbach. 1996. News Decisions: Journalists as Partisan Actors. *Political Communication* 13 (4): 455–68.
- Pfetsch, Barbara. 2001. Political Communication Culture in the United States and Germany. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6 (1): 46–67.

- Presserat. 2015. "Publizistische Grundsätze (Pressekodex): Richtlinien Für Die Publizistische Arbeit Nach Den Empfehlungen Des Deutschen Presserats." Retrieved February 25, 2016 (http://www.presserat.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Downloads_Dateien/Pressekodex_bo_web_2015.pdf).
- Puppis, Manuel. 2010. *Einführung in Die Medienpolitik*. 2. ed. Konstanz: UVK. Retrieved (<http://www.utb-studi-e-book.de/9783838528816>).
- Reporters Without Borders. 2015. "2015 World Press Freedom Index." Retrieved February 24, 2016 (<http://index.rsf.org>).
- Schneider, Beate, Klaus Schönbach, and Dieter Stürzebecher. 1993. Westdeutsche Journalisten Im Vergleich: Jung, Professionell Und Mit Spaß an Der Arbeit. *Publizistik* 38 (1): 5–30.
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schultz, David A. and John R. Vile, eds. 2005. *The Encyclopedia of Civil Liberties in America*. Armonk, N.Y: Sharpe Reference.
- Schütz, Walter J. 1999. "Entwicklung Der Tagespresse." Pp. 109–34 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Siering, Friedemann. 2002. "Zeitung Für Deutschland: Die Gründergeneration Der 'Frankfurter Allgemeinen.'" Pp. 7–34 in *Die Herren Journalisten: die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945, Beck'sche Reihe*, edited by L. Hachmeister and F. Siering. Munich: Beck. Retrieved (35–86).
- Smith, Philip. 2005. *Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Statista. 2016. "Newspaper Reach Worldwide 2015, by Platform." *Statista*. Retrieved March 18, 2016 (<http://www.statista.com/statistics/308509/newspaper-reach-platform/>).
- Stöber, Rudolf. 2000. *Deutsche Pressegeschichte Einführung, Systematik, Glossar*. Konstanz: UVK-Medien.
- Umbricht, Andrea, and Frank Esser. 2016. The Push to Popularize Politics. *Journalism Studies* 17 (1): 100–121.
- van Venrooij, Alex, and Vaughn Schmutz. 2010. The Evaluation of Popular Music in the United States, Germany and the Netherlands: A Comparison of the Use of High Art and Popular Aesthetic Criteria. *Cultural Sociology* 4 (3): 395–421.
- Waisbord, Silvio. 2013. *Reinventing Professionalism: Journalism and News in Global Perspective*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
- WAN, World Association of Newspapers. 2006. *World Press Trends 2006*. Paris, France: World Association of Newspapers.
- WAN, World Association of Newspapers. 2010. *World Press Trends 2010*. Paris, France: World Association of Newspapers. Retrieved (<http://library.princeton.edu/catalogs/restricted/worldpresstrends.php>).

- Weaver, David H. 1998. "Journalists Around the World: Commonalities and Differences." Pp. 455–80 in *The Global Journalist. News People Around the World*, edited by D. H. Weaver and W. Wu. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Weaver, David H. and Lars Willnat. 2012. "Journalists in the 21st Century: Conclusions." Pp. 529–51 in *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge.
- Weaver, David H., Randal A. Beam, Bonnie J. Brownlee, Paul S. Voakes, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit. 2007. *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Weischenberg, Siegfried, Maja Malik, and Armin Scholl. 2012. "Journalism in Germany in the 21st Century." Pp. 205–19 in *The global journalist in the 21st century*, edited by D. H. Weaver and L. Willnat. New York: Routledge.
- Wilke, Jürgen. 1993. Spion Des Publikums, Sittenrichter Und Advokat Der Menschheit : Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrlin (1739–1792) Und Die Entwicklung Des Journalismus in Deutschland. *Publizistik* 38 (3): 322–34.
- Wilke, Jürgen. 1999. "Überblick Und Phasengliederung." Pp. 15–27 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Wunsch-Vincent, Sacha. 2010. "Online News: Recent Developments, New Business Models and Future Prospects." Pp. 25–37 in *The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy*, edited by D. A. L. Levy and R. K. Nielsen. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Zelizer, Barbie and Stuart Allan. 2003. *Journalism After September 11*. London ; New York: Routledge.

The Sacred Discourse of Journalistic Professionalism

During my field research, Mike Gormley was capitol editor of the Associated Press (AP). In late 2013, he became a political reporter for *Newsday*. When a former colleague of his died, who, like him, used to work for the investigative team of the *Albany Times Union*, Gormley wrote the following eulogy on his Facebook wall:¹

Harvy Lipman who for years was an investigative reporter and editor at the Albany Times Union, died Friday, his daughter Melissa tells us. Harvy left the TU years ago for investigative jobs in Washington and in New Jersey. But he left his mark in Albany. Harvy set a tone with Editor Harry Rosenfeld and Managing Editor Dan Lynch about the value _ the very obligation _ of investigative reporting. He would uncover organized crime one week, and patch together a touching story on the failings of welfare for children and single mothers a couple weeks later. The breadth of his ability was matched only by his compassion. He knew what he wrote could effect [sic] lives, and he took his job as seriously as a surgeon.

Harvy was also a mentor, probably without knowing it. He didn't go around using the word "mentor" or make a show out of helping younger journalists. He led by example. He led by getting a story right no matter [how] long it took. For Harvy, the least important name in his stories was in his byline. He cared deeply about people and especially those who had no voice, except for Harvy's.

This business we love has suffered a deep loss. I'd like to say there will be another Harvy Lipman, but I seriously doubt that. (Michael Gormley, Facebook post, February 8, 2014)

Aside from the fact that Gormley seems to have been personally inspired by Lipman and was probably mentored in the sense he described, this semi-public obituary is an example for the importance in journalism to regularly honor the professional project through its “best” representatives. It foreshadows some of the important characteristics that distinguish many exemplars: empathy, selflessness, public service, issue competence, intellectual curiosity and the indomitable will to reveal the truth.

Apart from exceptional moments of commemoration, collective representations of professionalism are always present when journalists talk about journalism—which they constantly do—even when they are occupied with reporting daily stories. The scripts journalists follow appropriate these symbols to accomplish situational demands. To give a crude example from my interviews, a reporter may not recite the first amendment of the US constitution verbatim when a Senator attempts to throw him out of a public meeting, but refer to it by saying: “Sir, you’re not protected by the United States Constitution. I am” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 8, 2010). This usage is not only strategic but also coupled with deeply held beliefs.

Institutional and material conditions of news making are subjected to impinge on journalists but do not just map directly on their work. They are filtered through the occupational culture, its tradition and mythology, which journalists are professionally socialized in. According to Aldridge and Evetts (2003:562), “the very vigour of [journalism’s] occupational mythology” makes it worth studying from an analytical perspective of professionalism, despite the relative reluctance of journalism to implement rigorous professional structures (e.g. licensing, mandatory education, etc.) and the uncertainty regarding the status of the occupation. Following Schudson’s examination of Watergate, as long as myths are rooted in some empirical evidence, “that kernel of truth sustains the general myth and gives it, for all of its ‘inaccuracies,’ a kind of larger truth that is precisely what myths are for: not to tell us in empirical detail who we are but what we may have been once, what we might again become, what we would be like ‘if’” (Schudson 1995:163).

The following analysis explores how journalistic achievements are honored and dead journalists are commemorated in Germany and the USA, looking at jury statements of journalism awards and obituaries of journalists in leading media outlets. It also draws from instances when reporters interviewed in this study invoked journalists, stories, events and institutions in positive and negative ways.

These moments and invocations are not primarily about the specific representatives and instances of journalism that are honored but about the occupation itself. Journalists, news organizations and stories are embedded and encoded in the occupational mythology and become vehicles for sacred discourses of professionalism. These acts of consecration are staged by influential organizations in the occupation (news organizations, journalism schools, memorial funds), which appoint known voices in journalism to commemorate and determine professional excellence. The objects of honor are, by definition, largely exempt from criticism in these texts and thus evoke rather pure forms of professional mythologizing. Obituaries and award statements represent pivotal moments of ritual purification of journalism. By the same token, pollution of instances in which professional ethics are violated (e.g. journalism scandals) are equally necessary to maintain the purity of professionalism. Both trigger conversations among journalists to reassert, renegotiate, and adjust professional boundaries.

The first section of this chapter examines jury statements of major national journalism awards in Germany and the USA. The second section engages with an analysis of obituaries of journalists in major national news publications in both countries. The final section segues to the larger, field research portion of the book, focusing on collective representations of professionalism informants evoked in Albany and Munich.

HONORING JOURNALISTIC EXCELLENCE: AWARD STATEMENTS

The following analysis considered journalism award statements between 1980 and 2013 as far as they were available within this time frame. In the interest of consistency, 1980 constitutes the cut-off point because this period roughly represents one generation unit of journalists, thus spanning the career of the most senior reporters active at the time this research was conducted. The US data involves jury statements of the Pulitzer Prizes (PPs) and George Polk Awards (GPAs). Almost all PP categories had a strong investigative emphasis and this is even truer for the GPA, which does not have a separate category but promotes investigative journalism in all categories. Peabody Award (PA) statements honoring television news people and operations were also included.

In Germany, all news-relevant award statements of the Theodor-Wolff-Preis (TWP) were included, which put a particular emphasis on feature writing. The sample also includes jury statements of the Henri-Nannen Preis (HNP).

The prize was only founded in 2005 but quickly became one of the most prestigious journalism awards in Germany. The Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus (HJFP) represents the counterpart of the PA and honors television journalism.

Award statements are typically one-paragraph long, sometimes two or three paragraphs (e.g. lifetime achievement awards) with the exception of PP statements, which are particularly short.² The following sections deal with some key distinguishing features of award statements in both countries, which point to central differences of the occupational cultures in question.

Revelations and Their Effects

Two basic elements that defined journalistic efforts as excellent, particularly investigative stories, stood out: (1) The story revealed something we did not know before and (2) this revelation had wider social effects. The first element, though different in quality, was a basic requirement of excellence in both countries. US award statements differed, however, by putting a much stronger emphasis on the second element, the concrete effects and tangible results and changes news stories stimulated. This pertains not only to the GPA, which describes itself as placing “a premium on investigative and enterprise reporting,” but also to almost all PP categories beyond the category “investigative reporting.” Additionally, what was remarkable is that the Prizes’ emphasis on effects increased over time.³ For instance, the PP juries based their judgments of excellence on news stories in the public service category—not necessarily focused on investigative achievements—much less on effects before 2000 than afterwards. Between 2000 and 2013, there were ten and between 1980 and 1999 only five statements that pointed to concrete effects. Some of these five discerned rather vague effects—“helped hold its community together”—while those after 2000 tended to be more concrete—“resulting in arrests and reforms” (2011), “leading to changes in policy and improved safety conditions” (2009) and so on (Pulitzer Prizes 2016a). Public service awards were at least partly event-driven, which was the case with Katrina and 9/11, where news were not outcomes of enterprise reporting. However, even in the context of these disasters, PP juries foregrounded effects but less concretely and purposefully.

The strength of effect claims varied. Some statements attribute very clear cause and effect relations to the prizewinning stories. This was the case for William K. Marimow of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* who received

the PP for investigative reporting in 1985 “for his revelation that city police dogs had attacked more than 350 people—an expose that led to investigations of the K-9 unit and the removal of a dozen officers from it” (Pulitzer Prizes 2016b). The 2009 GPA for state reporting went to Raquel Rutledge (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*). The statement listed effects her story had: “Her watchdog report, ‘Cashing in on Kids,’ led to a government shakeup, criminal probes, indictments and new laws aimed at keeping criminals out of the day care business” (George Polk Awards 2010). Some claims remain more vague but still underline the worth of a story by its effects. For example, the 2006 investigative reporting PP went to Susan Schmidt, James V. Grimaldi and R. Jeffrey Smith (*The Washington Post*) “for their indefatigable probe of Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff that exposed congressional corruption and produced reform efforts” (Pulitzer Prizes 2016d). Other justifications detour to public outrage for making effect claims, for instance, a story may have “aroused such widespread public indignation that Congress subsequently rejected proposals giving special tax breaks to many politically connected individuals and businesses,” exemplified by the 1989 National Reporting PP (Pulitzer Prizes 2016c). The weakest effect claims would either remain on the level of public indignation or at least attention to a given problem because of a news story.

The accentuation of effects in the USA is especially salient in comparison to Germany. While you can find PP and GPA award justifications that are content with revelation, TWP and HNP juries limit themselves almost exclusively to it. This is certainly also connected to a strong emphasis on feature writing. However, even when investigative journalistic efforts were honored, there was much more restraint about effects in the German cases if they were asserted at all. A typical evaluation of investigative excellence reads like this: “Their achievement was to discover and investigate step by step one of the greatest business scandals in the history of the federal republic” (Henri-Nannen Preis 2013). The awarded reporters of *SZ* were, furthermore, honored for penetrating the complexity of the issue, “which is hard to grasp even for accountants” (ibid.), against the odds of a defiant object of investigation—the multinational conglomerate Siemens. By far the strongest effect claim I could find in the German cases was in the statement of the 2013 HNP for investigative reporting: “The local reporter caught the scent and forced authorities to reopen the investigation” (Henri-Nannen Preis 2013).

There was another feature of acknowledging investigative achievements in Germany, which was not nearly as pervasive in the US award statements. A narrative of resistance and hardship appeared in many

statements, which journalists endured during their investigation. Besides penetrating complex subject matters (*intellectual* hardship, as it were), the honored journalists acted against opposition of advertisers, sources and sometimes even members of their own occupation. To give examples of such hardships in the order just mentioned: Regarding a story about a doping scandal involving the Deutsche Telekom road cycling team, the HNP committee honored *Spiegel* reporters responsible “who have been pressured over and over again, who were subjected to massive economic pressure through imminent cancelations of advertisement, but who continued their investigation nonetheless.” In 2013 the HNP for press freedom, which usually goes to journalists in (semi-)authoritarian regimes, was awarded to a journalist of a local newspaper who reported on a group of Nazis in his town and continued despite severe attempts of intimidation (Henri-Nannen Preis 2013). The weekly magazine of *SZ* won the TWP in the general category for another doping story involving a soccer team: “A sports journalist who investigates doping networks is not even welcome among all colleagues, let alone athletes, operatives and soccer physicians” (Theodor-Wolff-Preis 2008).

This narrative is surprisingly absent in the US statements—surprising because of its performative import for attesting tenacity and intrepidity, which are dominant attributes of celebratory metajournalistic discourse (as the following chapters will demonstrate). Occasionally, reporting hardships entered PP as mere adjectives (partly for the lack of space). Even longer GPA statements did not provide much more than that, however: neither the mentioning of pressure by advertisers nor that sources or source-complicit news operations disapproved of the investigation.

Two cases of GPA statements between 1998 and 2012 indicated that news operations had to fight in court for documents to be released because institutions denied to disclose them. The 2008 GPA in local reporting, for instance, pointed out that “to break the case open, the reporters filed a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit that was heard by the Michigan Supreme Court” (George Polk Awards 2009). In this case, resistance meant unresponsiveness and lack of transparency. The most severe case in the entire body of texts, however, was the 2007 GPA for local reporting. It was awarded posthumously to Chauncey W. Bailey, editor of the *Oakland Post*, who was murdered during an investigation of a local business that had been linked to serious crimes (George Polk Awards 2008).

Although there surely must have been more examples of resistance than cases of litigation and existential threats, US award committees did

not deem them worth mentioning. One interpretation is that pushback is more self-evident in US journalism, which has a longer and continuous muckraking tradition that permeates the occupational imaginary of journalism down to its local levels. German award statements frequently brought up more modest forms of opposition, conceivably because journalism is exposed to it to a lesser extent from the outset.

This is not to say that investigative journalism does not enjoy a prominent position in the German occupational culture; it has at least since the rise of *Der Spiegel* after World War II, but notably half a century later than in the USA. This was demonstrated by one of three controversies⁴ that involved revocation or non-acceptance of journalism awards during the sampling period: At the 2012 HNP award ceremony, eminent investigative reporter Hans Leyendecker (*SZ*), flanked by his two colleagues, went on stage, and refused to accept the prize for investigative reporting in protest against having to share it with the tabloid *Bild*. He referred to a “cultural break” that happened by honoring *Bild* with this award (Schneider 2012; Stern Online 2012). This incident stimulated discussion about the meaning of good (investigative) journalism in the days following the ceremony. *Bild* had been awarded the prize for uncovering and initiating a nepotism scandal involving former German president, Christian Wulff, which ultimately led to his resignation. The *SZ* team was awarded for an investigation that revealed corruption, bribery and extortion involving a Bavarian bank and Formula One officials and prompted criminal prosecutions.

An unusually detailed justification for the award indicated uneasiness with the decision, which followed a stalemate in the jury decision, as it later turned out. The statement asserted that “for the evaluation of investigative work, two criteria are important: the investigative achievement of the reporter and the social significance of the investigated revelation” (Henri-Nannen Preis 2012). The *SZ* story, the jury argued, was excellent in terms of the investigative achievement, the *Bild* story for its effects. The controversy centered on the question whether the HNP jury not only differentiated but also dissociated these two criteria. In a press release, the German journalist association “Netzwerk Recherche,” which is devoted to the advancement of investigative journalism, argued that “the jury of the HNP lacks understanding of journalistic criteria” and in the case of *Bild* “confused a successful ‘scoop’ with the greatest investigative achievement” (Schröm and Grill 2012). The release also urged the HNP to learn from the PPs if it wished to be taken seriously in the future.

A US reporter refusing to accept a PP is just as unimaginable as the *New York Times* sharing one with the *New York Post*. Newspapers in the USA parade the number of PP they have received in front of them and would never deny themselves this certificate of professional worth. Even though the PP also had its share of controversies, they never raised questions as fundamental as *what* the criteria of journalistic excellence are rather than what are the costs of their pursuit. Occupational prestige seems to be less conditioned by awards in Germany, especially by one particular award that enjoys such centrality as the PP. Some obituaries of awardees did not even mention their awards. In one case, an obituary did note that the deceased received a cross of merit (a state honor), yet it did not mention that he won the TWP (Der Spiegel 2006).

Revelations and Empathy

The criteria of journalistic revelation were broader in Germany. Feature writing and featuresque aspects of news stories were as important as investigative journalism in the USA. Rather than for the disclosure of secrets, many German prizewinning news stories in non-feature categories were praised for revealing hidden life circumstances or helping to better understand a larger context through close examination of something relatively small. In the US cases, only the statements of designated PP feature writing awards put a similar emphasis on stories about personal troubles that illuminate public issues and problems, to use C. Wright Mills' (2000) famous turn of phrase. The evaluation criteria outlined in this genre-unspecific TWP statement could be applied to features in the USA:

This piece has everything which is generally considered “award-worthy”: It is a deeply humane story about humanity, taken out of real life and investigated close to the narrative subject. The story is neatly crafted; it is touching but subtle in its choice of language and not at all corny. And it is exciting – from the first to the last line. (Theodor-Wolff-Preis 2011a)

Another reoccurring criterion of excellence that shone through here is that journalism has to turn a supposedly dull issue into an exciting story. Not all statements put it as bluntly as the following, which stated that Stefan Willeke's (*Die Zeit*) story “enchants the sale of a shut down coking plant—a substance matter nobody is interested in—into a fascinating piece of journalistic literature” (Henri-Nannen Preis 2005).

Quite remarkably, but perhaps indicating a national-cultural rather than occupational-cultural difference, is how statements addressed emotionality. While juries unanimously valued emotionally moving featuresque writing, German award committees honored a specific narration of emotionality. This is already apparent in the above-quoted TWP statement, which referred to the story as “not at all corny”—a phrase that occurred repeatedly. German juries wanted reporters to show empathy for their subjects but to deliver stories with a certain distance. In a story about Alzheimer, the jury noted: “The author has followed the story over one and a half years up close and then did a brilliant job writing it very movingly but completely unsentimentally, with great sensitivity and authenticity and high informational value” (Henri-Nannen Preis 2009). Another statement asserted that “with linguistic accuracy that creates distance, Ulrich forcefully depicts suffering of people in short scenic highlights, which he sets against the coldness of the judiciary. A moving journalistic work” (Theodor-Wolff-Preis 2011b).

Acknowledging distanced, *unaufgeregt* (unagitated) and pathos-free writing that avoids any jargon of concernment permeated almost all German jury statements honoring featuresque stories. This theme was completely absent in the US cases, although such assertions would be possible even in short statements, if only by inserting qualifying adjectives. Instead, they read like a statement on Eli Sanders (*The Stranger*) who won the PP in feature writing in 2012 “for his haunting story of a woman who survived a brutal attack that took the life of her partner, using the woman’s brave courtroom testimony and the details of the crime to construct a moving narrative” (Pulitzer Prizes 2016f). US award rationales were not at all apologetic for honoring emotionality, which is also true for other categories besides feature writing. The German insistence on restraint and dispassion, on the other hand, was blatant and will reappear in the analysis of obituaries as well as in the result of my field research.

Boundary-Policing and Occupational Self-Control

Award statements frequently drew boundaries between awarded journalistic achievements and inferior categories of journalism. Sometimes, these juxtapositions referred to trends in journalism or certain locations in the journalistic field, for instance, tabloids. This occurred more often in television award statements, which were generally quite similar in both countries. The individual PA of 1998, which was awarded to Christiane Amanpour, then at CNN, honored her as an exception regarding dominant trends in television:

This past year has seen an abundance of criticism of television news, much of it deserved. By now, we've witnessed many of the excesses and heard most of the reasons: competition, fragmented audiences, the blurring line between entertainment and information, and on and on. Against this backdrop of hype, exaggeration, tabloidization and increasing irrelevancy, the international news reporting by Christiane Amanpour stands out. (Peabody Awards 1998)

In contrast to these tendencies, Amanpour was characterized by “fearlessness and tenacity” and, contrary to the goring attention to “famous faces,” her style of reporting was described as keeping herself in the background and as being committed to issue competence and the subjects of her news stories. The 2001 HJFP honored three journalists of the award's name-giver's generation who successfully “set standards of independence and quality from former days in television and salvaged them at a time when the obsession with youth and ratings-orientation increasingly define the medium” (Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus 2001). One of them was Günter Gaus, a well-known portrayer and interviewer of post-war Germany who later became a politician. His greatest accomplishment was described as “having established a conversational culture in German television which stands out from the general overflow of talk shows” (ibid.).

In respect to new media, boundary drawing sometimes occurred in German award statements and never in US statements. The 2005 TWP in the general category was awarded to Lara Fritzsche for a story about anorexia, which drew from online discussions. The jury used this as an occasion to contrast old and new media while emphasizing the former's enduring value:

Fritzsche writes about weblogs, in short: blogs. They represent their own, novel and young communicative sphere, which the author skillfully reflects upon. Along the way, Fritzsche shows where the old is superior to the new medium: intellectual distance, condensation and contextualization within a overstraining flood of information. (Theodor-Wolff-Preis 2005)

The 2013 HJFP was awarded to Marcel Mettelsiefen for his reporting from Syria. The jury distinguished his reporting from the increased use of amateur video footage by TV stations: “The authentic pictures of Marcel Mettelsiefen and his levelheaded texts are an indispensable corrective to the numerous YouTube videos from obscure sources”

(Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus 2013). Other times when award statements thematized online media, they appeared as foreign objects—literally and figuratively. The HNP, even though it formally invited print and online submissions, had not honored online journalism efforts with the exception of the *Times Picayune* until the end of the study period (2013). The New Orleans daily (at the time) received a special award for the importance of its “articles posted on the internet as a substitute” for the displaced and traumatized Louisiana community (Henri-Nannen Preis 2006). While almost exclusively awarded to traditional newspapers, the PP has been honoring combined print and online journalistic efforts since the early 2000s on occasion and not exclusively in the breaking news category.

Another distinctive feature of German awards to local newspapers was that juries, particularly of the TWP, frequently use statements as occasions to call upon other local newspapers to provide more resources for journalistic excellence. The statement honoring an investigative story about foster parenthood by Jan Haarmeyer (*Hamburger Abendblatt*) mentioned: “The prize jury wished that more local journalists could invest so much time on an issue and receive so much space for it” (Theodor-Wolff-Preis 2013). The 2011 HNP for investigative reporting mentioned: “Her work ... shows that not only big magazines can assume the investigative control functions of the press. With her dossiers, Christine Kröger remarkably proves that with endurance, tenacity and bravery, a regional newspaper can also fulfill this core task of journalism” (Henri-Nannen Preis 2011).

For the occupation, awards are occasions to critically assess its institutional setting, the media industry. Aside from award juries, honored journalists themselves sometimes use the public forum of award speeches—not only endowing them with momentary professional sanctity but also media exposure—to criticize the state of news media.

CELEBRATING OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY AND ITS WITNESSES: OBITUARIES

This section considers 151 obituaries of deceased journalists in national news outlets, mostly dailies.⁵ In US newspapers, they are usually published in the obituaries section, unless the deceased is a former chief editor of the paper or a famous journalist, like Walter Cronkite, which warrants A1 coverage. In German newspapers, the typical location for obituaries of journalists is the *Feuilleton* or culture section. *Der Spiegel* has a separate

obituary section (one-paragraph-length), where some of the analyzed articles appeared, and places more high-profile obituaries in the culture or media sections. When its founder Rudolf Augstein died, the magazine devoted 168 pages to numerous obituaries written by leading figures in media, politics, and literature.

The structure of obituaries was much more standardized in the USA than in Germany. An obituary in the USA usually started with a paragraph on the deceased's major achievements, his or her societal impact and sometimes major awards. The following paragraphs focused on detailing professional achievements, interspersed with journalistic ethics and values the person embodied. This section often included stories of conflicts with politicians, ideally heads of states, historical events they were part of and stories they became famous for. The following paragraphs sketched the deceased's biography, including educational credentials and career trajectory. This was frequently accompanied by anecdotes told by contemporaries. Obituaries in US papers usually closed with mentioning bereaved family members.

Intellectual Credentials, Achievements and Influence

Obituaries in both countries celebrated academic credentials and achievements of dead journalist but slightly differently. The most frequent occurrence in this category were books the deceased had written and others confirming how insightful and significant these books were. While US obituaries made do with mentioning Ivy League degrees, German articles referred to journalists' famous university teachers. Even this one-paragraph obituary does not fail to mention that Andreas Razumovsky "began to write for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on Theodor W. Adorno's recommendation" (Unsigned 2012). German obituaries, furthermore, go in much greater length about academic accomplishments. The obituary of Friedrich Karl Fromme in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) is an extreme but not singular example of this: It mentioned that Fromme had studied sociology and public law with Theodor Eschenburg, whose assistant he was; that he had written a "standard work" of constitutional law as his dissertation; finally, that he must have had "painful experiences" of not being able to continue his *Habilitation* (postdoctoral qualification), "which remains puzzling, considering his academic talent: books and countless articles in academic journals prove what he could have accomplished in that area" (Nonnenmacher 2007).

The greatest distinction of intellectual achievement was to be highly regarded not only in the public sphere but also in the field of expertise one covered. This applied especially to Fromme:

Fromme has in fact invented news coverage on legal policy and judicial policy as a journalistic discipline, as one constitutional law professor, politically distanced from him, once mentioned admiringly ... One constitutional judge had once conceded that, without Fromme's representation and interpretation of supreme court decisions, the Federal Constitutional Court would not have gained the influence that it now has in public perception. (ibid.)

In this specific case, other news outlets counterbalanced this praise, however, by noting that "he practiced the profession in a slightly professorial way, sophisticated, in complex, convoluted sentences and with gigantic article lengths" (Rudolph 2007).

Personal Qualities

According to the obituaries, different personalities make for good journalists. Articles honored broadcasters for their matter-of-factness as well as emotionality. Numerous obituaries, usually those written by close colleagues or friends, argued that the eccentricities of deceased journalists spawned the kind of journalism they were known for. Even though these kinds of descriptions were similar in detail, different traits were celebrated in different tones in the two countries.

Tenacity, aggressiveness, relentlessness and fearlessness were character traits that were particularly emphasized in USA and not in German obituaries. Bette Orsini, who was known for her investigations on Scientology, was described by one of her former editors as follows: "She was one of the most tenacious—almost ferocious—reporters I have ever worked with during my career ... Every cliché, including the one about the bulldog that gets a hold of an ankle and won't let go, was true of her" (Meacham 2011). In some cases, evidence for aggressiveness was substantiated by anecdotes of resisting external pressures. They were typically set forth in the lede, as in Daniel Schorr's obituary in the *Times*: "Daniel Schorr, whose aggressive reporting over 70 years as a respected broadcast and print journalist brought him into conflict with censors, the Nixon administration and network superiors, died on Friday in Washington" (Hershey 2010).

Another attribute, which occurred in USA but not in German articles, was competitiveness. A former colleague at the *Times* commemorated Malcolm Browne, an AP journalist who reported about the Vietnam War, as a “‘fierce competitor’ but also a friend” (Yardley 2012). The obituary of long-time ABC anchor and reporter Edward Morgan mentions that “he next worked for United Press International on the West Coast, in Hawaii and in Mexico, where he beat the competition in reporting the assassination of Leon Trotsky” (Lambert 1993). Competitiveness or competitive successes were not part of the German obituary discourse. This is in line with one of the key findings of Chap. 5, which is that German reporters perceived competition as inherently problematic while US reporters saw it as a virtue.

German obituaries often described journalists as quiet and reserved. When an author portrayed a journalist as critical, she also emphasized that they were not spiteful. Joachim Neander, a former political correspondent in Bonn and a “chronicler of the last years and days of the old federal republic [before the German reunification]” was described as “never tempted towards chumminess or rowdiness; his style was always defined by generous, elegant distance” (Gur 2010). Martin Süskind’s journalistic craft was celebrated and related to his bloodline as the brother of the author of the best-seller *Perfume*. As a chief editor, “being brash and showing off was not Süskind’s style; he was more concerned with what was in the newspaper he was responsible for rather than himself being represented in it” (sha/ddp/dpa 2009).

Another particularity of German obituaries was that they frequently quoted politicians, especially when the deceased journalist was a political reporter. At Hans Ulrich Kempfski’s obsequies, former German chancellor Gerhard Schröder described the former chief reporter of *SZ* as a “great journalist and a very amiable person” (Käppner and Warta 2008). German obituaries also had a stronger inclination to get to the heart of a person through his or her shortcomings. The lede of Herbert Riehl-Heyse’s obituary, a renowned *SZ* journalist, could not be a better illustration of this:

Maybe the greatness of a person shows best when he shows weakness. Herbert Riehl-Heyse was often anxious, vain, coquettish. But he has always acknowledged this and expressed something, which most colleagues would only admit under torture: he became a journalist not least in order to “receive attention and to feel important.” (di Lorenzo 2009)

This last quote was taken from a lecture Riehl-Heyse gave at the award of the TWP in 1996. The obit, titled *Lob des Eigensinns* (Lauding obstinacy), continued in this fashion while remaining deeply respectful of the deceased

who “renewed feature writing in Germany,” maintaining that “nobody is able to fill the gap that Herbert Riehl-Heise left behind” (ibid.). However, there were also less flattering examples to be found. *Der Spiegel*, for instance, begins commemorating Diether Stolze (*Die Zeit*) as follows: “He was one of those journalists who naturally felt like belonging to the political guild” (Unsigned 1990). The obituary identified as his main defeat that “he had failed in his attempt to turn the liberal paper conservative” (ibid.).

The only US example that focused on negatives character traits to a similar extent was the obituary of former *New York Times* chief editor A. M. Rosenthal: “Brilliant, passionate, abrasive, a man of dark moods and mercurial temperament, he could coolly evaluate world developments one minute and humble a subordinate for an error in the next” (McFadden 2006). Besides praising his many journalistic accomplishments, above all the publication of the Pentagon Papers against massive pressure from the Nixon White House, the 4329-words *Times* A1 obituary keeps coming back to Rosenthal’s temper, “stormy outbursts” and “fits of anger” (ibid.).

Triumph on the Battlefield of History

Examining these obituaries, at least one of the following experiences and accomplishments proved to be necessary to be commemorated as a personification of good journalism: (1) Having faced and resisted political pressure, (2) war and/or foreign correspondence, under an oppressive regime or during a particularly significant period of time and (3) influence on history.

Political Pressure

Having faced and resisted political pressure as a signifier of professionalism featured prominently in obituaries in both countries. In US articles, this information was often to be found in the lede and explained in more detail further on. Aside from reporters, this was often a badge of honor for publishers and network executives as well. The *Washington Post*’s obituary of NBC president Julian Goodman, which already mentioned that he “battled White House” in the title, began with the following lede:

Julian Goodman, who, as president of NBC in the 1960s and 1970s, stoutly defended his network’s coverage of the Vietnam War against White House criticism, and who issued an abject apology after NBC cut away from a dramatic football game to show the TV movie ‘Heidi,’ died July 2 at his home in Juno Beach, Fla.” (Schudel 2012a)

The article noted appreciatively that he was on President Richard Nixon's "enemies list" and threatened with the revocation of NBC's broadcasting licenses if its coverage did not become more favorable toward him. The obituary also mentioned instances when Goodman fought for collective occupational interests by appealing to Congress for upholding the freedom of the press.

Nixon appeared as the nemesis of journalistic autonomy and, conversely, several journalists were celebrated for having fallen out of his favor. *Times* reporter and D.C. bureau chief Tom Wicker was another target of Nixon's animosities. He "helped ignite opposition to the war in Vietnam and ... called for the ouster of President Richard M. Nixon during the Watergate scandal" (Schudel 2011). The obituary described Wicker, who had also been a columnist for the *Times* since 1966, as a "liberal voice" who referred to the Watergate scandal as "the beginnings of a police state," and was then included on Nixon's "enemies list" (ibid.). Although news coverage of the Vietnam War involved attempts of restricting press freedom by several presidential administrations, Nixon emerged as the sole archenemy in this context. US journalism prevailed and Nixon eventually resigned, partly as a consequence of journalistic efforts. Against this background, the 1960s and 1970s were narrated as a triumphant period of self-liberation and autonomization of the press.

Having faced and endured political pressure is also a recurrent but not nearly as salient a theme in German obituaries. The closest German counterpart to Nixon was the Bavarian Minister-President and Federal Minister Franz Josef Strauss and to a lesser extent Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Both were known for their strained relations with the press. Despite the fact that former ZDF chief editor, Reinhard Appel, was often criticized as too nice to his interviewees, "this did not keep CSU chief Franz Josef Strauss from asking for his head in 1979" (Unsigned 2011). Obituaries of Jürgen Leinemann (*Der Spiegel*), a well-known portrayer of politicians, mentioned that not all politicians were flattered by his descriptions, particularly Strauss and Kohl: "Helmut Kohl struck his name off the list of journalists accompanying him on trips abroad" (Leyendecker 2013).

Strauss earned his notoriety as the main antagonist primarily because of his role in the most well-known episode of state intervention in the press in post-war Germany. After publishing a critical article about the German armed forces in 1962, author Conrad Ahlers and *Der Spiegel* founder, publisher and first chief editor Rudolf Augstein were arrested on the order of Defense Minister Strauss. Augstein's obituary in *FAZ* mentioned:

“Augstein was arrested, together with leading members of the staff, on the grounds of treason and was imprisoned for 103 days. At the end of the scandal was the fall of Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss” (Unsigned 2002b). This scandal, later known as the *Spiegel Affäre*, became a defining moment for press freedom in Germany.

Foreign/War Correspondence

Obituaries of Jürgen Leinemann emphasized his experience as a foreign correspondent in Washington D.C., as did Heinz Schewe’s (*Die Welt*): He was described as one of publisher Axel Springer’s favorites, “a brother in spirit: in believing in a future of a reformed Germany and in seeking reconciliation with the Jews” (Cramer 2009). Schewe fell in love with Israel when he covered the Six-Day War. The obituary noted that he was devastated when he first visited the Yad Vashem memorial in Jerusalem, quoting him remorsefully saying: “I helped to make this mass murder happen as a soldier” (ibid.).

While this was the only case in the German sample that included war reporting, this was a frequent occurrence in US obituaries where war reporters were depicted as unconventional, brave and intrepid, aside from their central role in revealing failures of US war efforts. Even Walter Cronkite, known as the “most trusted man in the USA” and “nightly presence in American homes and always a reassuring one,” earned his spurs “as a war correspondent, crash-landing a glider in Belgium, accompanying the first Allied troops into North Africa, reporting on the Normandy invasion and covering major battles, including the Battle of the Bulge, in 1944” (Martin 2009). The obituary quoted from Cronkite’s memoir where he told the story of being taken onboard a B-17 for a “bombing mission to Germany” and ending up operating a machine gun until he was “up to [his] hips in spent .50-caliber shells” (ibid.). Perhaps only a battle against ultimate evil could justify that a war reporter would himself be a participant in combat operations.

To add another example of the brave and intrepid war reporter, this is how the *Washington Post* eulogized another iconic figure of US journalism, David Halberstam of the *New York Times*: “He’d been hit by shrapnel in Africa. He’d waded through swamps on patrols in Vietnam. He’d written stories so inflammatory that John Kennedy suggested, futilely, that the publisher of the Times remove him from the war beat” (Allen 2007). The Timesman’s obituary in his former paper was remarkably short—1177 words, about the same length as in the *Post*—perhaps because of

the fact that “he left *The Times*, not exactly on mutually amicable terms” (Haberma 2007). Apart from its prosaic tone and absence of a war bravery narrative, the article suggested that Halbersta “came into his own as a journalist” covering Vietnam and emphasized that he acted out of pure professionalism instead of anti-war beliefs.

The AP obituary of Malcolm Browne established his war reporter credibility in the typically compressed news agency style, mentioning that he “survived being shot down three times in combat aircraft, was expelled from half a dozen countries and was put on a ‘death list’ in Saigon” (Pyle and Ilnytzky 2012). The obituary also suggested that Browne changed the perception of war by taking the famous picture of a Buddhist monk burning himself in protest against the US-backed Diem regime in Saigon on June 11, 1963. When the picture appeared on front pages all over the world, it “sent shudders all the way to the White House, prompting President John F. Kennedy to order a re-evaluation of his administration’s Vietnam policy” (ibid.).

Influence on History

As the creator of this picture of self-immolation, which shattered the Western world, Browne transcended the role of the witness; he became an agent of history. The picture was credited with changing public opinion toward the Vietnam War. Browne’s obituary in the *Washington Post* insinuated a causal connection by arguing that his “photograph drew unprecedented attention to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Within months, the administration of President John F. Kennedy abandoned support for the Diem regime” (Schudel 2012b).

Although Walter Cronkite was better known as a narrator of history, he also received graces of having affected the course of history early in his career: “In 1977, his separate interviews with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel were instrumental in Sadat’s visiting Jerusalem. The countries later signed a peace treaty” (Martin 2009). While the author did not directly attribute the peace treaty to Cronkite, he imputed a causal connection.

Commemorated German journalists’ role in history was much less dramatic and event-centered, but rather conceived in terms of how they influenced public discourse. Friedrich Karl Fromme (discussed above) is an example, whose work was perceived as having strengthened the public influence of Supreme Court decisions. Rudolf Augstein, as the founder and leader of the main source of investigative journalism in post-war Germany (*Der Spiegel*), also fit this category. Even the ideologically opposed *FAZ* acknowledged that

“under his leadership, *Spiegel* became the most important investigative paper after the war” (Unsigned 2002b:20). Leading politicians were quoted with making stronger claims in another obituary:

President Johannes Rau acknowledged the deceased as “perhaps greatest publicist of the federal republic”. Augstein’s life work had made him an important part of German history. ... Chancellor Gerhard Schröder called Augstein a fervent defender of democracy and the rule of law. Without him, the policy of detente towards the East would not have been enforceable. (Unsigned 2002a)

An overall difference is how history as a concept was understood, at least in terms of how it operated in the professional imaginary of journalism: US articles emphasized specific historic events while German articles emphasized historic processes. Even though there were journalists in the sample that would have been suitable, a list of the following kind was highly unusual in German articles: “Mr. Newman helped cover numerous historic events, among them the shootings of Robert F. Kennedy, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., George Wallace and Ronald Reagan. He announced the death of President John F. Kennedy on NBC radio” (Fox 2010). To take another example, the *Times* described Tom Pettit’s “most famous report” as having witnessed the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald as “the only reporter providing live coverage” (Unsigned 1995). Apart from a lack of political assassinations, there was certainly no shortage of key events in post-war Germany.

German journalists were contextualized historically rather in the following way, here exemplified by the former *SZ* chief editor, Hans Heigert: “His whole career is that of an almost classic German post-war publicist: a faithful but reform-minded and idealistic catholic, a liberal but social conservative as well as a consequent Nazi enemy and tolerant democrat” (Burger 2007). The focus was on ideological positions and issue debates Heigert had helped shape rather than specific political decisions he had influenced.

To take another example, Joachim Fest (*FAZ*) was described as an important commentator in post-war Germany, above all in the *Historikerstreit* (historians’ quarrel): “As a political feuilletonist and conservative intellectual he continuously took positions on contemporary history and was also engaged in the ‘Historikerstreit’ about the assessment of atrocities committed by the Nazis in the mid-1980s” (Stolzenberg 2006). However, Fest was also blamed for clearing Albert Speer’s reputation from complicity with the Nazis. An otherwise sympathetic obituary discussed this implication:

He provided midwife-services for Albert Speer's memoirs whose line he certainly fell for—documents proved that Speer could not have been as clueless as he understood to make Fest believe. Fest corrected his mistake—too late. He was haunted for his life by the suspicion to have sympathized with Nazi bigwigs. (Matussek 2006)

Not only did these articles illustrate the contentiousness of historiography in West Germany in the second half of the twentieth century but also the position of journalism during this era: shaping this historical period through reflexivity and the defense of democratic values. US journalism actively changed the course of history by changing perceptions, witnessing significant moments and revealing injustices.

Ideological Positions and Political Entanglements

Obituaries occasionally described journalists' ideological positions and political entanglements—mostly friendships with politicians—in rather complex terms, while simultaneously asserting that these circumstances did not affect their professionalism. In the rare cases when US obituaries identified political leanings (usually when the deceased journalist had been a columnist), these positions were usually clearly defined. Former *New York Times* chief editor A.M. Rosenthal, for instance, was described as a conservative and “accused of steering the paper to the right” by the *Los Angeles Times* (Woo 2006). Such ideological designations were distinguished from blind partisanship, however. Tom Wicker was described as a “southern liberal/civil libertarian” and his credibility quickly re-established by noting that he “had many detractors. He was attacked by conservatives and liberals” (McFadden 2011).

To take up the example of the German publicist Joachim Fest again, though he was identified as a conservative, obituaries complicated this picture by pointing out that he had rejected ideological convictions of any form and that was friends with the ultra-left Ulrike Meinhof before her RAF involvement. One obituary noted:

Despite his affiliation with FAZ and his short-termed CDU seat in Berlin-Neukölln he did not allow himself to be co-opted by any political direction. Because of his critique against local politics in Hamburg he was expelled from CDU when he was still with NDR—and he did not really regret that: “The political involvement was a mistake. I didn't belong there.” (Stolzenberg 2006)

The *Spiegel* eulogized its former chief editor, Erich Böhme, as a “homo politicus” (Bickerich 2009) with very clear positions (and position takings), especially regarding the German reunification. Ten days before the Berlin Wall fell, the first sentence of his column read: “I do not want to be reunified” (ibid.). *Spiegel* owner Rudolf Augstein, who Böhme had a difficult relationship with, commented one week later: “I want to be reunified or newly unified” (ibid.). Böhme’s political position was defined as follows: “Of course Böhme’s affection belonged to reform policy as it was pursued by [former Chancellor Willy] Brandt. Yet, he reserved his political attitudes for election days; neither in conversation with Böhme, nor in his commentaries was it discernible that he sympathized with one particular party” (ibid.). Another obituary in the left-liberal *Frankfurter Rundschau* made the relationship with Brandt more explicit: “He was personal friends with Willy Brandt, whom he frequently accompanied on walks. ‘Without taking it easy on him,’ as Böhme later said” (Pragal 2009).

It is remarkable how the sincerity that was expected in commemorating a journalist met the ambition of consecrating the occupation. Ideological positions and affiliations thus had to be accounted for to corroborate professional credibility. Commemorators in both countries accomplished this through separating beliefs and intellectual standpoints and abstracting personal friendships from professional obligations. As one would expect, however, the extent of political entanglement that shone through German obituaries was much greater than in US cases.

OCCUPATIONAL MYTHOLOGIZING IN THE FIELD

Occupational mythologizing not only occurs in ceremonial moments of honoring journalistic excellence but also in everyday practice of reporters, especially in boundary performances when interacting with political actors (Chap. 6). In the interviews I conducted, reporters referred to collective representations to distinguish between unprofessional and professional journalism, drawing on current affairs as well as the history of the occupation. I also probed them to talk specifically about their influences, role models and formative journalistic events.

The categories, which state house reporters used to define professionalism and unprofessionalism, were close to their experiential world, that is, mainly press–politics relations. It is plausible that they became aware and realized the importance of these categories especially when interacting with sources. They assigned particular significance to collective

representations of watchdog journalism and pushing back against state power, whether epitomized by singular heroic acts or more modest continuous commitments to these ideals. Journalistic scandals and instances of collective occupational shame, furthermore, were perhaps even more important to them for the perpetuation of professional ethics. As Barbie Zelizer put it, “professional consciousness emerges at least in part around ruptures where the borders of appropriate practice need renegotiation” (Zelizer 1993:224). While reporters often treated representations of professional purity with detached admiration, instances of impurity typically evoked emotional indignation.

German Mythologizing: Reluctant Invokers But Firm Believers

LP reporters distinguished themselves by persistently demystifying what they were doing in the first instance. Many of them were reluctant to name any concrete examples when asked for influences, role models and formative journalistic events. One senior radio reporter thought Germany was too small and too entangled in world affairs to have its own journalistic tradition comparable to the USA, adding a modest self-description: “We are service providers” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011). Before mentioning the 2011 HNP controversy (see above), another informant responded to my question concerning role models and showpieces of German journalism in this way: “There are enough instances to talk about quality in journalism, of course. It is not true that good journalism only occurs in trace elements” (Interview, LP reporter, May 15, 2012). He took issue with the complexity reduction of highlighting isolated cases and its inherent disregard of the importance of quotidian reporting.

Striking a similar tone, another reporter said she did not choose this career because of Watergate: “I read a series in *Spiegel* on social policy ... [in school] and I knew more afterwards than before. That was my motivation. ... To uncover such a scandal [as Watergate] is very remarkable, of course ... I would also like to do that but this is not the day-to-day business” (Interview, LP reporter, January 25, 2012). Other reporters specifically referred to regular journalism as an important mainstay of professionalism: “What is utterly underestimated ... are stories on a lower level. Especially local journalism and things like that. There, journalism in and of itself is almost more important than those big stories” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011).

The understated and anti-particularizing way of discussing their occupation is especially remarkable considering that these journalists are in the business of personifying and discussing larger issues through specific stories. They resisted applying these principles to themselves. Unpretentiousness and composure distinguished their performances of professionalism, which easily distracted from the fact that they were in fact performances. I was able to convince some but not all of them to name exemplars of professionalism and unprofessionalism. The media outlet most frequently mentioned was *Der Spiegel*. One reporter, who said he valued its heritage used the opportunity to criticize *Der Spiegel* in its current form: “One occupational disease is vanity. *Der Spiegel* was much more investigative and was much more successful ... when all those articles did not include a byline. Through bylines they pilloried themselves a bit. At that point information channels became traceable” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011).⁶

Some reporters referred to *FAZ*, *SZ* and *Die Zeit* as well as specific journalists working for these outlets as representations of professional excellence. ARD news anchor Hanns Joachim Friedrichs—we might call him the Walter Cronkite of post-war Germany—also came up several times. One reporter said he appreciated him for being “distanced, getting to the heart of issues, and also for being able to tell stories” (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012). Two reporters paraphrased a famous sentence attributed to Friedrichs, which had become a dictum of journalistic objectivity in Germany and the motto of the endowed journalism award named after him: “You recognize a good journalist if he does not give himself over to a cause, not even a good cause.”⁷ In his autobiography, Friedrich noted that he had learned from Charles Wheeler, who was head of news at BBC when Friedrichs was working there from 1950 until 1955:

[Charles Wheelers’] maxims included the insight that a respectable journalist keeps ‘distance to the subject of observation’; that he does ‘not give himself over’ to a cause, ‘not even a good cause’; that he does not join in with the loud cheering or sink into public shock; and that he remains ‘cool,’ even when dealing with catastrophes but without appearing ‘cold.’ ‘Always involved – never belonging’, this journalistic motto describes the reporter Charles Wheeler best. (Friedrichs and Wieser 1994:70–71; my translation)

Some LP journalists referred to the German *Grundgesetz* (constitution), granting freedom of opinion and the press and prohibiting censorship, as a source of meaning and representation of professional autonomy.⁸ Most importantly, several reporters took political events as formative for

their professional self-understanding or even reasons for entering their career. One reporter said that in awakening his political consciousness, the German reunification started his journalistic career. To my question about significant events in the German *occupational* history of journalism, one senior reporter responded: “What is still inconceivable for me, although we journalists only provided the background music, was the opening of the border to the GDR in 1989” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011). Although this journalist asserted that LP reporters did not conceive of themselves as members of the state as they used to 30 years earlier, the fact that he took a political rather than occupational event is telling. US reporters did not associate their occupational trajectories with political or civic awakenings in the same way. If they mentioned civic events, for instance, the broadcast of the Watergate hearings on television, these were usurped by professional meanings. To stay with this example, even if Richard Nixon’s resignation followed political pressure and his impending impeachment, it was always connected to journalistic achievements.

One negative reference point for German reporters was the media hype about Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, who resigned as Minister of Defense in 2011 after a legal scholar revealed numerous instances of plagiarism in his doctoral dissertation. One LP reporter described “the rise and fall of zu Guttenberg” as an “inglorious chapter” of the German press and as a negative “textbook example” of “what happens when somebody unilaterally commits to one outlet only, the *Bild Zeitung* ... it was almost messianic what they established. I found that horrible” (Interview, LP reporter, December 5, 2011). There were rumors of a political comeback during my research. One of my interviewees was irritated by interviews with Guttenberg published in *Die Zeit*, which were conducted by its chief editor Giovanni di Lorenzo:

Reporter: Take di Lorenzo who still believed, shortly before the resignation, that Guttenberg is a great man, that what he did is forgivable and that we should focus on the matter at hand and not his doctoral thesis. He still wrote that one week prior [to the resignation]. I mean he is just totally biased and the – I have not read the book [containing the full-length interview] and I will not read the book because I don’t want to give him a stage – but the excerpts I read confirm that. Di Lorenzo also tries to push him. I find it unfortunate that *Die Zeit* lends itself for that, to be honest. I didn’t buy that issue.

MR: I had to, as a subscriber.

Reporter: Well, as a journalist I should actually read it. It is rather unjournalistic of me not to read it but everything in me rebels against that. (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011)

Another current affair, which was discussed frequently and ambivalently, was the resignation of German president Christian Wulff in the wake of corruption charges revealed by *Bild*, which had covered him extensively and favorably beforehand. Ambivalence revolved around the issue whether the end of Wulff resigning justified the means. For several reporters, it was a textbook example of *Kampagnenjournalismus* (advocacy journalism), a notion that will be further discussed in Chap. 4. To one TV reporter, it was an instance of journalism “that only aims at destroying people” (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012). Another reporter took the Wulff episode as an illustration of an important story that could not have broken without suspicion reporting. One tabloid reporter referred to this story as a *Glanzstück* (prized possession) of German journalism because it showed “what you can write about a president [as a reporter] and not be intimidated” (Interview, LP reporter, March 21, 2012).

Foundational and Controversial Mythologizing in the USA

Events of the 1960s and 1970s were seminal for the professional self-understanding of the LCA. Famous instances in which the press successfully pushed back against the state during this period were powerful representations of professionalism to them. Many related to the Vietnam War, referring to examples such as Seymour Hersh’s reporting on the My Lai Massacre or the publication of the Pentagon Papers by *The New York Times*. One senior reporter told me about an instance when his editor defended him against a former governor—“that’s when you see what the editor is made of” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009)—which he related to the heroic stories of *Times* publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger pushing back against President John F. Kennedy and *Washington Post* publisher Katherine Graham pushing back against President Richard Nixon. Watergate was frequently mentioned but just as often in a negative as in a positive sense. One reporter of the generation directly influenced by it thought Watergate fundamentally changed political reporting:

I think probably the turning point in America was Watergate, for the reporter coming in saying, basically: “prove that you’re not a crook!” [laughs] ... I think there is an era of journalists who are a little older than me and maybe a little bit younger that got into it because of Watergate. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010)

Though he is the interviewee who was most disenchanted about politics and the press, he conceded that he was driven by idealism. When I asked him what public responsibility meant to him, he said: “Because I’ve become so cynical and jaded, it’s hard to believe this: but no, I take it very seriously!” What he and his competitor-colleagues did, he said, was vitally important for democracy and there was no alternative to it. He gave an example of the more obscure kinds of stories he had focused on in previous years and added: “Who else would be doing that? How else does the public find that out? You’re not going to find a blogger to do that unless you get a blogger who’s pro or anti [on the issue in question].”

Younger reporters, of course, were aware of the significance of but not as strongly influenced by Watergate. One of them seemed particularly set out to demystify it:

It’s ridiculous, Matthias, but I came into journalism because I was looking for money. ... I think most of my colleagues would have gotten into this business for a higher purpose. I did not ... So Watergate to me means that journalists can and do make an enormous difference but I’ve had instances in my own life, even though I’m young, where I have tangibly seen the effects of my writing and it has made a difference. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010)

Another reporter of the same age brought up Watergate in the context of talking about the need to resist pack journalism and what he termed the “Jimmy Breslin Grave Digger perspective.”⁹ He meant focusing on stories nobody else focused on: “Watergate is the same thing: Nobody was following Watergate. Two guys at the *Washington Post* did and they wrote the biggest story” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 5, 2010).

Other journalists took a more critical stance on Watergate because they believed it to be responsible for the journalistic obsession with scandal and bringing down elected officials. One mid-career journalist who had worked as a spokesperson for a while before he “returned from the dark side” led some of journalism’s bad reputation back to that story: “Since Watergate, every reporter thinks that every story has got to slam somebody or expose something” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 23, 2012). Another senior reporter ascribed recent scandals in American journalism involving fabricated stories to it: “This all followed from Watergate and everyone wanted to be Woodward and Bernstein, you know, anonymous source that brings down a president, you become rich and famous, everyone wants to be that” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009).

The young journalist quoted above, for whom Watergate did not mean much, mentioned more tangible role models in a follow-up interview. A series of columns by Juan Gonzalez of the *New York Daily News* about air pollution at Ground Zero had really impressed him:

He was just writing with a baseball bat ... it was just a classic example of what newspapers do best but which so many have forgotten, which is you take an issue and you just keep hitting it and *hitting it* and *hitting it* and *hitting it* until you get change; an issue that is black and white. You know, "here is the story of little Timmy who's got lung changer," you just *go, go* and you write the shit out of it until something is done. And Congress has passed legislation for 9/11 first responders, etc. That type of thing I think would not have happened without such persistent attention paid by newspapers and Juan Gonzalez [who] wrote a lot about that and was one of the first who really kind of carried the torch on it. (Interview, LCA reporter, June 10, 2011)

This example relates to a theme that inspired many US journalists, namely not only pushing back against pressure but also *exerting* pressure on the state by generating public debate about an issue that demands action.

Besides the 1960s and 1970s, the period after 9/11 was also important for LCA reporters' professional self-conceptions, though mostly in a negative sense. Particularly, the *New York Times* and journalist Judith Miller's reporting were held responsible for creating a favorable atmosphere for going to war with Iraq under false pretenses in 2003. One reporter saw it as an example of overreliance on one source:

[She] ended up, partly as a result of that, printing hugely misleading information and presenting it in a way that ended up contributing to a country going to war. I mean, I'm not blaming her for the whole war but *that* is one of the most fundamental conflicts of interest that good old-fashioned, small-town, straight-ahead newspapers would not tolerate. ... You don't want people making deals with sources that end up compromising their honesty and you don't want people having hidden agendas or hidden relationships. (Interview, LCA reporter, March 16, 2011)

He also added that he thought this was symptomatic for journalism in Washington DC.¹⁰ Other journalists agreed that the Judith Miller controversy harmed the status of the *New York Times* as the paragon of good journalism more than any other story in recent history. Particularly regional journalists, who often begrudged the influence of

their competitor-colleagues of the *Times*, made this point. Pursuant to the disparagement of the media elite, the above-quoted reporter highlighted another dominant view in the LCA: The true backbone of journalistic professionalism was local journalism and not the elite. After talking about the competition between New York City tabloids in positive terms, one reporter who used to work for a smaller newspaper echoed this reverence for local journalism:

I think that our paper back there took pains to be accurate, took pains to be fair, didn't consider that, because we were the only voice in town, that we can say whatever we wanted. And I think there really is in a lot of places that sense of responsibility that real journalists and good journalists don't abuse. (Interview, LCA reporter, February 23, 2012)

As alluded to above, LCA reporters were concerned about the buildup of fabricated stories because it harmed the public trust in journalism. The Jayson Blair scandal came up frequently in this context. After fraud allegations arose against *New York Times* reporter Jayson Blair in 2003, his paper investigated his stories and found numerous instances of plagiarism, questionable sourcing and false pretense of having reported on the ground. After concluding the internal inquiry, the *Times* reported in detail and headlined the front page: "Times Reporter Who Resigned Leaves Long Trail of Deception" (Barry et al. 2003).

