



MAARIT JAAKKOLA

The Contested Autonomy
of Arts and Journalism

Change and continuity in the dual professionalism
of cultural journalism



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

MAARIT JAAKKOLA

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In Tampere, May 15, 2015

Maarit Jaakkola

Abstract

The contested autonomy of arts and journalism: Change and continuity in the dualistic professionalism of cultural journalism

This study examines the changes in cultural journalism in newspapers in Finland between 1978 and 2008. The object of study is professionalism, its structures and the structural changes in a developing production environment and cultural landscape. Cultural journalism is understood to include the specialized production of journalism published in the culture sections of newspapers. Culture departments in newspapers formed the major forum for cultural coverage during the research period. In the second half of the 20th century, an increasing amount of discourse concerned the crisis of cultural journalism and criticism. The crisis discourse formed the starting point for this study's inquiry, particularly the question of whether the volume of cultural coverage and reviewing had decreased and whether the aesthetic consciousness of cultural journalism had become lower, as postulated.

The study comprises five journal articles addressing the changes in arts and cultural journalism from different perspectives. In the introduction to the thesis, these different accounts are introduced into a professionalist structures model analysed in Pierre Bourdieu's framework. The study presents a mixed-method approach using theoretical and methodological triangulation. The core of the empirical research consisted of data gathered through the systematic sampling of culture sections from five Finnish dailies: *Aamulehti*, *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Kaleva*, *Savon Sanomat* and *Turun Sanomat*. A quantitative content analysis was complemented and contextualized using data consisting of interviews with culture editors, ethnographical material and textual analysis.

It was confirmed that the traditional high cultural canon had been complemented with a popular cultural canon and that the concept of culture had become more inclusive. The average length of articles became shorter, and the share of reviews went down; of all the journalistic genres, reviews were cut the most in length. The production of reviews was increasingly outsourced, while culture departments took on the responsibility of producing news. Culture departments became closer to other news-oriented departments and lost their specialist autonomy. Thus, a slow heteronomizing process shifted the emphasis of these departments from the aesthetic toward the journalistic paradigm.

However, culture departments still regard news and reviews as the two major genres of cultural journalism. Balancing between information-oriented reporting within the journalistic paradigm and classification-oriented reviewing within the aesthetic paradigm is a core function of these departments, which forms a dualism within the professionalism of cultural journalism. Culture departments attempt to secure internal pluralism by catering to different audiences with different, increasingly omnivorous tastes. The societal function of cultural journalism thus consists of not only the transmission of information in society but also canon-formation and co-creation of the arts classification system. Recent developments in the fields of cultural production and metadiscourse that produce professionalism and its working conditions have led to challenges to the role of the classification function.

The combination of studies was intended to develop a theoretically elaborated and

empirically based approach to examining the professionalism of cultural journalism and its changes within the disciplinary framework of journalism research by drawing on the sociology of art and aesthetics. The study's central objective was to identify characteristics of this specialized professionalism that distinguish it from other intermediary discourses and from mainstream journalism to outline its professionalism in its own right. Previously, cultural journalists have been characterized as "journalists with difference" and the study of the journalistic structures of mediation has suffered from a "diaphanousness effect". The integrated perspective on the specialized form of journalism delivered by this study is thus needed to build a conceptual framework that bridges journalism studies and sociology of art.

Keywords: cultural journalism, arts criticism, culture department, cultural mediation, cultural intermediaries, professionalism

Tiivistelmä

Taiteen ja journalismin koeteltu autonomia: kulttuurijournalismin dualistisen professionalismin muutos ja jatkuvuus

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan sanomalehtien kulttuurijournalismin muutosta Suomessa vuosina 1978–2008. Tutkimuksen kohteena on professionalismi, sen rakenteet ja rakenteelliset muutokset muuttuvassa tuotantoympäristössä ja kulttuurisessa maisemassa. Kulttuurijournalismilla ymmärretään kulttuuriolosuhteiden erikoistunutta journalismin tuotantoa, jonka tulokset julkaistaan sanomalehtien kulttuurisivuilla. Kulttuuriolosuhteet muodostivat tutkimusajanjaksona merkittävimmän kulttuurijulkisuuden foorumin. 1900-luvun loppupuoliskolla puhe kulttuurijournalismin ja taidekritiikin kriisistä voimistui. Tämä kulttuurijournalismia koskeva kriisipuhe toimi lähtökohtana tutkimukselle, jonka tehtävänä oli selvittää, oliko kulttuurin ja arvosteluiden volyyymi todella kutistunut ja kulttuurijournalismin tekijöiden esteettinen tietoisuus vähentynyt, kuten kriisipuheessa väitetään.

Tutkimus koostuu viidestä artikkelista, jotka lähestyvät kulttuurijournalismin muutosta eri näkökulmista. Tutkimuksen johdanto-osuudessa osatutkimusten tulokset tuodaan yhteen professionalistien rakenteiden malliksi, jota analysoidaan Pierre Bourdieun käsitteistön avulla. Tutkimuksen mixed methods -lähestymistavassa tutkimuskohdetta lähestytään teoreettisen ja metodologisen triangulaation avulla. Empiirisen osion ydinosan muodostaa aineisto, joka koottiin systemaattisen otannan avulla viidestä päivälehdestä. Tutkimuskohteina olivat *Aamulehden*, *Helsingin Sanomien*, *Kalevan*, *Savon Sanomien* ja *Turun Sanomien* kulttuurisivut. Kvantitatiivista sisällönanalyysiä täydennettiin ja kontekstualisointiin kulttuuriolosuhteiden esimiesten haastatteluiden, organisaatioetnografisen materiaalin ja tekstianalyysin keinoin.

Tutkimuksessa vahvistui, että kulttuurijournalismin perinteinen korkeakulttuurinen kaanon on täydentynyt populaarikulttuurisella kaanonilla ja kulttuuriolosuhteiden kulttuurikäsite muuttunut avoimemmaksi. Juttujen keskimääräinen pituus on lyhentynyt, ja jutuista eniten on lyhentynyt arvosteluiden pituus. Arvosteluiden suhteellinen määrä on myös vähentynyt, ja niiden tuotantoa on alettu ulkoistaa samaan aikaan kun kulttuuriolosuhteissa on otettu enemmän vastuuta omasta uutistuotannosta. Kulttuuriolosuhteet ovat lähentyneet sanomalehtien muita uutisosaistoja ja menettäneet niille tyypillistä autonomiaa. Kyseessä on hidas heteronomisoitumisen prosessi, jota luonnehtii siirtyminen esteettisestä journalistiseen paradigmaan.

Kulttuuriolosuhteissa uutista ja arvostelua pidetään kuitenkin edelleen kahtena kulttuurijournalismin päägenrenä. Tasapainoilu tiedonvälitysorientoituneen journalistisen paradigman ja arvio-orientoituneen esteettisen paradigman välillä on kulttuurijournalismin ydintoiminto, jonka vuoksi kulttuurijournalismin professionalismia voidaan pitää dualistisena. Sekä uutis- että arviotoiminnan ylläpitäminen tähtää erilaisten ja maultaan yhä kaikkiruokaisempien yleisöjen palveluun. Arviotoiminnan keskeinen asema viittaa siihen, että kulttuurijournalismia pidetään edelleen osana taidemaailmaa ja sen hierarkianluomisen käytäntöjä. Viimeaikaiset kulttuurisen tuotannon kentillä ja kulttuurijournalismia muovaavissa metadiskursseissa tapahtuneet muutokset ovat kuitenkin johtaneet siihen, että arviointitoiminnan monopoli journalismissa on järkkynyt ja sille on osoitettavissa vaihtoehtoja niin journalismin sisällä kuin muissa kulttuurisen välittämisen kentillä.

Tutkimuskokonaisuuden tarkoituksena oli rakentaa teoreettisesti ja empiirisesti malli kulttuurijournalismin professionalismista ja sen muutoksesta journalismintutkimuksen kehityksessä, taiteensosiologiasta ammentaen. Keskeinen tavoite oli näin ollen tunnistaa kulttuurijournalismin piirteitä, jotka erottavat tämän erikoisjournalismin muodon muista kulttuurisen välittämisen diskursseista ja valtavirtajournalismista. Aiemmin kulttuurijournalisteja on luonnehdittu ”erilaisiksi journalisteiksi” ja kulttuurijournalismin journalistista ulottuvuutta on tutkittu sekä journalismintutkimuksessa että taiteensosiologisessa tutkimuksessa vähemmän kuin sen välittämiä sisältöjä (ns. ”näkyttömyysvaikutus”). Käsillä olevan tutkimuksen integratiivinen näkökulma asettuu siten kuromaan umpeen kuilua, joka on syntynyt aiemman journalismintutkimuksen ja taiteensosiologisen tutkimuksen välille.

Avainsanat: kulttuurijournalismi, taidekritiikki, kulttuuriosasto, kulttuurinen välittäminen, kulttuuriset välittäjät, professionalismismi

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List of original publications

- Article I Jaakkola, Maarit (2014). "Witnesses of a cultural crisis: Representations of media-related metaprocesses as professional metacriticism of arts and cultural journalism." *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. Online first February 2, 2014.
- Article II Jaakkola, Maarit (2015). "Outsourcing the views, developing the news: Changes of art criticism in Finnish dailies 1978–2008." *Journalism Studies* 16(3), 383–402.
- Article III Hellman, Heikki & Jaakkola, Maarit (2012). "From aesthetes to reporters: The paradigm shift in arts journalism in Finland." *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* 13(8), 1–19.
- Article IV Jaakkola, Maarit (2013). "Diversity through dualism: The balancing principle as an organizational strategy in culture departments of newspapers." *Nordicom Review* 34(Special Issue December), 89–98.
- Article V Jaakkola, Maarit (2012). "Promoting aesthetic tourism: Transgressions between generalist and specialist subfields in cultural journalism." *Journalism Practice* 6(4), 482–496.

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Author's contribution

- Article I The study was initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analyzed by the author. The author is fully responsible for the manuscript.
- Article II The study was initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analyzed by the author, and the author is fully responsible for the manuscript.
- Article III The study was co-authored. The author was responsible as an equal contributor for developing the theoretical framework and gathering most of the qualitative data. The author also participated in the analysis of materials and contributed to writing various parts of the article.
- Article IV The study was initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analyzed by the author. The author is fully responsible for the manuscript.
- Article V The study was initiated and designed by the author. The study was conducted and analyzed by the author. The author is fully responsible for the manuscript.

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1. Introduction: what happened to cultural journalism?

In recent decades, cultural journalism has been recurrently addressed in terms of its poor quality and shortcomings in fulfilling its societal functions. The “crisis” of cultural journalism has become a prominent theme in the discourse addressing this specialized type of journalism. If we look at the titles of recent seminars, workshops and lectures dealing with cultural journalism, they deliver us a strikingly incredulous outlook on the future of the branch: “What’s eating cultural journalism?”¹, “Critical reception in the global art market: displacement of the critic?”², “The death of cultural journalism?”³ and “Art and criticism in times of crisis”⁴. Recent books on arts and cultural journalism do not provide any more optimism; work published include pieces such as *The crisis of criticism* (Berger 1998), *What happened to arts criticism?* (Elkins 2003), *Critical mess* (Rubinstein 2006), *Faint praise: The plight of book reviewing in America* (Pool 2007), and *The death of the critic* (McDonald 2007).

In line with the literature connected to this global crisis, educational interventions have been undertaken to combat the alleged de-qualification of cultural journalism by improving the quality of content and practices.⁵ Online communities have emerged to address the plight of contemporary criticism⁶ or raise public awareness of the existence of (good) criticism.⁷ Debaters in public discussions mostly share lamentations

¹ Analysis of the results of the British Council Ukraine initiative roundtable *What’s eating cultural journalism?* on February 26, 2010, <http://www.britishcouncil.org/ar/ukraine-press-room-media-discussion-report-eng.pdf> (retrieved March 15, 2012).

² A session in the conference *Let’s get critical: Reception in art history and art criticism*, Copenhagen, February 27–28, 2009.

³ The farewell lecture by Heikki Hellman, the Visiting Professor in Journalism at the University of Tampere, April 28, 2009.

⁴ The title of the XLIV congress by the International Association of Art Critics (AICA), October 16–20, 2011, in Asunción, Paraguay.

⁵ A number of courses and programmes have been organized to raise cultural journalists’ understanding of arts. The USC Annenberg/Getty Arts Journalism Program in the United States provides a fellowship for 15 arts journalists (<http://annenberg.usc.edu/GettyArtsJourn.aspx>). In the U.S., The National Arts Journalism program (NAJP) at the Columbia University functions since 1994 as an academic center dedicated to the advancement of arts and cultural journalism by awarding fellowships, publishing research reports, and convening conferences (<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/najp/index.html>). The Arts Journalism Summit in Los Angeles in 2013 gathered over 60 artists, arts journalists, technologists and entrepreneurs to “imagine a better arts press” (<http://www.ajsummit.org/>). These initiatives have served as a model for further educational programmes elsewhere in the world. In Finland, the Finnish Cultural Foundation started a training programme for journalists to deepen their knowledge about the art world with half-a-million-euro budget in 2013 (<http://www.skr.fi/fi/ajankohtaista/suomen-kulttuurirahastokehitt%C3%A4%C3%A4-kulttuurijournalismia-kouluttamalla-toimittajia>). Twenty journalists participated in the five month’s programme. In 2012, the University of the Arts Helsinki started a privately funded programme in arts writing (<http://www.teatterikorkealehti.fi/uutiset/158-7-taidekirjoittamisen-hanke-k%C3%A4ynnistyi-teakissa.html>). (Links retrieved January 26, 2014.)

⁶ An example of a collectively run blog is the Swedish blog community *Efter kritiken* [After criticism] which was active in 2005–2008, founded by the critics Frans-Josef Petersson and Robert Stasinski, <http://etterkritiken.blogspot.com> (retrieved March 15, 2012).

⁷ The Finnish portal *Kritiikkiportti* [Gate for criticism] (2008–2011), financed by the Finnish Cultural Foundation, was an initiative to re-publish print newspaper reviews online (<http://www.kritiikkiportti.fi>). The website *On display* (2013–2014), a winner in the media innovation challenge competition by the Helsingin Sanomat Foundation, published reviews that focused on one single artwork with the intention to make “well-written reviews” available (<http://www.ondisplay.fi>). (Links retrieved February 17, 2014.)

about critics' waning ability and diminishing role in a cultural environment where aesthetic arguments have less relevance. The typical claims made include that the aesthetic consciousness and evaluative basis of cultural journalism have declined, which has resulted in the dys-functionalization of cultural journalism.⁸

What makes the protagonists of the prolific discourse describe arts and cultural journalism with such desperate, moribund and dismissive terms? It must be noted that since modernity, the idea of a crisis has been deeply rooted in Western thinking (Holton 1987, Ekelund 2002, Agamben 2005, Koselleck 2006). This idea often shows up in discussions regarding cultural phenomena in times of transition and change (Arendt 1977, Drotner 1999, Béland 2003, Clarke 2009), including the “decline” or “end” of journalism (Hardt 1996; Waisbord 2013, 5). In addition, the negativity underlying a “crisis” fits into the journalistic scheme’s interest in unpredictability and the non-routine (Galtung & Ruge 1965). However, the concept may encompass more than mere attention-seeking value.

This thesis underlies the notion of a “crisis”. Because a crisis presents a certain stage of disruption and implies a “collapse of cultural protections” (Dombrowsky 1998), this study suggests that the crisis perspective may provide a key to understanding the structural dynamics of cultural journalism and its institutional linkages with related fields. The agents propagating the idea of a crisis are self-interested and connected to their position within a field. Therefore, they may also convey something of their own position by participating in the discursive game of the crisis discourse (Jaakkola 2014, McDonnell & Tepper 2014).

The term is derived via Latin from a Greek root (> Greek noun *krísis*, “decision, event, turning point”; verb *krinein*, “to decide”). The term is of medical background and stands for the turning point of a disease, after which the patient’s state either improves or deteriorates (Béland 2003, 28; Koselleck 2006). The concept thus describes the status quo of a socially constructed object as a stage in a sequence of processes, and sets it in a temporal and socio-spatial context while defining the non-anomalous or initial state of affairs. In crisis communication, a crisis is typically defined as “a perception of an unpredictable incident that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders” (Coombs 2010, 19). In the process of such transformation the stakeholders come to think that the old system can no longer be maintained, which implies a need for change. A crisis is thus by definition connected with the potential of carrying out a serious impact; an incident is typically defined to be a crisis if it generates negative outcomes for an organization’s performance, affecting its fundamental structures and

⁸ For example, in Finland, the editor-in-chief Matti Apunen declared in *Aamulehti* that cultural journalism was “no longer a counterforce” but “a compliant internal section of arts producing criticism service” (“R.I.P. cultural journalism”, March 21, 2009). The long-standing cultural chief Tova Korsström in *Hufvudstadsbladet* wrote that cultural pages were placing form over function, as the editorial focus on layout redesigns and graphical formats risked overshadowing the critical dimension of debates which used to be the core of traditional cultural journalism (“Cultural pages – a place for thought?”, March 1, 2009). The journalist Niklas Herlin pointed out in *Uusi Suomi* that cultural journalists have lost their integrity because of increased commercial pressures (“Culture is sinking”, March 21, 2009). Again, the Swedish cultural journalist Åsa Beckman stated in *Dagens nyheter* that the aesthetic consciousness has never been as low on cultural pages as it was in 2013 (“The one-eyed literature criticism”, October 8, 2013; see also Lund 2000, 68). Similar issues and arguments of vanishing aesthetic and critical consciousness ascribed to the increase of commercialism and populism have been discussed in the crisis literature (Berger 1998, Elkins 2003, McDonald 2007, Rubinstein 2007).

routines (Coombs 2010, 19). (For different dimensions of the concept of crisis, see Jaakkola 2014.)

This study aims to outline the fundamental structures in change and find answers regarding the nature and extent of the alleged change. The study investigates the changes in arts and cultural journalism in terms of two dimensions: as self-perceptions in professional metadiscourse around the idea of a “crisis” and as factual changes possibly reflecting the perceived crisis. The five individual articles, described in detail in section 1.3.2, deal with changes in Finnish cultural journalism and view the concept of change as both a rhetorical instrument and a measurable entity. This introduction aims to situate the results in a context that enables their re-evaluation and to conceptualize the professionalism of “cultural journalism” for research purposes to gain a deeper understanding of the specifics of specialized-type journalism. The underlying notions are the definitions of “art” and “journalism” as well as their tense relations to normativity. A central finding forms the idea of the professional culture’s dualistic structure, which produces its basic functional dynamism. The structures of professionalism are analysed by examining the institutional and cultural trajectories of the history of cultural journalism for the general public in Finnish newspapers. The objective is thus to outline an integrative framework for the study of arts and cultural journalism that would do justice to the cross-disciplined nature of its functionality.

A more deepened understanding of cultural journalism could also serve as a basis for further research. Despite an increased academic interest in cultural journalism and other non-mainstream forms of journalistic professionalism during recent decades, cultural journalism is still an under-researched area. It has remained peripheral and less studied both in journalism studies and art sociology. Therefore, before we can speak of changes, let alone a crisis, the structures of professionalism in this distinct specialism must be elucidated. In particular, the introduction to this study is dedicated to this task, whereas the factual changes in newspapers are examined in separate articles. It can be argued that the abnormal or deviant nature of cultural journalism makes cultural journalism an interesting object of study. Studying a specialized type of journalism in the periphery of professionalism may help us better understand what is occurring in mainstream professionalism.⁹ By looking at structures regarded as marginal we may not only arrive at a more precise definition of the cultural specifics of that neglected area but also add to a more diversified picture of what journalistic professionalism is and how it is changing.

The data for this study is gathered in the Finnish context, but the study does not aim to capture the cultural, historical or socio-political specifics of Finland or Finnish cultural journalism in the first place. Instead, the focus of this study is on professionalism, which is understood to be a distinct shared and established ideology incor-

⁹ However, as argued later, “general” or “mainstream journalism” can also be regarded as a highly problematic concept. Recent scholarship has called into question the commitment to objectivity to universally represent “modern Western journalism” (Joseph 2007, Maras 2013); instead of a monolithic concept of general journalism, there are a number of “journalisms” embedded in national cultures. Nevertheless, the terms “general” or “mainstream” are typically applied to refer to the most prevalent, societally-oriented forms of journalism (see e.g. Miller 2012). To be more precise, the construct referred to with “general” or “mainstream” journalism in this context is the normative centre of the professionalism of journalism in its Democratic Corporatist form (Hallin & Mancini 2004; see also Carpentier 2005, Hanitzsch 2007, 2011). It is typically seized by pointing to the normative characteristics that are regarded as important in the communicative practice among the practitioners.

porating certain values and practices (see section 2.2.2). The emphasis is placed on identifying the journalistic principles of cultural or artistic mediation vis-à-vis mainstream or non-cultural journalism in Western democracies, particularly in countries representing the Democratist Corporatist model of journalism (see section 1.1.2). The aim has thus been to recognize and pinpoint the general cultural journalist form of mediation as an intermediary practice. Therefore, the historical and socio-political conditions in Finland have not received a separate place in the analysis (for more historically contextualized accounts of Finnish cultural journalism, see Hurri [1993] and Linkala [2014]). A more predominant context for the analysis of Finnish cultural journalism in this study comes from the Nordic countries (see e.g. Kristensen 2004, Lindberg et al. 2005, Lund 2005, Knapskog & Larsen 2008a, Kristensen & From 2011; Jaakkola 2012). Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway are often regarded as countries with small cultural differences; however, if and to what extent differences in Nordic cultural journalism are embedded in media systems that are generally characterized by the strong role of the state and welfare state ideology, remains a question for future comparative studies. Drawing on content analyses conducted in the Nordic countries, which were at a general level quite consistent with the findings of this study, this study simply assumes a relatively homogeneous Nordic background.

1.1 Object of study

The use of different terms referring to the journalistic coverage of arts and culture is diverse, inconsistent and very often dictated by contextual contingency. Because the epithet “cultural” can take on a range of various meanings, scholars and practitioners who think to communicate with one another on the same subject often find out to talk about different phenomena. Therefore, a minimum academic consensus on the central referent of the term “cultural journalism” is necessary. Nevertheless, the definition of the term “cultural journalism” is rather a question of second order, because the demarcation of the journalistic area of activity is primarily dependent on the basic definitions of “art”, “culture” and “journalism”. Every form of cultural journalism in question underlies a theoretical assumption of a specific relationship between arts, culture, communicating agents and media in society. Before exploring different interconnections (section 2.2) the question of what is meant under cultural journalism can most appropriately be approached in terms of what is *typically* understood as “cultural journalism” and how it is adapted in specific contexts. This pragmatic approach assumes that different delimitations of the professional field(s) deliver different semantic extensions for the term.

In spite of diversity, contributors to the discussions on cultural journalism do generally share the view that cultural journalism and criticism are distinct practices that operate in terms of a specific conceptual framework not interchangeable with their parent practices and ideologies such as literature, music, aesthetics, or mainstream journalism. They cannot, in other words, be regarded as mere parasites of the ideologies and theories within an artistic discipline or mass communication. One of the most active proponents for the non-parasite theory, Northrop Frye (1973 [1957], 6), declared that the “framework [of literary criticism] is not that of literature itself --- but neither is it something outside literature, for in that case the autonomy of criticism

would again disappear, and the whole subject would be assimilated to something else”. Consequently, art should not be measured by external norms and subordinated to an externally derived critical principle or schema (Bauman 2011, 102; Carroll 2010). Frye (1973 [1957], 7) emphasized that “critical principles cannot be taken over ready-made from theology, philosophy, science, or any combination of these”, or else the object of criticism ceases to be an object in its own right and becomes a parasite.

The tight connection between cultural journalism or criticism with its kinship cultural fields has the consequence that “the history of literature is also the history of literary criticism”, and vice versa (Forser 2002, 9; see also Sydhoff 1971), and the history of art forms is with a complexity of relations connected to the history of media and journalism. Once cultural journalism is not reducible to either art or the media, the identity of cultural journalism needs to be sought at the limits of and differences towards these institutional grounds. For first instance, we can assume that the working conditions for cultural journalism are produced in discourse and pertinent practices (discussed in section 1.1.3) by locating cultural journalism in terms of existing cultural-artistic fields with application of different definitions of culture (section 1.1.1) in a media production environment defined by organizational determinants (section 1.1.2).

1.1.1 Arts and cultural journalism

The object of study is here generally referred to as *cultural journalism*, because the term is, at least to a certain extent, globally established in terms of geographic standard (see e.g. Golin & Cardoso 2009, Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Heß 1997, Lamprecht 2012, Wasserman 2004) and in prevalent use especially in the Nordic countries (Andersson 1971, Bech-Karlsen 1991a, Jørgensen 1991, Hansen 1977, Mikkola 1972a, Loman et al. 2007, Kristensen & From 2011; see also Article I). The term “cultural journalism” also typically refers to the coverage of artistic, cultural and aesthetic issues without narrowing down the content to any specific form of art or culture. In the Anglo-American use of language the specialized-type journalism in newspapers is mostly referred to with the term *arts journalism* instead of “cultural journalism”, or, dependent on the more specified scope of the object, “arts and letters”, “arts and entertainment”, “arts and lifestyle journalism”, “arts and leisure”, “cultural news”, “cultural reporting”, or “cultural reporting and criticism” (Szántó et al. 2004a, 2004b; Kristensen & From 2011, 21).¹⁰ The Continental European form of cultural journalism practiced in Germany and France, characterized by literary ambitions and essayist style akin to

¹⁰ Part of the diversity of terms boils down to the fact that there are different editorial philosophies in merging arts with lifestyle. Finnish newspapers have had a tendency to differentiate arts and everyday features from each other by naming the pages including culture in the anthropological sense (travelling, food, religion, education etc.) with other names than “Culture”. As Hurri (1993) punctuates, the Finnish culture departments have thus substantially been departments of *arts journalism*. American newspapers, in contrast, show a stronger tendency to mix arts, mass entertainment and anthropologically defined culture together, labeling the sections accordingly as “Arts and Entertainment”, or “Arts and Leisure”. As pointed out by Janeway and Szántó (2003, 285), this is also to a large extent a question of organizational profiling and a topic of continuing debate in newsrooms, and even the American newspapers show wide variation in these editorial strategies.

cultural analysis, is generally known as *feuilleton(ism)* (Steinfeld 2004, Reus 1999). Feuilletonism also distinguishes in its aspiration to reach beyond the subject-based demarcation of a newspaper section or department to form a wider forum for cultural debate, a sort of “meta section” within the newspaper (Haller 2012).

Within journalism, arts and cultural journalism has been characterized as “soft” journalism at the less news- and event-oriented end of the journalistic frame to separate it from “hard” breaking-news journalism (Kristensen & From 2012, Kristensen & From 2011, Kristensen 2004). Cultural journalism has also been identified by features of *service journalism* (Eide & Knight 1999) as it has been regarded to contain consumer guidance (see also Forser 2002, 12; Kristensen & From 2011). Especially lifestyle-oriented cultural journalism has been designated *popular journalism* (Dahlgren 1992). Reflecting both the flexibility of the terms “journalism” and “culture”, “cultural journalism” is also sometimes considered to be a loose overall term for a specific form of genre- or method-based cultural practices, identified as, for example, reflective or documentary practice of writing (Skilbeck 2009, Cramerotti 2009), an initiative of portraying native cultures (Sitton 1983, Olmstead 1986),¹¹ feature, essay or literary non-fiction writing (Steensen 2011, Hognestad 1995, Lassila-Merisalo 2009), or simply literature or cultural mediation (Christiansen 2009). As in established concepts of “cultural studies”, “cultural heritage” and “cultural literacy”, the meaning of culture is in these cases based on a very inclusive understanding of culture.

The term “cultural journalism” is also relatively frequently used to refer, somewhat reductively, to the field of *criticism*. However, to be exact, criticism is a profession-built, institutional form of delivering aesthetic judgements about cultural products, i.e. estimating the value of a particular artistic work (Carroll 2009, Blank 2007, Orlik 2009 [1994]). Assigning value for a work thus means providing judgements of taste, which implies social negotiation of status positions of “taste cultures” or “taste publics” which the recipients of criticism relate to (Gans 1974, Fürsich 2012, Bourdieu 1984). The term “cultural journalism” thus incorporates criticism, but it also refers to other forms of edited content than just reviewing the aesthetic value of art within the distinct genre of the review.

Titchener (1998) distinguishes two basic forms of artistic commentary from each other based on the opposition of “studied evaluation” and “overnight reaction”: criticism and reviewing. For Titchener, criticism is used to describe an expert’s evaluation of an event, while a review is “a report with opinion” (ibid., 3; see also Carroll 2009). A review, characterized by a “who-did-what-when-approach”, is produced to a wider audience by a generalist who Titchener, in a somewhat pejorative manner, characterizes as “an entertainment writer with a host of newspaper-based obligations”. Carroll (2009, 8) calls the journalistic reviewer as a “consumer reporter --- who records his or her likes or dislikes so that readers can use them to predict what shows, or books, or films, they will like or dislike”. In contrast, criticism is in Carroll’s (2009, 8) words “evaluation grounded in reasons”. Within this line of thought, the critic writes for an enlightened audience and possesses the critical ability to engage in the process of

¹¹ The U.S.-born Cultural Journalism Movement applied a methodologically and socio-anthropologically defined conception of “cultural journalism” to portray indigenous cultures and the cultural heritage of local communities, launched in the late 1960s with *Foxfire*, a quarterly magazine produced by high school students in rural Georgia (Sitton 1983, Olmstead 1986).

articulating the value of a work, which is not a necessary condition for the reviewer.¹²

Additionally, “criticism” is used as an institutional term for teaching and studying literature. *Literary criticism*, the study, evaluation, and interpretation of literature based on the experience of close reading, is typically seen as part of academic literary studies, the systematized study based on the professional existence which is also concerned with literary theory and history (Waugh 2006). *Critique*, especially in philosophical contexts, as seen in Kantian *Kritik* or *Kulturkritik*, is a systematic inquiry into the conditions and consequences of a concept or a set of concepts, and an attempt to understand its limitations; according to Beardsley (1970, 57) it is “a kind of method or principled procedure, by which proposed interpretations can be tested”. Besides, criticism, or *criticality*, can also be considered a mode of writing or acting, or a characteristic that basically belongs to all journalistic activity that is expected to be “critical”. Confusingly, the adjectival form of all these meanings of “criticism” and “critique” is “critical”, which makes some uses ambiguous. Critique, as well as criticism in its meaning of literary studies, are cases apart and should not be confused with the institutional form of journalistic arts criticism which is part of (newspaper) journalism.

