LIQUID MODERN JOURNALISM WITH A DIFFERENCE
The changing professional ethos of cultural journalism

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Reflecting a change from high to liquid modern culture, journalism is said to be encountering a transformation from high toward liquid modernity. Cultural journalism, however, has been found to be "journalism with a difference". Due to this distinctive character, the principles of general journalism do not directly apply to cultural journalism. Consequently, the manifestations and consequences of the high and liquid modern ethos appear differently in cultural journalism. Proposing a theoretical framework of the core aspects of journalism – (1) knowledge, (2) audience, (3) power, (4) time, and (5) ethics – this article argues that cultural journalists differ from other journalists in their responses to the recent transformations in the professional values, working practices and the status of journalists.

KEYWORDS: cultural journalism; journalistic ideology; liquid modern journalism; modernity; professionalism

Introduction

This article examines the change of the professional ethos of cultural journalists using the framework of high and liquid modernity earlier applied to general journalism. The article draws on two recent threads of scholarly debate around journalism and tries to connect them. On one hand, there is widespread agreement among researchers that the parallel crisis trends in contemporary journalism, such as fragmenting audiences and declining advertising revenue, have resulted in major changes in professional values (tabloidization, marketization), working practices (from deadline to online, multi-skilling) and the status of journalists (decreasing autonomy, de-professionalization) (e.g. Avilés et al. 2007; Deuze 2007; Lee-Wright 2011; Meyer 2007; Nygren 2008; Phillips 2011; Schudson 2003; Sparks and Tulloch 2000). On the other hand, there is also widespread agreement in the research literature that cultural journalists represent a unique case within professional journalism (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011), showing distinctions which have prompted observers to call them "journalists with a difference" (Forde 2003) or "birds of paradise" (Reus et al. 1995).

We are interested in the transformation of the professional identity of arts and cultural journalists. Because of the distinctive nature of cultural journalism, with its specific determinants of journalistic professionalism in which journalistic and aesthetic values intermingle (e.g. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola

2012; Kristensen and From 2011), we argue that the changes occurring in the professional ideology of journalism have a different impact on this specialized field of journalism. In other words, we expect that arts journalists experience pressures different from those of colleagues in other beats to reassess their professional identity.

As journalism has been called a paradigmatic profession of modernity (Deuze 2005, 2007; Hallin 1992, 2006), we analyze the changing profession and ethos of cultural journalism in the light of modernization theory by drawing from the recent analyses by Kantola (2011, 2013) and Koljonen (2013a, 2013b). They argue for a difference between two generations of journalists, or, rather, layers of journalistic ethos: those of high modernity and liquid modernity. Here, we regard the labels of high and liquid modernity to describe the transformation of journalistic ideology from the 1980s onwards but instead of general journalism, we apply the framework to a specialized field of journalism. We will focus on the core aspects of journalism, as suggested by Koljonen (2013a, 2013b), illustrating the changing "professional ideology" (Deuze 2005) or "professional culture" (Hanitzsch 2007) of cultural journalists. The narrative shift from high modernity to liquid modernity is expected to occur in five core orientations: the journalists' conceptualization of (1) *knowledge*, (2) *audience*, (3) *power*, (4) *time* and (5) *ethics*.

The article proceeds in four sections. First, we discuss the distinctive character of arts journalism. Second, we analyze how high modernity and liquid modernity appear in mainstream journalism. Third, on the basis of this analysis, we discuss the various models depicting the core constituents of journalism and validate our use of Koljonen's model. Finally, basing our argumentation on previous research, we propose how the ethos of arts journalists is "liquefying" along the five core orientations of our model. The aims of the article are theoretical, grounded in empirical data mainly drawn from studies in the Nordic countries (particularly Finland), Germany, and the UK, partly representing different journalism cultures (Hanitzsch et al. 2011).

Arts Exceptionalism and Production Structure

Although somewhat different in meaning, we use the terms "cultural journalism" and "cultural journalists" interchangeably with "arts journalism" and "arts journalists". "Cultural journalism" is generally understood as the journalistic production and coverage on arts and culture (Kristensen and From 2011; Knapskog and Larsen 2008). In this context, we mostly refer to newspaper journalism where cultural issues have been covered in a separate organizational department and published as a distinct section. In Western journalism, culture departments of dailies have been influential forums for the journalistic coverage of arts and culture and the professional development of cultural journalists during the second half of the twentieth century (Jaakkola forthcoming; Knapskog and Larsen 2008; Kristensen and From 2011).

Analyses of cultural journalists have found that cultural journalists differ from other journalists in terms of their professional self-image, education, specialization, expertise, and their close relationship with the fields of art they cover (see e.g. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011; cf. Reus et al. 1995). Cultural journalists typically adopt a professional role that has been called "cultural elitism" or "arts exceptionalism" (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012). The differentiation is supported by the lower status in the

organizational hierarchy of newsrooms, similar to sports journalists (Rowe 2007). On the other hand, cultural journalists have been found to be more likely recruited from the upper classes than the rest of journalists. Cultural journalists thus tend to be more educated than other journalists and to own more cultural capital than other journalists (Hovden and Knapskog 2008; see, also, Kristensen and From 2011; cf. Reus et al. 1995).