Jayson Blair became such a negative archetype that his name was used in plural to signify a certain type of bad journalism. As one young reporter said, "you've got your Jayson Blairs out there who make stuff up. I think sometimes we were over-reliant on unnamed sources, which allows the press to be used by those in power rather than holding them accountable" (Interview, LCA reporter, February 24, 2012). Another young reporter said that, despite those "bad apples," he still thought traditional professional norms were in place: "News operations still to this day operate in the Joseph Pulitzer model of journalism, seeking the truth and presenting the truth. I'm still proud of that, although it gets a bad name by your Jayson Blairs and your Fox Newses" (Interview, LCA reporter, February 28, 2012).

Fox News did not come up as often as I had expected, given that it was commonly perceived as the most extreme negation of impartial journalism: When I brought up the non-partisan press tradition in the USA during my field research in Germany, LP reporters frequently did not even accept the premise by referring to Fox News.

CONCLUSION

This chapter mapped the inventory of professional symbols and narratives with which political journalists in the USA and Germany operate. Some of these cultural representations point to media systemic differences discussed in the introduction, like political parallelism and stronger state interventionism in Germany. The striking prominence of interventionism in US journalism award statements and its relative absence in Germany corresponds to survey research that suggested greater importance of the watchdog role (Weaver and Willnat 2012)¹¹ and a larger milieu of “critical change agents” in US journalism (Hanitzsch 2011). Beyond rather abstract institutional arrangements and scale values on survey item, this chapter has explored the imaginaries of professional journalism behind institutional realities and occupational roles and the relation between different symbols of professionalism.

Corresponding to other core elements of journalistic excellence—aggressiveness and competitiveness—US Journalists aspire to be active change agents of history, influencing power relations and public opinion on the basis of rational-critical scrutiny. This ideal is often referred to as adversarial journalism, which in the words of Tom Wicker means “cross-examining, testing, challenging, in the course of a trial on the merits of a case ... [A journalist of this type] is ‘opposed’ only in the sense that he or she demands that a case be made” (Wicker 1978:289). German journalism, on the other hand, is content with deepening understanding and revealing truths about the world, be it through efforts of investigation or reportorial immersion. Journalists on this path distinguish themselves by deliberateness and self-effacement. Their place in German society is that of interpreters and shapers of debates rather than agents of history.

Related to this, there is a stronger requirement of symbolic distance between journalism and politics in the USA, which will be a recurrent theme in the following chapters (especially Chap. 6): US obituaries ascribe less definite ideological positions and political entanglements to journalists, they more strictly exclude non-journalists, especially politicians, from professional consecration, and reporters assign less formative significance to political events than distinctly (symbolically co-opted) journalistic events. The controversy at the HNP in 2012, moreover, indicated uncertainties over criteria of excellence in German journalism. The fact that the committee of this prestigious and highly endowed journalism award had to vote three times with a draw before deciding to split the award in deliberations speaks for itself.

NOTES

1. I asked permission to use this Facebook status update and attribute it to him.
2. Usually they are one sentence long (up to 50 words, typically 30 words) and their structure is fairly standardized. Statements in the PP breaking news category first stress quickness, comprehensiveness as well as difficult circumstances under which stories were produced before a brief description of their topical focus. To take an Albany-specific example, the *New York Times* staff, including members of the Albany bureau at the time, received the breaking news award in 2009 “for its swift and sweeping coverage of a sex scandal that resulted in the resignation of Gov. Eliot Spitzer, breaking the story on its Web site and then developing it with authoritative, rapid-fire reports” (Pulitzer Prizes 2016c).
3. This may be rooted in changing preferences of award juries and/or a shift in rhetoric accentuation of statements; both are significant in their own terms.
4. The other two important controversies were: (1) The PP for feature writing was awarded to Janet Cooke (*Washington Post*), whose story turned out to be fabricated. (2) The HNP jury withdrew the 2011 feature writing prize a few days after they awarded it to René Pfister (*Der Spiegel*). The lede of the story, which suggested deriving from Pfister’s own perception, turned out to be imagined. Pfister described Bavarian Minister-President Horst Seehofer operating his model railway in the basement of his vacation home but was never been there in person.
5. The sample analyzed included 73 obituaries of 45 US journalists, publishers and editors, most of them published in major national newspapers (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*), which amounted to 223 pages of text. The German data consisted of 78 obituaries of 43 journalists, publishers and editors in national daily newspapers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*) and weeklies (*Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*), amounting to 160 pages of text. See methodological appendix for more information about sampling procedures.
6. *Der Spiegel* introduced author bylines consistently for all articles except short notices in October 1998, which was perceived as a major shift within and outside of the magazine’s newsroom and a consequence of “growing vanity” within the newsroom (Roll 1998).
7. The homepage of the Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis web presence is subtitled: “Einen guten Journalisten erkennt man daran, dass er sich nicht gemein macht mit einer Sache, auch nicht mit einer guten Sache” (Anon n.d.).
8. The first paragraph of the fifth article states: “Every person shall have the right freely to express and disseminate his opinions in speech, writing, and pictures and to inform himself without hindrance from generally accessible sources. Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting by means of

- broadcasts and films shall be guaranteed. There shall be no censorship” (<http://www.iuscomp.org/gla/statutes/GG.htm#5>).
9. This idiom dates back to a story by Jimmy Breslin (1963) about Clifton Pollard who dug the grave of John F. Kennedy. It became emblematic for Breslins’ style of covering historical events or figures through the eyes of common people.
 10. This was an exception: Though several LCA reporters used national news events as examples, they hardly mentioned Washington and did not use its press as a point of distinction as LP reporters did with the Berlin press (see Chap. 5).
 11. In representative surveys, being government watchdogs was “extremely important” only for 7 percent of German reporters against 71 percent of US reporters. Moreover, 39 percent of US journalists found it “extremely important” to provide the public access (to get their voices heard in public discourse) compared to 12 percent in Germany (Weaver and Willnat 2012:537).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aldridge, Meryl and Julia Evetts. 2003. “Rethinking the Concept of Professionalism: The Case of Journalism.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 54(4):547–64.
- Allen, Henry. 2007. “A Journalist For Whom There Were Not Enough Words.” *The Washington Post*, April 25. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/24/AR2007042402512_pf.html).
- Barry, Dan, David Barstow, Jonathan D. Glater, Adam Liptak, and Jacques Steinberg. 2003. “CORRECTING THE RECORD: Times Reporter Who Resigned Leaves Long Trail of Deception.” *The New York Times*, May 11. Retrieved February 14, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/11/us/correcting-the-record-times-reporter-who-resigned-leaves-long-trail-of-deception.html>).
- Bickerich, Wolfram. 2009. “Nachruf: Erich Böhme: 1930 Bis 2009.” *Der Spiegel*, December 7, 182.
- Breslin, Jimmy. 1963. “Digging JFK Grave Was His Honor.” *New York Herald Tribune*, November 26. Retrieved August 4, 2015 (<http://www.arlington-cemetery.net/digging-grave-an-honor.htm>).
- Burger, Hannes. 2007. “Hans Heigert, Ehemaliger Chef Der ‘Süddeutschen Zeitung’, Ist Tot.” *Die Welt*, November 23. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.welt.de/1391230>).
- Cramer, Ernst. 2009. “Heinz Schewe (1921-2009), WELT-Korrespondent.” *Die Welt*, April 2. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.welt.de/3487307>).
- Der Spiegel. 2006. “Gestorben: Hans Gresmann, 78.” *Der Spiegel*, October 23, 226.

- di Lorenzo, Giovanni. 2009. "Lob Des Eigensinns: Herbert Riehl-Heyse." *Die Zeit*, November 12. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.zeit.de/2009/47/Vorbilder-Riehl-Heyse>).
- Fox, Margalit. 2010. "Edwin Newman, Journalist, Dies at 91." *The New York Times*, September 15. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/16/business/media/16newman.html>).
- Friedrichs, Hanns Joachim and Harald Wieser. 1994. *Journalistenleben*. München: Droemer Knaur.
- George Polk Awards. 2008. "Long Island University Announces Winners of 2007 George Polk Awards." Retrieved February 8, 2014 (<http://www.liu.edu/About/News/Univ-Ctr-PR/Pre-2008/February/GP-Press-Release-Feb-2008>).
- George Polk Awards. 2009. "Long Island University Announces Winners of the 60th Annual George Polk Awards." Retrieved February 8, 2014 (<http://www.liu.edu/About/News/Univ-Ctr-PR/2009/February/GP-Press-Release-Feb17-2009>).
- George Polk Awards. 2010. "Long Island University Announces Winners Of 2009 George Polk Awards In Journalism." Retrieved February 8, 2014 (<http://www.liu.edu/About/News/Univ-Ctr-PR/2010/February/GP-Press-Release-Feb16-2010>).
- gur. 2010. "Die WELT-Gruppe Nimmt Abschied von Joachim Neander." *Die Welt*, June 24. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.welt.de/3985965>).
- Haberman, Clyde. 2007. "David Halberstam, 73, Reporter and Author, Dies." *The New York Times*, April 24. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/24/arts/24halberstam.html>).
- Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2011. "Populist Disseminators, Detached Watchdogs, Critical Change Agents and Opportunist Facilitators: Professional Milieus, the Journalistic Field and Autonomy in 18 Countries." *International Communication Gazette* 73(6):477–94.
- Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus. 2001. "Pressemitteilung 2001." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (<http://www.hanns-joachim-friedrichs.de/index.php?page=pt&y=2001&phjf=1>).
- Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus. 2013. "Pressemitteilung 2013." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (<http://www.hanns-joachim-friedrichs.de/index.php?page=pt&y=2013&phjf=1>).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2005. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Preisträger Des Henri Nannen Preises 2005." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2005.php?id=27).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2006. "Pressemitteilungen: Henri Nannen Preis 2006 Geht An." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2006.php?id=4).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2009. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Gewinner Des Henri Nannen Preises 2009 Stehen Fest." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2009.php?id=57).

- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2011. "Pressemitteilungen: Der Henri Nannen Preis 2011 Geht an." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2011.php?id=86).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2012. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Preisträger Des Henri Nannen Preises 2012." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2012.php?id=93).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2013. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Preisträger Des Henri Nannen Preises 2013." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2013.php?id=101).
- Hershey, Robert D. Jr. 2010. "Daniel Schorr, Journalist, Dies at 93." *The New York Times*, July 23. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/24/business/media/24schorr.html>).
- Käppner, Joachim and Christina Warta. 2008. "Abschied von Hans Ulrich Kempfski: 'Geschätzt, Geliebt, Verehrt.'" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 24. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/abschied-von-hans-ulrich-kempfski-geschaetzt-geliebt-verehrt-1.276656>).
- Lambert, Bruce. 1993. "Edward P. Morgan, 82, Anchor And Reporter for TV and Radio." *The New York Times*, January 29. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/29/us/edward-p-morgan-82-anchor-and-reporter-for-tv-and-radio.html>).
- Leyendecker, Hans. 2013b. "Zum Tod von Jürgen Leinemann: Die Welt Als Porträt." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, November 11. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/zum-tod-von-juergen-leinermann-die-welt-als-portraet-1.1815435>).
- Martin, Douglas. 2009. "Walter Cronkite, 92, Dies: Trusted Voice of TV News." *The New York Times*, July 18, A1.
- Matussek, Matthias. 2006. "Zum Tod von Joachim Fest: Der Stolz Einzelgänger." *Spiegel Online*, September 12. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/zum-tod-von-joachim-fest-der-stolze-einzelgaenger-a-436550.html>).
- McFadden, Robert D. 2006. "A. M. Rosenthal, Editor of The Times, Dies at 84." *The New York Times*, May 11. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/11/nyregion/11rosenthal.html>).
- McFadden, Robert D. 2011. "Tom Wicker, Times Journalist, Dies at 85." *The New York Times*, November 25. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/26/us/tom-wicker-journalist-and-author-dies-at-85.html>).
- Meacham, Andrew. 2011. "Pulitzer-Winning Former St. Petersburg Times Reporter Bette Orsini Dies at 85." *Tampa Bay Times*, March 28. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.tampabay.com/news/obituaries/pulitzer-winning-former-st-petersburg-times-reporter-bette-orsini-dies-at/1160199>).
- Mills, C. Wright. 2000. *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford [England] New York: Oxford University Press.

- Nonnenmacher, Günther. 2007. "Friedrich Karl Fromme: Eine Journalistische Instanz." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 16. Retrieved January 30, 2014 (<http://www.faz.net/-gpg-u77o>).
- Peabody Awards. 1998. "Personal Award: Christiane Amanpour for International Reporting." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://peabodyawards.com/past-winners/award/?pbaward=143&pb_search=1&pb_title=1&pb_year=&pb_porg=&pb_query=Personal%20Award).
- Pragal, Peter. 2009. "Nachruf Erich Böhme: Journalist Aus Leidenschaft." *Frankfurter Rundschau*, November 28. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.fr-online.de/kultur/nachruf-erich-boehme-journalist-aus-leidenschaft,1472786,3171294.html>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016a. "Public Service." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-category/204>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016b. "The 1985 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Investigative Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/6583>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016c. "The 1989 Pulitzer Prize Winner in National Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/6676>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016d. "The 2006 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Investigative Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/5665>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016e. "The 2009 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Breaking News Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/7082>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016f. "The 2012 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Feature Writing." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/7163>).
- Pyle, Richard and Ula Ihnytzky. 2012. "AP Vietnam Correspondent Malcolm Browne Dies." *The Associated Press*, August 28. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.ap.org/content/ap-in-the-news/2012/ap-vietnam-correspondent-malcolm-browne-dies>).
- Roll, Evelyn. 1998. "Der „Spiegel“ Ruft Die Revolution Aus: Künftig Werden Alle Autoren Einen Namen Haben." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 24, 21.
- Rudolph, Hermann. 2007. "Friedrich Karl Fromme Gestorben." *Der Tagesspiegel*, January 17. Retrieved January 30, 2014 (<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/medien/friedrich-karl-fromme-gestorben/799568.html>).
- Schneider, Jens. 2012. "SZ-Redakteure Lehnen Henri-Nannen-Preis Ab." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, May 15. Retrieved February 7, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/eklat-bei-journalisten-ehrung-sz-redakteure-lehnen-henri-nannen-preis-ab-1.1355532>).

- Schröm, Oliver and Markus Grill. 2012. "Nach Nannen-Eklat: Zeit Zum Umdenken." Retrieved (<http://www.netzwerkrecherche.de/Presse/120512-Nach-Nannen-Eklat-Zeit-zum-Umdenken/>).
- Schudel, Matt. 2011. "Tom Wicker, Columnist and D.C. Bureau Chief for New York Times, Dies at 85." *The Washington Post*, November 27. Retrieved February 2, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/tom-wicker-columnist-and-dc-bureau-chief-for-new-york-times--dies-at-85/2011/11/26/gIQAoXFrzN_story.html).
- Schudel, Matt. 2012a. "Julian Goodman, NBC President Who Battled White House and Apologized for 'Heidi Bowl,' Dies at 90." *The Washington Post*, July 4. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv/julian-goodman-nbc-president-who-battled-white-house-and-apologized-for-heidi-bowl-dies-at-90/2012/07/04/gJQAfOGvNW_story.html).
- Schudel, Matt. 2012b. "Malcolm W. Browne, Pulitzer-Winning Journalist Who Captured Indelible Vietnam Image, Dies at 81." *The Washington Post*, August 29. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/malcolm-w-browne-pulitzer-winning-journalist-who-captured-indelible-vietnam-image-dies-at-81/2012/08/28/ccce02f8e-f12e-11e1-a612-3cfc842a6d89_story.html).
- Schudson, Michael. 1995. *The Power of News*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- sha/ddp/dpa. 2009. "Renommierter Journalist Und Autor: Martin E. Süskind Ist Tot." *Spiegel Online*, September 14. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/renommierter-journalist-und-autor-martin-e-sueskind-ist-tot-a-648812.html>).
- Stern Online. 2012. "Die Preisverleihung in Voller Länge." *stern.de*. Retrieved July 19, 2015 (<http://www.stern.de/panorama/henri-nannen-preis-2012-die-preisverleihung-in-voller-laenge-1826270.html>).
- Stolzenberg, Christopher. 2006. "Joachim Fest Gestorben: Der Intellektuelle Unter Den Konservativen." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 12. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/2.220/joachim-fest-gestorben-der-intellektuelle-unter-den-konservativen-1.894754>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2005. "Prämierter Text: Meine Freundin Ana." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung-2005/lara-fritzsche/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2008. "Prämierter Text: Spritzensport Fußball." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung-2008/thomas-kistner/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2011a. "Prämierter Text: Der Zugnomade." Retrieved July 20, 2015 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung2011/uwe-ebbinghaus/>).

- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2011b. "Prämierter Text: Ein Schiff Mit Kurs Gerechtigkeit." Retrieved October 2, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung-2003/stefan-ulrich/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2013. "Prämierter Text: Im Namen Des Volkes, Auf Kosten Des Kindes." Retrieved October 2, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung2013/jan-haarmeyer/>).
- Unsigned. 1990. "Gestorben: Diether Stolze." *Der Spiegel*, October 29, 334.
- Unsigned. 1995. "Tom Pettit, 64, TV Reporter for NBC." *The New York Times*, December 23. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/23/arts/tom-pettit-64-tv-reporter-for-nbc.html>).
- Unsigned. 2002a. "Rudolf Augstein Ist Tot: Rau Würdigt Den „Spiegel“-Gründer Als Deutschlands Größten Publizisten." *Tagesspiegel*, November 8. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/rudolf-augstein-ist-tot/361800.html>).
- Unsigned. 2002b. "'Spiegel'-Herausgeber Rudolf Augstein Ist Tot." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 7. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/medien-spiegel-herausgeber-rudolf-augstein-ist-tot-182035.html>).
- Unsigned. 2011. "Gestorben: Reinhard Appel." *Der Spiegel*, July 4, 146.
- Unsigned. 2012. "Gestorben." *Der Spiegel*, August 5, 166.
- Weaver, David H. and Lars Willnat. 2012. *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.
- Wicker, Tom. 1978. *On Press*. New York: Viking.
- Woo, Elaine. 2006. "A.M. Rosenthal, 84; Venerated Editor Recast the N.Y. Times." *Los Angeles Times*, May 11. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://articles.latimes.com/2006/may/11/local/me-roenthal11>).
- Yardley, William. 2012. "Malcolm W. Browne, Pulitzer-Prize Winning Reporter, Dies at 81." *The New York Times*, August 28. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/29/world/asia/malcolm-w-browne-pulitzer-winner-dies-at-81.html>).
- Zelizer, Barbie. 1993. "Journalists as Interpretive Communities." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 10(3):219–37.

Staking Out the Boundaries of Professionalism: Good and Bad Journalism

On April 13, 2012 the *New York Post* announced that its state editor, Fred Dicker, has landed a book deal with HarperCollins to write Governor Andrew Cuomo's biography (Kelly 2012).¹ Danny Hakim, *New York Times*' Albany bureau chief at the time, tweeted at 8:12 that morning: "Weeks after protestors called NYP's Fred Dicker 'mouthpiece for Gov 1 %' he signs deal to write #Cuomo's authorized bio" (dannyhakim 2012) before linking to the story. Ninety-five minutes later, Fred Dicker countered: "Those snooty Times Boys still jealous over that front page NYT profile of me a year ago. Otherwise, why be so nasty?" (fud31 2012). Hakim's colleague, Nick Confessore, retorted another 49 minutes afterwards: "I think they should also publish Cuomo's countermemoir: 'Sunday Nights With Fred: A Kind Of Love Story'" (nickconfessore 2012).

In his comment about the "snooty Times Boys" Dicker was referring to a portrait of him written by former Albany reporter, Jeremy Peters, which appeared in the *Times* the previous year (Peters 2011). To the surprise of Dicker, who is often referred to (not least by himself) as the "dean of the press corps," the story had not turned out as critical as he expected. His *competitor-colleagues* (Tunstall 1971), that is, other members of the press corps who work for different news organizations, were similarly amazed about the neutral depiction of Dicker. This is understandable, considering that Dicker's public comments about his *Times* competitor-colleagues were often highly dismissive, especially on his daily talk radio show on WGDJ-AM. Desecrating the iconic status of the *Times* by revealing how it violated the values it stood for, was a theme that ran through Dicker's

criticisms. This happened again when Dicker, obviously furious, went on air after the Twitter confrontation about his book deal:

The low-class nature of some of the people in journalism today just takes my breath away. It's all about them personality preening, their little tweets, their nastiness. In that same tweet, this guy from the *Times* says I'm writing an authorized biography. What evidence is there of that? The *New York Times* is supposed to have such high standards of reportorial judgment. ... This is supposed to be a major, adult publication but too often or so often they are like little petty punks on the Twitter feed. But that's the journalistic world we live in. (Dicker 2012)

His opponents' opinions about him are not less critical but less often expressed in public. For sure, Fred Dicker was a polarizing figure at the State Capitol, specifically among his competitor-colleagues. Some rejected everything he stood for journalistically; most were at least ambivalent about him. While listening to Dicker's radio show, as the majority of his competitor-colleagues did on a daily basis, one reporter remarked: "Oh Fred. I love him, I hate him" (Fieldnotes, LCA, January 25, 2011). Fred Dicker was admired for aggressively demanding accountability from some politicians; on the other hand, he was disapproved of for blatantly advocating for political positions.

Beyond personal feuds, journalists constantly discuss norms and ethics of their occupation. More generally, they are continuously engaged in the "relational" construction of journalistic identity," as Benson and Neveu (2005: 12) put it. The conflict discussed above may seem petty but was merely a momentary and intensified expression of an ongoing debate that continuously occurs on both the level of direct interaction in private or public (talk radio shows, roundtable discussions on television, etc.) and written discourse in news stories, social media discussions, and so on. I will subsume all instances when journalists discuss their occupational practice and news media more generally as (public or private) *metadiscourse*.

One important difference between the two case studies is that there was much less public metadiscourse in Munich than in Albany. Partly, this had to do with the multitude of channels and the intensity with which US reporters operated them (Chap. 7), partly with a different degree of press corps solidarity in place (see Chap. 5). It is also related to differences between the two occupational cultures and journalistic fields, which will be taken up in the conclusion of this chapter.

Metadiscourse does not merely serve to assert status and sustain dominant “principles of vision and division” in the field, in Bourdieu’s sense. It enables a journalist to align their occupational self-conceptions and collectively assert and renegotiate professional boundaries. Drawing boundaries, often in reference to each other, are efforts to maintain the purity of and reinforce the commitment to the occupation, which is not only their livelihood and source of social status but also a collective enterprise they are morally invested in. As a moral community, journalists consider themselves essentially as servants of the common good. Even if it may seem cynical, depending on who is speaking, this moral commitment is something all journalists share fundamentally, at least all I have ever spoken to. Views on how to serve that common good differ, however, and are subject of contention and negotiation, which are intensified by changing technological and worsening economic conditions of the occupational practice.

Boundary drawing between good and bad journalism, whether it concerns more general pronouncements of occupational norms or concrete assessment of news stories, frequently occurred in the interviews conducted for this study. When I asked journalists to define bad journalism, they often identified journalistic virtues in turn. They also tended to conflate reportorial conduct and the news it engendered. All expressions of professional and unprofessional journalism I encountered will be analytically dissected in the following sections. This chapter will be structured according to six dimensions reporters drew boundaries around: (1) journalistic missions and organizational identities, (2) craft (how news products are made), (3) reportorial conduct (how reporters conduct themselves making news), (4) autonomy (from sources and other reporters), (5) ethical and jurisdictional boundaries and (6) public responsibility.

PROFESSIONALISM: A SYMBOLIC TURF WAR

Organizational Identities and Missions of News Making

The main lines of distinction in the Albany press corps ran between tabloid and broadsheet journalism, old and relatively new forms of journalism (at that time mainly blogging and tweeting), and, to a lesser extent, broadcast and print journalism. In Munich, these oppositions were either relatively extraneous (old and new) or much weaker. In addition, the distinction between private and public service broadcasting was significant for LP reporters.

In Bourdieu's terms, such antithetical couples within fields are "classificatory schemes, which exist and signify only in their mutual relations, and serve as landmarks or beacons" (Bourdieu 1993: 95). Based on this premise, one would expect the strongest boundary drawing in respect to and between representatives of "most different cases." On the other hand, one might also expect actors positioned most closely to each other, who may be fierce competitors in economic terms, to be in broad agreement regarding occupational norms. The US case study confirms these expectations. The *New York Post* and the *New York Times* were frequent objects of critique or derision. Strong competitors did not serve as reference points for distinction regarding occupational norms, but they did regarding specific news stories, particularly when they had shone a bad light on the competition.

Despite basic divides, reporters drew boundaries by employing a shared cultural code. In other words, though they referred to each other, the essence of boundaries tabloid reporters drew were not substantively different from those of broadsheet reporters, even though their expression might have differed stylistically. This cultural core of journalistic professionalism becomes visible through cross-national comparison.

Missions: Quality, Format, Medium

For journalists working for broadsheet newspapers and most other news venues, tabloids were key reference points for distinguishing professional from unprofessional journalism, even though contextual conditions of the two cases were different: Tabloids are irrelevant in national news in the USA but quite important in New York. In Germany, *Bild* is extraordinarily influential on a national scale but not in Bavarian politics. The local Munich tabloid *Abendzeitung* is important but was only staffed by one state political correspondent and thus not as central a player as *New York Post* (2 correspondents) and *New York Daily News* (3–4 correspondents) were in Albany at the time of this study.

Tabloid journalists were aware that their work was perceived as inferior, certainly from an academic perspective that I embodied as a researcher interviewing them. They argued that what separated them was nuance, especially through the main limiting condition of having to apply simpler language on less space. As one tabloid reporter put it: "I would say 90 percent of what I write—because I'm writing politics or policy stuff—you can get in the *New York Times*. We might write it differently; it might not be as edgy word-wise but I think it's all the same thing" (Interview, LCA reporter, February 10, 2011). One young tabloid reporter went

further, arguing that tabloid stories are forced to focusing stories down to its “barest principles,” making stories “snappier and edgier, which in a political environment causes some tension. It also causes change. I feel like the tabloids have more impact” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 26, 2011).

I heard similar remarks in the LP, though in Germany the prevalent distinction between *Boulevard* and *Qualitätspresse* does not explicitly refer to different formats but more overtly carries the value judgment with it (I will use tabloid and boulevard interchangeably in the following). One LP tabloid reporter said differences between tabloids and broadsheets were shrinking: “Of course, I need to entertain readers differently in a boulevard newspaper than in a daily newspaper like *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, although the *Süddeutsche* is boulevardized² just the same these days and doesn’t cover different issues than I do” (Interview, LP reporter, March 21, 2012). There were categorical differences between what she did when she started her career 20 years ago compared to her broadsheet competitor-colleagues, she conceded.

Surprisingly, several broadsheet reporters in the LP spoke understandingly about boulevard journalism. One used to work for a tabloid himself for a few years and did not see as big a difference between those purported distinctive missions of journalism:

There are differences but in many cases they are very small. In many cases you notice that you swim in the same soup. And in many cases it is, like: this sentence is shorter and there a bit longer ... Put differently: the serious publications, quote, end quote, have converged in the last 20–30 years to a certain boulevardization of topics. (Interview, LP reporter, December 5, 2011)

While he admitted that he got worked up about *Bild* constantly, he said that he was much more forgiving of tabloid journalism than most of his colleagues. He explained this with his professional experience and comprehension of the different production conditions. I received an unintended demonstration of this when he walked me out after our interview: We met one of his colleagues who made a pejorative remark about a tabloid reporter of the LP, which my informant quickly waved aside.

To another reporter, boulevard meant “that issues are vaporized from a cup of coffee to espresso” (Interview, LP reporter, January 25, 2012). Although she agreed that *Bild* did many things wrong, in her view their political coverage on page 2 had a great “public service quality” in terms of providing a lot of information within confined space.

In the LCA, even one reporter who was pronouncedly dismissive of tabloids conceded that they occasionally succeeded in one important respect: aggressively demanding accountability. Apart from these more positive statements, the norm was to dismiss tabloids—especially *Bild* and the *New York Post*, respectively—for helping one side over another and covering issues dishonestly for the sake of a powerful story. One LCA reporter became a little worked up when talking about the *New York Post*:

Every day they've got to have a picture of a woman wearing a bikini and nothing else, right? There we are! That's the bottom line of what that paper is about! [laughs] So you think that kind of paper is going to spend a whole lot of time on the pros and cons of an issue? No! They're going to look for something that's gotta' hook! (Interview, LCA reporter, April 21, 2010)

Another LCA reporter emphasized how important integrity was for how he and his organization operated, contrary to certain others: “There are some reporters, as I'm sure you know, that are sort of open for sale” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010). It was of utmost importance to him that news decisions are guided by criteria of public relevance and the desire to ascertain the truth rather than relational commitments with sources. Apart from other common criticisms, like the tabloids' obsession with scandal, one distinctive theme of the metadiscourse in Albany was that inferior standards of tabloids can “poison” the rest of the press corps, especially regarding anonymous sourcing (to be discussed in more detail in Chap. 6). This polluting force of tabloids operated by news agenda setting and raising readers' expectations:

Since I've been here at least two politicians have made extensive use to the *New York Post*. They just try to stampede the rest of the press corps. You know, give them something for Monday that drives a couple of days of coverage. ... The tabloids give them a vehicle because their sourcing... their standards are so much weaker. They can just use it—it's like an injection to a blood stream. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

Another reporter remarked:

There are people who have tried to drive an agenda in their so-called objective news reports. You see anonymous sources quoted saying gratuitous things, and this happens on a weekly basis. Unfortunately, some people who read that material think that's good journalism. And it affects everybody because a lot of average readers think that is the way we should be operating, too. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011)

Even if LP reporters' evaluations of the tabloid press were usually less harsh, they generally agreed with their LCA counterparts. For one of them, bad journalism was tendentious journalism as boulevard newspapers practice it. She provided an example of a damaging story about a celebrity based on a false rumor, which was then followed by the headline: "That's how the star suffers from bad rumors" and she added jokingly:

"...which *we* have spread!" ... That's how you ruin somebody's existence. That's how you spread things in the world, which are unfounded, and then straighten it out. The press law still allows that and I find that awful ... But it happens on all levels, including political coverage. I don't want to white-wash myself as if I had never done anything like that—because what don't you do for a good story!—but it's wrong. I don't do that anymore. It's actually a disgrace for our craft. (Interview, LP reporter, March 23, 2012)

Regarding defamation coverage, she said that if you took away the question mark from "a leading newspaper" (she was undoubtedly talking about *Bild*) half of the stories would never appear in print.

Chapter 7 will deal in more detail with the opposition between traditional and novel forms of journalism, particularly disagreements about blogging and tweeting that revolve around abandoning principles of sourcing, being objective, separating news and opinion and impersonality. As mentioned above, these disagreements were relatively irrelevant, because they mostly remained theoretical, for the self-conceptions of LP journalists.

Another subsidiary line of division between journalists concern the medium of journalism, specifically print opposed to less prestigious, electronic news forms (radio and television). As one LCA reporter said: "In print, reporters generally are far superior to the TV reporters. And the radio people, I would not even call them reporters. I think they just basically transcribe whatever's said and they throw it up in the air" (Interview, LCA reporter, March 20, 2010). In a portrait about herself, a former newspaper reporter, then TV news anchor and blogger, Elizabeth Benjamin addressed this opposition: "There are two kinds of people in political TV news: people who started there, and the people who are the print journalists. The print journalists are a thousand times better. They have the context, they can break the news, and they can do reporting" (Meares 2010).

I have heard similarly dismissive comments in interviews with newspaper reporters of the LP, but more specifically aimed at reporters working for private television and radio stations. These companies hardly assign specialist correspondents but instead send general assignment reporters

for important events to the Landtag. One of my informants referred to representatives of private radio stations as “blonde microphone stands” (Interview, LP reporter, November 7, 2011) while acknowledging that this was in fact a malicious (and sexist) term.

Organizational Identity

While tabloids served as negative exemplars, journalists also referred to positive representations to express professional worth, not least those who were working for such outlets. One LP reporter of the latter category said he was aware of whom he worked for: “It’s important and a reason to be proud of—this is a prerequisite. ... There is a claim to be the newspaper of record. To be the one who sets the direction a little bit and whom others copy. To put it bluntly” (Interview, LP reporter, December 5, 2011). Another reporter who worked for a similar newspaper said:

Of course there is ... a tradition in our paper, which you are committed to ... [In] a newspaper like ours you have access. ... If you are from a regional newspaper you can’t talk to the chairman of the FDP for an hour. He doesn’t have the time for that. With us he has to make that time. And I draw on that. (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012).

I asked reporters about events, institutions or figures in US/German journalism that made them proud to be part of this occupational tradition. Apart from the fact that the term “pride” made German reporters uncomfortable, several of them named *FAZ*, *SZ*, *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* and well-known journalists from these outlets as epitomes of the best journalism Germany has to offer. In contrast, LCA reporters identified specific stories rather than news outlets as positive and negative representations of journalism. They would refer to the release of the Pentagon Papers in 1971 rather than the *New York Times* itself, for instance. Most influential news outlets were often subject of envy by competitor-colleagues, especially from regional broadsheets. One young LCA reporter talked about several stories his paper covered, which only became big stories once the *New York Times* paid attention to them. As his boss put it, “sometimes being first doesn’t matter if you’re not the *New York Times* or Fred Dicker” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 11, 2011).

The only circumstance in which LCA reporters praised specific organizations was when they were talking about their own organization:

You work for [company], you work for an institution that's larger than yourself. Or it outlasts you and it precedes you. And you owe something to it beyond just work. Whenever I've done road reporting, some story from a far flown locale, it doesn't matter where. Could be the most conservative town in Alabama. When you knock on their door, saying you are from [company], it means something. People trust it. They value it ... Even if they buy into that whole [liberal media] critique ... It means something and you have to live up to that and you have to always understand the power of that. In the other direction you have to also understand that ... what you write does have consequences and it's a privilege. You are capable of ruining somebody's life or career. And that brings with it an obligation to be scrupulous and fair ... It really is this sacred trust and everything else kind of filters through that for me. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

His bureau chief, in contrast, puts it more abstractly and low-key: "I think the [newspaper] has a different mission than, you know, a lot of the other people here" (Interview, LCA reporter, December 7, 2010).

In the LP, such sentiments of envy toward leading news outlets were familiar, but much weaker. This was undoubtedly connected to the fact that there were no individual outlets that stood out and were mythologized as much as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* in the USA, for instance. In a rare statement to this effect, one reporter of a regional newspaper said: "In top newspapers like the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* you can find an utterly stupid commentary about state politics, which has been written by someone in the ivory tower, from a distance—he knows the wire stories but doesn't know the people and writes whatever" (Interview, LP reporter, November 7, 2011). Though this statement was as much about journalistic claims from a distance as about a prestigious newspaper, what also resonated in this comment was that: 'FAZ is not per se better than the rest of us (and sometimes even worse).'

There is no doubt that journalists working for the *Times*, the AP, the *SZ*, *Der Spiegel* or *FAZ* got more access and exclusive stories than their competitors. Their positions in the press corps hierarchy thus mostly corresponded to the overall influence of their news outlet, despite personal animosities and some dismissive comments about the perceived excellence of news outlets. However, not all positions within the hierarchy of reporters neatly corresponded to the influence of their news organizations. Seniority of reporters, especially in covering state politics, professional accomplishments and the variety of channels a reporter operated all factored into it as well.

To name just a few examples: Fred Dicker worked for the *New York Post*, a newspaper with very low professional prestige. When I conducted this research, he had been covering New York State politics for over three decades, wrote a weekly news column that often broke news besides his regular reporting, had a morning talk radio show on WGDJ-AM, in which I appeared twice to talk about my ongoing research, and was a commentator for Albany's local affiliate for CBS News. Even reporters in the LCA who disdained him admired his talent and intellect but wished he would have put it to better use.

Tom Precious of the *Buffalo News* had a similarly long tenure at the Capitol, enjoyed great respect within the press corps, not only because he constituted a very productive one-person-bureau but also because his competitor-colleagues often perceived his coverage as extremely insightful. His closest Munich pendant was Uli Bachmeier of the *Augsburger Allgemeine*, who was the chairman of the LP, whose work was very well regarded and who was personally liked by his competitor-colleagues.

Besides Dicker, Elizabeth Benjamin (Time Warner Cable News) represented the most distinctive position in the press corps hierarchy in the LCA. She had been a newspaper reporter for the *Albany Times Union* and blogging pioneer, having founded the paper's political blog "Capitol Confidential" before writing for the equally influential "Daily Politics" blog of the *New York Daily News*. In 2010 she became a news anchor—usually not a position of professional prestige—but still did reporting for the "State of Politics" blog and was regarded as one of the most influential journalists in New York State politics.

Journalism as a Craft

On the most basic level, reporters drew boundaries around how journalism ought to be crafted, involving criteria of validity, information processing and aesthetics. German and US reporters were almost congruent in this respect, indicating that norms guiding the practice of news making are very similar in both countries.

Untruth is a principle earmark of bad journalism, which may have to do with simple disinformation on the side of journalists (insufficient or misguided research) or distorted depiction of the truth by sources. It is the responsibility of journalists to avoid both of these pitfalls, which may be intertwined with aesthetic constraints. As one mid-career reporter

said: “bad journalism is biased journalism, superficial—where the result is determined beforehand—perceiving things one-sided, blanking out facts if they don’t fit the picture” (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011).

“Picture” in this quote points to narrative imperatives in journalism (Jacobs 1996). Journalists drew boundaries in two directions on this issue: excessive and insufficient narrativity. The first stands in the way of truth, and the second lacks aesthetic appeal. The idiomatic critique “not letting facts in the way of a good story” subsumes excessive narrativity. As one LP journalist puts it: “What happens often, of course: You have a story in mind and wangle your findings so that they become true [within that story]. That’s certainly a bad way [to do journalism]” (Interview, LP reporter, March 23, 2012). Insufficient narrativity is what one LCA reporter referred to as journalism that is “shoddily put together ... like a piece of furniture that is badly constructed” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 11, 2010). To him journalists had a responsibility not to bore readers: “If a piece of journalism falls badly upon the ear or if the writing voice is so bland that it does not honor the language and it doesn’t honor the complexity of actually what’s happening, then why should I read it?” (Interview LCA reporter, May 11, 2010).

Reportorial Conduct

The comparison suggests that norms of newsgathering are also very similar in both occupational cultures: diligence (opposed to laziness), skepticism and resisting the pull of the journalistic mainstream, which is particularly strong in a close-knit press corps. Aggressiveness/toughness as a reportorial norm was more strongly pronounced in the US case.

Diligence

Reporters mentioned making short cuts or cutting corners as bad journalism, which meant either not putting in the required effort to report a story appropriately or purposefully not looking into conflicting evidence and opposing statements. One LCA reporter said he knew bad journalism when he saw it, exemplified by a news story that appeared on the day we did the interview. The article used an anonymous source from Governor Cuomo’s office, painted three lawmakers in a negative light but did not seek comments from any of them. He concluded the story was “either biased or lazy,” criticizing the (lack of) reporting it was based on (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011).

Skepticism

Another somewhat related virtue of reportorial conduct is skepticism, since it also requires reporters to be diligent as well as to inhabit a distant posture to the subjects of news stories. One LP radio reporter, whose main passion were long-term investigative radio features, not surprisingly emphasized “skepticism and inquiry” as principle journalistic virtues: “If something seems strange [the main issue is]: inquiring over and over again, including asking stupid questions, banal questions. ... don’t take it as given – ‘it’s just the way it is’ ... this is not an answer” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011). Another experienced LP reporter suggested that every journalist should stick the sentence “nothing is as it seems” to their mirror (Interview, LP reporter, March 23, 2012).

Contrariwise, reporters drew boundaries against journalists who exhibit a lack of skepticism and accept what sources “spoon feed” them. One young LCA reporter said: “I consider bad journalism that which accepts at face value all that is in front of it ... that which gives too much weight ... to the spin essentially” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). Skepticism pertains to substantive matters, but especially political actors. The flipside was that reporters may become overly suspicious, always assuming the worst. One spokesperson for a former New York Governor told me his “favorite conspiracy story,” which involved a situation where reporters felt led around the nose and assumed the Governor’s office was trying to conceal something. Instead, he told me, it was an instance of “pure incompetence” while acknowledging there were times when his office was in fact conspiring (Interview, NY spokesperson, February 28, 2011).

The Pull of the Journalistic Mainstream

One common problem reporters in both cases acknowledged was inherent to the social formation press corps constituted, which often acted as the stereotypical *pack*. In the interviews, pack journalism came up only once in each case in the context of bad journalism, which preceded specific questions about it and group dynamics in general. Even though reporters reflected critically about it when they were probed specifically, they took some extent of pack journalism as an inevitable part of their job. As one LP reporter put it: “There are those media waves that evolve and it is often difficult to resist them and keep calm” (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011). Another interviewee gave a recent example of this: At a relatively formal occasion, the Bavarian Minister-President did not wear a tie. This turned into a story most of her competitor-colleagues wrote about

but she chose to ignore: “Then you think: ‘Am I doing something wrong? Do I run in the wrong direction? Am I out on a limb with this?’ ... Of course certain things [in the LP] do go in one direction” (Interview, LP reporter, January 25, 2012).

As Chap. 5 will illustrate, US reporters had quite nuanced views on pack journalism, including benefits of it. But as their Bavarian counterparts, they mostly focused on negative implications. It could be a “nasty thing,” said one young TV reporter, “where we’re all jumping and going in one direction because we saw two other people do that. [It’s] not good journalism. It’s kind of laziness in a sense” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 22, 2010). Conversely, one young reporter was impressed when her colleague did not give in to the pull of the mainstream, relayed through the press corps as well as his superiors:

[He] really fought day to day with editors saying ‘this is what the real story is’. ... it’s nice when you see people do it differently. ... If you see everybody going one direction ... that’s when [politicians and their spokespeople] get something just their way; that’s when they can sneak something in. I sound kind of paranoid but, truly, I think it’s dangerous, the pack mentality. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 16, 2009)

There is an indefinable threshold when deviating too much from the pack becomes considered problematic. This was apparent in the ivory tower-journalism critique quoted above. One LCA reporter made a similar remark: “There is a new reporter ... who has reported a few things that were kind of aloof from the pack, neither of which is proven true. ... I look at them and I think ‘Ok, well, it’s his business, I don’t necessarily trust it because I know the track record’” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). I later figured out that he was referring to a journalist who reported on state politics without being physically in Albany most of the time. To sum up, reporters of either press corps considered going in the same direction as inevitable but blindly following the pack as detrimental.

Aggressiveness/Toughness

The absence of aggressiveness is what one tabloid reporter referred to as not going “to the place that was most uncomfortable for you and ... [to] hold your punches” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 15, 2010). He mentioned the *New York Times* Albany bureau’s stories in early 2010 about misconduct by Governor David Paterson as recent examples. The lack of

aggressiveness, to him, was confirmed by the fact that the rest of the press corps did not feel compelled to follow up on most of those stories. One reporter, who distinguished himself by a constant ironic (but not cynical) distance to his reporting subjects, described a press corps-specific problem of exhibiting too much empathy for politicians. As a consequence, “the inclination to hurt them decreases” and is replaced by a tendency of “fabric softening” (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011).

Being thick-skinned and not afraid of pushback appeared as basic requirements to be an effective political reporter in both cases. German reporter, however, were typically more restrained and less blunt than US reporters and did not use terms equivalent to “aggressive” or “tough” to describe associated ideals.

Autonomy from Sources: Objectivity, Stenography, Bias, Instrumentalization, Advocacy and Partisanship

Reporters engaged in the richest and strongest boundary work regarding (the lack of) autonomy from politics. This section discusses these accounts in the order of perceived gravity of dependence and alliance between journalism and politics.

Objectivity

Political reporters were divided on the issue of objectivity, even more so in the USA. This contrast was surprising. Despite the fact that objectivity has become a global journalistic value, though to different extent (Weaver and Willnat 2012) and with different meaning attached to it (Donsbach and Klett 1993; Hanitzsch et al. 2011), it is particularly deeply ingrained in the history of professionalization of US journalism (Kaplan 2002; Schudson 1978, 2001), perhaps even an “Anglo-American invention” (Chalaby 1996). Especially young reporters in the LCA, who were more adept with social media and multimedia journalism, were most critical and dismissive of objectivity: “I think that journalists do themselves a disservice when they are robotically objective in their coverage, because the world is not objective” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010), said one of them.³

LP reporters were not exactly united on the issue of objectivity either. Journalists who were less involved with daily news reporting, including print and TV magazines and, curiously, journalists working for public service companies tended to be more critical of objectivity and demanded more analytical news coverage and more definitive positions on issues.

One of them said: “What is objective? My choice of topics is already not objective. The question what I put first in a broadcast is already not objective. This can’t be the yardstick. There is no objectivity in magazine journalism in my view” (Interview, LP reporter, May 30, 2012).

Particularly, newspaper and wire service reporters used objectivity and values associated with it (detachment, neutrality, etc.) in more positive ways. A newspaper reporter, for instance, defined his public responsibility as feeling “obliged to impart a relatively objective picture” (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). Contrary to the US case, these differences were not related to age and seniority or to the degree of digital media adoption in the German case.

Stenography and Chronicler Duty

Uncritical reproduction of source information and communication is another manifestation of a lack of professional autonomy. *Stenography* is a common term—the notion of assiduously recording and reporting every word politicians say. An equivalent but much less dismissive German term is *Chronistenpflicht* (chronicler duty)—meticulously chronicling legislative processes and government actions.

LCA and LP reporters perceived this as an outdated conception of professionalism. Like other, more traditional LCA members, one senior reporter saw Twitter and blogs in combination with the intense competitive environment as throwbacks to a form of “bad reporting where people let their sources do too much of the work for them. So you become more of a stenographer than an actual reporter. There’s been a lot of that going on” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010). Another reporter, not coincidentally good friends with the previous one, mentioned in the context of pack journalism: “A reporter is not a stenographer. We don’t just write down what people say. If we’re doing our job right, we’re trying to find out what the truth is. So even if you’re on that story with the pack, you can be covering it better than the pack” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010).

LP reporters talked more specifically about the obsolescence of chronicler duty. One senior radio reporter said that, contrary to his and his competitor-colleagues’ professional self-conceptions two or three decades ago, “we don’t understand ourselves as chroniclers today—to reproduce precisely what happened in what commission or plenary session. Instead we write stories. We try to get to the heart of an issue” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011). He saw this not so much as a shift of professional values but as a consequence of reduction of news staff and space for political news.

One newspaper reporter told me of a recent discussion between LP correspondents, which followed a complaint by a politician who used the *Chronistenpflicht* to argue that he had to be quoted in a certain news story. The reporters discussed whether this duty still existed nowadays. He thought that it subsisted “only on a very minor scale, only with super-important topics. [For example] if the Minister-President steps down, of course I have the *Chronistenpflicht* and can’t say ‘whatever, lets play that on the day after tomorrow’” (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011).

Political Bias and Instrumentalization

The significance of source relations for state house press corps reporters goes beyond means to report the news. Striking a balance between having good relations with a number of them while not being too dependent on particular sources is an important component of political reporters’ sense of professional self-worth. Thus, biased and partisan journalism—connected to journalists’ allegiances or ideological convictions—are key criteria for defining unprofessional journalism. As a bureau chief in the LCA said: “If you’re an ideologue and letting that slip in, I think that’s bad journalism” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 10, 2011). One article another reporter read on the day of the interview was a representation of this type of bad journalism to him. It was “biased in a *real* way ... in the sense of deliberately doing [what you can do to help or hurt an official]” (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011). Others distinguished gradations of partisan journalism where taking sides is bad but taking *one* side is even worse.

LP reporters generally shared these views, describing the worst case as journalism that is fused with personal interests. One of them emphasized that “we are journalists, not politicians” while acknowledging that some journalists did have a “very strong sense of mission” (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). One way this sense of mission manifests is when political interests and/or politicians instrumentalize journalists. Such journalists facilitate anonymous attacks against particular political targets, misrepresent news accounts by not acknowledging the opposite side of an issue, and engage in extensive give-and-takes with sources.

While LP journalists hardly referred to their peers, LCA journalists attributed the propensity to allow anonymous attacks to particular members of the press corps, especially Fred Dicker. During the research period, his support for and good relationship with Governor Andrew Cuomo were particular subjects of debate. Anonymous sourcing did not constitute a boundary issue in Munich, but LP reporters rejected the appropriation of journalism

by a growing number of PR professionals and lobbyists. Though it came up on occasion, the situation of being confronted with a growing PR and lobbying army seemed more self-evident to US reporters. Some of them underlined that lobbyists were often more helpful sources than politicians.

Advocacy Journalism and Partisanship

When German reporters talked about advocacy journalism, they used the term *Kampagnenjournalismus*.⁴ As opposed to instrumentalization, advocacy signifies a more active role of journalism in its entanglement with political interests. The tabloid *Bild* was frequently mentioned as an example of this. During the research period, particularly the story about corruption allegations against German President Christian Wulff, which ultimately led to his resignation, were on my informants' minds.

Apart from the semantic difference between advocacy and *Kampagne* and though the phenomenon existed in the US case (both proximately and on the national level), LCA reporters did not use a distinctive concept for it instead of the catch-all phrase *partisan journalism*. This is in spite of an unprecedented growth of Fox News in the two decades prior and the perceived strategic alliance between Governor Andrew Cuomo and News Corporation, represented by Fred Dicker in the LCA.

The absence of a conceptual expression for a phenomenon so present on the perceptual horizon struck me as curious. Perhaps it stemmed from the fact that advocacy journalism on a national scale had a tradition in Germany, represented by *Bild* that peaked at a circulation of over five million, which was thus much more deeply ingrained in the professional imaginary of journalism there. The absence is also connected to the normative emphasis on factual news in the USA and its stricter separation from opinion, every deviation of which is lumped together in the catch-all category of partisan journalism. In Germany, fact and opinion are much more closely related, in the news, the occupational division of labor, in self-conceptions and performances. LP reporters' assumptions about their competitor-colleagues' political leanings also reflect this. For the most part, they were assumed to be conservative and close to CSU. One reporter mentioned that several of his colleagues at his newspaper were members of a party, which was unthinkable in the LCA. German reporters' views on news commentary are best encapsulated by what one radio reporter told me: "To avoid opinion is bad journalism. I think journalists have to take positions, especially in a public service apparatus" (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012). One tabloid reporter in the LP had a more radical stance on the question whether news and opinion need to be separated:

I believe there are no bare news. ... For the most part I write opinion reports. In reporting the news I already try to express opinion. Thus, the reader knows exactly where he stands with me. I try to polarize, too. That was always my strategy, to polarize, and there are always readers who complain massively and others say: "Great, I completely agree." We often had discussions with chief editors whether you should separate opinion and news but I believe as a correspondent in a tabloid newspaper I need to state my position. (Interview, LP reporter, March 21, 2012)

Although one could easily assign this standpoint to tabloid reporters in the LCA, they themselves never expressed it as explicitly, not even the most outspoken representatives. When I asked one of them about his column—he was one of the few who was a reporter and columnist—he emphasized: "It's not opinion as much as analysis or insider information. Occasionally, very rarely, I write opinion columns" (Interview, LCA reporter, March 20, 2010). Not even to his column, let alone his news reporting, did he attribute the qualifier opinion lightly. Though he saw affinities between newspaper's editorial positions and topical agendas—at least among competitors—the idea of "the wall" was vitally important to him. Some of his competitor-colleagues would take issue with this assertion, as did this reporter: "There's very little difference between his column and his news story style, it seems to me" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011).

The remarks by one full-time columnist, who I will refer to as Dan for this purpose, are insightful in this context. Dan had a weekly column and wrote editorial articles for his newspaper, a daily tabloid. He used to work as a regular reporter before he became a columnist and always took pride in the fact that people couldn't tell what his opinions were. Dan described himself as a centrist who had no "natural team" to fall back on. At the beginning, he sometimes lay awake after he had written a column for the following day, thinking: "what have I done!" He attributed that to the fact that he was always around the people he criticized, in contrast to most of his fellow opinion writers. When Dan was asked to write opinion after years as a news reporter he realized that "I didn't know what my opinion was. I had means to bury my opinion-making instinct somehow." It took Dan about two years "to regain that" and he said that during that time he joked with his family that he "had to nurture my biases. I was so accustomed to see both sides or even multiple sides of an issue that it was very hard for me to say 'ok, I'm gonna come down on *this* side'" (Interview, LCA reporter, March 16, 2011).

A curious occupational virtue in this context is *Zurückhaltung* (restraint), which one LP reporter linked to his preference for descriptive news stories that valued as little as possible (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). It is hard to imagine an LCA reporter who emphasizes restraint as a professional virtue. Furthermore, and contrary to notions of objectivity, detachment, neutrality and facticity, *restraint* implies a capability and urge to express something, which is in direct contradiction to Dan's realization that he did not even have an opinion.

For US journalists, it was imperative to keep their professional performances as pure from opinion as possible, including those who blurred these lines the most. Even Dan, who stood on the opposite side of this binary as a "pure" opinion writer, emphasized that he tried to be fair, that he did as much reporting as possible, that his opinions always had factual foundations and that he could not care less whether he attacked Republicans or Democrats. Relative to that, it was striking how pronounced some German reporters blurred lines between opinion and news and how insignificant this separation was for them, despite editorial divisions in place.

US reporters' relative detachment is, furthermore, not to be mistaken for indifference of their jurisdiction. In fact, the opposite is true. The tragic narrative of the decline of New York State politics, which senior reporters employed, in particular, exemplified this. Although Bavarian politics was not short of scandals (e.g. involving former Minister-President Franz Josef Strauss and later his daughter, Monika Hohlmeier), this was nothing compared to the number of indictments of New York politicians in the early 2000s. Some reporters seemed genuinely saddened by these revelations, even though they benefited from them: "Unfortunately the last twenty years I have been documenting the decline of New York State. Which has been rather sad. ... But I really feel like somebody has to do it and people need to know. I feel that really really strongly ... it's almost like a mission to do this work" (Interview, LCA reporter, February 11, 2011).

Transgression of Ethical and Jurisdictional Boundaries

Reporting that violates journalistic ethics and transgresses competencies was another form of bad journalism correspondents distinguished. An example of this is what one LP journalist referred to as *Verdachtsberichterstattung* (suspicion reporting), while admitting it may have positive consequences sometimes. Similarly, one of her competitor-colleagues found reporting based on hearsay legitimate under certain conditions: "I think you can

write about rumors as long as it is clear in the article that it is a rumor ... But [you must] not present it as a representation of facts” (Interview, LP reporter, March 26, 2012).

Albany reporters frequently addressed the problem of rumor mills, exemplified by a series of news stories on former Governor David Paterson in early 2010, which was typically accompanied by strong boundary drawing:

[When Paterson was Governor] there was this whispering campaign of innuendo about sexual misconduct and just all sorts of wild rumors and based upon nothing—for as I can tell. It was just rumors were *flying* and making it out to the blogs. It was making it into Fred Dicker’s radio show. He would talk about it on the air. So it was being circulated and that wasn’t fair to Paterson and it wasn’t to journalism. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 26, 2011)

Of course, reporting rumors was not new at the time but the means to circulate them through blogs and Twitter and the demand to do so more quickly were. This was another important moment for readjusting and reemphasizing professional boundaries for LCA reporters. To some of them, this period was a stain on the prestige of the press corps.

As with most sensitive issues, LP reporters mostly drew on examples in the national press. Rumor news frenzies on sexual affairs of a standing Minister-President, furthermore, were highly unlikely to occur in Munich, though reporters noticed a sinking inhibition threshold to report about politicians’ personal lives. According to one LCA reporter, this shift occurred during Watergate in the USA: “The reporter coming in saying, basically, ‘prove that you’re not a crook.’” Despite the fact that there were stories about affairs of former presidents (e.g. John F. Kennedy) and governors, they never got reported at that time: “There was a gentlemen’s agreement among reporters ... all of that’s changed ... When you can prove that the president of the United States is a liar, then I think it changes for everything” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010).