Furthermore, differences in defining arts and culture journalism are underpinned by national-cultural differences. In some contexts, a distinction between “arts journalism” and “cultural journalism” may be useful. Especially in the U.S. the term “arts journalism” is used to refer to the journalistic reporting about the traditional canon of arts such as literature, music, theatre, and fine arts. “Cultural journalism”, then, covers forms of journalistic communication with a broader definition of culture than solely arts, such as lifestyle, home decoration, and travel (see e.g. Szántó et al. 2004b). However, when examined separately from the traditional arts journalism, the journalistic forms with more broadly defined forms of culture are also often referred to more specifically as “lifestyle journalism”, “travel journalism”, “fashion journalism”, and so on. However, in the European languages¹³ the difference between “arts journalism” and “cultural journalism” is less clear, because the term “cultural journalism” has become to mark both the limited, arts-focused and the broad, lifestyle-oriented definition. In Finland, under “cultural journalism” (*kulttuurijournalismi*), as defined in Hurri’s seminal study on culture departments (1993), is typically understood the section in the newspaper which is marked with the “Culture” vignette, but, confusingly enough, the core of this section forms the reporting about (high) arts.

In all, the terms “arts journalism” and “cultural journalism” face symbolic mobility

¹² The meaning of “critic” is in practice often blurred with other writer roles. For example Becker (1982) identifies *aestheticians* people who “study the premises and arguments people use to justify classifying things and activities” and “construct systems with which to make and justify both the classifications and specific instances of their application” (ibid., 131). For him, *critics* are then people who “apply aesthetic systems to specific art works and arrive at judgments of their worth and explications of what gives them that worth” and work at a more mundane level, discussing the day-to-day affairs of the art world they are part of” (ibid., 111).

¹³ The term “cultural journalism” is established and widely used in Scandinavian languages (Danish *kulturjournalistik*, Swedish *kulturjournalistik*, Norwegian *kulturjournalistikk*, Finnish *kulttuurijournalismi*) and in the Western world languages (German *Kulturjournalismus*, Spanish *periodismo cultural*; also in Russian *kul'turnaja zhurnalistika*, культурная журналистика). In comparison, the terms denoting “arts journalism” – *kunstjournalistik* (Danish), *konstjournalistik* (Swedish), *kunstjournalistikk* (Norwegian), *taidejournalismi* (Finnish), *Kunstjournalismus* (German), *periodismo artistico* (Spanish), *art-zhurnalistika* (арт-журналистика, Russian) – are not in common use.

because they are under constant negotiation in terms of what kind of media environment they are applied in, and what kind of journalism they are addressed by, and what kind of culture is produced by the journalistic activity, and to what kind of an audience. However, some basic distinctions have to be made. With reservations put forward above, it can be generalized that arts and culture are journalistically covered in newspapers with four different delimitations. The zones of journalistic coverage on arts and culture in newspapers are depicted in Figure 1.

Arts journalism (1) forms the core of the newspaper’s coverage on the theme characterized “arts” and “culture”. It is a specialized art-focused form of reporting about cultural products, events and issues related to them. Art criticism, the production and publication of art reviews, is a central part of arts journalism. Arts journalism is thus the aesthetically-oriented core of what has traditionally been called as “arts” and/or “cultural journalism”. In comparison, *cultural journalism* (2) is in this framework a broader concept, covering not only the traditional artistic disciplines but also lifestyle issues. It finds its ontological object of reporting not only in the form of aesthetic-artistic but also ideological or anthropological definition of culture. Like in arts journalism, the journalistic activity in cultural journalism underlies the idea of gatekeeping in the areas of arts and culture, so defining the boundaries of “art” and “culture” (or the art world) makes a central issue.

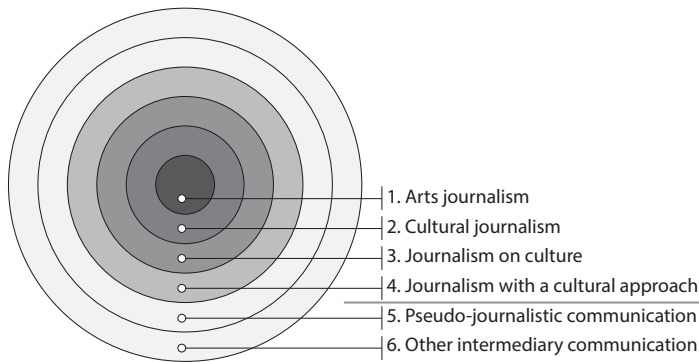


Figure 1. Zones of journalistic coverage on arts and culture in newspapers.

Arts journalism and cultural journalism are practiced within specialized production structures of the media organization and published in special “arts” or “culture” sections of the newspaper. In the context of newspaper production it may be advantageous to distinguish between journalists occasionally dealing with arts and culture who are rather non-members of the art world, on one hand, and specialized cultural journalists who are also more or less legitimized agents in artistic fields on the other. A distinction that can thus be made runs between specialism and generalism (see also Kristensen & From 2011, Kristensen 2004).

Consequently, *journalism on culture* (3) places its focus on an even broader definition of culture. Unlike arts journalism and cultural journalism, it is less focused on drawing lines between good and bad arts or culture, or between arts and non-arts. It distinguishes from cultural journalism in that it can rather be defined as gen-

eralist than specialist production; journalism on culture can be produced either by specialized journalists or generalists and it does not necessarily require homology in its dispositions and position-takings between journalism and (artistic-aesthetic) fields of cultural production. Therefore, the evaluative function of defining “good” or “qualified” culture is less important than the functions of observation, mediation and reflection of artistic and cultural issues. Journalism on culture is typically published in lifestyle and theme sections as well as weekly or monthly supplements.

Journalism with a cultural approach (4) is the widest possible (journalistic) cross-breed of journalism and culture: politics, economy, everyday issues can be approached with a philosophical, aesthetic or other theoretically-informed set of questions. This form of coverage is produced in the frame of political, local or economic journalism and placed in other sections of the newspaper than culture and lifestyle. Reporters are not insiders in the art world and are not called “cultural journalists”, neither do they aspire such a position; they, often classified as journalists or journalists with another specialized area of reporting, are not involved in defining arts and culture, even if their activities may still have a significant impact on what happens in the artistic and cultural fields.

Furthermore, the line between journalism and non-journalism, located between the zones 4 and 5 in Figure 1, is fluid. Beyond journalism there are a wide variety of (partially hybrid) intermediary forms of cultural discourse and practice (5 and 6) that partly exert an impact on the journalistic discourses and practices concerning the coverage of arts and culture. In particular in online settings, such as in the case of blogging, tweeting and online commenting, they can be termed as pseudo-journalistic forms of communication (5) where the application of journalistic and non-journalistic standards is less clear and the existence of fixed professional roles and identities less likely. Other intermediary communication (6) encompasses diverse forms of mass media communication about arts and culture exercised by a heterogeneous group of communicators, typically described with the concepts of “artistic” or “cultural mediation”, “art talk”, or “art discourse”. This intermediary communication is more influenced by aesthetic, art theoretical, cultural, political or other professional conceptions and ideologies than the journalistic. However, as cultural journalism commonly engages specialists from artistic and aesthetic fields, the communicators’ activities may occasionally cross with journalism.

Because the boundaries of the zones of coverage are not strictly defined but dynamic and under negotiation, they can be reversed and contested. In particular the coverage on many popular and lifestyle issues may be hard to locate in the scheme because of hybrid discourses and producer roles applied. The wider we move from the core of arts and cultural journalism toward the outer circles in Figure 1, the less the simultaneous homological position-takings between the fields of cultural journalism and artistic-aesthetic fields are required (see section 2.2.3). Correspondingly, the closer the journalists move toward the core, the more the simultaneous legitimate position-takings in both journalistic and aesthetic fields appear as a prerequisite for legitimized cultural journalism. Similarly, in criticism, we can distinguish between zones of arts criticism, cultural criticism and, at the most widely, social criticism. The criticism or reviewing exercised within arts and cultural journalism may be called *journalistic criticism* or *reviewing*.

This study focuses on the zones 1 and 2, as both arts and cultural journalism are

partly produced by the same staff of specialized writers. In this study, the denotation of cultural journalism thus alludes to the institution and professional practice within journalism that covers all specialized journalistic coverage on arts and culture, limited to the study of print newspaper journalism. The further clarification of the distinctive features and inner dynamics of arts and culture journalism is the task of this study.

The vocabulary used in this study is as follows. Because my study is based on the Nordic tradition, I will use the term “cultural journalism” to be in synchrony with the Scandinavian vocabulary (see also Bech-Karlsen 1991a, Kristensen & From 2011, Knapskog & Larsen 2008a, Hurri 1993). However, in Anglo-American contexts I have turned in the journal articles to the term “arts journalism”, which has resulted in a synonymic use of both terms to refer to the object under study. Therefore, the focus of this study clearly lies on “arts journalism”, but as a clear-cut limit to cultural journalism cannot be demarcated, the term “cultural journalism” was adopted as a general concept.

The existence of the distinction between criticism and reviewing, which is, as said, a fine line in the intermediary practices across different cultural institutions, points to an institutional border between journalistic and non-journalistic activity in criticism and is thus to be taken into account when defining arts and cultural journalism. However, regardless of the analytical distinction between criticism and reviewing, the term “criticism” is applied in this study synonymously with the “reviewing” practice within journalism, unless otherwise expressed, because of the frequent and ambiguous uses of both terms in their everyday meaning within journalistic practice.

I use the term “cultural journalist” for denoting practitioners with tasks of reporting and reviewing, i.e. writers who operate within the cultural journalistic framework. “Cultural journalist” is thus an overarching term for newsmakers and reviewers, columnists and interviewers. When I intend to refer to practitioners who write reviews, I use the terms “reviewer” and “critic” interchangeably, not only because of the mixed use of these terms in everyday settings, but also for the sake of linguistic variation (see also Blank 2007, 8). The fact that also supports the synonymous use is that the terms reviewer and critic appear relatively equally in many languages.¹⁴ Besides, to many practitioners of journalism, the difference between a “reviewer” and a “critic” – if there is one at all – is simply a qualitative one, implying a pursuit for a deeper understanding for the critic, the reaction of the reviewer being a spontaneous and quick personal response. Sometimes the word critic is adopted for a hyperonym for both reviewers and critics, seen in public denotations for the professionals, for example in names of workers’ associations for professionals reviewing art.¹⁵ Within the context of newspapers and culture departments it is more essential to differentiate the practitioners with the task to write reviews from the practitioners with editorial responsibilities than to

¹⁴ The equivalent for *reviewer* is in Swedish *recensent*, in German *Rezensent*, in French *censeur* (*littéraire*), in Spanish *reseñador*, in Italian *recensore* and in Russian *рецензент* (рецензент). The term derives from Latin (> *recenseo*, “to review, muster, examine, recount”; *recens*, “new, fresh, young, recent”). The equivalents for the term *critic* are in Swedish *kritiker*, in German *Kritiker*, in French *critique*, in Spanish *crítico*, in Italian *critico* and in Russian *критик* (критик). The term derives from Greek (> *krinō*, κρίνω, “to separate, order, arrange, distinguish, choose, judge, accuse”).

¹⁵ Examples include e.g. The Finnish *Critics’ Association* (however, the original Finnish name Suomen arvostelijain liitto involves the term “reviewer”, *arvostelija*, instead of the word “critic”, *kriitikko*), The International Association of Art *Critics* (AICA), *Critics’ Choice Awards* delivered by The Broadcast Film *Critics Association*.

dwell on the interdisciplinary question of where the value-laden boundary between “in-depth” evaluations and “superficial” reactions might run.

As to the production environment of cultural journalism, the work of cultural journalists and reviewers is generally addressed in terms of mediating structures in society such as cultural institutions (McQuail 1992), cultural production (Bourdieu 1993) or cultural industries (Hesmondhalgh 2007, Negus 1996). “Cultural production” is the process by which cultural products are created, transformed and diffused by the cultural actors: producers, intermediaries and consumers (Venkatesh & Meamber 2006, 12). The production of culture perspective thus focuses on “how the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved” (Peterson & Anand 2004, 311). To describe the agents of reception I have adopted the widely used term “cultural consumer” to encompass both the autonomously and heteronomously directed dimensions of reception.¹⁶ When referring to the fields of cultural production, I will use the terms “art world” or “artistic-aesthetic” fields.¹⁷ In line with the vocabulary of the study of cultural industries, I adopted the term “cultural product” (see also Blank 2007) or “cultural object” (see also Shrum 1996) to refer to the outcomes of cultural production in a widest possible sense.¹⁸

1.1.2 Culture departments in newspapers

A notable number of the studies dealing with cultural journalism focus on newspapers (Bech-Karlsen 1991a, Stegert 1998, NAJP 1999, Larsen & Knapskog 2001, Sjölin 2003, Kristensen 2004, Reus & Harden 2005, Boenisch 2008, Kristensen & From 2011, Kristensen & From 2012, Knapskog & Larsen 2008a; Szántó et al. 2004a, 14).¹⁹ Especially in Finland, where the newspaper sales per 1000 in adult population are one of the highest in the world (Jyrkiäinen 2010), culture departments play an important

¹⁶ In fact, a “prosumer” or a “produser” might be more adequate a term to describe the activities of interconnected reception and production that citizens interacting with artistic and cultural issues are often involved in (for disintermediation see section 2.2.1); however, for not to complicate the terminology further, I contend with the term “consumer” widely applied in literature of cultural production and consumption.

¹⁷ Both concepts typically refer to forms of high culture but, as the framework of this study covers all forms of culture including popular and everyday cultures, I want to understand both “art world” and “artistic-aesthetic fields” in a more flexible way, i.e. as all forms of culture defined by the culture department. The term “art world” puts more emphasis on the definition of culture by the producers and receivers of arts and culture, while the term “artistic-aesthetic field” stresses the dynamic structure of the field of cultural producers.

¹⁸ The terms “consumer” and “product” may admittedly be considered to be instrumentalized by their commercial origins. However, regarding the results of cultural production as cultural goods I consider the concept “product”, as a derivative of the verb “produce”, a term that it covers *both* the autonomous *and* the heteronomous poles of the field of production. In comparison, the terms “artwork” (Becker 1982) and “text” (Hesmondhalgh 2007) both seem to me too narrow definitions of the outcome, failing to recognize the whole production context, especially the economic dimension of the results of cultural production. The same applies to the terms “receiver”, “recipient”, and “reader”.

¹⁹ For studies on magazine journalism, see e.g. Torres da Silva and Santos Silva (2014), Fürsich and Avant-Mier (2009), Blank (2007), Lindberg et al. (2005), and Forde (2003). For analyses on radio and television journalism, see e.g. Skara (2012), Miikkulainen (2009), and Honkavaara (2001).

socio-political role in society by providing the general public with entry points into the system of arts and thus form the basis for informing people about arts and culture in a democracy. Specialized sections of arts, culture and entertainment, established around the middle of the 20th century onwards, have become an influential area for discussion and debate in the cultural and partly political public sphere.

Culture sections²⁰ have played a prominent role in culture wars and societal debates (Chapman 2010, Kristensen & From 2011, 47; Eberly 2000; for Finland, see e.g. Arminen 1989, Hurri 1993). In a survey conducted by the Finnish Cultural Foundation (2013, 42), Finnish cultural consumers still regarded newspapers as the most relevant channel of receiving news on arts and culture, with 35 percent of the respondents finding newspapers “important”, over television (32 %), radio (24 %) and magazines (18 %). As to newspaper consumption, 14 percent of the Finnish respondents in the Reuters Digital News Report (2014) declared to be interested in news dealing with arts and culture.²¹ In Sweden, 11 percent of readers declared to read “all” or “roughly all” articles on culture pages and 35 percent “quite many” cultural articles in 2012; counted this way, the total share of active readers had steadily grown from 29 percent in 1986 to 46 percent in 2012 (Andersson & Weibull 2013).²² In Germany, every third reader declared his or her “interest” in the culture section and 84 in the local section (Reus et al. 1995, 325). However, studies on public’s interest in arts and culture may easily mislead by making audiences’ interest seem exaggeratedly high due to the social desirability bias, as the informants may state their interest in arts and culture for not appearing ignorant or philistine.²³

Even more generally than just in the cultural sphere, regional dailies have played in Finland a central role in the distribution of information during the research period (Heinonen & Kinnunen 2005, Sauri 2009).²⁴ The general-interest newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), published in the metropolitan area, is the leading Finnish-language paper with a national reach. Regional newspapers included in this study are *Aamulehti* (AL), *Kaleva* (KAL), *Savon Sanomat* (SS) and *Turun Sanomat* (TS). The newspapers have established culture sections in their production structure. AL was the first of them to establish an independent organizational unit for arts and culture in

²⁰ I will use the terms “culture department” and “culture section” as synonymous, referring to the production unit within a newspaper organization specialized in producing cultural journalism. At a more nuanced level, “culture department” refers to an organizational unit and “culture section” to the pages in a newspaper.

²¹ However, the question in the survey which dealt with *news* does not do full justice to cultural issues, as news is not the sole and perhaps not even the most central genre for reporting about culture. For comparison, 27 percent declared their interest in sport news.

²² For comparison, the readings of sports have slightly declined from 46 percent (1986) to 44 percent (2012) and local news increased from 87 to 91 percent (Andersson & Weibull 2013, 429).

²³ Studies show that especially students show a high interest in the field of arts and culture. In the comparative Nordic study on journalism students (Hovdabrekka 2005–2012), culture has been among the most desired thematic fields to work with (in 2005 third after “international conflicts” and “politics”, in 2008 and 2012 second after “society and politics”). Similarly, studies in the German-speaking area show that culture section is the most preferred area for future practice among journalism students (Kaltenrunner 2012).

²⁴ In the rather small national public sphere for arts, the national daily *Helsingin Sanomat*, analyzed in Article IV, has played a pivotal role in following the art world during the research period, and it has practically had no national Finnish-language competitors in the printed press since 1991 when the other capital-based daily *Uusi Suomi* was closed down.

1941, followed by SS in 1949, TS in 1953 as well as HS and KAL in 1965 (Keränen 1984, 209). Most of the culture departments in Finnish newspapers were founded from the 1960s onwards, the average year of foundation being 1958 (ibid., 154).²⁵ Like elsewhere in the Western world, the last two decades of the research period mark the establishment of supplement and thematic sections in attachment with the traditional culture section, including lifestyle and entertainment (Kristensen & From 2011, Kristensen & From 2012, Larsen 2008, Lamprecht 2012, Reus & Harden 2005). Even if the circulations of all newspapers under study have declined during the research period, Finland has remained a strong newspaper reading culture, showing the third highest newspaper consumption rates in the world (Statistics Finland 2009).

Consequently, the choice to limit this study to the printed daily press is partly informed by the fact that the research period 1978–2008 presents an era of newspaper journalism during which the monopoly of the press was not yet clearly contested by digital technologies: even in the last decades of the phase under study, the long-anticipated online-based forms of arts communication, including cultural journalism, were still pretty much in their infancy.²⁶ In the Finnish Cultural Foundation's survey (2013, 42), only 15 percent of the respondents found online newspapers as an "important" channel of receiving news on arts and culture, whereas social media accounted for only 10 percent and private writers' websites and blogs just 4 percent.²⁷ If and to what extent the increasing number of online magazines, platforms and blogs challenge the very essence of cultural journalism, lies beyond the scope of this study. Instead, it can be argued that because the foundations of cultural journalism are laid and still strongly uphold in the legacy media, it is imperative to get to know the distinguished tradition that culture sections build upon.

With regard to their production cycle, targeted audiences and authors' degree of specialization and the division of work, arts and culture sections underlie slightly different structures of production than, for example, broadcasting or special-interest magazines, even if there are many similarities too. Arts and cultural journalism became to serve the reading public with increased educational level and free time. In this mission, cultural sections of dailies faced the problem of finding a widest possible audience, producing a vertical process of communication between political elites and the ordinary citizen. Having adopted the "catch-all" or "omnibus" concept and freed itself from other cultural institutions, even the journalism exercised in a specialized section had to bear obligations to reach the general public and to operate in the public sphere connecting arts and culture to important societal questions that would con-

²⁵ For comparison, the average years of foundation for agricultural journalists and sports journalists was 1948 and for economic journalists 1965 (Keränen 1984, 153–154).

²⁶ Some of the most influential and long-lived examples include the portal *Kritiikkiportti* which re-published 26,100 reviews from Finnish newspapers and magazines during its three-year period of funding (2008–2011), the portal *Kiiltomato.net* [Glow-worm] founded in 2000 for online literature reviews, the art theory magazine *Mustekala.info* [Octopus] founded in 2003, and the dance magazine *Liikekieli.com* [Language of movement] founded in 2004. For emerging forms of digital cultural journalism see Frey and Sayad (2015) and Jokelainen (2014).

²⁷ However, the problem in the formulation of this question in the survey was that "news" is closely connected to professional journalism. Cultural consumers may though receive more relevant information on arts and culture than declared through the cultural pundits of social media without thinking of them as "news".

cern *all*.²⁸ The aspiration to appeal to a large and potentially very heterogeneous audience with radically different preferences has required balancing between special- and general-interest issues, which can be regarded as a distinct characteristic of arts and cultural journalism in newspapers. Furthermore, criticism, the systematic evaluation of new art by experts in the established genre of review, is not a permanent part of radio and television supply like it is in newspapers. Professional debates concerning newspaper cultural journalism have thus to a large degree touched the issue of striking a balance between intelligibility of language use and specialist connoisseurship (Mikkola 1972a, Bech-Karlsen 1991a, Baumann 2007).

Unlike the public broadcasting radio and television which were established as public institutions with a mission to enlighten and educate, newspapers have also leaned on advertising revenues (Hjarvard 2008, 118). The development of modern mass media art criticism can indeed be connected to the proliferation of commercial structures (Baumann 2007, 137; Scott 1999, 49; Tunstall 1971, 76; Forde 2003, 115; Dickstein 1992). Dickstein (1992, 56) asserts that “critical journalism” became important when art left the court and the salon and entered the marketplace. The history of reviewing developed in tandem with the history of advertising, when culture became more and more dependent on publicity instead of patronage. Baumann (2007) asserts that the 1960’s advertisements increasingly relied on the critical discourse produced in film reviews, and positive quotes from reviews were utilized as a marketing technique (see also Blank 2007, 52). The reviewer thus became “a key link in a commercial chain which connects the modern producers of culture with its potential consumers” (Dickstein 1992, 56).

However, the 18th-century institution of criticism assigned critics an essential public role in mediating in the emerging bourgeois public sphere (Hohendahl 1982). The functionality of culture departments in newspapers was based on the modernist starting point where the *raisonnement* of aesthetic values plays a central role. Both to cover the increased cultural offerings and to attract quantifiable groups of readers with specialized taste, newspapers have channelled the discussion on predominantly popular issues in supplements niche reader appeal which function in the same way as magazines, leaning on readers’ active way of choosing content (Brett & Holmes 2008). Whether to follow the historical narrative of democratization or commercialization is a matter of choice; considering the case of lifestyle journalism, Fürsich (2012, 23) asserts that the analysis “will always straddle the duality between naïve celebration of its democratic potential as a popular media and the undifferentiated denunciation as a hyper-commercial format”. This duality fundamentally characterizes the cultural journalists’ work in terms of heteronomous and autonomous influences between which they are compelled to struggle when it comes to both journalism and arts, discussed in more detail later in this introduction.

The Finnish media system belongs with Scandinavia to countries that Hallin and Mancini (2004) call the Democratic Corporatist or the North/Central European model. The Democratic Corporatist models are characterized by very high newspaper circulation, a history of a strong political press, a central role of the state, and high political parallelism that coexists with a high degree of professionalization of

²⁸ The commitment to a general audience distincts arts and cultural journalism in newspapers from that of arts and culture magazines; therefore, the matters discussed in this study cannot be automatically applied to journalism produced to a more limited audience.

journalism (see also Hanitzsch 2011). Political parallelism means the degree to which the structure of the media system is aligned with the party system, the highest form of which would be a one-to-one connection between media and the political parties in a way that each newspaper would represent one single political orientation, a condition that hardly exists today (ibid., 27). Parallelism can thus be seen in the extent to which different media reflect distinct political orientations and are supported by audiences with these political partisanships. It means “partisanship of media audiences, with supporters of different parties or tendencies buying different newspapers or watching different TV channels” (ibid., 28). In line with the concept of political parallelism, Kristensen (2010) and Kristensen and From (2011; 2012, 39) assign cultural journalism a high level of “cultural parallelism”, “since readers identify with newspapers that confirm their cultural orientation”. It is obvious that a certain newspaper, which creates a certain profile to reach readership, also builds a certain cultural profile. However, the parallelism in the sphere of cultural consumption is not a direct one between a political party and the newspaper but rather mediated through taste which is connected to the socio-economic class of the readers. This way, “cultural parallelism” in fact means “parallelism of taste”, which resembles Bourdieu’s (1993) concept of the homology of taste (see also Hurri 1993, 45). The mediated relationships between the newspaper and society, discussed in detail in section 2.2, are potentially dynamic, as they leave space for social mobility and learning (see section 2.2.4). This educative potential has traditionally been a driving force in culture departments.

Regarding the high degree of journalistic professionalization, political parallelism is also manifest in the extent to which the journalists are active in political life, and how journalists adopt the non-neutral publicist role. In the Democratist Corporatist model, journalists find themselves between the legacy of commentary-oriented and increasingly neutral or information-oriented journalism. However, this journalistic doctrine of neutrality is problematic in cultural journalism. In cultural journalism, audiences and journalists are to a high degree structurally intermixed, as cultural journalists and especially reviewers are typically recruited from among cultural aficionados of certain domains of arts and culture. To collect and maintain cultural capital and keep their knowledge up to date, cultural journalists are, and even need to be, active members of the art world. Indeed, they often take up professional, non-journalistic roles in the fields they are also monitoring as journalists. The accrued cultural capital and personal experience contributes to their expertise which is a prerequisite for their journalistic-aesthetic competence. To hold on to the Democratist Corporatist journalistic standards, culture departments have adopted several strategies for creating professional autonomy, which include, above all, the creation of critical autonomy, discussed in Article I, and the balancing principle regarding the dualistic professional structure, discussed in Article IV. One sign for increased professionalization may also be the development where the journalistic paradigm has become more prevalent, which will be discussed later as one of the key findings of this study (see section 4.1) .

1.1.3 Culture(s) and metaculture(s)

As the examples of different understandings of cultural journalism in section 1.1.1 demonstrate, one of the most acute problems in studying culture and its derivatives is

its pervasiveness. Defining culture is far from a simple task, which is clearly reflected in Williams' (1976, 76) characterization of the term as "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language". Eagleton (2000, 32) saw it as "both too broad and too narrow to be greatly useful" and Markus (1993) identified it as a fundamental concept of modernity. The protean concept of "culture" has adopted different forms and meanings across time and has been subjected to temporal modification, as indicated by the history of cultivation and progress since the metaphorical transformation of the concept. Academics are inclined to refer to the anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952, 119) who identified 156 different meanings for the term in popular and academic discourse.²⁹ The fluidity of the term springs from the fact that culture is a multidiscursive concept that can be mobilized within numerous frameworks and discourses (Fiske et al. 1989, 68).³⁰ Fink (1988) characterizes the concept as "hypercomplex", which means that it covers many different, historically evolved meanings that can be simultaneously activated in the same discussion.³¹ The polysemy thus reflects the sediment that has accumulated when the term has been employed in varying contexts and for changing purposes. Fink (ibid., 23) concludes that the concept of culture as such does not deliver an unproblematic delimitation of an object of study but remains case-specific.

Etymologically, the Latin roots of culture (*cultura* from the verb *colere*, "to inhabit, cultivate, protect, honour with worship") have been connected with agriculture (*cultura agri*), colonization (*colonus*) and idolatry or cult (*cultus*). In the 16th century, the meanings of "inhabitation" and "honouring" were distinguished and culture came to refer to tilling the soil and facilitating growth, cultivation of the land. From the concrete meaning it was then extended to mean something more abstract. Cicero articulated in his *Tusculanae disputationes* this socially important abstraction by comparing an uneducated soul with uncultivated land³² and pointing to the cultivation of one's intellectual and moral abilities through one's self-educational effort. Because of this metaphor transformation, culture was regarded as a field of inner life and spirituality (*cultura animi*). The processual nature of the metaphoric derivation of *cultura*

²⁹ Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) categorized the definitions into descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic definitions.

³⁰ According to the definition by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, 357), "[c]ulture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action."

³¹ Hypercomplexity is complexity inscribed in complexity, in the system theorist framework based on Niklas Luhmann's words "second-order complexity" which is "a result of one observer's description of another observer's descriptions of complexity", or "the result of a complex observer's description of its own complexity" (Qvortrup 2003, 6).

³² The Roman philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC–43 BC) set a precedent for later social meanings in his *Tusculanae disputationes* [the Tusculan Disputations] (45 BC) by comparing "cultivation of the soul" to cultivated fields bearing fruit: "[P]robare etsi in segetem sunt deteriorem datae fruges, tamen ipsae suapte natura enitent, sic animi non omnes culti fructum verunt." ("[I]t is not every mind which has been properly cultivated that produces fruit; and, to go on with the comparison, as a field, although it may be naturally fruitful, cannot produce a crop without dressing, so neither can the mind without education." Translated by Charles Duke Yonge, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/14988/14988-h/14988-h.htm>, retrieved July 18, 2011.)

tion holds relevance even nowadays, as it brings a semantic dimension to the concept that means “tending of something” (Williams 1976, 77). As such, the term serves to articulate inner coherence and unity in various social practices through which a society reproduces itself as a stable and self-identical whole. Along with the processual dimension of culture, Williams (1993 [1958]) also distinguishes two other meanings of the concept which refer to an objectified sense: first, a general state of mind or *consciousness*, and secondly, the artefacts or *products* of the processes of consciousness, i.e. the socially transmitted results of cultivation such as artworks and art institutions (ibid., 11).

When thinking of cultural journalism, two additional dimensions of culture could be added. First, an aspect that is often overshadowed by the cultivation process perspective is the implication of the agriculture metaphor that presupposes settling into somewhere and harnessing land for human purposes. Once involved in a cultivation process, one needs a location, which is, in Bourdieusian terms, a disposition-based position-taking in a field. The processual meaning of cultivation must thus be complemented with *positioning* oneself into a cultural landscape that involves many different forms or fields of culture. Secondly, the cultivation of a civilization means breeding and harvesting, i.e. *selecting*, the best accomplishments of humankind. The cultivation of a civilization may be regarded as a task similar to forestry, which is based upon the process of creating, maintaining or restoring an appropriate balance of essential components and functions to ensure an ecosystem’s long-term vitality and stability. The selective removal of trees to improve the growth rate or health of the remaining trees resembles the assignment of reviewers as arbiters of taste for the civilization and its culture.