Because of the selection of educated and culturally oriented writers through recruitments, cultural journalists have been expected to be specialists in their area of coverage. First of all, the specialization is supported by the organizational and architectural structure of the media: for example, arts are differentiated by gathering cultural issues in a separate section of the newspaper, produced by a separate organizational unit. Second, the work organization of cultural journalists traditionally celebrated the idea of specialization following the division of different forms of arts such as literature, music, theatre, and visual arts. Third, a significantly large number of cultural reporters are freelancers only occasionally involved in journalistic production. Instead, they are artists or other art professionals, enthusiasts and amateurs or connoisseurs in a certain artistic or cultural field (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Jaakkola 2014b; Janssen 1997; Klein 2005).

In the model of journalism in liberal democracies, the function of journalism has been to circulate knowledge from the experts and social elites with the possession of knowledge to educate the masses and to provide them with opportunities to recognize misuses of power by representing the ruling classes in public (McQuail 2005). However, instead of recognizing misuses of power, a central mission of cultural journalism has been to identify shortcomings of artistic quality and to improve the quality standards of arts and the level of awareness of people about arts (Klein 2005, Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007). Therefore, the production of cultural journalism has been accessible primarily for those who have a sufficient amount of cultural capital and thus can legitimately take positions in the artistic-aesthetic fields of cultural production.

By being deeply influenced by the modern theory of arts and aesthetics, the influence of aesthetic modernism gained a strong foothold in cultural journalism (Carroll 2010; Jaakkola forthcoming). The aesthetic movement of modernism that emerged in times of modernity supported a definition of art that was based on the suspension of economic necessity and by distance from practical urgencies (Bourdieu 1993, Carroll 2010). The modern conception of arts had for cultural journalism, above all, two implications: the separation of art from life and a concept of culture that builds upon the high cultural model of art, and the classification of arts and cultures into specialized sectors, such as fine arts and popular forms of culture. As a result, cultural journalists constantly demarcate the boundary between cultural and non-cultural, as well as good and bad art, thus fulfilling their gatekeeping function as a function of quality of arts (Jaakkola 2012).

Nevertheless, in liquid modernity, the separation of art from life has been increasingly questioned in the aesthetic theory, and cultural categories have become more flexible (Carroll 2010). Simultaneously, high and liquid modern ideals are reflected in the changing core orientations of journalism. Next, we will first discuss the core constituents of journalism in the high modern and liquid culture framework and proceed

to addressing the constituents of journalism separately with the help of previous research in terms of how they can be seen in cultural journalists' role perceptions.

From High Modern to Liquid Modern Journalism

In his article "The Passing of the 'High Modernism' of American Journalism", Daniel Hallin (1992) argued how the values of high modern journalism which had formed the cornerstone of American (and largely Western) journalism by the end of World War II – a culture of professionalism which celebrated the norms of journalistic autonomy and objective reporting – had begun to erode starting in the 1980s. In Hallin's view, these changes marked the end of "high modernism", a period when journalism "shared with 'high modernism' in other spheres of culture a strong faith in unity and rationality, a confidence that professionals and intellectuals could rise above social divisions and contradictions to produce knowledge of universal validity" (Hallin 2006). In the new era, "journalism has neither the unified identity nor the uncontested centrality to the public sphere it once had", as Hallin (ibid.) puts it. At the institutional level, this change reflects John Nerone and Kevin Barnhurst's (2003) description of a transition from the "professional newspaper" to the "corporate newspaper".

Such changes echo the social theory of modernity. Scholars like Bauman (2000, 2011) and Giddens (1991) have suggested that Western societies have experienced a shift from a relatively solid and stable "first" modernity to a fluid and unstable "second", or "liquid", modernity. The term "liquid" was later adopted into journalism research by Mark Deuze (2007), who uses the term to refer to the profound changes in today's newsroom: a flexible, multi-skilled workforce, standardized work habits; the decreasing autonomy of individual journalists; increasing job rotation and insecure careers.

The thread of the argument in this research tradition blames external factors, such as the technologization of the workplace and commercialization of the media industry, for the "decline" of journalism. As Nikunen (2014, 817) puts it, "growing technological and economic imperatives increasingly influence and challenge journalistic autonomy and also professional identity" (see, also, Reich 2014). Similarly, Kammer (2013) describes this shift as a "mediatization of journalism", a process in which journalism and its professional autonomy is increasingly subsumed to the logic of the media organization.

The external changes have also affected the occupational ideals and the ways in which journalists see themselves. Based on Kantola (2011, 2013) and Koljonen (2013a, 2013b), we divide journalists into two groups according to their self-definition and occupational ethos: *high modern* and *liquid modern* journalists. By ethos, we refer to the shared discursive resources in terms of which journalists identify the core ideals of their profession and negotiate its permanence and change (Koljonen 2013b). In other words, ethos stands for "the practice-related work ethic, which consists of the normative evaluations of good work that relate with the desire and ability to do good work" (Kantola 2013, 611).

