

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