Culture, in other words, holds both product- and process-based meanings. Giddens (2007 [1986]) identified this as a problem of the duality of structure; in using rules and structural resources, agents reproduce the very rules and resources that mediate the institutionalized patterns of interaction. Bourdieu (1984, 85) tackled the difficulty of analysing culture by contending that “what the very tools of analysis designate is being fought out in struggles which have the object of analysis as their prize in reality itself”. Culture also underlies a double condition of existence that is both descriptive and normative (Jensen 1988).³³ Reflecting the hypercomplex nature of culture (see Qvortrup 2003), the objectified result of cultural processes, such as cultural journalism as a developed state of mind or culture, precedes and constantly surrounds a perception and description of the second order. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, 83) turn to the Weberian distinction between a judgement of value and a reference to values, declaring that we can “universalize in reality the conditions of access to what the present offers us that is most universal, instead of talking about it” (ibid., 84–85). Cultures can thus be approached as structured ideological constructs upheld by established discourses, which inherit values that can be detected by studying them in terms of their classification schemata and systems of preferences.

Culture in the public sphere and in the mass media is produced with the help of and in texts, and we can thus follow the philosophical pragmatists’ (Shusterman 1984,

³³ Jensen (1988, 184) describes the paradoxical connectivity of these two conditions: “The paradox is --- that what you in one tradition are outside of, you also in the middle of, and what you are in the other tradition in the middle of, you can only look at it by entering it from outside.”

Carroll 2009) ontological definition of the literary work of criticism as a verbal or discursive entity and apply it to journalism. Given that a journalistic text is a text on a text (an artwork or a cultural object), artworks form the primary texts and journalistic texts are secondary texts. In addition, the mediation of arts and culture by journalism is discussed and defined in public through journalism itself. Cultural journalists are thus involved in reflexive processes manifested in situated discourse, produced in position-takings within the fields in question and producing relative stable structures for the production and reproduction of meanings known as metadiscourses (see also Mulhern 2000). Metadiscourses are texts on secondary journalistic texts, which are texts on primary artistic texts. Metadiscourses thus form a third discursive entity; they are tertiary discourses in cultural mediation. Along with discourses on cultural primary texts and their secondary corollaries, the discourses on the discourse of culture, i.e. metadiscourses, play a pivotal role in constructing the social ontology of the object (cultural journalism) and its object (culture) in public.³⁴ Because this study does not give primacy to the concept of culture as such but is primarily interested in mediated forms of culture, three layers of discourse or culture must be considered: the primary discourses of artworks, the secondary discourses of journalism and the tertiary intermediary discourses (re)producing journalism as an institution.

The ideas on art and culture emerge neither in a vacuum nor through idiosyncratic action; rather, cultural journalists and their organizations are affected by other existing discourses on art and culture as they participate in creating new discourses. Professionalism, which this study scrutinizes (see section 2.2.2), is a meta-level construction regulating the structures of media (secondary level of mediation) that decide how arts and culture (primary level of mediation) are mediated. This cultural third-level metaconstruction is formed in public by different metadiscourses. The most prevalent forms or genres of metadiscourses in the context of cultural journalism are academic, popular, and professional metadiscourses. These metadiscourses often overlap because professional communities are heard in journalism, academics write popular texts, and hackademics, public intellectuals and journalistic media critics discuss their occupations in public in their hybrid positions. Nevertheless, all forms of cultural metadiscourses have their own characteristics and principles on which they operate. They also show certain disparities constituting omissions, discontinuities and other divides, which must be considered. I will briefly outline some of these dimensions in terms of their relevance to cultural journalism, even if it is not possible to go deep into detail because of the compendious, diffuse discussions pertinent to each.

Findings related to *academic metadiscourse* are expected to be evidence-based and rooted in systematic intellectual inquiry, whereas the popular and professional metadiscourses are practice- or experience-based and thus lack the methodological rigour and pursuit of proof based on repeatability. The academic metadiscourse constructing cultural journalism leans to a powerful extent on the conceptualization of artistic-cultural mass communication's function, which is connected to the ideas developed about the modern public sphere. The Habermasian idea of a dual bourgeoisie public sphere, comprising the political and the cultural, envisioned the cultural or literary

³⁴ In Article I also the term metacriticism is used (see also Carroll 2009). Mulhern (2000, 181) uses the term metaculture to designate "metacultural discourse in which 'culture' addresses its own generality --- and historical conditions of existence".

public sphere in terms of its relevance to political participation (Habermas 1962). The literary public sphere, which aims to discuss private concerns, strives to produce political subjects and prepare them for political life through reflection (instead of direct confrontation with necessities). In other words, the aim of the literary public sphere is to add social and collective forms to the intimate sphere created at home. The public sphere is thus divided into political and cultural halves in a way that makes culture subject to discussions about political citizenship and participation. The idea of cultural public sphere has been criticized for not being sustainable in its definition of the functions and goals of arts which has been seen as instrumental (Fornäs 1995a, 82; Denning 2004). Fragmented theoretical elaboration of the role and functions of the cultural public sphere in relation to the political public sphere and, in particular, the role of the media and forms of cultural journalism, have rendered the discussion about cultural journalism diffuse. Another reason for this are obviously the disciplinary divides addressed in section 1.2.

In addition, the academic metadiscourse underlies a historically formed divide concerning the appreciation of cultural forms. Leftist cultural critics, such as Theodor W. Adorno and Jürgen Habermas, prioritized elitist high culture over popular forms of culture and saw them as more demanding, educative forms of culture while assigning antipathy to popular and low culture and regarding modern mass culture as part of the hegemonic indoctrination process and a commercial menace. Herbert J. Gans (1974), who wrote an early defence of popular culture and an argument for “cultural democracy” in America, documented a conflictual division between high and popular culture that, according to him, was supported by an “anticommercial bias” among scholars (ibid., viii). This anticommercial bias made scholars direct their attention to what they appreciated, which was high culture.³⁵ Popular culture was seen as defective and undesirable with spurious gratifications and as being mass-produced by profit-minded entrepreneurs. Gans argued that both popular and high cultures were taste cultures of equal worth, although he saw some differences between them. The main difference upon which the aesthetics and principles of criticism were based were that high culture was creator-oriented, i.e. set to understand the creator’s intentions, and popular culture was user-oriented, i.e. intended to satisfy the audience’s needs. Even if popular culture has become legitimized as a research area during the recent decades, the historical hierarchy has affected the theoretization about the cultural forms.

The *popular*³⁶ *metadiscourse* is discourse directed to larger audiences largely through journalism, both by journalistic professional and amateur communicators. Journalism tends to hide its ideological nature under the ritual of objectivity and patterned structures, which makes agents stress certain dimensions at the cost of others. It has a distinctly individualistic and evaluational character and is a “subjective and normative exercise of tastes of opinions” rather than an objectively oriented schol-

³⁵ Gans (1974) declares that the bias underlies a historical fallacy, a regressive and a pessimistic view of the historical process. One of the central reasons is according to him the fact that scholars do not view popular culture “from the same perspective as their audience” but “assume that the audience is or ought to be as highly educated as they are” (ibid., 59; see also Dahlgren 1992, 6). This observation is still valid and argues strongly for taking the agents’ positionings in culture into account.

³⁶ “Popular” refers here to the etymological meaning of *populus*, people. Popular metadiscourse can be understood to encompass all communication in public, including communication by citizens in social media, but with regard to metadiscourses on cultural journalism the focus lies on journalism.

arly analysis (Shusterman 1984, 214). The journalistic metadiscourse also includes a pedagogical devotedness, which involves disclosing the journalistic activity's aims and ambitions to those not involved in production. It attempts to catch the attention and interest of potentially interested audiences; crisis is a paradigmatic example of journalism's appeal to negativity, drama and change. The conceptualization of something as a crisis enables cultural issues to enter the journalistic debate; otherwise, they would be far-reaching, ambiguous, dispersed processes difficult to draw into the public attention and difficult to tackle within the journalistic frame. Journalistic metadiscourse thus has its shortcomings; it is, for example, driven and potentially distorted by populist and lay biases, market-interests and a relatively short time span.

The *professional metadiscourse* is intimately connected to the journalistic discourse because a large part of public professional struggles are carried out in and by the discursive means of journalism. Professional discourse can be exercised through journalistic channels intended for a large audience, or it may intermingle with other forms of communication. However, it also has a number of spaces of its own, as a large extent of professional communication is carried out in seminars, on courses, in professional publications and in digital platforms among practitioners. The professional discourse involves the struggle of self-interested agents whose privileges are at stake. They may consciously use journalistic thinking to fulfil their goals, and they may tend to label changes in their immediate environment as representative of the entire field. Professional metacriticism must thus be understood as a struggle in which the opposed aims can be identified and the position-takings of communicative agents revealed (see section 2.2.2). At the same time, the way cultural journalists are regarded differently in terms of the professional dominant culture shows competing professional ideologies.

Metadiscourses share the establishment of a more or less normative relationship to cultural journalism; this establishment occurs by defining the boundaries of what "culture" and "journalism" are on the ideological accounts their functionality is based upon. A focal problem arises regarding whether one should lean on emic or etic conceptualizations of culture and cultural change; another problem arises regarding how to define and distinguish these conceptualizations.³⁷ Artistic and aesthetic conceptions of cultural journalism have been to a significant extent shaped by journalistic agents; this is seen in the historical case of popular music, which has to a considerable extent been written about by music journalists, who harness the mythologies cultivated in the journalistic field, rather than by music scholars (Weisethaunet & Lindberg 2010, Negus 1996). Cultural journalists' self-perceptions present emic accounts, but their conceptions do not necessarily accord with freelancers' or aesthetes' conceptions which establish another form of relationship to journalism. In other words, because culture is inseparable from those theorizing it, it is impossible to find objective accounts of the developments concerning cultural journalism constructed in the discourse. Journalism occupies an especially complicated location because it is not only an object of inquiry but also a means of building the object of inquiry.

In this study, emic conceptualizations were examined using ethnographic approaches and analyses of discourse; these methodologies were applied in Articles I

³⁷ Emic conceptualizations are "indigenous" interpretations that exist within a culture. Etic conceptualizations, in contrast, refer to generalizations that are considered universally true and based on criteria from outside the culture.

and III. To gain information for etic conceptualizations, the analyses of emic accounts were complemented with content and textual analysis (for methodology see section 1.3.3). In all, the perspective of metadiscourses, which is the main concern of Article I, provides us with the possibility to counteract the totalizing forces of “culture” and to look at metacultures as constructions of ideologies.

1.2 Prior research

Cultural journalism has worldwide been characterized as a neglected area of research (Knapskog & Larsen, 2008b, 7; Szántó et al. 2004, 13; Hurri 1993, 20; Wasserman 2004). Reus and Harden (2005, 153) denounce it a “scholarly fallow” that has been only sporadically approached in academic research. Cultural journalism has been discussed mostly in the journal article form, and it has often appeared as an excursion to authors whose main research interests have been found elsewhere. It has been addressed in essayistic form by authors with non-academic background in the borderline of scholarly research and public debate. This has resulted in sort of a blind spot in the epistemological existence of arts and cultural journalism that has made Elkins (2003) to observe the media practice of arts and cultural journalism to be “diaphanous”. According to Shrum (1996, 41), critical discourse concerning the journalistic dimension of cultural journalism has been largely ignored in research because it has been held derivative from discourse connected to the primary roles of the artist and the public. The transparency of the journalistic mediating practices in research, the so called *diaphanousness effect*, bears down to numerous factors connected to academic and professional structures.

As an object of academic inquiry, cultural journalism settles down to a number of different traditions of research. This might not be considered a problem in cultural theory which always underlies the need to cross traditional disciplinary borders and to construct polydimensionality that would account for both the conditions and the results of cultural processes (see e.g. Fornäs 1995a, 2). However, a remarkable challenge for the research of cultural journalism lies in combining the both main types of communication in cultural journalism, the reviewing function (criticism) and the news production function (journalistic reporting), because the dualism basically co-falls with disciplinary boundaries. Cultural journalism is situated in a borderline that runs between the humanities and the social sciences, which has resulted in a situation where it has very often been treated *either* from the aspect of arts, aesthetics and cultural mediation with an emphasis on the aesthetic substance *or* from the aspect of reporting on the condition of mainstream journalism rather than focusing on the integration of both dimensions.

In the framework of journalism research, cultural journalism has often been considered, despite a burgeoning amount of research into the concept of journalistic culture, an unrepresentative case. Its marginality has obviously been reinforced by dichotomist definitions of the journalistic core substance such as hard news/soft news, political/cultural, or masculine/feminine. The unit of analysis for studies of journalistic work practices has mainly been newsrooms within large and stable media organizations rather than the atypical journalistic work of freelancers. In newsrooms, too, specialized journalism has adopted its position as a peripheral practice, illustrated by

such abrasively humorous descriptions of culture departments as “eccentric asylums” (Jaakkola 2005) and “toy departments” (Rowe 2007). This has simultaneously turned out to be its vital condition, providing its agents their own autonomy, as seen in section 1.2.1. However, research interests have seemingly followed the hierarchy of the journalism institution, and areas worth studying have been defined according to the significance dedicated to them by the professional field.

The mediation and reception of arts and culture, both at an individual and an institutional level of examination, have traditionally formed a typical subject for studies in aesthetics, art sociology and other subdisciplines of the humanities interested in the aesthetic dimension of communication. Reception studies have often been associated with criticism or the reviewing practice of cultural journalism (Sörbom 1982, Sucksdorff 2005, Sydhoff 1971), but their focus has been on the representation of arts rather than on the representational means. Because the mediation of arts and culture is a cultural process and a phenomenon in which single components of production, dissemination and reception cannot be separated from each other but analytically, the construction of, for example, a cultural canon is simultaneously dependable on the activity of several agents in different artistic-aesthetic fields. Because of these organic interdependencies in and the hypercomplex nature of cultural production and mediation, the role of journalism in the mediation processes has remained less clear.

By the same token, studies have typically concentrated on one single artistic field instead of examining the interconnections of these. In sociology of art, as pointed out, for example, by Kahma and Toikka (2012, 115), the number of studies dealing with multiple fields of culture and their interconnections is still limited (see also Purhonen et al. 2010, Purhonen et al. 2014). Bourdieu’s framework has not been applied to field interaction in the context of the mass media until recently (see e.g. Couldry 2004, Benson 1999, Willig 2013). In aesthetics, it has been a controversial issue whether a theory can be based on the idea of the unity of arts (Shusterman 1984, 1992).³⁸ To some aestheticians, the arts are too diverse and generalizations about different forms of arts are questionable, while other have defended a general aesthetic theory can be formed on art as a whole (for an overview over the discussion, see Shusterman 1984). I do not intend to attempt to solve the problem of the aesthetic object here, but it can be assumed that the journalistic treatment of arts tends to represent different forms of art in a widely uniform format, which, again, argues for discussing arts and cultural journalism from an integrative perspective, as clarified in section 1.3.1, instead of concentrating on separate forms of arts.³⁹

In the context of cultural production there is an absence of audience research on cultural journalism, in particular from the integrated perspective and with a focus on the reception of *journalistic* content or values (for few exceptions, see Reus & Harden’s [2012] study on cinemagoers 2012, Pearson & Davies’ [2005] chapter on theatregoers, Kristensen & From’s [2011] contribution with methodological reflections and Boe-

³⁸ Because of the lack of comparative research, there is very little data available on the comparability of different artistic disciplines. However, for example Baumann’s (2007, 137) data on changes in vocabulary of films and science fiction literature reviews does not support the idea of a uniform change in artistic reviewing or a parallel development in the criticism of these artistic disciplines.

³⁹ Most of the previous studies have also subsumed different artistic forms into a unity without questioning the quest of a unity of their object (see e.g. Kristensen & From 2011, Knapskog & Larsen 2008a, Lund 2005, Szántó et al. 2004b, Hurri 1993).

nisch's [2008] study on readers of theatre criticism). Unlike other cultural institutions with less mediated presence such as museums, libraries and festivals, cultural journalism has not managed to capture the interest of audience researchers. However, as Kristensen and From (2011, 253) found out in their brief inquiry among the readers of cultural journalism, the receivers do not necessarily distinguish between arts and culture and their mediation. Rather, they make advantage of multi-channel access to arts and culture, which compels researchers to examine cultural journalism as part of a larger communication landscape. Blank's (2007) discussion about the use of reviews attempts to demonstrate that audiences can use reviews for different purposes with possibly a different time perspective than that of production and the functions that reviews can take may be inscrutable once knowledge is abstracted from the local environment where it was created. Instead of following the reception culture, the study of criticism has concentrated on the connection of what Carroll (2009) calls success and reception value of an artwork, i.e. how the critic assists his or her audience in receiving a value of an artwork, the fullest possible positive experience, by presenting an appropriate interpretation that meets the potentials of the work shaped by the artistic creator.

Nevertheless, if we look at the recent studies on arts and cultural journalism where the object of study finds a place in the disjuncture between journalism and aesthetic research agenda, the study of cultural journalism is perhaps not as neglected as often claimed. The extension of the cultural concept (see section 3.2) has been supported by the rise of cultural studies that has devoted a considerable amount of work to the justification of the importance of the popular (Denning 2004, Schudson 1987) and popular or ordinary consumption (McLeese 2010, Gronow & Warde 2001). As a sort of counter-interpretation to the crisis discourse, recent studies in the Nordic countries on the change of cultural journalistic coverage have consciously attempted to question and overcome the narrative of a decline, or the proliferated crisis discourse (Kristensen & From 2011, Kristensen 2010, Knapskog & Larsen 2008b, Brandstrup 1994). Scholars and practitioners have searched for the relevance and productivity of arts and cultural journalism and attempted to reinforce its ideological connection to society and its democratic and civic potential (see e.g. Fürsich 2012, Fürsich & Avant-Mier 2012, Lamprecht 2012, Reus 2012, Lund 2005, 21–34; Loman et al. 2007, 103–106; Brandstrup 1994).⁴⁰ During the recent decades, the ties between aesthetic and social realms have been fortified.

Issues concerning specialized types of journalism have also slowly started to evoke scholarly interest in journalism studies during the past decades, developing critical frameworks for the investigation of kindred examples like literary journalism (Canada 2013), sports journalism (Rowe 2007, Salwen & Garrison 1998, Toney 2013), lifestyle journalism (Kristensen & From 2012, Hanusch 2012, 2013, Fürsich 2012), travel journalism (Hanusch & Fürsich 2014, Fürsich & Kavoori 2001), science journalism (Jensen 2014), environmental journalism (Bodker & Neverla 2013) and peace journalism (Hanitzsch 2007). Moreover, since the past decades scholars have seen changes in the general or mainstream journalism that undermine the idea of “hard” journal-

⁴⁰ It should be noted that the attempts to substantiate the democratic importance of cultural journalism are, of course, also attempts to bring cultural journalism to the research agenda of journalism studies and, therefore, politically informed acts.

ism, bringing it closer to cultural journalism, such as featurization (Steensen 2011), narrativization of the news (Liebes 1994), or culturalization of economic knowledge (du Gay & Pryke 2002). Some forms of such newly developed journalism, such as developmental journalism and public journalism, also share the orientation of cultural journalism in that they reject the basic journalistic principles of objectivity and impartiality in favour of open advocacy of their matters (human rights, public interest, artistic-aesthetic engagement).

One important factor that has contributed to raised awareness of cultural journalism and journalists have been the exploratory surveys and reports carried out for purposes of arts management and further research (pre)surveying the agents in the field with questions of who they are, how they should be educated and with which substance (Jokinen 1988, Grimsmo 1991, Hognestad 1995, Reus et al. 1995, Larsen & Knapskog 2001, Biehl 2003).⁴¹ In the U.S., the National Arts Journalism Program (NAJP) at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism carried out an extensive survey on the arts and culture coverage in American dailies twice, in 1999 and 2004. The first study (NAJP 1999) analysed 15 dailies in 10 cities across the country. The follow-up study (Szántó et al. 2004b) encompassed 3 national newspapers and 17 metropolitan daily newspapers.⁴² The studies outlined two ways of defining artistic coverage: focusing either on the culture pages (A&L section) or weekend sections that typically appeared in the form of a pullout supplement. However, as the daily A&L sections include applied titles such as *Living* or *Arts & Lifestyle*, the coverage was defined beyond the actual coverage on arts and culture.

In addition, in 2002 the NAJP program conducted a survey on visual art critics (Szántó 2002) and in 2001 on architectural critics (Szántó et al. 2001). The visual critic study drew on 96 daily newspapers, 34 alternative weeklies and 3 national newsmagazines with respondents from visual art, film, music, books, television, and performing arts (Szántó 2002). The architecture critic study (Szántó et al. 2001) presented the NAJP's inaugural survey on agents of cultural journalism and found the number of full-time critics to be very low. The studies cast light on critics' attitudes and ambitions and reported, for example, that rendering a personal judgement was considered by art critics to be the least important factor in reviewing art (Szántó 2002, 9). This departure from evaluative criticism was taken up by pamphleteers and advocates of the crisis discourse (Elkins 2003, Elkins & Newman 2008) and virtually produced a 21st-century revival of public interest in cultural journalism.

Despite the existing individual studies and surveys on cultural journalism, the treatment of cultural journalism is still lacking coherent conceptualizations for understanding its functionality in the context of journalism and mass communication. There is a virtual need to examine the issue on a more conceptual level from an *inte-*

⁴¹ However, it has to be noted that the professional unions do not typically make systematic inquiries and thus provide data about their arts and cultural journalist members (Biehl 2003, 35).

⁴² The study analyzed a total of 8,747 articles and 4,541 listings from 583 separate issues of 20 newspapers during the month of October 2003. The combined total of articles and listings examined in the study was 13,288. National newspapers included in the study were *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today*. Metropolitan newspapers were the *Charlotte Observer*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Denver Post*, *Rocky Mountain News*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Miami Herald*, *Philadelphia Daily News*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Portland Oregonian*, *Providence Journal*, *Contra Costa Times*, *Oakland Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *San Jose Mercury News*.

grative perspective that combines the both traditions within the profession and thus provides a more holistic account of cultural journalism as a professionalist entity.⁴³ Next, I will take a look at studies that consider cultural journalism as such an entity. The most relevant body of literature examining aspects of the cultural production in fields of cultural journalism can be categorized into studies on cultural journalists' identity and difference from mainstream journalism (section 1.2.1), cultural influence (1.2.2) and changes in coverage (1.2.3).

1.2.1 Studies on identity and difference

Empirically based studies on cultural journalism typically come into terms with the sense of otherness among the practitioners of cultural journalism.⁴⁴ Scholars and practitioners tend to describe cultural journalism as “different” from the normalized conception of journalism. Forde (2003, 113) writes, while studying popular music journalists in magazines, that “the profession simultaneously exists both inside and outside the traditional journalistic sphere” and has to be considered outside of the dominant paradigms within journalism studies. The ambiguous position of cultural journalists with regard to journalists illustratively comes out in portrayals which describe cultural journalists as “oddities in culture” (Hurri 1993, 50), “journalists with a difference” (Forde 2003), and “exotics” or “birds of paradise within the mediascape” (Reus et al. 1995). Cultural journalists' position and professional culture do not entirely fit into the cultural ideals of the art world and the journalism they represent is not fully compatible with the patterns of normalized journalism. This makes cultural journalists fall between two stools: they tend to feel imperfectly legitimized members of the both professional spheres of arts and journalism.

In art sociology and literary studies, the difference is often discussed particularly with regard to reviews within a framework of parasite theory. In this framework, reviews are seen parasitic upon the artistic disciplines and reviewers parasites in the world of art. Reviewers may thus be described “artists manqués” (Carroll 2009, 8), “eunuchs of art” (English 1979, 158; Shrum 1996, 166), “dogs-in-the-manger” (McDonald 2007, 11) or “practitioners of a parasitic profession” (Dickstein 1992, 56; Frye (1973 [1957], 6; Goldman, 1974). As a parasite is dependent on its host and benefits from the association at the host's expense (Gullestad 2011, 304), reviewers' activity is found minor to the artistic activity and hostile toward artists by its guiding principle. This pejorativity is boosted by the public imagery in which the reviewer is seen as a malevolent punisher and slanderer with poor understanding and willingness towards art (McDonald 2007) or, as characterized in George Orwell's essay *Confessions of a book reviewer* (1946), a crushed figure “pouring his immortal spirit down the drain” due to the week-in, week-out production of “invented reactions toward art”. The Ger-

⁴³ However, recent contributions with theoretical elaboration of the integrative perspective include, above all, Bech-Karlsen (1991), Kristensen and From (2011), and Knapskog and Larsen (2008).

⁴⁴ One might argue that one of the reasons that the topic of difference has been taken up so frequently in academic research is due to the lack of long-lasting academic interest. Most of the studies touching cultural journalism are characterized through sporadicity: the study into a “different” field of journalism has served journalism scholars sort of an excursion from the “mainstream” journalism field (see e.g. Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Hurri 1993, Bech-Karlsen 1991a).

man poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) compared the reviewer in his poem *Recensent* (1773) to a dog that should be hit to death,⁴⁵ and the Czech artist Gabriel Cornelius von Max (1840–1915) replaced the reviewers in his painting with a flock of monkeys.⁴⁶ Critics' ill repute is also typically circulated in flying sentences such as “no statue has ever been erected to a critic”, ascribed to the Finnish composer Jean Sibelius, or “critics are like horse-flies which hinder the horses in their ploughing of the soil” by the Russian author Anton Chekhov.

Reviewing has thus been assigned a low cultural status (Dickstein 1992, 56), as has cultural editing within the institution of journalism in general (Scott 1999, 46; Kristensen & From 2011, 24). However, studies addressing the practitioners' self-understandings reveal that even if cultural journalists feel themselves as misunderstood lower-status workers, their role is ambiguous. In Supinen's (2003) theme interviews Finnish cultural journalists symptomatically described their position within the journalistic organization by saying that they felt “dominated by praise”. In discourse, the significance of cultural journalists is acknowledged but when it comes to allocation of resources and conceding autonomy, cultural journalists feel subjugated to mainstream journalistic objectives. They may also feel themselves as dispensable and surplus in a way that Martha Nussbaum (1995, 2) notices in her study on the literary public sphere about the accustomed way of thinking about literature as optional: literature is “great, valuable, entertaining, excellent, but something that exists off to one side of political and economic and legal thought --- ancillary rather than competitive.” Historically, the field of general journalism has not necessarily needed its specialized subfield as much as some artistic fields have needed the subfield of cultural journalism to boost their position in society. In the newspapers' pecking order, arts and culture are thus left behind “harder” news coverage and even sports (Tyndall 2004, 24). Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) interpreted that arts journalists who they interviewed, with their high culture allegiances, felt themselves vulnerable to the popularizing efforts and non-cultural influences⁴⁷ in the press because of the ill-defined and contested standards of art, or the instability of the arts as a category of news, and, therefore, the ambiguous object and area of their work. Their informants were also keen to point out how marginalized culture was in the newsroom culture, thus emphasizing the difference.

In other words, the dominated position of cultural journalists and critics is seen not only as alienation from the generalized type norms but also as an empowering distinction from them. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) observed that cultural journalists engaged in a range of justificatory discourses in which they described themselves as “exceptional journalists” or “better journalists”. Similarly, Tunstall (1971, 117) found that specialist news correspondents claimed to “see themselves as being free, while other journalists are in chains”. The aspired *art exceptionalism* underlies a tendency among cultural journalists to think to “know better” how to report on cultural issues

⁴⁵ *Da hatt ich einen Kerl zu Gast (Recensent)*, in: *Gesammelte Werke*, Bd. 1-4: Gedichte. Stuttgart und Tübingen: Cotta, 1827.

⁴⁶ *Monkeys as judges of art* (1889).

⁴⁷ Besides popularizing efforts, Scott (1999, 49) names the dynamic nature of the industry as a pressure to the arts journalists: “A small design change can let in a whole new category of work for consideration”, and “working practices have led to process the cancellation of certain types of coverage”, he notes on the basis of case examples.

than the generalists working in newsrooms because of their insider knowledge. These self-congratulatory arguments about one's own significance go hand in hand with assertions about the centrality of arts in society; Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) reported that cultural journalists even felt offended when asked whether arts could be perceived as "softer news" (referring in their eyes to "light" or "fluffy") and stressed "the vital importance of arts" to society and its transformative power to individuals. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (*ibid.*, 626) saw these accounts as counter-acts demonstrating an anxiety about performing their identities as "journalists with a difference". The passionate engagement, the cultural journalists' idealized role as crusaders for the sake of arts, is thus a central characteristic found in research and it makes the cultural journalists stand out among generalists (see also Klein 2005, Szántó 2002). The role of cultural journalists thus appears as essentially doubled by its very nature: on one hand they regard themselves been subordinated to the mechanisms and cultures of the industry but on the other hand they seek autonomy towards it in their expertise, and they truly feel their autonomy is something special.

How cultural journalists *see* their work cannot, however, serve a sole source for information about how cultural journalists actually *do* their work. The differences are also manifest as differences in principles that govern the work of cultural journalists and reviewers. The Brazilian scholars Golin and Cardoso (2009) systematically went through the news criteria familiar from general journalism and applied them to cultural journalism. They found subjectivity to be an added ingredient that is almost compulsory in cultural journalism. Cultural journalists point to informational news criteria but a frequent criterion in their vocabulary is "interestedness" which complements the dimensions (Honkavaara 2001). Forde (2003, 114) compares the "hard news journalism" and music journalism and finds dissimilarities in training, conditions of employment, professional values, readership, and thematic range. Music journalists may feel formal journalistic training, appreciated in the realm of hard news, to be a hindrance. They deal more with textual interpretation than factual information, have a short-term career path leading to a high turnover of writers, and a higher level of career instability. According to Forde, the music journalists are also characterized by a cultural proximity with their (niche) audiences for which age is a key issue.

According to a Norwegian study about the journalistic field (Hovden 2008, Hovden & Knapskog 2008), cultural journalists were found to be more likely recruited from upper classes than the rest of journalists. They tended to be more educated than other journalists and thus to own more cultural capital than other journalists (Hovden & Knapskog 2008, Gripsrud et al. 2011).⁴⁸ The greater the degree of specialized knowledge and skills required of the occupant of a position is, the greater is the degree of autonomy that accrues to the position (Tunstall 1971, 115). The centre of the professionalism of cultural journalism has thus typically been adhered the demand for cultural capital, while forms of cultural journalism with less cultural capital have been located in the periphery.

⁴⁸ In comparison, a study among German cultural journalists (Reus et al. 1995) found that cultural journalists do not differ from their colleagues in the *level* of education or vertical organizational differentiation. The difference in education was seen in the smaller share of journalists holding a major in journalism and communication (*ibid.*, 311). However, Reus and colleagues argued that the value of formal education among cultural journalists is very high, because education distinguishes them from artists and other cultural workers.