As Kantola (2013) stresses, the demarcation is not straightforward: solid and liquid practices are intertwined in the newsroom. However, differences in the practice-related work ethic are evident and appear to be generational,[1] as illustrated in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Two Generations of Journalists

Dimension	Solid Moderns	Liquid Moderns
Work career	Certainty, solid and long careers	Uncertainty, short and irregular contracts
Work practice	Autonomous, self-steered	Team worker, subject to centralized planning
Identity	Public service, institutional, specialized, expert position	Critical, anti-institutional, generalist, expertise questioned
Major news criterion	Societal relevance	Being interesting
Relationship with sources	Established, long-term relations, inside sources	Ad-hoc relations, distance from the sources
Relationship with commercialism	Critique of infotainment and tabloidization	Storytelling and tabloid criteria celebrated
Relationship with objectivity	Expressing personal opinion avoided	Opinionated assertiveness favoured

Source: Adapted from Kantola 2011, 2013.

Kantola's analysis is based on an empirical study and interviews the top 25 Finnish political journalists representing different age groups, organizational positions and types of media. Although the data are by no means representative of Finnish journalists, let alone journalists more generally, the grouping serves as a heuristic model that inspires theoretical argumentation about and understanding of the shifts in professional identities. According to Kantola, the formative years in the profession play an important role in the self-identity of journalists: the younger age groups see the normative tasks of journalism differently from the elder respondents, who are more critical of the changes in the professional ethos (Kantola 2013.) The parallel conceptualization by Koljonen (2013a, 2013b) is based solely on a theoretical analysis of the research literature and narratives from different national contexts concerning the recent changes in journalism. According to him, the story of the shift of journalism from a "high modern" ethos to a "liquid" ethos is a key narrative for understanding the recent "crisis" in journalism. Koljonen claims that while journalism in "high modernity" was an esteemed profession, in "liquid modernity" journalists' professional identity has lost its solidity. In comparison to Kantola, Koljonen evaluates the distinction between the two phases of modernity by framing them in the light of the main constituents of journalism and journalistic ethos. (Koljonen 2013b.) In the following, we will utilize their approaches in discussing the core constituents of journalism and analyzing the changes in arts journalists' occupational practices and professional identity.

The Core Constituents of the Journalistic Ethos

To capture the core orientations of the professional ethos, Koljonen (2013b, 143) suggests a categorization of five key elements that define the way journalists

1. define their understanding of what constitutes *knowledge;*
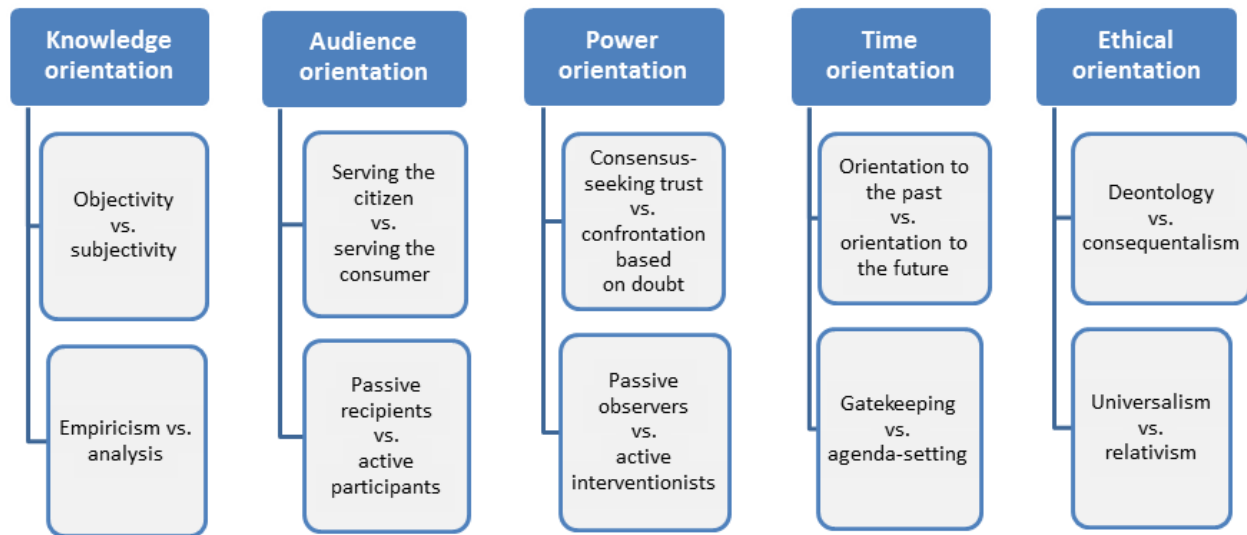2. think of their relationship with the *audience;*

3. situate themselves to other institutions and to the loci of *power* in society;
4. construct the relationship between journalism and *time* and
5. reflect the *ethical* dilemmas of their work.