Another boundary-transgressive type that reporters delineated was journalism that is vindictive, unnecessarily harmful and cruel. One reporter used the example of indebted former State Comptroller, Alan Hevesi:

[He] was sentenced and he has been demonized in some of the tabloids ... I think the treatment has been a little on the harsh side. ... He definitely deserves what he’s gotten but there have been editorial cartoons and there’s been front page of the tabloids with his head shaven. They’ve done everything but put him in prison-striped outfit. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011)

The line between viciousness as critical and as an end in itself is blurry, as one LP reporter pointed out: “Of course you can also inebriate yourself with the feeling: ‘My god, I can make the CSU angry, and now they are all scared of me.’ But that’s not a value in itself ... There are colleagues who are really into that” (Interview, LP reporter, January 30, 2012). Breaching ethical codes was considered even more serious. One LP radio journalist told me he reported about an ongoing trial at the time. He said he often chatted with one of the jurors on smoking breaks but that he would never have dared to talk to him about anything trial-related. “With colleagues from *Bild Zeitung* I would not be so sure that they did not do that” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011). Another reporter referred to a concrete example of unethical journalism: “Before the previous election a boulevard paper made a big story about then Minister-President Beckstein ... The core of the story was that he turned fat, that he drinks, that he takes medication and that he is being beaten by his wife. ... [After the election] all four points turned out to be false” (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011). To him, this was a clear case of a breach of “ethical-moral boundaries.”

One LCA reporter talked about the imperative of not needlessly harming people, especially “innocent bystanders,” as a journalistic virtue his editor kept emphasizing (Interview, LCA reporter, April 16, 2009). Surprisingly, the theme of harming subjects of news reporting hardly came up otherwise. Though reporters were aware of the possibility of ruining somebody’s livelihood, which often involved family members (i.e. innocent bystanders), most did not signal this as a moral dilemma.

Public Responsibility

All journalists I talked to took their responsibility to the public very seriously. They associated this responsibility with the watchdog role, accountability, with *den Mächtigen auf die Finger schauen* (keeping an eye on those in power) and *vierte Gewalt* (the fourth estate). For many LP reporters, *Einordnung* (literally: classification; figuratively: contextualizing, locating within the general context) was the most important service to the public. Several reporters were so enamored with public service ideals that all of their assertions about professional norms and values filtered through it. (In a regular sequence of an interview, I dealt with this question after I probed reporters to draw boundaries regarding bad journalism.)

Idealism and Moral Claims

US reporters maintained a tone of expressive idealism to the question what their public responsibility was, while German reporters provided more low-key answers, referring to concrete practices rather than high-flown and abstract ideals. One LCA reporter, for instance, said that journalism and “feeling some responsibility to the public” are “almost synonymous ... The only reason I’m doing this is to serve the public, is to serve democracy” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010). Several LCA journalists declared improving the world is what motivated them. One of them said this ideal was what kept many reporters going, despite low pay, low social standing of the occupation and long working hours: “What we discover and publish is going to make the world a better place. I mean, that does sound a little like Pollyanna or gaga, unicorns, rainbows, pie and sky. But a lot of people do feel that way” (Interview, LCA reporter, January 26, 2011).

In the same way, reporters condemned stories which did not follow these ideals. Regarding the excessive volume of coverage given to speculation whether Donald Trump might run for president or not, one reporter remarked: “That doesn’t improve the world in any way. That doesn’t alert anybody to waste or abuse of taxpayers’ money” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011). Apart from the fact that this reporter was an investigative journalist and hardly involved in daily news making, the moral discourse of journalistic professionalism of LCA reporters drew remarkably from this responsibility to taxpayers and to creating accountability of public spending.

One reporter, who repeatedly stressed that newsworthiness depended upon relevance for his constituency, said: “The question here is always: how’s that gonna affect people. ... That’s why I like taxes so much, to write about. Everybody understands the impact of taxes and impact of jobs” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009). Another reporter drew an imaginary scenario, in which a source wants to go on background: “If some spokesman is like: ‘Can I just be a spokesmen? – ‘No. Your fucking job—the taxpayer pays you!— is to speak for this person” (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011). Reporters often invoked taxpayers when interacting with sources, which speaks to the performative valence to this rhetoric. In Germany, neither was fiscal accountability nor were taxpayers important points of reference for reporters’ self-conceptions and performances. On this issue, the occupational discourse seems to reflect that in German political culture taxation is much less contentious than in the USA.

Public Representatives Within and Beyond the Bubble

In Germany, public service reporters had the strongest attachment to the idea of being representatives of the public: “We should understand ourselves [as] those who keep an eye on others on behalf of the public. ... After all, we do not have the economic pressure that private stations, newspaper or magazines are subjected to” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011). Others have pointed out that representing a public service medium means being able to cover important issues that private television and radio did not cover for rating concerns. US reporters counterbalanced the relative weakness of such institutional foundations and policies by stronger moral commitments. They referred to themselves explicitly as representatives of the public; they justified their jobs by being at the state house in place of the public. One reporter told me of an instance where the press was kicked out of a meeting room because of a lack of space. He told the Senator in charge: “I’m here as a representative of one million people who read my newspaper every day. I know I’m not an elected official; they didn’t choose me. I’m here, because they can’t be here” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 8, 2009). Knowing him, I am confident the scene had taken place close to the way he described it.

“Charlie,” a newspaper reporter in his mid-forties, stood out in terms of his ability to think and care for issues “outside of the bubble,” even though he was mostly caught up with the regular daily reporting business. I observed Charlie on several occasions pitching stories to his editor, implicitly or explicitly appealing to their public service value to an extent I have not witnessed among other journalists. In the interview we did, he defined his idea of public responsibility by telling me about a recent story he reported on, which occurred outside of the state politics purview, thematically as well as spatially. It involved a vulnerable population that died in a tragic accident:

For whatever reasons I found myself doing those stories over the years. I just sort of happened to find them and grabbed on to them. [Stories involving] people who are completely helpless, how are they being treated by our society, by our government. And often they are not always treated as well as they should be. And they can be victimized by the circumstances or by neglect, or even worse. Having seen that in other situations as a journalist it has made me empathetic and therefore it’s important that we do those stories, that people know about that. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 8, 2009)

Charlie had more concrete obligations in mind when he reflected upon public responsibility than most of his competitor-colleagues. One basic requirement articulated by him and many other reporters was that the stories he covered must speak to or at least relate to people's concerns—a requirement they knew they often violated. They conceded to this when they referred to the state house as a *bubble* or *Käseglocke* (bell jar), implying that relevance criteria are often times limited to this micro-universe.

The Tension Between Customers and Citizens

German public service reporters talked about being relatively shielded from commercial pressures and being able to spend unprofitable amounts of resources for covering actually important issues. As one bureau chief put it, “politics must take place” (*Politik muss stattfinden*) (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012), arguing that it was the news media's and specifically public service media's responsibility to put politics on the agenda. To him as for many of his competitor-colleagues, it was irrelevant whether the audience thought politics was complicated, tainted or unentertaining. Another LP bureau chief of a regional newspaper, who did not exclusively report political stories, told me in a rather prosaic manner about a recent audience study:

Within that period I had political stories that I deemed as important. The rating was 5 percent [of readers read the story]. And I reported on Bruno [Sacha Baron Cohen's alter ego] and the rating was 97 percent. And that tells you everything. But in spite of that, you need to take notice and place both stories. What we do in politics is special-interest nowadays but it is enormously important. (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011)

Similar to his public service competitor-colleagues, audience metrics are extraneous to his sense of professional duty and self-worth. In the USA, a strong sense of professionalism compensated for the relative weakness of state-enabled public service media and created a perception of distance and freedom of action regarding the business objectives of news organizations: “I do not spend much of my time worrying about making money for my paper. I mean it's sort of in the background, right, but the way I can help my paper is by writing good journalism that has an impact” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 21, 2011).

Several LCA reporters implicitly and explicitly addressed the tension between conceiving the audience as consumers or citizens: “The news

business gets blame for a lot of stuff; for simply not pushing back against the consumer. You're blamed for over-sensationalizing or focusing on Tiger Woods when we should be focusing on the health care debate" (Interview, LCA reporter, April 5, 2010). He acknowledged that neither his paper, nor its main competitor, "report to be the paper of record." One of his competitor-colleagues was more careful not to draw too strong of a contrast: "People want to read important things, too, you know. Readers are not idiots. But it's the balance of what they need to know and what they want to read" (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010).

LCA reporters embraced the proverbial watchdog role to offset their relative irrelevance to their audience. In other words: they drew meaning from keeping watch when nobody else was paying attention and alerting in cases of wrongdoing when danger was ahead. They believed that politicians are kept at bay by their mere presence, which could always trigger exceeding publicity in important moments. One reporter emphasized that this duty stood above concerns of decreasing demand for political coverage, even from the citizen perspective: "I think even if they don't wanna read the newspaper, they wanna know that someone is there, someone is at the meeting, someone is holding people accountable ... they don't want that to go away" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009).

Consistent with the analysis of discourses of journalistic professionalism in Chap. 3, while US reporters emphasized hard-hitting accountability journalism, German reporters sought to penetrate subject matters as thoroughly as possible. The key term in the German context for this responsibility was *Einordnung* (subsequently translated as contextualizing), which means providing context, interconnections, assessments of issues and pointing out their significance. LP reporters contrasted this with chronicler duty. One German reporter with decades of professional experience said: "Our service is increasingly contextualizing, evaluating, establishing connections. Earlier we had a much more documentary character" (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). When he was a young reporter, editors had drilled into him that page 1 must depict what a historian will regard as most significant about that day 100 years later. The result was often a rather "dry retelling" of events, he recalled. He believed that this conception of news making was based on a reader who did not exist anymore, using the example of his now-retired father-in-law who used to exclusively read his newspaper during his daily commute. His definition of *Einordnung* was somewhere in between analysis and opinion—not as judgmental as the latter but more evaluative than the former.

To one young reporter, however, opinion was an essential part of contextualizing an issue: “I am a great supporter of opinion, of commentary. I think it is part of journalism to give people, who are less well versed in an issue, the opportunity to contextualize it. Whether they share your opinion is something else” (Interview, LP reporter, March 26, 2012). To him, contextualizing was about positions on issues so that readers are aware of them and are able to establish their own position in line with or in contrast to them. In accordance with their US counterparts, LP reporters also made remarks about not underestimating the audience. This is what one of them had to say about the danger of opinion entering into news features: “I think the reader is smart enough to distinguish purely factual coverage from color coverage” (Interview, LP reporter, February 10, 2012). *Einordnung*, then, is somewhat similar to the notion of analysis in that both relate to reporters’ belief that they have to provide more than just the “facts.” However, *Einordnung* was a more central in German reporters’ self-conceptions than analysis was for US reporters. Beyond that, to German journalists *Einordnung* also involved evaluative positioning, which is why “contextualizing” is at best a makeshift translation. The required dissociation from taking sides and expressing opinions categorically excluded positioning in news analysis for US reporters.

Another issue in which German reporters stood out was their sense of responsibility regarding the consequences of their reporting, both in terms of public opinion formation and harming those they cover. “Karl,” a senior radio reporter, said his responsibility was “that I take my job seriously, that I take the people about whom I report seriously and that I don’t forget my journalistic responsibility over the thrill of the chase, which often succumbed me in my earlier days” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011). He illustrated this with an instance when he had the night shift and a hostage situation occurred. The kidnappers drove on the freeway up north from Bavaria toward Hesse. Karl’s station had an agreement with the police not to report on such cases immediately in order not to risk lives of hostages. When the car crossed the state border, Karl called a colleague in Hesse, told him about this agreement and asked him to honor it as well. The response from his colleague was dismissive as he considered this nepotism and he reported on the hostage situation immediately. Though the situation ended well, Karl thought this was utterly irresponsible. Apart from life-threatening situations, LP reporters said they did not take the influence of their writing lightly and told me about moments they realized their potential impact on public perception.

Based on what they told me, US reporters would probably agree that *Einordnung* (positioning exempted) is important to them, as would German reporters agree that they are watchdogs of sorts. However, what matters here is what they in fact expressed as their responsibilities as well as the nuance with which they articulated it and the significance they assigned to it. Thus, even though US reporters emphasized the value added through analysis (amongst other things), they did not see it as their greater responsibility to the public, nor did German reporters feel that way about watchdog journalism.

The (Digitally Mediated) Sense of the Public

Part of the daily business of political reporters was to talk to readers on the phone. They regarded these interactions as their duty but were mostly annoyed by them. When I asked one reporter how he felt about the additional layer of separation between him and the public by working for a news agency, his response was: “I don’t mind. There is a positive side, for instance I’m not called or bothered by readers. When they complain it always goes to the newspaper” (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011). I have witnessed and overheard several instances when reporters talked to readers on the phone. Sometimes they yelled into the receiver, responding to being yelled at, I assumed. On one such occasion, an LCA bureau chief received a call from a reader who was outraged over a story on same-sex marriage. The reader accused him and his paper of advocating for sodomy. At one point, the reporter said: “I’m very busy right now, I gotta go,” and hung up. He then told his colleague that the caller said “fuck” all the time and wondered jokingly whether this was in accordance with his religious faith (Fieldnotes, LCA, February 11, 2011).

While reporters in both countries saw it as their duty to be responsive, citizens as well as news organizations in the USA have adopted digital means of feedback and interaction more quickly. Comments on news stories or other forms of online feedback and interaction were basically irrelevant for LP reporters. Though consumers of New York State political news still called reporters, they also wrote emails, commented on stories, replied to tweets, and so on. As a consequence, US reporters perceived the relation to this audience a little more dialogical: “If you just roll it on their doorstep and say: ‘take it or leave it’ – that’s the way journalism was in the 1950s. It’s not the way journalism is today. ... it’s like a conversation, in a way” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 8, 2010), said one of them.

Despite this general sense, reporters were careful to deduce from readers who reached out (including callers) to the audience-at-large. One referred to online commentators as the “most strident slice” (Interview, LCA reporter, December 7, 2010) of his readership. Even though reporters considered most online comments as negligible, they pointed out helpful and thoughtful responses as well. One of the most traditionalist reporters, for instance, told me about a recent critical comment he received on one of his stories. The reader presented information he found online, which added important context and perspective to the reporter’s story: “I was like: ‘Wow! [laughs] Shit!’ It’s a whole new world. I mean readers can actually interact and challenge you like that and go get the information we *should* have gotten” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010).

While digital means of receiving feedback from and interacting with audiences had an impact on US reporters’ sense of the public, audience metrics did not (contrary to what Anderson 2011b suggests). First of all, most reporters did not receive audience breakdowns or web analytics on a regular basis. The few of them who did were happy when their stories did well. One day, I witnessed “Chuck” tell “Dash” that their story on Cuomo’s first State of the State address received 55,000 hits, adding that he hoped to beat one other article so that it became the number one story (Fieldnotes, LCA, January 6, 2011). Another bureau chief told me their webpage had a chart with most-read stories of the day: “I feel good when I see one of my stories there” (Interview, LCA reporter, March 20, 2010).

Despite being encouraged by good hit rates, bad ratings were not at all discouraging for LCA reporters, nor did I discern reprimands by editors or any indication that reporters made news decisions with rating considerations in mind. One editor of a newspaper, which did circulate daily access statistics among its news staff, said that ratings did not turn reporters into “click whores,” contrary to his expectations (Interview, LCA editor, May 11, 2011).

Much more important than the immediate sense of the public through interaction, comments and metrics is the prevailing “audience image” (Gans 1979: 238)—a socially and discursively constructed perception of the audience as it is passed on within news organizations and news beats. This imagination of the audience was the most influential factor for what stories reporters focused on, how they wrote them and which politicians they talked to. A news outlet’s target audience—defined socio-economically, regionally or otherwise—is an important part of its identity or “brand.” Even though these distinctions increasingly dissolved in the age of the internet, the *Albany Times Union* was still considered state

employees' newspaper of choice, the *New York Daily News* of the working class at the outskirts of New York City, and so on. Partly because of the lower degree of digitization but mostly because of the long-established regional and ideological segmentation of the German newspaper market (Esser and Brüggemann 2010), such distinctions were even more prevalent in Germany.

LCA reporters who blogged and tweeted made additional distinctions between audiences. While blog and Twitter audiences mostly comprised state government insiders and political junkies to them, legacy news audiences represented their main constituencies and normative reference points. Corresponding to the more personalized presence and performance on digital media, these reporters also generally strived for building more individualized relationships with their audiences. As one of them said: "I believe in this day and age, people *want* a personal brand, they want people they can trust, they want people who are in the weeds of things and who provide them with context" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010).

Connected to "being in the weeds of things," state house reporters in both countries perceived a particular spatial responsibility of 'being there for the public,' which was an essential basis of legitimation for their work. Being *on location* at the legislative/government building meant having direct access to elected officials, their staff and—in the case of the LCA—lobbyists, interest groups and citizens (who were allowed to make their case and protest in the building, see Chap. 5). The specific "value added" by state house reporters also consisted of immediacy, regional focus and providing exclusive background. They drew meaning from this spatial and social proximity and the knowledge it generated, which was their contribution to the public sphere. Accordingly, as will be discussed further in Chap. 5, they were dismissive of discursive claims about their jurisdiction not made by members of the press corps but rather from remote locations, especially when they contradicted the corps consensus.

CONCLUSION

What united German and US political reporters was a commitment to and diligence in search for the truth and awareness of biases and narrative constraints threatening to distort it. They expected journalism to be ethically sound and not to transgress professional competencies. Good reporting to them required a skeptical attitude toward strategic communication and an ability to decipher it. As press corps reporters, being able to resist the force

of the pack was of particular importance, even though collective criteria of news relevance may at times be in line with criteria of public relevance. Good working relationships with political actors were indispensable for political reporters. Because of that, however, autonomy from politics was an even more central concern for state house reporters, especially in terms of avoiding credulity, ideological commitments and alliances. Political reporters assigned great importance to their specific responsibility to the democratic public, acting as representatives of citizens within a political institution. For the most part, the idea of “being there for them” trumped commercial considerations, even though they could not evade them entirely.

The two cases differed in several important respects: Metadiscursively, German reporters made what they did much less of a subject for public discussion and were much more cautious to draw boundaries, especially toward their competitor-colleagues. Opposition between broadsheet and tabloid journalism, furthermore, structured relations and divisions in the German press corps to a much lesser extent.

Though all reporters rejected both notions overtly, the conditions of biased and partisan journalism were different in Germany and the USA. For US reporters, it meant to strictly separate news from opinion, discursively and personally. Almost every German reporter I talked to also acted as commentator as well and, above all, did not see this in the least as an impediment to unbiased news reporting. While news and opinion are mostly divided into separate sections of newspapers, German reporters assigned great importance to taking clear positions on issues. Taken too far, such positioning became *Kampagnenjournalismus* to them, which had no real equivalent in the vocabulary of US reporters.

This absence in the US case is even more noteworthy with respect to the exposed position of Fred Dicker in the Albany press corps. He embodied his own model of journalism and served as a *boundary actor* of the journalistic field. Even though none of his competitor-colleagues denied him his membership to the field, many of them defined bad journalism in reference to him. His influence was neither explicable by occupational nor economic status.⁵ His influence rested on a brokerage of occupational norms at the fringes of both fields, journalism and politics. He drew on two distinct cultural representations: critical watchdog journalism and political advocacy. This allowed him to push positions with more performative effectiveness than political actors: He did not directly profit electorally or financially, and by aggressively delivering positions against its political opponents he also maintained the appearance of critical watchdog journalism.

The most salient⁶ public responsibility of US journalists was demanding accountability from public officials, especially in fiscal matters. Thus, US journalists envisioned themselves as the nexus of integrity between citizens and the state. The idealism of German reporters was much more modest. *Einordnung*—which meant providing context, making readers aware of the significance of issues and taking positions on them—was most distinctive about German reporters' perceived public responsibility. Thus, whereas German journalists had more active conceptions of journalistic expression (taking positions while not blindly advocating), they assumed more passive conceptions of journalistic control of government (*Einordnung*).

What became apparent in the context of public responsibility was that the internet had a negligible effect on the sense of the public in German journalism, whereas it had a double effect in the USA: As the geographic segmentation of news markets lost salience through online news consumption, the public which journalists served diversified and became more difficult to capture in aggregate. Furthermore, through digital means of feedback and interaction, LCA journalists gained a more tangible sense of their public and commitment to serving them individually.

Unlike in other studies (Anderson 2011a; Boczkowski 2010; Usher 2014), economic pressures were hardly mediated through web metrics and did not affect news decision-making of political reporters studied in the USA, let alone in Germany. This finding does not challenge the existence of these pressures but leads me to the conclusion that certain segments of journalism are relatively secured from the influence of web metrics. A news organization that decides to afford a state house correspondent does not do so for economic purposes. State house reporters are investments in professional credibility.

The scarcity of public metadiscourse in the German case is more than just a function of numbers of new channels operated by reporters. One simple explanation for relatively little navel-gazing in German journalism is that it is at an earlier stage of professionalization, particularly in terms of differentiation from politics. German journalists therefore lacked professional confidence and self-awareness in comparison, which frequently expressed itself in reporters' attenuating comments about the importance and distinctiveness of German press culture.⁷

At the same time, there was greater normative consensus among German reporters. Conceptions of professionalism were more malleable and in flux in the US case, especially in the face of sweeping changes

in news making. Despite a shared sense of a crisis of journalism, these changes have not grasped German journalism to the same extent. This also explains the weaker boundary work between German reporters, whose occupational roles were much more stable, whose basis of business was still relatively secure and whose services still met sufficient public demand.

Aside from these differences between and within cases, journalists shared a code according to which they distinguished between professional and unprofessional journalism. Differences within and between the two cases were mostly variations of salience and significance assigned to different professional principles in the two journalistic fields and at different locations within them. The following chapters deal in more detail with relational constructions of professional identity on different levels. Chapter 5 focuses on competition and tensions between acting collectively and individually, Chap. 6 on source relations, and Chap. 7 on digital media.

NOTES

1. The fact that the publisher was “backing away” from the project 1 year later in favor of Cuomo’s own memoir (Kaplan and Bosman 2013) is irrelevant in this context.
2. Media scholars discussed this phenomenon as *tabloidization* (Esser 1999; Sparks and Tulloch 2000).
3. As I will argue in Chap. 7, such a critical stance towards objectivity is not simply generational but specifically related to ethics promoted by digital culture.
4. The literal translation of *Kampagnenjournalismus* is campaign journalism, which is misleading because it is occupied by political campaign reporting in the USA.
5. Although the annual reports of News Corporation are not broken down to that degree, the *New York Post* is known to be a cost center and financially sustained only by the economic power of its host company.
6. *Salience* here means ‘most unlike the other case,’ not necessarily ‘most frequently expressed.’
7. One informant argued, for instance, that Germany was “too small and too strongly involved in European and world affairs” to have an occupational mythology comparable to the USA. Neither Munich, Bonn nor Berlin were “navels of the world” and the Bavarian parliament was essentially a “side table” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, CW. 2011a. "Between Creative and Quantified Audiences: Web Metrics and Changing Patterns of Newswork in Local US Newsrooms." *Journalism* 12(5):550–66.
- Anderson, CW. 2011b. "Deliberative, Agonistic, and Algorithmic Audiences: Journalism's Vision of Its Public in an Age of Audience Transparency." *International Journal of Communication* 5:529–47.
- Benson, Rodney and Erik Neveu. 2005b. "Introduction: Field Theory as a Work in Progress." Pp. 1–25 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Politiy Press.
- Boczkowski, Pablo J. 2010. *News at Work: Imitation in an Age of Information Abundance*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chalaby, Jean K. 1996. "Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s." *European Journal of Communication* 11:303–26.
- dannyhakim. 2012. "Weeks after protestors called NYP's Fred Dicker 'mouth-piece for Gov 1%' he signs deal to write #Cuomo's authorized bio." Twitter post, April 13. Retrieved July 13, 2016 (<https://twitter.com/dannyhakim/status/190774346959159296>).
- Dicker, Fred U. 2012. "Live from the State Capitol." *TALK 1300 - WGDJ-AM*. Retrieved (feed://www.talk1300.com/podcast/Fred-Dicker-Live-from-the-State-Capitol/).
- Donsbach, Wolfgang and Bettina Klett. 1993. "Subjective Objectivity. How Journalists in Four Countries Define a Key Term of Their Profession." *International Communication Gazette* 51(1):53–83.
- Esser, Frank. 1999. "'Tabloidization' of News: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism." *European Journal of Communication* 14(3):291–324.
- Esser, Frank and Michael Brüggemann. 2010. "The Strategic Crisis of German Newspapers." Pp. 39–54 in *The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy*, edited by D. A. L. Levy and R. K. Nielsen. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- fud31. 2012. "Those snooty Times Boys still jealous over that front page NYT profile of me a year ago. Otherwise, why be so nasty?" Twitter post, April 13. Retrieved July 13, 2016 (<https://twitter.com/fud31/status/190798432150106115>).
- Gans, Herbert J. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas et al. 2011. "Mapping Journalism Cultures Across Nations." *Journalism Studies* 12(3):273–93.

- Jacobs, Ronald N. 1996. "Producing the News, Producing the Crisis: Narrativity, Television and News Work." *Media Culture Society* 18(3):373–97.
- Kaplan, Richard L. 2002. *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, Thomas and Julie Bosman. 2013. "Publisher Is Backing Off a Book About Cuomo in Favor of One Written by Him." *The New York Times*, April 29. Retrieved April 23, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/30/nyregion/cuomo-and-publisher-are-said-to-be-in-talks-about-memoir.html>).
- Kelly, Keith J. 2012. "Dicker Gets Deal to Write Bio of Cuomo." *New York Post*, April 13. Retrieved (<http://nypost.com/2012/04/13/dicker-gets-deal-to-write-bio-of-cuomo/>).
- Meares, Joel. 2010. "The Biggest Fish in Albany?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, November 22. Retrieved December 11, 2013 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/the_biggest_fish_in_albany.php).
- nickconfessore. 2012. "I think they should also publish Cuomo's counter-memoir: 'Sunday Nights With Fred: A Kind Of Love Story.'" Twitter post, April 13. Retrieved July 13, 2016 (<https://twitter.com/nickconfessore/status/190810596629938176>).
- Peters, Jeremy W. 2011. "Governors Come and Go, but This Reporter Keeps Slugging Away." *The New York Times*, April 22. Retrieved (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/22/nyregion/new-york-posts-fredric-dicker-keeps-slugging-away.html>).
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schudson, Michael. 2001. "The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism." *Journalism* 2(2):149–70.
- Sparks, Colin and John Tulloch. 2000. *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tunstall, Jeremy. 1971. *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents: Their News Organizations, News Sources, and Competitor-Colleagues*. London,: Constable.
- Usher, Nikki. 2014. *Making News at the New York Times*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Weaver, David H. and Lars Willnat. 2012a. "Journalists in the 21st Century: Conclusions." Pp. 529–51 in *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge.

Competitive Collegiality: The Press Corps Environment

THE DARK SIDES OF THE PACK

February 7, 2010. It's Super Bowl Sunday. The Capitol editor of the *Associated Press* (AP), Mike Gormley, contacts Governor Paterson's communications director, Peter Kauffmann, at noon. In a disclosed e-mail correspondence (Hendler 2010b),¹ he offers him "the only fair shot you're likely to get" to comment on sex scandal allegations against the Governor (Hendler 2010a). Initiated by the *New York Post* (Johnson 2010), rumors had circulated at the State Capitol for over a week that a State Trooper, making his routine rounds at the Governor's mansion, walked in on Governor Paterson having sex with a woman who was not his wife. On Friday February 5, 2010, John Koblin of *The New York Observer* fed these rumors on Twitter, linking them to an alleged investigation by the *Times* that is about to drop a "bombshell" on Paterson (Koblin 2010). This was flanked by Liz Benjamin, then of the *New York Daily News*, who cooked up the sex scandal rumor again, linking them to the alleged "bombshell story" that "a major newspaper" is working on. She insinuated that this one would be "far worse" than the extramarital affairs Paterson acknowledged right after he took office after Eliot Spitzer resigned in the wake of a prostitution scandal (Benjamin 2010). All this boiled down to a collective anticipation among the press that Paterson might resign soon which would repeat itself in the following months in 2010.

Paterson's communications director denies rumors and responds to Gormley's e-mail inquiry that "the press is chasing a phantom fear of being

scooped by a [New York] Times story that will have no major revelations” (Hendler 2010a). Reporters have described this competition for scoops to me as a constant anxiety-laden scenario of coming to work one day and having an editor yell at them for not having a story a competitor has.

Just as the New Orleans Saints score their first points in the Super Bowl through a field goal, reducing Indianapolis’ lead to 10-3, Gormley writes Kauffman that he does not want to print rumors, yet he finds it hard “to ignore the shitstorm of the last few days” (ibid.). Kauffmann again tries to argue Gormley out of the story, saying that there was no connection between a probable *Times* story and those juicy rumors. Gormley tells him that the AP will run the story in 7 minutes and that he needs his comment. Just as he pushes “send,” The Who move from “Teenage Wasteland” into “Who are You”—in the early 2000s better known as the title song of CSI—during the Halftime Show, with the Colts leading 10-6. There is little resemblance, however, between the scientific sterility of a crime scene investigation and the nerve-racking situation Gormley finds himself in at that point. The AP ultimately runs a story, shortly after the second half of the game begins and, measured by the turn-around time of the news, *long* before the Saints beat the Colts 31-17. The story opens with the claim that Governor Paterson met with leading figures of the Democratic party to discuss his future “as questions swirl around the state capitol about a variety of unproven accusations involving the Democratic governor’s personal conduct” (Gormley 2010b).

Despite the use of qualifiers—“unsubstantiated claims” and “whisper campaign”—the AP as a model of fairness and ethical rigor in journalism elevates those rumors to the national stage, legitimizing them as publishable for others in the process, and setting the agenda for New York political news.

On the following day, Gormley interviews the Governor—now *forced* to respond—who rebuts all accusations, denoting the initial *New York Post* column as “fabricated” (Gormley 2010a). The ensuing e-mail correspondence between Gormley and Kauffmann indicates resentments by the latter. He blames the AP for being prompted by a “flurry of blog items ... to run a story about the phantom story” (Hendler 2010a). Gormley explains himself to Kauffmann, telling him he was pressured by his editors to run the story. On the following day, he writes that this quasi-apology was a draft of an e-mail he should have never sent to Kauffmann or anybody for that matter. In a revised version of that e-mail, he leaves out the part that reveals internal tensions at the AP the previous night. The “draft,” sent on February 11, portrays a journalist subjected to tremendous pressure that

compromised not only his professional integrity but also his livelihood. It deserves to be quoted in some detail here as it points to problems that do not only apply to the Albany press:

On Sunday, after 10 hours of reporting, a top editor decided they needed a story. He wanted a story that simply said, based on rumor he heard from a reporter who heard it from a tabloid reporter, that the governor was going to resign. ... I had a sourced story on the conversations with legislators that they wanted to run in 15 minutes because it was late in the night. I, of course, said that wasn't enough time to give the governor's office fair treatment. I was told it was. ... At 8 p.m., I was told by my boss that he would push the button on the anonymous source story at 8:15 p.m., with or without the governor's office on-the-record response. ... At 8:13 p.m., without your comment on the record, I called and said I was pulling my byline on the one-sided, sourced story [an AP story which includes unattributed quotes needs to include an author byline]. Panic set in for the editors. At this point, my position as capitol editor and my AP career was threatened (such are the cut throat times in journalism today). I'm not asking for credit for this, it's a simple, basic duty of a journalist, one we've all done in our career. (Ibid.)

Gormley then goes on to defend the story that ultimately *did* run on the wire, paragraph by paragraph. In the withdrawal e-mail, Gormley mentions that he initially used "poetic license," claiming he was stressed and afraid that "irreparable damage" was done to their relationship. "My e-mail account was just wrong in tone and content" (ibid.).

This episode brings together several issues that are of key importance in this book. State house press corps are intensely competitive. The anxiety of being scooped by competitors fosters homogeneity of news discourse. Editors, geographically and socially removed from the beat and more involved with economic realities of news organizations, fuel and amplify this anxiety. They usually do not possess the background knowledge about inner workings of institutions that reporters cover which is necessary to make informed assessments. The downside of reporters' deep immersion in their beat, on the other hand, is not only rumor-mongering. The pre-occupation with gathering the insider knowledge that is so essential for accountability journalism is all-consuming and often occurs at the expense of public relevancy concerns. This is why such settings are often described as bubbles or echo chambers.

This incident also shows that tabloids' laxer sourcing standards give them agency to advance political controversy immediately to the public realm. This is how they often set the agenda, forcing their competitors to follow them (one of my informants circumscribed this dynamic as "tabloid culture"). Thus, the press corps also elucidates the micro-social dynamics of tabloidization, which is further promoted by the economic austerity of print media. A former gubernatorial spokesperson, formerly a journalist and affirmed believer in journalistic ideals, if not its practice, explains how press events are "tabloidized" by a single reporter:

When ... Fred [Dicker] is sitting in the red room, yelling at a Governor, are all the TV stations rolling on it and they're all gonna air it tonight? Of course they are! Of *course* they are! Is the AP gonna run a story on it? Yeah they are! And does it ratchet up the tension, again this ... blood in the water idea: all these other reporters are like "oh, Fred is all worked up, I'd better be worked up too!" ... I've been in the room on both ends of that, I've been in the room as a reporter and I've been in the room as someone who works for the Governor's office and I've seen how reporters react when reporters see when Fred is hard charging. And they all privately will tell you that he is ridiculous. When they get in the room with him and he is sticking some Governor with questions, *they're* asking the follow up questions. (Interview, New York spokesperson, February 28, 2011)

In the episode described above, competitive anxiety and tabloidization took effect in combination with the assumption that the esteemed newspaper of record, *The New York Times*, was working on this story, which further lowered the inhibition threshold to put rumors on the public record.² Blogs and Twitter, which lack the editorial control that could buffer feeding frenzies early on, lend themselves to initiating stories that assume lives of their own and intensifying feedback loops of collective agitation that shape political outcomes.³ As *Buffalo News'* Tom Precious noted in the aftermath of this episode:

Prodded by 'shocking' and 'stunning' and 'bombshell' authoritatively written reports by several newspaper blog sites, and then picked up by liberal and conservative political and gossip blogs around the country, Albany has been overtaken by the newest form of scandal: one that hasn't even been revealed. (Precious 2010)

Examining Collective Action in Journalism

Most importantly for the purpose at hand, such an agitated news making momentum was inconceivable for the German press corps. One reason is the difference in social media adoption between the two groups, which will be discussed in Chap. 7. Another one is the distinct positioning of journalistic fields toward each political realm (Chap. 6). Above all, it has to do with how reporters and their news organizations relate to each other, which will be explored in this chapter. Media scholars have been concerned with problems involved in the introductory episode under the heading of *pack journalism*, which is usually understood as an effect of competition between news organizations. Pack journalism subsumes synchronicity of news decision-making and interpretation of issues, which lead to homogeneous news coverage across news media.

There are tensions between covering issues that conjure general attention (e.g. a presidential election), where “the desire to be unique is far outweighed by the risk of being different” (Shoemaker and Reese 1996:125), and covering issues that *only* become news stories because of the risk of deviation. The original meaning of the term “pack journalism” is narrower than that, however. It is rooted in the idea of groupthink in situations where reporters cover the same issues over a long period of time, in close proximity to and mutual awareness of each other, for instance on the campaign bus (Crouse 1973). In these situations journalists do not only think alike but also directly share ideas and confirm news judgments with each other.⁴ Aside from these particular social circumstances, Zelizer (1993) argued that the “interpretive community” of journalism also exhibits affinities in its disembedded state, where homogeneity arises from collective interpretation and the generation of shared discourse. Other media scholars focused on the alignment of news judgment by reading and watching each other’s work specifically.⁵ Upsides of pack journalism received less attention: a pack going after a scandal in an aggressive manner can be more effective in ensuring public accountability than a dispersed group of individual reporters.

Whether positive or negative, such collective dynamics shape public discourse in important ways. Yet, media scholarship tells us little in terms of how different layers of pack journalism (agenda setting, collective interpretations, which may be based on interaction, groupthink and the news itself) interact in different contexts. This chapter explores how fields and occupational cultures condition pack journalism and competition more generally.

Competition has distinct meanings attached to it in the USA and Germany, related to the cultural commitments and relative powers of commercial logics in each journalistic field. This chapter further demonstrates that both competition and solidarity evoke different forms of pack journalism.

The following section provides important context about the two settings, especially the press associations in Albany and Munich, their purposes and structures, spatial arrangements and work routines. The following discussion focuses on press corps as competitive and solidary social arrangements and how they countervail political pressure. The final section dissects different dimensions of pack journalism, which are then related to the fields and occupational cultures in the conclusion.

THE STATE HOUSE PRESS

Organization and History of the Associations

The Legislative Correspondents Association (LCA) in Albany was founded in 1900 or earlier (the exact date is unknown) and is one of the oldest press associations in the USA. It is a non-profit corporation and files as a civic league with the IRS since 1989. The association hardly comes into view, except (1) as a space on the third floor of the New York State Capitol, right between the Senate and Assembly, housing members' offices and (2) an annual political satire show, staged in front of politicians and lobbyists. The first LCA show was staged in 1900, 1 year after 32 years of construction work at the Capitol were officially finished. This makes it the longest running show of that kind in the USA. I attended two dress rehearsals in 2009 and 2011. The idea of the show is that politicians watch themselves being parodied by singing reporters in silly costumes and then get the chance for rebuttals, on stage or in prerecorded videos.

Political satire shows of this sort have tradition in US political culture. "Inner Circle" (established 1922) is the New York City equivalent, which focuses on lampooning the mayor, followed by a rebuttal. At the White House Correspondents dinner (established 1920), a comedian is invited to make fun of the US president and the press, followed by the president making fun of himself and the press. The political satire show is a playful ritual of boundary maintenance, enabling journalists to tell politicians what they really think of them with due ironic distance. This temporary outlet is indicative for the prevalent rituals of avoidance of opinion in the occupational culture of US journalism.

The Maximilianeum in Munich houses the state legislature (“Landtag”) of Bavaria as of 1949 and was built in 1874. The association “Bayerische Landtagspresse” (LP) was founded on January 23, 1957. Its bylaws say: “[the association] has the purpose of facilitating journalistic work and representing occupational interests of its members towards the assembly, state government and [political] parties” (Bayerische Landtagspresse 2009; my translation). What this means is that the association acts collectively on behalf of its members (individuals or the whole group) if they are discriminated or wronged by political actors (more on this in the following section).

Criteria for LP membership are a full-time occupation as a journalist in Munich and continuous reporting duties on Bavarian state politics. The LP, furthermore, expects “that this occupation is carried out based on one’s own perception and information gathering” (ibid.). A condition for membership, in other words, is to be on-location and witness political processes first-hand (“aus Augenschein”) rather than from afar. The LCA membership requirements are full-time employment as journalists and “firsthand coverage of [the annual legislative] session” as the “primary assignment” during that time.⁶

The LP bylaws also note that the association organizes press conferences and background discussions. Judging from conversations with reporters, however, only the latter happened on a regular basis. About once a month, the LP invited a politician to discuss issues with members (I was not allowed to participate) off-the-record. The idea was to have a communicative space that enables invited guests to talk openly and provide journalists with contextual knowledge. According to some informants, this worked occasionally.

Defending members’ interests and organizing background discussions were described to me as the two main purposes of the LP. Both did not apply to the LCA, whose purpose is “to encourage, demand and protect the full, unbiased and free flow of news regarding the Legislature and all other phases of the government of New York State,” according to the 1984 bylaws. However, while the LCA did not defend individual members against political pressure, there were rare cases in which the association defended collective interests of the press. This happened in 2013, when the LCA president wrote a letter of complaint to the Senate Republicans about excluding the press and protesters from a hearing (McGeeveran 2013).

US reporters who had been reporting from the Capitol for decades said there used to be more socializing between sources and reporters.

One virtually had an unlimited expense account (inconceivable for present-day reporters) when he was still a Capitol reporter and used to take sources out for dinner all the time. He also admitted that he got too close and became friends with some of them (Interview, LCA editor, May 11, 2011). Senior reporters in the LP had similar stories to tell about close institutional proximity between journalism and politics. One of them reminisced:

In my beginnings at the Landtag in 1978, older colleagues still saw themselves as a “part of the parliament,” as an exclusive circle. They all automatically received the Bavarian order of merit, just like elected representatives. That’s long gone and it all became much more democratic. (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011)

Another difference between the two press corps was that the ranks of the LCA had thinned much more severely in the years prior, as most other state house press corps in the USA (Dorroh 2009). Seven news bureaus, mostly of regional and local newspapers, had closed at the State Capitol between 2005 and 2011. In the LP, the bureau of the regional paper *Donaukurier* had closed 2 years before my research in Munich; the one before that (*Mittelbayerische Zeitung*) was closed in 1999. Both newspapers, however, were still represented by correspondents who reported on state politics part of their time and commuted between Munich and their home newsrooms. Because of this shared experience of staff cuts and economic downturn of newspapers, correspondents in both countries had crisis awareness, though understandably much more so in the USA.

There were also ongoing but subliminal ethical controversies in the LCA concerning the very foundations of their association, which, to my knowledge, did not exist in the LP. Besides the fact that profits were donated, the annual LCA show involved monetary transactions between journalists and political actors, that is, reporters selling tickets to politicians. This had been a contentious issue and was the reason why some reporters and news organizations represented in the LCA did not participate. This included the *New York Times*, which in 2007 announced through columnist Frank Rich that it will no longer participate at the White House Correspondents dinner because it was a “crystallization of the press’s failures in the post-9/11 era” (Rich 2007). According to one of my informants, this pertained to all such events, which meant that the

Times' Albany bureau did not partake in the LCA show thereafter (personal communication, January 19, 2014).

Another discussion concerned the space provided by New York State free of charge and its press room manager, responsible for scheduling press conferences, sorting mail, handling security entrance cards for the press, and so on, and employed by the New York State Senate (Hammond 1995). Though most reporters found ethical resolution by the fact that office assignments were made by the LCA itself, this spatial arrangement had caused some controversy in the past. Gannett News Service moved out of the State Capitol to an office building across the street in 1981,⁷ after publishing a critical story about expenses of former Governor Hugh Carey's administration and then itself being criticized for receiving free rent at the LCA offices. This spatial rearrangement persisted until the day this book was finished.

Even though this situation led back to this one incidence that involved reporters (and politicians) who were not present anymore, successors in the Gannett bureau still drew meaning from their spatial distance. Former bureau chief, Jay Gallagher, was quoted in Hammond's story about this circumstance as saying "it works for us, but I don't want to pass judgment on anybody else ... I feel better about covering the capitol knowing we don't get free space from the state" (ibid). According to one informant, Gannett never considered moving back to the Capitol and deemed \$20,000 annual rent for the office space across the street "reasonable" (Email correspondence, May 22, 2009).

This episode may seem idiosyncratic but aligns itself in a series of instances following Watergate, in which news media gradually refused perks, as one of my senior informants told me. It was then that the *New York Times* started insisting on paying airfare when traveling with the governor (fieldnote, April 22, 2011). Some media organizations also demanded to be billed when reporters were invited to functions.

Spatial Flows of State House Reporting

LCA offices were fixed workstations for specific news bureaus and reporters. Several smaller offices were located in the hallway between the two legislative chambers. In the main pressroom, portraits of past Governors and posters of past LCA shows decorated the walls. Two green leather armchairs with ruptured armrests, next to an even older looking newspaper stand, constituted the social center of the common area. As most of the other interior, both looked as if they had been there for decades. There were

several empty desks in the common area, which were used by reporters on temporary assignment at the Capitol. A narrow stairway led up to a half-floor, which reporters called the “shelf” and which was considered the most prestigious space (Dash referred to it as the “inner sanctum” of the LCA).

The press room of the Landtag was not used permanently by LP reporters but only on days when the legislature was in session. The open-plan office had a sterile and more contemporary interior. Rows of desks stringed parallel together, divided by a central aisle. Compared to the LCA space, encompassing several smaller and bigger offices, the LP room was small and reporters shared workstations. The important difference was that several news organizations represented in the LP had their main newsroom in Munich (*Abendzeitung*, *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, BR, *Münchener Merkur*, SZ). Several other outlets (*Augsburger Allgemeine*, *Der Spiegel*, Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA), *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, *Die Welt*) provided offices nearby for their correspondents or had main regional subsidiaries/studios in Munich (Sat1, ZDF).

On days when the legislature was not in session, LCA reporters sat in their offices most of the time. However, even then there were events they attended in the building and they often met sources while walking through the building. Because of that, some reporters made it a point to regularly get up from their desks on non-session days to walk rounds and see whether they run across someone. On session days, they were out and about most of the time, talking to legislators in the lobby outside the chamber before and after, but hardly attended sessions themselves. This is partly due to the fact that there was an internal broadcast of legislative sessions at the Capitol. These broadcasts were running while reporters filed stories, looking up to the screen on occasion. Another reason why they hardly physically attended plenary sessions is that voting majorities are formed before then—this is similar in Munich.

Often enough, LCA reporters were approached by sources (mostly spokespeople) at their desks, who pitched upcoming events, came by afterward to provide further information or to bring things “in perspective” (also known as spinning). A proactive way how to get sources to talk to them were *stakeouts*, which occurred whenever there were pressing questions but no official opportunity for journalists to ask them, at least not timely enough. If reporters were aware that a given politician was at a particular location at a certain time in such a situation, they (alone or in a group) staked out the area or passage the politician needed to walk through. With this strategy, they in a way forced politicians to talk to them.

The problem with stakeouts was that reporters often did not know when officials appeared exactly, which meant that they waited for long stretches of time (sometimes hours). As a consequence, these waits were opportunities to talk among competitor-colleagues. The LCA room was also conducive for casual conversations. During my fieldwork, befriended reporters regularly dropped into each other's offices or talked within open spaces of the LCA room. Shelf reporters typically chatted in the middle of their shared office space at the end of a workday.

On session days, LP reporters were also outside of the pressroom most of the time, roaming around and conversing with sources. They spent more time than LCA reporters watching legislative session from the press gallery of the plenary hall. When Minister-President Seehofer attended plenary sessions, he usually came to the Maximilianeum earlier to talk to the press. Because of this, a bunch of reporters usually awaited him. Seehofer used these conversations to send specific messages, share assessments, and sometimes break news. Though the scope of news was hardly earthshaking in this context, it was significant enough so that many reporters found it essential to be there. One spokesperson derogatorily said about this practice that Seehofer acted as the "public chatterbox" and stood there to "throw some bones," which diverted media attention away from the legislative process (Interview, Bavarian spokesperson, April 23, 2012).

Most conversations between journalists and sources took place at the *Steinerne Saal* (stony hall) on the third floor of the Maximilianeum. Despite an occasional bunch revolving around a politician, I have not witnessed or heard of stakeouts in the way they happened in Albany, involving reporters hovering in front of offices. When I talked to LP reporters about the significance of spatial access to politicians, many referred specifically to the Steinerne Saal as the most important place to obtain valuable information or capture moods during session days, which could only be accrued through eye-witnessing and face-to-face conversation. Though LCA reporters equally emphasized direct interaction as important, there was no single place of such centrality as an informational stock exchange at the Capitol.

LP reporters usually talked casually with various people at the Steinerne Saal or waited for someone specific to talk, often about issues unrelated to the political agenda of the day. TV reporters typically met politicians at the Steinerne Saal but took them next doors to escape the noise for interviews. There was also a buffet in the passage that connected the Steinernen Saal to another hall. Over coffee and snacks, journalists used several bar tables there to converse with sources as well.

The *Landesgaststätte*, a restaurant on the first floor of the Maximilianeum, was the second most important informational stock exchange for reporters. They had their own corner with bar tables on the right side of the counter, overlooking the rest of the room, which was furnished with regular tables. One of my informants told me that in an effort of “associational lobbying,” as he put it, the LP pushed their corner through when the *Landesgaststätte* was reconstructed 2 years earlier. They had a similar place in the old room but the layout for the reconstruction did not include it originally. It was mostly relevant for journalists to observe, for instance, who was having lunch with whom, and to talk among themselves.

Another important difference to Albany was that there was a no-protest zone surrounding the Maximilianeum, which is typical for legislative buildings in Europe. Furthermore, it was not possible to just enter the Landtag. One had to book a guided tour, have an invitation or proof of being a journalist. The first time I was at the entrance of the Maximilianeum I looked around when I was jogging by and immediately drew a suspicious look from a policeman. The next time I only had a day-pass and was told where exactly I must go and that I could not just roam around freely.

My first visit to the State Capitol 2.5 years earlier could not have been more different. Though there was a security gate and scanner, the State Troopers did not even ask me why I wanted to enter. The building was truly open to the public, including activists and protesters. Visitors accessed the building through one of three security gates, two on the first floor at the east and west entrances of the Capitol, one through the underground concourse that connected the Capitol with other state government buildings on Empire State Plaza. Because the public actively used this access to express their will, part of journalists’ attention was focused on protest actions, which frequently accompanied political processes. Journalists’ views on organized protests in the Capitol were rather cynical, however. Some activist groups handed out schedules to LCA reporters in the mornings, which listed protest actions that would take place on a given day at the Capitol. It appeared to me that the more organized protests were the less interesting they were to journalists. They missed the spontaneity and authenticity of activism in “the good-old-days,” which resonates with Sarah Sobieraj’s (2011) ethnographic findings on the media-activism nexus. Journalists were compelled to cover protests for their news value, which consisted of performative representations of public will parallel to the (often dry) policy debates.

To give a concrete example, state budget negotiations in March were always instances when numerous interest groups populate the Capitol to make their claims heard. One day before the passage of the 2011 budget, one particular group of about 35 protesters blocked the entrance to the executive offices, as they had announced beforehand. They wanted the press to witness them being handcuffed and led away by the police. As expected, after they refused to leave voluntarily, State Troopers read each protester their rights, restrained them with plastic handcuffs and led them away without much resistance. Besides rolling TV cameras, there was always a member of the police videotaping such instances for documentary evidence.

I talked to one TV reporter on such an occasion, who expressed annoyance about how staged protests were. She felt she had to cover them, however, because otherwise some producer would complain on the next day. It would not be a separate story, she added, but an element of her state budget story of the day. One senior competitor-colleague overheard our conversation and said that, back in the 1960s, protesters would have just stormed the Governor's office screaming "freedom." But now it was all set up, he added wearily, "you are here, you're gonna go here, and then you will be arrested" (Fieldnotes, LCA, March 23, 2011).

Social Relations in the Press Corps

I did not notice any social or symbolic significance of the position of the LCA president. At the beginning of my field research, I was referring to the LCA president at the time as "your president" to other reporters. Neither did they find this designation funny, nor did they immediately know whom I was referring to. There were hierarchies in the LCA but they were not formalized. While Fred Dicker claimed the position of "dean of the press corps" and some outsiders also attributed it to him, he was also the most controversial figure within the LCA.

Office space assignments reflected corps hierarchies to some extent, specifically seniority and organizational influence: the shelf housed the *New York Times*, NYS Public Radio, *The Buffalo News* (the latter two represented by two of the most seasoned reporters in the LCA) and *Newsday*. The rather spacious AP office, accommodating two to three reporters and one photographer, was a separate room with a door and more than four times as big than that of Bloomberg News (accommodating one reporter). Two Time Warner stations, YNN and NY1, shared

by far the tiniest office. Three, sometimes four people worked crammed together, mind you that on-the-ground television production requires much more equipment than print production. In my mind, this asymmetry was only partly conditioned by the fact that these stations had rather recently staffed up. It certainly also had to do with the relatively low professional status of TV journalism. Apart from hierarchies, spatial divisions also reflected competitive lines since direct competitors (e.g. *New York Daily News* and *New York Post*, NYS Public Radio and WCNY, Bloomberg and AP etc.) were not in direct earshot of one another.

Besides the fact that workbenches in the pressroom were shared, social relations within the LP were structured differently than in the LCA. The chairman of the LP at the time, Uli Bachmeier of *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, was highly regarded and his position had significance. This had partly to do with his seniority, which was a precondition for being chairman. LCA reporters of all ranks take annual turns, sometimes grudgingly, on the association presidency, on the other hand. In the LP, furthermore, leading reporters who generated the hard core of topical foci of state house coverage were also social leaders, who not only appeared to “work sources” but also their competitor-colleagues when they sat side by side in the press gallery.

Judging from my informants, an average state house reporter was in his early 1940s in the LCA and mid-1940s in the LP, white, male and has been working as a journalist for about 20 years. Half of LCA reporters I interviewed had been on this assignment as state house reporters for more than 5 years (10 on average), half of my LP informants 10 years or longer (12 on average). The disparity between mean and median in the LCA accrued from the fact that there were more reporters who had been in Albany for a relatively short time, counterbalanced by several who had been there for decades. Seniority was distributed more evenly in the LP.

Unless state house correspondent positions were fixed-term (e.g. *Newsday*) or a step in the organizational career (e.g. *The New York Times*), being the state house correspondent was in many cases a long-term or final position of a journalistic career, especially in regional newspapers. This was even true for LP reporters, many of who were planning to retire in this position. Especially for young journalists, being a state house reporter was a springboard to move on to other ventures. In both case studies, several journalists had switched news organizations but stayed on their beat at some point in their careers. This is only reasonable, assuming that some news organization would want to hire journalists who already have

expertise and connections in state politics. Other news organizations utilized periods of institutional reconstitution, that is, when a new administration came into office, to build up young reporters. *New York Times* reporters typically did not stay on the state house beat for much longer than 4 years.

Because of the diversity of career structures, circulation and professional status of news organizations did not simply map on to the social hierarchies within the press corps. Some regional newspaper correspondents had been on this beat for decades. Most of them enjoyed great esteem among their peers, which had to do with their expertise, institutional knowledge, and past journalistic accomplishments. It also had to do with the fact that long-established and broad source networks procure exclusive and more nuanced stories and story angles, distinguishing their coverage from their competitors’.

Both settings were, furthermore, male-dominated, on the political as well as the media side. Because of this, several female reporters talked about their gender as an impediment in their job. One female LCA journalist did not like the undertone it had for her to hang out with (mostly male) sources after hours. Even more importantly, several women felt they needed to assert themselves much more to earn respect of their peers than men. This is also discussed in the portrait of Elizabeth Benjamin quoted in Chap. 4, which pictured her as particularly tough and relentless, an impression I shared from observing her from a distance (she declined several of my interview requests). As Benjamin herself said in that article, “You don’t have that many options as a woman in Albany or in politics in general ... You’re either written off because you’re a woman and it’s a boys’ club, you’re viewed as a sex object, or you’re a hard-arsed bitch” (Meares 2010). Older women especially criticized Benjamin for being “too abrasive and not deferential enough to the politicians she interviews” (ibid.) on TV.

A statement by Benjamin’s friend Jimmy Vielkind (at that time of the *Times Union*) in this context was characteristic for the aggressive masculinity of the state house culture: “In the halls of power, people respect power ... As many of us remember, sometimes the only thing you can do to make a bully stop picking on you, and take you seriously, is to punch him in the nose.” I have found the use of metaphors of violence for describing power relations in the media-politics game typical for young LCA reporters and not at all for LP reporters. They talked about “kicking someone’s teeth in,” “crucifying” or “beating the shit out of someone” to illustrate publishing a damaging news story about a politician.

CORPS SOLIDARITY

At their base, press corps are competitive social arrangements, which is what the following sections will primarily focus on. Apart from rivalry, there is occupational solidarity, camaraderie and in some cases friendship that transcend competitive divisions, which is captured in Jeremy Tunstall's (1971) notion of *competitor-colleagues*. All correspondents in this study saw their competitors mostly as colleagues, in a way as substitutes for newsroom peers. One LCA reporter, who had been on the Capitol beat for only a few years when I interviewed him, said: "I think it's very warm, I feel I gain a tremendous amount from them, I feel proud that I have earned their respect on some level" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). Another young LCA reporter described the camaraderie that accompanied competition similar to many others, including LP correspondents:

LCA has an odd camaraderie. Well, if one of us, unless it's a super scoop, you know, exclusive story that we don't want to share, for the most part they'll [be] like: "Oh, so and so just said that – you might wanna get that for your story." Because we know that we're all pretty much working on the same daily stories. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 22, 2010)

Despite the fact that all LCA reporters described the press corps as very competitive, they also said that the relationship to their peers was very collegial. One of them told me that he had a particularly bad day when I interviewed him. His editors wanted him to follow up on (and ideally disprove) a news story by Fred Dicker, who he jokingly referred to as "the devil" on a different occasion (talking to others in my presence). He was distressed about this because he found the story was "bullshit." He mentioned that two of his competitor-colleagues tried to console him and went for coffee with him. He added that he considered them friends (Fieldnotes, September 8, 2010).

LP reporters described the press corps in more positive terms than their US counterparts: as harmonic, as a home or a clique, as a backing and source of collegiality that they would not have otherwise. One young reporter said:

I find the cooperation extremely collegial. What sometimes happens is that you help each other – when you don't get a quote or when you are just lost or when you don't reach someone. If a colleague becomes aware of this, you get help. And I find that fantastic because this is a job where you are often a lone wolf. I really appreciate that and it is very friendly, too. Many colleagues are close friends. I find that beautiful. (Interview, LP reporter, March 26, 2012)

LP and LCA reporters mentioned stories about mutual assistance, especially about sharing quotes, over and over again. They seemed to believe that press corps appear as packs of self-interested individuals to outsiders such as myself, who would be surprised by this mutual support. Besides sharing quotes, reporters also shared assessments with each other. One young reporter, who constitutes a one-man bureau like many others in the LP, said he appreciated the possibility of feedback from other journalists. One LP reporter was grateful that competitor-colleagues in the LP were so cooperative: “Because everybody cannot be everywhere at the same time, you help each other out. I appreciate this very very much, really. There is no competitiveness in this sense. ... The matter of course and friendliness with which this happens I find very very positive” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011).