According to the Norwegian study, cultural journalism was also characterized with a(n) (inter)national focus that is basically not limited to the circulation area of the medium. It was centred in metropolitan areas, as cultural journalists are likely to live in big cities and cultural journalism to be published in national rather than local papers. The occupation of a cultural journalist is regarded as predominantly feminine: while two out of three Norwegian journalists were males, among cultural journalists the share of female journalists accounted for 57 percent.⁴⁹ (Hovden & Knapskog 2008, 58.) In Lund's (2005) data of one constructed week in 2003 the amount of stories written by female journalists accounted for 38–46 percent in the biggest Scandinavian dailies (ibid., 106). Hovden and Knapskog (2008, 70) estimated that the recruitments of Norwegian male journalists were on the increase, as male journalists were likely to be less educated and write about popular topics such as popular music and film, the amount of which had been on the increase.

Along with autonomy from the main field of journalism, a most salient characteristic that makes cultural journalism stand out is its proximity with sources and objects of reporting, which has also drawn the scholarly attention to the source-field relationship of cultural journalism. Applying Bourdieu's view, cultural journalists are typically regarded as *competitors* to artists and PR professionals for promotion of new offerings in the cultural scene, dependent on the audiences' recognition in the struggle for legitimacy (Kristensen & From 2011, 35; Knapskog & Larsen 2008b, 20). Consequently, Kristensen (2004) suggested that cultural journalism forms a special case in journalism precisely in terms of its professional source relationships. Above all, journalism scholars have been concerned with the unambitious use of sources that does not come up with the general standards of news journalism. Lund (2005, 45) noticed in her comparison of six Scandinavian dailies (N=900 articles) that a typical article on culture pages had one (46 %) or no (41 %) sources, while only 13 percent of the articles cited two or more sources in 2003. The professionalization of the PR and communication management in line with the growth of cultural industries has increased the commercial, political and symbolic pressures directed towards cultural journalists' criticality (Kristensen 2004, Olsen 2014).⁵⁰ However, Bech-Karlsen (1991) emphasized that a critical distance to cultural producers distinguishes cultural journalists from cultural workers (see also Canclini 2003 and Olsen 2014). The detachment from other cultural production thus renders cultural journalism relative autonomy and a functional role in the mediation of arts and culture. Taking distance is, nevertheless, no simple task; the intimate relationship with the source-fields also appears to a cultural journalist as an asset in getting up-to-date information, creating trust between the fields and legitimating his or her agency in front of the art world.

The existence of differences in form of otherness, deviance and distinction implies that cultural journalism is a field of contradictory and conflicting ambitions. The differences captured in the difference studies are fruitful for understanding cultural journalism as a distinct form of professionalism, but it remains obvious that the functionality and the practical implications of the difference(s) should be further elaborated. Nevertheless, the idea of difference should not be interpreted in a reduc-

⁴⁹ In the German survey (N=105) (Reus et al. 1995) the share of the female cultural journalists accounted for 32 percent, which was more than in politics, economics, local affairs and sports (24 %).

⁵⁰ With the symbolic pressures Kristensen (2004, 227) means the cultural agents' general interest in being exposed in public to create reputation and competitive edge in cultural production.

tive manner, as the authorship of cultural journalism shows a great heterogeneity. Kristensen (2004, 208) distinguished between two ideal types of cultural journalists: the cultural reporters and the cultural reviewers. They could, according to her, be further separated into “the reporter”, “the allround journalist”, “the reviewer” and “the academic freelancer” (ibid., 213). Hence, there are also internal divisions within the profession. Having conducted in-depth interviews with 15 American weekly and daily newspaper critics, Klein (2005) suggested, in line with Frith (2002), that the popular culture critics are to be distinguished from the high culture critics because of a lower status and a lack of formal qualifications. Comparing critics and journalists, Klein (2005, 19) noticed that the journalistic authority of the journalistically oriented writers was often less questioned due to values of objectivity and facticity that protected those who were called journalists; in contrast, the “actions of editors, publicists, and other critics” posed according to her a challenge to the critics’ authority. Along with external differences, these internal differences may cast light on the specifics of the professionalism of cultural journalism.

1.2.2 Studies on intermediary influence

A widely debated issue is whether and to which extent cultural journalists exercise power in society. Cultural journalists and reviewers are acknowledged to be key agents in creating symbolic value for institutions and mobilizing resources integral to the art world formation. However, the influence of cultural journalists and critics is relatively hard to show empirically. Because the influences can be complex, asynchronous in different fields and multicausal, pointing to many different directions, it may be difficult to trace them unambiguously.

Analyzing the field of rock criticism from an Anglo-American and Scandinavian perspective, Lindberg and colleagues (2004) localized the influence of rock critics in the legitimation of rock as a new cultural category (see also Powers 2010). They arrived at a conclusion that rock criticism follows intermediary aesthetics that regard the constant tension between the autonomous and the heteronomous field of production as necessary, or productive for “the music’s ability to register signs and renew itself” (ibid., 338). Similarly, Baumann (2007) showed how cultural experts created a legitimating discourse that contributed to “intellectualization” of the American film, i.e. its apprehension as an art form.⁵¹ Various studies observed that reviews do have impact on the sales of cultural goods: even negative reviews increase the sales but the favourable content of reviews is not as significant as the visibility they provide, especially for new authors (Blank 2007, 6; Shrum 1996, 18).⁵² In the NAJP study (Szántó 2002, see also Blank 2007) about two-thirds of reviewers declared that they preferred writing about art in a positive vein and deliberately eschewed negative criticism. Due to this structural bias in the production of reviews art criticism cannot necessarily be

⁵¹ Something similar was pointed out by Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010) who noted that the distinction between “art” and “entertainment” was superseded by the idea of “seriousness” in criticism since the 1960s.

⁵² Additionally, Shrum (1996, 140) found a positive correlation between reviewer evaluations and audience size for highbrow but not for popular genres.

thought to entirely *represent* a reviewership's opinion. Consequently, Shrum (1996) summarized that the dependence that characterizes high art is a dependence on the secondary discourse in general rather than a dependence on a particular judgemental outcome. He found out that a lacking consensus on the merit of an art work, which is often the case in reviews of new works, harms artists more than simple negativity.

According to Janssen's (1997) analysis, reviewers take due note of each other's opinions and achievements, attune their judgements each other, as metaphorically described by Bourdieu as "orchestration". She states that "a critic's reputation as a literary expert is inseparably related to the extent to which, over a period of time, his judgements have met with his colleagues' approval" (ibid.). Reviewers are thus strongly guided and influenced by their professional community. Because the assessment affects the reputation of both the works under discussion and the discussants themselves as literary experts, reviewers tend to play safe when dealing with recently published texts. Janssen notes that the name of the publishing house and the previous assessments function as quality indicators for reviewers approaching art works.

Most of the research on the reviewers' and cultural journalists' influence is connected to studies on cultural intermediaries. The concept of a cultural intermediary is borrowed from Bourdieu who regarded cultural journalists and reviewers as bridging workers who are situated in-between creative artists and consumers of art. Bourdieu introduced the term in his book *Distinction* (1984) to refer to the growing class of new petit bourgeoisie workers engaged in occupations involving presentation and representation (Bourdieu 1984, 359). In a two-way response with the readership – both leading them by introducing ideas and values as well as conforming to entrenched values – the arts journalists act in "boundary spanning roles", as Hirsch (1972) puts it, to build the cultural frame for goods. Research on the intermediary aspect is intellectually indebted to the early mass media research that examined the industry based on transmission models and developed gatekeeper studies (Ettema & Whitney 1982; DiMaggio & Hirsch 1976). However, rather than just making choices of filtering flows of content as gatekeepers, the intermediaries' role in linking production and consumption is found in the active intervention they make in the process of producing meaning in the role of tastemakers. McQuail (1992, 278) amalgamates the institutions connected with education, the arts and sciences to cultural institutions the function of which is to provide legitimacy for their "preference claims", under which "the idea of hierarchy of aesthetic value" is the most prominent. He calls the cultural institutions along with cultural industries, political interests and pressure groups as "agents of preference" (ibid., 278–279). Later studies on the general category of cultural intermediaries, leaning on the ideas of gatekeeping and tastemaking, have asserted that cultural intermediaries are differentiated by their locations within commodity chains, devices for gaining influence and claims to professional expertise in taste and value within specific cultural fields (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012).

Bourdieu himself did not incorporate the media into his theory of cultural production, apart from his later writings of the role of television (Bourdieu 1996a) which have encountered voluminous criticism. This is obviously one of the reasons why the term cultural intermediary has recently faced expansion in use and has become a descriptive catch-all for seemingly any creative occupation. A number of "creatives' fulfilling a cultural need for certainty" (Negus 2002, 505) such as advertising executives (Venkatesh & Meamber 2006, McFall 2010), bookshop workers (Wright 2005),

accountants and factory workers (Negus 2002) and bartenders (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012) have been identified as cultural intermediaries. As critique for distancing from the Bourdieuan meaning, Hesmondhalgh (2006) blames scholars for a misreading of Bourdieu's term "new cultural intermediary". In his study on consumer cultures, Featherstone (2007) equated the new cultural intermediaries with the new petite bourgeoisie. To this new middle class belonged a small new particular type of social class that was associated with cultural commentary in the mass media, for example journalists, writers, marketers, advertisers, public relations people, decorators and other people working in symbolic production. According to Hesmondhalgh (2006), recent studies have thought of "cultural intermediaries" to represent the workers in the creative industries as a whole. The diluted use of the term has caused confusion and given rise to calls for a more specific definition of who exactly counts as a cultural intermediary and on what criteria (Wright 2005, Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012).

The expansive undertakings of the concept of cultural intermediary have to be understood as attempts to re-define or re-settle the term and harness it to a helpful category to discuss the diversified work that connects consumption with production and this way bridges the gap between production and consumption. The term of cultural intermediaries has been complained to prioritize a narrow and a reductionist aesthetic definition of culture (Negus 2002, 504), and, resonating with engagements to broaden the scholarly scope for seeing culture as a whole way of life. Bourdieu, in other words, dismissed cultural production in the commercial domain and commercially produced culture, which has perhaps brought scholars studying, for example, record industry (Nixon & du Gay 2002, 498), to the rediscover the concept. Some scholars hold that cultural intermediaries, usually understood in the extended sense, reproduce rather than bridge the distance between production and consumption, which results in offering an illusion of a link between production and consumption rather than actually bringing them closer together (Negus 2002, Wright 2005). However, precisely attempts to cater for these shortcomings have resulted in an all-encompassing extension of the term makes the object under study remain elusive for a theoretical analysis.

Consequently, considering the limited number of studies with a genuinely integrated perspective, studies on cultural journalists as cultural intermediaries have not succeeded very well in integrating the autonomous and heteronomous dimensions of the field of production. The studies are concentrated on criticism or reception of artistic-aesthetic content rather than integrative, or intermediary, professionalism. Studies dealing with the concept at a very general level or looking at occupations separately underline the need to examine the distinctive features of the occupations with regard to each other. Therefore, it is widely agreed that a better specification of the division of labour involved in mediating production and consumption as well as a more specific appreciation of the contexts of cultural production are required to understand what is exactly being produced (Hesmondhalgh 2006, 227; Nixon & du Gay 2002, 498; Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012, 552; Wright 2005, 112).⁵³

It would be useful to go little deeper into the internal distinction between different kind of cultural intermediaries within the profession of cultural journalism, because

⁵³ Blank (2007, 6) identifies only about twenty studies relevant for cultural evaluation, and he notices that no studies address the larger institutional context in which reviews are embedded.

cultural intermediaries, including cultural journalists, typically have a problematic relationship with heteronomous dimensions of production (Brandellero et al. 2010, Negus 2002). For Bourdieu, the commissioning editors, dealers and other similar figures allow the creative personnel such as painters and writers to avoid contact with the market and to maintain “an inspired and ‘disinterested’ picture” of oneself (Bourdieu 1996b [1992], 168). That commerce is counterposed against creativity may represent a romanticist notion to someone, but in media organizations the journalistic and the marketing units have been indeed separated, allowing journalistic departments to think of the journalistic ideology less under commercial pressures.⁵⁴ The idea of discrete “cultural” and “economic” practices may have blurred the actual economic ties but this separation process is the most important part of Bourdieu’s thought, as it is *autonomy* of the field of cultural production what is at stake in the ability of cultural workers to be identified as cultural intermediaries.

To release the pragmatic potential of the concept of intermediation we should to ask how journalists and reviewers as cultural intermediaries stand out along the multiplicity of features identified in separate studies. Looking at journalists and reviewers, it is obvious that they differ from actors involved in the primary production (for the definition of primary and secondary production see section 2.2.1). Their context is primarily and very obviously not the promotional and commercial aspect of getting the cultural products sold. This is not to say that they would be fully autonomous actors free from any heteronomous tides, as they are not, because they are involved in commercial activities from the side of the media. However, as intermediaries their activities are connected to immaterial, aesthetic aims rather than to those heteronomously defined concerns, and they attempt to keep distance to the primary production of cultural goods. In section 2.2.1 I will analytically distinguish between “mediators” and “distributors”, the former being located in the primary production and the latter to be identified as the central actors in what I call secondary production. I will argue that the distance towards primary production for promoting *reception* is the core feature among cultural journalists and reviewers.

1.2.3 Studies on change in coverage

A number of studies with a predominantly national focus have identified changes that have occurred in the amount of space given to art and specific art forms in the daily press. Applying the framework suggested by Janssen (1999, 330), it can be said that studies on artistic coverage typically examine the coverage with respect to three aspects. First, studies are concerned with the *status of arts* at a general level in relation to other domains within the publication. The relationship of the media towards arts and culture is examined first and foremost by the total space assigned to arts and the location of art news in the paper. Secondly, the studies deal with the distribution of *coverage of different art forms and genres*. The differences in attention paid to various art forms and genres through time is thought as indicative of the representation of art

⁵⁴ Bourdieu and Passeron (1977 [1970], 51) also note that exclusion of different groups is often carried out by mechanisms external to the agency performing pedagogic work, with the more or less direct effect of economic mechanisms.

and culture in society at a given point of time. Genres are picked up for study to trace the epistemic variations between the orientation towards distribution of information and judgement. The focus is typically on the hierarchical relations between art forms and genres. Thirdly, the studies direct the interest towards specific artistic domains to find out *internal hierarchizations* in cultural products.

A fourth aspect could be added that involves mapping *information of changes in production structures* that tell us about the resources available for the content production; indicators of resources are, for example, the number of employees specialized in the arts and their specialization according to different disciplines of art, the educational background and the gender of the writers as a sign of dispositions and position-takings in artistic fields and professionalization of the trade in general. For example, Stegert (1998) as well as Kristensen and From (2011) make an extensive contribution to the methodological aspect of studying the change of cultural journalism by presenting a framework for categorization and discussing methodological problems of categorization of content.

Many of studies on coverage take both elite and popular papers (see e.g. Janssen 1999) or different types of print media (see e.g. Stegert 1998, Tyndall 2004) into account. Additionally, some studies (e.g. NAJP 1999, Stegert 1998, Tyndall 2004) operationalize culture beyond the boundaries of the culture department; their scope is, then, to understand culture as a dimension of all ways of life ignorant of the journalistic production structures rather than as a specialized form of specialized production (see section 1.1.1). For Janssen (1999) subsuming both elite and popular papers is helpful “to gain a differentiated view”. However, some methodological problems may occur, if media outlets that differ in organizational goals, structures and policies and, in particular, their concept of culture (for definition see section 3.2) are considered to be the same kind of reflection of “arts and culture” in society, not to talk about their means of representation that may differ because of divergent publics. The traditional culture departments have serious aims of contributing to the evaluation of arts by following cultural events and products in a *representative* way with regard to what is happening in the cultural scene at the national and regional level(s), whereas popular papers, following the popular interest as their guiding principle, have the freedom to be more selective in their selection of cultural products for reviewing and topics for reporting. Elite papers tend to have high culture allegiances, while popular papers come up with a more populist, everyday and commercially oriented view on culture. Furthermore, the reviewing activity is often thought to be the functional and even the moral responsibility of the quality papers (Boenisch 2008, 23–24).

The idea behind tracing internal relations between artistic forms and genres is that they form a ranking of categories. By their daily activities culture departments are creating a hierarchy or a canon of art forms that implies some forms being more essential (to society at large) than others. Janssen (1999) calls these high-status and low-status disciplines (Janssen 1999) and Hurri (1993) central and peripheral art forms. Cultural journalism thus serves a function of categorizing art according to what counts as good art and therefore as good taste, which distinguishes it as a type of journalism from other forms of journalisms such as political or economic journalism that are lacking such a formal internal hierarchy supported by a system of shared categories (see section 3.1), even if they do evaluate their areas of monitoring, construct categories and hierarchies of meaning and report on some areas of life more regularly than on others. Political and economic journalism do not, however, in a similar way underlie a set of

meta-criteria for creating a public overall presentation of *good* politics or *good* economics that would serve as a “window” into the state of civilization of society and be closely connected to the world of politics or economics. They judge human behaviour as well as cultural structures and processes on moral rather than aesthetic grounds.

As fluctuations in political aims can tell something of the cultural conditions of democracy, a small research strain has been developed addressing the cultural journalism developed from a perspective in which the role of cultural journalism is to act as a forum for societal debate. In this democracy frame, cultural journalism is discussed with regard to its fundamental importance as some sort of a safety valve for dealing with sensitive societal issues. In times of dictatorship cultural journalism can serve as the reserve for journalism where the autonomy of expression can be harnessed to say things veiled, supported with an inclusive view on culture (Könno et al. 2012). In Germany, Reus and Harden (2005) found an increase of the theme category politics in coverage by the culture departments of national dailies during two decades (1983–2003); however, they interpreted this re-accentuation as a cause of the Iraqi war. Sucksdorff (2005) examined the development of coverage for the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland. Wasserman (2004) and Botma (2008, 2013) studied the role of arts journalism in post-apartheid South Africa as part of the democratic transformation of society. These contributions regard the functions and the possible changes as an ethical issue from a normative perspective, in contrast with the rather descriptive European and American studies which I will sort summarize next.⁵⁵

In European dailies, the quantity of space devoted to arts has constantly expanded in the timeframe from the 1970s till the 1990s. Studies show that the arts have benefited from the overall development and the increase in the number of editorial pages in dailies since the 1970s. Studies show (Janssen 1999, Kristensen & From 2011, Larsen 2008) that both the aggregate number of art pages and their relative share of total editorial space as well as the number of contributions on the art pages have substantially increased. In Norwegian papers, Larsen (2008) noticed that the growth of the number of articles and the editorial space on culture pages in the time period 1964–2005 was bigger than their growth on average, and culture was higher prioritized on the front page in 2005 than ever before. However, the dailies in a Danish study (Kristensen & From 2011, 128) pointed to an opposite direction, which the authors interpreted as a sign for an increased editorial decision-making. In Dutch papers, the total relative coverage of arts varied between 8 and 11 percent in 1965–1990 (Janssen 1999, 335). In Finland, the share of cultural substance in newspapers has remained around 7 percent (Hurri 1983, Statistics Finland 2009), about the same as found in American papers by the NAJP study (Janeway & Szántó 2003, 284).

In the U.S., however, where the newspapers were already fully hit by the economic crisis at the turn of the millennium, the tendency of the position of cultural journalism in the newspaper was the opposite around the millennium: print papers were shrinking, and the NAJP study (Szántó et al. 2004a, 11) reported that the size of arts sections had generally declined relative to sports sections, although having gained ground vis-à-vis hard-news sections, if counted as a percentage of the newspaper’s overall pagination

⁵⁵ As my primary focus is on the more recent change that has occurred from the beginning of the 1990s, I will refer in this context only to those content analyses on newspaper coverage that range over multiple decades from the 1960s or 1970s until the 1990s or 2000s, thus excluding some pioneer analyses of earlier studies, e.g. Bogart (1981), Sörbom (1982), Huotari et al. (1980) and Varpio (1982).

assigned to the daily arts sections that had increased from 7 (1998) to 9 (2003) percent (Tyndall 2004, 30). Some national papers had radically downsized the relative importance of their A&L section; in *The New York Times* the section accounted for 10 percent of the newspaper's pagination and by 2003 it had fallen to 5 percent. Despite individual variation related to changes in institutional profiling, the editors assessed the arts sections in general to have retained a relatively stable position in the papers (Tyndall 2004, 29).

The length of articles has also internationally shown some variation, and the trend seems to be downwards. According to the studies by the NAJP (1999, Szántó et al. 2004b), almost every newspaper monitored had cut the average length of its arts stories under the timespan between the studies: at 7 of the 15 newspapers studied the articles had become at least 20 percent shorter (Szántó et al. 2004a, 11). However, a trend seen overall the country was a larger number of articles in a smaller overall newshole (Tyndall 2004, 32). German feuilletons, in contrast, showed an opposite trend: the average length of texts became longer from 1980s until the beginning of the 2000s (Reus & Harden 2005). The deviating tendency cannot be interpreted solely based on a difference between the feuilletonist and the Anglo-American oriented journalism, as Danish papers also showed a growth in the average length of articles in the time period of 1890–2008 (Kristensen & From 2011, 109). Baumann (2007, 123) observed a connection between the intellectualizing discourse derivative from high culture and the length of the text; to him, the increase of specialized vocabulary necessitated contextualization and wider explanations resulting to longer reviews.

The expansion of cultural content in newspapers has occurred not only to keep pace with the growing number of advertisements and increasing cultural offerings (Kristensen & From 2011) but also to bring in more and new kinds of readers and target-groups for advertising (Janssen 1999, 335). Furthermore, during the second half of the 20th century, stimulated by editorial experimentation and new production technology allowing more flexible formatting and the use of colour, newspapers have established physically separate special-interest sections dealing with a broad range of “cultural” topics such as newly published books, entertainment, leisure and travel, home furnishing and decoration, fashion, health and education. Therefore, Janssen (1999, 335–336) as well as Kristensen and From (2011, 107) both find it questionable if we actually can speak of increased attention to the arts.

A shared finding in all studies concerning the change of content, something that supports findings in this study too, is that the position of reviews has not fallen back in a way that we could speak of entire displacement or a quantitative decline of the review. In the U.S. papers, the total number of reviews had decreased on average, but their percentage out of the total coverage of other articles on arts pages had more or less remained the same on average (Tyndall 2004, 26). The NAJP study also found cut-backs in the number of bylined articles and an increase of story count by freelancers at 10 out of the 15 newspapers monitored (*ibid.*, 26–27). In Norway (Larsen 2008), the relative proportion of reviews had declined, while there was a simultaneous growth of news genres (news, reportage and interview). In Denmark (Kristensen & From 2011, 155), despite differences between different types of newspapers, a tendency from objective news genres towards contextualizing genres was identified: the share of news and reportages had decreased in newspapers in the years 1980–2008, whereas the share of contextualizing articles, interviews and portraits had increased.

Another shared finding in content analyses in different countries is the popularization of content. The strongest change is seen in the category of music: a number of studies report a decline of classical music and a simultaneous increase in pop and rock (Janssen 1999, 336; Reus & Harden 2005, 164–165). Popular forms of music have established themselves in the cultural canon of journalism (Janssen et al. 2011, Lindberg et al. 2005, Janssen 1999, van Venrooij 2009). Larsen (2008, 320) reports that the combined proportion of film, popular music, computer games and television accounted for 20 percent in 1964, 30 percent in 1984 and 70 percent in 2005, while the combined category of fine literature, performance art, fine art and classical music accounted for 50 percent in 1964, 40 percent in 1984 and 22 percent in 2005. However, Larsen (2008, 324) asserts that endeavours to cover popular culture in print papers have not displaced the traditional coverage of high culture but rather supplemented it, which he regards as an attempt to reflect the changes in the fields of cultural production since the 1960s. In a comparative content analysis of elite papers in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the U.S. in 1955–2005, Janssen and colleagues (2011) noted that media-related field factors such as the structure of the newspaper market and the position and size of local cultural industries seemed more important factors influencing the hierarchization of high and popular issues than societal and cultural factors such as national cultural repertoires and the level of social mobility.⁵⁶

Altogether, the studies on the changes in cultural journalism show no coherent set of tendencies, although some parallels can be seen. The interpretations of the occurred changes are also multiple. The NAJP study (Szántó et al. 2004a, 13) observed that art news reporting, as distinct from arts criticism, was gaining ground “as a strategic priority” across the industry. The editors (Szántó et al. 2004a, 14) concluded that “the re-evaluation of the role of critical reviews is shaping up to be the defining battle in newspaper arts departments for years to come”. Stein (2004, 112) complemented that the focus of the arts media had shifted from serious criticism to entertainment; arts had ceased to be the story and become the backdrop against which persons and phenomena could be chronicled. The activities were motivated by financial rather than artistic considerations and intended to be “more exciting, more journalistic and more reader-friendly” (ibid., 116). Larsen (2008, 324), in contrast, noticed a shift from mere launch journalism towards more ambitious journalistic treatment.

Almost all studies are nationally delimited and connected with national developments in society and the cultural scene (for exceptions see Janssen et al. 2008, Lund 2005). This is well justified by the fact that culture concepts are ethnocentrically formed and the concept of culture of a particular newsroom is strongly dependent on the organization-specific adjustments (Janssen et al. 2008, Lund 2000, 2005); same kind of changes in the complex environment of cultural journalism may cause different kinds of adjusting changes in organizations. Some studies also draw conclusions with a very limited amount of data, such as one sample week per year (e.g. Reus & Harden 2005). Therefore, it is difficult to draw any comparisons or pursue a holistic view of the state of “Western cultural journalism”. However, far-reaching conclusions about a decline cannot be drawn; rather, the studies seem to suggest developments

⁵⁶ In addition, Janssen and colleagues (2008) conducted a comparative study on the globalization of the coverage in Dutch, French, German and U.S. elite newspapers and found out that international cultural coverage had increased in Europe but not in the U.S. However, the international coverage remained concentrated on few countries, of which the U.S. had become the most prominent.

that can be interpreted from many perspectives, such as professionalization of the journalistic occupation and popularization and diversification of content. Indeed, Janeway and Szántó (2003, 281) assert that “the results paint a picture somewhat different from the depressing anecdotal one”. What can be said for sure is that cultural departments seem to prefer the institutionalized, professional and (therefore) representative production of arts and culture (Bech-Karlsen 1991a). Cultural reporting is connected to cultural products (Bech-Karlsen 1991a) and content offered by professionally produced outlets (Reus & Harden 2005, 164).

1.3 Research design

This thesis is based on my writings from 2012–2015 on the change of cultural journalism in Finland. The core of the thesis is constituted by five different studies published as articles in international peer-reviewed academic journals with focus on journalism and cultural studies. The target audiences of the journals are thus international audiences.⁵⁷ As described in the introduction to this thesis, my motives for studying the change of cultural journalism primarily stem from the abundance of the recent crisis literature and change discourse, which has contributed to an increased number of studies in general. Furthermore, the choice of the topic was affected by my personal professional background as a cultural journalist in 2000–2005. My research interest was initiated with an organizational ethnography in the culture department of HS (Jaakkola 2005).

The substudies of this thesis were conducted separately and, due to their diverging timetables and asynchronous publication progress, they were completed in a different order than presented in this thesis. Together, they constitute a research design based on a mixed-methods approach. A multiperspective and interdisciplinary design with methodological pluralism has the potential to best serve research on the complexities of cultural factors underlying the professionalism of arts and cultural journalism.

1.3.1 *Research objectives*

This thesis comprises a series of individual studies to examine how cultural journalism has changed in terms of its content and practices and how eventual changes can be elucidated by understanding the internal structural logic of the institution. The studies examine changes in cultural journalism in Finland between 1978 and 2008. The central goal of this thesis is to enhance our understanding of an area of specialized professionalism as something more than just “deviant” professionalism. The past three decades were an important time for cultural journalism in newspapers and modern culture departments. By looking at the changes, we can determine how cultural coverage developed in Finland and if its tendencies are in line with those shown in content analyses conducted in other countries. Another goal is to construct a framework for studying the professionalism of this specialized type of journalism. Using data collected in Finland, the immediate context for the research comes from

⁵⁷ For publications for the Finnish audience, see e.g. Hellman and Jaakkola (2009) as well as Jaakkola (2012) and Jaakkola (2013).

the Nordic European form of newspaper journalism.

The research setting is guided by the following set of questions:

- RQ1. What general claims have been made regarding changes in cultural journalism? (Changes in/according to discourse)
- RQ2. What evidence-based trends in relation to these changes can be found in the content of daily newspapers' culture sections during the past three decades (1978–2008)? (Changes in content)
- RQ3. What do the changes (RQ1 and RQ2) and reflections about the changes reveal us about the structural dynamics of the professionalism of cultural journalism? (Changes in structures of professionalism)

This study is connected to the three major frames found in previous research (see section 1.2). Accordingly, three interrelated premises can be formulated that constitute a shared framework for the individual undertakings in Articles I–V and that elaborate on the cultural journalist professionalism. First, in terms of *identity and difference* (section 1.2.1), the differences in mainstream journalism as articulated in various studies are combined with findings related to cultural journalism showing cultural proximity with its artistic-aesthetic source-fields. The deviance from general journalistic values is interpreted as a symbiotic relationship with the art world to gain insight into the relationship between cultural journalism and the artistic-aesthetic fields. In this study, cultural journalism is defined using neither the principles of general journalism nor aesthetic or art concepts; instead, it is defined as an object of study between them, however, in its own right. Cultural journalism is thus not reducible to arts, cultural mediation in general, or journalism.

Second, with regard to the frame of *intermediary influence* (section 1.2.2), the study leans on an *integrative concept of cultural journalism*. This means that in contrast to studies focusing on criticism or cultural journalism of a certain artistic discipline (e.g. theatre journalism, music journalism), cultural journalism is conceptualized as an entity in which arts criticism forms an institution within cultural journalism to cover all the different artistic disciplines. Cultural journalism is thus thought to encompass both the production of news and other traditionally journalistic treatments of subjects and the production of reviews (criticism); these two areas are treated as subfields that constantly interact and that make up the internal dynamics of cultural journalist professionalism. It is argued that to understand of cultural journalism as a whole, one cannot dismiss its structures, aims and functions as mutually constitutive ends of this continuum of genres, dispositions and position-takings. When looking at the professionalism of cultural journalism within the framework of journalism, it is not sufficient to examine an insulated part of the whole because the interconnections constitute the *modus operandi* of the system.

Third, to answer questions concerning assumptions about the *changes in coverage* (section 1.2.3), the study seeks evidence of both *perceived* and *factual* changes. This perspective reaches from the macro-level of public discourse to the micro-level of the end-products of the journalistic process. To account for questions regarding a change, we must identify the ontology of the object and its basic societal functions. The need to define the object of study is essential because of the diaphanous effect discussed in section 1.2. Moreover, the boundaries of the definition of cultural journalism – or, to

be more exact, a range of definitions – are defended and questioned in the everyday actions of journalists, other cultural intermediaries and audiences.