These core issues of journalism represent the fields of struggle over the definition of the journalistic profession. Koljonen's typology builds on the recent contributions by Carpentier (2005), Deuze (2005) and Hanitzsch (2007). Carpentier (2005, 201–208) examined media professionals' identities by constructing a discursive field in which journalists' professional identity was formed around four "nodal points": (1) objectivity, (2) autonomy, (3) professional elitism and (4) gate-keeping function. According to him, articulations in all these dimensions can take either hegemonic or counter-hegemonic positions. Deuze (2005, 446–450), then, discussed the impact of multiculturalism and multimediality on the occupational ideals behind journalists' identities by postulating five elementary values of journalism: (1) public service, (2) objectivity, (3) autonomy, (4) immediacy and (5) ethics. Finally, Hanitzsch (2007, 367–371) explained national differences in news production by arguing that "journalism cultures" can be differentiated on the basis of three constituents – journalists' institutional roles, epistemologies and ethical ideologies – which can further be divided into seven dimensions: (1) degree of interventionism, (2) degree of power distance, (3) degree of market orientation, (4) degree of objectivism, (5) degree of empiricism, (6) degree of ethical relativism and (7) degree of ethical idealism.

Here, we re-think the existing models by Carpentier, Deuze and Hanitzsch by replenishing them with Koljonen's concepts which capture dimensions we find crucial in the analysis of cultural journalism but which are partly ignored by Carpentier, Deuze and/or Hanitzsch. Although the constituents of their models overlap in places, they demonstrate considerable differences. The problem with Deuze's model is that he takes the ideal values of journalism as self-evident, whereas Carpentier and Hanitzsch present their key features of journalism as dimensions along which journalism cultures differ (Koljonen 2013b). Deuze and Hanitzsch, in particular, appear to consider the hegemonic professional ideals relatively stable, reflecting the elementary values of the journalism culture. Similar to Carpentier, we present these "nodal points" of professional identification as binary oppositions which make positions visible and which represent directions along which the ethos of journalism is negotiated over time. This temporal aspect is important since we argue that the transition from high to liquid modernity brought about shifts in the self-identification of cultural journalists and that the changes in professional ideals and practices can be observed and analyzed along the dimensions presented here.

Following Koljonen's model, we argue that journalists are engaged in struggles over their professional ethos in at least five core orientations, each of which is divided into two dimensions, as depicted in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1. Core Orientations of Professional Ethos

Knowledge orientation	Audience orientation	Power orientation	Time orientation	Ethical orientation
Objectivity vs. subjectivity	Serving the citizen vs. serving the consumer	Consensus-seeking trust vs. confrontation based on doubt	Orientation to the past vs. orientation to the future	Deontology vs. consequentalism
Empiricism vs. analysis	Passive recipients vs. active participants	Passive observers vs. active interventionists	Gatekeeping vs. agenda-setting	Universalism vs. relativism

Sources: Adapted from Koljonen 2013a, 2013b.

First, as to their *relationship to knowledge*, journalists can be stretched, on one hand, between objectivity and subjectivity – that is, they either believe in the possibility of reflecting the truth objectively, in correspondence with "what is said", or subscribe to a more constructivist idea of journalists taking part in the production of reality by selecting topics and angles. On the other hand, journalists either assume that truth must be substantiated by empirical facts or they celebrate the value of analysis and reasoning as the basis of their professional expertise. (Hanitzsch 2007; Koljonen 2013b.) Indeed, the relationship of cultural journalists to the norm of objectivity appears to be less rigid than that of general journalists (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011).

Second, journalists' *relationship to audiences* is characterized by journalists' way of addressing their readers as citizens or consumers, as highlighted by Hanitzsch and Deuze, and by their way of understanding audiences as passive recipients or active participants – or even partners, as emphasized by Carpentier. Whereas citizens are provided information needed in democratic decision-making, consumers are offered help and guidance in their management of everyday life (see, also, Eide and Knight 1999). Similarly, if the audience are treated as passive recipients, their feedback may be perceived as a nuisance, whereas construing the audience as active invites them to take part in the creation of journalism (Koljonen 2013b). Third, in the *relationship to power,* the first dimension expresses the position journalists take *vis-a-vis* power holders. As Hanitzsch and Carpentier suggest, the two poles here are consensus-seeking trustees and doubtful adversaries. The latter pole, the critical watchdogs of power, is emphasized by Deuze as an ingredient of the ideal-typical values of journalism. While consensus-seekers find decision-makers as companions, watchdogs regard them as competitors. The second orientation of power concerns whether

journalists see themselves as passive observers, reporting the facts only, or as active interventionists, engaging in issues and promoting a specific mission (Hanitzsch 2007; Koljonen 2013b).