One senior LCA reporter, who one younger admirer repeatedly referred to as “God,” said he was generally very competitive and reticent when it came to talk about his work. He told me that he helps out competitors if they are on the wrong track, however, “because I’ve been here for so long. If I hear a reporter say something that I know is like, ‘you’re missing something there,’ I’ll tell them” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010). He added that this kind of sharing has increased in recent years while the press corps had been decimating.

Besides these similarities, informal mentoring between senior and junior reporters was something I only heard about in Albany. One journalist who was frequently mentioned as a mentor was Jay Gallagher from Gannett News Service, who passed away in May 2010. Gallagher had supervised several reporters when they were reporters or interns at the Gannett bureau earlier in their career and some have continued to receive mentorship by him as competitor-colleagues, especially in the years before he died.

Another important contrast concerns formal associational solidarity in Munich. The LP acts as an interest group not only in theory (the bylaws) but also in practice. Several informants pointed to instances when the executive board of the association sprang into action when reporters were intimidated, outcast, cut off from access to events or information or pressured through their superiors to be removed from the beat or even fired.

One reporter told me that under Minister-President Edmund Stoiber, his press office frequently just did not call back, which ensued in a complaint by the LP, defending collective interests in this instance. The LP took action when one spokesperson “lied offensively,” he added, next to

more mundane procedural issues, for example, pushing for plenary sessions not to be held in the afternoon in consideration of editorial deadlines (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011). There were more extreme examples in the corps history, however. One senior reporter told me about a former competitor-colleague from a regional newspaper who encountered strong political headwind:

Reporter: For example – that’s already 20 years ago – they wanted to get a colleague of us ... fired in connection with [a political scandal] and he indeed lost his job because he reported too critically about the former Minister-President, Max Streibl. The *Landtagspresse* is a good measure to push back against this.

MR: Did [*Landtagspresse*] file a complaint?

Reporter: Exactly.

MR: And how did that...

Reporter: Well, the colleague then went to *Spiegel*; he had an offer from *Spiegel*—from *Donaukurier* to *Spiegel*! Those were different times. But *Donaukurier* fired him under pressure from the Minister-President who wasn’t Minister-President for much longer. (Interview, LP reporter, March 21, 2012)

This case was reported in the press. One article quoted from the LP resolution, which called on the Minister-President to make amends: “There was ‘political pressure exerted in the case of Wolfgang Krach, according to information of the association.’ The association observed ‘political interventions against journalistic work with concern.’” (Englisch 1992). The resolution also evoked constitutional principles by arguing that press freedom meant “to respect and endure political evaluations, even if they do not conform to one’s own view” (ibid.).

The LCA did not defend the interests of individual members in this sense. There were instances when politicians ostracized particular reporters, but this did not entail concerted action by the association. As mentioned above, the LCA took action for collective interests at times, however. In my interviews, only one reporter referred to such “concerted efforts.” He said the LCA would sometimes send complaint letters when a government agency blocked public records that are subject to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA): “It will carry some weight, because it is everybody, you know. There is some political weight behind it, ‘cause nobody really wants to upset them” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010). He spoke in the third person because he himself was not a member anymore although he had an office in the LCA space. Though there was nothing wrong with

it on principle, he said that he did not like the image the LCA projected: “The public looking in sees a club of people who are supposed to be competing and I don’t think it looks good.”

When I asked reporters about the purpose of the association, most of them referred to the LCA show and assignment of office spaces. Apart from the *Times* bureau, another reporter—who happened to be friends with the reporter quoted above—said he had never participated in the LCA show because he found it “too cozy” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010). He differentiated between organized associational and informal solidarity between individual reporters, approving the latter.

Informal solidarity was exclusively bestowed to permanent members of the press corps. State house reporters made dismissive remarks about journalists who were not part of the press corps. This included journalists who reported on state politics from remote locations and those who were on temporary assignment at the Capitol or other scenes the press corps traveled to (e.g. party conventions, the Governor’s campaign trail). One young reporter told me he only trusted his competitor-colleagues to ask relevant questions at press conferences:

We see that sometimes with television reporters who come to the Capitol but who are not always at the Capitol and who sometimes ask question that [make] you think “what the fuck kind of question was that you idiot! You waste a question asking about underwear, dumb ass!” you know, whereas there are other questions that are unanswered. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010)

This distinction also related to local journalists in town that LCA correspondents encountered on the road with politicians. I asked another young reporter about how it was being on tour with the Governor and whether he perceived tensions between journalists who followed Cuomo constantly and local journalists on the scene:

They ask really dumb questions. They ask very provincial questions—which is understandable; it’s their job to ask the local question. ... You get varying levels of it. Some people ask the appropriate local question—if you are a local TV reporter, that your viewers want to know. Other people ask: “what are your goals for...” you know, stuff that’s just *stupid* and shows you got this assignment an hour ago. ... Also they are very star-struck, which is weird. It’s a strange thing. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 4, 2011)

As is so often the case, LP reporters expressed similar sentiments in a much more cautious way. When I asked one LP reporter whether there were benefits of reporting from outside the bubble, he told me about a story he and his competitor-colleagues covered. A commentary by an off-location journalist appeared, which diverged from the press corps' assessment. He attributed this to a "lower level of information" on the part of the commentator: "It is more independent but maybe sometimes less competent. That's the downside" (Interview, LP reporter, June 13, 2012). Another reporter said he sometimes wondered about journalists commentating on party conventions who were not even there. He said that *Augenschein* (close inspection) was key because "politics has a lot to do with interpersonal relations" (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012).

At a press club panel discussion in Munich, the chairman of the LP, Uli Bachmeier, told the audience about an instance where a reporter from Berlin came to a CSU party convention at Wildbad Kreuth. That reporter had asked sources about possible future personnel changes in the state cabinet, received one speculative assessment and turned it immediately into a news story, which was distributed in advance through the news agency DPA. After the panel discussion Bachmeier was further interviewed about this occurrence and said that nobody from the LP would ever do that: "just because somebody says something, which is obviously speculative, and sell it as a fact – that's not admissible" (CBCTV 2011).

State house reporters were concerned about news organizations withdrawing correspondents in the recent past. One could imagine that they would be happy about this since fewer reporters mean less competition and greater discursive influence of those who remain. Far from it, they loathed withdrawal of correspondents because they thought it weakened the press corps and lowered responsiveness of politicians. They were also worried that state political news coverage would deteriorate when more of it was produced from afar, without necessary backstage knowledge. These concerns were weaker in the LP as it had experienced less thinning of its ranks.

COMPETITION

The ways reporters described and evaluated competition in the two case studies was strikingly different. LCA reporters described competition in extreme terms. One senior who was particularly hard-nosed

and unperturbed by regular media commotions said: “the competition here is fierce. It’s so fierce that it drives me crazy” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010). While LP reporters agreed that competition was “sporting,” relationships between reporters were “collegial” and some claimed there was no competition at all, few mentioned exceptions who pursued a more competitive agenda. There was only one exception I could discern, a reporter of a regional newspaper whose competitiveness consisted of disseminating exclusive advance stories through news agencies. One of them referred to this practice as “pseudo-exclusivity,” exemplified by a politician who leaks a few pages of a much longer bill to a reporter, who then turns this in a scoop without knowing the rest of the text:

[It means] that I am in a way instrumentalized in that [the politician] gives me these five pages, which happen to benefit him and that he wants to place somewhere. It happens sometimes. And then you ask yourself what is exclusive about that if it appears somewhere a day in advance. (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012)

Apart from the fact that competition in the press corps was assessed as more intense overall, the principal rivalry was between New York City tabloids. “Epic newspaper battles” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 11, 2010) is how one reporter described this relationship, aside from the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, which had just introduced its “Greater New York” section in April 2010.⁸

Although most newspapers represented in the LCA served distinct regional markets, the growing pervasiveness of online journalism, especially blogging and tweeting, meant that competition radiated all through the LCA. One radio reporter mentioned: “I do find I get pulled into online stuff. You know, I’m definably influenced by the blogs. And I want to have stuff out there, too, if the blogs have it. ... You have to sort of do a little bit of everything” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 11, 2011).

As newspapers became “more like wire services” through online journalism, news agencies faced increasing pressure. Though the AP Capitol bureau was rid of its main competitor United Press International (UPI) in the mid-1990s, newspaper blogs started to become a competition for immediate news in the mid-2000s. One newspaper reporter, who

was very critical of blogging, said that it induced a change of strategy and eventual improvement of AP coverage:

I think the AP is focused on more substantive stuff now. ... “The budget of \$132 million includes a tax increase of blah blah blah,” rather than “so-and-so reported today that Shelly Silver may be against a property tax cap, based on a knowledgeable source.” The AP used to throw that shit on the AP wire. They don’t do that anymore. They let the blogs do it and I think that’s smart. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011)

He believed that because the AP had to accept not being able to break news as often as they used to, they focused on being first to publish more fully substantiated stories suitable for print publications, which usually require higher standards than blogs. Thus, the competition through social media, which he was the first to point out had worsened journalism, also had some indirect positive effects in his mind.

The most significant difference between LCA and LP, however, was how reporters evaluated competition in general. To German reporters, competition was inherently negative. US reporters, even those few who described competitive anxieties (all of them were female), were quick to point out the merits of competition.

When for the first time in her career a direct competitor had entered the press corps, one LCA reporter first experienced this new situation as frightening. She said it led her to sometimes cover stories because her competitor-colleagues followed them, even though she originally deemed them as irrelevant. Ultimately, she described it a positive experience, however:

In a way it was good, because I work harder now. ‘Cause I think: “I’m not letting them get that. This is gonna be mine!” And I have to say, actually it has sharpened me in a way that the print people go through that all the time. And it’s tough ‘cause you want to be friends with people. But, you know, if they get something you don’t [get] it’s hard to take. So, that’s been new for me, because I was here for [many] years with essentially no competition. (Interview, LCA reporter, February 11, 2011)

She added that she also benefited from her company’s response to the new competitive situation: they provided her with new equipment. Several other LCA reporters talked about the benefits of competition and some said they were thriving on it. One senior reporter mentioned this in the context of the economic decline of the newspaper industry: “I wished there were more jobs for more people. I relish the competition. I like the competition” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011). Another young journalist, who had just

transferred from another beat to Albany when I interviewed him, found the competition in the LCA “huge,” which he attributed to the fact that many journalists have settled there: “You have people who have drilled down deep into this government, everything that’s going on, and they are competing against people who have similarly drilled down and that just raises the level” (Interview, 24 February 2012). When I asked him what about US journalism he is proud of, he said: “one of the things I love about it is that competition.”

Apart from the fact that LP journalists perceived their particular competitive situation as pleasant, many of them drew boundaries in respect to the highly competitive environment in Berlin, which some described as a “shark tank.” One reporter said that one danger of a press corps was the formation of a clique:

It can generate a certain herd movement within the Landtagspresse sometimes, which has the advantage that the competitive pressure is not as incredibly great as in Berlin, for example. At least that’s our sense. Berlin media are focused on producing exclusive reports, come hell or high water. And that means they sell some far-fetched stuff . . . That happens less here [in Munich]. (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011)

One LP reporter, who used to work in Berlin, contradicted this by saying that competition within press corps always seemed more relentless from the outside than it really was. The default was collegiality, he said, before describing a scenario from the time he was still reporting in Berlin and one of his direct competitors came too late to a press avail. Rather than rubbing his hands with satisfaction over the competitive advantage, he filled him in about what had been said, up to the nuances he discerned as important (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). Another reporter who had working experience in Berlin said that Minister President Seehofer introduced the Berlin style of media–politics relations in Munich, which consisted of informal background discussions and using the press for stirring political conflicts (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012).

Apart from some exceptions, LCA journalists hardly ever referred to Washington D.C. Only one had a particularly negative opinion of the Washington press, which he discussed in the context of the Judith Miller case.⁹

Ironically, I think there is something about the competitive environment of the top levels where having access to inside sources becomes more important. The people who get that access do it sometimes in unscrupulous ways and they are rewarded for it by advancing in journalism. I think it’s kind of unfortunate. (Interview, LCA reporter, March 16, 2011)

There were some ambiguities between individual and organizational competition. On the one hand, individual qualities of correspondents often explained their competitive advantage. On the other hand, reporters emphasized that they competed with their competitor-colleagues' outlets rather than the person. On the first point, one LP reporter, who himself worked for a very powerful news outlet, said that sometimes being the paper of record does not matter much: "*Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* is a very important newspaper because they have a very good Landtag correspondent [Uli Bachmeier] who knows very much and who has the best contacts" (Interview, LP reporter, December 5, 2011). Long-established relations and being funny were other qualities he saw as reasons why politicians were so keen to talk to Bachmeier specifically. He also mentioned that there were several newspapers with similar influence as *Augsburger Allgemeine*, whose correspondents were not nearly as successful.

On the second point, when I asked one LCA reporter whether competition between individual correspondents or newspapers was more important in the LCA he said: "There is this sort of pride that your news organization has it first. Not that ... *I* beat *him*. What drives me more is just that somebody has to give *us* credit for breaking the story first" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010). Reporters in Albany and Munich explained the competitive relationship with regard to stories of the day ("pack stories") where reporters would talk about the key issues and help each other out. Regarding enterprise stories or scoops there was no exchange, of course.

During my field research I have experienced reporters talking about issues underlying news stories as well as not filling each other in about stories they worked on. One day, I had a conversation with a young reporter in the hallway of the State Capitol, who was simultaneously easy-going and inquisitive, witty and aggressive and seemed to enjoy making people uncomfortable. When a journalist walked by from a newspaper that is a direct competitor of his, he asked him in an off-hand kind of way where he was going. The competing journalist, who I experienced as a stern character, shrugged and responded: "I can't tell you, sorry" (Fieldnotes, LCA, February 24, 2010).

PACK JOURNALISM: HOUNDS, SHEEP AND LONE WOLVES

Pack journalism as a phenomenon is well familiar in the USA as well as in the German context. The equivalent German term *Rudeljournalismus* is less common and has a less definitive meaning than pack journalism.

In interviews with Albany reporters, I directly confronted them with the term—“what does pack journalism mean to you?”—while I found that the better strategy of German interviews was to rhetorically circle around the question. I started by asking about advantages and disadvantages of a press corps, which was usually followed by advantages only. I then said that common criticisms against press corps were that they generate homogeneous news coverage and often represent packs, after which they addressed these issues.

A very succinct definition of pack journalism by a senior LCA reporter went like this: “Pack journalism, for me, is sort of covering my ass”. He meant that part of what he did was making sure he covered key issues and events, which most of his competitor-colleagues also focused on. He added that the LCA has often been described as a ship: “It can travel together sometimes, which becomes sort of a collective thinking. I don’t know if that’s necessarily bad because it’s often just an obvious thinking” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010). Another senior LCA journalist said that “by definition” it is not a good thing, but that pack journalism “bubbles up out of good intentions.” It was driven by competition and, while the LCA may sometimes “overcover” stories, reporters often recognize a story as important and go in the same direction “not because it’s the wrong direction but because it’s the right direction. Where it becomes pack journalism is when you are pursuing it not because it’s a great story but because you anticipate that everybody else is gonna do it” (Interview, LCA reporter, March 16, 2011).

Both reporters addressed the basic understanding of pack journalism as news agenda setting. LP reporters also explained that covering the same issues was a consequence of shared criteria of newsworthiness. As one LP reporter said: “You define a certain hierarchy of topics, which just occurs objectively in part. For instance, when the Minister-President comes in, it is clear: all lunge at him. Of course! There are things that are objectively important” (Interview, LP reporter, December 6, 2011).

Two basic criteria of newsworthiness for state house reporters are amounts of money and extent of power involved in stories. LCA journalists, who put much stronger emphasis on accountability of government spending, frequently mentioned the state budget as an undeniable subject of newsworthiness. The Bavarian budget (*Staatshaushalt*) does not nearly evoke such interest and is barely negotiated in the context of public discussion but mainly within cabinet meetings and parliamentary debates about additional details. Though some reporters acknowledged that the implicit

consensus of newsworthiness can be problematic, for the most part they saw it in neutral terms and deemed it inevitable while arguing that joining the pack did not rule out the possibility of journalistic excellence.

Differentiation

The stickiness of the polluting attribute of pack journalism attached to press corps entails counterperformances by political reporters and reporting that actually counteract the mainstream. In that sense, competition may generate as well as prevent pack journalism. As one reporter put it, “pack journalism is the ... inverse of competitive journalism” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 28, 2011). Competitiveness may mean to join but distinguish oneself within the pack or to go in a completely different direction:

If you see everybody going right, strongly consider going left. Because if everybody is going there, presumably if there is anything really substantial there, it's gonna get covered, right? But what's all this other stuff that's not gonna get covered when twelve reporters go one way? So you have to – you can't ignore the pack, where they're going. You have to look into it; you have to figure out – if that's the best use of your time. (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010)

Sometimes the pack story was best served by a short piece, he continued, and then there was room to turn the focus elsewhere, either completely different issues or other aspects within that story. To him, both could mean he was doing a good job: “Even if you're on that story with the pack, you can be covering it better than the pack. And that's still going against the pack.”

The pressure to conform operated between competitor-colleagues as well as between news organizations and their state house correspondents. Though correspondents stressed their autonomy of news decision-making and though conformity mostly occurred as anticipatory obedience, some reporters acknowledged pressure from editors. On several occasions during my research in Albany, I have overheard reporters arguing with their editors over the phone. The problem often seemed to be differences of background knowledge and news judgment, or as one young LCA reporter put it diplomatically: “There is a danger [that] the editors sitting in their shiny buildings in offices on the top floor are a little disconnected from the stories sometimes” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 16, 2009).

As with other especially sensitive subjects, few reporters spoke about how it affected them personally but talked about it in more general terms. One radio journalist in the LP said pressure from editors concerned newspapers more: “They say that they receive this pressure ‘we need this’ or ‘when they have it we need it too’” (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012). A former newspaper journalist in the LCA who was given “free reign” in his current situation said: “I think editors or producers or whatever might not necessarily have their feet on the ground, know lay of the land, understand what’s going on [but] feel like they can dictate news coverage ... I think that’s a classic media problem” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 28, 2011).

LP reporters did not highlight this as a particular problem. In fact, more often they pointed out how they resisted pressures of conformity. One of them said: “If I don’t consider something an issue, I bring that argument forward to my editorial department and then we keep our hands off it. We don’t jump on every bandwagon, heaven knows” (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). There were also more LP journalists who denied the existence of pack journalism altogether. They explained this by the different regional constituencies they served, the different topical emphases of their outlets and the variety of news commentary they produced. However, several informants indicated that there was a hard core of reporters who were at the Landtag most often, who constituted the mainstream and had some influence on what others were doing. One spokesperson referred to them as a “boy group which does not distinguish itself much in its news coverage” (Interview, LP spokesperson, April 23, 2012).

Collective Interpretation of Issues

Besides collective agenda setting, there is another form, or rather a further consequence of pack journalism, which is intensified in a press corps context. Continuous conversations between reporters, with the same sources, at the same location about the same issues promote similar interpretations of these issues. Most reporters denied that it happened as a “conspiracy between reporters,” which is a common stereotype, but in more subtle ways. One LP reporter carefully stated that there might be “similar voicing” of stories sometimes. Another one suggested there was a danger in constantly exchanging views, which can turn into “conformity of opinions” (Interview, LP reporter, June 13, 2012). He added that this also happened through reading each other’s work.

Marginal insiders¹⁰ and former members of the press corps expressed more critical assessments of this type of pack journalism. One of them took a more conspiratorial stance: “They sit together, my colleagues, and they say, ‘what are you going to write?’ and there are a few opinion leaders who go: ‘this is the direction’ and then everyone writes that” (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012). Not spending too much time at the Landtag helped in this regard, said another LP journalist: “I have often the impression the Landtagspresse levels and it does not level upwards ... you are most highly respected when you don’t hurt anybody, when everybody is well-behaved and writes the same in principle” (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011).

The highly competitive nature of the LCA attenuated such conspiratorial arrangements. Not even most critical current or former members said this applied to the LCA. However, “in the old days”—this would be the late 1980s and early 1990s—the Albany bureau chiefs of the *New York Times* and *Daily News* shared an apartment and decided on their way to work what story they would make big on a given day, according to one former state house reporter (Interview, LCA reporter, May 11, 2011). At the time of my research, the competitive situation at the state house even limited what friends within the press corps would talk about before the editorial deadline. One bureau chief, who was good friends with another bureau chief in the LCA, told me: “I’ll be talking to a friend of mine, you know, at the end of the day, which can be pretty late. And we’ll just be laughing about something and then I’ll go home and I’ll see on the wire that he had this great story that just really beat me badly. But that’s the business” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010)

As indicated earlier, there were also less tangible ways in which pack journalism occurred, that is, other than conversational alignment of stories. One was collective thinking, which is typical within the self-contained environment of the state house that is often referred to as a bubble, echo chamber or *Käseglocke* (bell jar). One-directional thinking, which journalists shared with political actors, involved accepting the ways government works as a given. This led to operational blindness, meaning the inability to assess issues from a critical and social distance. It also entailed becoming an insider, which some news organizations avoided by limiting correspondents’ tenures. One LP reporter talked about “border crossings” by some of his more senior colleagues:

To the point where colleagues stand in the chamber, who walk in there nonchalantly even though this is actually not appropriate—you are supposed to speak with people in front of the chamber. That happens. And that journalist colleagues hit up a representative for some personal matter they have noticed and they pass them a note about what issues they should address. There were instances where too much has been mixed up I think. (Interview, LP reporter, May 15, 2012)

Another way how synchronization of coverage occurred was when one reporter broke a story important enough to put it on the general news agenda. The first story often defined the narrative frame in which it was told subsequently. Besides the fact that the press corps did not follow up on many scoops, when it did, said one of my LCA informants, “there is probably a collective decision-making, you know, if someone takes a certain tack to start it off it’s a lot harder to reverse that tack” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 5, 2010).

Besides the qualities of a story itself, the power to drive the pack is not evenly distributed among news operations and their correspondents. One might assume the *New York Times* and SZ were most effective in this regard. This is only partly true. Starting with the US case, the *Times* did frequently set the agenda, which had partly to do with the fact that if they focused on an issue, public and political attention was likely to ensue to a far greater extent than with any other outlet with the exception of the AP. The *Times* also had more organizational resources (personnel, legal power, etc.) than other newspapers. This is not to say that the *Times* did not also have accomplished journalists; it did. However, many stories clearly appeared in the *Times* because it was the *Times*. As one senior reporter said: “They get a lot of gifts handed to them” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010).

Almost all members in the LCA drove news coverage at times, at least those who engaged in enterprise journalism and breaking news. One side-effect of social media was that more journalists got involved in generating live coverage and the hunt for scoops, which spread the competitive playing field to some extent. Aside from this, Fred Dicker from the *New York Post* was often the leader of the pack. Specifically his Monday “Inside Albany” column was a driving force of pack coverage for the remainder of the workweek, besides Dicker’s regular news coverage and daily ten a.m. talk radio show on WGDJ. To his competitor-colleagues, a defining feature of

the column was that it lent itself for political attacks. One reporter referred to an episode frequently called *Troopergate*¹¹ in this context:

Since I've been here at least two politicians have made extensive use of the *New York Post*. They just try to stampede the rest of the press corps. You know, give them something for Monday that drives a couple of days of coverage. That worked really well for Andrew Cuomo when he was Attorney General during Troopergate. He wanted the whole thing to have a certain flavor. He was really able to use them with just little bits in the Monday column or even throughout the week. And we'd be forced to chase it because it was part of a law enforcement investigation. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

Even this reporter, whose job allowed him to ignore most of the minutiae of state politics, was drawn into the pack. Another reporter wondered whether other beats had a similar “*obsession* with these running stories” as Albany, where nothing is added for a long time but “news” are still being generated. He gave the example of last-in first-out (or LIFO), which is a measure to lay off employees according to least seniority that had been discussed in the field of education: “How many stories have been written about that just because the tab[loid]s will ask a question about it at every press conference because no matter what the Governor says they can write a story about it. That’s probably not productive on the long run but it happens” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 4, 2011).

Pack dynamics in the LP were much less defined by certain news organizations acting as agenda-setters. First of all, the SZ did not have the influence in Bavarian state political coverage that the *New York Times* had in New York. SZ was very influential on the national scale but its position in Bavaria was largely independent from that. One journalist said he had to “teach” politicians from his region that their voters did not read SZ: “This fixation is detrimental [to them] and many get it by now” (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). Another TV journalist argued that the importance of SZ was mostly based on other journalists assigning significance to it: “I have producers here of [TV program] that read the [SZ] in the morning and go ‘we’ll go in this direction’ but I may have a very different perception from the Landtag at that moment” (Interview, LP reporter, May 30, 2012).

He mentioned a story the SZ pushed a few years earlier, which turned out to be “soufflé, which quickly disintegrated.”

Tabloids, furthermore, had much less agenda setting power in Bavaria compared to New York politics. Only one reporter, Angela Böhm of the *Abendzeitung*, covered the Landtag permanently at the time of my study. One informant told me that the press association had disciplined Böhm occasionally when she went too far but that he wished this would happen more frequently.

Another important context of pack dynamics was the linkage between state house presses and national implications and aspirations of state politics/politicians. In Munich, there was the exceptional position of the CSU, which only exists in Bavaria (and no other state) and which joins forces with CDU on the national level. During the research period, Angela Merkel’s CDU and the CSU together formed the governing party in Berlin, which means that Bavarian Minister-President Seehofer was also deeply involved in national politics (and used to be a federal minister in previous governments). This peculiarity of the political system seemed to elevate LP reporters’ professional self-worth and the significance they assigned to their work and that of competitors. Among other things, they distinguished themselves from journalists in Berlin who could never penetrate the CSU to the same degree as they could.

In Albany, there was a different interweaving of state and national politics in the study period, which was more speculative and on an individual level. Only 3 months into Andrew Cuomo’s tenure as Governor, he was depicted as a presidential hopeful in the news. This speculation flourished even more after he was credited with passing the first on-time state budget in years on March 31, 2011 and especially after the historic passage of a same-sex marriage law on June 24, 2011. Cuomo’s possible future as a presidential candidate quickly grew into an anticipatory myth and the LCA became obsessed with this story. Questions about it came up time and time again in press conferences, interviews and news coverage, and especially in weekly roundtable discussions between Capitol reporters on television.

I started wondering why the press was so obsessed with this story, beyond the inherent sensation of covering a future frontrunner for the highest political office in the country. A conversation with one of my informants at the end of my fieldwork made me realize that a presidential

future of Cuomo may have positive career implications for reporters who had been covering him for years:

Reporter: Yeah, it's the classic example: You're a state house reporter and all of a sudden Cuomo becomes president and, shit, big career move, great for [name]'s career – all of a sudden the *Washington Post* wants the guy who has been covering him for the last eight years to move to Washington, cover the president. Shit, I'm in the White House! Actually, a friend pointed out that this is a—if you want to be completely cynical—this creates a massive disincentive for me to be critical. Because if I knock him down I theoretically diminish his political chances and, theoretically, my star could be aligned with his. Right?

MR: Do you think people consider that?

Reporter: Like anything, Matthias, I don't think there is one big giant moment but it's the collection of little, tiny decisions that add up to it. No, I don't think there is anybody in the press corps who doesn't see that. It's a pretty basic read, right? Especially for people who make their living covering politics, which to me is just a total, endless matrix of incentive structures. Who wouldn't see that? (Interview, LCA reporter, June 10, 2011)

Collective Wisdom

Besides negative effects, correspondents saw advantages of constituting a corps, specifically underscoring its collective wisdom, which consists of the partly shared background knowledge of the political field they covered. “It’s basically a group of experts,” said one LP reporter, “media outlets send people permanently to the Landtag because part of the political business is to have contacts, to be able to assess issues, to know what that guy said three months earlier” (Interview, LP reporter, May 15, 2012). Collective wisdom involves exchange of ideas between reporters. Especially newcomers benefit from more experienced reporters’ contextual knowledge and assessments. One young LCA reporter mentioned having just benefitted from collective wisdom on the day of the interview:

I just wrote a budget story and before I wrote it I talked to four competitors—I consider them colleagues—from different newspapers and asked what they thought about the day’s news. ... The pack has an informed opinion, you know. We don’t make this shit up. Are there dangers to that sort of groupthink? Absolutely. Are there benefits to it? Yes. I think it can lead to more insightful coverage in many ways. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010)

The reason for the defensive undertone is that his larger point was to confront the pack journalism critique. He argued that the pack possesses a vast stock of knowledge of state politics, most of which can never be published while almost all of it informed journalistic assessments, even the most minuscule details: “I know which legislators are drunks. I know which legislators make unwanted advances toward women. I know which legislators are stupid. I know which legislators are smart. And that affects my thinking” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). LP reporters, some of whom were not at the Maximilianeum constantly (in contrast to almost all LCA reporters), were more open about relying on their competitor-colleagues’ assessments. An example is this very experienced mid-career journalist who had been covering Bavarian state politics for decades but whose current job for a national media outlet did not require constant presence and attention to minute details:

You exchange views. I can ask somebody who is always [at the Landtag], from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* or *Augsburger Allgemeine*, like: “I got the feeling that everybody is against Seehofer in the CSU. What do you think?” Then he says: “No, you are on the wrong track there.” These assessments are quite important and they are beneficial. (Interview, LP reporter, March 23, 2012)

State house reporters saw another positive consequence of highly informed pack reporters in that they were more easily defying and exposing spin. According to one senior radio reporter, being an LP correspondent meant “to be immersed in the issues and therefore not fall for bluffs as easily” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011). One LCA reporter gave an example of how the pack was more effective in “spotting discrepancies” than other reporters: When a former Governor publicly supported a federal law, this reporter asked him why he had not reformed the law on the state level when he had had the chance 5 years earlier. The answer was not convincing. It was such a question, the reporter imputed, which made the Governor realize that “holding press conferences away from the Capitol made it a lot easier for him because he knew he had ... a pack or a group of reporters here who knew his record inside and out” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 10, 2011).

State house reporters also believe that constituting a knowledgeable pack puts pressure on politicians to be more responsive. One of them

referred to a recent scandal involving former minister of education and cultural affairs, Monika Hohlmeier:

As the classic course of scandals goes, it induces something like a pack formation, where you go “ok, we want to know that everything is put on the table” and suddenly there are two dozens of journalists underway to investigate on this one matter and then some things are revealed. In this respect there is a pack, a pack of hounds, if you will. That does happen but it is very rare that it happens unidirectional. (Interview, LP reporter, November 7, 2011)

A political scandal of career-ending proportion was indeed a rare occasion. Occasionally, LCA reporters brought up instances when appearing in greater numbers was an advantage. One reporter told me about a common practice of ganging up with competitor-colleagues to stake out politicians: “I’ll get Erin from NY1 ‘cause she has a TV camera. ... It does help sometimes ... If it’s only one or two [reporters], they might think they can get away with it” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 11, 2011). Another reporter mentioned the *Troopergate* scandal during Governor Eliot Spitzer’s tenure as an instance where the pack was helpful:¹²

When you have a group of reporters hitting you hard with questions, it’s a lot more difficult to just be dismissive of a question. ... If one reporter asks something, you can kind of bat it away and then the next reporter follows up with a totally different question – it’s done, you know. But if a group of reporters are making it an issue ... it kind of bubbles it up to the surface of the public consciousness. It also puts them on, you know, where they have to give real answers. And it allows you to find discrepancies in their stories. (Interview, LCA reporter, February 10, 2011)

Another LCA reporter used “ganging up” less in physical than discursive terms when the press corps relentlessly focused on critical issues in the news. He named political efforts of ethics reform as a direct consequence of the extensive news coverage on corruption in New York State politics that he and his colleagues generated in recent years.

CONCLUSION

Though both press corps were formally organized as press associations, their organizational relevance differed remarkably. The LP in Munich manifested itself regularly through organized background discussions

and, less regularly, through representing and defending collective and individual members' interests against political pressure or stonewalling. The LCA had a much lower level of organization, especially as an interest group, and even its minimal functions were contested among members of the Albany press.

Spatial access was a basic concern for both press corps. However, because of the permanence of on-site presence, it was even more central for LCA reporters. Despite that not constantly dwelling within the bubble would suggest otherwise, the no-protest zone around the Bavarian legislature secluded the LP from civil society and expressions of public will to some extent. LCA reporters, even though they dismissed protests as staged and inauthentic, promoted these expressions of democratic will to the public realm.

LP reporters described press corps solidarity in much warmer terms, which was counterbalanced by a friendly and humorous sociability among LCA reporters. This may be a biased view of an outside observer, however, who has not been socialized in the USA and experienced manners of social interaction as refreshingly informal and unconstrained.

The LP was interesting from a boundary perspective: the association protected the professional autonomy of its members, which created a form of solidarity between them that blurred lines of competition. LCA reporters in associational capacities did not defend their competitors from political pressure. Just imagining the LCA president filing a complaint against the Governor's office for denying a *New York Times* reporter access seems absurd, not only because cutting off the *Times* would be counterproductive (but is not unheard of). Conversely, journalists under attack would have never *let themselves* be defended by their competitors, which had not so much to do with the effective competition between outlets but the *competitive culture* that thrive on the individual esteem of the reporter. In addition, the growing trend of reporters turning into "personal brands" in the social media age (see Chap. 7) might make this level of solidarity even more impossible.

Thus, press corps solidarity was more formal and organized in the LP and more voluntary and spontaneous in the LCA, which corresponds to the varying powers of collectivism and individualism in both countries. There is a tendency to embrace associational structures in Germany—which is a *Vereinskultur* (associational culture) in many ways—while in the USA there is skepticism against (or at least contestation of) such structures and a preference for informal solidarity emerging from free association

between individuals. This difference is also favored by the varying power of market logics impinging on the journalistic fields.

Returning to competition: Not only does it appear much weaker, but reporters in Munich also perceived competition as necessarily detrimental. In contrast, Albany reporters perceived it not only as a matter of fact, including all of its downsides (stress, anxiety), but they saw competition as beneficial and improving their work. Competitive culture seems to be based on the elective affinity between individualism and the greater commercialization of news media in the USA.

Pack journalism was understood by state house reporters in two ways: covering the same issues and as covering them in similar ways. In terms of topical agendas, a certain synchronism within one bubble was inevitable and even desirable to reporters, who deemed some issues as inherently important. Synchronism became counterproductive to them when it was purely based on competition, however. At the same time, particularly LCA reporters saw competition as a driving force that averted pack journalism by fostering the will to stand out from the group. This ambivalence may be rooted in tensions between two kinds of competition: one is organizational (news outlets competing with each other for market share) and the other is individual (merit and esteem within the press corps and larger occupation).

The second form of pack journalism—collectively interpreting issues—had different origins. One of them was journalists talking directly to each other about issues they cover. This was more prevalent in the LP, whose sociability was more engaged and ritualistic (e.g. I never saw LCA reporters go for lunch in bigger groups). The competitive culture in the LCA further attenuated the collective interpretation of issues in conversation. Besides direct interaction, however, collective interpretation also evolves through thinking inside the bubble, which would seem to be stronger in Albany where the state house press was more deeply embedded in their political setting. Furthermore, Albany is a company town in many ways (the company being state government) and thus socially isolated. Especially reporters who had not lived in the area before their assignment typically relied on professional contacts to socialize with outside of work.

Another way how press corps ended up interpreting issues similarly was by the definition of narrative frames through exclusive stories, which others were compelled to follow. The power to set the narrative agenda was not evenly distributed in the press corps and the *New York Times* as well as its polar opposite, the *New York Post*, both acted in this way in the LCA. In the LP, in contrast, this power was more evenly distributed

because tabloids were much less involved in state political coverage and because SZ was not as dominant as the *Times*.

Finally, both press corps emphasized advantages of this collective interrelation, which is best summarized by the collective wisdom of a press corps. Firstly, some knowledge was shared within the press corps and less experienced reporters particularly benefitted from that. Secondly, a better-informed collective could more easily defy and expose spin. Thirdly, a wise pack of reporters could act more effectively as a collective to evoke responsiveness and demand accountability from elected officials. This collective wisdom had been waning in the LCA, however, as its ranks were thinning.

NOTES

1. The disclosure arose from a FOIA requests in March, 2010 for e-mail correspondence between journalists and the Governor's press aides. The request was denied and *Columbia Journalism Review* collaborated with *Gawker*, who started a similar investigation, to file suit. The Attorney General's office decided that the denial was unwarranted and the government released the correspondence 9 months later.
2. The disclosed e-mails actually revealed that the *Times* was investigating on this issue but the story that they were working on at around February 7, 2010 was not connected to this, but dealt with a domestic violence incident a member of Paterson's administration was involved in and that the Governor's office allegedly tried to cover up (Hakim and Rashbaum 2010).
3. The sex scandal was one in a series of damaging rumor-turned-news stories on Governor Paterson, some of which had stronger factual bases than this one. The news story by the *Times* that came out eventually did not address these rumors. After President Obama publicly requested him to withdraw and his approval rating further, plummeted David Paterson ultimately decided not to run for Governor in late February of 2010.
4. Competing journalists on the same beat often employ one another as sources in moments of uncertainty, as Gans (1979:139) suggested, which leads to "fraternization." Tunstall (1970:81–86) found that competitor-colleagues at the Westminster Lobby not only share certain information but also directly cooperate with each other to report the news.
5. Reinemann (2004) stresses the importance of consuming news by others to assess newsworthiness as a force of homogenization and mainstreaming. Technological mediation furthers this dynamic, as Boczkowski's (2010) study on online news production suggests. He found that mutual monitoring between news operations on the web leads to imitation and similarity of news agendas, especially in the production of hard news (he found more incentive to be unique in soft news production).

6. One member shared a digital copy of the 1984 version of the “Constitution and Articles of Incorporation of the Legislative Correspondents’ Association, Inc. of the State of New York,” personal communication, March 3, 2016.
7. According to Richard Benedetto, personal communication, August 22, 2011.
8. This was first seen as a competition for the *New York Times* bureau. This perception quickly dissipated when the sole state house reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, Jacob Gershman, was hardly seen at the State Capitol.
9. The stories of *New York Times* journalist Judith Miller before the USA went to war against Iraq gave credibility to the allegation of the existence of weapons of mass destruction there, which turned out to be false.
10. Marginal insiders includes reporters from less relevant news outlets (that have little influence on other journalists), whose agenda may be removed from daily journalism for whatever reason (they are columnists or exclusively practice investigative journalism) or just socially marginal reporters who do not engage as much with other reporters. I took their views seriously but treated them carefully in the sense of weighting whether they were just outliers or insights from a position of greater critical distance.
11. “Troopergate” started as a travel scandal involving Republican Senate majority leader Joe Bruno, who was accused of using state aircraft to travel to fundraisers, in the *Albany Times Union* (Odato 2007). Largely because of Dicker’s coverage in the *Post* and then-Attorney General Andrew Cuomo’s investigation into the affair, the story changed and became a surveillance scandal: Governor Eliot Spitzer’s staff was accused of using state police to create records about Bruno’s whereabouts and instigating the initial story in the *Times Union*.
12. An instance of this is available in an online video, which shows reporters repeatedly asking very similar questions in a press conference and putting pressure on Governor Spitzer: azinyc. 2007. “Eliot Spitzer and Fred Dicker, Albany Press Conference.” YouTube Website. Retrieved January 11, 2014 (<http://youtu.be/aBgxRRBgyFc>).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bayerische Landtagspresse. 2009. “Satzung.” Retrieved August 20, 2015 (<http://www.landtagspresse.de/Satzung-Landtagspresse.pdf>).
- Benjamin, Elizabeth. 2010. “Protecting Paterson.” *Daily Politics, New York Daily News*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (<http://www.nydailynews.com/blogs/dailypolitics/protecting-paterson-blog-entry-1.1676909>).
- Boczkowski, Pablo J. 2010. *News at Work: Imitation in an Age of Information Abundance*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

- CBCTV. 2011. "PresseClubforum Zum Tag Der Pressefreiheit." *CBCTV: IPTV on Demand*. Retrieved September 21, 2015 (http://www.cbctv.de/beitraege/110504_PCForum4.html).
- Crouse, Timothy. 1973. *The Boys on the Bus*. New York: Random House.
- Dorroh, Jennifer. 2009. "Statehouse Exodus." *American Journalism Review* 2(31). Retrieved (<http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=4721>).
- Englisch, Roland. 1992. "Die Landtagspresse Fordert Ministerpräsident Max Streibl Zur 'Wiedergutmachung' Auf." *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, July 22, 19.
- Gans, Herbert J. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Gormley, Mike. 2010a. "AP Interview: NY's Paterson Lashes Back at Rumors." *The Associated Press*, February 9.
- Gormley, Mike. 2010b. "NY Gov. Paterson Meets with Lawmakers over Future." *The Associated Press*, February 8.
- Hakim, Danny and William K. Rashbaum. 2010. "For Paterson Confidant, Fast Rise and Questions." *The New York Times*, February 17, A1.
- Hammond, William F. Jr. 1995. "Legislative Press Corps Enjoys Rent-Free Space in Capitol." *The Schenectady Gazette*, April 9, B1.
- Hendler, Clint. 2010a. "OneNightattheAP." *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/one_night_at_the_ap.php).
- Hendler, Clint. 2010b. "The Paterson E-Mails." *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/the_paterson_e-mails.php).
- Johnson, Richard. 2010. "Shock for Dave Mansion Cop." *New York Post*, January 30, 10.
- koblin. 2010. "Anyone Hearing about NYT Bombshell on Paterson? Heard Big, Damanging [sic!] Story Comin. Been Working for Weeks, but Still Not Published yet." *Twitter post*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (<https://twitter.com/koblin/status/8686239448>).
- McGeveran, Tom. 2013. "Albany Reporters Protest Being Blocked from a Republican Hearing." *Capital New York*, May 8. Retrieved August 20, 2015 (<http://www.capitalnewyork.com/article/media/2013/05/8529818/albany-reporters-protest-being-blocked-republican-hearing>).
- Meares, Joel. 2010. "The Biggest Fish in Albany?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, November 22. Retrieved December 11, 2013 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/the_biggest_fish_in_albany.php).
- Odato, James M. 2007. "State Flies Bruno to Fundraisers." *Albany Times Union*, July 1, A1.
- Precious, Tom. 2010. "Paterson Stays on Job amid Scandal Rumor." *The Buffalo News*, February 9, A1.

- Reinemann, Carsten. 2004. "Routine Reliance Revisited: Exploring Media Importance for German Political Journalists." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 81(4):857–76.
- Rich, Frank. 2007. "All the President's Press." *The New York Times*, April 29, 12.
- Shoemaker, Pamela J. and Stephen D. Reese. 1996. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Sobieraj, Sarah. 2011. *Soundbitten: The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Tunstall, Jeremy. 1970. *The Westminster Lobby Correspondents: A Sociological Study of National Political Journalism*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Tunstall, Jeremy. 1971. *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents: Their News Organizations, News Sources, and Competitor-Colleagues*. London: Constable.
- Zelizer, Barbie. 1993. "Journalists as Interpretive Communities." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 10(3):219–37.

Embedded Political Reporting: Boundary Processes and Performances

“Dash” is sitting in his office on the third floor of the State Capitol Building, talking on the phone to a former gubernatorial spokesperson.¹ He was offered to interview a high-ranking official the next day for a “soft” human-interest story, and is looking for an independent angle. Therefore, he calls up the former press officer to ask him whether he could speak to his former boss and whether he has any suggestion about not making the story a quasi-press release. Just as he gets off the phone, Chuck, who high-fived him first thing in the morning, explains to somebody on the phone: “Dash did it through good sourcing!” On that day, whilst Dash tries to figure out how *not* to make the story just handed to him a “press release” for the politician, one reporter after the other comes into the office to congratulate him on yesterday’s scoop. The story, which is in today’s paper and was posted the night before at 9:23 pm, reveals that a current elected official is about to resign in order to work for the state government in a not yet specified position. Dash received that tip from a county-level source yesterday, confirmed it with a spokesperson of the office the official is about to start working at, and finally with the official himself.

Most noteworthy about the story for State Capitol reporters is not the resignation itself but the fact that Dash not only scooped the local daily newspaper in the official’s district but that it failed to get the story in today’s paper in time. They drop in saying “I can’t believe you scooped the [newspaper] on their own turf”, “did [newspaper] offer you a gig?” Chuck envisages the chief editor probably “reaming somebody out” this morning. Another reporter suggests Dash should “torture” the local paper on the blog and mention on every follow-up item how they did not get the story

in today's paper. Dash says he doesn't want to do that because it would be "kicking a dead puppy." The other reporter suggests that Dash could make the point that— if the paper still had a reporter at the State Capitol (as it used to)—they would not be in this disgraceful situation. (Fieldnotes, LCA, February 9, 2011)

In both of these instances, Dash was handed a story by a source, however, for different reasons and with different implications for his sense of professional self-worth. The latter instance was an anonymous tip he received from a source he developed a good relationship with. The source had a piece of information, knew it would be valuable for Dash and gave it to him instead of other reporters, probably to deepen the working relationship and hoping for future reciprocity. "Good sourcing" involves a competitive advantage through social connections that yield different or quicker information. There are exogenous reasons for why sources give a tip to a particular reporter—his or her outlet, its audience, reach and coverage area—but sometimes it is about sympathy and personal trust. Because of this, Dash cultivates relations to his sources with much care. He often calls them simply to "shoot the shit," as he says. The serious middle part of a phone conversation is usually framed by small talk and more personal conversations. Dash usually closes by asking "anything else I should know?" which sometimes yields pieces of valuable information.

The prior instance was an offer for a "soft story," that is, a story with a human-interest angle, based on an exclusive interview with a politician. Dash loathed this assignment. His newspaper, however, would have turned down the offer under no circumstance, given the power, popularity and consequential newsworthiness of the politician in question. The politician offered the story to Dash mainly because it catered to his readers and possibly, in part, to humiliate him. As the following field note from 5 days later shows, he received a different reaction from his coworkers:

A bureau colleague walks into Dash's office, jokingly asking whether he had heard that he had a 77 percent approval rating amongst their readers. The soft story about the official, whose approval rating amounted to 77 percent by a poll today, appeared on the front page of their paper. When I ask him about it a few minutes later Dash says regretfully that it was "not the most insightful thing I've ever written." He added that it was inevitable to do the story, that, as a human-interest story, it did not seem effective apart from painting a favorable picture of the official and that it was based on facts. (Fieldnotes, LCA, February 14, 2011)

The question remains, however, whether these “facts” were worth being published at all. Dash’s reaction suggested that his professional sensibility objected. The fact that other reporters poked fun at him meant they understood Dash’s quandary very well. His rolling eyes and self-justifying statements when anybody brought it up that day and even weeks afterward are expressions of tensions between professional ideals and organizational interests, one of which is to sell newspapers according to populist appeal in the attention economy. Although “selling newspapers” may not be an immediate concern for reporters (see Chap. 4), it influences news work in the form of tacit assumptions about newsworthiness and preferences of editors; nobody had to tell Dash he had to do the soft story and why. A few weeks later, Dash published a critical story about ongoing negotiations, which shed an unfavorable light on the same top official:

Dash is in a conversation with a competitor-colleague who just dropped in his office [a few weeks ago he made apologetic remarks to her concerning the aforementioned soft story]. After talking about his soon-expected baby, he mentions in passing that his paper received complaints from the top official’s office about the critical story he published a few days earlier (Dash asks her not to spread this around, however). When I ask him about it afterward he says they sent a letter to his editor, calling Dash by name and arguing that he well made sure not to get the facts in the way of his story. He acknowledged he got one detail wrong but that it did not warrant the complaint. Most importantly, Dash’s editor stood behind him. (Fieldnotes, LCA, March 16, 2011)

Mentioning the complaint to his competitor-colleague appeared as an effort to reestablish his professional esteem among his peers. Overall, this example illustrates the ongoing back-and-forth in the media-politics game where one team wins on a given day and loses on the next. Apart from overt antagonism, which is an important part of journalists’ performance of professionalism, both sides carefully maintain and cultivate relationships with each other. I did not detect hampering personal animosities and despite a certain degree of mutual contempt between reporters and political actors, such instances are usually followed by business-as-usual. However, exceptions to this rule will also be discussed in the following sections, next to different sources of journalistic autonomy, including professional and organizational norms, reporters’ personal lives, forms of interaction with sources as well as news themselves as ultimate representations of journalistic professionalism.

Media scholars have mostly considered reporter–source relations in terms of control over news decision-making, focusing on how social, informational and cultural dimensions of media–politics relations influence the news.² This chapter takes a different angle, taking these relations and negotiations as opportunities to analyze journalists’ normative commitments. Rather than focusing on conditions for and implications of journalistic autonomy, it examines cultural practices that aim at remaining and appearing autonomous in their own terms. These practices consist of managing, selective blurring, and performing professional boundaries. Comparing cultural practices of German and US reporters in source relations serves to further examine differences between the two occupational cultures.³

THE PROPS OF PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCES

Though an important aspect of performances is to accommodate situational demands, they only become meaningful by appealing to cultural structures shared by or at least familiar to performers and their audiences. Performers appeal to these in the scripts undergirding performances and props they use as representations of these structures. Journalists evoke organizational policies and practices as symbols of professionalism to bolster boundary performances. They also make sacrifices in their personal lives concerning civic engagement, less to support professional performances but to avoid compromising them. The following section discusses these props of professional performance.

Editorial Policies

News organizations regulate and protect the autonomy of their reporters. One way they do this is through ethical policies, which many newspapers—both in the USA and in Germany—publicize on their web pages. In the USA, some companies require their news staff to sign revisions of policies periodically. Among other things, ethical policies often define codes of conduct for dealing with sources, for instance, concerning gift acceptance and invitations. The Ethics Policy of Gannett, for instance, says: “For people in news operations, the recommended practice is to accept no gifts” (Illinois Institute of Technology undated). Most news organizations

demand to pay for dinners and trips with politicians themselves. They also have more or less strictly defined sourcing policies, which specify if and how unattributed information and quotes can be used. Ethical policies in the USA, furthermore, prohibit journalists from making political donations, engaging politically, let alone holding political office. The *Times*' guidebook puts it very succinctly: "Journalists have no place on the playing fields of politics" (The New York Times 2004), which is followed by a detailed description what journalists can and, for the most part, *cannot* do regarding "participation in public life." With the exception of political mandates, rules are more lenient in Germany.

Although I did not compare codes systematically, in Germany, I have not heard of or read codifications of source relations to the degree as they exist in the USA. The above-cited *Times*' "Ethical Journalism Guidebook," which is a 57-page document, would be a very detailed example. In addition, the *Times* has separate guidelines on integrity, including how to use anonymous sources (The New York Times 2008). Tabloids typically have no codified policies, at least none that are made public, and laxer sourcing standards.

Ethical policies that are accessible and thereby *communicated* to the public, including news sources, serve as representations of autonomy. However, while in Germany none of my informants even mentioned ethical policies,⁴ US reporters did and, moreover, brought them to bear. US reporters utilized them in performance and referred to them as regulatory manifestations of boundaries when they were negotiating with sources. For instance, in a disclosed e-mail correspondence discussed in Chap. 5 (Hendler 2010), an Albany journalist justified his story toward a spokesperson by arguing that, had it been up to his editors, the story would have been even worse. He told him that he threatened to withdraw his byline if the article was published that way, which, according to their company's editorial policy, would have meant that the story could not have appeared at all.

Ethical codes had particular performative relevance regarding anonymous sourcing. The common sense in the LCA was that anonymous sourcing had increased overall. They blamed the intense competition between the city tabloids (*Daily News* and *New York Post*)—termed as an "epic newspaper battle" by one reporter—for this increase. Furthermore, LCA reporters blamed blogs run by several legacy news companies because their hunger for instant information lent itself to lower sourcing standards.

Journalists tried to offset the perception that the practice of anonymous sourcing was an entry point for manipulation, besides providing sensitive information. One senior reporter told me about instances of fabricated

stories in his company: “The most important thing a newspaper has in the United States is its reputation and trust. This was a huge violation of trust obviously. So we really clamped down on anonymous sources or anything that we couldn’t document” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009). Another one explained his company’s strict policy: “You should be sparing in using anonymous sources. An anonymous source in a [company] story can only give factual information. No opinion” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 13, 2010).

In both of these cases, sourcing policies substantiated claims to professional autonomy. Reporters invoked rules of their organizations as extensions of how they operated and how their news products are to be evaluated, namely purely according to professional standards. This was either an effort to defend a news story post hoc or to convince a news source of a reporter’s credibility so that it shares valuable information.

The Wall and (Dis)comfort of Partiality

Political actors categorized reporters as friends and enemies, according to their outlets’ editorial positions, which affected access and relations with them. Reporters dissociated themselves from these positions and saw unclassifiability and being attacked by politicians from both/several parties as a sign of professionalism. One major difference, however, is that LCA journalists (except few bureau chiefs and one sole columnist in residence) hardly wrote commentary whereas in the LP almost all reporters did.

Some LP reporters conceded that they sometimes compensated for the perception of partiality by allowing more space for “political enemies,” but, in general, it did not appear as a problem for them. As one reporter pointed out: “There are prejudices on both sides, no question. People are sometimes categorized and can never escape that scheme. But that’s like everywhere” (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). Because party politics is more diverse and central in the German proportional parliamentary system, this particular kind of categorization was stronger than in the USA. Even though US media outlets are categorized as liberal or conservative, they are less associated with respective parties. One reporter was bothered by the liberal attitude she perceived among her colleagues who were devastated when John Kerry lost the presidential election in 2004 and cheering when Obama won in 2008. A German reporter spoke about having a partisan label while pointing out her own allegiances unashamedly:

The whole thinking of politicians works like this: She is for us, she is against us. I think they really divide journalists like this: She is SPD-affiliated, she is a Green. I couldn't even tell! I have voted Green before and I don't know whether I have ever voted for CSU. I think SPD is a party you can vote for. I would not vote for "Freie Wähler." What do they stand for? (Interview, LP reporter, January 30, 2012)

LCA journalists take pigeonholing less lightly and distance themselves more rigorously from the editorial section of their newspaper as well as any other form of partisanship. This pervasive need of distancing in the USA corresponds to the institutional norm of separating facts and opinion, news and editorial sections, the corresponding division of labor between respective newsroom personnel and, above all, the obligation of news reporters to be objective. The metaphor *the wall* (one of the reporters said *firewall*) encapsulated this principle.⁵

The fact that they represented newspapers with certain editorial positions weakened reporters' performance of impartiality, however: "If people like your editorial [or] if they don't, you're always answering for that, even though you don't write them" (Interview, LCA reporter, February 10, 2011). They invoke the wall between opinion and news more or less explicitly in interactions with sources to push back against this criticism. One senior reporter I will call "Ned" refused to participate in reporter roundtable discussions on television because he thought it was already too close to expressing opinions, if only by rolling your eyes:

I don't even read my newspaper's editorials, because I don't want to know what they think. I really want that sort of firewall up. I'll have people come here and [say] 'your fucking paper's editorial said that ...' [My answer always is] 'uhm, that's not me. That's a whole other department.' (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010)

I witnessed this attitude in practice when I shadowed Ned one year after our first interview:

I walk with Ned from an outside event back to the Capitol building and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and his spokesperson walk right next to us. When we pass by the fountains on Empire State Plaza, Silver says jokingly that they should hold Assembly meetings out here. In fact, he adds, they should also hold meetings with the editorial board of Ned's paper's out here and Ned should suggest that to them. Ned responds quite earnestly that he does not talk to his editorial board. (Fieldnotes, LCA, May 10, 2011).