1.3.2 Individual articles

The thesis comprises five research articles. Each individual article is expected to deliver a triangulated conception of change and field dynamism of professionalism. The professionalism of cultural journalism was broken down into quantifiable and analyzable dimensions that could be observed in academic literature, journalistic content and social reality. The units of analyses were frames of metadiscourse concerning cultural journalism in public, organizational culture and discourse and printed journalistic texts. The main contents and methods for each article are summarized in Table 1.

#	Object of study	Unit of analysis	Research questions	Data	Method
I	Representations of crisis in professional literature on cultural journalism	Frames of metadiscourse	What have been identified as reasons for crisis in cultural journalism?	Body of literature retrieved according to relevant search phrases, 1990–2010	Qualitative metasynthesis
II	Changes in reviews on culture pages in newspapers	Cultural coverage, final products of journalistic production (printed texts)	How has the role of criticism changed?	Systematic sample of five Finnish culture sections in major dailies, 1978–2008	Quantitative content analysis
III	Changes in content and organizational culture in Helsingin Sanomat (HS)	Structures of organizational culture and journalistic production of a culture department (texts)	How has the relation of the two paradigms changed in the last 30 years?	Ethnographic data and systematic sample of culture pages of HS, 1978–2008	Mixed-methods case study
IV	Organizational policies in newspapers' culture departments	Strategies of culture editors and cultural coverage (printed texts)	How are the paradigms manifested in organizational settings and on culture pages?	Systematic sample of five Finnish culture sections in major dailies, 1978–2008 and semi-structured theme interviews	Quantitative content analysis and analysis of semi-structured theme interviews
V	Dispositional social roles related to paradigms of cultural journalism	Subcultural field transgression cases	How do the subcultural encounters manifest boundaries?	Singular cases in newspapers identified as "atypical"	Close-readings of anomalous/deviant cases

Table 1. Summary of the original articles I–V.

Article I (“Witnesses of a cultural crisis: Representations of media-related metaprocesses as professional metacriticism of arts and cultural journalism” [2014]) intended to map and understand general claims made about the crisis of cultural journalism. The objective of the article was to identify basic arguments circulated in discussions of the “crisis”. The article was based on a systematic review of published material (qualitative metasynthesis, which is discussed further in section 1.3.3) to determine how the crisis of cultural journalism has been understood in metadiscourse during the past two decades. By looking at the sites of conflict represented by meta-theories of cultural journalism in academic, professional and popular metadiscourse, the prevalent frames of the discourse were identified and interpreted with the assumption that they more or less represent crucial elements in the creation of autonomy in the cultural journalism field. In a Bourdieusian-inspired analysis, the field of cultural journalism was observed to encompass internal subfields with distinct subcultures whose desires for relative autonomy make the public space of discourse on cultural journalism a constant struggle. In the analysis it was asked how the cultural struggles are constructed as antagonisms of certain normative dimensions.

The five major frames found in the metacritical literature around the idea of crisis were the metaprocesses of elitization, popularization, commercialization, journalisticification and apathization (disengagement). These are representations of menace; they present potential instrumentalizations of the idea of autonomous journalism and threats to the functions of qualified cultural journalism. They illustrate the active engagement of discursive agents in guarding their autonomy. Above all, metacritical reflexivity entails the struggle against heteronomization of art and the maintenance of its autonomy, which is important because the institutional autonomy of cultural journalism is connected to it as long as agents in the field of cultural journalism are also agents in artistic-aesthetic fields. The frames underscore the role of journalism in society as an anti-commercial, critical force. The critical function is perhaps assessed to be even more valid in arts and cultural than in general journalism, because the criticality goes hand in hand with the aspirations for the critical autonomy of arts. The societal input of cultural journalism lies most of all in cultural journalism’s ability to provide distance from the frames provided by cultural producers and cultural intermediaries in more heteronomous positions. Thus, cultural journalism is to a significant degree cultural consumption in public, carried out in front of cultural consumer audiences by reviewers and journalists who select, interpret and evaluate art and culture in public. This activity should not be reduced to frames imposed by commercial, political, non-specialist or other more heteronomously positioned agents; otherwise cultural journalism risks losing its journalistic function and distinctiveness with regard to other intermediary activities.

Articles II and III were based on quantitative content analyses of the culture pages in five Finnish daily newspapers from 1978 to 2008. No such comprehensive content analyses on Finnish-language culture sections in newspapers had been carried out since Hurri’s (1993) dissertation. Article II, titled “Outsourcing views, developing news: Changes of art criticism in Finnish dailies 1978–2008” (2015) predominantly focused on reviews and their changing role in the context of other journalistic content. The analysis covered the Finnish newspapers AL, HS, KAL, SS and TS (see section 1.1.2). The results showed that the traditional high cultural canon had not been displaced but rather complemented by the evolution of the popular canon. In all,

however, review coverage had slightly gone down and reviews had become shorter; in addition, they had been cut by length more than any other journalistic genre. The production of reviews in the dailies was increasingly outsourced, while culture departments had to a larger extent taken responsibility for the production of cultural news. Furthermore, the reviewership had remained male-dominated in contrast with the general tendencies found in general journalism authorship.

Article III (“From aesthetes to reporters: The paradigm shift in arts journalism in Finland” [2012]) presented a micro-level analysis of a single organization, focusing on the HS culture department. This triangulated single-case study on the leading Finnish newspaper described how the paradigms were applied within a newsroom. A large amount of information was gathered from the organizational unit and analyzed using Schein’s (1985) model of organizational culture. Part of the data was collected in a previous organizational ethnography (Jaakkola 2005) involving participatory observation of newsroom routines and semi-structured theme interviews with 15 practitioners in different artistic disciplines. The participation provided access to the practical manifestations of paradigmatic interaction, complete with self-understandings that made the organizational patterns visible. The historical perspective, which could be accessed only through potentially biased subjective self-understanding in discourse, was supported by ancillary data collection for a content analysis that also constituted the initial basis of the further analyses in Articles II and IV.

Article III suggested that at the level of one organizational unit, the balance between aesthetic and journalistic paradigms was being redefined as a result of a longer process. Through layout redesigns and organizational rearrangements, the organization’s journalistic control over the culture department had increased. More emphasis had been placed on values inherent to the journalistic paradigm, including tracing news stories and adopting new journalistic representational forms such as listings and visual treatments. Through the increased journalistic awareness in the newsroom, the organizational unit had been brought closer to the management and other news departments. During the past two decades, cultural journalists had thus been brought into situations in which aesthetic values were to an increasing extent negotiated on the basis of news-oriented requirements. Therefore, it was concluded in the study that a “paradigm shift” had occurred in the HS culture department during the past three decades, which turned the emphasis from the aesthetic to the journalistic paradigm. The increased organizational control implied a narrowed professional autonomy for cultural journalists but an increase in organizational profiling, which was thought necessary in the increasingly competitive environment.

Article IV (“Diversity through dualism: The balancing principle as an organizational strategy in culture departments of newspapers” [2013]) expanded the investigation of the paradigms from one newspaper (HS) to three others (AL, KAL and TS) by examining culture editors’ views on the two major paradigms of cultural journalism. Using quantitative data, the aim of this study was to examine the status of the paradigmatic balance in relation to the broader question of dailies with established culture sections. The article focused on patterns in organizational surroundings. Semi-structured theme interviews with culture editors complemented the picture. The goal of the article was thus to contextualize and substantiate the theoretical construct of dualism and its change by exploring the clarifications given by the commissioners of journalistic production, the culture editors in culture departments of newspapers.

The culture editors were found to place a high priority on the two major genres of cultural journalism: news and reviews. The heads of culture departments typically made claims regarding the equality of the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigm of cultural journalism. The editors put a great emphasis on full service in terms of generic differentiation and the importance of broad news coverage in artistic and cultural supply; in other words, they saw reviewing as an inseparable part of cultural journalism that culture sections could not do without, but they also stressed the importance of covering arts and culture in other generic frames. The managers thus attempted to strike a balance in cultural coverage with a principle of balancing that was concerned with the concept of culture and the genres applied. This balancing principle was a structural factor in the organizational culture that had functioned as a tool to preserve balance and support the dualistic professionalism of cultural journalism. However, the heads of culture departments were constantly involved in the struggle for departmental autonomy with managers beyond the culture department, and the push toward increased news production, typically expressed by the higher management, played a central role in this struggle.

Article V, titled “Promoting aesthetic tourism: Transgressions between generalist and specialist subfields in cultural journalism” (2012), tackled some metapragmatic strategies rooted in the field structure of cultural journalism. The article investigated the distinction between the aesthetic and journalistic paradigms by examining their significances in practice. The analysis was conducted using single cases of articles published in Finnish dailies. The textual analysis focused on cases identified as atypical in the sense that they presented a “different” or “deviant” way of approaching art in a newspaper article. Because the approach was something different from the common production pattern of writing a review about a cultural object, they had stirred up mixed emotions or were otherwise regarded as ambivalent in terms of the paradigmatic division among their audiences. The indignation among receivers could be interpreted as a sign of a critical incident that broke the established conventions. Bourdieu (1993) and Kuhn (1970) both viewed anomalies as appearing against the background provided by the expectation derived from the prevalent paradigm. According to them, discoveries that do not fit into the conceptual categories of prior experience often arouse resistance but also prepare way for the perception of novelty because the theory is adjusted and the anomalous becomes more expected. In article V, the cases were analyzed using Bourdieu’s ideas of field structures. A core theory for the analysis presented the conception of the aesthetic paradigm and the journalistic paradigm as prevalent orientations, or two distinct subfields, within the specialized journalistic field of cultural journalism.

Consequently, the analysis was underpinned by the idea that in the selected cases the writer’s social role violates the paradigm-induced expectations governing the (sub)field in question. The cases in the study illustrated that the writer’s perceived social role is considered relatively constant and explicit because it is related to field structures, which makes the shift from a generalist to a legitimate specialist problematic. In other words, the study found that a switch of journalistic roles was not free from restrictions that derive from established distinctions in the (sub)field structure of cultural journalism. Transgressing the distinctive boundary of art from the field of journalism was identified as an act of collective resonance. According to this interpretation, because the existence of (high) art is based on the autonomy-creating dis-

course (and practices supportive of it), one cannot enter the field with a discursive act without mastering the “rules of the game”. A journalistic agent, i.e. a generalist external to the fields inclusive of the art world, cannot legitimately enter an artistic field just by addressing an appropriate subject; positioning involves acceptance and recognition from other field players. Therefore, illegitimate transgressions cause negotiation and ambiguity in the reception of journalistic messages as long as the journalistic and artistic fields are marked by a distinct proximity. These transgressions are in fact an essential part of the boundary work of the fields of art and journalism. At this point, Article V brings us back to Article I: by connecting journalistic role-takings traceable in journalistic texts with field structures we may gain more knowledge about the dynamics of cultural journalism as a whole, namely how the autonomies constructed in discourse are maintained and contested in journalistic practice.

1.3.3 Methodology

The substudies in this research predominantly present a qualitative approach, even though quantitative methods are incorporated. Articles I, II and V are grounded in a single method, whereas Articles III and IV use multiple methods. The use of multiple methods within a single study is motivated by the possibility of generating knowledge through the synthesis of different approaches to the complex social phenomenon under study. The mixed-methods design (Alexander et al. 2008) can be used for purposes of complementarity, i.e. to “reveal the different dimensions of a phenomenon and enrich understandings of the multi-faceted, complex nature of the social world” (ibid. 128). When examining changes in cultural journalism, such as in Articles III and IV, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods allows triangulation, a technique used to measure the phenomenon under study using different approaches to generate a more accurate and diverse measurement (ibid.).

Article I is based on a literature review. The common traits of discursively constructed objects can be outlined by systematic literature reviews. A consistent approach applied to qualitative data within systematic literature reviews is called qualitative metasynthesis (Thomas & Harden 2008, Salmond 2012) or qualitative data synthesis (Rutter et al. 2010).⁵⁸ The purpose of using qualitative metasynthesis in Article I was to organize, integrate and evaluate previously published material to identify, appraise and synthesize the relevant published contributions on cultural journalism and to arrive at a critical interpretation of the phenomenon of the crisis discourse (see Hart 1998). As outlined in guidelines concerning systematic literature reviews such as the Quorum guidelines (see Petticrew & Roberts 2006, 291) and the SCIE guidelines (Rutter et al. 2010), potentially relevant contributions were first screened for retrieval in the largest, most relevant databases, in this case social sciences and humanities databases. For a synthesis of the public metadiscourse during the past two decades in the Nordic countries, published material related to changes in cultural journal-

⁵⁸ In the social sciences, the systematic review is still a less systematically and coherently applied format, as put forward, for example, by Hart (1998) and Petticrew and Roberts (2006). Qualitative literature reviews have been more systematically applied and developed in the field of health research, social care and clinical medicine (see e.g. Rutter et al. 2010, Thomas & Harden 2008).

ism was retrieved using an article as a unit of analysis. The exclusion of ineligible studies in terms of the object (cultural journalism) and topic (change) resulted in a limited number of contributions which were assessed to include usable information. The body of literature was subjected to the thematic categorization of main arguments concerned with change. The article aimed to produce a new, integrative interpretation of the “crisis” to arrive at a more substantive interpretation (third-order concept) of the phenomenon of the “crisis discourse” (second-order concept) than what can be obtained in individual studies. The review of the crisis literature was expected to contribute to theory development and higher level abstraction by making qualitative findings more accessible for application in practice, which is a central objective of metasynthesis (Salmond 2012, 212). The technique thus had an interpretative intent, and, as typically in literature reviews, the results were expected to function as an initiator for further study.

The content analysis method was applied in Articles II, III and IV to present systematic quantitative descriptions of the manifest, i.e. intersubjectively verifiable, features of the two paradigms of cultural journalism. The intent was to document and understand their relative weights and changes over time. Content analysis is typically defined as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson 1952, 18, cit. according to Riffe et al. 1998, 19). Because the categorization of manifest content always includes a subjective interpretation of a chosen theoretical context (for this criticism see e.g. Krippendorff 1980), Riffe and colleagues (1998) extended the definition as follows: content analysis is “the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods” (ibid., 20).

The first part of the content analysis was undertaken in Article III, which laid the foundations for the further analyses in Articles II and IV. Most of the choices for coded categories (see Appendix A) were made by Dr. Heikki Hellman, Visiting Professor in Journalism, who conducted the coding with students at the University of Tampere in 2008 and 2009.⁵⁹ The data was constructed using systematic sampling of two weeks per year (week numbers 7 and 43) with a five-year interval from 1978 to 2008. To minimize the effect of bias caused by seasonal variations in the release of cultural products, which could lead to the accumulation of certain artistic disciplines in periods when festivals or other cultural happenings occur, one week was chosen from the spring and one from the fall. The sample was assessed to include non-deviant weeks that were not significantly biased in their coverage of specific cultural supply. In all, the data included 5,795 single text items. The author coded the data from AL, KAL, SS and TS according to the guidelines set for the HS sample. However, to ensure coherence in the coding procedure, a pilot test using the HS data was conducted independently and without consultation to attain acceptable reliability levels for all categories. The minimum intercoder reliability level was set at .70, which was reached in all categories. After coding the AL, KAL, SS and TS data according to the guidelines retrieved from the HS data coding, appropriate statistical tests were conducted to ensure the reliability of the findings (see section 4.2.1). The coding sheet (Appendix A)

⁵⁹ The data was gathered on a Master’s-level course on cultural journalism.

included 19 different variables for the category of cultural form (artistic discipline). Some of the variables were merged at a later stage because of a low frequency of occurrences. In addition, the coding scheme consisted of the following categories: genre, writer's position of employment, gender and event type.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the number of texts, the text length (in rows), the number of images and the image size were counted (see Appendix A).

In terms of the category of artistic discipline, analyses of coverage devoted to different forms of art were relatively generic; these analyses ignored the smallest sub-categories in the disciplines and focused on the main divisions between forms traditionally regarded as "high" (literature, classical music, theatre and visual art) and "popular" and "entertaining" (film, popular music). The choice of the level of accuracy followed the idea that the aim was not to trace the nuanced distinctions from an aesthetic perspective but to inquire about the basic concepts of journalism and culture as well as their change. Based on UNESCO's statistical categorization, Stegert (1998) developed a detailed categorization that applies to cultural journalistic practice with 13 categories and 4–29 variables within each category. He counted "film, literature, media, music, performance arts/theatre and visual arts" as part of the "basic concept of culture" (*ibid.*, 79; see also Reus 1999). Drawing on categorizations in previous studies (Hurri 1983, Hurri 1993, Janssen 1999, Kristensen & From 2011, Larsen 2008, Lund 2005, Stegert 1998), the 19 variables in the artistic discipline category were assessed as sufficient to discover possible major changes in coverage.

Another important category that would potentially reflect change in the professionalism of cultural journalism was the category of genre (see Appendix A). However, it is a relational category and used different ways in different media and contexts. Generally, it can be defined as an intersubjectively shared set of rules distinguishing texts from each other in terms of textual properties (see e.g. Fornäs 1995b). Kristensen and From (2011, 153) typologized the genres in cultural journalism into three major groups: actual reporting, reviewing and previewing.⁶¹ Bech-Karlsen (1991a, 68) distinguished between the generic types of news journalism, "intruder journalism", previewing, reviewing, cultural commentary, debate, launch journalism, reportage, feature journalism, petite journalism and causerie journalism.⁶² Larsen's study (2008), which operationalized the concept of genre for a content analysis, used the following genres: news article, cultural reportage/feature, interview/personal portrait, "launch interview" (*lanseringsintervju*), "short news" (*notisen*), preview, commentary and chronicle, review, debate, causerie, fiction, programme guide, listing and other. To ensure comparability between different newspapers, it was appropriate in the content analysis to simplify the categorization of genres as much as possible. Because newspapers' profiles and formats differ and are subject to cultural variation, the method in

⁶⁰ The category "event type" was added after the initial coding of HS.

⁶¹ Reporting consists of news-oriented material based on traditional journalistic genres of news, reportage, and interview. Reviewing is "a specific cultural journalistic genre with a strong connection to opinionated journalistic genres such as debate, commentary and chronicles" (Kristensen & From 2011, 153). Previewing or "launch journalism" is related to delivering puffs of upcoming cultural offerings (*ibid.*).

⁶² News journalism includes various news articles as well as interviews and reportages. "Intruder journalism" (*inntrengerjournalistikk*) encompasses in-depth articles and essays as well as investigative journalism. Cultural commentary involves columns, commentaries and editorials. Previewing consists of references to upcoming events. Debate involves politically-attuned discussions often in form of chronicles and letters from the readers.

which a commentary, chronicle and debate differ practically from each other seems questionable; therefore, they were placed into the combined category of “commentary, column and causerie”. The difference between a personal and a product-related interview is often blurred; therefore, a personal portrait was identified as an interview and “launch stories” were categorized either under feature/reportage or news according to their generic features.

Based on Bourdieu’s conception of fields, the division between the genres was located between the reviewing and news-oriented genres as produced by practitioners who were typically in different field locations. The area of opinionated comment lies between the news-oriented and judgement-oriented ends of the journalistic spectrum and is accounted for by both journalists and aesthetes. A person was regarded as a reviewer if he or she had written at least one review. A distinction between previews and news was regarded as not productive because it was considered to hold no structural relevance in terms of production; news may also concern future events and processes. This assumption was motivated by the presupposition that reviews are written only by qualified reviewers and not by allround journalists.

In Article III, the content analysis of HS was complemented with data from ethnographic fieldwork from previous research (Jaakkola 2005) and with a description of the historical trajectory of organizational development, in which newspaper redesigns and organizational rearrangements played a key role. The writing process functioned as a member check (Seale 1999) for the two authors who had previous personal experience with the case under study.⁶³ The experiences, which were different in terms of their depth and length, were shared, reflected on and eventually affirmed by mutual consensus and validation through the data to decrease possible biases and incorrect interpretations. The hypothesis regarding the dual professional structure of cultural journalism was reflected in the data, but it remained subordinate to the understanding of the case.

In Article IV, the content analysis of the AL, HS, KAL, SS and TS data was complemented by semi-structured theme interviews. The interviews with the AL, HS, KAL and TS culture editors were conducted by a journalism student at the University of Tampere, who had professional experience as a cultural journalist and theatre critic, for her Master’s thesis about the quality of cultural journalism (Salonen 2013). The author planned the pattern of questions together with the student and supervised the data collection process. The data was acquired by the author with the student’s permission and analysed using the cross-fertilization of findings from the content analysis. The interviews were expected to expose the strategic thinking of the culture department’s management and reveal similarities and common patterns of thinking in the relationships between the paradigms and the related developments observed in the content.

Article V presented a qualitative analysis of texts. The textual analyses concentrated on three selected stories whose reception had caused contradictory resonance. The cases were selected based on certain similarities: they all related to the boundary between the reviewer and the journalist role being crossed, which was an area of interest with regard to the general research objectives (see section 1.3.1). A case study

⁶³ Member checking means a process where the collected data is “played back” to the informants to check for the perceived accuracy and reactions. It is thus a strategy in qualitative research to establish credibility that occurs throughout the inquiry.

can be used as a method of exploration preliminary to theory development; however, Stake (2009, 24) remarked that the case study is more suited to expansionist than reductionist pursuits because it “proliferates rather than narrows”. In Article V, the use of deviant cases (with a non-typical writer role and an apparent failure to reach the audience) served to deepen the understanding of the liminal zone in the paradigms. The atypical cases were expected to lead to an understanding of the conflict between the paradigms and thus theory refinement. Stake (1995, 5) noted that a collective case study can be designed with more emphasis on representation; however, the representation of a small sample is difficult to defend. The cases in Article V in no way attempt to be generalized to all possible deviant cases of field transgression. Nevertheless, by describing boundary-crossings, the cases were expected to cast light on the flexibility and dependence of collective interpretations of the writers’ position-takings.

Whereas Articles I, II and IV pursued more generalizable results, Articles III and V were case studies with different designs. All the articles included theoretical elaboration of the two major professionalist paradigms of cultural journalism. Next, I will address the individual articles’ key findings that can be regarded as the generalizable elements of this study and that as such form the starting point for the theoretical endeavours in this introduction.

1.3.4 Key findings

The research questions RQ1–RQ3 (see section 1.3.1) demarcate two areas of inquiry. First, Articles I–V were expected to provide information about the *institution of cultural journalism*. Second, the studies examined the *narrative constitution of the institution of cultural journalism*. In other words, the object of study is thus cultural journalism in newspapers and its metadiscursive constitution.

Furthermore, the research questions point to two different aspects of the study of cultural journalism and its narrative constitution. First, the question regarding the *changes* in cultural journalism structures is formulated in RQ1 and RQ2. The second aspect is the question of *continuity* in the structures of cultural journalism as a specialized form of journalism, which relates to RQ3. The findings concerning the change and continuity intersect at the essential point of professionalism (see section 2.2.2) because the question of change presupposes a definition and conceptualization of cultural journalism and its potentially changing sociocultural structures. The cultural construct of professionalism is also a key factor in bridging questions regarding the institution of cultural journalism and its narrative construction.

This said, the key findings from Articles I–V can thus be gathered into three areas of study corresponding to research questions RQ1–RQ3: the metadiscourse that produces the constructed object of study (cultural journalism) and its alleged crisis; the factual change of cultural journalism as observed in the quantifiable features of coverage and production structures; and continuity in the professionalist structures of cultural journalism, which is theoretically constructed as a social fact based on previous findings. The key findings in these three areas are summarized in Table 2.

The metadiscourse connected to cultural journalism showed that when addressing the norms and ideals of journalism, the autonomy of arts and culture is also at stake. Agents involved in the crisis discourse counteracted different instrumentalizations

RQ	Area of study	Key findings	Articles
RQ1	Metadiscourse	- Crisis discourse as a defensive strategy for creating autonomy for arts and maintaining the order of professionalism: instrumentalizations of cultural journalism and arts (elitization, popularization, commercialization, journalistification and apathization) as potential threats to professional and artistic/aesthetic autonomy	I, IV
RQ2	Changes in cultural journalism	- Changes in coverage: popularization of cultural coverage, decreased article length - Changes in production: outsourcing of review production, increased managerial power in culture departments	II, III, IV
RQ3	Professionalist structures of cultural journalism	- Dualistic professionalism: two professional paradigms of cultural journalism, i.e. the journalistic and aesthetic paradigm, as determinants of cultural journalists' professionalism	III, V

Table 2. Summary of the key findings in the individual studies.

of artistic-aesthetic and journalistic-professional autonomy; they provided warnings about the elitization, popularization, commercialization and “journalistification” of the journalistic art discourse and the apathization of cultural criticism. When cultural journalists constructed autonomy for arts and culture, they produced their source and object of activity as a precondition for their own work. Cultural journalism could thus be seen as an autonomy-seeking and -creating activity for arts and for itself. In other words, the “added value” that cultural journalism aims to create implies the creation of autonomy in terms of its two professional parameters: the definition of culture and the field of journalism.

Metadiscourses (see section 1.1.3) regulate change and maintain order in the field. They are not directly or necessarily implications of a factual change, let alone of a crisis. The general claims about changes and continuity included potential threats to arts and culture, but they could not be viewed as direct reflections of a change because they were the mediated manifestations of observations made by agents involved in a professionalist struggle. Creating autonomy for arts and culture is relevant in cultural journalism because the definition of culture, or artistic fields, is connected to the definition of the field in which cultural journalists themselves operate. Through their public speech acts, cultural journalists, acting as agents in the field of cultural journalism, create conditions of autonomy for the object of their reporting and are simultaneously fundamentally involved in these conditions. In a similar way, the cultural value of and the autonomy in journalism is created through institutional distancing from the markets, politics and the state.

The studies detected changes in cultural coverage and the production of cultural journalism as observed in newspapers' published content and interviews with the producers of journalism. Between 1978 and 2008, the coverage of popular disciplines of arts and culture increased, while the high cultural canon still occupied a dominant position in coverage. The two main genres in culture sections were the news and reviews, but the share of reviews decreased, their lengths were cut the most of all the journalistic genres and their production became increasingly outsourced. These changes point to culture departments moving closer to the news organization. The

concept of culture has become more inclusive, and culture departments have broadened their generic palette by taking on the responsibility of developing news.

The studies showed that the dynamism of the field of cultural journalism is affected by its two poles, which regulate the appropriation of journalistic ideology with an emphasis on different values and norms. The idea of dualist professionalism points to the existence of two professional paradigms (i.e. the journalistic and aesthetic paradigms), which form the internal logic of specialized professionalism. Because paradigms reflect different concepts of culture and locate themselves toward the mainstream ideology of journalism, they cause structural tensions that contribute to the crisis metadiscourse.

The three areas of study deliver different answers to questions about the crisis in cultural journalism. The crisis metadiscourse may fall into exaggerated interpretations about what is occurring because it is a defensive, order-maintaining strategy to create autonomy in the profession. The factual changes found in the content analyses were relatively moderate, which emphasizes questions regarding the professional structures' continuity. The statements of change made in metadiscourse and changes perceived in coverage and production thus need to be put into the interpretative perspective of the field structure. The dual professionalism of the journalistic and aesthetic paradigms leads to a fundamental tension for the different producers of cultural journalism, implying a structural "crisis" within the professionalism which is also vital to its existence and development.

Using these findings, instead of leaning on a naïve conceptualization of cultural journalism as a specialized or parasitic institution inside the host institution of general or mainstream journalism, cultural journalism is placed into the cultural landscape of mediation considering its institutional (the professional cultures of journalism and aesthetic philosophy/art theory), organizational (news organizations) and sociocultural (mediation of arts in society) determinants. By deconstructing the journalistic professionalism of specialized journalism and reconstructing it as a narratively constituted object and sociological fact, the specialist structures are made more visible. The understanding of these three areas of study will be deepened in the following sections of this introduction. We will turn back to these findings in section 4.1.

1.3.5 Chapter outline

The article format allows the discussion of a limited topic whereby the contextualization and integration of individual undertakings are not possible. Articles even for a wide academic audience are also confined to the lowest common denominator in terms of nationality and journalism research or cultural theory; they favour international perspective instead of national particulars and studies related with general journalism instead of details concerning specialized journalism. Moreover, the focus in empirically based articles is on the procedures and results of the study conducted rather than on a broader conceptualization and contextualization of the object under study. Each journal also has its own aims and scope which affect the outcome of published studies. Therefore, the goal of this introduction is to place the articles into a theoretical context and synthesize the findings of the individual studies in order to proceed into a further level of abstraction by conflating them into a more systema-

tized model of professionalism. A more coherent framework is needed for deepening our understanding the essence and change of cultural journalism.

Chapter 1 presents the basic components of the study. Section 1.1 intended to localize the object of study within the wide range of definitions by searching for delimitations of arts and cultural journalism in particular in newspapers. Section 1.2 provided a review of recent research literature by looking at studies on cultural journalism conducted within journalism studies, sociology of art and cultural studies. After the description of the study design in section 1.3, the next chapter 2 will introduce the contextual theoretical framework for the studies by exploring the aspects of change and structures of professionalism for cultural journalism. Section 2.1 takes hold of the wider cultural changes in the discursive environment cultural journalism is embedded in. The complexity of the mediated connections and interconnections makes the relationship between cultural journalism and society a complicated one, and it becomes important to identify the approaches with varying definitions of the relationship. Different approaches are discussed in section 2.2.

Chapter 3 gathers the findings of the articles of dualistic professionalism into sections where the major paradigms of cultural journalism, the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigm, are examined separately and in terms of their relationships with each other. The professionalism of cultural journalism is scrutinized from its ontological and epistemological dimension. The ontological dimension builds on mediation between art and society by “settling somewhere” in the cultural sphere. The epistemological dimension deals with the structuration of knowledge by individuals within communities with a same kind of habitus and lifestyle. In the ontology of professionalism the concept of culture is recognized as an important metaconcept regulating how cultural journalism forms the cultural sphere it operates. In the epistemology the cultural journalists’ position-takings in the fields of arts and journalism are identified as crucial in defining the way of reporting about culture and its connections to institutional systems of journalism and criticism. In chapter 4 the findings in the individual articles are discussed with respect to the proposed model of dualistic and integrative professionalism to arrive at recommendations for future research.

The objective of this introduction is not the repetition of the content of individual articles but the deepening and contextualization of the discussion carried out in them in order to understand better what makes the distinct identity of professional cultural journalism in newspapers. This basically means taking one step further from the original studies, but it is regarded as important to overcome the diaphanousness effect in research (see section 1.2). By identifying the distinctive characteristics of cultural journalists and understanding the internal dynamics of the profession we will hopefully be able to better place cultural journalists among the increasing number of continuously emerging other cultural intermediaries as well as among traditional forms of journalism.