Fourth, as to their *time orientation,* journalists may prefer to report events that have already happened or may orientate to the future by making predictions or demands. On a temporal dimension, a journalist adapts to the time set by other agents, thus operating as a gate-keeper, or endeavours to determine the schedule of other actors in society, thus playing a role of an agenda-setter. Finally, the issue of *ethics and ethicality* is emphasized by Deuze (2005), who places it at the heart of the occupational ideology of journalism, while Hanitzsch (2007) takes a step further by indicating two distinct dimensions in responding to ethical problems: the degrees of relativism and idealism. In our model, journalists apply in their ethical orientation either deontological ethics – that is, publish facts relevant to the truth without regard for the consequences, or consequentialism – that is, let the possible positive or negative corollaries decide. The second orientation is based on whether the ethical rules are considered universal and applicable regardless of the situation or relative and applied depending on the situation (Koljonen 2013b).

Our argument is that until about the end of the twentieth century, the professional self-identity of journalists in the Western world reflected the ethos of high modernity, which materialized in occupational norms and practices such as objectivity, the public service of citizens, consensus orientation, gatekeeping and universalistic ethos. The solid ethos of high modernity began to "liquefy" starting in the 1980s, and in the 2000s, by the latest, a new ethos of liquid modernity has made inroads into the newsrooms, celebrating subjectivity, consumer-orientation, confrontation with the power holders, agenda-setting and relativist ethics. Table 2 crystallizes some of the main constituents of these complex negotiations (see, also, Koljonen 2013b).

This theoretical model depicts the mainstream of the development of the professional journalistic ethos. The question is: does it hold good for cultural journalism too? As cultural journalism does not imitate the basic dimensions of general journalism, we may expect it to follow a slightly different path in its transition from high to liquid modernity.

Re-accentuations of Liquid Modern Cultural Journalism

In the final section of the article we trace how transition in the professional ideals of journalists is reflected in arts journalism within the high-liquid modern framework. By drawing on existing research, we outline the transformation from high to liquid modern in the core dimensions of knowledge, audience, power, time and ethics, and ask how liquid modern cultural journalism can be observed in these dimensions.

TABLE 2. Shifting Ethos of Journalism

Core Constituent	High Modernity	Liquid Modernity
Knowledge orientation	News disseminators. Objectivity. Empiricism.	Content producers. Subjectivity. Analysis.
Audience orientation	Servants of obedient citizens. Information in the public interest for the functioning of democratic societies.	Servants of active consumers. Help and guidance for individuals in their management of daily life.
Power orientation	Confiding reporters. Consensus-seeking trust. Passive observers.	Sceptical watchdogs. Confrontation based on doubt. Active interventionists.
Time orientation	Reporting the recent past. Following the agenda.	Forecasting the future. Setting the agenda
Ethical orientation	Dutiful self-regulators. Universality of rules	Circumspect individuals. Relativity of rules.

Source: Adapted from Koljonen 2013a, 2013b.

Knowledge Orientation

In mainstream journalism, the transition from high to liquid modernity is reflected in the questioning of "naïve" objectivity, which rests on empirically valid facts and journalists' rigid impartiality and seeing journalism as a mode of "producing" knowledge (e.g. Schudson 2003). Although the general goal and ideal of objectivity is by no means abandoned altogether, it appears increasingly clear that the news are representations of the world and that representations are inevitably selective and, as such, subjective. Or, as Kunelius and Väliverronen (2012, 224) put it, "in terms of storytelling, journalists have assumed control and work increasingly as *authors* rather than reporters." This means that although empirical facts are still highly appreciated, journalists' analytical skills are gaining importance as a professional ideal (Hanitzsch et al. 2011).

Both subjectivism and the analytical approach are present in arts journalism, as manifested by the central status of reviewing (e.g., Forde 2003; Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011). However, the detachment of high modern general journalism never fit directly with the ethos of cultural journalism, and cultural journalists appear to have a less rigid relationship to objectivity than general journalists (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011). Indeed, the relationship of cultural journalists to the norm of objectivity appears to be less rigid than that of general journalists (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011). High modern cultural journalists considered themselves both gatekeepers and, perhaps even more, tastemakers. Their task was not only to mediate knowledge but to evaluate the events in order to place them on a "cultural map". Part of this effort was their bid to educate their readers (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Jaakkola 2012; Klein 2005; Reus et al. 1995). This aesthetic consciousness that characterized high modern cultural journalism has reportedly

weakened (Bech-Karlsen 1991; Elkins 2003; Lund 2005; Olsen 2014). The rise of the journalistic paradigm that emphasizes media-specific competencies, news production and the use of other journalistic genres such as previews, interviews, portraits and background stories (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Jaakkola 2014a; Kristensen 2010; Kristensen and From 2011; Larsen 2008) has resulted in increasing emphasis on reporting on events, persons and other issues that can be defined as "newsworthy" instead of "aesthetically valuable". The personification and eventification of cultural journalism have brought it closer to liquid modern general journalism, with journalists producing content where emotional appeal, storytelling, debate and entertainment are emphasized. Therefore, both general and cultural journalism of liquid modernity seem to share the predilection for subjectivity and analysis.