Even in this jocular context, Ned, who was a person with a good sense of humor, seriously affirmed the existence of the wall. Another reporter—the most extreme upholder of the wall in the LCA—told me that he was not even allowed to talk to editorial writers and vice versa. He even claimed that violation of this organizational norm could cost him his job,⁶ which was his standard response to politicians asking him about who his paper would endorse in an electoral campaign. When I asked him whether he got labeled according to his newspaper’s editorial positions, he said:

We’re constantly preaching to them. ... The most common thing that’ll happen is they’ll send me something that is meant for [his paper’s chief editorial writer] or vice versa. And I can’t forward it to her. There’s *a wall*. I can’t forward it to her. So I will call him up: “Hey, you know, he really meant that for [name]. You know, here’s her address.” – “Can’t you just forward it?” – “*No!* No communication. And she does the same thing.” (Interview, LCA reporter, September 8, 2010)

Despite the overall increase and diversification of commentary in US media (Jacobs and Townsley 2011) and its diffusion to news sections and social media presences (Lasorsa et al. 2012; Revers 2014b), the wall and the omission of opinion was the most consensual professional norm among LCA reporters. Those few bureau chiefs/state editors who wrote columns in addition to regular news reporting argued that what they offered in their columns was analysis, wit or insider knowledge rather than opinion, while strictly distinguishing between their column and news writing:

I’m usually looking for a comic conceit to put on the week’s news. But that frequently involves criticism of politicians that I am going to be covering at some point on a very straight-ahead basis ... I try to make sure that, whatever the argument that I’m making in the column, that it’s completely bulletproof. That, even when it’s comic and cutting, that it is a fair critique; that it is a critique that no one would argue with. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 11, 2010)

However, all of these column-writing news reporters acknowledged difficulties in reconciling these distinct obligations. Such tensions and associated organizational norms were non-existent in Germany, where newspapers had been ideologically aligned with political parties for about a century before they differentiated. A weaker separation between news and opinion in contemporary German journalism is a remnant of

this institutional linkage. Among LP reporters, the personal union of reporter/columnist was quite common. In most cases reporters wrote commentaries and a journalistic form they called *Korrespondentenfeature*, which tends to be more analytical and critical than a regular news story. Probing for whether this combination of tasks ever got them into trouble with political actors (e.g. getting politically labeled, stigmatized, ousted) was negated throughout.⁷ They did not seem to have any problems with negotiating writing opinion and “objective” news stories, often even in the same issue of their newspaper (only one LP reporter spoke of a “balancing act” in this specific context).

Quite contrarily, LP reporters objected to the notion of *reine Nachricht* (pure news) that is connected to the ideal of objective news. As one TV journalist pointed out: “‘Pro and con and then we let the viewer decide’ is not my thing” (Interview, LP reporter, May 30, 2012). Correspondingly, the appearance of impartiality was not a concern for LP reporters. When I asked whether opinion writing impaired their news credibility, many of them did not even understand what I was talking about. One reporter put it quite bluntly: “Look, it’s a craft. It is like: ‘Today I make a table, tomorrow I make a chair.’ It works. ... If you can’t do that you chose the wrong occupation” (Interview, LP reporter, March 23, 2012). I asked spokespeople whether they pushed reporters’ buttons by accusing them of partiality (as their US counterparts did). Similarly, they unanimously negated or did not understand what I meant. While LCA reporters maintained their news credibility by distancing themselves from opinion, the following statement of an LP journalist could not be more contrary:

If I write a news report and it wells up inside of me, where I say “you can’t write this, what he is telling me is baloney” or “it has this or that implication, which he has not considered” ... When I reach this threshold that it wells up inside of me—that something wants out—I write my news report as it’s supposed to be, as objectively as I can, and then I write an additional commentary where I can give my opinion free reign. (Interview, LP reporter, February 10, 2012)

Only when I broached the subject again, he conceded that there was a possibility that opinion flowed into the news but that analysis and feature writing, like opinion, additionally buffered this tendency. To him, commentating acted as a purification ritual for news writing; writing commentary enabled him to leave his opinion out of the news.

Editorial and Associational Defense Shields

In both countries, reporters told me of politicians complaining about them (or threatening to do so) with their editors, usually for being misrepresented or treated unfairly. This usually occurred behind the scenes and was hardly discussed in public. When I was already conducting field research in Munich, there was an incidence of political pressurizing that became public in Albany. A document by Richard Bamberger, then Communications Director of Governor Andrew Cuomo, leaked to *Buzzfeed* and initiated the discussion about such practices. The “dossier”—put in quotation marks because this designation was itself subject of discussion—about journalist Elizabeth Benjamin comprised 35 pages of news stories of her with annotations by Bamberger, such as “GENERALLY SNARKY” (Smith 2012). Bamberger acknowledged the authenticity of the document, which he prepared for a meeting with senior executives of Time Warner Cable News. In subsequent discussions among journalists about this story, the leaked dossier was viewed as further evidence for the media adversity of the Cuomo administration.

This was a rare unveiling of this prevalent pressure tactic. Unless there were factual errors, in almost all cases reporters told me about editors sprung to their defense. I refer to this resistance as the *editorial defense shield*, which reporters count on and use in boundary performances. A seasoned LCA reporter recalled: “In my career I’ve made a lot of people angry over the years and cost some people their jobs and I’ve never faced any pressure by anybody [within my organization] to pull back, *ever*” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009). He explained this by the integrity of his company and the “aggressive tradition of free press in the US.” There was not one LCA reporter who said to have received anything else than support in situations of political pressure. Counting on the editorial defensive shield, reporters signal confidence in their own and their organization’s professional integrity when threatened:

MR: Does it happen that they go higher up the chain and complain with an editor?

Reporter: Oh yeah, it’s happened a few times. My general response is, ‘go ahead! Wanna play that game? Try it. Good luck!’ Recently I got into a shouting match with someone – it was a profanity-laced shouting match – and he said: ‘So I call your editors.’ I said: ‘Go ahead, I make my case to my editors.’ That’s been done. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010)

However, if this intimidation strategy was really so ineffective, it leaves the question why political actors bother at all? Besides emotional indignation, they did it to signal readiness to attack and demoralize reporters, hoping they would pull back in the future—something which few reporters conceded. Having to justify yourself repeatedly in front of superiors may weigh you down, however, especially when you are a young reporter. This is probably one reason why they are more often targeted than senior reporters. For spokespeople, furthermore, being tough on reporters is part of their own professional performance. As one former Assembly spokesperson said:

Spokesperson: There were certainly times where I had to get heated with reporters. I try to do it less and less because, at the end of it, I felt like crap because it's not the way I really like to interact with people. Reporters who I still talk to a lot and respect, I think the good reporters understand that sometimes I have got to go back to my boss ... and say: "I yelled at X." "I yelled at him about that story." Even if that doesn't change anything.

MR: You did your job.

Spokesperson: Right. Sometimes that's part of the job. (Interview, LCA spokesperson, February 28, 2012)

The editorial defense shield usually worked just the same for LP reporters. Some of them told me about instances when it did not, however, when political pressure was passed on to them or their colleagues. They also talked about much more severe instances of pressure than those I had learned about in Albany, including reporters getting fired or removed from the beat. Most common targets were public broadcasting journalists of the Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR). Political parties and politicians—some of them members of the *Rundfunkrat* (broadcasting board)—often demanded more (or better) representation in the news by appealing to the public contract of the company. My informant said this happened less frequently than in the past, however. One veteran BR reporter told me that a former Minister-President took issue with his radio commentary and exerted pressure through his superiors to a degree that made him back away for a while:

[Edmund] Stoiber once complained vehemently about me and attempted to interfere in my career here at BR. That came through [to me] and I had a real problem for a while and avoided Stoiber for a long time, at least two or three years, because I didn't feel free. It never happened as severely afterward. (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011)

My informants also told me about political interventions at newspapers that ended with reporters being withdrawn from their beat, their jobs threatened and, in one case, a dismissal. One newspaper reporter hinted at this while defining public responsibility as maintaining one's independence:

It starts in the immediate environment, maybe a chief editor or publisher who says "do you have to present the Governor so negatively?" and so on. Well, I could then say "ok, next week I do it differently." You have to push back against such interferences. That's my opinion and that's really important to me now. I had severe problems here [in my company] and thought a few years ago "ok, when I come in tomorrow I won't have a job anymore." (Interview, LP reporter, January 30, 2012)

Later in the interview, she described more specifically how pressure was exerted, which requires to quote her in some length:

There was severe pressure from the publishing company. From the publisher – it did not come from the editorial department – but, of course, the chief editor was instructed to discipline me. It concerned stories about the CSU, of course. That was before the parliamentary elections; [it was] very severe. There were emails from the publisher "this and that expression is unacceptable" and they asked me not to do that anymore. I don't remember the specific wording. I always responded immediately that this was unacceptable. It also concerned a text about a party convention where I referred to [current Minister of Finance] Söder as "overly ambitious," which is actually totally harmless. "That's outrageous. He is a minister!" I couldn't believe it. That case went to the journalism guild. I negotiated with them and was told we could make it public but that I'd have to expect getting fired, having to go to labor court, there would be a settlement, I would get severance pay and I should be aware of that beforehand. And then I told them ... not to report it and I'd see and push back for now. And write what I want. And then I did that. But it was tough. (Interview, LP reporter, January 30, 2012)

Without being able to go into specifics for confidentiality reasons, in this case entanglements of her news organization with the state explained the absence of an editorial defense shield to some extent. However, there were other examples of severe intervention in which there was no obvious organizational connection to the political field. The second editorial defense shield LP reporters had—the press association—also took action at times, as I have discussed in Chap. 5. Although tensions between members of the press and politicians rarely got to this point, it was an established

associational practice which its members and political actors were aware of—as protection and deterrence, respectively.

Civic Withdrawal and Professional Purification

Another aspect of the social drama of journalistic professionalism in the USA was almost non-existent in Germany: Professional imperatives of impartiality and non-partisanship spill over into journalists' personal lives, setting off a *pollution drama* (Douglas 2005 [1966])—a set of taboos and rituals of avoidance. Journalists curtail their own civic duties and engagements to avoid political labeling, including voting in elections, especially primary elections because of the need to register with a party, and even participating on local community boards.

Dash told me he never voted in elections he covers. He argued it would be irreconcilable for him to choose one over the other candidate, which would have to be based on a preference developed beforehand, during a time when he is supposed to do his job covering the election in a neutral fashion. This is an extreme position within the LCA and has been the subject of debate among them. Taking such a stance is telling about how careful the appearance of non-partisanship is guarded by US journalists and seems unfathomable in the German context. Dash was not alone, however, since some national correspondents in the USA had identified themselves as non-voters for professional reasons. Dash referred to Jim Lehrer (former anchor for PBS NewsHour) and Leonard Downie, Jr (former *Washington Post* editor) as exemplars, justifying his position in front of colleagues who thought he went too far (Fieldnotes, LCA, November 16, 2010).

Next to professionalism, Hess (1981: 89) related the inclination not to vote (which he found to be common among Washington correspondents) to a lack of political beliefs among reporters. My research does not support this. Reporters in Albany engaged in these rituals of avoidance to pre-emptively counter criticism by political actors, who used any seeming violation of non-partisanship as a symbolic device to question their integrity and dismiss their work. Even a disproportion of Facebook friends on each side of the aisle served to question the claim of impartiality.

Even though this was a familiar game, reporters did take it seriously. As Dash said, “the appearance of impropriety *is* impropriety. The appearance of bias *is* bias. You can be attacked, that’s the standard to which you have to hold yourself to” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). It was also common, therefore, that journalists refrained from covering certain

subjects or organizations they had some form of personal connection to. For instance, if a reporter's spouse worked for a government agency, she would not cover this agency.

Only one German reporter mentioned and emphasized the incompatibility of political party membership and political reporting. He said he knew "several colleagues" who are members of a party: "I would never do that ... because they give up their independence and also part of their credibility" (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). Party membership in Germany is a much deeper commitment to a party than party registration in the USA, which is a relatively weak affiliation and mainly implies being able to vote in party primary elections. The main disadvantage for reporters is that records of party registration are publicly accessible.

A common teasing theme in conversations between LCA journalists and spokespeople were their respective professional obligations: spokespeople told reporters that they violated their objectivity principles by taking sides, while reporters told spokespeople how they did not do justice to their job title of "public information officer" by spinning and lying. One day, Dash explained to me a FOIA request for disclosure of documents he just filed with a government agency. He got the spokesperson involved in the process to make sure his request did not get lost: "*This* is what they are supposed to do – this is *public information*. She is a public information officer. That is her job and that's why we [taxpayers] pay her salary" (Fieldnotes, LCA reporter, January 10, 2011). Pejorative remarks of reporters toward spokespeople often rest on their obligation to taxpaying citizens.

Spokespeople can get defensive about this. In late 2010, Dash and "Chuck" were busy digging for information about future hires by the Cuomo administration, which would take office one and a half months later. One day, they talked to a spokesperson who apparently came to the Capitol for a job interview. The two reporters teased him—he used to work as a local newspaper journalist—about his supposed future work for Cuomo. The spokesperson negated by saying that he still believed in public service (Fieldnotes, LCA, November 16, 2010).

Initially, I did not take these kinds of conversations seriously. In conjunction with what US reporters told me in interviews, I realized how thin-skinned they were regarding criticism and how delicate their social drama of professionalism was, especially in the face of economic and professional crisis. As Alexander argued, "the elements of social-dramatic performances are de-fused, not automatically hung together" (Alexander 2004: 547) The meticulous purification rituals discussed in this section are

further testaments of how rigorous performances of professionalism are in the USA in comparison to Germany.

MANAGING PROFESSIONAL BOUNDARIES

Journalists use manifestations of boundaries as symbolic resources in their day-to-day interactions with sources. State house reporters invest considerable energy in cultivating and reflecting upon these interactions and relationships. In his newsroom ethnography Herbert Gans (1979: 141) noticed that beat reporters were politer to sources than general assignment reporters. My observations confirm this for the most part. However, in public settings (e.g. press conferences), Albany state house reporters asked more hard-hitting questions than general assignment reporters. They used these occasions, especially high-stakes press conferences with the Governor and/or legislative leaders, as public stages to perform aggressive watchdog journalism. In the German case, judging from video footage available online,⁸ press conferences were much more low-key and orderly. Oftentimes reporters did not rise to speak themselves but were called upon by spokespeople. In Albany, reporters took the floor themselves and in competition with each other to ask questions. Most importantly, the manner in which they asked questions was more assertive, sometimes aggressive compared to their German counterparts, who distinguished themselves through substantive depth rather than the diction in which questions were posed.

State house reporters were very aware of and struggled with the dangers of what we might call *overembedded source relations*. Overembedded social networks are built on lasting ties and relationships based on mutual trust and reciprocity, which generate constant flows of valuable information while blocking information from outside the network (Uzzi 1997). This is a particularly serious problem for watchdog journalism, where being too close results in systematic neglect of critical viewpoints and personal obligation taking priority over public interest. In moments of self-criticism, LCA reporters talked about the State Capitol as a *bubble* or *echo chamber*, LP reporters about the Landtag as a *Käseglocke* (bell jar).

Balancing closeness and distance to sources is an issue of importance in any journalistic endeavor that relies on long-term relations to informants. Both, closeness and distance, can have professional merit: closeness procures access to information, which those who are less close are excluded from; distance is a precondition for critical detachment and a

professional virtue in itself. Reporters in both settings talked about the ways they maneuver between these two poles while trying to stay clear of extremes: Being in bed with your sources (figuratively and literally) or being completely shut off from personal access. Everything in between constitutes a delicate balancing act that requires constant adjustments and variations of boundary performances.

Some of the reporters in the Albany press corps did not find it difficult to switch between sociable and professional interaction, like this senior reporter who responded rather prosaically when I asked him about this problem:

I can be friendly with politicians, have fun with them, go out with them, but I can never be real friends with them. I always have to be in the position to drive a stake through their heart if it's necessary. And a lot of people respect that, some don't and they will never talk to you again. (Interview, LCA reporter, March 20, 2010)

Another young reporter said he knew everything was fine when he was imaginarily capable of ruining a source's day. He also told me that he frequently went out for drinks and dinners with sources. It should be mentioned that both were highly influential journalists of the press corps. Other, less-experienced reporters often found this back-and-forth challenging, as this young wire reporter:

You can't be afraid to be confrontational but you can't be afraid to be open enough to be almost a friend but that's too much; there is such a fine line—it's a very delicate thing. You know a lot of these people. You know their wives' or their husbands' or their kids' names ... but you also know that they will do *anything it takes* to spin you and get you to state something that makes their boss look good. ... So it's a delicate thing and, you know, it's so easy to get caught in just being a human and having a human connection with somebody. It is one of the most challenging parts of the job. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 16, 2009)

She pointed more explicitly than any other Albany reporter to this very obvious tension between developing interpersonal relations while remaining unscrupulously professional, which at times involves threatening livelihoods. Besides her young age (mid-twenties) and relatively little experience as a journalist in general (6 years) and on this beat (2 years), her gender certainly also explains her openness to address these weaknesses.

I did not have access to nightlife sociability between reporters and sources. My understanding is that (1) when reporters in Albany said they socialized with sources they were mostly referring to spokespeople and “staffers,” less elected officials, (2) those who participated were mostly young reporters and (3) most senior reporters said they did not meet sources outside of the Capitol. Some reporters pronouncedly refrained from socializing in order not to compromise their ability to be critical watchdogs. Those who did socialize with sources emphasized the compatibility of both demands: “what you do get is an easier working relationship ... it doesn’t mean you can’t still kick their teeth in” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 26, 2011).

The situation was a little different in Munich. They recounted more frequent personal contact with elected officials, not only their staff. As with Albany reporters, they varied in terms of how difficult they perceived maneuvering the dangerous waters of developing relationships while reporting critically. One reporter, who had personal contact with politicians, said: “I keep great distance. There are a few people who I know well, better than others, but I do not talk to them about internal information. I don’t let myself be embroiled in this, intra-party wars or whatever ... I don’t let myself be turned into a tool” (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2012). He seemed comfortable with handling relations to sources but said that his age helped in this respect. One younger journalist explained how she managed to assert herself in the job:

It was a special situation for me. First of all, I was by far the youngest when I came to the Landtagspresse, certainly by 15 years, and a woman in a male-dominated job. In the LP most alpha animals are men. It was difficult for me to acquire respect, that they don’t say “well, nice little thing, somehow” and I don’t exactly weigh 100 kilos either. That was most difficult at the beginning and that only works by keeping a lot of distance to those involved, by remaining factual. (Interview, LP reporter, March 26, 2012)

Women were in the minority in both press corps and state houses. They used specific strategies to prevail in the male-dominated political environment. Some said they tried to be extra-tough to compensate for their gender disadvantage. One female reporter in Albany told me she did not take part in nightlife activities with sources—mostly men—because of the ‘unseemly appearance.’ I did not hear of cases of intermarriage in Albany and I know of one in Munich. There was hearsay

about an intimate relationship between a female reporter and a male political actor. Obviously it was only the female reporter who was perceived as using her body for professional advantage.

A culturally specific distancing behavior of reporters is which form of personal address they use with politicians. LP correspondents made the point that they never used informal address (“Du” as opposed to “Sie”). The form of address is less a determinant than a representation of the kind of relationship that has been established between reporter and source. One senior LP reporter who spoke of *duzen* (using informal address) in this way compared it to the fact that he does not play tennis or soccer with spokespeople either: “I don’t want to ... establish this kind of personal contact. It becomes difficult because there will always be situations where I have to hurt a spokesperson or his boss ... you do need to find the right balance” (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012).

However, several correspondents acknowledged exceptions to this general rule and said that *duzen* was sometimes unavoidable: “There are some [politicians] where it just happens over decades. You try not to allow yourself to be guided by it, on the other hand this is an unavoidable condition of the job. I mean, you can try it without closeness but then, well, you are isolated” (Interview, LP reporter, December 5, 2011).

Though there is no formal/informal distinction of pronouns in the English language (anymore), in Albany there was a peculiar contrast regarding the use of first names. While most reporters use the name of the office to address politicians (“Governor,” “Senator”), most politicians addressed reporters by their first name.⁹ However, I noticed that a few senior reporters used politicians’ first names, not only in informal press gaggle but also in press conferences. One of them said he meant it in a pejorative way to not make them feel “too important” (Fieldnotes, LCA, May 10, 2011).

The in-between-ness of closeness and distance involves careful reflection on the part of reporters about when it is worth to “throw a source under the bus.” Several factors are worth considering. First of all, the story itself: How big it is, that is, how great of an impact it might have regarding attention, accountability, professional recognition (of outlet and journalist), and so on. Secondly, how damaging the story is for the source—mere disgrace, job loss, criminal prosecution, and so on. Thirdly and a consequence of the two, the implications for the relationship between journalist and source—irritation, complaint, breaking off lines of communication, libel action, and so on. Most beat reporters would agree that publishing every damaging detail they can find would be counterproductive for sustaining source relations and not worth it for democracy either.

My informants addressed different forms of inhibition in this context. Reporters in the USA spoke of “protecting your sources” and “picking your battles.” One LCA reporter illustrated these considerations as follows: “You need to report on them accurately but you don’t need to go crazy in fucking them” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). LP reporters referred to such inhibitions as *Abwägungssache* (a matter of weighting) or as trying not to leave *verbrannte Erde* (scorched earth) behind. German journalists were more upfront about the consequences of inhibitions: one of them remembered having *Beißhemmungen* (bite inhibitions) at one point, another spoke of *Zensur im Kopf*, a metaphor for “self-censorship.”

Several LP reporters admitted feeling guilty after having published a critical story. Among LCA reporters only Dash, not coincidentally a devout Catholic, acknowledged the existence of guilt and the fear of “having wronged somebody.” It is conceivable that spokespeople sensed his sense of guilt and therefore liked to yell at him on the phone, even though Dash was not the only subject to attempts of intimidation. It is telling that German reporters told me about guilt, despite the fact that most of them did not know me when I first interviewed them. I spent much more time with my informants in Albany and had good relations with several of them. Yet, only my key informant, at a point when we had known each other for more than a year, acknowledged to me over a beer at his dinner table that he felt guilty toward sources at times. Aside from the fact that most German reporters were presumably Catholic (southern parts of Germany being dominated by Catholicism) and most US reporters Protestant or Jewish, Albany reporters distinguished themselves by more rigorously protecting their performance of professionalism and claims to professional autonomy in public, toward each other, and toward me.

Besides inhibitions to attack, reporters had other strategies to maintain their relations with sources. When I asked one LCA journalist how he acquired off-the-record information, he used a revealing metaphor: “Some do it to make a deposit in the favor bank that sources and journalists are constantly making either withdrawals or deposits to” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 11, 2010). The *favor bank* denotes a relation based on reciprocity—information in exchange for publicity. Another reporter told me of a recent story, which he wrote because the Governor’s office had asked him to in exchange for information on a story he really wanted to write. He thought this favor, which appeared on his newspaper’s blog rather than the paper, was “stupid” but received a lot of attention. We did the interview three weeks after the story appeared and he was still waiting to get access to the information he had been promised (Interview, LCA reporter, May 4, 2011).

The idea of the favor bank, though not in this terminology, was familiar in the German context. One German TV reporter put it quite bluntly:

It is a business of give and take between journalism and politics and this means, if I get a good information from someone, I have to use a sound bite by that person at another point. That goes without saying. But this has nothing to do with partisanship or other dependencies but this is just how it goes. It is also legitimate I think. (Interview, LP reporter, May 30, 2012)

Another LP reporter saw opportunities for avoiding the discontent of sources by using stories she could not place in print as online stories instead. At the time of the interview she hardly wrote for online, partly a personal choice, partly because her company had separate print and online departments. She described a situation where she pursued a very busy informant for days, finally succeeded in interviewing him for ten minutes, but then her story got canceled for the print edition: “You can then go and place stories online that would fall through the net otherwise. As a result, sources feel they have been served well and will be with you for longer, hopefully” (Interview, LP reporter, March 23, 2012). Only one LCA reporter with relatively little online journalism duties saw a similar potential in the digital expansion of the space for news. For him, however, it was more about the opportunity to accommodate important stories rather than pleasing sources.

Granting favors, even if it entailed reciprocity of valuable information, collided with ideals of professional autonomy. Therefore, reporters countervailed the perceived loss of autonomy in performance. The episode discussed at the beginning of this chapter exemplified this: Dash was handed a soft, human-interest story by a top official, which he perceived as a stain on his professional honor. When he did a critical story, followed by complaints, about the same politician a few weeks later, Dash felt vindicated. This is not to say that he wrote that latter story only to “get even,” but that he attached great meaning to his work and at the same time used this meaning deliberately and strategically in an ongoing performance of professionalism in front of his audience of peers and political actors.

Boundary Blurring: Backstage Talk and Journalists as Political Actors

To have conversations on the background and off-the-record, or as one LP journalist put it, “to place issues under confidentiality,” is an important communicative practice at a political beat. Information received on

background can be used but cannot be quoted or directly attributed to informants (but often to their role or milieu). Off-the-record information cannot be published or used for reporting. Both practices will be subsumed as *backstage talk* or *backstage conversations* in the following.

In Albany, when spokespeople talked to journalists, they routinely inserted “off-the-record” as a cue that indicated what they just said or were about to say could not be publicized. Conversations often alternated between off and on-the-record, with reporters prefacing shifts by saying: “can we go back on-the-record?” In Germany, *unter zwei* (under two) and *unter drei* (under three) were analogous codes for on background and off-the-record, respectively. In contrast to Albany, political actors in conversations did not use these terms as persistently.

Backstage Talk as a Performative Mode

On the most basic level, speaking backstage talk is an information-controlling strategy. It enables political actors and lobbyists to speak openly with journalists while avoiding to speak publicly. Because of tightly controlled communication policies in certain branches of government—above all the executive branch—certain spokespeople in Albany uttered “off-the-record” perpetually in conversations with reporters. In one phone exchange I witnessed, a spokesperson shared an alleged off-the-record piece of information with Dash. After Dash hung up the phone Chuck said to him: “We already fucking know that! What do you mean off-the-record? Oh my god! Is he trying to get points by telling us about it after we all already read about it in the *Post*?” (Fieldnotes, LCA, January 10, 2010).

I have not witnessed or heard about such perpetual use of “unter drei” in Munich. There are several reasons why spokespeople were much more careful in Albany: most of my observations occurred at a time when relations between press and politics reconstituted themselves. It was right after the gubernatorial election, a new Governor had entered office, spokespeople found themselves in roles they had not inhabited before, Governor Cuomo had a notoriety for tightly controlling public information, the power balance in the Senate shifted in favor of the Republican party, and so on. Furthermore, the digitally enabled and demanded live coverage through blogs and Twitter increased the risk of information immediately entering the public arena, a process that was more easily avertable in times when print deadlines still mattered.

Backstage talk inspired a self-presentation of journalists as close confidants rather than distanced professionals. According to Goffman (1956:

69), backstage is “a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course”. The kind of familiarity between political actors and journalists was in stark contrast to how they engaged with each other on the public stage, which includes any event where cameras were rolling, members of the public or journalists from more than one news organization were present. Rather than non-performance, backstage talk was a different kind of performance, more precisely: a performative blurring of institutional boundaries to enable some extent of cooperation between news media and politics. The spatial proximity of state houses further promoted this inclination. As mentioned earlier, the spatial organization of reporting differed in both state houses: LCA reporters were permanently present and available for political actors. Interactions seemed incidental and I had to remind myself that they most probably never were. LP reporters were not as accessible at the state house. However, general interactions between reporters and politicians themselves were much more sociable when the legislature was in session, including gastronomic offerings right outside the legislative chamber in Munich. Furthermore, it seemed there was more informal contact between officials and reporters after business.

This is how one senior LCA reporter characterized the State Capitol conversational culture among political insiders, including journalists, lobbyists, politicians and their staff: “They are there all the time. They’re talking. They’re talking to one another. They’re passing on information. They’re passing on disinformation. They’re spinning. Some tell the truth. Some tell half-truths. Some pass along rumors” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011).

Another journalist, who himself had worked as a spokesperson for a while before he returned (“from the dark side”) to journalism,¹⁰ talked about reporters who do not go off-the-record on principle, which no LCA reporter holds unconditionally. He found it “a little unrealistic” to want everything on-the-record.

It’s not that [sources] always want to mislead you but sometimes ... they have real personal concerns for their own job, their working life that is important to them. The fact that they don’t make your story and your publication the number one priority and therefore tell you everything they know on-the-record? You can’t blame them for that. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 11, 2011)

He explained that having a “human interaction” with someone requires being off-the-record sometimes before he explained how this information could be useful: leading reporters to other sources who may talk on-the-record and, most importantly, understanding strategies and motivations. Most reporters therefore found backstage talk essential to do a good job, albeit the first rule was to always discern the intention of disclosure before using the information. One LCA reporter provided the most comprehensive list to determine reasons for why sources speak off-the-record:

Because it makes them feel powerful; because they like you. They are lying to you because they don't like you; because it's their job to; because you've asked a reasonable question; because you have asked at all; because telling me something advances another interest of theirs; because they're explicitly trying to make something happen; because people like to gossip; because they're angry; because they're sad; because their friend got fucked over something; because they got fucked over something; because they hate somebody in their office; because somebody in their office hates them; because they are rivals with somebody. It's endless! You just have to try to know why you're getting it. It doesn't mean you can't use it. You just got to know... you just have to be conscious of motive. It's always better to know what the motive is if you can figure it out. Sometimes you just ask them: “Why are you telling me this?” Sometimes you figure it out. I know that this official and that official hate each other and they are rivals. Or that person thinks they rival with that person [so] they're gonna subtly undermine them. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

Though all reporters in both case studies engaged in backstage talk, they disagreed in terms of the extent to which it yields good journalism and how information ought to be used. When I asked one LCA reporter how he got along with his competitor-colleagues, he said the relationships were friendly *exactly because* he and his company did not use anonymous sources and thus were not competing on that level. He was most skeptical of the culture of backstage talk at the Capitol:

Look at the *New York Post* and the *Daily News*, look at how many unnamed sources: a lot! Now, most of the time it's true but let me point out, for example: ... Weapons of mass destruction in the country of Iraq – unnamed sources. “Well oops, sorry!” You know, there's a good way to avoid that and that is: if somebody says something that's important enough that they want to say then let them say it! If they don't want to say it on-the-record then [don't let them say it]. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 21, 2010)

There were others who shared his view to some extent, though arguing it would only work if all reporters stopped going off-the-record or on background. None of my informants in the LP thought there was too much anonymous sourcing, in contrast. One reason for this is that Munich reporters had more consensus about professional norms in general and about how to use anonymous information in particular. Though a few LP reporters distinguished themselves from one tabloid reporter, boundary work was noticeably less strong and did not concern anonymous sourcing at all. In the LCA it was, and particularly in terms of how tabloids and blogs used anonymous information.

Implications of Backstage Talk

Backstage conversations are ubiquitous and seemingly innocuous, but their aftermath can seriously influence opinions, harm reputations and sabotage negotiations. At the same time, backstage talk helps journalists to anticipate developments, make better-informed news decisions and evaluate what is publicized. One reporter defines his responsibility to the public as “painting as clear a picture as possible, and as complete a picture as possible,” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010) which to him requires information not readily available and publishable. One TV reporter in the LP said that behind-the-scene information was “elementary from the viewpoint that I can assess the general situation and specific issues much better because of it” (Interview, LP reporter, May 30, 2012). Although the reluctance of political actors to go on-the-record—which has grown over time in New York, according to senior LCA reporters—is a protective strategy, it sometimes backfires to them in the form of rumor mills and being confronted with backstage-informed questions that are more difficult to anticipate.

Most accountability journalism is impossible without backstage confidentiality and anonymous sourcing. The central myth of US journalism, Watergate, is the most obvious example of this. One particularly prosaic LP reporter was dismissive of the mythical qualities of iconic investigative journalistic efforts, including Watergate:

I think the public has the wrong impression. It’s always the portrayal of the brave investigative journalist who finds out about something, also in Hollywood movies. In reality it’s virtually always the case—and the same goes for Watergate—that [journalists] need sources who give away something on their own initiative. ... If we are honest, these great investigative

achievements are based on betrayal of a person entrusted with confidential information. That makes the whole thing a little less impressive. (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011)

As mentioned earlier, the main negative implication of backstage talk is manipulation: spin that affects journalists' beliefs and interpretations of the truth, that raises their attention under the pretension of secrecy, or that makes them compliant under the appearance of intimacy. In the final sense, sources pursue secondary objectives in trying to generate a sense of closeness with a reporter when talking off-the-record. Another negative (intended or unintended) consequence is that backstage talk sets rumor mills in motion, which are at greater risk to be revealed in a news environment pervaded by low-publication-threshold outlets, that is, blogs and Twitter.

The ethics of source protection and conventions of confidentiality in reporter–source relationships have the ironic effect that, in cases where unattributed information proves to have no factual basis at all, sources are not held publicly accountable for it. Partly because of this, the reporter often lets sources go off-the-record conditionally, negotiating terms before they hear them out. One TV reporter in Albany, who operated like a print reporter regarding backstage talk off camera, told me that because of the logic of her medium negotiations about on- and off-the-record were more complex:

If they say “this is off-the-record“ and I know that it can’t be off-the-record, then I say “it can’t be off-the-record.” And so they can chose either to continue talking or they don’t have to tell me and just find someone else. So. But if they say: “Off-the-record,” I’ll let them know if it’s ok that it’s off the record. I’ll say: “OK.” If not then I’ll say: “I *really* need you to tell me this on the record.” And you can haggle with them. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 22, 2010)

Off-the-record information can become a gag order seriously impeding the reporting process. For instance, if a reporter receives the same piece of information from two sources under varying conditions of confidentiality, the “deeper,” more confidential source can feel betrayed if the information gets published. Because of this impediment, some reporters did not want to hear what sources had to tell them off-the-record if they could not pursue the issue further. Both LCA and LP reporters talked about this problem. A senior LP reporter told me about one of his colleagues:

It goes so far that [name] responds when a politician wants to give him information, which is not on the market yet—“but you can’t pass this on”—by saying: “then don’t tell me about it because I will find out otherwise and unbound. If you are telling me this under the condition that I can’t write about it, then I don’t want to know it.” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011)

As mentioned above, some reporters as well as spokespeople in Albany perceived the use of unnamed sources as detrimental for political discourse, especially when it transpired as anonymous attack quotes. Nevertheless, it was a rule of the game that they could not escape, fueled by the competition in the press corps, which was described to me as “fierce” and “intense,” as opposed to “sporting” in the LP. In order to outdo or at least match contenders’ stories, many LCA reporters indulged in the excess of unnamed sourcing.

Another danger of backstage talk is that sociability turns into ingratiating confidentiality: “It’s an easy trap to fall into to talk to somebody off the record, [like:] ‘oh, we’re just chatting here’” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 28, 2012). In this disguise, what one LP reporter referred to as “pseudo-confidentiality” becomes a form of manipulation that consists of politicians creating a sense of “we’re all buddies and we’re all sitting in the same boat” (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). One former LCA reporter said she would not be comfortable with the level of informality with sources that is common for some of her younger colleagues: “It’s *so* informal. They talk to these aides like they are in their own living room. ... I’m old-school, I guess” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 12, 2011).

The danger of feeling “in the know” is that opposing interests of participants dissolve in conversations among insiders, further sealing off the bubble many reporters felt they were working in. Being privy to political insider conversations may leave marks on journalistic news judgment, prioritization and interpretation removed from public interest. Several reporters in Albany talked about how Governor Andrew Cuomo used confidentiality for his advantage. One of them described Cuomo’s boundary blurring strategies when he had still been Attorney General:

I had never seen such active leaking through law enforcement in my life. It was very political, very dirty. ... [He had] long off-the-record discussions [with us]. That was just a try to relentlessly—politely but relentlessly—push your thinking in a certain direction. Or shape your interpretation of facts. And it’s become such a familiar game that it’s actually not as effective as he

probably thinks it is. But it's valuable. He's a very smart guy, even when he's being manipulative you learn something from him. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

Cuomo's medium-of-choice for these conversations was the phone, which was discussed in a *New York Times* article that had appeared shortly before he came into office as Governor (Confessore 2010). Instead of making himself available to the press in public, the article stated that he had regular and long (off-the-record) conversations with a small circle of reporters, which undoubtedly included the *Times*. His "art" was that these phone calls created "a powerful sense of intimacy, flattering and compelling amid the jockeying egos and endemic self-puffery of New York politics" (ibid.). Cuomo was described as easygoing in these conversations, picking up on personal details before suddenly cutting to the chase without revealing his concrete agenda.

This metadiscursive article is a rare case in which backstage talk is debated publicly. Besides the obvious reason for this void, namely confidentiality itself, it runs counter to professionalism. Though all correspondents engaged in confidential conversations on some level, keeping them backstage was an effort not to compromise front stage performances. As Goffman noted, "backstage familiarity is suppressed lest the interplay of poses collapse and all the participants find themselves on the same team, as it were, with no one left to play to" (1956: 107).

Journalists as Political Instruments

From the perspective of political actors, the intention behind backstage talk is often to use media for *informational press maneuvers* (Sigal 1973): making politics or career moves by leaking information or attacking opponents anonymously. Although it occurred frequently, reporters drew boundaries against journalism which lends itself to such purposes. One LP reporter talked about this issue euphemistically, while admitting that it is a reality: "I think you also have the responsibility to give snipers among fellow party members not too big a platform" (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011). He most likely referred to intra-party conflicts in the CSU, which tend to be especially intense. Reporters denoted this as a form of *instrumentalisiert werden* (to be instrumentalized), while not linking it to specific journalists in their own ranks.

Many LCA journalists, on the other hand, drew boundaries between good and bad journalism in reference to tabloid journalists for letting themselves be used for anonymous political attacks. On a pragmatic level,

one former spokesperson and consultant described tabloids as “contract newspapers,” which means that “if they make a decision, you not only get the story but you also get the editorial, you get the Op-Ed, you get the photograph, you get the graph ... you get the whole thing. That’s a good thing to have on your side” (Interview, LCA spokesperson, June 28, 2011). He also added how harmful it could be when the contract was not in your favor. One senior journalist defined how good journalism dealt with anonymous sources in opposition to tabloid practices:

We have different standards in terms of using anonymous quotes and gratuitous comments. ... I don’t think the *Post* is necessarily being fair in using these anonymous quotes from who knows who these characters are, these alleged “high-ranking Democrats” or “person close to the Cuomo camp” or “person familiar with Shelly Silver’s thinking.” To say nasty things about someone in an anonymous quote is, I think, below the belt. If you want to say that “we’ve learned that an investigation is going on according to someone close to the investigation,” that’s different. But if you say “we’ve learned that Alan Hevesi is one of the lowest scum balls in the world according to someone close to the investigation,” that’s different. You know what I mean? They don’t distinguish. They’ll use either those things. It’s just as fine with them. I don’t approve of that. I don’t think most journalists would do that. So that’s the difference. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011)

Significant portions of this interview focused on this issue and particularly Fred Dicker’s sourcing standards. While it is not the intention here to point fingers, it is necessary to devote some attention to the *New York Post* and Fred Dicker, who had been a reoccurring reference point for professional boundary drawing by his competitor-colleagues.

The journalistic style of the “dean of the Albany press corps” was characterized in a front page *New York Times* portrait as follows: “Mr. Dicker’s distinctive brand of journalism—old-school beat reporting, searing commentary and a sizable dose of showmanship—has helped him endure for more than three decades in Albany.” He was further described as “pummel[ing] politicians with such bipartisan brutality that people seem unable to turn away,” while the portrait also pointed out that “so far he has been gentle with Governor Cuomo in columns that extol, not excoriate” (Peters 2011).

An earlier portrait in the *New York Observer* wrote: “To Mr. Dicker’s admirers, his relentless reporting, with its heavy reliance on anonymous sources and its utter lack of boundaries, is a healthy antidote to Albany’s clubbiness. ... His competitors blend an admiration for his scoops with a

suspicion of his methods and a resentment of his open disdain for some of them” (B. Smith 2005). Dicker is frequently the subject of metadiscursive news coverage. During the research period, the focus was on his good relationship with Governor Andrew Cuomo (King 2011; Smith 2011), which has since deteriorated. Allegedly, the falling out led to the cancellation of a book deal, which Dicker acquired with HarperCollins (see Chap. 4) for a biography on Cuomo in spring of 2012 (Kaplan and Bosman 2013; Tracy 2013).

As discussed in Chap. 4, Dicker served as a boundary actor within the LCA, and his professional ethos is best described as hybrid journalism. To his competitor-colleagues, much of Dicker’s journalism was political advocacy. It is indicative in this context that Dicker is characterized in the story quoted above as the “fourth man” to the allegorical *three men in a room*—the Governor and the leaders of the two legislative bodies (B. Smith 2005). Even if LCA reporters did not mention him by name, it was often clear they were referring to him, like in this instance of a broadsheet reporter who expressed his disdain for tabloids quite clearly: “There are people here who write stories where they have just decided they are advocates or on the side of a certain politician. Sometimes kind of blatantly so, I think. Unfair journalism is bad journalism” (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011). The following lengthy quote is a more extreme example of boundary drawing against Dicker, even though or precisely because it derives from the opposite side, a spokesperson of a former Governor. The intensity of his comments may be a consequence of not permanently having to deal with the LCA anymore at the time of the interview:

Fred Dicker allows himself to be used for personal attacks and you never have to give your name to be in Fred Dicker’s article. You can just attack somebody and say a quote ... Every Monday he has his column that is some anonymous source quoted, lobbing a grenade at somebody ... and very rarely it is actual journalism or is it actually uncovering something; it’s just *attacks*. And, again, I’m not gonna lie: we did it too. Part of the reason I felt that things started to turn around a little bit with [former Governor] ... is because we started using Fred Dicker. We didn’t talk to that guy for a year and a half and he killed us every week. And then we started talking to him, giving him red meat, and he let off. Yeah, he still went after us every once in a while but it was a little bit more balanced. We got our shots in too. ... We started fighting dirty like that, like everyone else does, and it helped. It helped the Governor’s coverage. Is that right? No! (Interview, LCA spokesperson, February 28, 2011)

Even though he worked for the ostensibly most powerful man in New York State,¹¹ he felt trapped in a game mainly governed by Fred Dicker. He criticized the press, rather than political actors, for allowing itself to be used in that way. In his opinion, this was one main reason for the purported “dysfunction of Albany,” which was underrepresented in public discourse relative to the recurring narrative of corrupt lawmakers and undemocratic procedures:

Again, I blame the rest of the LCA for that ... Part of the dysfunction of Albany is that you have a press corps with some very *very* powerful newspapers there, with huge amounts of circulations, and they are led around by the nose by Fred Dicker who is the *worst journalist there is* and I don't think that he is even a journalist. He is as *bad* as they come. He is as unethical – Again, I have not a *single* good thing to say about him. And it's not even a personal thing it's his business. And it's what he does and it's the way he allows himself, happily I might add, to be used as an attack dog for whatever person he feels like attacking at that time. (Interview, LCA spokesperson, February 28, 2011)

Dicker described himself as an “equal-opportunity prick” in one portrait (Smith 2005). It meant that, while he gave a forum to everyone, he did not form lasting alliances and turned against anybody whenever he pleased. This was often conditioned by his own stated political positions. What soured relations with the Governor in early 2013 were Cuomo's gun control measures (which Dicker opposed) and his long indecisiveness concerning hydraulic fracturing (which Dicker favored), which ultimately led to a dismissal.

To sum up, there were three ways in which Dicker was perceived as an actor who blurred professional boundaries between journalism and politics: (1) He was an active facilitator of political conflict and maneuvering, (2) his political opinions played an evident role in his work, and (3) powerful informants who granted Dicker continuous access were rewarded with favorable coverage, at least in the short term—the proverbial honeymoon.

In contrast, there was no such common representative of professional boundary blurring in the LP. The only comparably consistent reference point of relatively minor normative transgression was one LP representative who tended to report on extracts of upcoming bills in advance. Many of his competitor-colleagues perceived this practice of turning half-baked and incomplete information into news as problematic. In Albany, this was so common that it was not even worth discussing.

The most consistent concern LP reporters expressed in regard to blurring boundaries between journalism and politics was party membership. One LP reporter carefully assumed that most of his colleagues sympathized with CSU:

I think—I can't say for sure since journalists don't talk about that among themselves—but I would assume that the majority tries to be fairly neutral, at least in news coverage, but are themselves probably rather.. – a narrow majority in the Landtagspresse is CSU-near, with the exception of *Bayerisches Fernsehen* [the TV branch of Bayerischer Rundfunk], which is completely pervaded by the CSU. (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011)

Party affiliation was never discussed directly in my field research in Albany. This was connected to political-cultural differences of what it meant to be a party member. In Germany, furthermore, political divisions were more diverse and much more dominated by political parties. Not even Fred Dicker, whose political positions were mostly conservative, was automatically associated with the Republican Party. One LP reporter, on the other hand, told me that several of his colleagues of his newspaper were party members, which he found irreconcilable with being a journalist because it meant “giving up your independence and also losing part of your credibility” (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). The same journalist told me, as did some other LP reporters, of the most extreme example of transgression of professional boundaries in this respect and a danger that he thought was particular for press corps:

The risk of [the relation between media and politics] being so close is that folks start to feel as a part of politics. There are colleagues who heckle during committee meetings, who slip notes to politicians with the questions *they* consider appropriate. I would never do such things. I try to maintain distance, which is important if you want to report objectively and honestly. And some lose that [distance]. (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011)

In the USA as well as in the German case, backstage talk was an inevitable and, for the most part, desirable practice for journalists as well as political actors. There were dangers involved in having this conversational culture in place. Part of the danger lied exactly in the mutual trust—above all in the maintenance of confidentiality and validity of information, respectively—which not only opened opportunities for breaking that trust but also involved constraints of different sorts: gag orders, fear of losing trust

(and thus access to information) and solidarity, which countervails the public responsibility of journalists to ensure accountability.

Distance to Politics

Role Distancing

Appeasing and role distancing boundary performances often accompanied confronting political actors. These performances separated reporter from confidant in an effort to maintain the appearance of professional distance. A simple example of this is the devil's-advocate question, which means asking a question from a confrontational position while dissociating oneself from that position. One—in this regard—rather aggressive LCA reporter illustrated this:

The most effective questions that get politicians to respond are the most direct. And the most direct questions usually come from a *bent*. So, while you may not be a right-wing conservative or a left-wing liberal, you might ask a question that ... on its own would sound left wing or right wing. I think a lot of us might even ask a question self-censored in order to maintain the appearance of objectivity. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 14, 2010)

As I have argued elsewhere, “besides compelling the respondent to make a case in a more pointed way, the devil's-advocate question is a way to be aggressive without appearing partisan, which would undermine a performance of professionalism” (Revers 2014a: 48). It occurred frequently in press conferences when reporters prefaced adversarial questions by referring to a third party (“some would say that...”), thereby deflecting the controversial stance (S. Clayman and Heritage 2002: 152–162, 213–217). LP reporters were again more matter-of-fact in this regard. Neither my observations of them in practice nor the interviews suggested that they engaged in this kind of performance.

The risk of asking critical questions was relatively low regarding source relations and impartiality reputation. The stakes were higher, however, when reporters worked on stories that potentially harmed political actors. Boundary performances in these situations had to be more resolute in order to maintain the appearance of fairness:

I found out that whenever you crucify somebody you look him in the eye and be fair to him, you give him a chance to say it. And they will forgive you

or they will continue the relationship ... you learn fairness when you have to look a guy in the eye on the next day, when you have written something about him or her. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010)

Mostly I've beaten the shit out of people, but if you're right, if it's true and it's fair, if you listen to them, if you're polite and cordial and professional of all things, it doesn't matter. It's not *your* fault. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

Apart from working for a powerful news organization, the second reporter said being extroverted, well liked, and going for drinks with sources helped against long grudges after damaging news stories.

What also helped alleviate these often emotional situations was when the stories in question were perceived as sound and professionally justified—that is, motivated by public relevance rather than partisanship, profit, sensation- or scandal-mongering—and when reporting itself was conducted in an unbiased manner. At the same time, reporters needed to establish distance from this dutiful and, therefore, inevitable professionalism that generates these news outcomes, conveying an amiable personal impression to sustain relationships. In other words, this boundary performance involved role distancing (Goffman 1972), signaling that one is *obliged* to confront the opponent to superimpose presumably unprofessional intentions, be they personal sensitivities, ideological convictions, or self-interests. It also confronts anticipated pejorative counter-performances by political actors that impute unprofessionalism.

Enforced Distance

Even though mutual dependence usually sufficed to sustain strained source relations, there could be friction for some time. In practice, most of the time this meant a temporary disgruntlement of politicians and spokespeople toward political reporters, accompanied by unresponsiveness to phone calls and disparagement. In extreme cases, all lines of communication were “cut off” and relationships were discontinued for a longer period, sometimes years.

For the most part, political reporters talked about being cut off as a threat scenario and gesture by political actors. A backbencher or even regular parliamentarian had little symbolic leverage in this regard. In Munich, such a threat expressed by the Minister-President, some of his cabinet members or leaders of bigger parties, in Albany by one of the three men

in a room, did carry some weight, however. Hardly any reporter conceded to the effectiveness of the threat of being cut off. One reporter in the LP, who had experiences of falling out with a minister once, admitted that the possibility of being cut off an important informant was a serious impediment: “Often times I would like to go farther but then I think ‘well, I better don’t do that because I won’t find out anything anymore” (Interview, LP reporter, January 30, 2012). No LCA reporter specified similar considerations, even though it is very likely a reality in Albany as well. One reporter, however, acknowledged some weighting involved:

If you get cut off, you wanna have a damn good reason. It’s gotta be like a really big important story. ... you weigh it. The story is what it is, you gotta write the story truthfully and say ‘look, I’m sorry, I hope you’ll keep talking to me.’... So, yeah, there is pressure like that to kinda, you know, if you really pissed off some people they’re not gonna talk to you for a while. (Interview, LCA reporter, April 16, 2009)

There were few reporters in both cases who experienced being cut off for a significant amount of time (months or years). One LP reporter discussed his experience of being cut off as an attempt of manipulation by the official in question:

I fell out badly with a minister once for reporting very critically about a trip I had joined him. He has not exchanged a word with me for two or three months and that made rounds. Of course this is also a possibility to try avoiding such news reports in the future. If I say: “Well, I have lost this informant forever or at least for three years. After three months he may start talking to me again but I have hardly a chance to write him a text message about some confidential information – he would not provide that anymore.” That’s also a way in which you are being manipulated. (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011)

A young online journalist I interviewed worked for an organization with a newsroom culture in which source complaints are carried with pride. She told me about an instance where a politician she had portrayed felt misrepresented and stopped talking to her for a longer period of time. It was not about factual inaccuracy but quoted characterizations by other sources: “The person felt personally offended, so what!” (Interview, LP reporter, March 26, 2012). Although she felt that way at the time of our interview, when it happened it was hard for her:

I: So he didn't respond to phone calls anymore?

R: Yes, or putting me down somehow in front of everybody. That happened. I found it difficult to deal with. At the beginning I thought: "Oh my god! Wow!" I did not expect that reaction. "Let's argue about it in a normal way." But it settled. After a while you start working together again and the relationship of trust is the same as before. (Ibid.)

Contrary to the former reporter, everything went back to normal again. There was one exceptional case in the LP of a "reverse cut off," as it were, where a reporter refused to talk to a politician after being wronged by him. The reporter commented critically about an issue concerning the border between Bavaria and Czech and the general secretary of CSU wrote him an angry letter about it. They talked about it in person a few weeks later and the politician told him it was alright and suggested they should go for lunch soon. What he did not tell him, however, was that he had sent a copy of this letter to the reporter's boss.

If he would have noted that, it would have been ok. He is entitled to complain about me any time. But he did not do that but did nice to me in my face and complained about me behind my back. I'm in this business long enough and I'm old enough that I'm not going to put up with that. I called his spokesperson and told him "tell him he should find some other idiot to go to lunch with." ... And there was silence between us for half a year ... you cannot tolerate such things. I always preach to our interns: "The deeper you bow before those in power the higher is your butt that you get kicked in. Work properly, be fair but don't put up with everything." (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011)

In spite of not having access to top officials, which constituted competitive disadvantage in any case, those who had endured the hardship of being cut off *loved* it. Being denied access forced the following senior reporter to operate more independently and creatively, which thereby elevated his performance of professionalism:

I think one of the best things that happened to me was when the director of communication, John McArdle for [former Senate majority leader Joe] Bruno, wrote me off. He said 'don't come into my office, don't call me, blah blah blah.' And what it did was it improved my reporting *so* much because ... it forced me to go well beyond him, to develop a source network so that when I finally *did* call his press office ... I already knew all the answers to all these questions. ... I had reliable information about what was going

on and I simply needed to get the official word from him. And then I could decide how to use that official word and determine whether it was a lie or not ... It was really wonderful. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011)

Being cut off relieved this reporter from external influence and resonated with professional values of independence and inquisitiveness, which was met with appreciation by his competitor-colleagues. Another senior reporter told me about a similar experience. Not only did he grow professionally because of being cut off but he felt that his readers also benefited from it, which is why it was a recommendable experience for young reporters, he added. However, being denied access may be a real problem, especially for a young reporter: “It could be damaging to your career. I think that’s what they *rely* on when they say ‘listen, we’re gonna cut you off if you do that’” (Ibid.).

Most LCA reporters had never experienced being cut off but they were all familiar with the concept and the threat, which is used by powerful news sources. Senior reporters believed that it worked to pull their colleagues’ reportorial punches. Heroic stories of these experienced reporters served as examples for young reporters at the same time, however, and bolstered their boundary performances against threats of denial of access:

Reporter: One of the great liberations of an administration that plays really hard ball ... and doesn’t give you anything: you have nothing to lose ... One of the great lessons I’ve learned from [name], a colleague of mine; he was covering [former New York City mayor, Rudy] Giuliani. They, like, shut him down. He said it was the best two years of his journalistic career.

MR: [laughs] Because he didn’t have to walk on tiptoe with him any more? Reporter: He didn’t miss anything. I try to have it both ways, personally. I try to be buddy buddy as much as I can, but I’m still gonna go out and write the story I’m all along am gonna write. And I’m not gonna do nice and take it easy on them. You just got to be a bastard pretty much. That’s part of the job. (Interview, LCA reporter, January 21, 2011)

Since there were not many cases of reporters who had been cut off from a source for a longer period of time, patterns should not be overemphasized. However, what was striking is that the reporters it happened to were rarely journalists from most influential news organizations. One such reporter in the LP said: “They have no sanction possibilities towards me. If they cut me off then they cut themselves off. Who does not speak to me is his own—I mean that’s not a problem for me but for him, I must say”

(Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). While officials reduced access to top news organizations, they hardly denied it completely.

To conclude, while German reporters emphasized the practical impediments of that experience, US journalists accentuated the newfound independence it brought. Thus, LCA reporters assigned additional, performative meaning to being cut off (in the interview and probably also when it happened), namely as an expression of professionalism and independence. This was not only significant for them but also served as a template for other (younger) journalists for not being afraid of biting the hands that fed them, so to speak.

CONCLUSION

This chapter examined political reporters' cultural practices, particularly boundary performances, in source relations. The continuous extraneous constraints of self-determination in political settings induced meticulous struggles for professional autonomy guided by shared and nationally distinct beliefs about good journalism in Germany and the USA. Examining these tensions closely provides insights which remain relatively opaque through standardized methods of comparative media research (content analysis and survey research).

The analysis has demonstrated that performances of journalistic professionalism draw from and are conditioned by more formal expressions of occupational norms: ethical policies and organizational practices, especially concerning the separation of facts and opinion and defending reporters against attacks. In the USA, these norms prescribed more distance between journalism and politics, and evoked a more complex and passionate social drama of reporter–source relations than in Germany: While political actors of both countries classified journalists as friends and enemies according to their (perceived) stances and editorial positions, US reporters were much more vulnerable to this pigeonholing, went through more pains to overcompensate it, and were especially proud if aggravation about their work came from across the political spectrum.

Divisions between factual news and opinion commentary existed in both countries. However, editorial and personnel divisions were much stricter in the USA and served as a ubiquitous representation of professional autonomy for reporters (i.e. the wall). Even the few Albany journalists who were columnists treated opinion with similar reportorial rigor as factual news, if not as a taboo altogether. The threshold toward partisan journalism was

much lower for them and they painstakingly distanced themselves from political positions, especially those taken by their newspapers' editorial sections. The performative requirements of impartiality extended into US reporters' private lives in that any visible political leaning or civic engagement compromised their professional credibility.

Yet, the US case also exhibited the most extreme outliers relative to these symbolic distinctions. Fred Dicker's peculiar role in the field may be conceived of as enabled by the *hybrid subspace of knowledge production* (Medvetz 2012) that has materialized through the rise of think tanks in the USA and which encompasses political, economic, media and academic field principles.

Most German political reporters, on the other hand, were comfortable with inhabiting political positions and acting as news reporters and commentators simultaneously. Though none of them confessed to it personally, German reporters told me that it was not uncommon for journalists to be members of political parties. For some of them, writing opinion was an act of purification in the sense that it lessened the temptation to let opinions seep into the news—a rather peculiar idea of professionalism for US journalistic sensibilities.

In most cases, reporters in both countries could rely on superiors providing an editorial defense shield when sources exerted pressure and complained about them. US reporters in particular used this expectation performatively as a symbolic representation of indomitability in situations in which they were threatened. Even though the LP association provided an additional defense shield for their reporters, it was imaginable for German reporters that political pressure could encounter receptive listeners and have grave, livelihood-threatening consequences, even though the few instances that informants told me about belonged to the past. US reporters could not even conceive of such adversity. Even though regional newspapers were similarly influential in both countries, they were much more vulnerable to pressure in Germany.

Dealing with the same sources over a longer period of time and within confined physical space demanded a delicate back-and-forth between closeness and distance, which I conceived as boundary management. It involved not only performative variation but also decisions about which battles (i.e. critical stories) were worth fighting and the give-and-take of information in exchange for publicity. There were variations within each case in terms of where reporters drew the line, however, especially in terms of how much they socialized with sources outside of work. Especially for

female reporters this was an issue of performative compensation of their gender, for instance not socializing or being overly tough, within these male-dominated social settings.