2. Culture, journalism, society: interconnections

Cultural journalism is a part of discursive activity that mediates art and culture in society. The professional discourse, in its individual and organizational manifestations, is intertwined with wider discourses that surpass these individual and organizational meanings. The most profound relationships in understanding cultural journalism are its relationships to society, art, and other forms of journalism. To identify the position of cultural journalism in society and media we, in the first place, have to examine how it appropriates and applies principles of journalism. Cultural journalism also establishes certain kind of relationships to its object of reporting, art, or in the wider sense, culture, in varying definitions. The relationship between cultural journalism and society thus comes into being through these interconnected relationships of journalism, art, other intermediary discourses and society.

A fundamental question for the institutional demarcation of cultural journalism relates to the boundaries of art and aesthetic and their relation to social realm and society. Art history has seen debates whether aesthetic criticism can become social criticism, and on which conditions (see e.g. Dickstein 1992, Carroll 2010). This question also holds relevance for the professionalist structures of cultural journalism. In the journalistic framework, which is anchored in the social realm and attempts to find a common ground for the audiences, the question appears as the overcoming of the aesthetic boundary for social commentary. In this chapter the socio-cultural framework of the study is settled by discussing the most salient conceptualizations on cultural journalism in bridging the gap between the artistic-aesthetic and the socio-cultural realm, or to simplify, between art and society.

2.1 Change as a context – contexts of change

Because the abundance of crisis discourse formed the starting point for the inquiry, change marks an object of analysis for the set of studies in question. As meanings given to changes perceived are intermingled with the discourses of metaculture (see section 1.1.3), changes observed in cultural journalism should be interpreted in terms of these perceptions of change. It is thus not only the change of coverage and production structures that form the object of analysis in the articles, as primarily in Articles II–IV, but the changes in professionalism are also crucially influenced by discussions at the metalevel where the ideals and norms of cultural journalism are discussed and evaluated.

In some postmodern readings of metaculture, the concept of crisis has been said to have lost its meaning as a final or transitional stage and become a structural category. Koselleck (2006, 374) goes as far as defining crisis as the “structural signature of modernity”, acknowledging its diagnostic and predicative meaning which underlies modern society’s critical awareness. The recurrence of crises particularly over the last few years in response to various incidents ranging from 9/11 to global economic recession has turned the exception into norm, which has made Agamben (2005, 2) to designate the modern “state of exception” as the “dominant paradigm” of global politics. In an age of uncertainties of “risk society” (Beck 1992 [1986]), accompanied with the intellectual rise of postmodern thinking emphasizing cultural disruptions

and discontinuities, the idea of a crisis has become an established mode of metadiscourse about the social reality.

Changes in metaculture can best be described and understood with the help of the analytical concept of metaproceses. *Metaproceses* are conceptualizations in tertiary discourse that designate multidimensional processes of change penetrating multiple fields. Hepp (2013, 47–49), drawing on Krotz's (2007) description of social and cultural change, defines the term "metaproces" as a metatheory which is a conceptual construction of a generalized process of change over a lengthy period in narrative form, partly based on empirical evidence but not empirically verifiable in its entirety. The function of such a concept is to "provide a structure to which concrete research can be directed and then ordered" (Hepp 2013, 49). Among the media-related metaproceses most recently discussed include digitalization (of the media), mediatization (of arts/artistic practice), globalization and economization (of culture), aesthetization (of politics) and commodification (of culture). These processes are partly interlaced and connected to several other (meta)proceses; as Hjarvard (2008, 127) points out, the dominant force can be determined only by analysis.⁶⁴ The metaproceses or (post) modernization proceses that occupy the highest relevance for the study of culture departments in the articles are mediatization and commodification, which can be understood in the fields of cultural production as proceses of increased heteronomous influence (see section 2.2.3). Metaproceses contribute to the dis-embedding of social relations from their contexts and re-embedding them in new contexts (Hjarvard 2008, 132; Giddens 1990, 79). Along with the overarching proces of postmodernization applied in a multidiscursive framework, metaproceses can be thought to affect in two ways: by homogenizing and heterogenizing the structural field logics of differentiated fields. In the following section, I will discuss the overarching "metaproces" of (post)modernization and thereafter cast a look on some subsidiary metaproceses in the metaculture, divided into two sections, the homogenizing and the heterogenizing metaproceses, according to their effect.

2.1.1 (Post)modernism as a metadiscursive context

Among the "grand metaproceses"⁶⁵ with a significant impact on culture, cultural metadiscourse and cultural journalism during the second half of the 20th century have been the powerful narratives of cultural change which form a widely debated intellectual paradigm under the term postmodernity, or postmodernism.⁶⁶ Many dif-

⁶⁴ Some illustrative examples of such metaproceses include virtualization (of social institutions) (Hjarvard 2008), politicization (of the media; Reus & Harden 2005), de-territorialization (of cultural experience) (Lash 1990), and individualization (Giddens 1990).

⁶⁵ Postmodernization may be understood as a metaproces, as postulated by Lash (1990) who conceptualizes the cultural paradigm of postmodernity as de-differentiation in contrast to modernity as differentiation and autonomization of social structures, as seen by Pierre Bourdieu.

⁶⁶ The era of postmodernism is also characterized with the terms "postmodernity", "postmodern condition" (Lyotard 1984 [1979], Harvey 1990), "late modernity" (Fornäs 1995a), "second modernity", "radicalized modernity" (Giddens 1990), "liquid modern (culture)" (Bauman 2000, 2011; Gabardi 2001) and the era of "hypercomplex society" (Qvortrup 2003). Postmodernity is often understood as an epochal and postmodernism an ideological concept (Featherstone 2007; Gabardi 2001, 17; Fornäs 1995a, 38–39). If not necessary to make a distinction, I have used the term "postmodernism" (or "late modernity"),

ferent and completely contradictory, discontinuous processes are brought together under that label; neither has postmodernism developed along the same lines in every social or artistic field (Bertens 1995, 3–4). According to Fornäs (1995a, 32) modernization is “a configuration of ambivalent rationalization processes of systems and life-world, spreading new differentiations globally by means of escalating communication, irreversibly and intensely changing the world”. Postmodernity appears thus as a contrasting phase, mode or level where modernization is reversed.⁶⁷ Roughly put, we may understand the era superseding the modern era as a context in two ways, namely as structural-descriptive and intellectual-normative: postmodernism may be seen as a descriptive category for a break from modernity (postmodernity) and as an aesthetic movement or mode (postmodernism).

The capitalism of postmodernity is no longer organized around the production principle but society has been reorganized around consumption defined by symbolic relations rather than the possession of material goods. Post-industrial societies, which are characterized through “Post-Fordist flexible capitalism” (Gabardi 2001) or “disorganized capitalism” (Lash 1990), underlie an era of de-differentiation in contrast to the modern process of differentiation (see also Lash & Urry 1994). Postmodernity is characterized by the dis-embedding of social structures, de-traditionalization and individualization (Giddens 1990).⁶⁸ Consequently, the postmodernist change of social structures has been assigned characteristics such as deconstruction and discontinuity, heightened complexity, contingency and ambiguity which called into question the fundamental modern values of universalism, instrumental rationality and technological hubris. The postmodern is said to imply, for instance, the eclipse of the grand rationalist narratives of Enlightenment, the disappearing of meaning and representationalism, the blurring of boundaries between “high” and “low” figurations of culture, a challenge to the nation-state as an exemplary product of the modernization process, and the creation of global flows resulting in glocalization, the overlapping global-local linkages and emphasis on local particularism (Gabardi 2001, 33; Bertens 1995). As it is not appropriate to go deeper into the different readings of modernity/modernism and postmodernity/postmodernism (for more general accounts see Bertens 1995, Gabardi 2001, Lash 1990, Fornäs 1995a, Bauman 2011), some developments of this discourse of cultural change are of particular importance to cultural journalism, as they, at a very general level, affect as a *context* the way how the field-penetrating changes related to cultural journalism are unfolded in metadiscourse.

With their strong predilection for “ends” (of God, of Man, of the author, of art, of art theory, of journalism, of public intellectualism)⁶⁹ postmodernist narratives have

because it unites discourses on both media and art and stresses the ideological narrative instead of the historical category which some theorists of postmodern regard as premature for description of historical conditions of society (Gabardi 2001, 18).

⁶⁷ Fornäs (1995a) distinguishes between modernity as a phase (a historical era), mode (a movement such as literary modernism) and level (vertical dimension such as technical, economic or political).

⁶⁸ The German terms *Ausdifferenzierung* (differentiation) and *Entdifferenzierung* (de-differentiation), used by Lash (1990), describe the developments more accurately.

⁶⁹ The end of art was propagated by, among others, by Arthur C. Danto, Gianni Vattimo and Walther Benjamin. Danto argued that art had evolved into a state where the philosophical, rather than the aesthetic, was the central concern. Having rejected its goal of mimesis it has turned into its philosophical end. For Vattimo, the end marked the loss of aura, the same as proposed by Benjamin, which was caused by a general weakening of transcendental values. The end of journalism, reflecting a shift in its industrial

triggered the sociological imagination in the metadiscourse on cultural journalism by providing a narrative framework of a history of decline.⁷⁰ Postmodern is characterized by problems of judging the relative value of heterogeneous discourses and a condition where culture is no longer a unitary, fixed category. However, the problem with postmodernism is that the claims for the change are not based on empirical evidence but might just contribute to widening of the gap between discourse and empirical reality.⁷¹ For sure, postmodernism does not literally mean the “end” of all modernist determinants that continue to be present in negotiations of culture. It may be more appropriate to turn to Bertens (1995, 248) who more moderately concludes that time that has modernisms and postmodernisms we can honour the claims of both and “negotiate a permanent crisis in the name of precarious stabilities”. Rather than a clear transition from one to another condition, the postmodern condition can be seen to be reflected in cultural journalism as a more ambiguous relationship between the old and the new cultural order.

This increasing ambiguity is seen in particular in modernist binary divisions, among which the role of intellectuals and non-intellectuals is a relevant one.⁷² Bauman (1987) states that while the modern strategy of intellectual work was characterized by the authoritarian role of a legislator, the postmodern strategy leans on the facilitating role of an interpreter. First of all, there was a shift from pre-modern “gamekeepers” (collective gatekeepers) to modern “gardeners” (educators), accompanied by the discoveries made in understanding the societal role of culture, and the monopolistic control over the field of art was contested by plural forms of life and versions of truth. According to him, the iterative creation of new needs of capitalist markets the intellectual legislation has lost its function. In a culture where people are integrated into society as consumers, the “populace” that was previously enlightened and ennobled are now clients, individuals appointed to the positions of “chief managers and sole executives of ‘life politics’” (Bauman 2011, 12; Gabardi 2001, 27). Bauman (2011) refers to de-traditionalization in which social agents are increasingly set free from the het-

production, has been postulated, for example, in forms of “post-journalism” (Altheide & Snow 1991) and “post-criticism” (Butt 2005) (for an overview in context of late modernity see Hardt 1996).

⁷⁰ However, here it is worth recognizing that postmodernism is to its contemporaries “Oedipal” in a way that it cannot completely separate itself from its parent due to the self-referentiality of the contributions: many authors addressing the “decline”, starting from Bourdieu and Bauman, are intellectuals and “old intermediaries” themselves, and therefore in the vulnerable position of being challenged by the new developments such as the grown media influence.

⁷¹ The difference between discourse and action is also supported by recent empirical findings of the “omnivore refrain” according to which to refer to a wide variety of different forms of music has become a dominant and legitimate pattern of speech, but in practice people do not follow such a wide variety of cultural forms (see e.g. Longhurst 2007). The omnivorousness, although backed up by empirical findings too, may at least partly be just an expression of “imagined cosmopolitanism” and expected tolerance.

⁷² The definition of intellectuals, however, remains rather descriptive. In the introduction to his book *Legislators and interpreters*, Bauman (1987) notices the definition to be ostensible and often self-made. He mentions “scientists, moral philosophers and aesthetes” as examples of the category (ibid., 5). The most apparent distinctive feature seems to be that intellectuals have better access to knowledge and deeper understanding of the procedural rules of knowledge production than non-intellectuals. To the question if cultural journalists are considered intellectuals it can thus be said that reviewers have historically been closer to the definition than journalists whose authority is based on the (re-)use of these “primary” sources. However, with the shift from legislator to interpreter the journalists may better fit into the role – which could, then, be interpreted a sign for the category to lose on its resolute power.

eronomous control and monitoring of social structures in order to be self-monitoring or self-reflexive (Lash & Urry 1994, 4). This accelerating individualization process is connected with increased reflexivity. Following Beck (1992 [1986]), the term reflexive modernity is characterized by an increasing problematization and critique of the preceding pre-modern processes. Reflexive modernization contains confrontation of the effects and risks of the economic-scientific modernization by calling into the question the very foundations of Enlightenment rationality (Gabardi 2001). Postmodernization has led into aesthetization of economy and culturalization of economic life, implying that economic and symbolic processes are increasingly interlaced. In such a condition the role of the intellectual authority is in a risk of losing on its power.

Another binary division affected by the postmodernism is the division between high and popular or low culture. Modernism, as a mode of aesthetic representation and an artistic movement, emerged in the mid-19th-century in response to capitalist modernization (or modernity). Renaissance had documented the differentiation from the aesthetic realm from the social, bringing forth aspirations for hermetic formalism that aimed at emptying the past of its historicity and was increasingly dependent on discursive activity. In this framework postmodernism appears as an attempt to overcome the self-imposed limitations of modernism, which had come to an impasse in its search for autonomy and purity or for timeless, representational, universal truth. Postmodernism pervades both high and popular culture, while modernism was confined to the realm of high culture (Lash 1990, 14). Postmodernism implies a refusal to separate the author from his oeuvre, transgression of the boundary between literature and theory as well as between high and popular culture and cultural and social realms of life. It resists the notion of an artwork as a fully fixed, self-sufficient object with unity of closure. Different fields interlace with each other or even collapse (Lash 1990, 252).

In sum, for theorists of the postmodern, postmodernity and postmodernism imply destabilization of the solid modern or modernist basis that is the result of a differentiation process and on which the very basic structures of cultural journalism has been founded. In a world where culture is less isolable from non-culture, high culture less differentiable from “non-high” forms of culture, and the authority of media and aesthetic agents contested by a more “open” form of authority, cultural journalism is subject to negotiations in which the old “closed” order is challenged by uncertainty, openness and pluralism.

However, as observed by Shrum (1996), despite these postmodern calls, the boundaries between “high” and “popular” seem to persist in practices of criticism and cultural journalism. One might argue that the conceptual frame of postmodernism functions as a counterforce to the established structures of arts and cultural journalism whose basic principle is the modernist differentiation of artistic disciplines. For some scholars, a focal reason for the crisis of journalism is precisely the field’s inability to break its ties with modernity and modernism, “with its propensity to categorization and reliance on fixed institutions to report on and to criticize” (Fürsich 2012, 16). What may contribute to the crisis discourses is that postmodernist culture is often consumed, though differently, by both those who use the categories of everyday life, and those with the specialized classificatory frameworks who then see postmodernism in terms of transgression of modernist conventions (Lash 1990, 252; Baumann 2007). If this is the case, postmodern metaculture could illustrate a break with the past is undertaken in a way that allows different cementations live simultaneously.

2.1.2 Homogenizing metaprocesses

The increased influence of the media in the fields of cultural production has imposed logics of production to be increasingly accommodated to media logics. Under *mediatization*, a term applied in numerous contexts to characterize the media influence (Hjarvard 2008),⁷³ is understood a process in highly industrialized Western societies whereby “society is increasingly submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic” (ibid., 113; Fornäs 2014). In the realm of arts and culture, both direct and indirect forms of mediatization affect the activity of cultural journalism. Direct mediatization, the conversion of non-mediated activities into mediated form (Hjarvard 2008, 114), has produced new forms of mediated presence and expression; art can be accessed online, and media-influenced forms of art have emerged, ranging from the use of different media in the practices of art to completely new types of arts such as media art. Indirect mediatization, the increasing influence of the media with respect to form, content, or organization of social activity (Hjarvard 2008, 115), have a complexity of effects on artistic mediation and consumption. It may, for example, advance cultural journalism’s reliance on mediated sources and self-reference. In a very rough way, mediatization can be seen as growing influence of the media in non-media-fields, in this context primarily artistic fields. The media thus have increased meaning in cultural production, but it is not simply the journalistic media let alone the specialized journalistic production that exerts the influence.

To Fornäs (2014), since media are tools for signifying practices, the mediatization process is per definition a component of a larger process of *culturalization*. Under culturalization is generally meant the process where culture gains weight in social life. It refers to development where the processes of meaning-making take a stronger role in defining forms of social life. Culture is, then, understood in a hermeneutic sense as “an overflow that multiplies the inherent surplus of meaning in all textual practice” (ibid., 488), including the field of research where, for example, journalism has during the recent decades after the cultural turn become to be conceptualized as construct of relations of meanings. The media, to give another example, are culturalized through the increased importance of aesthetic aspects such as design and performance. Culturalization is also advanced by the process of mediatization, as communication technologies increasingly facilitate the application of different signifying practices to different fields influenced by the media.

With increased cultural convergence, the relationships formerly untainted by commerce become commercialized; however, it is not just that the cultural life gets commercialized but also the economy gets culturalized. The term *reflexive accumulation* (Lash & Urry 1994) refers to the condition in which economic and cultural processes are more closely interwoven than in earlier phases of modern capitalism. Symbolic goods are a two-faced reality, a commodity with a commercial value and a symbolic object with a cultural value. To Bourdieu (1993) the cultural and commercial values remained relatively independent, although an economic sanction may at most reinforce their cultural consecration (ibid., 113). Commodities are assessed with regard

⁷³ Mediatization has also been discussed by a number of scholars such as Friedrich Krotz, Winfried Schulz, and Knut Lundby, but, without a need to go deeper into the discussion of different facets of the framework, I am using here Hjarvard’s (2008, 2013) theorization.

of their use-value, whereas cultural goods with less commodified type are more products with a “sign-value” (Lash 1990, 40). Compared with postmodernism, modernism was more critical of commodification. The Marxist-based theory of commodification, i.e. the transformation of non-saleable ideas into saleable goods by assigning cultural issues an economic value (see e.g. Kent 1999), is anticipated to lead into a condition where culture industries become more similar to other industries in that they produce commodities or, according to Lash and Urry (1994, 138), business services.

Without being able to go deeper into discussions about mediatization and reflexive accumulation, we may suffice to notice that homogenizing metaprocesses affect the interaction between different fields by bringing them closer together. In these processes, new forms of guiding logics may emerge, which cultural journalism needs to adopt to. Their complete influence may, however, be hard to identify as they affect not only cultural journalism but also its surrounding fields and (meta)discourses supported by them. The media field is, in other words, part of the homogenizing metaprocesses where the boundaries of fields are crumbling and overlap with other fields.

2.1.3 Heterogenizing metaprocesses

During the last few decades, a number of transfigurations in the classification systems supported by fields of mediation and reception have been documented. While the boundaries between high arts and popular forms have started to crumble and more cross-overs and appropriation of elements from other forms have emerged, re-embedding of traditional structures have resulted in new hybrid forms of culture, possibly setting new standards for their evaluation. *Popularization* means that popular forms of culture are regarded as legitimized part of the cultural canon through critical discourse, as has been found in popular film (Baumann 2002, 2007) and popular music (Schmutz 2009). Studies have also found the emergence of hybrid forms of culture such as pop-rockization of popular music genres (Regev 2002, van Venrooij 2009) and massification of elite culture (Lash 1990). The present condition of the cultural canon on culture pages in the newspaper is “polyhierarchical but still centered” (Laermans 1992, 256; Lindberg et al. 2005, 5). In spite of boundary-blurring and cross-genre experimentation, the command of consecrated culture still remains a marker of distinction which operates as a form of cultural capital (Shrum 1996, Baumann 2007).

Since Peterson and Kern’s (1996) formulation of the so called cultural omnivore thesis there has been discussion and empirical studies in many countries about the increased openness towards diversity of culture in cultural consumption. Peterson and Kern (1996), contesting Bourdieu’s static conception of dispositional class tastes, suggested that groups in the upper end of the social scale were less exclusive in their tastes in 1992 than in 1982. Their thesis on *cultural omnivorousness* was based on the finding that highbrows of all ages were becoming more tolerant of many forms of culture. In Bauman’s (2011, 14) somewhat polemical expression, “flexibility of preferences”, “maximum tolerance and minimal choosiness” and the ability to “feel at home in every cultural milieu, without considering any as a home, let alone the only home” now mark the characteristics of the new cultural elite.

However, as pointed out by successive research (see e.g. Warde et al. 2008), omniv-

orousness, or the existence of “cosmopolitan preferences” (Cheyne & Binder 2010), does not mean openness to *everything* but selectivity that can be measured by volume (breadth of different genres in taste, such as the number of different artistic disciplines consumed) and by composition (breadth of cultural forms included in taste, such as highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow) (Warde et al. 2007, 145). In other words, the number of genres in which one participates has become a function of socioeconomic status (Shrum 1996, 194). In Finland, a trend of cultural omnivorousness has been found to be present from the 1940’s onwards (Alasuutari 2009). Purhonen and colleagues (2010, 2014), while measuring omnivorousness in music and literature, found in Finland a distinctively large proportion of cultural omnivores compared to other countries and a virtual non-existence of highbrow univores. Warde and colleagues (2007) found that professionals who count as cultural intermediaries are most closely approximate to the initial omnivore model.

Despite more inclusive tastes of the ruling classes, it has been remarked that forms of high and popular culture account differently for cultural journalism. Shrum (1996) traced the persistence of the categories of highbrow and popular down to the assumption that highbrow and popular forms of culture show a different relationship with reviews due to different modes of consumption. He developed an argument according to which the higher a work is in the cultural hierarchy, the more important is the secondary discourse about the object to its status. According to him, taste in high art is thus mediated through a system of experts, whereas taste in low art is not.⁷⁴ Following this line of thought, reviews would be more important for high than popular art, and, conversely, if an art form was associated with secondary discourse concerning its meaning and quality, it would be more likely to be considered consecrated art (see also Baumann 2007, 156). Furthermore, what testifies of the greater importance of the gatekeeping function of cultural journalism for highbrow than popular genres is according to Shrum (1996) and his analysis that artists in high cultural genres are more likely to find critics helpful and more willing to modify their art based on critical response. Indeed, both Shrum’s (1996) and Baumann’s (2007) study point to the fact that critics tend to write more critically about highbrow than popular shows.⁷⁵

However, high and popular art reviewers do not differ in their shared belief that reviews are important for audiences (Shrum 1996, 184). Even if there are national variations in how the high-art-related critical discourse is applied to popular forms of culture, as shown for example by Schmutz (2009) and van Venrooij and Schmutz (2010),⁷⁶ the modern divide between high and popular forms of culture is something that needs to be taken into account in examining the coordinates of cultural journalism professionalism. The heterogenizing metaprocesses do not erase the differences but rather make them more important, while important changes are situated in the

⁷⁴ Shrum (1996, 53) also puts the difference this way: “In high art, one likes something because it is good. In popular art, something is good because one likes it.” However, considering the aesthetic mobility of cultural categories, it might be more appropriate to talk about consecrated art as mediated than maintaining the dispositional approach of strict and static divisions between high and low.

⁷⁵ Blank (2007), too, remarked that restaurant critics publish negative reviews of major but not minor restaurants. By “major” Blank (ibid., 61) meant “prominent restaurants readers are likely to have heard about.”

⁷⁶ According to van Venrooij and Schmutz’s (2010) study on newspaper reviews of popular music albums, German critics lean more heavily on high art discourse than their Dutch or American counterparts.

broadening agency of individuals, i.e. in the capital and dispositions needed to master the widening scope of fields relevant to a cultural consumer.

2.2 Conceptual models of cultural journalism

The previous section dealt with changes shaped in and by metadiscourse. To get a hold of cultural journalism from the other perspective relevant for this study, the aspect of continuity, one has to draw on theories of art, society and journalism. A key axiom in the relationship between art and society is that it is not direct (Alexander 2003), meaning a linear causal effect between art and social structure. Cultural journalism is one mediator, and far from a neutral one, but an active intervener with its own normative conceptions of art. Its task is to select, communicate and evaluate cultural goods for the public good.

As pointed out earlier, the generalization of cultural journalism into a very general category along with all intermediary institutions may dismiss the specifics of the journalistically determined dimensions.⁷⁷ The abundant and inaccurate use of the word “culture” which occurs in social theories does not either contribute to a better understanding of the professionalist factors of cultural journalists and other intermediaries. Theories of social structuration typically treat culture as a shared framework rather than a specialized substance or ideology that can be identified and separated for examination.

It can thus be said that cultural journalism chooses cultural matters into the spotlight of public interest and defines them as (potentially) productive for cultural citizenship. Traditionally, the specific function has also been to contribute to classifying art by creating artistic hierarchies. In doing this, cultural journalism attempts to serve a wide range of sediments of society by maintaining a wide variety of possibilities for cultural engagement. Cultural journalism is supposed to provide its audiences with information on new events and their backgrounds (news and feature), evaluation of (recent) art (reviewing), debate, investigation and reflection (intellectual genres, i.e. essay, causerie), service (consumer guidance) and entertainment (see e.g. functional types in Stegert 1998, 159; Bech-Karlsen 1991b, 7–8).

The prerequisites of the functioning cultural journalism in society on principles of journalism can be regarded the following principles:

1. The ramifications of cultural journalism to society are *mediated through individuals* as part of larger communities with distinct cultures.
2. Cultures lean on *cultural practices* of individuals as part of larger communities.
3. Cultural practices imply that individuals and their communities attach to distinct *lifestyles*, or tastes and habituses, which serve them as means of distinction and identity-formation. In their activities, individuals attempt to

⁷⁷ In other words, the concepts of creativity, subjectivity and reflexivity are too unspecified and undistinctive features for a criterion to identify a cultural intermediary, as suggested by, for example, Scott (1999, 53) and Smith Maguire and Matthews (2012) (see also section 1.2.2). Instead, the criterion can be rather defined the cultural intermediary’s ability to create autonomy towards the heteronomous field of cultural production. This aspect is further elaborated in this section (2.2).

maintain or contest these distinctions, and, forming *an individual and private relationship* with collective forms of existing forms of culture, are thus more or less involved in *field struggles*, i.e. processes of creation and contestation of structures of a given culture.

4. Cultural journalism is supposed to support the cultural practices of the individuals within their communities, and it is thus part of the field struggles. To find a place for fostering cultural citizenship in democracy, cultural journalism is constantly trying to address questions of *societal relevance*.
5. The practitioners of cultural journalism in a certain medium form a distinct *professional culture* of their own which regulates the mediation of art in that specific medium and against which the journalistic activities are evaluated and justified.

These basic principles regarding the artist, journalist and cultural consumer form the theoretical context for examining the intermediary relations between cultural journalism, art and society in this section. To integrate these principles we can follow the following definition: *art is mediated* (see section 2.2.1) *with the goal to make art transformative in society* (section 2.2.4) *through a specific professional community who subscribes to specific professional values and norms* (section 2.2.2) *which are, rather than unanimously accepted, contested in search for autonomy from the position-takings in the fields in media and arts at hand* (section 2.2.3).

Based on classical conceptualizations of art sociology, sociology of professions, journalism studies, audience studies and cultural studies, I will next examine the interconnections between cultural journalism, art and society from different conceptual approaches, corresponding to the premises above. These approaches incorporate models that I will adjust to make up the theoretical context for understanding cultural journalism as an institution in its own right. Because the meaning of culture in society is not absolute and pre-fixed but may take multifunctional positions simultaneously, the approaches and the pertinent models contribute to understanding cultural journalism in society simultaneously from overlapping and complementary directions, instead of presenting separate and isolated theoretical formations.

2.2.1 The cultural mediation approach

Fully developed production systems of art need distribution systems which integrate artists into society's economy. The relationship between art and society, manifested as *mediation* of art in society, has been conceptualized in sociological literature by examining the relationships that are formed between the major agents involved in the communication process within cultural journalism. Mediation describes the act of communication by means of a medium in a specific social context (Hjarvard 2008, 114, Hirsch 1977, Becker 1982, Wilke 2014) by agents that are called (cultural) mediators (Alexander 2003, Thuri Cornejo 2008), cultural brokers (DiMaggio 1977, Peterson & Anand 2004) or, as described in this study and previously discussed in section 1.2.2, (old) cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu 2010 [1979], Heinich 2012). To be more exact, cultural journalists are involved in the mediation of art in the processes of *intermediation* between producers and receivers. Cultural intermediaries are "taste makers

defining what counts as good taste and cool culture in today's marketplace" (Matthews & Smith Maguire 2014, 1; see also Bourdieu 1984, 359). Working at the intersection of culture and economy, they "perform critical operations in the production and promotion of consumption, constructing legitimacy and adding value through the qualification of goods" (Matthews & Smith Maguire 2014, 1).

The cultural intermediaries' social context in cultural journalism is the conglomerate of people interested in arts which Becker (1982) describes with the term "art world". Art worlds are "networks of people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, possibly along with others, define as art" (ibid., 34). Art worlds do thus not have sharp boundaries; for Becker, the membership criteria and the boundaries of the art world are not that relevant as the contribution accomplished by the cooperative work of the participants who want to, by common agreement, make something into art. The artistic fields indeed devote considerable attention to trying to decide what is and what is not art (ibid., 36). However, as Becker's definition covers agents with such different relationships to art as hobbyists, reviewers, scholars, art dealers and collectors, the concept remains very loosely defined. Another weakness of the concept is that it overlooks the different positions of power and struggles of power within the art world, as well as the question of collective legitimation of agents, i.e. who are allowed with an entry to the art world and who not. However, the concept art world is used in Articles I–V to refer to the collective of artistic-aesthetic fields. Therefore, it functions in this study as a general concept referring to the agents and their interdependent practices for producing art works and giving them aesthetic value. The identification of the agents involved in the intermediary activity is precisely the accomplishment of the models of mediation, of which I will discuss the most relevant ones for cultural journalism below.

In search for the intermediary relationships between the agents of the art world, the American philosophical pragmatist and literary scholar Hugh Dalziel Duncan (1953) outlined a social structure for literary criticism to which a number of scholars have turned in their studies on cultural journalism and criticism (Eskola 1972, 12; Hohendahl 1982, 235–237; Tarkka 1968, 70; Hurri 1993, 50). Based on principles of symbolic interactionism, Duncan argues that criticism, which can be in this context more generally understood as cultural journalism, is based on the interaction between the author (artist), the critic and the public (ibid., 68).⁷⁸ He presents a triangle, depicted in Figure 2, where the critic is identified as the key element, because he is related in so many ways to both the author and the public, acting as a delegate of both agents. Reflecting the role of a modern critic, Duncan stresses that the critic has to gain independence from both the artist and the public, unless he or she has not emerged as "a specialized expert who is credited with superior knowledge of how well or how poorly symbolic presentations are given" (ibid., 65–66). Duncan entrusts the critic with the responsibility for the development of the literary institution, because

⁷⁸ In the section, whenever the cultural journalist is referred to, independent of whether he or she is representing the journalistic or the aesthetic paradigm, he or she is called "a journalist". "Artist" refers to producers of any kind of artistic achievement: an author of a book, a scriptwriter, a composer, a performer, a singer. Both "audience" and "public" are used in this study to denote the group of cultural consumers receiving art and cultural journalism; however, in this section the concept used is "public" because of its active undertone describing the people involved in the reception of art. "Art" refers to a broad spectrum of substance that varies according to the underlying concept of culture (see section 3.2).