The mainstream development of journalism seems to favour the cultural journalists' ethos, and there has been a convergence of the general-type and specialized-type of journalism. In terms of knowledge orientation, cultural journalism has been professionalized toward the general journalistic ideology (see, also, Hellman and Jaakkola 2012), reflecting the general trend in news organizations from specialized positions to general reporting. Certainly, this shift is related to the generational shifts in cultural newsrooms. According to Nikunen (2014), age appears to be a defining factor for professional identity as journalists adapt to changes in the newsroom. In their analysis of the cultural journalism in Finland's leading daily, *Helsingin Sanomat*, Hellman and Jaakkola (2012, 796) showed that the "journalistification" of arts journalism has been carried out as "a consequence of the generational change, with new recruits contributing to the accomplishment of the new journalistically oriented values". In another Finnish study (Salonen 2013), the newly nominated, young cultural editors of four major dailies identified agility, flexibility and multi-skilling as ideal characteristics of cultural journalists. However, all expected arts journalists to be able to provide not only news stories but also reviews and other analytical genres.

However, there are other factors, such as organizational status, that may intervene here. As cultural newsrooms are also increasingly subject to centralized editorial management and steering (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; see, also, Deuze 2007; Kunelius and Ruusunoksa 2008; Nikunen 2014), the contrast between the various sub-professions is accentuated. While we can presume that arts editors and arts journalists carry increasingly the journalistic values of "organizational professionalism", freelance critics may still represent the earlier aesthetic ideals of their branch-oriented "occupational professionalism" (Örnebring 2009). Interestingly, there seems to be no unambiguous decline in reviewing. Even the liquid modern ideals continue to support criticism as an inseparable and central element of cultural journalism (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Jaakkola 2013; Salonen 2013). Perhaps this indicates that arts journalists are apt to accept a double identity in which subjectivity and objectivity as well as the empiricist and analytical approaches negotiate.

Audience Orientation

In broad terms, the way mainstream general journalism conceptualizes its audience seems to have shifted from rather obedient "citizenship" to more active but privatized "consumerists" (Ahva 2010; Hanitzsch 2007). Cultural citizenship has undergone a similar kind of transformation, where the identity politics of a citizen are formed in the

cross-pressures of democratic participation and consumerism (Stevenson 2007). Active cultural citizenship is supported by increased audience participation enabled by digital technologies making cultural journalists partners, but also competitors, of a large number of communicating citizen "prosumers", "pro-ams" (professional amateurs) and professionals (Bruns 2010). Parallel to this, the audience of journalism is no more treated as passive receivers provided with the information monopolized by the professional journalists, but rather newsrooms have sought to open their gates so that the readers' feedback can be taken into account and so that they can participate in content production (Ahva 2010; Carpentier 2005).

Earlier research has shown that cultural journalists have a special relationship with their readers, who are regarded as a "public of equals" (Bourdieu 1993, 116) – that is, a sophisticated readership sharing both a high interest in arts and culture and a crucial amount of knowledge about the subject matter (From 2010; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Reus et al. 1995). On the other hand, it has been noticed that arts journalists more often than other journalists wish to educate their readers (Reus et al. 1995), justified by the conviction that the journalist or critic possesses the best understanding of what the audience needs to know (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Jaakkola 2012, 2013). The liquid modern arts journalist is not a teacher as in the high modern ethos but a storekeeper, trying to arouse customer interest in the products put on display (Bauman 2011). Again, the ethos of journalism clearly retains its core link to the image of the audience, but the key relationship that defines the audience moves from citizenship to consumership (see, also, From 2010). The way cultural journalists of high modernity addressed their audience was bound to the modernist definition of arts which was based on a notion of arts that was accessible for only a limited number of cultural consumers. With the gradual establishment of the popular cultural canon on the side of the high cultural canon (Jaakkola 2014a; Janssen et al. 2011; Kristensen and From 2011; Larsen 2008), cultural journalism has potentially opened up to broader and less-educated audiences (Miikkulainen 2009). News organizations increasingly tend to see arts journalism as a form of service journalism (Eide and Knight 1999).

The elitist ethos of high modernity has also been challenged by cultural journalists in times of liquid modernity by introducing new forms of covering culture that deliberately cross cultural distinctions (Jaakkola 2012; Salonen 2013). More lay people are interviewed instead of experts, the boundary between high and low is transgressed and highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture are allowed to live side by side. In other words, there are signs of an increasing openness as regards the use of sources. Simultaneously, the increased transgression of high modernist cultural boundaries has been supported by development of cultural consumers' tastes. In liquid modernity, cultural audiences have become more tolerant of many forms of culture, described by the concept of cultural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern 1996).

However, if compared to general journalists, cultural journalists still appear rather elitist in their self-image and activities. Educating people in the field where journalists are knowledgeable and influencing public opinion by promoting tolerance and cultural diversity in this very field are considered important tasks, but attempts to attract the widest audience possible are looked upon with skepticism (cf. Hanitzsch et al. 2011, 280–82). In this sense, liquid modern cultural journalism still regards targeted groups of

(pre-)interested citizens as its ideal audiences, but, in general, fosters active cultural citizenship in more versatile ways than before.