In contrast to most of their US counterparts, however, German reporters acknowledged inhibitions in their news decision-making because of good relations with sources. Whether or not US reporters were just “less open” about these inhibitions is irrelevant, because both, inhibitions and “openness” about them, were rooted in varying degrees of acceptability in each occupational culture. Furthermore, the fact that there was more after-hour sociability between LP reporters and politicians, which was mostly limited to the political staff for LCA reporters, was at least partly rooted in the requirement for greater professional distance between journalism and politics in the USA.

Backstage talk, while essential for all political reporters, was more casual and ubiquitous in Albany because of the constant presence of journalists in the government building. It involved common dangers, primarily manipulation by creating a sense of intimacy and putting issues in the straitjacket of confidentiality. However, US reporters perceived the extent to which backstage talk precipitated as anonymous sourcing in the news as problematic yet inevitable for competitive reasons. Related to this, the political instrumentalization (associated with one tabloid reporter in particular) was a much stronger boundary issue in the USA. Although this phenomenon is as common (if not more common) in Germany, it was a less salient criterion of distinction because the LP was less heterogeneous in this respect, partly because of less competitive pressure, partly because the polluting force of politics is stronger in US journalism. This also reflects in the prevalence of role distancing that seems to protect the image of professionalism in Albany.

Although being cut off happened rarely, hardly involved more influential journalists or outlets and operated more as a threat scenario in both cases, this enforced distance had very different connotations. Because of the practical difficulties it brings, the few LCA reporters it happened to see it as a professional accomplishment, used this inconvenience as a positive signifier of professionalism and set examples for their peers.

In sum, the greater requirement of symbolic distance between press and politics sets much higher performative demands on US journalists. This corresponds to a political public sphere that follows the representative model more closely in Germany (Ferree et al. 2002), and to less differentiation between German media and politics (Hallin and Mancini 2004). In some

ways, journalistic professionalism is a performance with a different tone in Germany, one that accrues more from factual levelheadedness and contemplation than in the USA. Informants with decades of institutional knowledge brought forth a sense of trajectory in press–politics relations: LP reporters remembered times of narrower interweaving and gave accounts of continuous dissociation throughout their professional lives. This process happened much earlier in the USA, where the most recent development was seen in terms of the opposite, that is, informalization of press–politics relations—not least through social media, which will be the focus of the following chapter.

NOTES

1. References to persons, organizations, institutions and stories have to remain vague in order not to breach confidentiality agreements.
2. Some scholars viewed media as mere vehicles for politics (Sigal 1973), others looked at media–politics relations as symbioses (Gans 1979) and reciprocal cooperative arrangements (Ericson et al. 1989). More recent studies have drilled deep into these social arrangements, not only by viewing them as negotiations over the construction of news (Reich 2006), but dialogues between interpretive communities (Berkowitz and TerKeurst 1999). Building on Cook’s (1998) conception of media as governing institutions, mediatization scholars reversed the focus towards how media logic permeates politics (Kepplinger 2002; Mazzoleni and Schulz 1999; Strömbäck 2008), if only through “mediated reflexivity” of present-day politicians (Davis 2009).
3. Some of the inferences about US reporters’ boundary performances were already published elsewhere (Revers 2014a).
4. I did not ask about them specifically; only when reporters brought them up in the context of talking about source relations or journalistic values and ethics.
5. The wall also commonly refers to the separation between editorial and corporate departments (including advertisement) of news organizations.
6. After he left his job I talked to his successor, who denied this to be the case. The politics editor of the paper denied my interview request. However, the seeming hyperbole by this reporter is telling for its own sake.
7. As I will show in the following section, the content of commentaries themselves can create frictions with sources, but news and opinion were not generally irreconcilable for German journalists.
8. I did not have access to the Staatskanzlei, where most high-stakes press conferences with the Minister-President and his cabinet members took place.
9. An exception was New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who addressed reporters by saying “Sir” or “Madam,” even those of the City Hall press corps who followed him to Albany. LCA reporters found this peculiar.

10. For a detailed examination of how reporters negotiate these transition, see Fisher (2015a, b).
11. Some argued that the most powerful man in Albany was in fact Sheldon Silver, Speaker of the Assembly at the time. Putting that aside, this spokesperson was also in a weaker position because the Governor he worked for had a low credibility among the press and bad approval ratings. However, even a spokesperson working for a stronger Governor found herself subjected to these constraints.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2004. "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance Between Ritual and Strategy." *Sociological Theory* 22(4):527–73.
- Berkowitz, Dan and James V. TerKeurst. 1999. "Community as Interpretive Community: Rethinking the Journalist-Source Relationship." *Journal of Communication* 49(3):125–36.
- Clayman, Steven E. and John Heritage. 2002. "Questioning Presidents: Journalistic Deference and Adversarialness in the Press Conferences of U.S. Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan." *The Journal of Communication* 52(4):749–75.
- Confessore, Nicholas. 2010. "Cuomo, Frequent Caller, Uses the Phone as a Political Tool." *The New York Times*, December 31.
- Cook, Timothy E. 1998. *Governing With the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davis, Aeron. 2009. "Journalist-Source Relations, Mediated Reflexivity and the Politics of Politics." *Journalism Studies* 10(2):204–19.
- Douglas, Mary. 2005. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Ericson, Richard Victor, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B. L. Chan. 1989. *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002b. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisher, Caroline. 2015a. "Managing Conflict of Interest." *Journalism Practice* 1–14.
- Fisher, Caroline. 2015b. "The Disclosure Dilemma: Returning to Journalism after Political Media Advising." *Communication Research and Practice* 1(1):58–70.
- Gans, Herbert J. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1956. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh,: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre.

- Goffman, Erving. 1972. *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. London: Allen Lane.
- Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hendler, Clint. 2010a. "One Night at the AP." *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/one_night_at_the_ap.php).
- Hess, Stephen. 1981. *The Washington Reporters: Newswork*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Jacobs, Ronald N. and Eleanor Townsley. 2011. *The Space of Opinion: Media Intellectuals and the Public Sphere*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaplan, Thomas and Julie Bosman. 2013. "Publisher Is Backing Off a Book About Cuomo in Favor of One Written by Him." *The New York Times*, April 29. Retrieved April 23, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/30/nyregion/cuomo-and-publisher-are-said-to-be-in-talks-about-memoir.html>).
- Kepplinger, Hans Mathias. 2002. "Mediatization of Politics: Theory and Data." *Journal of Communication* 52(4):972–86.
- King, David. 2011. "Cuomo Cultivates His Media Messenger." *Gotham Gazette*, March 8. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/albany/20110308/204/3482>).
- Lasorsa, Dominic L., Seth C. Lewis, and Avery E. Holton. 2012. "Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Communication Space." *Journalism Studies* 13(1):19–36.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro and Winfried Schulz. 1999. "'Mediatization' of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?" *Political Communication* 16(3):247–61.
- Medvetz, Thomas. 2012. *Think Tanks in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Peters, Jeremy W. 2011. "Governors Come and Go, but This Reporter Keeps Slugging Away." *The New York Times*, April 22. Retrieved (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/22/nyregion/new-york-posts-fredric-dicker-keeps-slugging-away.html>).
- Reich, Zvi. 2006. "The Process Model of News Initiative." *Journalism Studies* 7(4):497–514.
- Revers, Matthias. 2014a. "Journalistic Professionalism as Performance and Boundary Work: Source Relations at the State House." *Journalism* 15(1):37–52.
- Revers, Matthias. 2014b. "The Twitterization of News Making: Transparency and Journalistic Professionalism." *Journal of Communication* 64(5):806–26.
- Sigal, Leon V. 1973. *Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.
- Smith, Ben. 2005. "Undisputed King Of Albany Press Is Fred U. Dicker." *New York Observer*, January 10. Retrieved March 6, 2014 (<http://observer.com/2005/01/undisputed-king-of-albany-press-is-fred-u-dicker>).

- Smith, Ben. 2012. "Cuomo Aide Slammed Reporter In Dossier." *BuzzFeed*, April 15. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.buzzfeed.com/bensmith/cuomo-aide-slammed-reporter-in-private-file>).
- Smith, Chris. 2011. "The Gamer." *New York Magazine*, March 27.
- Strömbäck, Jesper. 2008. "Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(3):228–46.
- The New York Times. 2004. "Ethical Journalism: A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Editorial Departments." Retrieved July 5, 2015 (http://www.nytco.com/wp-content/uploads/NYT_Ethical_Journalism_0904-1.pdf).
- The New York Times. 2008. "Guidelines on Integrity." Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.nytco.com/wp-content/uploads/Guidelines-on-Integrity-updated-2008.pdf>).
- Tracy, Marc. 2013. "Behind Andrew Cuomo's Book Bout With Fredric Dicker: Did a Presidential Contender Quash an Unfriendly Biography?" *The New Republic*, May 3. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/113105/new-york-gov-andrew-cuomos-book-bout-fredric-dicker>).
- Uzzi, Brian. 1997. "Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42(1):35–67.

Digital Media and the Diversification of Professionalism

A turning point in the professional lives of Albany reporters was when blogs became fixtures in state political news in 2006. Elizabeth Benjamin was at the center of this transition. When she changed positions from *New York Daily News* to news anchor and blogger for the Time Warner news channel YNN in 2010, Columbia Journalism Review portrayed her. The article was set up on the premise that Benjamin challenged the long-standing dominance of Fred Dicker, state editor of the *New York Post*, within the state political news ecosystem.¹ One consistent theme of the story was the conflict between traditional journalism and blogging. Before joining the *Daily News*, Benjamin had worked for the daily newspaper *Albany Times Union* (TU), where she had launched a political blog in late 2005.

The portrait described the “modern local political blog” as “devotedly insider-ish, constantly updated, overseen by a hard-working obsessive, and very well-sourced” (Mearns 2010). Her former supervisor at the TU, Bob Port, argued that Benjamin fits this profile:

She amassed such a huge audience in such a short time—there were about 10,000 uniques on the web reading her blog—it dwarfed anything else we were doing,” he says. It was the result of hard work. “She would feed stuff

This chapter was originally prepared for inclusion in: Alexander, Jeffrey C., Elizabeth Breese, María Luengo (eds.). 2016. *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered: Democratic Culture, Professional Codes, Digital Future*. Cambridge University Press.

into it day and night. The rest of us were at home, drinking coffee, trying to wake up, and Liz would be on her computer filing news. (ibid.)

Although Benjamin earned her stripes as a “frizzy-haired muckraker” in the state house press, the article painted a distinctive picture of the modern journalist: not someone who spends weeks on a story, going through government records and talking to a multitude of sources on- and off-the-record, but someone who is able, first and foremost, to process and move a tremendous volume of information in a short amount of time and who essentially never stops doing it. Benjamin was, no doubt, an exceptional case, but one that set the tone for how political reporting would evolve during the two and a half years of my research at the New York State Capitol.

Blogs, hence also bloggers, were irrelevant in the Bavarian political news ecosystem. During my field research only one reporter had a blog but said that “it’s hardly maintained because blogs don’t go so well here” (Interview, LP reporter, December 1, 2011). Shortly after I left Munich in late July 2012, the state house bureau of the public broadcast company BR launched the blog *Politik aus Bayern* as a part of the organization’s cross-media strategy.

In the inaugural post, the BR bureau introduced itself and outlined the purpose of this new undertaking (BR-Landespolitik 2012). In an initial stand-up, the bureau chief of the radio team, Nikolaus Neumaier, said: “We tell you how grand politics is made in the Bavarian Landtag—behind us you see the assembly room—and we tell you smaller stories based on glimpses behind the scenes” (ibid.; my translation) Sitting in the editing room, TV reporter Sebastian Kraft turns to the camera and adds understatedly:

We will also report for you about the Bavarian state cabinet; we are close to what’s happening and there are always stories which don’t have that great of a news value but which we want to present to you on the blog because they are exciting to follow. For example: which minister has particular favor with the ‘father of the state’ or who is annoyed by the latest infamous change of course of the Minister-President. (ibid.; my translation)

BR radio reporter, Eva Lell, takes over: “Politics not only happens in the assembly room but also on the internet. Politicians twitter, they post comments on Facebook and we look closely at this and are happy to report about it on the internet from now on” (ibid.; my translation).

The BR blog provided short but well-produced pieces. Most videos on political blogs in Albany were shaky smartphone recordings made by

newspaper reporters. But even blogs maintained by TV news bureaus contain only a few produced video pieces relative to all the other content they provide, including many short news articles, original documents, news aggregation and excerpts of radio interviews, and so on.

In other words, blogs had entirely different mandates in the two cases: In Albany, blogs were about breaking news and providing content immediately and constantly as political events unfold. *Politik aus Bayern*, mostly a video blog, supplemented rather than drove state political news coverage. This also manifested itself in the quantity of output: Blogs in Albany published ten items per day on average while the BR blog released one item, sometimes none, on a given day.

Even though a video blog is different from a typical political blog, the way German reporters interacted with this medium compared to their US counterparts is still telling for the larger issues of interest in this book.

TECHNOLOGY-INDUCED PROFESSIONAL CHANGE AND RESILIENCE

What I witnessed in Albany was an emergent hybridity of a digital culture and journalistic professionalism. Though both groups of reporters had access to and used many of the same digital media, they had a much more profound impact on the practice and self-conception of journalists in the US case. While closely observing the hectic daily routine of reporters in Albany, I could not shake the sense that there was something fundamentally novel going on. This sense intensified during the German field research, which almost seemed like a peek into the past in comparison.

This raised the following questions: What changes and stays the same when journalism is hit by technologically induced upheaval? What explains the different implications of digital media in the two cases and what does this suggest about journalism in the USA and Germany? And what “does” technology in the process of transformation? I will take up this last question first in the following theoretical discussion.

Theorizing the Culturality of Technologies

It is common sense in journalism studies that most significant changes in news media in the early 2000s are connected to the internet. For instance, one of the most decisive trends in US journalism has been the advancement of an ethic of transparency through social media (Bélaïr-Gagnon

2013; Hellmueller et al. 2013; Karlsson 2010; Lewis and Usher 2013; Revers 2014; Singer 2007). However, transparency as a journalistic value is not new (neither is speed) but has been an ongoing current in the professionalization of journalism.² The same can be said about participation: There has always been a participatory audience that made itself heard through phone calls and letters to newsrooms, letters to the editor, guest commentary, and so on.

This difficulty of identifying something genuinely “new” as well as the inevitable reaction of empirically minded media scholars against their more techno-utopian counterparts led to a kind of downplaying of the extent to which old media actually changed, and especially the role of technology in this change. There are also theoretical reasons for this tendency: The dominant social constructivist view on media transformations merely attributes possibilities of use (affordances) to technologies, emphasizing the contingent and negotiated character of technology-induced innovation within news organizations (Boczkowski 2004; Domingo 2008; Schmitz Weiss and Domingo 2010).

This chapter ascribes greater causal significance to technology, especially in terms of cultural meanings attached to it. It seeks to consider the *culturality* of digital media while avoiding the conflation of voluntarism and idealism, determinism and materialism, which haunts so many studies of the materiality of technologies (Leonardi and Barley 2008): accounting for human agency does not mean ignoring material constraints and facilitations of action; accounting for efficacies external to human agents does not mean disregarding ideal dimensions of social action.

In this chapter, digital media are envisioned as cultural environments of journalism, “encouraging certain types of interaction while discouraging others” (Meyrowitz 2009: 520). Emphasizing *encouragement* – as “rendering desirable” – rather than mere *affordance* – as “making possible” – avoids tilting on one side of the determinism/voluntarism continuum. Distinguishing between affordances and qualities of objects is helpful here (McDonnell 2010). The former only manifest themselves through interaction with the object while the latter are inherent and antecedent to affordances.

By the time a journalist adopts a technology, it already constitutes a bundle of materiality, designers’ inscriptions and previous users’ conventions of engagement (Orlikowski 2000). Even their most material of qualities are always already entrenched in culture. Not even when a piece of technology is first introduced is it free from cultural meaning: it meets cultural demands; it resembles features of existent technologies already ascribed

with meaning; in the case of a digital technology, it arises from and is already embedded in digital culture. One such technology—Twitter—will be subject of further attention: At the time journalists adopted Twitter, it already bore “cultural baggage,” including hierarchized forms of engagement and communicative roles, which limited and guided possible forms of practice. Other Twitter users are central in this respect because they are not just tangible audiences for journalists but provide socialization into the social network by raising cultural expectations regarding desirable forms of communication and self-presentation (Marwick and boyd 2011).

Furthermore, technology is not isolated but “situated within a number of nested and overlapping social systems” (Orlikowski 2000: 411). Thus, not only digital cultural values flow into the journalistic engagement with new technologies (Deuze 2006) but also the historical backdrop of the crisis of legacy news media. Domingo (2008) theorized the myth of interactivity as an interaction between these two aspects.

When efficacies of digital media encounter resilient notions of journalistic professionalism, a fruitful ground for analysis emerges. There is broad agreement among media scholars that journalism is selectively receptive to new media, that is, only insofar as they confirm and help further established occupational goals and values (cf. Domingo 2008; Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira 2012; Robinson 2011). Thus, the result of adoption is always more complex than what is simplistically understood as “technological change.” Furthermore, contemporary journalism is hardly at an endpoint but still transforming. This is why the “normalization of technologies” thesis (e.g. Lasorsa et al. 2012; Quandt 2008; Ryfe 2012; Singer 2005), seems hasty in suggesting that journalism adopts new media merely in ways that reinforce and perpetuate traditional occupational norms.³

Digital media adoption results in combinations of old and new forms of journalistic practice, which may or may not have a profound impact on professionalism as it is. Even though all German reporters felt that the internet made a big difference in their working lives, understanding the practices of the Bavarian state house press in terms of traditional journalism was still reasonably comprehensive during the research period. The Albany state house, on the other hand, constituted a laboratory study of a *hybrid media system* (Chadwick 2013) where older and newer media practices intersect in a context in which the media and politics interpenetrate. Although reporters from legacy media outlets constituted the Albany press corps, their practices could not be understood in terms of traditional journalism alone.

Germany: Hesitant and Controlled Adoption of Digital Media

Most reporters I talked to in Munich did not have any online responsibilities in addition to regular news production duties. Although LP journalists experienced an increase of workload in the years prior to my research, this additional workload was typically not digital but occurred in legacy news outlets, partly in response to the greater public access to information on the internet. Most of them also mentioned increasing demands of topicality and associated time pressure.

One reporter said that “what changed overall is the turnaround time of news with [the existence of] online” (Interview, LP reporter, November 7, 2011), despite the fact that he did not write online news himself. One senior radio reporter said: “We became much faster and put a lot of pressure on ourselves” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011). He reminisced about the old days when it was possible to reach agreements with competitor-colleagues to save a story for the next day, which promised to be a slow news day: “‘Let’s play this story tomorrow.’ (laughs) It worked! This would be unthinkable today” (ibid.).

LP reporters perceived the most fundamental change of their occupational role in the weakening of gatekeeping authority. One national newspaper correspondent stressed greater public control of journalism through the internet. He used the example of a political document he once reported on. Earlier, when readers could not access this information themselves on the internet, journalists were in principle able to arbitrarily pick certain aspects and omit others according to their own preferences, he told me, whereas nowadays readers would call them out for that (Interview, LP reporter, April 17, 2012). Another reporter shared this sense:

If you want to do a good job you cannot make it easy for yourself, not just write something up that everyone can find through Google and Wikipedia. I think that’s a very significant issue because the verifiability has increased, of course, and it left the journalist like an emperor without clothes. There are so many stories that were traced back and exposed as copied from Wikipedia. (Interview, LP reporter, December 5, 2011)

The privatization of broadcast media in 1984 was another important change in German journalism, which Munich reporters mentioned frequently as a significant change during their career. One public radio journalist in the LP referred to a new information station that his company

had added in the early 1990s in response to the new competitive situation as a *Staubsauger* (vacuum cleaner), because “the demand for our stories is very high” (Interview, LP reporter, January 24, 2011) on this new outlet. One of his colleagues said: “This news machine is enormously voracious; it demands to be constantly fed with news, from six in the morning until midnight” (Interview, LP reporter, November 22, 2011).

Reporters’ motivations to start using social media were markedly different in Munich compared to their Albany counterparts. If LP journalists paid attention to social media at all (several reporters did not during the research period), they solely valued them for the ability to monitor politicians’ activities. One young LP reporter, who did not have any online news production obligation, said:

I’ve got a Twitter account and a Facebook account for research purposes, just to be able to observe what happens, but I don’t provide my own journalistic impulses there or use it to publish my work. (Interview, LP reporter, June 13, 2012)

When I asked one LP bureau chief about the most significant changes in journalism in the last decade, he mentioned Facebook as one of the “new tools for research and identifying issues” (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011). He said he told interns to conceive Facebook in this way, since politicians sometimes posted messages that provide insights on current happenings. To him, as many of his competitor-colleagues, social media were useful add-ons rather than competition.

As a rare instance of metadiscourse, journalists of the LP talked about their views on Twitter and Facebook in an entry on the *Politik aus Bayern* blog, titled “The LP twitters and posts,” using the German translation of twitter, *zwitschern*, in the original (Lell 2013). Henry Stern from the daily *Main-Post* described social media as “good and quick sources of information” and added that “you can be a bit more informal than in other media, perhaps.” Frank Müller (*SZ*), a Twitter-pioneer and by far the most active LP tweeter, reported: “We have had good experiences with representatives presenting themselves very authentically” (*ibid.*). His competitor-colleague, Christian Deutschländer from *Münchener Merkur*, echoed this notion and elaborated: “I’m on there regularly because I’m aware that politicians post a lot, they like it and also like to post emotionally. And that is great for us journalists when something gets to us that is not filtered by some spokesperson” (*ibid.*).

Perhaps they both had a story in mind which Müller published more than a year earlier in *SZ*, titled “when politicians twitter.” It discussed one representative’s Twitter feed, which was criticized for promulgating blonde jokes:

Aiwanger’s mishap sheds a light on how speed and content of the political debate in Bavaria changes through new media. Appearances of politicians accumulate on the leading social networks, Facebook and Twitter, and journalists and followers are also diligently involved. Spontaneous political discussions evolve, which are similar to a regulars’ table: sometimes loud, sometimes thoughtful, entertaining or rough. And occasionally misogynistic as well. (Müller 2012b)

The story focused not only on such social media pitfalls but also on the inauthenticity of politicians not operating their own social media identities, since representative Hubert Aiwanger blamed his staff for tweeting politically incorrect jokes. The article quotes the politician: “If it goes on like this I will turn this crap off.” When another questionable joke followed on his Twitter feed, not even two weeks later, Aiwanger was again castigated by political opponents online and the Twitter account was taken down (Müller 2012a).

Despite the clumsiness of social media engagement, Bavarian politicians were still forging ahead in the digital era compared to most reporters covering them. LP reporters referred to the state of affairs concerning social media as a trial period in conversations. They raised questions about a possible future that was already a reality for their US counterparts. One of them said:

How to operate all these new channels? What is this new type of journalist like who does all these things? Does that mean – we see it with our colleagues from the online department who are actually expected to tweet at night! (Interview, LP reporter, May 15, 2012)

After my field research in Munich, particularly in the context of the 2013 state election, many LP reporters joined Twitter (including the one I just quoted). However, even in 2015, their twitterverse was not nearly as multimedial, interactive and, above all, immediate as their US counterparts’.

To my surprise, several Munich reporters brought up mobile phone text messaging as a response to my question what had been the most significant changes in their working lives, even though it had been around for

almost two decades at that point. They regarded it as significant because it allowed them to permeate spatial boundaries of information within the state legislature, especially with regard to closed session committee meetings: “You are able to get there directly. You are able to evade spokespeople without them ever noticing it. That has actually changed the work” (Interview, LP reporter, November 10, 2011). Another reporter said that text messaging had even affected political dynamics

In some instances it’s almost bizarre because so much goes over text messages from ongoing meetings, in and out, and when they talk about something important inside the CSU caucus, wire stories are already circulating outside. But [politicians] read those inside and then there is this strange feedback to the inside. (Interview, LP reporter, November 24, 2011)

I observed similar but more pervasive spatial dynamics in New York, through a medium that was originally modeled after text messaging: Twitter, with the important difference that communication was public.

Upheaval and Diversification of Professionalism in the USA

Related to an overall acceleration of news production and a proliferation of news channels in conjunction with the reduction of news staff, LCA journalists experienced a steep increase in workload. All reporters in the LCA had some, most of them extensive online duties: publishing advance online stories before the final story for the print edition, blogging, tweeting, producing multimedia content, and so on. As mentioned above, they saw blogging as *the* game changer in state political news making.

But far from perceiving it uncritically, many LCA journalists—particularly those who were only indirectly affected by it—disapproved of blogs’ emphasis on immediacy and speed: “What happened when blogging accelerated and the instant posting on your news website accelerated is ... the emphasis on speed took away from judgment, took away from being able to evaluate things” (Interview, LCA reporter, April 11, 2011). Another reporter said: “You’re doing blogs and you never stop to worry,” before mentioning her issues with repetitive strain injury, which she attributed to “writing all day” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 23, 2009).

Even one of the most Twitter-resistant and generally digital media-critical reporters, which I referred to as Ned above, produced volumes of news reporting for print and online that were inconceivable for an LP

reporter. He told me that he used to write one story per day, occasionally one per week when he was working on a project. Many LP newspaper reporters still operated that way, while Ned's workload had reached different dimensions: "The other day, I did four stories. ... All four go on the internet. ... Two will end up in print with me updating it with newer information for the print version. It's just become nonstop" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010).

Ned constituted a one-person bureau and was busier than most of his competitor-colleagues. Scheduling an interview with him and later days when I shadowed him were true challenges for me. When we finally did the first interview in May 2010, he took his computer with him for lack of a smartphone, frequently refreshing his web browser as he was waiting for a Supreme Court ruling to be released. The interview, though it turned out to be an engaged conversation, was initially overshadowed by this distraction:

This interview is a perfect example [of how this job changed]. I can't sit here and give you 100 percent attention. Every four or five minutes I'm having to update because—and I shouldn't have to be doing this. It's all about feeding the web. I mean normally ... I could sit and talk for an hour. But I've sort of got this fear that if I see "[name] versus" case come up, it's like: I'm flying out of here, because I've got to quickly read a 200 page court case and get it out to the web ... on a really complicated legal issue. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 17, 2010)

When I shadowed him a year later and followed him doing rounds through the Capitol, I asked him at one point whom he was trying to meet. Ned responded: "Just one out of 15 people" (Fieldnotes, LCA, May 10, 2011). His concern regarded not only the stories of that day but several other stories coming up, including one for the weekend edition. While we walked further, I told him that the more I learned about the State Capitol, the more I felt I could only scratch the surface. He said it was similar for him, describing his job as being a "fire fighter" who was on constant "damage control" and could only cover the most essential stories while leaving many others on the wayside.

While it is interesting that even the most traditionalist LCA journalists—Ned being one of them—were *much* "more digital" than any LP reporter in my study, there were differences between those who were pulled into the digital era and younger journalists who grew up in it. One

of the latter types said: “I’ve always kind of been with the internet. I think it puts increasing pressure to get things up quickly, it allows less time for contemplation and digestion, which I think is probably bad” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 18, 2010). Another, even younger reporter echoed this sense of digital nativeness, expressing no connection to the traditional news production cycle:

The idea to me of news happens, you write about it whenever it happens and send it to the web, put it online—*that* to me is much more natural than: the first edition deadline is seven o’ clock, the second edition is 8:30. (Interview, LCA reporter, May 4, 2011)

These two journalists, next to a handful of others, were driving forces of digital media adoption and new forms of engagements in the Albany press corps. The contrast to young LP reporters, who did not distinguish themselves as pressing ahead with digital media at all, could not have been starker. The most tech-savvy reporters in Munich were mid-career and in their forties.

Yet, reporters in both contexts saw themselves under tremendous and almost unmanageable time pressure. This has long been a basic condition of journalism, which in the USA James Carey traced back to the introduction of the penny press in the early nineteenth century when “the value of timeliness was generalized ... into the cardinal value of journalism” (1986: 164).

Twitter and the Ethic of Transparency

During my field research in Albany, Twitter captivated the press corps and incited debates about journalistic professionalism. The legislative debate about and passage of same-sex marriage (SSM) law in late June 2011 was a particularly incisive event in this context. More than just the momentary national attention to tweets from the Albany state house, reporters felt that their twitterverse suddenly resembled an idealized space of instantaneous public discussion rather than its usual existence of an echo chamber.

The state editor of the *TU*, Casey Seiler, titled his column after the law passed “A Twitter convert’s testament.” Describing himself as a late converter and initial skeptic of Twitter, he wrote that his awakening occurred during the SSM debate, when he realized what Twitter was or could be, both a “deeply stocked newsstand” and “a communal notebook that’s open to the public” (Seiler 2011). Not only that, but a platform to exert accountability (to a modest extent) in that “an errant quote from a

politician or advocate is posted and then handed around to thousands of followers in little more time than it takes to be typed” (ibid.).

I have argued elsewhere (Revers 2014) that the role LCA journalists assumed on Twitter around that time, engaging in various performances of transparency, was new and emblematic for changes in US journalistic professionalism. This shift occurred in the context of nascent digital cultural values of openness, interactivity and participation, which Karlsson (2010) jointly discussed as *participatory transparency*, and a new digital formation of mediated communication in the early 2000s, including smartphones and their video recording and app-extension capabilities, blogs and other social networks.

Besides fulfilling very similar legacy news duties as their German counterparts, blogging and tweeting LCA journalists understood their professional role in part as providers of original and instantly shared content. The journalist herself stepped out of the twilight of authoritative distance into the limelight of social media publicity, inventing a personality (or a “personal brand” in media corporate speak) on the way, who more openly shared assessments on issues and situations as well as glimpses into her personal life.

This shift did not occur uninhibitedly, as the ethic of transparency clashed with the established professional logic of control over the jurisdiction of news making (Lewis 2012). Contention in the period of transition divided LCA reporters into three groups: *innovators* who adopted Twitter immediately and wholeheartedly; a minority of *traditionalists* who rejected new forms of engagements entirely up to a certain point; and *skeptics* who adopted Twitter hesitantly (sometimes involuntarily) but were ideologically closer to traditionalists. One skeptic, whom I expected to be one of the last to join Twitter if ever (he was told by his editors), told me about his experience:

You have to embrace some of these things if you want to survive. ... You can be kind of funny and sarcastic on Twitter; no one is editing you, which is kind of fun. You can definitely be more personal on Twitter and if you're *not* you gonna come off kind of buttoned-down, you know, so I think you have to [be more personal]. (Interview, LCA reporter, February 27, 2012)

Traditionalists denoted the flow of unfiltered (by the critical eyes of editors) information through blogs and Twitter as “stenography,” “news candy” and “performative information.” They were particularly averse to the erosion

of the metaphorical wall between opinion and news. As one of them said: “[The wall] is crumbling particularly because of blogging. Some bloggers have a style of being snarky or witty or funny or inserting themselves into the blog post. You automatically get some opinion, some adjectives, and a framing of the blog post” (Interview, LCA reporter, May 5, 2011).

Even though the legacy news generated by their tweeting colleagues mostly conformed to their standards, traditionalists opposed the overall diversification of professionalism on different platforms. One of them argued: “I see a lot of times people *do* cross the line. And it’s like, on the next day they are reporting on the same thing in a supposed hands-off [style in the paper] ... *that* to me is mind-boggling” (Interview, LCA reporter, February 28, 2012). Traditionalists held an essentialist view of professionalism, which suggested that deviation from conventional professional norms on one platform undermined these norms altogether. Innovators, representing about half of the LCA, believed in the value of diversifying professionalism, sharing different layers of their professional personas and providing different levels of analysis of state politics on various media platforms.

The Culturality of Twitter

As Twitter gradually seized the State Capitol, it affected not only journalistic professionalism but the dynamics of political communication in New York State. The most tangible impact of this digital formation manifests in the interaction between spatial-temporal orders of digital and non-digital (Revers 2015). One episode in early 2012 elucidated this circumstance. Its central protagonist subsequently described it in his column. Bill Hammond (*New York Daily News*) attended an education hearing and was dissatisfied with how Assemblywoman Catherine Nolan led the debate:

The situation was so odd that I posted a Twitter update from my seat in the hearing room: Nolan “isn’t asking Walcott about the hottest topic in city schools—teacher eval,” I wrote. The comment was passed along by a few of my equally curious fellow journalists. Imagine my surprise when Nolan reacted to that message about half an hour later, just as Walcott was about to wrap up his testimony. (Hammond 2012)

Assemblywoman Nolan’s reaction was to ask New York City Education Commissioner, Dennis Walcott, the following question: “The twitterverse wants me to ask you about teacher evaluation.” Although expressed

sarcastically, she reacted to Hammond's criticism. Most significantly, Hammond was able to interfere in a political debate that usually bars members of the public. In this moment, Twitter served as a stage to claim accountability, which penetrated a delimited political space by generating a sense of instant publicity.

Like other electronic media before (Meyrowitz 1985), Twitter permeates spatial boundaries. Permeation is enabled by the way journalists perform on Twitter, and the information flows this entails. This implication of Twitter may be framed as its "materiality." Semantically, I prefer to think of it as its *culturality*, because the causal agents are the cultural attachments of Twitter, that is, engagements, speech conventions and communicative roles which are not just there but promoted by associated meanings and symbolic hierarchies. The imperative to be always-on, open and personal constitute such attachments which particularly resonate with journalistic professionalism. They are brought to life in performative action, which emphasize instantly sharing insights, assessments and critiques and appreciating journalistic accomplishments (including those of competitors).

As another consequence, Twitter furthers a defining feature of on-site reporting, which is to not only witness events but to anticipate them before they occur (in order to then witness them). Hence, Twitter helps journalists to deal with what Michael Schudson has termed the "anarchy of events" (Schudson 2007). The immediacy of Twitter enhances awareness and the capability of coordinating the immediate future (Tavory and Eliasoph 2013), while requiring coordinative efforts in order to avoid inconsistencies and misperceptions between different, digital and non-digital, layers of communication.

CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on one main dynamic of current hybrid media systems, namely how traditional news media "adapt and integrate the logics of newer media practices" (Chadwick 2013: 4). The rise of the internet was tremendously significant for reporters in both countries. The fact that LP reporters did not perceive social media as a threat, however, is not surprising, given their limited use as sources of information rather than platforms of interaction and expression.

The German press corps turned out to be significantly less hybridized than the US case. Monitoring the LP twitterverse from afar, years after leaving the field physically, revealed that most reporters opened Twitter accounts. But even in 2015, four years after the first reporters adopted Twitter (a comparable point in time to 2013 in Albany), the LP

twitterverse was still much less instantaneous (regarding live tweeting and related practices) and interactive.

This is not to say that digital media are irrelevant in German journalism. In fact, Boyer's (2013) newsroom ethnography paints a very different picture, although one that is based on fast-paced news production settings to begin with. I would argue that the impact of digital media on journalism can best be seen in news production spaces in which they do not play such an obviously important role. The fact that digital media were relatively irrelevant for state political reporters in Germany is thus noteworthy because it suggests that journalism there resisted technological transformations of media to a far greater extent than in the USA.

LCA reporters adopted social media, particularly Twitter, as stages to perform professionalism, to converse with each other, with sources and occasionally with the public, as transmitting channels of live coverage and as receiving channels of networked expertise. Reporters gave up some of their authoritative distance by inserting personality, subjective views and assessments, and appreciation of others' journalistic work. As a consequence, the news-making process and their individual involvement became more transparent. Even though their primary responsibilities were still legacy news production, and the printed article was still more dignified, operating a popular blog, having many followers or just being particularly insightful and cutting on Twitter became badges of professional honor.

Following Rod Benson's (2014) challenge of what he calls the "new descriptivism," originally aimed at media scholarship influenced by actor-network theory, and call for the responsibility of the social sciences to explain variation, the following sections attempt to provide specific explanations for the striking differences of digital media adoption. Notwithstanding the subdivision in material and cultural factors, I should emphasize that even though economic influencing factors may constitute "real" material constraints for reporters, they rarely come with clear rules and instructions for action, and nor does culture. However, material factors ultimately have to pass through human interpretive filters to induce action (Reed 2008), including those of supervisors in news organizations, and thereby feed back with, translate into and amplify cultural meanings of professionalism.

MEDIA SYSTEMIC CONTEXTUAL CONDITIONS

Firstly, the economic predicaments of the newspaper industry in the USA and the looming threat of extinction are easy explanations for why Albany journalists and their newsrooms were comparatively eager to try new things. This context would seem to raise stronger demands of flexibility and create

a climate in which adapting to newer media logics is encouraged. Likewise, the relative economic health of legacy news media in Germany did not create such incentives to adapt. Another more specific consequence was that there had been less fluctuation and more beat-seniority in the LP. To LP reporters themselves, age and seniority were the main explanations for the relative reluctance to adopt digital media.⁴

The second main factor, which cannot be entirely dissociated from the economic situation of news media, is the threat to the professional authority of journalism, of losing relevance or even becoming obsolete in the internet age. Even though at the time of the study the social media I discussed were spread around the globe, there still seemed to be a time lag between how innovations were taken up in the home country of Silicon Valley and the rest of the world.

The adoption of Twitter by Albany reporters was specifically promoted by the participatory promise of this medium (Revers 2014). This promise drew its strength from echoing both corporate interests of strengthening consumer loyalty and professional concerns with raising discursive authority in the networked public sphere. Simply put, I argue that Twitter succeeded because it became associated both with the economic and professional survival of journalism. Among LCA reporters, this discursive formation diffused vertically down newsroom hierarchies and horizontally across competitor-colleagues.

I argue that greater malleability and adaptability in the USA, and continuity and rigidity in Germany are features of occupational cultures themselves.

POROUSNESS AND ROBUSTNESS OF OCCUPATIONAL CULTURES

The more active engagement with social media in Albany and the more passive use by reporters in Munich, following the lead of politics, correspond in some ways to comparative media scholars' observation that the role of news media is more passive in the political public sphere in Germany compared to the USA (Ferree et al. 2002; Pfetsch 2001). It also resonates with the analysis of professional discourses in Chap. 3. To quickly recapitulate: A model German journalist is a more passive figure, deliberate, reserved, often ideologically labeled and sometimes socially entangled with political elites. The model US journalist is aggressive, proactive, carries conflict with political leaders with pride and actively shapes history rather than just witnessing or explaining it. Excellency in German journalism reveals and enhances the public understanding of issues, while US journalism is measured by its social impact and the change it brings about.

Unquestionable symbolic centers of US journalism like Watergate stood opposite diverging interpretations of these symbols as well as associated occupational norms, for instance, objectivity. The more contentious nature of journalistic professionalism in the USA makes it more susceptible to new practices and normative commitments. Contrariwise, though there was more agreement about professional norms among German reporters, there was less of a consensus about the collective representation of journalistic professionalism (if definitive occupational symbols mattered at all). Connected to that, the competitive culture for professional status in the Albany press corps encouraged individual reporters to innovate, whereas the associational culture in Munich, which conceived competition as inherently negative, discouraged it. Thus, the patterns of digital media adoption and engagement in both press corps suggested a more porous and malleable occupational culture of journalism in the USA and a more robust and rigid one in Germany.

There was perhaps a larger German cultural impediment in place for professional journalists to be transparent on social media. Given the collective memory of mass surveillance during National Socialism and, more recently, the communist regime in East Germany, it is not surprising that the public discourse on digital media was so dominated by data security and privacy concerns in Germany. One LP reporter reflected on this issue in the context of his own and his colleagues' reservations about social media:

Journalists are certainly critical people for the most part. Not too long ago we were fighting against the glass human being [mass surveillance]. Take this generation of journalists; this relentless collection of data – that's scary for many of them and that's probably the reason for the reluctance to just put [data] on Facebook, to reveal one's innermost being to that extent. (Interview, LP reporter, May 15, 2012)

He included himself in this category. Accordingly, compared to some social media profiles of LCA reporters, who openly shared personal pictures, even the most transparent LP reporters' exposure on these platforms were much more reserved at the time of my study.

NOTES

1. The fact that Benjamin or Dicker were framed as dominating figures rather than Danny Hakim, for instance, who was the bureau chief of the *New York Times* in 2010, won a Pulitzer Prize and would later be nominated for another for his reporting in Albany, is noteworthy in itself.

2. The rise of the author byline in newspaper articles starting in the 1920s (Schudson 1978), identifying the person behind the news, or the introduction of the news interview in the late nineteenth century which framed news reporting as committed to fact gathering rather than conviction (Schudson 1995: 72–93), are steps in the professionalization of US journalism that increased transparency.
3. I obviously share the view that occupational norms exhibit significant cultural stability. However, I take issue with their shared normative critique which laments that journalism does not open itself up to participatory culture (quickly enough), partly because it assumes a public willing to engage and get involved. Depending on which journalistic jurisdiction you look at, this cannot always be presumed—certainly not in state politics.
4. Talking about social media, one mid-career journalist said she had colleagues “who are very innovation-friendly and then there are colleagues who say they will make it until retirement somehow and don’t need all that” (Interview, LP reporter, January 25, 2012).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bélaïr-Gagnon, Valérie. 2013. “Revisiting Impartiality: Social Media and Journalism at The BBC.” *Symbolic Interaction* 36(4):478–92.
- Benson, Rodney. 2014. “Challenging the ‘New Descriptivism’ - Rod Benson’s Talk from QualPolComm Preconference.” *Qualitative Political Communication Research*. Retrieved September 6, 2014 (<http://qualpolcomm.wordpress.com/2014/06/05/challenging-the-new-descriptivism-rod-bensons-talk-from-qualpolcomm-preconference/>).
- Boczkowski, Pablo J. 2004. *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Boyer, Dominic. 2013. *The Life Informatic: Newsmaking in the Digital Era*. Ithaca ; London: Cornell University Press.
- BR-Landespolitik. 2012. “Wir über Uns.” *Politik aus Bayern: Blog der BR-Landtagskorrespondenten*. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://blog.br.de/landespolitik/2012/12/page/2/>).
- Carey, James W. 1986. “The Dark Continent of American Journalism.” Pp. 146–96 in *Reading the news: a pantheon guide to popular culture*, edited by R. K. Manoff and M. Schudson. New York: Pantheon books.
- Chadwick, Andrew. 2013. *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Deuze, Mark. 2006. “Participation, Remediation, Bricolage: Considering Principal Components of a Digital Culture.” *The Information Society* 22(2):63–75.
- Domingo, David. 2008. “Interactivity in the Daily Routines of Online Newsrooms: Dealing with an Uncomfortable Myth.” *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13(3):680–704.

- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002b. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hammond, Bill. 2012. "At a Key Education Budget Hearing, State Lawmakers Are Silent on Teacher Evaluations." *New York Daily News*, January 24. Retrieved August 13, 2015 (<http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/key-education-budget-hearing-state-lawmakers-silent-teacher-evaluations-article-1.1010648#ixzz2vBmmxKns>).
- Hellmueller, Lea, Tim P. Vos, and Mark A. Poepsel. 2013. "Shifting Journalistic Capital? Transparency and Objectivity in the Twenty-First Century." *Journalism Studies* 14(3):287–304.
- Karlsson, Michael. 2010. "Rituals of Transparency: Evaluating Online News Outlets' Uses of Transparency Rituals in the United States, United Kingdom and Sweden." *Journalism Studies* 11:535–45.
- Lasorsa, Dominic L., Seth C. Lewis, and Avery E. Holton. 2012. "Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Communication Space." *Journalism Studies* 13(1):19–36.
- Lell, Eva. 2013. "Die Landtagspresse Zwitschert Und Postet." *Politik aus Bayern: Blog der BR-Landtagskorrespondenten*. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://blog.br.de/landespolitik/2013/03/22/die-landtagspresse-zwitschert-und-postet/>).
- Leonardi, Paul M. and Stephen R. Barley. 2008. "Materiality and Change: Challenges to Building Better Theory about Technology and Organizing." *Information and Organization* 18(3):159–76.
- Lewis, Seth C. 2012. "The Tension Between Professional Control and Open Participation: Journalism and Its Boundaries." *Information, Communication & Society* 15(6):836–66.
- Lewis, Seth C. and Nikki Usher. 2013. "Open Source and Journalism: Toward New Frameworks for Imagining News Innovation." *Media, Culture & Society* 35(5):602–19.
- Marwick, Alice E. and danah boyd. 2011. "I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately: Twitter Users, Context Collapse, and the Imagined Audience." *New Media & Society* 13(1):114–33.
- McDonnell, Terence E. 2010. "Cultural Objects as Objects: Materiality, Urban Space, and the Interpretation of AIDS Campaigns in Accra, Ghana." *American Journal of Sociology* 115(6):1800–1852.
- Mearns, Joel. 2010. "The Biggest Fish in Albany?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, November 22. Retrieved December 11, 2013 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/the_biggest_fish_in_albany.php).
- Meyrowitz, Joshua. 1985. *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Meyrowitz, Joshua. 2009. "Medium Theory: An Alternative to the Dominant Paradigm of Media Effects." Pp. 517–30 in *The Sage Handbook of Media Processes and Effects*, edited by R. L. Nabi and M. B. Oliver. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Müller, Frank. 2012a. "Aiwangers Letzter Tweet." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 9. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/twitter-account-von-freie-waehler-chef-geloesch-t-aiwangers-letzter-tweet-1.1280112>).
- Müller, Frank. 2012b. "Wenn Politiker Zwitschern." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 25. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/twitter-wenn-politiker-zwitschern-1.1266171>).
- Orlikowski, Wanda J. 2000. "Using Technology and Constituting Structures: A Practice Lens for Studying Technology in Organizations." *Organization Science* 11(4):404–28.
- Papacharissi, Zizi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira. 2012. "Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt." *Journal of Communication* 62(2):266–82.
- Pfetsch, Barbara. 2001. "Political Communication Culture in the United States and Germany." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6(1):46–67.
- Quandt, Thorsten. 2008. "(No) News on the World Wide Web? A Comparative Content Analysis of Online News in Europe and the United States." *Journalism Studies* 9(5):717–38.
- Reed, Isaac. 2008. "Justifying Sociological Knowledge: From Realism to Interpretation." *Sociological Theory* 26(2):101–29.
- Revers, Matthias. 2014. "The Twitterization of News Making: Transparency and Journalistic Professionalism." *Journal of Communication* 64(5):806–26.
- Revers, Matthias. 2015. "The Augmented Newsbeat: Spatial Structuring in a Twitterized News Ecosystem." *Media, Culture & Society* 37(1):3–18.
- Robinson, Sue. 2011. "Journalism as Process?: The Organizational Implications of Participatory Online News." *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 13(3):137–210.
- Ryfe, David M. 2012. *Can Journalism Survive: An Inside Look at American Newsrooms*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Schmitz Weiss, Amy and David Domingo. 2010. "Innovation Processes in Online Newsrooms as Actor-Networks and Communities of Practice." *New Media & Society* 12(7):1156–71.
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schudson, Michael. 1995. *The Power of News*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Schudson, Michael. 2007. "The Anarchy of Events and the Anxiety of Story Telling." *Political Communication* 24(3):253–57.

- Seiler, Casey. 2011. "A Twitter Convert's Testament." *Albany Times Union*, June 27. Retrieved August 13, 2015 (<http://www.timesunion.com/opinion/article/A-Twitter-convert-s-testament-1440417.php>).
- Singer, Jane. 2005. "The Political J-Blogger." *Journalism* 6(2):173–98.
- Singer, Jane. 2007. "Contested Autonomy: Professional and Popular Claims on Journalistic Norms." *Journalism Studies* 8(1):79–95.
- Tavory, Iddo and Nina Eliasoph. 2013. "Coordinating Futures: Toward a Theory of Anticipation." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(4):908–42.

Conclusion: Occupational Cultures and Journalistic Fields in Germany and the USA

The goal of this study was to better understand the cultural foundations, commitments and practices of journalism that shape the democracies of Germany and the USA. It looked at specific sites of journalistic excellence (awards, obituaries) and substance (permanent reporting of political institutions) within the journalistic field to better understand this relationship. The purpose of choosing these specific sites was not to insinuate representativeness but to illuminate the most high-flown aspirations and normative reference points of journalists in the two countries. The findings will be summarized and discussed along six dimensions: (1) subjectivity and positioning in the news, (2) interventionism, watchdog journalism and its limits, (3) competition and the moral community, (4) journalism and politics, (5) digital media and (6) occupational culture and democracy.

SUBJECTIVITY AND POSITIONING IN THE NEWS

One main contrast between the German and the US occupational culture of journalism concerns the acceptable amount and form of subjectivity that can be expressed. Subjectivity may include perceptions, assessments, interpretations, opinions or simply clues pointing to the fact that an individual produced a given journalistic product. On the surface level, we see quite similar editorial separations of news and opinion commentary. In Germany, however, there is no strict separation of news reporting staff and commentary writers. Political correspondents are expected to not only share their beat expertise in factual terms but also their evaluations. As I have discussed

in Chap. 4, in both cases, there is a sense that journalism, particularly in the age of information abundance, needs to offer more context and assessments on issues, which are based on knowledge and experience of journalists. While reporters of both countries stressed the importance of news analysis, for German reporters this was only one expression of a higher-order sense of public responsibility of *Einordnung* (provisionally translated as *contextualizing*), which involves more evaluative positioning.

Survey research suggests that US journalists more willingly admit to letting their interpretations and beliefs enter the news than German journalists (Hanitzsch et al. 2011) and that interpretative journalism is on the rise in the USA (Weaver et al. 2007). A historically comparative study confirmed this on the level of US news coverage (Fink and Schudson 2014). One explanation for this shift is that, as the importance of the objectivity norm diminishes, subjectivity can be increasingly unleashed and admitted. German journalists, on the other hand, were always able to be more subjective in the news and even more so in news commentary.

Be that as it may, this study does not suggest that US journalists are more subjective and analytical than German journalists. To the contrary, LP reporters were the ones who emphasized the importance of assuming positions in the news and viewed commentaries as means to purify their more factual news reports about the same issues. The meanings US journalists attached to “the wall” between opinion and news were completely alien to German journalists. In the narrower sense of the term, the wall referred to actual divisions of labor in newsrooms and barriers of communication between editorial departments. More broadly, it served as a metaphor for impartiality and professional autonomy, which reporters invoked in interaction with sources (Chap. 6). The prescriptive meanings of the wall called for rituals of pollution and purification to establish the greatest possible symbolic distance from politics. The wall was thus an important element in the symbolic production of journalistic professionalism in the USA.

The German cultural emphasis on intellectualism and idealism translates into the occupational role conception of the journalist as an independent thinker whose distinctive voice is to be heard. Editorial control and the importance of a specific version of journalistic objectivity upstage the individual voice of journalists in the pragmatist culture of the USA; at least it did so until the rise of social media, when establishing personal brands became increasingly important. From this perspective, individual voice and recognition are less weighty arguments of social media adoption for German journalists.

INTERVENTIONISM, WATCHDOG JOURNALISM AND ITS LIMITS

In accordance with previous comparative media research, the analysis of awards and obituaries in Chap. 3 indicates much stronger interventionist aspirations in the collective imaginary of US journalism. Although investigation and exposure of public officials was not alien to LP journalists, in the first decades of the twenty-first century the LCA reported and helped expose an abundance of political scandals (Craig et al. 2015; Precious 2015), reaching to the highest offices of New York State government, involving corruption and misappropriation of public funds, assault, sexual harassment, adultery and solicitation of prostitutes (a misdemeanor in New York). A number of elected officials were expelled or resigned and the state house press took credit for part of this shakeup. As one reporter told me, “in the last three years or so here in Albany, we’ve probably had 50 years’ worth of history” (Interview, LCA reporter, March 20, 2010). This is, in part, a function of the political environment—New York State politics has a notorious reputation for a reason—but it also has to do with the press culture in place. In Germany, some stories, for instance, the sex scandal rumors surrounding Governor David Paterson discussed in Chap. 5, would not have entered the news because politicians’ private lives are not subject to that degree of public scrutiny in the political culture.

Compared to their Munich counterparts, I found that news organizations represented in the LCA invested more resources in investigative journalism on state politics. Several news reporters talked about working on “projects” sometimes and at least two had been almost exclusively occupied with investigative work for months when I interviewed them. In terms of sheer quantities, however, investigative journalism was not common in either case study, thus confirming Benson’s (2013) finding regarding immigration news coverage in France and the USA. However, the importance of investigative journalism cannot be measured by its mere occurrence relative to other kinds of news but must be assessed in its own terms: the time, human resources and methods invested in it, what it reveals, the social impact it has, and so on.

There were forms of journalistic “intervention” which most reporters rejected. A reference point for many LCA reporters were tabloid practices, which they derided for taking sides, partisanship and unduly simplifying issues. German reporters referred to *Kampagnenjournalismus* (advocacy journalism) specifically as a despicable practice associated with tabloids.

However, consistent with interventionist imperatives, US reporters gave tabloids credit for uncovering grievances by pursuing issues in a more aggressive fashion. With few exceptions, German reporters were less forgiving of tabloid journalism.

Reporters rejected obedient journalism, less in terms of aligning with than simply reproducing of political messages. US reporters referred to this category as *stenography*, German reporters used the more dignified term *Chronistenfunktion* (chronicler function). While it was an obsolete professional role in both countries, traditionalists in the LCA perceived blogging and tweeting as comebacks of some sort.

COMPETITION AND THE MORAL COMMUNITY

Press corps are competitive social settings and the two cases were no exceptions. However, one key difference was the meaning of competition for journalists. While German reporters perceived it as something inherently negative, US reporters saw competition not only as inevitable but threw on it besides acknowledging problems that go with it, not least stress.

Both press corps were organized as associations. The structure of these associations and how they influenced journalistic work was markedly different, however. The association served more as interest group and had more practical utility for German reporters. It served as a formal structure of professional solidarity, which was much weaker in Albany, where even the few existent associational structures were contested.

The LP was defined by associational culture, reflecting deep-seated collectivist beliefs in Germany and the greater influence of civic power and social corporatism in the journalistic field. The LCA, on the other hand, was a representation of the competitive culture, the strong current of individualism in US public culture and the influence of market forces on the journalistic field.

News coverage by press corps has long been criticized as synchronous and homogenous, encapsulated in the term “pack journalism,” whether understood as collective agenda setting or collective interpretation of issues. Given the competitive culture, one would expect a greater synchronicity of issues in US news coverage. Collective interpretation of issues is more complicated: When it relies on direct, interpersonal consultation between reporters, it is favored by the less competitive and more associational German news culture. When collective interpretation is a function of thinking inside the bubble or narrative consolidation by

powerful agents, it is less clearly promoted by national press culture than by local specificities of newsbeats (spatial/social seclusion, organizational hierarchies, etc.).

JOURNALISM AND POLITICS

LP reporters had more direct contact with politicians outside of work settings. When they produced unpleasant coverage about them, politicians responded by pushing back, just as in the US case, but sometimes by successfully intervening in reporters' careers. In extreme cases, reporters were transferred or forced out of their jobs. LP reporters talked more openly about their inhibitions to attack political figures and institutions. German journalists were less worried to take political positions, including by expressing their opinions in news commentary, and thus less concerned with establishing symbolic distance from politics.

LCA reporters, on the other hand, were deeply concerned about symbolic distance to politics and used more complex means and performances to establish it. Politics and partisanship on their part represented taboos, which reflected in interaction with sources as well as purification rituals they underwent. Even circumstances that were detrimental for journalists (e.g. being cut off from the information flow of an important office) were valued for their performative value as representations of professional autonomy. Political instrumentalization, which was particularly pervasive in the form of making politics through off-the-record conversations and placing unattributed attack quotes in the news, was a contentious issue in the LCA.

These findings reflect the historically evolved differentiation and the institutional distance between politics and the media, which is partly a function of a more pervasive influence of market power in the US journalistic field. This distance links to the central criteria of professional excellence, especially accountability and adversarial journalism. Despite the existence and practical career opportunity of advocacy journalism in the USA, it is not a polluted category as central in the professional imaginary as it is in Germany. Overall, German reporters engaged in much less dramatic performances of the existent distance between journalism and politics, a consequence of the more detached and matter-of-fact style of purifying the vocation which I have related to a low mimetic mode of civil religious discourse in German political culture.

Despite the requirements of symbolic distance to politics and the celebrated mythical core of the occupational culture, the greater diversity

of occupational roles and respective norms in the US case indicate less unitary and more malleable professional boundaries of journalism. It was possible to be a successful state house reporter in Albany by inhabiting a hybrid position between journalism and politics. Moreover, during the transitional period of social media adoption, professional self-conceptions diverged but slowly gravitated toward a diversification of normative commitments on different platforms.

The effective heterogeneity in the US case was accompanied by the distinction between reporters (directly and indirectly). This apparent contradiction—porous professional boundaries but pronounced boundary work—resolves if we consider three factors: The higher mimetic mode of civil religious and consequently professional discourse implies a more accentuated rhetoric of professionalism and unprofessionalism. However, the centrality of market logic in the journalistic field and the culture of pragmatism effectively disrupt the coherence of occupational practices and its guiding principles. Combined with a competitive rather than solidary occupational culture, this raises the possibilities and rewards of mutual distinction, despite the common mythical center.