“discovering forms for the possibilities of human action” can be according to him achieved only with a strong and reciprocal relationship between each element in the artist-critic-public-triad. Despite this normative and slightly idealistic undertone, the model has been seen as a useful heuristic device that helps understanding the mediation of art sociologically. It resembles the conception of the communication process in reception aesthetics where the meaning is observed to come into existence between the artwork, the artist and the spectator (Jauss 1982).

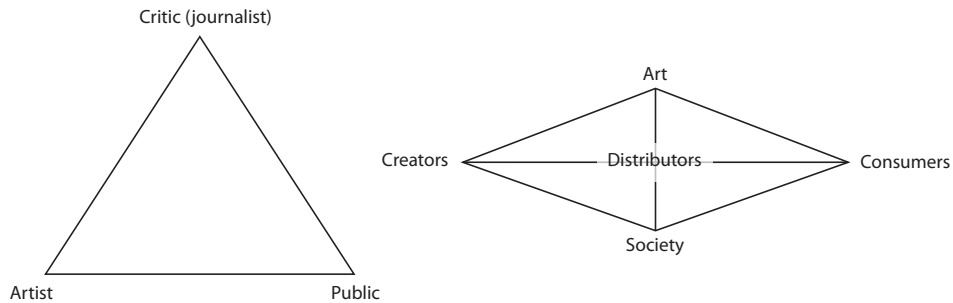


Figure 2. The models of cultural mediation by Duncan (1953) and Griswold (1994).

The cultural diamond model by Wendy Griswold (1994; see also Alexander 2003) operates with same kinds of relationships between the main agents of cultural mediation, applicable to cultural journalism. The cultural diamond model (see Figure 2) comprises four corners representing the artistic product, the creators of art, the consumers of art and, finally, the wider society. Alexander (2003, 61) modifies Griswold’s model by adding “distributors” to the middle, emphasizing that “distinguishing artists (or the production system) from distribution systems also allows us to see that artists can stand apart from the distribution system or can be deeply embedded within it”. In line with Duncan’s model, the diamond model now presents the artist, the critic (as one possible distributor) and the public as their fundamental elements. It also subsumes both agents (creators or artists and consumers or the members of a public as agents of a field), and fields (art and society that typically function as contexts for the communication process) into the “diamond”. Thereafter, Alexander (2003, 62) ends up in concluding with an important point: the “links between art and society can never be direct, as they are mediated by the creators of art on the one hand, and the receivers of it on the other”.

Duncan’s model is taken up by Hurri (1993, 50) who complements the triangle with a fourth factor, the medium, by which she understands the channel through which the message is transmitted (newspaper, radio, television) (see also Hurri 1994). This modification can be regarded as an attempt to complement the model with something fundamental that is missing in Duncan’s model. The media do regulate journalists’ relationship to society and arts; through the institution of journalism journalists are provided with a democratic function for society, and the media define how art is presented to audiences. However, unlike the artist, critic and public, the media are not a living agent of a field but rather a context for the critics’ and journalists’ activity, comparable to art and society in Alexander’s model. Journalists are already part of the media; they are agents who apply the journalistic ideology and economic principles

according to which the media operate.

Consequently, Duncan (1953, 73) notes that “it is not enough to point out that there are traditions; we need to know *whose* traditions we are talking about” (emphasis in original). The relationships between the agents are not similar but they all form a different horizon of expectations for communication (Jauss 1982). To understand the mediation process of cultural journalism better, it may be appropriate to look at the relations separately. However, we then have to ask what the core relationships for cultural journalism are. It seems that both Duncan’s and Alexander’s model remain ignorant of two relationships that are essential for journalism: the journalist’s (or critic’s) relationship to his or her sources and to the media he or she is working for and which to a large extent decide what to write about and how. As a matter of fact, art and society are not equal players in mediation but mediated themselves by further agents such as managers, PR organizations, politicians and authorities. To conflate all these along with the journalists to the same category of distributors, as in Alexander’s model, tends to obscure the journalists’ role in society and their distinctive relationship to other distributors.

Both Duncan’s and Alexander’s model are based on the division between the sub-systems of production, dissemination and reception of art (Wilke 2014, 266–267), which can be broken down to relationships between the agents.⁷⁹ The relationships that both models share are the relationship between the journalist and the artist as well as the relationship between the journalist and the public. *The relationship between the journalist and the artist* has probably been the most conflictual relationship of all, as artists may get insulted and even economically injured by the journalist’s interventions. The discourse about the low appreciation and miserable state of cultural journalism and criticism, discussed in section 1.2.1, co-occur with the negative connotations that place the journalist in fundamental antagonism to artists and regard criticism as a destructive weapon rather than a constructive tool providing suggestions for improvement (Barrett 2000, 2; Orlik 2009 [1994], 1).

The relationship between the artist and his or her work cannot be reduced to the relationship between, say, a songwriter and a song, since “the artists’ reputations are a sum of the values we assign to the works they have produced” (Becker 1982; Weisethaunet & Lindberg 2010, 468). Consequently, the relationship between the journalist and the artist is often not a direct but mediated through, or at least affected by, the artwork. Although the journalist may get acquainted with the artist and his or her backgrounds, possibly even follow the working process for a longer period of time, the journalist, in particular the reviewer, cannot escape setting his- or herself into a connection with the work, pre-framed by the cultural institution where a display is organized or a concert given.

The relationship between the journalist and the public is ambient, because the receivers of a mass-media message are no homogenous group; rather, there is a broad spectrum of different cultural consumers even within one single medium. Individuals are also active meaning creators with potential agency in their lifeworlds and in the cultural sphere (Kristensen & From 2011). Furthermore, the publics – given that they consists of

⁷⁹ To compare, UNESCO’s Framework for Cultural Statistics (1986, 3) presents a functional breakdown of the communicative process where art resides, i.e. cultural mediation, in with the categories “creation/production”, “transmission/dissemination”, “reception/consumption”, “preservation/registration, and “participation”.

active individuals – vary according to their previous knowledge and experience in arts; they can be “insiders” or “peripheral members of the art world, i.e. initiated or uninitiated in terms of an artistic field. They can also be specialists concentrating on one single artistic field or generalists crossing from high to popular and discipline to discipline.

The heterogeneity in pre-knowledge naturally poses another challenge for the journalist, as he or she has to be aware of the fact that some of the readers may not be familiar with the basic concepts and theories, nor with the backgrounds of a specific artwork or theme. The very limited number of studies that exists in audience research over cultural journalism (Kristensen & From 2011, 214–215; Reus 1999, 68–69) suggests that the core public of cultural journalism consists of generalists that most frequently follow both high and popular culture, which corresponds to the recent observation of the so-called cultural omnivorousness of the cultural public discussed later. According to the studies, the publics also follow culture with private interests and are primarily oriented in their expectations toward new information than subjective impressions, consumer guidance or education.

Furthermore, different forms of art – if we think for example music that can be received either live or mediated, or conceptual art that can be discussed without having a direct contact with the object – set different conditions for reception and mediation (Shrum 1996, Carroll 2010). Finally, the publics differ from each other according to whether they have a direct access to the art in question or not; in other words, the publics diverge into those who have been present at a concert, or read the book or the script, and those who have not. In today’s “multimediated” culture with multiple channels that provide information primarily via the Internet, more and more segments of the public are today able to be engaged in *disintermediation*, which means the elimination of the intermediaries due to the audiences’ direct access to cultural events.⁸⁰

In addition to the journalist’s relationship to the artist and the public, *the relationship between the journalist and other cultural intermediaries* such as managers and PR staff in cultural organizations plays an increasingly important role in the journalists’ activity. These “other cultural intermediaries” act as the primary definers of art for journalism.⁸¹ In this respect, the media function as secondary definers, either re-presenting, interpreting or rejecting the dominant definition of the primary definers. Therefore, a distinction between journalists and other cultural intermediaries should be made.⁸² Because there are intermediary agents of at least two different kind, it is appropriate to distinguish between the “distributors” and the “mediators” of art. The *distributors*, identified for example by Becker (1982) as patrons, dealers and impresarios and by Wilke (2014) as galleries, museums and festivals (with their marketing and PR functions), are the first communicators in the chain who intend to make art available to the publics.

⁸⁰ The term disintermediation originally comes from economics and means the removal of intermediaries in the supply chain. It refers to a condition where the customer is directly in contact with the supplier without distributors, wholesalers, brokers or other intermediary agents.

⁸¹ In political journalism, primary definers are those such as the police who are in position to speak authoritatively in matters of crime and public order; they are structurally dominant in terms of their potential for defining reality (Watson & Hill 1997, 180). They are used in journalism as sources. A source is thus an individual, group or institution that originates a message (Watson & Hill 1997, 215).

⁸² Similarly, Wilke (2014, 466) differentiates between primary and secondary subsystems of dissemination of art. The primary institutions of dissemination are cultural institutions such as galleries, museums, festivals and secondary institutions of dissemination are the media. The terms primary and secondary only take account to the chronology of the communication process and are thus no evaluative terms.

They are suppliers or sources that have a major influence on media content by producing raw material for the mediators (Shoemaker & Reese 1991, 105). The *mediators* do not, as a rule, initiate art but they take up and discuss the existing cultural supply with an intention to advance the debate that may have consequences for the fields (of arts and society and of their particular subfields etc.). Mediators, such as journalists, reviewers, scholars, bloggers and cultural pundits, are distinguished through their relatively independent position. The distributors are located in a closer link-up with the production of art, while the mediators represent its public reception.⁸³

To apply Alexander's model to cultural journalism, we can arrive at an adapted model of cultural mediation, presented in Figure 3. The primary process of mediation is the production of art by an artist and its reception by cultural consumers. The secondary processes involve the marketing and PR for the primary production of art by distributors who make art accessible to the consumers, and the value-creation by journalists and other public receivers of art.⁸⁴ The distinction between mediators and distributors emphasizes the differences between these agents of secondary mediation in their relationship to arts; the former tend to create a more autonomous and the latter a more heteronomous relationship to arts. The work of mediators and distributors may also appear as complementary or competitive forms of artistic mediation. Furthermore, due to increased disintermediation, the consumers of art may in today's world turn into prosumers or producers of art in their own cultural sphere. An individual can basically have a single-mediated encounter with arts, for example, when encountering art or coming into personal contact with art while visiting the artist's atelier. Therefore, journalists are as cultural mediators constantly contested and obliged to justify their position within the landscape of mediation of arts.

All models of cultural mediation suggest that cultural journalists are *fundamentally involved* in the process of making sense of art. Journalists and critics are not external agents or referees but part of the process that generates and reflects differences in culture (Shrum 1996, 197). Even if art seldom reaches society at large but rather reaches particular publics made up of individuals embedded in a social system (Alexander 2003, 61), the agents of cultural journalism, forming the field of cultural journalism but simultaneously being agents in other aesthetic or artistic and professional fields, are part of interaction in which the meaning of art is negotiated. Once involved in mediation, they form an elementary part in the chain between the production, the distribution and the consumption of art. Bourdieu (1993, 119) elucidates that the agents form an ensemble of relations attendant on the "publication" of the work, that is, its becoming a public object. To him, "in each of these relations, each of these agents engages not only his own image of other factors in the relationship --- which depends on his relative position within the field, but also his image of the other factor's image of himself, i.e. of the social definition of his objective position in the field".

Art does not come into being without human intervention, but the original producer, the one who creates art, is not necessarily involved in its dissemination and intermediation. By treating the distribution of art as one homogenous entity they dis-

⁸³ This distinction is not entirely unproblematic, which can be seen, for example, in the ambivalent role of museum curators or press officers who basically function in both distributor and mediator roles, doing both marketing and symbolic work.

⁸⁴ For a similar distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary texts (artistic, journalistic and meta-discursive texts) see section 1.1.3.

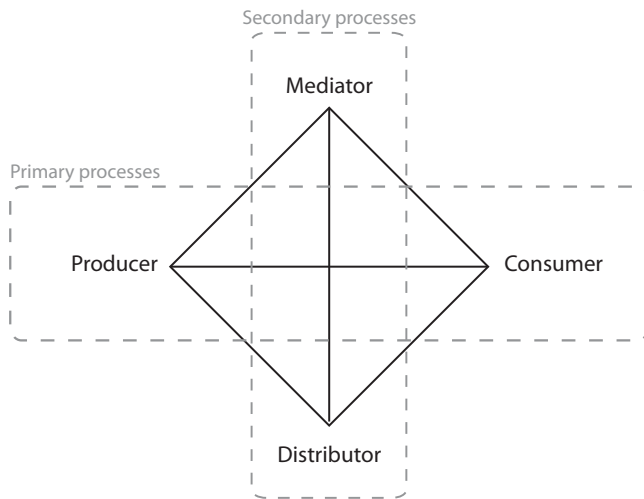


Figure 3. The adapted model of cultural mediation.

regard the fact that art is actually *manifoldly mediated* to the public (Wilke 2014); not only from the artist to the receiver but also through other agents who contribute to the definitions and understandings of the issue. Today, the managerial gatekeepers are playing a more and more significant role in organizing, pre-framing and mediating a cultural event; it is not just the artist who comes into contact with other communicators, although even the artist has a more extensive variety of means to reach to the public. This relationship between the artist and his or her managers and curators is only implicitly present in both structural models. The professionalization of the art management and an increase in the cultural PR, however, has made this relationship critical in understanding the functions of cultural journalism. All cultural intermediaries are therefore involved in a never-ending practice of creating value(s) as an added contribution between production and consumption and by their activity accruing cultural capital and dispositions required to maintain their own position. They are not firmly located in the production chain but their position is changeable.

Nevertheless, the models of cultural mediation do not explain what the relationships are by their essence; they only state that they exist but they do not articulate the direction and quality of the relationship between the agents. For this reason, the information needs to be complemented by further analysis of the relationships. Besides, the models do not either take subcultural and field-internal differences into account. *The relationship between different journalists*, i.e. the representatives of the journalistic paradigm (cultural journalists) and the aesthetic paradigm (reviewers), is often ignored by subsuming the journalist's activity under the label of journalistic production, or handling the journalists and critics in isolated categories. Different forms of culture produce different interrelations with different audiences, modes of consumption and codes of interpretation. As described in section 1.3.1, the intention of this study is to diversify the model in this respect, by regarding the journalists as representatives of different subcultures that relate to art as well as to their sources and audiences differently, in different and partly contradictory roles of a mediator.

2.2.2 The professionalism approach

Distinct professional standards distinguish cultural journalists from other cultural intermediaries. The key social category of distinction is the concept of profession, with which journalism defines itself in society vis-à-vis other occupations. The term professionalism is used in both descriptive and normative ways; it is both an analytical tool to examine how the occupation serves the public and democracy, and an ideal narrative of necessary quality standards guiding its performance in democracy (Waisbord 2013, 4; Freidson 2001). In terms of a profession, we can distinguish between three conditions that account for regarding cultural journalists with relation to professionalist qualities: the *theoretical concept* of profession, the *historical process* of professionalization and the professionalist *struggle*.

First, the concept of profession is defined by characteristics that can be achieved through gradual development and social closure. Secondly, according to the classical Durkheimian differentiation theory, professions emerged through societal differentiation and functional division of labour. Professionalization thus means the development of characteristics of a profession. Professionalization aims at an increasing specialization and transferability of skills. It also includes the proliferation of objective standards of work, a theoretical body of knowledge, education and training as well as the establishment of professional rules and entry criteria for supporting autonomous expertise and the service ideal. (Larson 1977, Freidson 2001.) Thirdly, in contrast to the trait approaches of professional concept and professionalization, the “professional project” (Larson 1977, Schudson & Anderson 2009) can be regarded as a struggle in which professionals constantly negotiate and try to maintain their position with an ultimate aim to uphold the autonomy which is a precondition for functioning independently (Hjarvard 2008; Waisbord 2013, 11). Professional claims thus serve to settle boundaries between those in the “inside” and “outside” of the profession in order to avoid intrusion from external factors (Schudson & Anderson 2009; Waisbord 2013).

The social closure of the journalistic professionalism is ambiguous. Especially in the aesthetic paradigm (see section 3.4.2), the development of a professional strategy has not been fully supported by academic institutions due to the disciplinary divisions discussed earlier in section 1.2. Cultural journalism has not been established as part of journalism studies curricula⁸⁵ and the training of cultural journalists has during times been left to the provisory responsibility of professional unions and private trusts instead of the academy.⁸⁶ Professional unions have not become to function as a uni-

⁸⁵ Cultural journalism has typically been integrated in courses addressing different types of journalism but entire courses dedicated to it seem to be few at journalism schools. However, it deserves to be mentioned that in Denmark an academic post for cultural journalism was founded at the Danish School of Journalism in the 1960s. Its holder in 1964–1983, Senior Lecturer Eva Hemmer Hansen, wrote the textbook *Kulturjournalistik* [Cultural journalism] (1977).

⁸⁶ In Finland, as the training of cultural journalists was considered an important concern after the World War II to ensure the uniformity of culture (Lappalainen 2000, 6), the professional training of cultural journalists was assigned to the Finnish Cultural Foundation (SKR) (Salonen 1967). A committee for journalists’ education was founded in Helsinki in 1967 and it was agreed that the private trust SKR would take the responsibility for cultural journalists’ vocational education. At the same time, the education of general journalists was emerging at the universities; University of Tampere started to offer an academic and a vocational journalism education program in 1966, continuing the vocational programme started

form force for gathering cultural journalists under the same organization.⁸⁷ In terms of general journalism, even the professional communities of general journalists have been characterized as communities of practice (Wenger 1998) and interpretive communities (Zelizer 1997), referring to informal aggregations of practitioners of journalism defined by the shared manner in which they do things and interpret events. In this respect, cultural journalism can be said to have remained a semi-professionalized occupation with no social closure in the classical traits of traditional professionalism (Zelizer 2009).

Professional discourses are not self-contained: they are derived, at least in part, from the wider institutional environment, and they occasionally shape the discourses in that environment. Since the pioneering work of Becker (1982) and Bourdieu (1993), cultural production, evaluation and reception have been understood as sites of collective action. Being at a crossroads where the agents may take several different dispositions in different neighbouring fields, cultural journalism may be more open to external influences than many other types of journalism and prone to adopt discourses from external fields. As there is no (single) academic or professional centre for the professionalism in cultural journalism (Elkins 2003; see section 1.2), we may think that cultural journalism is more contingent in its manifestations and historically subject to organizational power of definition. Behaviour is always determined both by cultural predisposition and situational contingencies that arise from the immediate external environment (Schein 2004, 19). In studies on journalistic professionalism, journalists have indeed been reported to perceive the organizational imperatives as hindering the realization of professional ideals (Dahlgren 1995, 27). For cultural journalism, these constraints can be above all understood in terms of organizational factors.

For this study, *professionalism* can be defined as a mix of ideologies maintained by a distinct group of practitioners with same kind of values within an institutional frame. The professionalist ideologies, or cultures, can be divided into three different strains contributing to professionalism in different ways, which I call the professional, occupational and organizational cultures (see also Hirsch 1977; Russo 1998).⁸⁸ Profes-

in 1925 in Helsinki, and the Swedish-language academic education programme started at the University of Helsinki in 1962 (Salokangas 2003). To search for applicable models for cultural journalists' training, the committee for cultural journalists' education outlined an experimental education program (Salonen 1970). It covered two seminars in 1971 for the cultural journalists in provincial newspapers. Two introductory textbooks were elaborated in the committee from the keynotes, *Kulttuuritoimittaja* (Mikkola 1972a) on the role and identity of the cultural journalist and *Kulttuuriavustaja* (Mikkola 1972b) on cultural freelancing. Later on, two other seminars were developed into books, *Kulttuurikuva* (Mikkola 1976) on the use of images in cultural journalism and *Kulttuuripolitiikka* (Mikkola 1979) on the journalistic treatment of cultural politics. Altogether the number of participants in these seminars counted a couple of hundreds of persons.

⁸⁷ In Finland, cultural journalists may be members of the Union of Journalists in Finland (SJL), founded in 1921, or the Finnish Critics' Association (SARV), founded in 1950. The same division into general journalists' professional union and reviewers' association can be seen in other European countries as well.

⁸⁸ The vocabulary used to refer to different cultures of professionalism is partly diffuse. For example, Örnebring (2009), leaning on Evetts (2006), applies the terms "occupational professionalism" to what I call "professional culture" and "organizational professionalism" for what I call "organizational culture". For me, "professionalism" refers to the constellation of different cultures which I use in line of Evetts' definitions of organizational and professional culture (see also Russo 1998). As I do not want to conflate

sional culture is a historically developed form of professionalist ideology, constructed and controlled by practitioners themselves based on “shared education and training, a strong socialization process, work culture and occupational identity, and codes of ethics that are monitored and operationalized by professional institutes and associations” (Evetts 2006, 141). Professional culture involves values that guide a practitioner’s conduct, which include for example “discretionary decision-making in complex cases, collegial authority, the occupational control of the work and is based on trust in the practitioner by both clients and employers” (ibid.). Organizational culture, in contrast, is a professionalist culture controlled by managers in work organizations. According to Evetts (ibid., 140), it incorporates “rational-legal forms of decision-making, hierarchical structures of authority, the standardization of work practices, accountability, target-setting and performance review and is based on occupational training and certification” (see also Schein 1985).

Occupational cultures are the mixed local formations between wider, autonomously oriented professional and heteronomously oriented organizational cultures, as illuminated in Figure 4. They emerge within and around an organization but are more than sole manifestations of an organization’s culture. As to the two professional paradigms of cultural journalism, discussed in more detail in chapter 3, we can place the paradigms into this picture by suggesting that both paradigms are adopted and supported in cultures of professionalism to varying degrees.

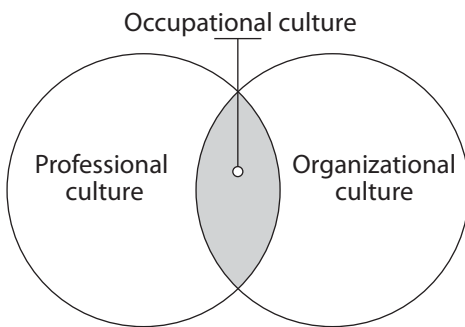


Figure 4. The professionalism model.

Following the model elaborated by one of the prominent theorists of organizational culture, Edgar H. Schein (1985), organizational culture is distinguished by different cognitive levels. In Schein’s concept of an organization, inspired by systemic thinking, the primary function of culture is to provide solutions to the problems of living, survival and adaptation. According to Schein (2004 [1985], 17) organizational culture is “a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way you perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems”. Accordingly, culture can be analyzed at several different levels, with the term level meaning the degree to which the cultural

professionalism with its underlying professional ideologies, I understand the term “professionalism” as an overall concept and “professional culture(s)” subordinate to it.

phenomenon is visible to the observer (ibid. 25). These include the visible organizational structures and processes, the strategic goals and justifications, and the deeply embedded and unconscious beliefs and thoughts, which Schein calls “artifacts”, “espoused beliefs and values”, and “basic underlying assumptions”.

The level of artifacts is the surface which includes all the phenomena that can be seen, heard and felt when one encounters a new group with unfamiliar culture; artifacts are the visible products of a group embodying deeper patterns of thought, such as the architecture of its physical environment, the language, the technology, clothing, rituals and ceremonies. Basic values are the espoused values, norms, and rules that provide the day-to-day operating principles by which the members of the organization guide their behaviour. They are, in Argyris and Schön’s (1978) terminology, “espoused theories” that convey what people claim in various situations to do but which may not be congruent with what they actually do in those circumstances. The espoused values and beliefs are discussable and negotiable; they are articulated missions, expressed goals and communicable strategies with explicit justifications. If an espoused belief or value is empirically tested, it continues to work reliably in solving a group’s problems and it is thus adopted by social validation, it may undergo a transformation into assumptions. The basic assumptions, in turn, which are similar to the theories-in-use in Argyris and Schön’s (1978) conception of the theory of action, are tacit structures that are treated as “a reality”, i.e. taken for granted in the everyday life of the group. Basic assumptions account for cognitive stability in the community and, as they are based on a shared history and present solutions to fundamental aspects of life at an implicit, unconscious level, they are hard to modify. Cultural assumptions are the results of a group’s accumulated learning, and they include conceptualizations about the nature of time and space, human nature, relationships, reality and truth. (Ibid., 25–36.)

Schein’s concept of organizational culture is seen as standing for harmony and consensus, something that is worth striving for. This kind of a consensual, coherent and integrated conception dismisses the contradictions and hidden conflicts related to power relations (Alvesson 2002, 121). In reality, an organization presents heterogeneity in speech and action, which makes it hard to distinguish the partly overlapping levels from each other, which causes even Schein some problems, occasionally leading him to a superficial operationalization of the model in addressing the “surface” instead of deeper cognitive structures. Organizations do not have complete definitional control over their representations and the actions of the practitioners, either, due to the interactions with the external world and the members’ reflexivity and their ability to interact with their own thoughts and experiences both individually and collectively.

This controversy has been addressed in organizational research as what Raz and Fadlon (2005), among others, call the workplace culture and the managerial culture. The members of an organization can promote or resist knowledge prescribed by the managerial culture, which results in two framings of the work: that of the workers and that of the management. Neither the journalistic nor the aesthetic professional culture can simply be domesticated in the organizational setting, so the organizational zone continues to be a meeting place for contestations of different cultures; the domestic and the foreigner. This is the case even when an organization attempts to control the work by selectivity of the workers, by settling the personal trajectories of the individuals with ideals that fit into its own.

As to the organizational history of newspaper departments, cultural departments stand out in journalistic organizations because of their structures that include widely used networks of freelancers working more or less permanently for the organization.⁸⁹ Culture departments have thus quite early adopted structures that correspond to what is known in the post-Fordian context of mass production as flexibility in specialization, reflecting both the structure and a strategy of a company (Smith 1995; Atkinson 1984). The dominant form of employment among (general) journalists is still staff on regular and permanent contract, even if short-term contracts and other forms of flexible employment are on the increase (see e.g. Walters et al. 2006). Critics, in contrast, have mainly been working as freelancers with temporary employment contract on a flexible basis that enables the organization to adjust the balance between different types of labour as a concurrence factor in the market. From an organizational perspective, the critics and other freelancers are thus regarded in the news organization as secondary labour. Compared to staffers in the business of commodity production such as news, the critics are producing specialist products such as reviews which would, due to the required amount of training and the production process, not imply an appropriate investment for the organization. This structure supports the professionalism of cultural journalism in a way that puts emphasis on certain professionalist cultures at the cost of others, supporting the paradigms of professionalism unevenly. According to Örnebring (2009), the journalistic professionalism is undergoing a transformation where organizational demands are gaining significance at the cost of the professional culture. He notes that increased individualization of labour brings along insecurity and union de-recognition that exert a weakening impact on the professional culture. As cultural staffers are members of organizational cultures, their position within the professionalism of cultural journalism is basically stronger than those of the second labour.

To meet up with the controversial and tensioned mixture of different cultures in a culture department, we can, in other words, see the professional, occupational and organizational cultures to perform different functions in the production environment of cultural journalism. Professional culture aims at pointing to universal values that make a profession necessary to society. Organizational culture aims at tailoring the behaviour of individuals to a cost-effective and optimal form in order to serve the organization's aims. The occupational culture is a blend of professional ideology and the manage-led culture within a particular organization; it is an adaptation of professional ideologies of individuals with certain trajectory, dispositions and position-takings, and a variant of the organizational culture of the entire organization, sort of a subculture. The professionalism of cultural journalism can thus be called the entity of these different cultures that need to be negotiated. Organizations essentially shape

⁸⁹ A problem thus arises in whether the freelancer networks should be regarded as part of the organizational culture of a journalistic organization. Tunstall (1971, 136) remarks that it is unclear whether freelance journalism, the most relevant case of specialist autonomy in journalism, is internal or external to a specialist's organizational role, or whether freelance journalism is being carried on *within* the organization. In any case, the freelancers have access to organizational resources to varying degrees and are thus positioned differently as to the main organization. Freelancers thus form distinct occupational cultures by drawing on certain professional and organizational values according to their position with regard to the professional and organizational community they are involved in. In their activities the aesthetic paradigm of professionalism often plays a more focal role than the journalistic paradigm which is stronger supported by the organizational culture and, therefore, the occupational culture of staff writers.

and guide the manifestations of professionalism, but professionalism as such surpasses the organizational boundaries.

For an individual, the cultures imply a need to negotiate between one's cultural influences in arts, culture and media. The workers can have either the aesthetic orientation or the journalistic orientation as a cultural basis in their professionalism. The aesthetic and the journalistic paradigms contribute to a formation of the professionalism in that some of the professional cultures become primary and some secondary in the individual trajectory of a journalistic practitioner. As said, since the formation of the modern culture sections in newspapers, the core workers have increasingly been professionals with the journalistic paradigm as their primary professional context, while the secondary-labour workers have been specialists with expertise in the aesthetic paradigm. The secondary-labour critics are thus to a large extent cultural workers within the cultural fields, classified into the increasing cadre of modern "media professionals", cultural intermediaries in public relations, advertising, copy editing, press releases, social media and so on, who are likely to experience journalism as only a part of their professional identity. The aesthetic paradigm being a central part of the professionalism of cultural journalism, also these marginals of the professional cultural journalistic ideology need to be taken into account as definers of professional identities.

The three levels of organizational culture are no static dimensions; they may change, although not very rapidly, when the deeper structures are modified. Changes in employment and work practices as well as managerial strategic choices play a key intervening role in the development, as demonstrated in Article IV. The strategy may prefer one paradigm at the cost of the other in the organizational environment. The underlying fundamental principle for the emergence of an occupational culture is that the professional values of the media workers need somehow to be compatible with the organizational values: they need to be understandable and justifiable in front of the management that, in turn, expects the organization to function in a best possible way in the political economy. The more distant the professional culture is to that of the organizational culture, the less capable it may be of justifying itself in front of the management.