Power Orientation

The institutional division of labour in a high modern society was generally rigid: the journalist's role was to report experts' and representatives' views in an unbiased way. Furthermore, the relations between journalists and elite sources were confidential and, therefore, journalists treasured stability and harmony. In liquid modernity, journalists still recognize that they have to convey information received from other institutions but, additionally, they aim to expose hidden information, produce information independently, and interpret and even criticise the information offered to them. (Kantola 2013; Koljonen 2013a, 2013b.)

The high modern relationship between cultural journalists and the artistic field was also symbiotic. Cultural journalists had close ties with and a promotional attitude toward the artistic fields they covered (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Hovden and Knapskog 2008; Kristensen and From 2011; Reus et al. 1995). There was a common need and a mutual interest to "crusade" for the image and appreciation of arts in society and politics: a stronger position for arts meant better working conditions for both cultural journalists and artists. (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012.) In liquid modernity, the shared interests of the two fields, cultural production and cultural mediation, are increasingly questioned. Similarly to mainstream journalism, arts journalists replace passive reporting and routine-like reviews by active interventionism and critical assessment of cultural institutions (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Jaakkola 2013; Salonen 2013).

However, the broadening of the concept of culture, which has occurred in all other cultural sectors of society such as in cultural policy and education (Jaakkola forthcoming), has not erased cultural hierarchies; the classical divisions between highbrow and lowbrow cultures still persist (Janssen et al. 2011; Shrum 1996). There are thus more hierarchies existing side by side, as well as there are ways of reporting. Even liquid modern cultural journalists find the art-centered reporting tasks (e.g. about the substance of culture) as important as the non-art-oriented duties (e.g. about cultural politics) (Jaakkola 2013). Thus, it can be said that liquid modern cultural journalism accommodates both aesthetic-artistic issues and non-artistic issues, and covering them has become more flexible.

Time Orientation

Changes in the media market, such as increased competition between different media due to de-monopolization and a multiplication of offerings, have led to general journalists taking a more proactive approach to the world: they increasingly try to set the agenda and to look further in the future (for some emerging signs of this, see Hanitzsch et al. 2011). This has also affected cultural journalism. Culture departments in newspapers have been strategically brought closer to other news departments and the management urges them to produce more news (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012). The orientation towards news production is also highlighted by a development in which

culture departments take more responsibility for developing news and outsource the production of reviews (Jaakkola 2014a).

In cultural journalism, reviews are written retrospectively and according to the agenda and schedule set by publishers, theatres and other arts institutions. However, as tastemakers cultural journalists anticipate new trends and phenomena. In general, as cultural journalism is traditionally regarded as "soft" news (e.g. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007) its relationship with novelty is expected to be less rigid than in general journalism (Kristensen and From 2011). In liquid modern culture, pre-viewing cultural events has nonetheless become an increasingly preferred alternative to re-viewing cultural products (Kristensen 2010; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Kristensen and From 2011; Lund 2005) with the help of the shift from the retrospective aesthetic to the proactive journalistic paradigm (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012). Reviews are expected to be published in a shorter timetable: whereas in high modernity a review was commonly published days, even weeks or months, after the release of a cultural product, the liquid journalistic ethos assumes that a review is no longer an "overnight reaction", as defined by Titchener (1998), but an immediate reaction published right after the release, opening, or premiere.

By the same token, with the accelerated circulation of objects in the postmodern political economy (Bauman 2000), cultural products become obsolete very quickly. The increased cultural supply has forced cultural journalists to prioritize and make difficult choices in a quicker tempo than before (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Kristensen and From 2011). Increased competition over audiences' attention, strengthened by the increased supply of channels to report about arts and culture, has made traditional evaluative criticism less essential (Elkins 2003; Szántó et al. 2004). In a cultural landscape where the mediation of arts and culture is increasingly dispersed, liquid cultural journalism may also be more seldom in the position to set the time agenda for the cultural scene than its modern counterpart.

Ethical Orientation

The establishment of self-regulatory principles, practices and structures for journalism has been a characteristically high modernist project in Western journalism (see Hanitzsch et al. 2011). It has also been a communitarian attempt to homogenize the rules for the practitioners of journalism as part of professionalization (Waisbord 2013). In liquid modernism, however, trust in general ethical norms is diminishing, and although journalists still maintain their duty is to tell the truth, increasing consideration is given to the consequences of publishing the truth. Moreover, the ethical bond between journalism and truth is weakened by an ethos which stresses subjectivity, agenda-setting and interventionism. (Koljonen 2013b).

Due to their close interaction with cultural institutions, performers and artists, cultural journalists "do their reporting conscious of, and influenced by, the reported", as Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007, 632) put it. Also, it has been noted that specialized reporters tend to protect their own fields from bad news (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012; Shrum 1996) or describe themselves as promoters or "cheerleaders" of their trade (Klein 2005). Every time a critic writes a negative review he/she has to decide whether to factor in the damage to the authors, performers and the box office or not, i.e. whether to tilt towards deontological or consequentialist ethics. Moreover, the critic may apply

either of these ethical positions either universally, i.e. regardless of who and what is being reviewed, or in a relativistic manner, depending on the subject of evaluation.