The pronounced boundary work and dramatic performance of professionalism in US journalism in a way compensate for effectively weak boundaries. Perhaps, these weak boundaries are a function of cultural representations that lack the historical depth of German intellectual and public culture, in spite of its historical breaks. Contrariwise, the reserved performance of journalistic professionalism in Germany is a function of substance rather than weakness of professional boundaries.

DIGITAL MEDIA: RESILIENCE AND MALLEABILITY OF OCCUPATIONAL CULTURES

Digital media did not have the same impact on reporters, particularly with respect to occupational norms and performances. Even though there was a growing sense of waning authority of journalism, particularly social media have not challenged traditional ideas of professionalism in the German case. Traditionalists still dominated the LP while they represented a defeated minority in the LCA. In light of the immediacy-obsessed, snarky social media reporting many of their colleagues got into, traditionalists held an essentialist view of professionalism and saw a deviation of norms on one platform as undermining journalism altogether in the US case. Innovators, who represent about half of the LCA, believed in the value of diversified

professional performances. Still practicing traditional journalism in legacy news venues, they engaged in performances of transparency on Twitter, which followed different occupational roles, norms, and forms of expression.

Twitter was so successful in the LCA because its participatory promises appealed simultaneously to professional and economic concerns: reclaiming interpretive authority by retrieving and better serving dissipating net audiences, generating web traffic and strengthening consumer loyalty. After adopting Twitter, state house reporters discovered further advantages of it. The performance of transparency of other reporters fostered more space-transcendent news reporting, helped them anticipate future events, and immediately convert exclusive on-site information into discursive influence. To them, these benefits outweighed the costs of the new news situation, namely the often paralyzing *drama of instantaneity* (Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira 2012) that stifles in-depth reporting and the frequent contradictory feedback loops between digital and non-digital spaces.

The difference in digital media adoption was not only a function of still more profitable legacy media in Germany that was less compelled to tap new revenue streams online. The fact that civic power shields the journalistic field more from commercial pressures in Germany and the more normatively consensual and change-resistant occupational culture mutually reinforced each other. A national repertoire of evaluation defined by collectivism and idealism creates the basis for more rigid cultural boundaries that are relatively resistant to technologically induced change.

OCCUPATIONAL CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY

As indicated above, one of the main interests of this book is how journalism serves democracy under different circumstances. Peter Dahlgren argued that in order to reach a deeper understanding of the public sphere we need to not only “examine the institutional configurations within the media” but “we must also be attentive to the sense-making processes in daily life, especially in relation to media culture” (Dahlgren 1991: 9). The argument developed in this book was that the cultural and moral principles that guide journalists in their work play a key role for sense-making in the public sphere.

It seems expedient at this point to evaluate the democratic performance of journalism in Germany and the USA by means of normative democratic theory. Because most of these works deal with the public discursive manifestations of journalism, the findings of this study need to be translated into hypotheses how journalistic professionalism affects public discourse.

In relation to Ferree and others' (2002) typology of four normative theories of democracy, the two occupational cultures satisfy the demands of these theories to a different extent. One feature that distinguishes *representative liberal theories* from others (*participatory, discursive, constructionist*) is that it emphasizes the dominance of expert and elite voices that are to be subjected to accountability. While state house correspondents are by definition focused on elites, US reporters were not only more aware of public opinion by civil society actors protesting at the Capitol but also gave more voice to these actors as a consequence. Partly this is a function of spatial arrangements, specifically the lack of a no-protest zone around legislative buildings as in Germany (see Chap. 5). However, these arrangements are not arbitrary but shaped by the same political culture that also shapes journalism. On the other hand, the greater emphasis on accountability and investigative journalism in US journalism fulfill representative liberal theory's criteria of transparency better than German journalism.

Another salient difference, considering Ferree and others' (*ibid.*) typology, concerns the discursive mode facilitated in the public sphere. Representative liberal theory prefers discourse defined by detachment and civility. While this is the preferred stance of US journalists themselves, at least traditionally and performatively, considering the range of occupational practices (including online and advocacy variants) in the US case as well as the voices they make heard in the news, German journalism seems to conform more to this ideal. The finer distinction regarding discursive styles, the range of styles journalism voices (emphasized by participatory liberal theories) or the deliberativeness of discourse (fostering dialogue, mutual respect, and civility, as claimed by discursive theories) would need to be studied systematically by comparing news coverage. This study would also need to emphasize journalists' own contribution to public debate since Ferree and others were mostly interested in journalists as debate facilitators rather than participants.

Such a study would need to combine standardized content analysis of online and legacy news coverage with an unstandardized analysis of news coverage on specific events and short time periods (e.g. scandals, important political decisions, etc.) generated by press corps. The former can especially measure synchronicity and homogeneity of news coverage, the amount and form of anonymous sourcing included, the diversity of voices, discursive frames, and news forms presented. The event-based analysis could explore how news is generated collectively by press corps, including by looking at feedback loops between competitors and online and offline news.

Based on this study, its strengths and limitations, I suggest that future comparative research on journalism and political communication should focus on the following issues:

There is a lack of qualitative research in the fields of comparative media and political communication research. Large-scale surveys of journalists and content analyses of news in different countries point to key differences of journalism and *political communication cultures* (Pfetsch 2001). They need to be complemented by research designs that can explore something as complex as occupational *culture*—which involves collective imaginaries, myths, narratives and a range of cultural practices—with sufficient depth. This requires multilevel studies of professionalism as discourse and as self-conceptions of practitioners.

The prevalent reliance on standardized methods also accrues from a theoretically thin understanding of culture, which could be remedied by using analytical tools of cultural sociology and field theory. It is telling, for instance, that the growing literature on professional boundaries in journalism studies largely ignores the molding influence of macro-cultural structures on these boundaries, which Michele Lamont's extensive work on the subject would help enlighten (Lamont 1992, 2000).

There also needs to be more comparative research on the connection between journalistic professionalism and the news. These studies should examine how normative commitments of journalism in various countries generate specific news outcomes and shape public spheres (cf. Albæk et al. 2014 for an exception). There is also a disconnect between comparative media and political communication research, on the one hand, and research on digital media and online journalism, on the other. The former is predominantly limited on legacy media and the latter lacks cross-national comparison, insinuating that changes in one (often times the USA) media system apply to all media systems essentially (for rare exceptions see: Benson et al. 2012; Humprecht and Büchel 2013).

Finally, this book should also be understood as part of the larger effort of strengthening or rather bringing back sociological explanations to the field of media studies and, conversely, the study of media to sociology (Benson 2004; Jacobs 2009; Waisbord 2014). The role of sociology in media studies is to not content with narrow explanations but to pay attention to the role of structural (including cultural), institutional forces, and *Vermachtung* (power-drivenness) in mass-mediation processes. I hope this book has made a modest contribution in this direction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albæk, Erik, Arjen Van Dalen, Nael Jebri, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2014. *Political Journalism in Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Benson, Rodney. 2004. "Bringing the Sociology of Media Back In." *Political Communication* 21(2):275–92.
- Benson, Rodney. 2013. *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Benson, Rodney, Mark Blach-Ørsten, Matthew Powers, Ida Willig, and Sandra Vera Zambrano. 2012. "Media Systems Online and Off: Comparing the Form of News in the United States, Denmark, and France." *Journal of Communication* 62(1):21–38.
- Craig, Susanne, William K. Rashbaum, and Thomas Kaplan. 2015. "The Many Faces of State Political Scandals." *The New York Times*, January 22. Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/07/23/nyregion/23moreland-commission-and-new-york-political-scandals.html>).
- Dahlgren, Peter. 1991. "Introduction." Pp. 1–23 in *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere*, edited by P. Dahlgren and C. Sparks. London; New York: Routledge.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002. "Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies." *Theory and Society* 31:289–324.
- Fink, Katherine and Michael Schudson. 2014. "The Rise of Contextual Journalism, 1950s–2000s." *Journalism* 15(1):3–20.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas et al. 2011. "Mapping Journalism Cultures Across Nations." *Journalism Studies* 12(3):273–93.
- Humprecht, Edda and Florin Büchel. 2013. "More of the Same or Marketplace of Opinions? A Cross-National Comparison of Diversity in Online News Reporting." *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. Retrieved (<http://hij.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/08/08/1940161213497595.abstract>).
- Jacobs, Ronald N. 2009. "Culture, the Public Sphere, and Media Sociology: A Search for a Classical Founder in the Work of Robert Park." *The American Sociologist* 40(3):149–66.
- Lamont, Michèle. 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamont, Michèle. 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Papacharissi, Zizi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira. 2012. "Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt." *Journal of Communication* 62(2):266–82.

- Pfetsch, Barbara. 2001. "Political Communication Culture in the United States and Germany." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6(1):46–67.
- Precious, Tom. 2015. "In 12 Years of Political Scandals in Albany, the Last Two Weeks Stand out." *The Buffalo News*, December 11. Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<http://www.buffalonews.com/city-region/albany-politics/in-12-years-of-political-scandals-in-albany-the-last-two-weeks-stand-out-20151211>).
- Waisbord, Silvio, ed. 2014. *Media Sociology: A Reappraisal*. Cambridge: Politiy Press.
- Weaver, David H., Randal A. Beam, Bonnie J. Brownlee, Paul S. Voakes, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit. 2007. *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

APPENDIX: METHODS

SAMPLING RATIONALES AND PROCEDURES

Discourses of Occupational Consecration

Obituaries I have examined 73 obituaries of 45 US journalists, publishers, and editors. Most of them were published in major national newspapers (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*), together amounting to 223 pages of text. I have similarly analyzed 78 obituaries of 43 German journalists, mostly in national daily newspapers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*) and weeklies *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel*, amounting to 160 pages of text. I have chosen some of these journalists purposefully because of their high-status positions (e.g. TV anchor Walter Cronkite or *Spiegel* founder Rudolf Augstein) or because they turned up prominently in an initial random search of journalists' obituaries. The large part of journalists was randomly chosen from a sample of deceased winners of major journalism awards (see full list of journalists considered at the end of this section).

I compiled a list of awardees, determined which of them have passed away and selected those who died after 1980. I chose 1980 as a cut-off point because this period spans the career of the most senior reporters in my field research case studies and, in the interest of consistency, one generation unit of journalists. There were limitations of availability because most online newspaper archives started in the late 1990s.

I chose journalists who won major awards in both countries in relevant news categories (political journalism). I chose the Pulitzer Prize (PP) as the most prestigious award and the Peabody Award (PA) for radio and television in the USA. I surveyed all PP winners in the individual categories (some are institutional) National Reporting, Breaking News Reporting, Investigative Reporting and International Reporting. I chose PA winners since its beginning in 1940 in relevant news categories. I ended up with a list of 79 names, which I went through in random order.

In Germany, I chose the Egon-Erwin-Kisch-Preis (for feature writing), established in 1977, which has become one of the categories of the Henri-Nannen Preis (HNP) in 2005. The HNP has other categories but since it is so recent, hardly any awardees have passed away (except in the life work category). I also sampled winners of the Theodor-Wolff-Preis (TWP), except in unrelated categories, such as literary journalism, which exists since 1962. Unfortunately, there is no prestigious prize for TV and radio journalism that leads back as far. I ended up with a list of 72 names. There were many German journalists on the list I could not find obituaries for while in the USA there were only a few. The sample of 78 obituaries are of those 48 journalists for whom obituaries could be found (Tables [A1](#) and [A2](#)).

Award Statements I compared award statements within the same time frame (1980–2013). It involves news categories of the PP, namely beat reporting, breaking news, explanatory journalism, explanatory reporting, investigative reporting, local reporting, national reporting and public service. Since categories of the PP change over time (some are newly founded, some discontinued, others revived), not every year within the time frame had awards in every category. In some years two prizes were awarded in one category. The PP is by far the most prestigious journalism award in the USA.

To make sure that the patterns I found within the exceptionally short PP statements were not idiosyncratic, I also read award statements of the George Polk Awards (GPA) (statements from 1998 to 2012 were available), which are presented annually by Long Island University.¹ With the exception of breaking news, explanatory reporting and feature writing, all PP categories had a strong investigative emphasis. This is even truer for the GPA, which does not have a separate category for but promotes investigative journalism in all categories. PA award statements honoring TV news people and operations were also included.

Table A.1 Sample of German Obituaries of Journalists

<i>Journalist</i>	<i>Media organization</i>	<i># obits</i>
Purposive subsample		
Rudolf Augstein	Der Spiegel	3
Immanuel Birnbaum	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1
Erich Böhme	Der Spiegel	5
Hanns-Joachim Friedrichs	ARD	1
Gerhard Mauz	Der Spiegel	1
Hermann Proebst	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1
Ferdinand Simoneit	Der Spiegel	2
Awardees Subsample		
Reinhard Appel	Süddeutsche Zeitung	3
Immanuel Birnbaum	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1
Wilhelm Bittorf	Der Spiegel	1
Herbert von Borch	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1
Hans-Joachim Deckert	Mannheimer Morgen	1
Rainer Fabian	Rheinischer Merkur	1
Christian Ferber	Die Welt	1
Joachim C. Fest	Der Spiegel	5
Hans Werner Graf Finck von Finckenstein	Die Welt	1
Friedrich Karl Fromme	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	4
Rudolf Goldschmit	Süddeutsche Zeitung	1
Hans Gresmann	Die Zeit	2
Hans Heigert	Süddeutsche Zeitung	2
Walter Henkels	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	1
Hans Ulrich Kempfski	Süddeutsche Zeitung	5
Gerhard Krug	Die Welt	1
Jürgen Leinemann	Der Spiegel	3
Günter Matthes	Tagesspiegel	1
Eka Gräfin von Merveldt	Die Zeit	1
Claus Heinrich Meyer	Süddeutsche Zeitung	2
Werner Meyer	Abendzeitung	1
Claus Peter Mühleck	Tauber-Zeitung	1
Ernst Müller-Meiningen jr.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	2
Joachim Neander	Die Welt	1
Bernd Nellessen	Die Welt	1
Andreas Graf Razumovsky	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	1
Herbert Riehl-Heyse	Süddeutsche Zeitung	5
Heinz Schewe	Die Welt	1
Peter Schille	Der Spiegel	1
Hans Schueler	Die Welt	1
Diether Stolze	Die Zeit	2

(continued)

Table A.1 (continued)

<i>Journalist</i>	<i>Media organization</i>	<i># obits</i>
Martin E. Süskind	Süddeutsche Zeitung	3
Franz Thoma	Süddeutsche Zeitung	2
Paul Wilhelm Wenger	Rheinischer Merkur	1
Ulrich Wildermuth	Südwestpresse	1
Ben Witter	Die Zeit	2
Total		78

Note: Media Organization at the time of the award

In Germany, all news-relevant award statements of the TWP from 1998 until 2013 were included (earlier years were not available).² The two categories had a clear emphasis on feature writing. The sample also includes statements of the Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus (HJFP) between 1995 (awarded for the first time) until 2013. Press releases of the HNP, which contain quotes from jury statements presented live at the awards show, were analyzed from 2005 until 2013.³ The prize was only founded in 2005 but is one of the most prestigious journalism award in Germany.

The genre lines of the HNP are more distinct than the TWP. The HJFP does not have categories in this sense, only a general award and a *Förderpreis* (sponsorship award) and sometimes a special award. The award criteria seem deliberately vague because the prize recognizes the kind of attitude Hanns Joachim Friedrichs personified (Table A3).

Field Research

Case Selection

The state house press may seem as an odd choice for a study of national occupational cultures of journalism. I argue that this setting is better suited to study national specificities of press cultures than national capitals (let alone newsrooms of individual news organizations), which is the focus of many studies (e.g. Clayman et al. 2007; Clayman and Heritage 2002; Hess 1981; Pfetsch 2001). National capitals are places of exceptional concentration of political power, restricted access to elected officials, intense competition between media outlets as well as foreign media presence. The state house is a more regular setting of political journalistic work, in between the national elite and smaller local news ecosystems.

Table A.2 Sample of US Obituaries of Journalists

<i>Journalist</i>	<i>Media organization</i>	<i># obits</i>
<i>Purposive subsample</i>		
David Halberstam	New York Times	2
Alfred Friendly	Washington Post	2
David Bloom	NBC	1
Gardner Botsford	The New Yorker	2
Walter Cronkite	CBS News	3
Robert D.G. Lewis	Booth	1
James M. Naughton	New York Times	5
Jean M. White	Washington Post	1
Tom Wicker	New York Times	2
Margaret Rupli Woodward	NBC	1
<i>Awardees subsample</i>		
Harold Eugene Martin	Montgomery Advertiser and Alabama Journal	1
Anthony Shannon	New York World-Telegram and Sun	1
Richard Ben Cramer	The Philadelphia Inquirer	1
William Randolph Hearst Jr.	International News Service	2
Don Hewitt	CBS News	1
Pauline Frederick	NBC Radio	1
David Brinkley	ABC Television	1
Miriam Ottenberg	Evening Star	1
Anthony Shadid	Washington Post	3
Anthony Lewis	Washington Daily News	2
Edwin Newman	NBC	2
Robert Cahn	Christian Science Monitor	1
Gene Miller	Miami Herald	3
Tom Pettit	NBC News	1
Bette Swenson Orsini	St. Petersburg Times	1
Alistair Cooke	BBC	2
Julian Goodman	NBC	2
Martin Agronsky	ABC	2
Wallace Turner	Portland Oregonian	2
Sylvester L. Weave	NBC	2
Kirk Scharfenberg	Boston Globe	1
J. Anthony Lukas	New York Times	1
Daniel De Luce	Associated Press	1
Frank Reynolds	ABC Television	1
Malcolm W. Browne	Associated Press	3
William Jones	Chicago Tribune	2
Robert Trout	ABC News	1
Daniel Schorr	CBS	1

(continued)

Table A.2 (continued)

<i>Journalist</i>	<i>Media organization</i>	<i># obits</i>
Charles Kuralt	CBS News	1
Bill Leonard	CBS News	1
Sylvan Fox	New York World-Telegram and Sun	1
Edward P. Morgan	ABC	1
Ira Wolfert	North American Newspaper Alliance	2
Frank Stanton	CBS	1
A.M. Rosenthal	New York Times	3
Total		73

Note: Media Organization at the time of the award

Table A.3 Sample Journalism Award Jury Statements

	<i>Journalism award</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>N of statements</i>
USA	Pulitzer Prize	1980–2013	182
	George Polk Award	1998–2012	59
	Peabody Award	1980–2013	23
GER	Theodor-Wolff-Preis	1998–2013	73
	Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis	1995–2013	29
	Henri-Nannen Preis	2005–2013	51
	Total		417

Examining one press corps in each country follows the following rationale: The dual character of informants—competing representatives of different news organizations, on the one hand, and members of groups of colleagues, on the other—yields cross-sectional breadth and offsets local idiosyncrasies. Reporters in such settings have more awareness of the journalistic field as a whole than reporters in newsrooms, which is where most news ethnographies are set. Newsroom reporters may meet journalists from other outlets on assignments but are otherwise surrounded by a more homogeneous group of colleagues. Multiple layers of comparison—cross-case, within-case and through methodological triangulation (Denzin 1978: 301–304) (interviews, observation and discourse analysis of metajournalistic coverage, obituaries and award statements)—help distinguish systematic patterns from noise and particularities.

Press corps accrue constant and magnified expressions of professionalism. They assemble *competitor-colleagues* (Tunstall 1971) from a range of

different news organizations. As opposed to newsrooms reporters—prominent subjects of research—these journalists are in constant competitive awareness of each other, not only for stories and access but also for defining the principles of what they do. They criticize each other's work (though to varying degree in both countries, see Chap. 4) and engage in regular discussions about how journalism is supposed to be practiced. Every news story may be evaluated publicly and serve as a yardstick for a reporter's professionalism. Furthermore, relations between political actors and journalists are necessarily complex and contentious, prompting various means of maintaining professional autonomy in practice. Extent (and direction) of reporter-source dependency, antagonism and indifference vary within the press corps, conditioned by personal sympathy, topical overlap, respective influence of politician, journalist/news organization and so on. This helps to discern regularities of these variations, similarities and differences within and across the two settings.

Research Sites

The Landtagspresse (LP) in Munich had 65 members listed in early January 2014, the Legislative Correspondents Association (LCA) in Albany 45 members. The core members, who were reporting on-site most of the time and who drove news coverage about state politics, were between 25 and 30 journalists in both cases.

Legislative Correspondents Association (LCA) reporters represented regional broadsheet newspapers (*Albany Times Union*, *Buffalo News*), metropolitan tabloid newspapers (*New York Daily News*, *New York Post*, *Newsday*), TV stations (NY1, YNN), radio stations (NYS Public Radio Network, WCNY/The Capitol Pressroom), a national broadsheet newspaper (*New York Times*) and news agencies (Associated Press, Bloomberg News, Gannett News Service, NYSNYS News). During periods of heightened public attention, for example the same-sex marriage debate, media presence doubled and maybe even tripled at the State Capitol.

LCA reporters had permanent office spaces at the Capitol building. News bureaus at the LCA include between one and four reporters. Four journalists at the Capitol represented the local paper, the *Albany Times Union*, when this study was conducted. The *New York Daily News* bureau also had four journalists when I started my research. The bureau of Gannett News Service was the only one that was not inside but across the street from the Capitol building (see Chap. 5).

The New York Times had three journalists at the Capitol when I started, most of whom are in Albany for no more than a few years. Danny Hakim (bureau chief at the time) was there for 7 years, which is an unusually long tenure for a *Times* man in Albany. He left Albany in July 2013 to become the European economic correspondent (based in London). When I started my research in spring of 2009, the *Times* bureau members were collectively awarded the PP. They received the award for breaking the story of the Governor Eliot Spitzer prostitution scandal, which led to his resignation. Hakim was a finalist for the Public Service PP in 2012 for a series of investigative reports about abuse in New York homes of developmentally disabled people.

The Associated Press had three journalists at the Capitol when I started but continued with two in 2010 when one reporter left Albany. Two reporters, including long-time Capitol reporter Fred Dicker, who had been at the state house for over 30 years, represented the *New York Post*. Some bureaus were one-(wo)men shows, like NYS Public Radio, *The Buffalo News* and *Newsday*.

Landtagspresse Key news organizations of the LP were regional newspapers (*Augsburger Allgemeine*, *Main-Post*, *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, *Donaukurier*, *Mittelbayerische Zeitung*, *Passauer Neue Presse*), metropolitan newspapers (*Abendzeitung*, *Münchener Merkur*), public service broadcasters (Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR), Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF)), private TV (Sat 1), private radio stations (Antenne Bayern, Radio Arabella), a national news magazine (*Der Spiegel*), news agencies (Deutsche Presse Agentur—DPA, Deutscher Auslands-Depeschendienst—DAPD, which has since ceased to exist, Agence France-Presse—AFP) and national newspapers (*Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*).

LP reporters were not permanently located at the state legislative building, the Maximilianeum. There was a press room reporters used to file stories during session days but it was mostly empty on other days. When they did not attend events elsewhere, reporters worked in newsrooms if their outlets were based in Munich or news bureaus their organizations provided for them in Munich. The composition of the LP was different in that most news organizations were represented by one journalist. Notable exceptions were BR, which had five radio journalists (three of whom were at the Landtag most of the time) and three TV reporters, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, which had two print correspondents and one online correspondent

in the LP. Overall, there was more variety of news organization represented in the LP than in the LCA. Furthermore, there was also a greater presence of national media outlets in the LP. With the exception of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (national/regional), Sat 1 and DPA, I rarely met reporters from other national media outlets at the Maximilianeum, however. Reporters from regional and local newspapers and BR were on-site most frequently.

Field Access and Data Collection

There were significant differences in terms of (spatial) access to my informants, which started with making first contact. Because LCA reporters were at the Capitol all the time, I could literally knock at their doors to introduce myself. I established contact with LP reporters over phone because they were not as immediately accessible. If they were at the Landtag, they were busy and it was difficult to talk to them. At the Capitol building, I was able to roam free and attend almost all events the press had access to. At the beginning of my field research I contacted Governor David Paterson's press office to get credentials for press conferences. I received a call from the state police who did a background check on me. Later on, when I became more comfortable with my role in the field, I did not ask for permission to attend events but just entered rooms as if I was a member of the press. Some spokespeople knew me after a while; others just did not bother asking who I was. Since I took notes, I blended in with other reporters.

Access in Munich was much more restricted. I had a phone conversation with the chairman of the LP, Uli Bachmeier (*Augsburger Allgemeine*), to talk to him about how the association was organized and how to get access before I came to Munich. When I arrived in October 2011, I received press credentials for the Landtag. However, I was not granted access to regular background discussions they organized with politicians. This was unfortunate because its members described it to me as one of the key functions of the association. I contacted the press office of the *Staatskanzlei* (state chancellery, official residence of the Minister-President and the state cabinet), which was in a separate building at walking distance from the Maximilianeum, to get admission to press conferences and interview spokespeople. I was firmly denied both forms of access and was told that the *Staatskanzlei* does not cooperate with researchers on principle.

Because it was more contained, the research setting in Albany was much more convenient, especially for observational purposes. Apart from the times when I shadowed specific reporters, I occupied one of the empty

desks in the LCA main room in 2011, which was assigned to the *Wallstreet Journal* but whose reporter at the time hardly used it. During the most observation-intensive phase of my research, it served as a good lookout point, allowed me to write field notes and get other work done in down-times (e.g. when reporters were busy with filing their daily stories in the afternoon) without missing anything.

Interviews

The interview strategy pursued in this study is what I would like to call *situated interview*. These interviews focused on members of two groups within a more or less spatially confined setting. They occurred over a longer period of time, during which events happened that informed the interviews (if only by examples informants gave). Being an observer in these settings enabled me to talk repeatedly to informants in light of ongoing events.

I started doing interviews in Albany in April 2009. In the following 27 months—until July 2011 and additional two weeks in February 2012—I interviewed almost all LCA reporters who were permanently on location, some of them repeatedly (with a voice recorder, apart from casual conversations). My field research in Germany was more compressed since I stayed in Munich from October 2011 until late July 2012. Overall I conducted 72 interviews, with journalists from 31 news organizations and spokespeople from all branches (except the executive branch in Munich) and parties of government and legislature, respectively.⁴ In Albany, I did 42 interviews with 31 journalists (7 of whom I interviewed twice) and 4 spokespeople; in Munich, 30 interviews with 24 journalists and 6 spokespeople.

In Albany, initial interviews with journalists lasted 64 min on average. Most of them took place at the Capitol building, on days when the legislature was not in session (often on Fridays). Interviews with spokespeople were slightly shorter (58 min on average) and so were follow-up interviews with journalists, in which I tried to clear up specific questions that arose during the course of events or while working on journal articles. When I came to Munich, I started writing about Twitter based on my US research. During a conference trip to New York in February 2012, I did 2 weeks of additional field research in Albany. I interviewed some of my informants again whom I first talked to at a time when Twitter was not relevant yet. I also took the opportunity to interview three new members of the press corps.

Interviews with journalists in Munich took 52 min on average (with spokespeople 42 min). Most of them took place in newsrooms or offices, some at the Landtag *Gaststätte* (restaurant), coffee shops and one at a brew-house at 11 a.m., involving beer on the part of my interviewee. The interview guide was revised several times but its basic structure and key questions remained the same. I was able to simply translate most questions but some I had to formulate differently because of conceptual differences in German. Linguistic adaption of the interview guide took place in intermediary field research in Graz, Austria, in the summer of 2010 where I interviewed eight political reporters. This data was not used in this book.⁵

I conducted interviews under the condition of confidentiality, which meant that I promised not to make my informants or their organizations identifiable. According to SUNY-Albany IRB requirements, I started the interview by explaining my study and getting written consent to the interview procedures by informants. The main disadvantage of confidentiality was that it was impossible to link reporters' statements to their news stories. The main advantage was that reporters could speak more openly, a factor some of them emphasized during the interview. For instance, one young reporter prefaced his explanation of what distinguished the *New York Post* by inserting "this is why it is very smart that you are doing it in this non-attribution sort of way" before telling me that they could write whatever they wanted and essentially "make shit up" (Interview, LCA reporter, May 4, 2011). Though such comments were perhaps partly meant to affirm my approach, they primarily signaled that I must be careful with what reporters were about to tell me.

Most interviews proceeded in the following order: I first asked the interviewee about their career trajectory, education and current working conditions. A discussion about professional values followed, which asked broad questions about public responsibility, what they considered bad journalism, what they thought about pack journalism, their national press culture, their (news) reading/watching habits and how their work has changed in recent years. When they did not address issues I was interested in, I probed more specifically (regarding the latter question, for instance, how the internet, social media and the economic downturn of newspapers affected their work). The final section of the interviews dealt with news gathering and source relations, keeping distance yet being close to sources, off-the-record conversations and political actors' strategies of influencing journalism as well as the significance of physically being on location. I asked spokespeople questions for which their perspective was relevant, particularly about source relations.

The interview guide only provided a rough skeleton of questions addressed. As I became more familiar with the political settings, I asked additional, more contextualized questions. I developed a habit of listening to recordings in the days after I conducted interviews, sometimes several times. I took notes, including on which additional questions to address in subsequent interviews. Thus, even when transcription and analysis were not immediately possible before the next interview (mostly they were not), every new interview was informed by analytical engagement with the previous. One technique I applied was to test viewpoints of previous informants in interviews. This was an effort to find out whether positions were idiosyncratic or common across the field. The benefit of not only doing an interview study but also observation was, furthermore, to be able to follow up on questions in informal conversations with journalists.

Observation

I did some observation of the LCA at the beginning of this research in 2009, which started, as customary, in a qualitative methods seminar which I took with Jim Zetka at SUNY-Albany. I started observation in a more intensive and focused manner in November 2010. Focused means not only participating at events “as a journalist”—mainly press conferences and other, more informal exchanges between politicians and the press—but spending time with and shadowing particular reporters while still attending the above-mentioned events with the whole group. By doing that, I was able to witness regular work tasks, conversations between reporters and with their sources on the phone and in person. When I could not attend physically, I followed the constant flow of digital news and discussions about them from afar, especially through Twitter. Reporters’ Twitter feeds not only referred me to news stories but also to events that were happening in the building, official press conferences as well as unofficial press availabilities with elected officials. Many tweets and blog items were supplemented with pictures and videos, which made for an even better substitute for physical presence.

Since journalists took notes constantly, it was not conspicuous or intrusive for me to take notes as well. This was a great advantage of this field site since I had to rely less on mental notes (or “head notes”), especially considering that field stays took as long as eight hours sometimes. Furthermore, there was a basic understanding of what I was doing among my informants. From their perspective, I was essentially reporting on background about them, just for a much longer period and a much longer

story than journalists generated. Field notes consist of observations, conversations, hyperlinks to newspaper stories and blog items, which evolved from the activities witnessed on a given day.

The two reporters I spent most time with worked for a regional newspaper and shared an office together. “Chuck” was the bureau chief in his mid-forties, and “Dash” a political reporter in his late twenties. They were on the forefront of cross- and social media journalism, operating one of the must-read blogs in state politics, tweeted constantly, next to frequent radio and TV appearances. I shadowed another senior reporter, “Ned,” from a regional newspaper. He belonged to a small group I refer to as “traditionalists” in Chap. 7, defined by their oppositional stance towards tweeting and blogging. I also spent some time shadowing one young TV reporter I will not refer to by pseudonym. She constituted a “one-woman-show” because she operated as a video journalist who did everything by herself (shooting video, editing and presenting it), including background reporting that was similar to print journalists (with notebook and pencil instead of a camera). Other reporters/news bureaus I had good rapport with did not grant me such immediate access. However, from the position of their competitor-colleagues’ offices I witnessed casual conversations with these journalists as well.

I gathered about 300 h of observational data in Albany and about 50 h in Munich. Observation in Munich was reduced to plenary session days since all journalists were at the Landtag on these occasions. I spent most time at the “Steinerne Saal” (the hall outside the plenary chamber) and surrounding area, observing journalists dealing with sources and talking to them in downtimes. I witnessed several public committee meetings but only a few reporters attended those.

One reason for this imbalance is the amount of time I spent in Albany (almost 3 years) compared to Munich (10 months). Above all, field access was restricted to work spaces of LP reporters that were organized differently—only temporarily at the Maximilianeum and dispersed most other times. My few attempts to shadow LP reporters were not successful but even if they would have been, the setting (their newsroom or off-site office) would not have engendered the kind of observations that were most valuable in Albany, namely face-to-face interactions with competitor-colleagues and sources. LCA reporters were much more exposed to a variety of actors at the Capitol—politicians, spokespeople, competitors, lobbyists, activists, citizens—and LP reporters were not.

There is perhaps a cultural dimension to the access I got. With few exceptions, Albany reporters were quite approachable and I was able to build rapport quickly with many of them, which was less the case in Munich. I was nervous when I knocked on the door of the very first reporter I approached in Albany. Two minutes later we were talking about skiing. Despite the absence of language barriers in Munich, interaction was not as easygoing as in Albany. This was not surprising to me, however, having experienced the codes of social interaction in both cultural contexts and appreciated the ease of being engaged in conversations with strangers in the USA.

Because of this imbalance, the comparative analysis presented in this book is mostly based on interview data. One could argue that the difference in rapport also afforded different levels of depth and honesty of responses in interviews. Different conversational dynamics in each setting balanced each other out: In the German interviews, reporters were more forthright in admitting weaknesses. I, in turn, was more careful how I phrased my questions and made sure they did not come off as confrontational or having a hidden agenda. US reporters were more forceful in presenting themselves and this enabled me to ask more critically, not by attacking them but by putting critical views up for discussion.

Methodology

If I had to classify this research, it would be an *embedded, two-case design* (Yin 2003: 39–55). Multiple units of analysis were compared—this is what is *embedded* about them—in both research settings: reporters, their organizations, news formats, and so on. The research followed a *logic of discovery* rather than the *logic of verification*, which implies generating more than testing theory by pushing findings to the highest level of abstraction possible (Luker 2008). The generalizations made cannot rely on statistical inference but *logical* inference, based on interaction of existing theory with fine-grained, contextual knowledge about the case and research subjects.⁶

Building on Clyde Mitchell, Mario Small argued that logical inference in qualitative, case-based research determines causality as follows: “When X occurs, whether Y will follow depends on W”, which is logically justified given the processes observed” (Small 2009: 23). Logical inference, in other words, utilizes what has been termed *process tracing*. This approach does not consider each observation as any other but continuously entertains the possibility that single observations are particularly revealing about certain causal relations. Such *causal-process observations*⁷ increase

leverage and strengthen causal inference by identifying intervening conditions between a posed relation between independent and dependent variables (Collier et al. 2004; George and Bennett 2005).

One important technique of process tracing is counterfactual reasoning. The ethnographic practice of analyzing while still gathering data over a period of time, in which events keep unfolding, almost naturally, involves this style of reasoning. Following Max Weber's (1949: 173) notion of *Möglichkeitsurteile* (judgments of possibility),⁸ this involves continuous imaginative constructions of alternative courses of events that might have led to the same outcomes and envisioning modification and omission of causal components of the observed course of events.

Rather than following a purely inductive approach, the press corps served as an *extended case* (Burawoy 1998) to study journalistic fields and occupational culture. Rather than doing this with my "favorite theory," as Burawoy stated, the starting point was a set of theories (see introduction) that informed the angle as well as scope of questions. My approach corresponds to what Timmermans and Tavory (2012) discussed as *abductive reasoning*, building on Peirce (see also: Swedberg 2014). They advocate for *alternative casing* to find the best explanation by continuously playing theories off against each other in reflecting about, analyzing and gathering more data. I applied two other techniques Timmermans and Tavory discussed, drawing from grounded theory: *Defamiliarization* of preconceived understandings about the object of research, concomitant with inscription (interview transcripts, fieldnotes) and coding of data. Doing field research over a longer period of time, furthermore, enabled me to *revisit*⁹ phenomena in similar situations or in subsequent interviews in order to "test" the validity of observations and preliminary conclusions drawn.

Reflexivity was another important principle of my field research in two ways: To Burawoy (1998), the essence of "reflexive science" is that reactivity is not treated as bias to be controlled for but as a research device, which consists of consciously intervening in the research setting to reveal its underlying social orders. I also tried to be reflexive in Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) sense: Being aware of my own social and epistemological dispositions and asking how they might influence deduction from empirical observations. This not only meant thinking of myself as an academic researcher but also as someone with past journalistic experience, which is as much a benefit (context knowledge) as a curse (fear of asking basic questions). However, it did prove to be helpful for getting field access.¹⁰

Data Analysis

As customary in qualitative social research, analysis of interviews and field-notes happened simultaneously with data collection in order to continuously refine both processes. I used a qualitative data analysis application called HyperResearch to code the data. For reasons of comparability, the same coding scheme developed in the USA was used for German data as well, while new codes were still developed and applied back to the US case. The codes served more as signposts for themes in the data than deconstructing it to its specificities. The functionality of the program enables more fine-grained analysis through testing associations between conditions across cases. However, I preferred to do this part of the analysis in writing, starting with rather detailed annotations to codes and longer memos that gradually transformed into raw drafts of the empirical analysis.

While still doing field research in Germany, I started working on a research article about the adoption of Twitter by journalists, which eventually became two articles (Revers 2014b, 2015) and informs Chap. 7. For this analysis I tried a different approach than for the rest of this book. After some free writing that enabled me to identify some relevant themes and categories, I took inspiration from Miles and Huberman (1994: 132, 182) to structure the vast amount of interview and observational data in a mixture of what they refer to as *thematic conceptual matrix* and a *clustered summary table*.¹¹

In late 2010, I noticed the growing importance of Twitter and started continuously monitoring 25 Twitter feeds of a core group of individual LCA reporters and news bureaus and more casually followed 45 others by officials, aids, lobbyists and reporters who left the beat but still engaged in conversations. The core group generated around 200 daily tweets on average and over a thousand on eventful days. On the day the New York same-sex-marriage law passed (June 24, 2011) the core group tweeted 1621 times. Besides a more systematic content analysis of tweets around that event (see Revers 2014b), I used Twitter to observe more comprehensively what was going on at the statehouse and noted revealing occurrences in my fieldnotes.

The start of the analysis in Chap. 3 was an ethnographic reading of obituaries.¹² I began with articles I downloaded after a random web search and took notes on patterns that emerged. I then took a random sample and read obituaries, alternating between US and German articles after every five journalists for immediate comparison. I kept reading new texts for as long as new themes and patterns emerged (until theoretical satia-

tion set in, alternatively). This point came just about ten names before the end of the German list, which I exhausted for the sake of completion and which also set the cut-off point for the US list (45). I read all award statements in the sample, also switching between national contexts for comparison. In reading both of these bodies of text for the first time, I was looking for definitions and representations of good journalism, making notes and markings and then reading parts again (and again).

While writing, I reached out to several informants about confidentiality issues and let them authorize quotes I thought might be sensitive. In all instances I ended up using the quote the way I intended to but in some cases omitted or reduced contextual information about the quoted informant or associated news stories. Besides not using their names, I tried to be careful to protect my informants' confidentiality when I quoted them, including not making them easily identifiable for their competitor-colleagues. I shared early drafts of articles I wrote about the US case with key informants in the LCA, to avoid mistakes and misinterpretation and to get feedback.

NOTES

1. Categories of interest, which are awarded irregularly, were criminal justice reporting, legal reporting, local reporting, national reporting, political reporting, regional reporting, state reporting and statewide reporting.
2. The TWP has three categories, two of which are relevant in this context because of their news-relevance. One for local journalism, the other is simply called *Allgemeines* (general) and can be anything from investigative reports in sports journalism, to features about "broken existences" and reports about the Israel-Palestine conflict. There is another award for *Kommentar/Glosse/Essay* (commentary/squib/essay) that I did not consider in this context. It was merged in 2013 with *Allgemeines* to a category *Reportage/Essay/Analyse* (feature/essay/analysis).
3. I considered HNP in the categories of investigative reporting, feature, documentation (which essentially means explanatory journalism), life work of a journalist and press freedom, which is usually awarded to a foreign journalistic entity. I did not consider essay and photo feature categories. Full jury statements are not available online. Statements in the press releases are usually sufficiently detailed (one longer paragraph; for the award for life work and press freedom there are usually two long paragraphs).

4. Since part of the project deals with press–politics relations, it seemed reasonable to get a sense of the other side of that interrelation, without being able to give it similar attention as journalists.
5. At that time I intended to do a three-way comparison but decided to get rid of the Austrian case because of incomparability (state governments are relatively irrelevant in such a small country and the journalistic stakes are relatively low) and because of my emotional involvement as an Austrian citizen (involving frequent feelings of embarrassment in relation to political affairs). Moreover, interviewing former colleagues of mine, given that I used to work as a journalist in Graz for over a year, was far from ideal.
6. Field research enables testing hypotheses in different ways and circumstances, with identical or dissimilar subjects about whom the researcher obtains more knowledge than necessary to “measure” the variables in question and thus has a basis to decide upon which findings are more relevant than others.
7. As Brady, Collier and Seawright put it, “the strength of causal-process observations lies not in breadth of coverage, but depth of insight. Even one causal-process observation may be valuable in making inferences” (Brady et al. 2004: 12).
8. Though originally formulated in respect to historical research, I would argue this is applicable for any processual social research that is concerned with tracing sequences of events and following subjects through time.
9. Revisiting draws from what Glaser and Strauss (1967: 101–115) termed the *constant comparative method*.
10. The particular research scenario of former journalists studying journalists has been discussed in some detail (Paterson and Zoellner 2010).
11. This table essentially broke down statements and events concerning different technologies and media (email, blogs, social media, smartphones and internet more generally) on different dimensions of journalistic work (workflow, research, audience engagement, competition, institutional/professional issues and public sphere), while also indicating whether statements were evaluative and how (positive or negative). This provided an outline and revealed patterns in that particular section of the data.
12. Some may refer to this as “ethnographic content analysis” (Altheide 1987).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, Andrew Delano. 1988. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Albæk, Erik, Arjen Van Dalen, Nael Jebri, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2014. *Political Journalism in Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Aldridge, Meryl and Julia Evetts. 2003. "Rethinking the Concept of Professionalism: The Case of Journalism." *The British Journal of Sociology* 54(4):547–64.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1988. "The Mass News Media in Systemic, Historical, and Comparative Perspective." Pp. 107–52 in *Action and its Environments: Toward a New Synthesis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2004. "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance Between Ritual and Strategy." *Sociological Theory* 22(4):527–73.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2006. *The Civil Sphere*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2010. *The Performance of Politics: Obama's Victory and the Democratic Struggle for Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast. 2006. *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Allen, Henry. 2007. "A Journalist For Whom There Were Not Enough Words." *The Washington Post*, April 25. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/24/AR2007042402512_pf.html).
- Altheide, David L. 1987. "Reflections: Ethnographic Content Analysis." *Qualitative Sociology* 10(1):65–77.

- Anderson, CW. 2011a. "Between Creative and Quantified Audiences: Web Metrics and Changing Patterns of Newswork in Local US Newsrooms." *Journalism* 12(5):550–66.
- Anderson, CW. 2011b. "Deliberative, Agonistic, and Algorithmic Audiences: Journalism's Vision of Its Public in an Age of Audience Transparency." *International Journal of Communication* 5:529–47.
- Anon. n.d. "Startseite." *Hanns Joachim Friedrichs Preis*. Retrieved August 3, 2015 (<http://www.hanns-joachim-friedrichs.de>).
- Bagdikian, Ben H. 2000. *The Media Monopoly*. 6th Beacon pbk.ed. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.
- Barry, Dan, David Barstow, Jonathan D. Glater, Adam Liptak, and Jacques Steinberg. 2003. "CORRECTING THE RECORD: Times Reporter Who Resigned Leaves Long Trail of Deception." *The New York Times*, May 11. Retrieved February 14, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/11/us/correcting-the-record-times-reporter-who-resigned-leaves-long-trail-of-deception.html>).
- Bayerische Landtagspresse. 2009. "Satzung." Retrieved August 20, 2015 (<http://www.landtagspresse.de/Satzung-Landtagspresse.pdf>).
- BDVZ, Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger. 2015a. *Die Deutschen Zeitungen in Zahlen Und Daten 2015*. Retrieved January 20, 2016 (http://issuu.com/bdzv/docs/zahlen_daten_2015).
- BDVZ, Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger. 2015b. "Wirtschaftliche Lage." *BDVZ*. Retrieved January 20, 2016 (http://issuu.com/bdzv/docs/zahlen_daten_2015).
- BDZV. 2013. "Zur Wirtschaftlichen Lage Der Zeitungen in Deutschland 2013." *BDVZ*. Retrieved January 20, 2016 (http://www.bdzv.de/maerkte-und-daten/wirtschaftliche-lageartikel/detail/zur-wirtschaftlichen-lage_der-zeitungen_in-deutschland_2013/).
- Beckert, Jens. 2007. "The 'Longue Durée' of Inheritance Law : Discourses and Institutional Development in France, Germany, and the United States since 1800." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie/Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie* 48(1):79–120.
- Bélair-Gagnon, Valérie. 2013. "Revisiting Impartiality: Social Media and Journalism at The BBC." *Symbolic Interaction* 36(4):478–92.
- Bellah, Robert N. 1991. *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benjamin, Elizabeth. 2010. "Protecting Paterson." *Daily Politics, New York Daily News*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (<http://www.nydailynews.com/blogs/dailypolitics/protecting-paterson-blog-entry-1.1676909>).
- Benkler, Yochai. 2006. *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press.

- Benson, Rodney. 1999. "Field Theory in Comparative Context: A New Paradigm for Media Studies." *Theory and Society* 28(3):463–98.
- Benson, Rodney. 2004. "Bringing the Sociology of Media Back In." *Political Communication* 21(2):275–92.
- Benson, Rodney. 2006. "News Media as a 'Journalistic Field': What Bourdieu Adds to New Institutionalism, and Vice Versa." *Political Communication* 23(2):187–202.
- Benson, Rodney. 2013. *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Benson, Rodney. 2014. "Challenging the 'New Descriptivism' - Rod Benson's Talk from QualPolComm Preconference." *Qualitative Political Communication Research*. Retrieved September 6, 2014 (<http://qualpolcomm.wordpress.com/2014/06/05/challenging-the-new-descriptivism-rod-bensons-talk-from-qualpolcomm-preconference/>).
- Benson, Rodney, Mark Blach-Ørsten, Matthew Powers, Ida Willig, and Sandra Vera Zambrano. 2012. "Media Systems Online and Off: Comparing the Form of News in the United States, Denmark, and France." *Journal of Communication* 62(1):21–38.
- Benson, Rodney and Erik Neveu. 2005a. *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
- Benson, Rodney and Erik Neveu. 2005b. "Introduction: Field Theory as a Work in Progress." Pp. 1–25 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Benson, Rodney and Matthew Powers. 2011. *Public Media and Political Independence: Lessons for the Future of Journalism from Around the World*. Washington, D.C.: Free Press. Retrieved February 19, 2016 (<http://www.freepress.net/sites/default/files/stn-legacy/public-media-and-political-independence.pdf>).
- Berkowitz, Dan and James V. TerKeurst. 1999. "Community as Interpretive Community: Rethinking the Journalist-Source Relationship." *Journal of Communication* 49(3):125–36.
- Bickerich, Wolfram. 2009. "Nachruf: Erich Böhme: 1930 Bis 2009." *Der Spiegel*, December 7, 182.
- Biermann, Kai and Patrick Beuth. 2013. "Chaos Communication Congress: Der Freiheitskämpfer Glenn Greenwald." *Zeit Online*. Retrieved November 27, 2015 (<http://www.zeit.de/digital/internet/2013-12/30c3-keynote-glenn-greenwald>).
- Boczkowski, Pablo J. 2004. *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Boczkowski, Pablo J. 2010. *News at Work: Imitation in an Age of Information Abundance*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boyer, Dominic. 2013. *The Life Informatic: Newsmaking in the Digital Era*. Ithaca ; London: Cornell University Press.
- Brady, Henry E., David Collier, and Jason Seawright. 2004. "Refocusing the Discussion of Methodology." Pp. 3–20 in *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by H. E. Brady and D. Collier. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Breslin, Jimmy. 1963. "Digging JFK Grave Was His Honor." *New York Herald Tribune*, November 26. Retrieved August 4, 2015 (<http://www.arlington-cemetery.net/digging-grave-an-honor.htm>).
- BR-Landespolitik. 2012. "Wir über Uns." *Politik aus Bayern: Blog der BR-Landtagskorrespondenten*. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://blog.br.de/landespolitik/2012/12/page/2/>).
- Bundesverfassungsgericht, 1 Senat. 2003. "Bundesverfassungsgericht - Entscheidungen - Zur richterlich angeordneten Auskunft über Verbindungsdaten der Telekommunikation im Rahmen der Strafverfolgung: Schutzbereich des Fernmeldegeheimnisses berührt - Eingriffe nur bei Straftaten von erheblicher Bedeutung und bei konkretem Tatverdacht gerechtfertigt." Retrieved February 24, 2016 (http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/entscheidungen/rs20030312_1bvr033096.html).
- Burawoy, Michael. 1998. "The Extended Case Method." *Sociological Theory* 16(1):4–33.
- Burger, Hannes. 2007. "Hans Heigert, Ehemaliger Chef Der 'Süddeutschen Zeitung', Ist Tot." *Die Welt*, November 23. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.welt.de/1391230>).
- Calderone, Michael. 2009. "Newspaper Circulation Drops; WSJ on Top." *Politico*. Retrieved February 18, 2014 (http://www.politico.com/blogs/michaelcalderone/1009/Newspaper_circulation_drops_WSJ_on_top.html).
- Carey, James W. 1986. "The Dark Continent of American Journalism." Pp. 146–96 in *Reading the news: a pantheon guide to popular culture*, edited by R. K. Manoff and M. Schudson. New York: Pantheon books.
- Carlson, Matt. 2013. "Gone, But Not Forgotten." *Journalism Studies* 15(1):33–47.
- Carr, David. 2013a. "Journalism, Even When It's Tilted." *The New York Times*, June 30. Retrieved November 27, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/01/business/media/journalism-is-still-at-work-even-when-its-practitioner-has-a-slant.html>).
- Carr, David. 2013b. "War on Leaks Is Pitting Journalist vs. Journalist." *The New York Times*, August 25. Retrieved December 28, 2015 (<http://www>

- nytimes.com/2013/08/26/business/media/war-on-leaks-is-pitting--journalist-vs-journalist.html).
- CBCTV. 2011. "PresseClubforum Zum Tag Der Pressefreiheit." *CBCTV: IPTV on Demand*. Retrieved September 21, 2015 (http://www.cbctv.de/beitrage/110504_PCForum4.html).
- Chadwick, Andrew. 2013. *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chalaby, Jean K. 1996. "Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s." *European Journal of Communication* 11:303-26.
- Champagne, Patrick and Dominique Marchetti. 2005. "The Contaminated Blood Scandal: Reframing Medical News." Pp. 113-34 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Clayman, Steven E. and John Heritage. 2002. "Questioning Presidents: Journalistic Deference and Adversarialness in the Press Conferences of U.S. Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan." *The Journal of Communication* 52(4):749-75.
- Clayman, Steven E., John Heritage, Marc N. Elliott, and Laurie L. McDonald. 2007. "When Does the Watchdog Bark? Conditions of Aggressive Questioning in Presidential News Conferences." *American Sociological Review* 72(1):23-41.
- Clayman, Steven and John Heritage. 2002. *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Collier, David, Henry E. Brady, and Jason Seawright. 2004. "Sources of Leverage in Causal Inference: Toward an Alternative View of Methodology." Pp. 229-66 in *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by H. E. Brady and D. Collier. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Confessore, Nicholas. 2010. "Cuomo, Frequent Caller, Uses the Phone as a Political Tool." *The New York Times*, December 31.
- Cook, Timothy E. 1998. *Governing With the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Couldry, Nick. 2003. "Media Meta-Capital: Extending the Range of Bourdieu's Field Theory." *Theory and Society* 32(5-6):653-77.
- Craig, Susanne, William K. Rashbaum, and Thomas Kaplan. 2015. "The Many Faces of State Political Scandals." *The New York Times*, January 22. Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/07/23/nyregion/23moreland-commission-and-new-york-political-scandals.html>).
- Cramer, Ernst. 2009. "Heinz Schewe (1921-2009), WELT-Korrespondent." *Die Welt*, April 2. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.welt.de/3487307>).
- Crouse, Timothy. 1973. *The Boys on the Bus*. New York: Random House.

- Dahlgren, Peter. 1991. "Introduction." Pp. 1–23 in *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere*, edited by P. Dahlgren and C. Sparks. London; New York: Routledge.
- dannyhakim. 2012. "Weeks after protestors called NYP's Fred Dicker "mouth-piece for Gov 1%" he signs deal to write #Cuomo's authorized bio." *Twitter post*, April 13. Retrieved July 13, 2016 (<https://twitter.com/dannyhakim/status/190774346959159296>).
- Davis, Aeron. 2009. "Journalist-Source Relations, Mediated Reflexivity and the Politics of Politics." *Journalism Studies* 10(2):204–19.
- Denzin, Norman K. 1978. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Der Spiegel. 2006. "Gestorben: Hans Gresmann, 78." *Der Spiegel*, October 23, 226.
- Deuze, Mark. 2006. "Participation, Remediation, Bricolage: Considering Principal Components of a Digital Culture." *The Information Society* 22(2):63–75.
- di Lorenzo, Giovanni. 2009. "Lob Des Eigensinns: Herbert Riehl-Heyse." *Die Zeit*, November 12. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.zeit.de/2009/47/Vorbilder-Riehl-Heyse>).
- Dicker, Fred U. 2012. "Live from the State Capitol." *TALK 1300 - WGDJ-AM*. Retrieved ([feed://www.talk1300.com/podcast/Fred-Dicker-Live-from-the-State-Capitol/](http://www.talk1300.com/podcast/Fred-Dicker-Live-from-the-State-Capitol/)).
- Digital Media Law Project. 2012. "New York Protections for Sources and Source Material." *Digital Media Law Project*. Retrieved (<http://www.dmlp.org/legal-guide/new-york-protections-sources-and-source-material>).
- Dingwall, Robert. 2008. *Essays on Professions*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- DJU, Deutsche Journalistinnen und -journalisten-Union. n.d. "Freie Journalisten." *DJV - Deutscher Journalisten-Verband*. Retrieved January 29, 2016 (<http://dju.verdi.de/++file++51dacfa890e9b428e000408/download/%5CBLNPFS01%5Cjournal%24%5CRelaunch%5CJournalismus%20konkret%5CFreie.pdf>).
- DJV, Deutscher Journalisten-Verband. 2016. "Mitglied Werden." Retrieved January 29, 2016 (<http://www.djv.de/startseite/profil/mitglied-werden/vorteile.html>).
- Domingo, David. 2008. "Interactivity in the Daily Routines of Online Newsrooms: Dealing with an Uncomfortable Myth." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13(3):680–704.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang. 1999. "Journalismus Und Journalistisches Berufsverständnis." Pp. 489–517 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang and Bettina Klett. 1993. "Subjective Objectivity. How Journalists in Four Countries Define a Key Term of Their Profession." *International Communication Gazette* 51(1):53–83.