Despite this, the constituent of ethics in Koljonen's model is not easily adjustable to cultural journalism. The explicit ethical code is generally not as clearly present in cultural journalism as it is in general journalism. With respect to and from the perspective of general journalism of high modernity, cultural journalism has been "underprofessionalized" with no shared professional codex and no single specific academic education or professional union. Especially the aesthetically oriented part of cultural journalism – reviewing – is more context-dependent and less formally professionalized than its journalistically oriented counterpart. A reviewer is a selected individual with good taste who, based on his/her representativity of a taste culture (Gans 1974), can make aesthetic judgements in public. The shared understandings of "good taste" thus constitute the fundamental shared set of "rules", even if they are not explicit but regulated by habitus and dispositions (Carroll 2010; Janssen 1997). For a general journalist, the ethical dimension operates on moral grounds, commonsense understandings of what is wrong and right.

To our knowledge, earlier research has not traced any major change in the acceptance of universal ethical rules among arts journalists. To what degree the ethics of cultural journalists has "liquefied" remains to be empirically tested. However, because of weakly organized professional structures supporting the professionalism of cultural journalism, cultural journalism is likely to be very heterogeneous in its rules. It may also become more susceptible to external pressures "liquefying" the ethics. For example, commercialization and the professionalization of cultural PR have seemingly necessitated cultural journalists' creating an agenda of their own, an agenda of *critical* cultural journalism that would act as a counterforce against commercialization (Elkins 2003; Jaakkola 2014b; Olsen 2014).

Conclusion

In this article we intended to place cultural journalism into the framework of high and liquid modernity to launch discussion about how it fits into the general understanding of change. We wanted to outline the transition of the professional ethos of cultural journalists from high toward liquid modern culture on the basis of the assumption of the distinctive character of cultural journalism as a specialized form of journalism, reported in earlier research and supported by recent empirical findings. Journalists' relationship with knowledge, audience, power, time and ethics were defined as the core constituents of the journalistic ideology that are under transformation in the shift from high to liquid modern culture.

At a very general level, we can claim that if the core values of high modernity were based on substance-based expertise, educating the audience, and loyalty to the artistic fields, cultural journalists of liquid modernity are rather generalists prepared to entertain their readers and less dependent on the information provided by the artistic fields. Whereas the "high moderns" identify with critics celebrating reviewing, the "liquid moderns" see themselves as reporters appreciating previewing. While cultural journalists of high modernity represented the art world within the media, arts reporters of liquid modernity are representatives of the media in the art world.

The core orientations that were designed to depict the changing coordinates of general journalism in liquid modernity seemed to capture important orientations in cultural journalism, but they have to be interpreted differently than in general journalism. The professionalization of cultural journalism has unfolded unevenly with that of general journalism. Above all, cultural journalism has been, with its distinctively elitist focus on fine arts and demarcation of borders between culture and non-culture, a modernist project, the development of which has gone in tandem with that of modern art theory. With postmodernism in art, many of the traditional conventions of cultural borders have been questioned.

The ideals of the high modern ethos have still not been entirely outdated by the times of liquid modernity. Journalists tend to refer to high modern ideals in particular in situations of crisis and uncertainty. This suggests that the transformation is not linear. We do not suggest that individual journalists should be categorized as being either "high moderns" or "liquid moderns". The distinction is an analytical one, intended to point to the broad transformation in journalists' self-identity, supported by a wider cultural transformation from high modern to liquid modern culture. As cultural journalism relates to both journalistic professionalism and the aesthetically oriented mediation of arts, it is sometimes impossible to define to what extent the changes observed are due to the changing mediascape and to what extent they derive from changes in aesthetics and art philosophy or are affected by broader cultural discourses.

The conceptual elaboration of cultural journalism as a specialized form of journalism in the high-liquid framework should neither be generalized nor conflated with *all* specialized forms of journalism such as lifestyle journalism, travel journalism or sports journalism. Even the professionalism of cultural journalism is not monolithic; rather, *within* the professionalism there are internal differences which manifest as the two professional paradigms of the aesthetically oriented and journalistically oriented cultural journalism. Developments in different journalism cultures may also show different, even controversial, tendencies in terms of the core constituents of journalism. Our analysis rested upon observations made in the Nordic countries, Germany and the UK. Therefore, to target cultural journalism and its change as a distinct field, the high-liquid framework should be empirically tested and validated. This article has aimed to pave the way for further elaborations.

Notes

[1] In fact, journalists in Kantola's study (2013, 613–619) fall into *three* groups – 1) the Solid Moderns (b. 1939–1955), 2) the Liquefying Moderns (b. 1956–1969) and 3) the Liquid Moderns (b. 1970–) – whereas we condense the categorization into two (See, also, Kantola 2011).

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