- Dorroh, Jennifer. 2009. "Statehouse Exodus." *American Journalism Review* 2(31). Retrieved (<http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=4721>).
- Douglas, Mary. 2005. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Durkheim, Emile. [1957] 1992. *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Eliasoph, Nina and Paul Lichterman. 2003. "Culture in Interaction." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(4):735–94.
- Englisch, Roland. 1992. "Die Landtagspresse Fordert Ministerpräsident Max Streibl Zur 'Wiedergutmachung' Auf." *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, July 22, 19.
- Ericson, Richard Victor, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B. L. Chan. 1989. *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Esser, Frank. 1998. "Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms." *European Journal of Communication* 13(3):375–405.
- Esser, Frank. 1999. "'Tabloidization' of News: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and German Press Journalism." *European Journal of Communication* 14(3):291–324.
- Esser, Frank. 2008. "Dimensions of Political News Cultures: Sound Bite and Image Bite News in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(4):401–28.
- Esser, Frank and Michael Brüggemann. 2010. "The Strategic Crisis of German Newspapers." Pp. 39–54 in *The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy*, edited by D. A. L. Levy and R. K. Nielsen. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Esser, Frank, Carsten Reinemann, and David Fan. 2001. "Spin Doctors in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany: Metacommunication about Media Manipulation." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6(1):16–45.
- Esser, Frank and Andrea Umbricht. 2013. "Competing Models of Journalism? Political Affairs Coverage in US, British, German, Swiss, French and Italian Newspapers." *Journalism* 14(8):989–1007.
- Farhi, Paul. 2013. "Washington Post to Be Sold to Jeff Bezos, the Founder of Amazon." *The Washington Post*, August 5. Retrieved February 26, 2016 (https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/washington-post-to-be-sold-to-jeff-bezos/2013/08/05/ca537c9e-fe0c-11e2-9711-3708310f6f4d_story.html).
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002a. "Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies." *Theory and Society* 31:289–324.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002b. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Fink, Katherine and Michael Schudson. 2014. "The Rise of Contextual Journalism, 1950s–2000s." *Journalism* 15(1):3–20.
- Fischermann, Thomas. 2013. "Glenn Greenwald: Der Jäger Als Gejagter." *Die Zeit*, August 29. Retrieved December 21, 2015 (<http://www.zeit.de/2013/35/glenn-greenwald-edward-snowden>).
- Fisher, Caroline. 2015a. "Managing Conflict of Interest." *Journalism Practice* 1–14.
- Fisher, Caroline. 2015b. "The Disclosure Dilemma: Returning to Journalism after Political Media Advising." *Communication Research and Practice* 1(1):58–70.
- Fligstein, Neil and Doug McAdam. 2012. *A Theory of Fields*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, Margalit. 2010. "Edwin Newman, Journalist, Dies at 91." *The New York Times*, September 15. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/16/business/media/16newman.html>).
- Freidson, Eliot. 2001. *Professionalism: The Third Logic*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Friedland, Lewis A., Thomas Hove, and Hernando Rojas. 2006. "The Networked Public Sphere." *Javnost-The Public* 13:5–26.
- Friedrichs, Hanns Joachim and Harald Wieser. 1994. *Journalistenleben*. München: Droemer Knauer.
- Frye, Northrop. 1973. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- fud31. 2012. "Those snooty Times Boys still jealous over that front page NYT profile of me a year ago. Otherwise, why be so nasty?" *Twitter post*, April 13. Retrieved July 13, 2016 (<https://twitter.com/fud31/status/190798432150106115>).
- Gans, Herbert J. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- George Polk Awards. 2008. "Long Island University Announces Winners of 2007 George Polk Awards." Retrieved February 8, 2014 (<http://www.liu.edu/About/News/Univ-Ctr-PR/Pre-2008/February/GP-Press-Release-Feb-2008>).
- George Polk Awards. 2009. "Long Island University Announces Winners of the 60th Annual George Polk Awards." Retrieved February 8, 2014 (<http://www.liu.edu/About/News/Univ-Ctr-PR/2009/February/GP-Press-Release-Feb17-2009>).
- George Polk Awards. 2010. "Long Island University Announces Winners Of 2009 George Polk Awards In Journalism." Retrieved February 8, 2014 (<http://www.liu.edu/About/News/Univ-Ctr-PR/2010/February/GP-Press-Release-Feb16-2010>).

- Gieryn, Thomas F. 1983. "Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists." *American Sociological Review* 48(6):781–95.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Brunswick, NJ; London, UK: Aldine Transaction.
- Goffman, Erving. 1956. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh,: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre.
- Goffman, Erving. 1972. *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. London: Allen Lane.
- Gormley, Mike. 2010a. "AP Interview: NY's Paterson Lashes Back at Rumors." *The Associated Press*, February 9.
- Gormley, Mike. 2010b. "NY Gov. Paterson Meets with Lawmakers over Future." *The Associated Press*, February 8.
- gur. 2010. "Die WELT-Gruppe Nimmt Abschied von Joachim Neander." *Die Welt*, June 24. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.welt.de/3985965>).
- Haberman, Clyde. 2007. "David Halberstam, 73, Reporter and Author, Dies." *The New York Times*, April 24. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/24/arts/24halberstam.html>).
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Hachmeister, Lutz. 2002. "Einleitung: Das Problem Des Elite-Journalismus." Pp. 7–34 in *Die Herren Journalisten: die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945, Beck'sche Reihe*, edited by L. Hachmeister and F. Siering. Munich: Beck.
- Hack, Günter. 2014. "Journalismus: Das Greenwald-Paradoxon." *ZEIT ONLINE*. Retrieved November 27, 2015 (<http://www.zeit.de/digital/datenschutz/2014-01/Greenwald-Journalisten-Aktivisten-Paradoxon>).
- Hakim, Danny and William K. Rashbaum. 2010. "For Paterson Confidant, Fast Rise and Questions." *The New York Times*, February 17, A1.
- Hallin, Daniel C. 1992. "The Passing of the 'High Modernism' of American Journalism." *Journal of Communication* 42(3):14–25.
- Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hammond, Bill. 2012. "At a Key Education Budget Hearing, State Lawmakers Are Silent on Teacher Evaluations." *New York Daily News*, January 24. Retrieved August 13, 2015 (<http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/key-education-budget-hearing-state-lawmakers-silent-teacher-evaluations-article-1.1010648#ixzz2vBmmxKns>).

- Hammond, William F. Jr. 1995. "Legislative Press Corps Enjoys Rent-Free Space in Capitol." *The Schenectady Gazette*, April 9, B1.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas et al. 2011. "Mapping Journalism Cultures Across Nations." *Journalism Studies* 12(3):273–93.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2011. "Populist Disseminators, Detached Watchdogs, Critical Change Agents and Opportunist Facilitators: Professional Milieus, the Journalistic Field and Autonomy in 18 Countries." *International Communication Gazette* 73(6):477–94.
- Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus. 2001. "Pressemitteilung 2001." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (<http://www.hanns-joachim-friedrichs.de/index.php?page=pt&cy=2001&phjf=1>).
- Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für Fernsehjournalismus. 2013. "Pressemitteilung 2013." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (<http://www.hanns-joachim-friedrichs.de/index.php?page=pt&cy=2013&phjf=1>).
- Hellmueller, Lea, Tim P. Vos, and Mark A. Poepsel. 2013. "Shifting Journalistic Capital? Transparency and Objectivity in the Twenty-First Century." *Journalism Studies* 14(3):287–304.
- Hendler, Clint. 2010a. "One Night at the AP." *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/one_night_at_the_ap.php).
- Hendler, Clint. 2010b. "The Paterson E-Mails." *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/the_paterson_e-mails.php).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2005. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Preisträger Des Henri Nannen Preises 2005." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2005.php?id=27).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2006. "Pressemitteilungen: Henri Nannen Preis 2006 Geht An." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2006.php?id=4).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2009. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Gewinner Des Henri Nannen Preises 2009 Stehen Fest." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2009.php?id=57).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2011. "Pressemitteilungen: Der Henri Nannen Preis 2011 Geht an." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2011.php?id=86).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2012. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Preisträger Des Henri Nannen Preises 2012." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2012.php?id=93).
- Henri-Nannen Preis. 2013. "Pressemitteilungen: Die Preisträger Des Henri Nannen Preises 2013." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (http://www.henri-nannen-preis.de/presse_2013.php?id=101).
- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. 1994. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. London: Vintage.

- Herman, Edward S. and Robert Waterman McChesney. 1997. *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. London; Washington, D.C.: Cassell.
- Hershey, Robert D. Jr. 2010. "Daniel Schorr, Journalist, Dies at 93." *The New York Times*, July 23. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/24/business/media/24schorr.html>).
- Hess, Stephen. 1981. *The Washington Reporters: Newsmen*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Hofstede, Geert H. 1980. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications.
- Humphrecht, Edda and Florin Büchel. 2013. "More of the Same or Marketplace of Opinions? A Cross-National Comparison of Diversity in Online News Reporting." *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. Retrieved (<http://hij.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/08/08/1940161213497595.abstract>).
- Illinois Institute of Technology. undated. "Gannett Ethics Policy (Undated)." *Codes of Ethics Collection*. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://ethics.iit.edu/ecodes/node/3518>).
- IVW. 2016. "Quartalsauflagen." *Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern*. Retrieved March 18, 2016 (<http://daten.ivw.eu/index.php?menuid=1&u=&p=>).
- Jacobs, Ronald N. 1996. "Producing the News, Producing the Crisis: Narrativity, Television and News Work." *Media Culture Society* 18(3):373-97.
- Jacobs, Ronald N. 2009. "Culture, the Public Sphere, and Media Sociology: A Search for a Classical Founder in the Work of Robert Park." *The American Sociologist* 40(3):149-66.
- Jacobs, Ronald N. and Eleanor Townsley. 2011. *The Space of Opinion: Media Intellectuals and the Public Sphere*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, Richard. 2010. "Shock for Dave Mansion Cop." *New York Post*, January 30, 10.
- Kalberg, Stephen. 1987. "The Origin and Expansion of Kulturpessimismus: The Relationship between Public and Private Spheres in Early Twentieth Century Germany." *Sociological Theory* 5(2):150-64.
- Kane, Anne. 1991. "Cultural Analysis in Historical Sociology: The Analytic and Concrete Forms of the Autonomy of Culture." *Sociological Theory* 9(1):53-69.
- Kaplan, Richard L. 2002. *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, Thomas and Julie Bosman. 2013. "Publisher Is Backing Off a Book About Cuomo in Favor of One Written by Him." *The New York Times*, April 29. Retrieved April 23, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/30/nyregion/cuomo-and-publisher-are-said-to-be-in-talks-about-memoir.html>).
- Käppner, Joachim and Christina Warta. 2008. "Abschied von Hans Ulrich Kempfski: 'Geschätzt, Geliebt, Verehrt.'" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 24. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/abschied-von-hans-ulrich-kempfski-geschaezt-geliebt-verehrt-1.276656>).

- Karlsson, Michael. 2010. "Rituals of Transparency: Evaluating Online News Outlets' Uses of Transparency Rituals in the United States, United Kingdom and Sweden." *Journalism Studies* 11:535–45.
- Keller, Bill. 2013. "Is Glenn Greenwald the Future of News?" *The New York Times*, October 27. Retrieved December 11, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/28/opinion/a-conversation-in-lieu-of-a-column.html>).
- Kelly, Keith J. 2012. "Dicker Gets Deal to Write Bio of Cuomo." *New York Post*, April 3. Retrieved (<http://nypost.com/2012/04/13/dicker-gets-deal-to-write-bio-of-cuomo/>).
- Kepplinger, Hans Mathias. 2002. "Mediatization of Politics: Theory and Data." *Journal of Communication* 52(4):972–86.
- King, David. 2011. "Cuomo Cultivates His Media Messenger." *Gotham Gazette*, March 8. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/albany/20110308/204/3482>).
- Klinenberg, Eric. 2005. "Convergence: News Production in a Digital Age." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597(1):48–64.
- koblin. 2010. "Anyone Hearing about NYT Bombshell on Paterson? Heard Big, Damaging [sic!] Story Comin. Been Working for Weeks, but Still Not Published yet." *Twitter post*. Retrieved August 19, 2015 (<https://twitter.com/koblin/status/8686239448>).
- Köcher, Renate. 1986. "Bloodhounds or Missionaries: Role Definitions of German and British Journalists." *European Journal of Communication* 1(1):43–64.
- Koszyk, Kurt. 1999. "Presse Unter Alliierter Besatzung." Pp. 31–58 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Krause, Monika. 2011. "Reporting and the Transformations of the Journalistic Field: US News Media, 1890–2000." *Media, Culture & Society* 33:89–104.
- Lambert, Bruce. 1993. "Edward P. Morgan, 82, Anchor And Reporter for TV and Radio." *The New York Times*, January 29. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/01/29/us/edward-p-morgan-82-anchor-and-reporter-for-tv-and-radio.html>).
- Lamont, Michèle. 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamont, Michèle. 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Lamont, Michèle and Laurent Thévenot. 2000a. "Introduction: Toward a Renewed Comparative Cultural Sociology." Pp. 1–22 in *Rethinking comparative cultural sociology: repertoires of evaluation in France and the United States*, edited by M. Lamont and L. Thévenot. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lamont, Michèle and Laurent Thévenot. 2000b. *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lanigan, Richard L. 1983. "Précis of Merleau-Ponty on Metajournalism." Pp. 39–48 in *Semiotics 1981*, edited by J. Deely and M. Lenhart. Springer US. Retrieved (http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-9328-7_5).

- Larson, Magali Sarfatti. 1977. *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lasorsa, Dominic L., Seth C. Lewis, and Avery E. Holton. 2012. "Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Communication Space." *Journalism Studies* 13(1):19–36.
- Lell, Eva. 2013. "Die Landtagspresse Zwitschert Und Postet." *Politik aus Bayern: Blog der BR-Landtagskorrespondenten*. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://blog.br.de/landespolitik/2013/03/22/die-landtagspresse-zwitschert-und-postet/>).
- Leonardi, Paul M. and Stephen R. Barley. 2008. "Materiality and Change: Challenges to Building Better Theory about Technology and Organizing." *Information and Organization* 18(3):159–76.
- Lewis, Seth C. 2012. "The Tension Between Professional Control and Open Participation: Journalism and Its Boundaries." *Information, Communication & Society* 15(6):836–66.
- Lewis, Seth C. and Nikki Usher. 2013. "Open Source and Journalism: Toward New Frameworks for Imagining News Innovation." *Media, Culture & Society* 35(5):602–19.
- Leyendecker, Hans. 2013a. "Einblick Ins Schattenreich." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, November 27, 31.
- Leyendecker, Hans. 2013b. "Zum Tod von Jürgen Leinemann: Die Welt Als Porträt." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, November 11. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/zum-tod-von-juergen-leinmann-die-welt-als-portraet-1.1815435>).
- Luker, Kristin. 2008. *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences: Research in an Age of Info-Glut*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Marchetti, Dominique. 2005. "Subfields of Specialized Journalism." Pp. 64–82 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Martin, Douglas. 2009. "Walter Cronkite, 92, Dies: Trusted Voice of TV News." *The New York Times*, July 18, A1.
- Marwick, Alice E. and danah boyd. 2011. "I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately: Twitter Users, Context Collapse, and the Imagined Audience." *New Media & Society* 13(1):114–33.
- Matussek, Matthias. 2006. "Zum Tod von Joachim Fest: Der Stolze Einzelgänger." *Spiegel Online*, September 12. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/literatur/zum-tod-von-joachim-fest-der-stolze-einzelgaenger-a-436550.html>).
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro and Winfried Schulz. 1999. "'Mediatization' of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?" *Political Communication* 16(3):247–61.
- McDonnell, Terence E. 2010. "Cultural Objects as Objects: Materiality, Urban Space, and the Interpretation of AIDS Campaigns in Accra, Ghana." *American Journal of Sociology* 115(6):1800–1852.

- McFadden, Robert D. 2006. "A. M. Rosenthal, Editor of The Times, Dies at 84." *The New York Times*, May 11. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/11/nyregion/11rosenthal.html>).
- McFadden, Robert D. 2011. "Tom Wicker, Times Journalist, Dies at 85." *The New York Times*, November 25. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/26/us/tom-wicker-journalist-and-author-dies-at-85.html>).
- McGeveran, Tom. 2013. "Albany Reporters Protest Being Blocked from a Republican Hearing." *Capital New York*, May 8. Retrieved August 20, 2015 (<http://www.capitalnewyork.com/article/media/2013/05/8529818/albany-reporters-protest-being-blocked-republican-hearing>).
- Meacham, Andrew. 2011. "Pulitzer-Winning Former St. Petersburg Times Reporter Bette Orsini Dies at 85." *Tampa Bay Times*, March 28. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.tampabay.com/news/obituaries/pulitzer-winning-former-st-petersburg-times-reporter-bette-orsini-dies-at/1160199>).
- Mearns, Joel. 2010. "The Biggest Fish in Albany?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, November 22. Retrieved December 11, 2013 (http://www.cjr.org/campaign_desk/the_biggest_fish_in_albany.php).
- Medvetz, Thomas. 2012. *Think Tanks in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Merton, Robert K. 1987. "Three Fragments From a Sociologist's Notebooks: Establishing the Phenomenon, Specified Ignorance, and Strategic Research Materials." *Annual Review of Sociology* 13:1–29.
- Meyrowitz, Joshua. 1985. *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Meyrowitz, Joshua. 2009. "Medium Theory: An Alternative to the Dominant Paradigm of Media Effects." Pp. 517–30 in *The Sage Handbook of Media Processes and Effects*, edited by R. L. Nabi and M. B. Oliver. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Miles, Matthew B. and A. M. Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Mills, C. Wright. 2000. *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford [England] New York: Oxford University Press.
- Minkenberg, Michael. 1997. "Civil Religion and German Unification." *German Studies Review* 20(1):63–81.
- Müller, Frank. 2012a. "Aiwangers Letzter Tweet." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 9. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/twitter-account-von-freie-waehler-chef-geloesch-t-aiwangers-letzter-tweet-1.1280112>).
- Müller, Frank. 2012b. "Wenn Politiker Zwitschern." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 25. Retrieved August 8, 2015 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/twitter-wenn-politiker-zwitschern-1.1266171>).
- NAA, Newspapers Association of America. 2014. "Business Model Evolving, Circulation Revenue Rising." Retrieved January 20, 2016 (<http://www.naa>).

- org/Trends-and-Numbers/Newspaper-Revenue/Newspaper-Media-Industry-Revenue-Profile-2013.aspx).
- NAA, Newspapers Association of America. 2015. "Newspaper Circulation Volume." Retrieved January 20, 2016 (<http://www.naa.org/Trends-and-Numbers/Circulation-Volume/Newspaper-Circulation-Volume.aspx>).
- NBC. 2013. *Meet the Press: Snowden, National Security and Immigration Reform*. Retrieved December 28, 2015 (<http://www.nbcnews.com/video/meet-the-press/52288617>).
- Newman, Nic, David A. L. Levy, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. 2015. *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2015: Tracking the Future of News*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved February 24, 2016 (<http://bit.ly/digitalnews2015>).
- nickconfessore. 2012. "I think they should also publish Cuomo's counter-memoir: 'Sunday Nights With Fred: A Kind Of Love Story.'" *Twitter post*, April 13. Retrieved July 13, 2016 (<https://twitter.com/nickconfessore/status/190810596629938176>).
- Nonnenmacher, Günther. 2007. "Friedrich Karl Fromme: Eine Journalistische Instanz." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 16. Retrieved January 30, 2014 (<http://www.faz.net/-gpg-u77o>).
- Odato, James M. 2007. "State Flies Bruno to Fundraisers." *Albany Times Union*, July 1, A1.
- OECD. 2010. *The Evolution of News and the Internet*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Retrieved February 5, 2014 (<http://www.oecd.org/internet/ieconomy/45559596.pdf>).
- Orlikowski, Wanda J. 2000. "Using Technology and Constituting Structures: A Practice Lens for Studying Technology in Organizations." *Organization Science* 11(4):404–28.
- Papacharissi, Zizi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira. 2012. "Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt." *Journal of Communication* 62(2):266–82.
- Paterson, Chris and Anna Zoellner. 2010. "The Efficacy of Professional Experience in the Ethnographic Investigation of Production." *Journal of Media Practice* 11(2):97–109.
- Patterson, Thomas E. and Wolfgang Donsbach. 1996. "News Decisions: Journalists as Partisan Actors." *Political Communication* 13(4):455–68.
- Peabody Awards. 1998. "Personal Award: Christiane Amanpour for International Reporting." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (http://peabodyawards.com/past-winners/award/?pbaward=143&pb_search=1&pb_title=1&pb_year=&pb_porg=&pb_query=Personal%20Award).
- Peters, Jeremy W. 2011. "Governors Come and Go, but This Reporter Keeps Slugging Away." *The New York Times*, April 22. Retrieved (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/22/nyregion/new-york-posts-fredric-dicker-keeps-slugging-away.html>).

- Pfetsch, Barbara. 2001. "Political Communication Culture in the United States and Germany." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 6(1):46–67.
- Pragal, Peter. 2009. "Nachruf Erich Böhme: Journalist Aus Leidenschaft." *Frankfurter Rundschau*, November 28. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.fr-online.de/kultur/nachruf-erich-boehme-journalist-aus-leidenschaft,1472786,3171294.html>).
- Precious, Tom. 2010. "Paterson Stays on Job amid Scandal Rumor." *The Buffalo News*, February 9, A1.
- Precious, Tom. 2015. "In 12 Years of Political Scandals in Albany, the Last Two Weeks Stand out." *The Buffalo News*, December 11. Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<http://www.buffalonews.com/city-region/albany-politics/in-12-years-of-political-scandals-in-albany-the-last-two-weeks-stand-out-20151211>).
- Presserat. 2015. "Publizistische Grundsätze (Pressekodex): Richtlinien Für Die Publizistische Arbeit Nach Den Empfehlungen Des Deutschen Presserats." Retrieved February 25, 2016 (http://www.presserat.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Downloads_Dateien/Pressekodex_bo_web_2015.pdf).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016a. "Public Service." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-category/204>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016b. "The 1985 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Investigative Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/6583>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016c. "The 1989 Pulitzer Prize Winner in National Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/6676>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016d. "The 2006 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Investigative Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/5665>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016e. "The 2009 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Breaking News Reporting." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/7082>).
- Pulitzer Prizes. 2016f. "The 2012 Pulitzer Prize Winner in Feature Writing." *The Pulitzer Prizes*. Retrieved February 14, 2016 (<http://www.pulitzer.org/winners/7163>).
- Puppis, Manuel. 2010. *Einführung in Die Medienpolitik*. 2. ed. Konstanz: UVK. Retrieved (<http://www.utb-studi-e-book.de/9783838528816>).
- Pyle, Richard and Ula Ihnytzky. 2012. "AP Vietnam Correspondent Malcolm Browne Dies." *The Associated Press*, August 28. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.ap.org/content/ap-in-the-news/2012/ap-vietnam-correspondent-malcolm-browne-dies>).
- Quandt, Thorsten. 2008. "(No) News on the World Wide Web? A Comparative Content Analysis of Online News in Europe and the United States." *Journalism Studies* 9(5):717–38.

- Reed, Isaac. 2008. "Justifying Sociological Knowledge: From Realism to Interpretation." *Sociological Theory* 26(2):101–29.
- Reich, Zvi. 2006. "The Process Model of News Initiative." *Journalism Studies* 7(4):497–514.
- Reinemann, Carsten. 2004. "Routine Reliance Revisited: Exploring Media Importance for German Political Journalists." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 81(4):857–76.
- Reporters Without Borders. 2015. "2015 World Press Freedom Index." Retrieved February 24, 2016 (<http://index.rsf.org>).
- Revers, Matthias. 2014a. "Journalistic Professionalism as Performance and Boundary Work: Source Relations at the State House." *Journalism* 15(1):37–52.
- Revers, Matthias. 2014b. "The Twitterization of News Making: Transparency and Journalistic Professionalism." *Journal of Communication* 64(5):806–26.
- Revers, Matthias. 2015. "The Augmented Newsbeat: Spatial Structuring in a Twitterized News Ecosystem." *Media, Culture & Society* 37(1):3–18.
- Rich, Frank. 2007. "All the President's Press." *The New York Times*, April 29, 12.
- Richter, Peter. 2014. "Snowden Reloaded." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 13, 11.
- Robinson, Sue. 2011. "Journalism as Process?: The Organizational Implications of Participatory Online News." *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 13(3):137–210.
- Roll, Evelyn. 1998. "Der „Spiegel“ Ruft Die Revolution Aus: Künftig Werden Alle Autoren Einen Namen Haben." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 24, 21.
- Rudolph, Hermann. 2007. "Friedrich Karl Fromme Gestorben." *Der Tagesspiegel*, January 17. Retrieved January 30, 2014 (<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/medien/friedrich-karl-fromme-gestorben/799568.html>).
- Ryfe, David M. 2012. *Can Journalism Survive: An Inside Look at American Newsrooms*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Schmitz Weiss, Amy and David Domingo. 2010. "Innovation Processes in Online Newsrooms as Actor-Networks and Communities of Practice." *New Media & Society* 12(7):1156–71.
- Schneider, Beate, Klaus Schönbach, and Dieter Stürzebecher. 1993. "Westdeutsche Journalisten Im Vergleich: Jung, Professionell Und Mit Spaß an Der Arbeit." *Publizistik* 38(1):5–30.
- Schneider, Jens. 2012. "SZ-Redakteure Lehnen Henri-Nannen-Preis Ab." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, May 15. Retrieved February 7, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/eklat-bei-journalisten-ehrung-sz-redakteure-lehnen-henri-nannen-preis-ab-1.1355532>).
- Schröm, Oliver and Markus Grill. 2012. "Nach Nannen-Eklat: Zeit Zum Umdenken." Retrieved (<http://www.netzwerkrecherche.de/Presse/120512-Nach-Nannen-Eklat-Zeit-zum-Umdenken/>).
- Schudel, Matt. 2011. "Tom Wicker, Columnist and D.C. Bureau Chief for New York Times, Dies at 85." *The Washington Post*, November 27. Retrieved February 2, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/tom-wicker-columnist-and-dc-bureau-chief-for-new-york-times--dies-at-85/2011/11/26/gIQAoXFrzN_story.html).

- Schudel, Matt. 2012a. "Julian Goodman, NBC President Who Battled White House and Apologized for 'Heidi Bowl,' Dies at 90." *The Washington Post*, July 4. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv/julian-goodman-nbc-president-who-battled-white-house-and-apologized-for-heidi-bowl-dies-at-90/2012/07/04/gJQAfOGvNW_story.html).
- Schudel, Matt. 2012b. "Malcolm W. Browne, Pulitzer-Winning Journalist Who Captured Indelible Vietnam Image, Dies at 81." *The Washington Post*, August 29. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/malcolm-w-browne-pulitzer-winning-journalist-who-captured-indelible-vietnam-image-dies-at-81/2012/08/28/cce02f8e-f12e-11e1-a612-3cfc842a6d89_story.html).
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schudson, Michael. 1995. *The Power of News*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Schudson, Michael. 2001. "The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism." *Journalism* 2(2):149–70.
- Schudson, Michael. 2005. "Autonomy from What?" Pp. 214–23 in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, edited by R. Benson and E. Neveu. Cambridge, Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Schudson, Michael. 2007. "The Anarchy of Events and the Anxiety of Story Telling." *Political Communication* 24(3):253–57.
- Schultz, David A. and John R. Vile, eds. 2005. *The Encyclopedia of Civil Liberties in America*. Armonk, N.Y: Sharpe Reference.
- Schütz, Walter J. 1999. "Entwicklung Der Tagespresse." Pp. 109–34 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Seiler, Casey. 2011. "A Twitter Convert's Testament." *Albany Times Union*, June 27. Retrieved August 13, 2015 (<http://www.timesunion.com/opinion/article/A-Twitter-convert-s-testament-1440417.php>).
- sha/ddp/dpa. 2009. "Renommierter Journalist Und Autor: Martin E. Süskind Ist Tot." *Spiegel Online*, September 14. Retrieved January 31, 2014 (<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/renommierter-journalist-und-autor-martin-e-sueskind-ist-tot-a-648812.html>).
- Shoemaker, Pamela J. and Stephen D. Reese. 1996. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Siering, Friedemann. 2002. "Zeitung Für Deutschland: Die Gründergeneration Der 'Frankfurter Allgemeinen.'" Pp. 7–34 in *Die Herren Journalisten: die Elite der deutschen Presse nach 1945, Beck'sche Reihe*, edited by L. Hachmeister and F. Siering. Munich: Beck. Retrieved (35-86).
- Sigal, Leon V. 1973. *Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.

- Singer, Jane. 2005. "The Political J-Blogger." *Journalism* 6(2):173–98.
- Singer, Jane. 2007. "Contested Autonomy: Professional and Popular Claims on Journalistic Norms." *Journalism Studies* 8(1):79–95.
- Singer, Jane B. et al. 2011. *Participatory Journalism: Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers*. Chichester, West Sussex, U.K; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2009. "How Many Cases Do I Need?." *Ethnography* 10(1):5–38.
- Smith, Ben. 2005. "Undisputed King Of Albany Press Is Fred U. Dicker." *New York Observer*, January 10. Retrieved March 6, 2014 (<http://observer.com/2005/01/undisputed-king-of-albany-press-is-fred-u-dicker>).
- Smith, Ben. 2012. "Cuomo Aide Slammed Reporter In Dossier." *BuzzFeed*, April 15. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.buzzfeed.com/bensmith/cuomo-aide-slammed-reporter-in-private-file>).
- Smith, Chris. 2011. "The Gamer." *New York Magazine*, March 27.
- Smith, Philip. 2005. *Why War?: The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War, and Suez*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sobieraj, Sarah. 2011. *Soundbitten: The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sparks, Colin and John Tulloch. 2000. *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Statista. 2016. "Newspaper Reach Worldwide 2015, by Platform." *Statista*. Retrieved March 18, 2016 (<http://www.statista.com/statistics/308509/newspaper-reach-platform/>).
- Stern Online. 2012. "Die Preisverleihung in Voller Länge." *stern.de*. Retrieved July 19, 2015 (<http://www.stern.de/panorama/henri-nannen-preis-2012-die-preisverleihung-in-voller-laenge-1826270.html>).
- Stöber, Rudolf. 2000. *Deutsche Pressegeschichte Einführung, Systematik, Glossar*. Konstanz: UVK-Medien.
- Stolzenberg, Christopher. 2006. "Joachim Fest Gestorben: Der Intellektuelle Unter Den Konservativen." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 12. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/2.220/joachim-fest-gestorben-der-intellektuelle-unter-den-konservativen-1.894754>).
- Strömbäck, Jesper. 2008. "Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(3):228–46.
- Swedberg, Richard. 2014. *The Art of Social Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tavory, Iddo and Nina Eliasoph. 2013. "Coordinating Futures: Toward a Theory of Anticipation." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(4):908–42.
- The New York Times. 2004. "Ethical Journalism: A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Editorial Departments." Retrieved July 5, 2015

- (http://www.nytimes.com/wp-content/uploads/NYT_Ethical_Journalism_0904-1.pdf).
- The New York Times. 2008. "Guidelines on Integrity." Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.nytimes.com/wp-content/uploads/Guidelines-on-Integrity-updated-2008.pdf>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2005. "Prämierter Text: Meine Freundin Ana." Retrieved February 10, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung-2005/lara-fritzsche/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2008. "Prämierter Text: Spritzensport Fußball." Retrieved February 7, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung-2008/thomas-kistner/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2011a. "Prämierter Text: Der Zugnomade." Retrieved July 20, 2015 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung2011/uwe-ebbinghaus/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2011b. "Prämierter Text: Ein Schiff Mit Kurs Gerechtigkeit." Retrieved October 2, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung-2003/stefan-ulrich/>).
- Theodor-Wolff-Preis. 2013. "Prämierter Text: Im Namen Des Volkes, Auf Kosten Des Kindes." Retrieved October 2, 2014 (<http://www.bdzv.de/preistraeger-preisverleihung/preisverleihung2013/jan-haarmeyer/>).
- Thomas, Ryan J. and Teri Finneman. 2014. "Who Watches the Watchdogs?" *Journalism Studies* 15(2):172–86.
- Timmermans, Stefan and Iddo Tavory. 2012. "Theory Construction in Qualitative Research: From Grounded Theory to Abductive Analysis." *Sociological Theory* 30(3):167–86.
- Tracy, Marc. 2013. "Behind Andrew Cuomo's Book Bout With Fredric Dicker: Did a Presidential Contender Quash an Unfriendly Biography?" *The New Republic*, May 3. Retrieved July 5, 2015 (<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/113105/new-york-gov-andrew-cuomos-book-bout-fredric-dicker>).
- Tuchman, Gaye. 1972. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *American Journal of Sociology* 77(4):660–79.
- Tunstall, Jeremy. 1970. *The Westminster Lobby Correspondents: A Sociological Study of National Political Journalism*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Tunstall, Jeremy. 1971. *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents: Their News Organizations, News Sources, and Competitor-Colleagues*. London,: Constable.
- Turner, Victor Witter. 1974. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Umbricht, Andrea and Frank Esser. 2016. "The Push to Popularize Politics." *Journalism Studies* 17(1):100–121.
- Unsigned. 1990. "Gestorben: Diether Stolze." *Der Spiegel*, October 29, 334.
- Unsigned. 1995. "Tom Pettit, 64, TV Reporter for NBC." *The New York Times*, December 23. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/23/arts/tom-pettit-64-tv-reporter-for-nbc.html>).

- Unsigned. 2002a. "Rudolf Augstein Ist Tot: Rau Würdigt Den „Spiegel“-Gründer Als Deutschlands Größten Publizisten." *Tagesspiegel*, November 8. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/rudolf-augstein-ist-tot/361800.html>).
- Unsigned. 2002b. "'Spiegel'-Herausgeber Rudolf Augstein Ist Tot." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 7. Retrieved February 3, 2014 (<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/medien-spiegel-herausgeber-rudolf-augstein-ist-tot-182035.html>).
- Unsigned. 2011. "Gestorben: Reinhard Appel." *Der Spiegel*, July 4, 146.
- Unsigned. 2012. "Gestorben." *Der Spiegel*, August 5, 166.
- Usher, Nikki. 2014. *Making News at the New York Times*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Uzzi, Brian. 1997. "Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42(1):35–67.
- van Venrooij, Alex and Vaughn Schmutz. 2010. "The Evaluation of Popular Music in the United States, Germany and the Netherlands: A Comparison of the Use of High Art and Popular Aesthetic Criteria." *Cultural Sociology* 4(3):395–421.
- Waisbord, Silvio. 2013. *Reinventing Professionalism: Journalism and News in Global Perspective*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.
- Waisbord, Silvio, ed. 2014. *Media Sociology: A Reappraisal*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- WAN, World Association of Newspapers. 2006. *World Press Trends 2006*. Paris, France: World Association of Newspapers.
- WAN, World Association of Newspapers. 2010. *World Press Trends 2010*. Paris, France: World Association of Newspapers. Retrieved (<http://library.princeton.edu/catalogs/restricted/worldpresstrends.php>).
- Weaver, David H. 1998. "Journalists Around the World: Commonalities and Differences." Pp. 455–80 in *The Global Journalist. News People Around the World*, edited by D. H. Weaver and W. Wu. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Weaver, David H., Randal A. Beam, Bonnie J. Brownlee, Paul S. Voakes, and G. Cleveland Wilhoit. 2007. *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Weaver, David H. and Lars Willnat. 2012a. "Journalists in the 21st Century: Conclusions." Pp. 529–51 in *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge.
- Weaver, David H. and Lars Willnat. 2012b. *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.
- Weber, Max. 1949. *Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences*. [1st ed. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Weischenberg, Siegfried, Maja Malik, and Armin Scholl. 2012. "Journalism in Germany in the 21st Century." Pp. 205–19 in *The global journalist in the 21st century*, edited by D. H. Weaver and L. Willnat. New York: Routledge.
- Wicker, Tom. 1978. *On Press*. New York: Viking.

- Wilke, Jürgen. 1993. "Spion Des Publikums, Sittenrichter Und Advokat Der Menschheit : Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrin (1739-1792) Und Die Entwicklung Des Journalismus in Deutschland." *Publizistik* 38(3):322–34.
- Wilke, Jürgen. 1999. "Überblick Und Phasengliederung." Pp. 15–27 in *Mediengeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, edited by J. Wilke. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung.
- Woo, Elaine. 2006. "A.M. Rosenthal, 84; Venerated Editor Recast the N.Y. Times." *Los Angeles Times*, May 11. Retrieved February 4, 2014 (<http://articles.latimes.com/2006/may/11/local/me-roenthal11>).
- Wunsch-Vincent, Sacha. 2010. "Online News: Recent Developments, New Business Models and Future Prospects." Pp. 25–37 in *The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy*, edited by D. A. L. Levy and R. K. Nielsen. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Yardley, William. 2012. "Malcolm W. Browne, Pulitzer-Prize Winning Reporter, Dies at 81." *The New York Times*, August 28. Retrieved February 1, 2014 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/29/world/asia/malcolm-w-browne-pulitzer-winner-dies-at-81.html>).
- Yin, Robert K. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Zelizer, Barbie. 1993. "Journalists as Interpretive Communities." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 10(3):219–37.
- Zelizer, Barbie and Stuart Allan. 2003. *Journalism After September 11*. London ; New York: Routledge.

INDEX

A

Abbott, Andrew, 5, 30, 36n18
ABC, 56
Abendzeitung, 82, 122, 143, 238
accountability journalism, 12, 35n9,
103, 116, 176
activism, 1–3, 125
Adorno, Theodor W., 54
adversarial journalism, 3, 21, 71, 184,
223
advocacy journalism, 1, 3, 21, 33, 67,
80, 94–7, 108, 159, 184,
221, 223
Agence France-Presse (AFP), 238
Ahlens, Conrad, 58
Aiwanger, Hubert, 204
Albany Times Union, 43, 88, 106,
150n11, 197, 237
Alexander, Jeffrey C., 6, 9, 15n14,
20, 166
Amanpour, Christiane, 51, 52
Anderson, CW., 106, 109

anonymous sourcing, 84, 89, 94, 115,
157, 176, 178, 180–1, 191, 226
Associated Press (AP), 43, 56, 60,
87, 113–16, 126, 134, 141,
237, 238
associational culture, 12, 148, 213,
222
audience, interaction and imagination
of, 5–7, 106, 109
audience metrics, 102, 106, 109
Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, 88,
122, 126, 136, 145, 238–9
Augstein, Rudolf, 54, 58–61, 63, 231

B

Bachmeier, Uli, 88, 126, 132, 136,
239
background knowledge, 116, 139,
144
Bailey, Chauncey W., 48
Bamberger, Richard, 162

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” refer to foot notes.

Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR), 30, 122, 163, 183, 198–9, 238
Bayerische Staatszeitung, 122
 Benjamin, Elizabeth, 85, 88, 113, 127, 162, 197, 198, 213n1
 Benson, Rodney, 6, 7, 13n4, 15n11, 15n14, 19, 25, 29, 34n7, 36n17, 80, 211, 221, 227
 Bernstein, Carl, 68
Bild Zeitung, 26–7, 35n13, 49, 66–7, 82–5, 95, 99
 Blair, Jayson, 70
 Bloomberg, Michael, 192n8
 Bloomberg News, 126, 237
 Boczkowski, Pablo J., 109, 150n5, 200
 Böhme, Erich, 63
 boulevard. *See* broadsheet-tabloid distinction
 boulevardization. *See* tabloidization
 boulevard journalism
 definition, 83
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 6, 14n10, 15n12, 81, 82, 245
 Boyer, Dominic, 211
 Brady, Henry E., 248
 branding, 106, 107, 147, 180, 208, 220
 Brandt, Willy, 63
 Breslin, Jimmy, 68, 73n9
 broadsheet-tabloid distinction, 31, 81–3, 108, 181, 237
 Browne, Malcolm, 56, 60
 Bruno, Joe, 102, 150n11, 187
 Buffalo News, 88, 117, 126, 237, 238
 Burawoy, Michael, 245
Buzzfeed, 162

C

Carey, James, 207
 Carr, David, 2, 3, 13n1, 13n3

Chadwick, Andrew, 201, 210
Chronistenpflicht. *See* Stenography
 civil religion, 23–4, 223
 Clayman, Steven E., 184, 234
 collectivism–individualism, 12, 22, 32, 148, 225
 Collier, David, 245, 248n7
Columbia Journalism Review, 149n1, 197
 competitive culture, 12, 133–7, 147, 148, 213, 222
 competitor–colleagues. *See* press corps, competition–collegiality
 Confessore, Nick, 79, 179
 Couldry, Nick, 14n10, 36n17
 Craig, Susanne, 221
 Cronkite, Walter, 53, 59, 60, 65, 231
 Crouse, Timothy, 117
 culturality of technologies, definition, 199–202
 culturality, of Twitter, 209–10
 Cuomo, Andrew, 10, 79, 89, 94, 95, 106, 110n1, 131, 142–4, 150n11, 162, 166, 173, 178–82
 cut off, 45, 130, 185–9, 191, 223, 231, 247

D

Dahlgren, Peter, 225
 deep background. *See* journalistic practices, backstage talk
 democratic performance of journalism, 225
Der Spiegel, 27, 33n2, 33n3, 33n6, 48–50, 53, 57, 60–1, 63–5, 72n4–6, 86, 87, 122, 231, 238
 Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA), 122, 132, 238, 239
 Deutscher Auslands-Depeschendienst (DAPD), 238
 Deutschländer, Christian, 203

Dicker, Fredric U., 79, 80, 86,
88, 94, 95, 108, 116,
125, 128, 142, 150n11,
150n12, 180–3, 190,
197, 213n1, 238

Die Welt, 59, 72n5, 122, 231, 238

Die Zeit, 26, 33n3, 57, 65, 66, 72n5,
86, 231, 500

Domingo, David, 200, 201

Donaukurier, 120, 130, 238

Donsbach, Wolfgang, 21, 22, 30,
33n2, 34n5, 92

Downie, Leonard, Jr., 165

Durkheim, Emile, 5, 9

E

echo chamber(s), 101–2, 116, 147–8,
141, 167, 178, 207, 222

Eliasoph, Nina, 15n13, 210

Esser, Frank, 15n16, 21, 22, 24, 26,
34n5, 34n6, 107

F

fabrication scandals, 68, 70, 72n4,
114, 158

feature journalism, 9, 45, 47, 50, 51,
53, 57, 72n4, 104, 161, 232,
234, 247n2–3

Ferree, Myra Marx, 21, 24, 191,
212, 226

Fest, Joachim, 61, 62

Fox News, 70, 95

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
(FAZ), 26, 33n3, 35n13, 36n15,
54, 58, 60–2, 65, 72n5, 86, 87,
231, 238

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA),
28, 48, 131, 149n1, 166

freedom of speech. *See* press freedom

Friedrichs, Hanns Joachim, 65, 234

Fritzsche, Lara, 52

Fromme, Friedrich Karl, 54, 55, 60

G

Gallagher, Jay, 121, 129

Gannett News Service, 27, 36n16,
121, 129, 156, 157, 237

Gans, Herbert J., 106, 149n4,
167, 192n2

Gawker, 149n1

George Polk Awards (GPA)
, 45–8, 232

Giuliani, Rudy, 188

Goffman, Erving, 9, 173,
179, 185

Goodman, Julian, 57, 58

Gormley, Mike, 43, 113–15

Graham, Katherine, 67

Greenwald, Glenn, 1–3, 13n3

The Guardian, 1, 2

Günter, Gaus, 52

H

Haarmeyer, Jan, 53

Hack, Günter, 1

Hakim, Danny, 79, 149n2, 213n1, 238

Halberstam, David, 59, 60

Hallin, Daniel C., 20, 24, 27–9, 31,
34n8, 36n17, 191

Hamburger Abendblatt, 53

Hammond, Bill, 209, 210

Hanns-Joachim-Friedrichs-Preis für
Fernsehjournalismus (HJFP), 11,
46, 52, 53, 234

Heigert, Hans, 61

Henri-Nannen Preis (HNP), 47–51,
53, 232, 234, 247n3

Heritage, John, 184, 234

Hersh, Seymour, 67

Hess, Stephen, 104, 165, 234

Hevesi, Alan, 98, 180
 Hohlmeier, Monika, 97, 146
 Huberman, A. Michael, 246

I

idealism. *See* intellectualism
 impartial journalism, 3, 70
 individualism-collectivism, 12, 22,
 148, 225
 institutional authority, 3, 8
 intellectualism-pragmatism, 23, 32,
 220
 investigative journalism, 2, 20, 45–50,
 53, 55, 60–1, 65, 71, 90, 100,
 150n10, 176, 221, 226, 232,
 237n2–3, 238
 revelation and social impact, 50, 51,
 221

J

Jacobs, Ronald N., 15n16, 89, 160,
 227
 journalism associations, 30–2, 36n20,
 118–21, 147, 222
 journalism awards, 4, 11, 30, 31,
 44–6, 49, 231
 journalism schools, 20, 30, 36n19, 45
 journalistic excellence, criteria of, 32,
 45–53, 63, 71, 138
 journalistic field
 autonomy and heteronomy, 4–11,
 13n4, 25, 58, 92–7, 155, 156
 consecration, 9, 12, 45, 71
 distance from political field, 2, 4–10,
 12, 162–5, 184–9, 191, 219,
 221–2, 223
 distance from the market, 5, 6, 11,
 12, 102–5, 222–4
 distinctions, positions and position
 taking, 5, 6, 14n10, 19, 22, 25,
 32, 63, 81–2

field of power relative to the, 6,
 14n10, 15n12
 power of civic logic in, 5, 6, 23,
 27–30, 222, 225
 power of market logic in, 11, 12,
 22–3, 25–7, 32, 148, 223, 224
 reward structures, 31, 32, 50
 subfield of, 7, 35n10
 journalistic norms and duties
 contextualization, 12, 52, 99,
 103–5, 109, 220
 discursive influence, 62, 71
 interventionism, 33, 58, 62, 69, 71,
 219, 221–2
 news-opinion separation, 3, 21–2,
 85, 96–7, 158–61, 189–90,
 192n4, 208–9, 211, 219–20
 objectivity, 3, 15n14–5, 20, 34n5,
 65, 92–3, 97, 110n3, 166,
 184, 213, 220
 political entanglement, 62–3, 71
 subjectivity, 21, 219–20
 watchdog and public representative,
 21, 64, 71, 73n11, 99, 101–3,
 105, 108, 167, 169, 219,
 221–2
 journalistic practices
 backstage talk, 119–20, 147,
 171–84, 191, 198, 223
 blogging and tweeting, 88, 107, 133–4,
 197–9, 205–6, 208–9, 222
 commentary and analysis, 96–7,
 104, 160, 161
 stakeout, 123, 146
 journalistic virtues
 aggressiveness, 55, 71, 80, 84, 89,
 91–2, 108, 167, 184
 attitude and personality, 55–7, 63,
 89–91, 211
 being on location, 91, 107, 119,
 131–2, 147
 competitiveness, 56, 71, 129, 133,
 135, 138

reserve, 56, 63, 97
 jurisdiction, 5, 9, 36n18, 97, 107,
 208, 214n3

K

Kampagnenjournalismus. See advocacy
 journalism
 Kane, Anne, 19
 Kaplan, Thomas, 110n1, 181, 221
 Karlsson, Michael, 200, 208
 Keller, Bill, 3
 Kempfski, Hans Ulrich, 56
 Kennedy, John F., 59–61, 67, 73n9,
 98
 Kennedy, Robert F., 61
 Kerry, John, 158
 Köcher, Renate, 21
 Kohl, Helmut, 58
 Krach, Wolfgang, 130
 Kröger, Christine, 53

L

Lamont, Michèle, 8, 22, 23, 34n7, 227
 Larson, Magali Sarfatti, 8, 14n6
 legacy news media, 3, 107, 201–2,
 208–9, 211–2, 225
 Lehrer, Jim, 165
 Leinemann, Jürgen, 58, 59
 Leyendecker, Hans, 2, 49, 58
 Lichterman, Paul, 15n13
Los Angeles Times, 62, 72n5, 231
 Luther, King Jr., Martin, 61

M

Main-Post, 203, 238
 Mancini, Paolo, 24, 28, 29, 31, 34n8,
 36n17, 191
 Marimow, William K., 46
 masculine work environment, 127–8,
 169–70, 190–1

Maximilianeum, 10, 119, 123, 124,
 145, 238, 239, 243
 McArdle, John, 187
 media system(s), 4, 11, 24, 27, 29,
 31, 32, 34n8, 35n9, 36n17,
 71, 227
 hybrid, 199, 201, 210
 Meinhof, Ulrike, 62
 metadiscourse, 9, 12, 15n16, 32, 48,
 80, 81, 84, 108, 203
 public, 80, 109, 203
 methods and methodology, 9–11,
 231–48
 Mettelsiefen, Marcel, 52
 Meyrowitz, Joshua, 200, 210
 Miles, Matthew B., 246
 Miller, Judith, 69, 136, 150n9
 Mills, C. Wright, 50
Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 47
 Morgan, Edward, 56
 muckraking journalism, 20, 49, 198
 Müller, Frank, 203, 204
Münchener Merkur, 122, 203, 238

N

narrativity in journalism, 89, 107, 141,
 149, 222–3
 NBC, 2, 57, 58, 61
 Neander, Joachim, 56
 Netzwerk Recherche, 49
 Neveu, Erik, 6, 80
 News Corporation, 95, 110n5
Newsday, 43, 126, 237, 238
 news organization
 editorial control, 22, 34n6, 117, 220
 editorial endorsements, 21, 28, 160
 editorial policies, 156–8
 mission and identity, 81–8, 106–7
 newspapers
 circulation, 25, 27
 market concentration, 26–7
 reach, 26

- newspapers (*cont*)...
 readership base, 25, 26, 106–7
 revenue, 25, 27
 newspapers of record, 86, 103, 116, 136
 newsworthiness, 100, 137, 138,
 150n5, 154, 155
 New York (NY), 28, 70, 82, 88, 90,
 97, 105, 107, 114, 116, 119–21,
 133, 142, 143, 146, 157, 176,
 179, 182, 192n8, 198, 205, 209,
 221, 238, 240, 241, 246
New York Daily News, 69, 82, 88, 107,
 113, 126, 197, 209, 237
New York Observer, 113, 180
New York Post, 50, 79, 82, 84, 88,
 110n5, 113–15, 126, 142, 149,
 150n11, 157, 173, 175, 180,
 197, 237, 238, 241
New York Times, 3, 6, 13n1, 31, 50,
 56–62, 67, 69, 70, 72n2, 72n5,
 79, 80, 82, 86, 87, 91, 113,
 116, 121, 126, 127, 131, 133,
 140–2, 147, 149, 150n8, 150n9,
 157, 179, 180, 213n1, 231,
 237, 238
 Nixon, Richard, 55, 57, 58, 66, 67
 Nolan, Catherine, 209
 normalization of technologies, 201,
 214n3
Nürberger Nachrichten, 122, 238
 NY1, 126, 146, 237
 NYS Public radio, 126, 237, 238
- O**
Oakland Post, 48
 Obama, Barack, 149n3, 158
 objectivity. *See* journalistic norms and
 duties, objectivity
 occupational mythology, 44, 45, 110n7
 off-the-record. *See* journalistic
 practices, backstage talk
 on background. *See* journalistic
 practices, backstage talk
 Orlikowski, Wanda J., 200, 201
 Orsini, Bette, 55
 Oswald, Lee Harvey, 61
- P**
 pack journalism, 10, 12, 68, 90, 91,
 93, 117, 118, 137–46, 148,
 222, 241
 definition of, 117–8, 137
 Parsons, Talcott, 14n7
 partisan journalism. *See* advocacy
 journalism
 party membership, 166, 183
 party press, 20, 33n1
Passauer Neue Presse, 238
 Paterson, David, 91, 98, 113–15,
 149n2, 149n3, 221, 239,
 248n10
 Patterson, Thomas E., 34n5
 PBS, 29, 165
 Peabody Award, 11, 45, 52, 232
 Peirce, Charles Sanders, 245
 Pentagon Papers, 57, 67, 86
 performance
 props, 156–67
 scripts and background
 representations, 21, 44, 63–4,
 108, 156–7, 176
 Peters, Jeremy, 79, 180
 Pettit, Tom, 61
 Pfetsch, Barbara, 21, 212, 227, 234
The Philadelphia Inquirer, 46
 Pigeonholing, 159, 189
 Poitras, Laura, 2, 13n3
 political instrumentalization, 94–5,
 133, 179–84, 191, 223
 political parallelism, 24, 34n8, 71
 pollution, symbolic, 7, 45, 165, 220
 pragmatism–intellectualism, 23, 224

- Precious, Tom, 88, 117, 221
- press corps
 - collective wisdom, 144–6, 149
 - competition–collegiality, 79–80, 128–33
 - demographics, 34n7
 - differentiation, 138–9
 - hierarchies, 87–8, 125–8, 141–3
- press council, 29–32
- press freedom, 21, 24, 27, 28, 33, 58, 59, 65, 130
- press subsidies, 29, 32
- print-electronic journalism, 81
- professional autonomy, viii, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15n11, 65, 93, 147, 158, 171, 172, 189, 220, 223, 237
- professional boundaries
 - boundary work, 8, 9, 92, 110, 176, 224
 - hybridity, 108, 181, 224
 - maintenance, 8, 45, 81, 119, 184, 237
 - management, 8, 12, 190
 - performance, 8–9, 12, 155–67, 184–5, 188–9
 - porosity and malleability, 4, 11, 13, 32, 109–10, 212–3, 224
 - robustness, 13, 32, 110, 211–13
- professional credibility, 2, 63, 109, 190
- professional imaginary, 12, 32, 49, 61, 95, 221, 223
- professionalism
 - collective representations, 44, 45
 - commemoration, 11, 43, 45
 - conditions of possibility, 5, 6, 22, 32
 - diversification, 13, 197–214
 - essentialist view, 209, 224
 - moral commitment, 32, 81, 101
 - mythologizing, 12, 45, 63–70
- professional prestige, 31, 88
- professional worth, 7, 8, 11, 32, 50, 86
- public responsibility of journalism, 12, 99–107
- public service media, 6, 11, 14n9, 24, 29, 32, 35n9, 102
 - impact of broadcast privatization, 202
- public sphere, 107, 191, 226
 - compared, 24, 212
 - Germany, 24, 32, 55, 212
 - networked, 8, 212
 - professional cultural structure, 32, 225
- Pulitzer, Joseph, 70
- Pulitzer Prize (PP), 11, 31, 45–53, 72n2, 72n4, 213n1, 232
- purification, symbolic, 7, 13, 45, 161, 165–7, 190, 220, 223
- R**
- Razumovsky, Andreas, 54
- Reagan, Ronald, 61
- Reed, Isaac, 14n8
- Reese, Stephen D., 117
- Reinemann, Carsten, 150n5
- Riehl-Heyse, Herbert, 56, 57
- ritual
 - pollution, 45, 165, 220
 - purification, 13, 45, 119, 166–7, 223
- Rosenthal, A. M., 57, 62
- Rudeljournalismus*. See pack journalism
- Rutledge, Raquel, 47
- S**
- Sanders, Eli, 51
- Sat 1, 122, 238, 239
- Schewe, Heinz, 59
- Schorr, Daniel, 55
- Schudson, Michael, 13n4, 15n14, 20, 44, 92, 210, 214n2, 220

scoop, 49, 114, 116, 128, 133, 136,
141, 142, 153, 180
Seawright, Jason, 248n7
Seehofer, Horst, 72n4, 123, 135,
143, 145
Seiler, Casey, 207
Shoemaker, Pamela J., 117
Sigal, Leon V., 179, 192n2
Silver, Sheldon, 134, 159, 180,
193n10
Singer, Jane, 8, 200, 201
Snowden, Edward, 1, 2, 13n3
Sobieraj, Sarah, 125
Söder, Markus, 164
source relations, 10, 12, 94, 110,
156–7, 167, 170, 184–5, 189,
192n3, 241
 quid pro quo, 172
 socializing, 120, 169, 191
spatiality of reporting, 101, 107,
121–6, 147, 205, 210, 225
Spitzer, Eliot, 72n2, 113, 146,
150n11, 150n12, 238
Springer, Axel, 27, 35n15, 59
State Capitol, New York, 10, 80, 113,
114, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124,
136, 150n8, 153, 154, 167,
174, 198, 206, 209, 237,
239, 240, 243
state house reporting, 122–5
 sociality of, 122
state interventionism, 58, 71
stenography, 92, 97, 208, 222
Stern, Henry, 203
Stoiber, Edmund, 130, 163
Stolze, Diether, 57
The Stranger, 51
Strauss, Franz Josef, 58, 59, 97
Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), 25–6,
33n2, 33n3, 34n6, 35n13,
47–9, 56, 61, 65, 72n5, 83,

86–7, 122, 141–3, 145, 149,
203–4, 231, 238, 239
Sulzberger, Arthur Ochs, 67
Süskind, Martin, 56
suspicion reporting, 67, 97–8, 177

T

tabloidization, 52, 110n2, 116
tabloid journalism. *See*
 broadsheet-tabloid
Tavory, Iddo, 210, 245
Theodor-Wolff-Preis (TWP), 11, 45,
47, 48, 50–3, 56, 232, 247n2
Times Picayune, 53
Time Warner Cable News, 88, 162
Timmermans, Stefan, 245
Townsend, Eleanor, 15n16, 160
traditionalism, 106, 206, 208, 209,
222, 224, 243
transparency, ethic of, 2, 13, 199,
207–9, 214n2, 225–6
Troopergate, 142, 146, 150n11
Tuchman, Gaye, 15n15
Tunstall, Jeremy, 79, 128, 149n4, 236

U

United Press International, 56, 134

V

Vielkind, Jimmy, 127
Vietnam war, 56–58, 60, 67

W

Waisbord, Silvio, 13n5, 30, 36n22,
227
Walcott, Dennis, 209
Wallace, George, 61

The Wall Street Journal, 27, 133,
150n8, 240

Washington Post, 25, 29, 47, 57, 59,
60, 67, 68, 72n4, 72n5, 87, 144,
165, 231

watchdog journalism. *See* Journalistic
norms and duties, watchdog
journalism and public
representative

Watergate, 44, 58, 64, 66–9, 98, 121,
176, 213

WCNY, 126, 237

Wicker, Tom, 58, 62, 71

Willeke, Stefan, 50

Woodward, Bob, 68

Wulff, Christian, 49, 67, 95

Y

YNN, 126, 197, 237

Z

Zeit Online, 1

Zelizer, Barbie, 13n5, 29, 64, 117

zu Guttenberg, Karl-Theodor, 66

Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF),
58, 122, 238