2.2.3 *The field theory approach*

The approach developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has become a widespread tool of analysis often applied to the critical understanding of the social structures of cultural practices.⁹⁰ Bourdieu's reflexive sociology or "constructivist structuralism" consists of integrating the objective exposure of determining relations and the retrieval of subjective perceptions of experience into a second-order historical construction of the spaces from which objective structures and perceptions derive (Fowler 1997, 6; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 5). The idea of objectivation of the ex-

⁹⁰ In Finland, Bourdieu's framework has gained a strong foothold after the publication of the English edition of *La distinction* (Bourdieu 1984), despite the fact that it has not been unproblematic to apply the model, based on the description of hierarchically organized French society with a unique educational system, to Finland, or other less hierarchical societies (Kahma & Toikka 2012).

amination of social structures is directed against the reductionism of universality or transcendentalism of aesthetic values (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, Bourdieu 1993). As such, Bourdieu's ideas and vocabulary enable the examination of action of social agents as structured entities and their relations. Bourdieusian thinking will be applied throughout this study as a framework into which findings can be placed. The objective is to understand the internal logics of the functioning of cultural journalism, conceptualized as a field (*champ*), a structured but open space of positions defined and redefined by its agents, and its interactive (hypercomplex) relations to external institutions and spheres of action, which can also be conceptualized as fields. What is considered relevant for understanding cultural journalism as an intermediary field between journalism and the art world are the power relations within the field, its dynamic borders that are at stake in the internal struggles and the interconnections that are established with related fields.

The field of cultural journalism is structured by an opposition between two sub-fields: the field of restricted production and the field of large-scale production. Applying Bourdieu's (1993) model of cultural production, illustrated in Figure 5, the field of cultural journalism is contained within the field of power, i.e. the journalistic field, while possessing a relative autonomy with respect to it. The aesthetic subfield of the field of cultural journalism occupies a dominated position in the negative pole of the field. Based on the autonomous principle of hierarchization, it attempts to define and fulfil its own logic as a subfield but continues to be affected by the laws of the field of journalism. The autonomous pole of the field of cultural journalism belongs to the subfield of restricted production, whereas the dominating pole, based on the heteronomous principle of hierarchization, represents large-scale production which an aim to reach large audiences. Heteronomous thus refers to those parts of the field that are most strongly influenced by external controls and impositions of other fields.⁹¹ The state of the power relations within the field of cultural journalism depends on the overall degree of autonomy possessed by the field with regard to the dominating field of journalism. The journalists are closest to the external heteronomous demands of journalism, even if their identity as cultural journalists depends on the relative autonomy gained from the heteronomous general journalism.

The degree of autonomy of a field is defined by its ability to reject external determinants and define its own criteria for production and evaluation of its products and follow the specific internal logics of the field, governed by particular forms of symbolic capital. This implies translation of external determinations in conformity with its own principles of functioning. Bourdieu (1993, 115) notes that the more cultural producers are in competition for legitimacy, the more the internal demarcations appear irreducible to economic, political or social factors. This means that although the aesthetic paradigm is more likely to be exerted in the autonomous pole and the journalistic paradigm is the prevalent form of doing cultural journalism in the more heteronomous pole of the field, both paradigms can be supported by agents of position-takings of both ends. Hjarvard (2008, 126) locates the autonomous pole as the site of professionalized aspects like codes of ethics and the heteronomous pole as the site of the influ-

⁹¹ Heteronomy (> Greek *hetero*, "others", *nomos*, "law") thus generally refers to process or action influenced by a force outside, whereas autonomy (> Greek *auto*, "self", *nomos*, "law") means the distance and detachment from external impositions.

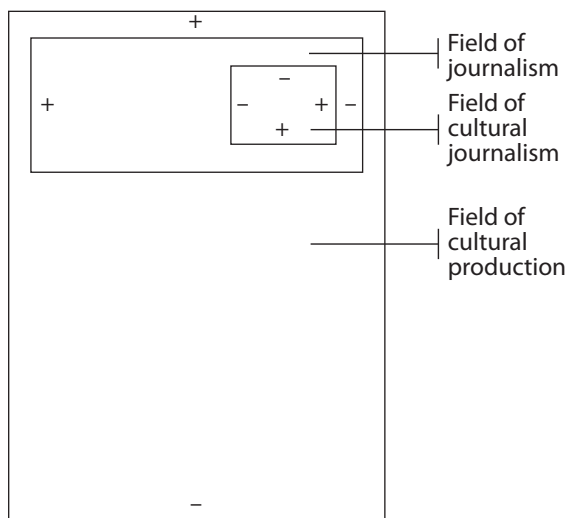


Figure 5. The field model of cultural journalism.

ence exerted by the advertising market. In cultural journalism the ways of achieving autonomy are more diversified; they do not solely concern the journalistic standards as a means of acquisition of autonomy but in a great extent the aesthetic standards which are even more alien to the heteronomous aims of the dominating pole.

For Bourdieu, aesthetics is a social category connected with class distinctions. Because of the controversial understandings of what actually constitutes taste (see e.g. Korsmeyer 2001), there is an absence of clear and unequivocal criteria of aesthetic judgement (see section 3.4.2). However, taste is something that holds a group of cultural consumers together (Hennion 2007). The dispositions of a group are similar because produced by similar social conditions of existence. In Bourdieusian understandings, the relationship between the field of cultural journalism and the contextual artistic fields is based on homologies of field structure (Bourdieu 1993, Hurri 1993). Homology means the correspondence between similar social spaces in different fields (Bourdieu 2010 [1979]). Agents with homologous positions in different fields are engaged in the same game with identical positions. According to Bourdieu (1993, 94) “critics serve their readerships so well” because “the homology between their position in the intellectual field and their readership’s position within the dominant-class field is the basis of an objective connivance”. This has resulted in a situation observed by Bech-Karlsen (1991a, 131) where journalists and their sources have close ties between each other, and a conception of the cultural journalist as a cultural worker, implying an “uncritical” attitude towards the art world among the journalists and attachment to established sources (Kristensen 2004).

The idea of a homology is based on a presumption that the fields of journalism and its readership are separate fields (Bourdieu 2005). In addition to homologies, if we think of how separate fields can be interconnected to each other, we can think of the artistic field and the journalistic field as overlapping or mixed fields instead of being two separated fields (Morawska & Spohn 1994). The journalistic and the political field have been perceived to have such a close relationship that Champagne (2005) has re-

ferred to the field as the journalistic-political field. Regarding the cultural journalists' closeness to their sources and the artistic fields, the field of cultural journalism could also be described as a structured space of positions where the journalistic and the artistic fields overlap. The field of cultural journalism is *de facto* a journalistic-artistic field. Agents recruited to write about arts and culture are typically position-holders in artistic fields and they tend to have more cultural capital than, for example, general journalists or artistic laymen. In particular reviewers and freelancers typically have the dispositions needed to take positions in the artistic field they are monitoring, which is also the reason for their recognition as arbiters of taste of (and by) their own artistic (sub)field. However, in order to function as agents in the journalistic-artistic field, the agents need dispositions and capital required in *both* of the fields – a characteristic that makes the field of cultural journalism a genuinely intermediary field. By acting as intermediary agents with simultaneous position-holders in the journalistic and an artistic field, the agents of the field of cultural journalism (i.e. the journalistic-artistic field), who are secondary producers (see section 1.1.3) differ from agents from the artistic field who are primary producers, the artists. Reviewers and reporters do not have to possess the capacity of *producing* art but, instead, *receiving* – interpreting, analysing, understanding and evaluating – it.

Reviewers with simultaneous position-takings are not self-attributed but recognized by the artistic field, along with the journalistic field, as the media recruits the reviewers. Generalist journalists do not have to count on the recognition of the source-fields in the same way, as they approach the source-field from a role of an external observer rather than working “from within” the source-field. Their influence is mediated by the internal structures by agents of a source or audience field adopting the message (or rejecting it, as articulated in the role of an opinion leader), whereas the cultural journalist, with his or her position-taking, is already a more or less integrated part of the internal structure of the field.

Considering the heterogeneity of different secondary-production roles of cultural journalists, there are a number of different positions that the agents operating in the journalistic-artistic intermediary field can take. The positions vary according to the proximity and distance which they create in terms of the centres of power of the journalistic and the artistic field(s). An agent of cultural journalism (journalist) can approach arts from a separate field of journalism without having the pre-recognized position in the artistic field; or, the agent (reviewer) can be a primary producer in the artistic field taking a simultaneous peripheral position in the field of cultural journalism, yet not taking a very central position in the (cultural) journalistic field. It is also thinkable that an agent in the artistic field engages in journalism, for example by writing a letter-to-the-editor, while still remaining an agent in the artistic field. In each specific communicative act where the field-relations come into being, the fields and their dispositions are reconfigured differently. The field-relations between the artistic and journalistic field can be formed on the basis of separate or mutually constitutive connection between the fields.

What follows is that the field is a dynamic, not a stable or permanent concept, even if most of Bourdieu's work and the attention dedicated to the sociology of cultural practices are concerned with the process of social reproduction. An individual is involved in the “field-game” by acquiring dispositions and taking positions that are also dynamic rather than constant. The same work or artists can be positioned as legiti-

mate or arbitrary depending on the temporal and perspectival position of the viewer (Webb et al. 2002). By being involved in the “field-game” the individual involves in defining the boundaries of the field. Of course, the boundaries suggested by an individual “field-act” are not widely shared and accepted by other position-takers in that field. Cultural journalists navigate according to their own image of other agents in the relationship that forms around the public object (see section 2.2.1) which depends on their relative position within the field, but they also lean on their image of the other agents’ image of themselves, i.e. the social definition of their objective position in the field (Bourdieu 1993, 119).

Despite its strengths in making sense of the principles and practices of cultural production, Bourdieu’s field theory has to be applied with some reservations. A great deal of previous criticism has concerned the applicability of Bourdieu’s model derived from French society (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 78–79; for Finland, see e.g. Purhonen et al. 2010, Kahma & Toikka 2012). More recently, scholars have come to question Bourdieu’s strict opposition between high culture as the field of restricted production destined for a public of cultural producers and popular culture as a field of large-scale production destined for the non-producing public at large (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, 83; Shusterman 1992, Fornäs 1995a, 102; Fowler 1997, 11). With a wide range of prosumer activities and everyday creativity enabled and made visible by new technologies, blurring boundaries between traditional high-cultural and popular-cultural productions, backed up by a growing number of scholars defending the position of popular in cultural studies, it has become evident that products of culture cannot be distinguished in terms of fixed categories of “high” and “popular” but assessed case-specifically in terms of their production structures and reception models. In this study, the Bourdieusian concepts function as an analytic device and framework for understanding and conceptualizing the field of arts and cultural journalism throughout the single studies.

2.2.4 The public pedagogy approach

The journalistic mediation of arts is public reception which is carried out for the audience’s sake. By creating value to cultural products and producers, cultural journalism builds a resource for the agents in the artistic and cultural sphere with political, commercial, cultural and social dimensions to enhance their cultural competence (Kristensen & From 2011, 40). Instead of asking the general question how the audiences use art, as done in reception studies, I want to pose the question from a more intermediary perspective and ask how art and culture is made transformable through journalism. I call this approach the public pedagogy approach, drawing on the emerging studies of public pedagogies (Sandlin et al. 2010a).

The pedagogicality in question is based on cultivation, or “living culturally”, which entails a multiplicity of different ways of encountering, interpreting, and creating culture(s) in all its different definitions (Carroll 2010, 250). An individual’s connection to culture(s) may be private or public, immediate or mediated, spontaneous or planned (see section 2.2.1). Cultural journalism is predominantly confined to the public, shared and collectively accepted, manifestations of culture, among which the professional cultural products, persons and phenomena are the most addressed.

However, as mentioned earlier, cultural consumers can at any time ignore or supersede what journalism has to offer and make use of cultural offerings in other ways. As cultural engagement can be realized in many social settings and in many ways, attaching to a particular form of art or culture is *voluntary*, as Blank (2007) remarks. The journalistically produced knowledge is thus just a one possible resource for approaching arts and cultures.

Following the tradition of audience studies and uses and gratifications approach we can say that there are differences in what the media “can do for cultural consumers” depending upon the different modes of engagement the people are involved in (Pearson and Davies 2005, 159). The focus on forms of citizenship can be understood by the number of people affected (see e.g. Fürsich 2012). For political journalism, every recipient within the national or the given geographical reach is a citizen and thus addressed. For health journalism, every recipient is a potential patient and thus concerned. For arts and cultural journalism, every recipient is a cultural citizen, but through individual choices and dependent on his or her individual relationship with autonomous and heteronomous poles of the field of culture and cultural journalism. Not every recipient needs to be interested in the particular form of art journalistically addressed. On the more heteronomous grounds, such as when it comes to the investment of finances and related political choices, cultural journalism potentially addresses all citizens. Contents in the autonomous pole, in contrast, such as the quality of a particular artwork, affect limited audience groups who show interest in the art in question. However, the constitution of a potential audience and its membership to “insiders” and “outsiders” is a dynamic process and addressing audiences also involves persuasion of new cultural consumers on a constant basis.

Cultural goods are pedagogical in the way that they teach consumers lessons about how they should lead a life and relate to each other in order to accumulate cultural capital and gain a certain position in fields they want to be active; they offer a source or a surface for personal reflection. The potential value of the cultural goods to the consumer depends “both on the extent to which they enable these purposes to be achieved, and on the value of those purposes’ achievement” (Keat 1999, 99). Therefore, they have a transformative rather than simply a demand value (Wright 2005, 107; Lash 1990, 40). The tasks of results of cultural production are both outer-directed and inner-directed (Orlik 2009 [1994], 292): arts refine society and culture by offering the ideal, to see into the present to reveal our world and to cope with the labors of life. The latter tasks include, for example, to liberate the imagination and to put oneself in the place of others, to lessen tension and internal conflict as an aid to mental health and to inspire human emotions. The transformability of art and cultural products presupposes an active cultural consumer. A cultural chief described the situation: “Art is not given someone as a present; it has to be acquired by one” (Reus et al. 1995, 314).

In Bourdieu’s view, prerequisites for receiving works of art are the symbolic and the cultural capital.⁹² Up-to-date information is a resource for accruing cultural competence, or, in Bourdieusian terms, cultural capital, for agency in a particular social

⁹² Symbolic capital refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, founded on the dialectic of *connaissance* (knowledge) and *reconnaissance* (recognition). Cultural capital concerns the forms of cultural knowledge which enables the social agent with a competence in deciphering cultural relations and artifacts. They are accumulated in a long process through the pedagogical actions carried out by informal and formal education. (Bourdieu 2010 [1979], Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 [1970].)

environment, or a field. Works of art are of relevance and have meaning to those who own the “code” for their meanings. *Taste* describes the dispositions to take pleasure in certain cultural objects and the ability to discern and assess their aesthetic qualities (Korsmeyer 2001, 201). Taste is not a natural ability but needs to be educated (ibid., 195). As cultural consumers are differently located according to their cultural capital and habitus, or their dispositions and position-takings with regard to different (sub) fields of arts and culture, to serve a large audience, cultural journalists are required the recognition of many forms of arts and culture. Because the journalistic products are produced for heterogeneous audiences composed of members and observers of a variety of cultures and subcultures, cultural journalism has to reflect and produce a picture of culture that is diverse. Enabling access to culture compels cultural journalists to be aware of the personal and institutional tastes at work. Cultural journalists’ imperative becomes to contribute to substantial (high *and* popular as well as high *and* everyday), structural (specialized *and* general treatment), and temporary (cultural heritage *and* contemporary reflection) diversity of their content production.

Nevertheless, Bourdieu (1993, 116) has directed the attention towards an elitist view of the cultural journalist by asserting that the cultural journalist writes for a “public of equals” who “are also competitors”. In Bourdieu’s idea of restricted production, in other words, the supply side is at the same time the demand side. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007, 632) specify that cultural journalists’ imagined audience is primarily the “privileged strata of society which consume the high arts”, but cultural journalists also justify their work in terms of their responsibility to larger audiences whose lives can be enhanced by exposure to the arts. The target group are thus communities with certain amount of cultural capital that we can call art worlds after Becker (1982) (see section 2.2.1).

The cultural journalistic task is the creation of an “added value” and triggering of processes of learning, which adheres to Dewey’s (1916, 6) argument that all communication in social systems is essentially educative. The journalistic texts on arts and culture are expected to become “relevant” and “productive” (Fiske 1989, Fürsich & Avant-Mier 2012). Reus and colleagues (1995, 314) indeed found in their survey that German cultural journalists were more inclined to describe themselves as “pedagogues” or “educators” than other journalists.⁹³ Cultural journalism is thus hortative: it underlies a focal objective to influence the imagined audience and to urge it to do something (i.e. cultivate, or be engaged in the process of cultivation). Learning is generally understood as a modification of a behavioural tendency resulting from an experience (de Houwer et al. 2013). The special function of journalists in the cultural landscape is to assign value to cultural productions and sustain the legitimacy of those assignments (Baumann 2007). As to the specific field of cultural journalism, legitimacy needs to be established through both internal and external justification: for

⁹³ In contrast, the cultural journalists assigned themselves less the political-enlightening function than the other journalists (Reus et al. 1995, 314). Reus and colleagues (1995, 316) also refer to other German studies that regard the educational dimension (*publikumspädagogische Pflicht*) as central in the functions of cultural journalists. In journalism in the Nordic countries, the cultural journalists do not necessarily call themselves as pedagogues, even if they in reality subscribe to ideals that can be defined as pedagogical. In Biehl’s (2003) study, Swedish reviewers declared the description of the aesthetic experience to be the most important function of reviewing and placed to the pedagogical responsibility of the critic a low priority. Simultaneously, they regarded analyzing and interpreting as central.

external legitimacy, consensus about a specific art form, artistic production or a particular work of art must exist among the general public or “artistic consumers”, while for the internal legitimacy, consensus must be achieved among the inner members of an art world (ibid., 51; see also Blank 2007, 54).

Therefore, the cultural journalist, in particular the aesthete, is as a cultural intermediary an “interventionist” figure similar to the public intellectual, owing institutional authority to evaluate and expose hegemonic aims in order to enhance learning. Researchers agree that journalism has public commitment and responsibilities to function in the role of a public educator (Maras 2013, 229). Drawing on educational research and adult education within cultural studies, which have widened to cover many forms of culture and arts from the pedagogical perspective (for an overview see Sandlin et al. 2010a), cultural journalism could be defined as a particular form of and cultural journalists as agents of public pedagogy. Under *public pedagogy* are understood pedagogies of learning beyond the formal curriculum (Sandlin et al. 2010b).⁹⁴ The public pedagogue is, like the public intellectual, “an individual whose intellectual production is articulated to a non-academic community” (Pinar 2010, xv). Public pedagogy is as loosely defined a term as the cultural intermediary discussed in section 1.2.2, but as education is “a dimension of culture that maintains dominant practices while also offering spaces for their critique and re-imagination” (Sandlin et al. 2010b, 1), public pedagogy stresses the educational dimension which definitions of general and news journalism usually tend to underestimate by emphasizing the selection and formation of news.⁹⁵ What makes cultural journalism pedagogical are its normative goals of social and aesthetic transformation as well as progressive politics particularly in the aesthetic and artistic realm, based on the cultural proximity with the cultural consumer. Products of cultural journalism are thus interventions rather than reducible to the original products of culture they address.

The journalistic cultural intermediaries exercise “symbolic violence” by imposing their norms and values as legitimate (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 [1970]; Lash 1990, 256) and are thus involved in the process of cultural reproduction. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977 [1970], 19) pedagogic action presupposes authority in order to be set up, i.e. recognition of the legitimacy of the act of transmission, and relative autonomy of the agency commissioned to exercise it. In Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1990) notion the condition for exercising pedagogic actions is the “misrecognition” (*méconnaissance*) of the power relations, which amounts to the recognition (*reconnaissance*) of their legitimacy by designating what they transmit as worthy of

⁹⁴ A concept of the end of the 20th century, developed on the basis of critical analyses of mass culture and media by Henry A. Giroux (2000), “public pedagogy” is not included in Bourdieu’s vocabulary; however, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) talk about diffuse, family and institutionalized education. The pedagogic work – which is a term used by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977 [1970], 31) denoting “a process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training, i.e. a habitus” – that cultural intermediaries are doing would belong to activities of “diffuse” education which is carried out by “all the educated members of a social formation or group” (ibid., 5). Education is defined as a mode of imposition and inculcation of an “arbitrary” (which means, not derived from general principles of thought but represented as necessary or natural) cultural scheme which is based on power relations.

⁹⁵ Traditionally, a prerequisite for the cultural journalist (or/as the public pedagogue), both as a news-maker and a reviewer, has therefore primarily been the capability of cultural criticism, rather than the regularized formation and publication of news. This idea is further developed in chapter 3.

transmission.⁹⁶ This pedagogic relation underlies the need for information in the receiver, “informed as to the information fit to satisfy it and pre-existing the social and pedagogic conditions of its production” (ibid., 23), and the adequate habitus to receive the message. In sum, the cultural intermediary needs relative autonomy from production to impose symbolic violence on the cultural consumer, who benefits from this pedagogic act by satisfying his or her need for information and getting into cultural proximity with the cultural producer and the field of cultural production in question.⁹⁷

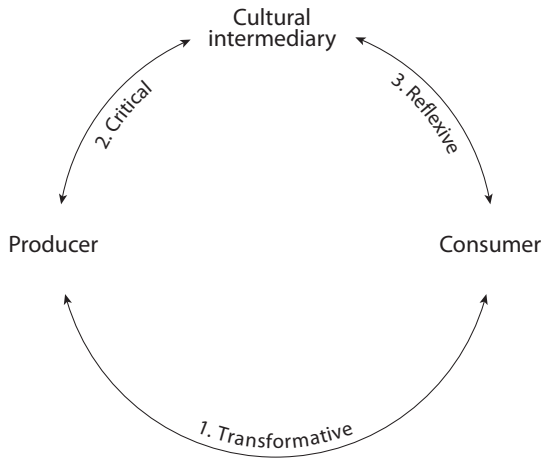


Figure 6. The pedagogical model of cultural journalism.

To understand the intermediary work of the cultural journalist as a public pedagogue, we can, therefore, heuristically outline the following: *The relationship between the cultural intermediary and the cultural consumer (3) is regarded as productive when the cultural distance between production and consumption (1) becomes smaller due to the increasing distance between the producer and the cultural intermediary (2).* These relationships are depicted in Figure 6. In the pedagogical model, the journalist-reviewer as an intermediary can enhance the consumer’s attachment to production and be regarded as an agent of public pedagogy. Cultural journalists and reviewers are thus creating critical distance towards two directions: towards producers of arts and culture and towards other cultural intermediaries such as scholars and bloggers (and distributors such as art

⁹⁶ To Bourdieu and Passeron (1977 [1970], 16–17), this “twofold arbitrariness” of the pedagogic action is the constituent of the ideological struggle in which the educator seeks to secure him- or herself the monopoly of the legitimate mode of imposition and the educated find within him- or herself the principle his or her own fulfilment. The social significance of the pedagogicality can thus be highlighted under the guise of psychology and self-development, or democracy and participation, as often done in discourse on cultural journalism, but to Bourdieu and Passeron the pedagogic action/work can always be boiled down to the symbolic field struggles.

⁹⁷ Bourdieu and Passeron (1977 [1970], 43) express the relation between the cultural intermediary (the agent exerting pedagogic action) and the cultural consumer (receiver) as follows: “The specific degree of productivity of any pedagogic work other than primary pedagogic work (secondary pedagogic work) is a function of the distance between the habitus it tends to inculcate and the habitus inculcated by the previous phases of pedagogic work and ultimately by primary pedagogic work.”

dealers). The ability to create this critical distance is considered an indicator of the success and quality of cultural journalism, as demonstrated in Article I.⁹⁸

The characterization of cultural journalists as public pedagogues describes their involvement admitting them to be co-producers of meaning. The idea of public pedagogy concerns all forms of culture, thus bridging the gap in discourse between the high and the popular as well as artistic and ordinary life. Both agents of high and low culture are cultural consumers but with professional obligation to take distance from the mere-fan-perspective. They are neither just distributors and analysers of information as general journalists may identify themselves but they are expected to contribute to the procedures of historical valuation in the art world by sharing the principles of valuation, which generalists do not have to do. It also becomes clear that the intermediary work of cultural journalism is always one option among many other secondary agents of public pedagogy to the cultural consumer: the cultural journalist as a pedagogic agent cannot alone produce a habitus that is “exhaustive” and “accomplished” (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, 34), because the audience is always simultaneously influenced by other educational impulses than the mass media as well. In all, the idea of public pedagogy helps understanding similarities and differences between the cultural intermediaries among which cultural journalists operate and which, to varying degrees, share the characteristics of mediation, professional ideology, field struggle, cultural practice and democratic endeavour.

3. Cultural anatomy of professionalism

Among practitioners of specialized forms of journalism, a central preoccupation has been to identify their place with regard to the general, non-specialized forms of journalism (for sports journalism, see Salwen & Garrison 1998, Rowe 2007). As discussed in section 1.2, the difference between specialism and generalism in journalism has also occupied a focal place in the research on arts and cultural journalism. Finding a professional place and identity implies a search for how the normative principles of journalism should be appropriated in specialized areas: Which principles apply in cultural reporting and which cannot be adopted without losing the distinctive characteristics or arts or compromising understandings of arts shared by the art world? On the other hand, what is the specialized way of applying journalistic norms without losing the characteristics that distinguish and legitimize the communication as *journalism* in society? The question of specialism has been identified and disentangled in Articles I–V in the form of a theory of two professional paradigms of cultural journal-

⁹⁸ This mechanism can be illuminated with Trygve Aas Olsen’s (2014) theses on “better cultural journalism”. He defines ideal cultural journalism in terms of five features: investigative, knowledge-based, critical, independent, and engaging. By “investigative” he means journalism where journalists are interested in economic and power issues as well instead of focusing on artistic expression and form, or arts as an isolated area of social life. “Knowledge-based” means for him that fact should be used as guiding principle in journalism rather than taste. Under “criticality” he understands the norm according to which the cultural journalist should create distance towards the art world, which is also reflected in the calls for “independence”, according to which the cultural journalists should set their own agenda instead of following the art world’s. “Engagement” is, according to him, the ability to find relevant issues. All these features point to the journalists’ ability to create cultural (or critical) distance toward the primary field of cultural production while seeking cultural proximity with the audiences.

ism, which is the topic of this chapter.

Bech-Karlsen (1991a, 65; 1991b, 6) distinguishes between the definition of cultural substance, journalistic type (i.e. genre) and journalistic approach (i.e. the ontological object that is constructed through the communicative act) as the fundamentals for demarcating and defining the cultural journalistic area of activity (see also Hognestad 1995).⁹⁹ The demarcation of cultural substance means the selection of cultural issues such as arts, media, cultural politics, research etc. with a corollary of indicating the boundaries of culture in the context of journalism. The selection of a journalistic genre such as the cultural news, reportage, cultural commentary or review involves the discursive treatment of the selected issue by discussing it within the possibilities and restrictions posed by the given genre, thus positioning the writer, the artist and the audience into a certain relation in the triangle of cultural mediation (see section 2.2.1). The construction of the ontological object of journalism is closely related to the genre, showing different approaches in creating the journalistic representation of the (cultural) world.¹⁰⁰ These approaches can include, according to Bech-Karlsen, for example, a process orientation (in contrast of product orientation), aspect orientation (instead of sector orientation), perspective orientation (instead of fragment orientation), or function orientation (instead of orientation toward aesthetics).

On the basis of Bech-Karlsen's categorization, it may be appropriate to uphold that the professionalism of cultural journalism is organized around two dimensions that define its field of action ontologically and epistemologically. Firstly, the ontological dimension refers to the *concept of culture* which guides the selection of topics as a meta-level principle. A central question is the delimitation of the sphere of activity (*what* is "culture" and what is not), which basically underlies every selection of an issue. Secondly, the epistemological dimension deals with the positioning of the agent (journalist) by selecting a generic frame for the cultural object (*how*, i.e. with what kinds of means and in what kinds of roles "culture" is discursively created and treated) (Bech-Karlsen 1991a, 27). The epistemological dimension is partly based on specialization in the organization of work, which sets for the journalists the roles that form the foundation for knowledge formation, and on the functional flexibility of these roles. This way the epistemological dimension includes both Bech-Karlsen's categories of "type" and "journalistic approach". My argument is that the ontological and epistemological dimensions are made functionally compatible in different combinations within the two-paradigm structure of cultural journalistic professionalism, even if they are in many ways profoundly in antagonism as to each other.

The ontological and epistemological dimensions of cultural journalism will be further discussed in the following sections to outline and elaborate a more specified

⁹⁹ Bech-Karlsen (1991b) uses the terms "stoffområde-definisjon" (definition of substance), "typedefinisjon" (definition of type) and "tilnærmings-definisjon" (definition of approach).

¹⁰⁰ By introducing the category of "tilnærmings-definisjon" (definition of approach) Bech-Karlsen (1991) accommodates essential critique towards cultural journalism by regarding cultural journalism as too preoccupied with cultural products instead of cultural processes, with sectors of arts instead of aspects of (cultural) life, with fragments that lack context instead of contextualized perspectives of phenomena, and possessing a limited definition of aesthetics instead of regarding aesthetics as a broader discipline or an expanded field (see e.g. Shusterman 1992, 2000). I, however, prefer regarding the distinctive categories as descriptive and will thus merge in my model the genre and the journalistic approach into a single category, which is supported by the ways how journalists take positions in the professional (sub) field.

model of cultural journalism. Continuing the discussion on the difference (see section 1.2.1), I will begin by articulating how cultural journalism does *not* fit into the general traits of journalism. To take one step further beyond the recognition of a difference, it may be productive to ask how the principles are appropriated in cultural journalism, rather than merely pointing at differences. I will thus examine how the basic principles of journalism are appropriated in cultural journalism (section 3.1), arguing that this external difference is determined through the concept of culture (section 3.2) and the creation of epistemic position in terms of position-taking regarding the journalistic-artistic field (section 3.3). Thereafter, looking further at the internal differences, I will explicate the characteristics and differences of the two professional paradigms of cultural journalism, that of the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigm (sections 3.4 and 3.5).

3.1 The appropriation of journalistic principles in cultural journalism

If we compare the most autonomous pole of the field of general journalism that is supposed to reflect the professional journalistic ideals at their most strongly, and the most autonomous pole of the field of cultural journalism that presents the most “journalistically different” dimension of cultural journalism, we can notice that there is a wide range of different manifestations of journalism. The traits that generally characterize journalism do not entirely fit cultural journalism as a whole, which makes cultural journalists feel in varying degrees “different”. Instead of considering the question of difference as a question of professional identity which produces the art exceptionalism experienced by cultural journalists (see section 1.2.1), we can take a trait approach by tracing the basic principles of journalism and their variants for cultural journalism. According to this idea, cultural journalism is a journalistic ideology “in between”; the journalistic standards are interpreted and applied in varying degrees with an infiltration of aesthetic or “art-world” norms and standards. The journalistic principles are applied differently in cultural journalism due to the close field-relation between the journalistic field and the artistic-aesthetic fields. The general journalistic principles are thus not applied as such but appropriated to match the obligations of cultural mediation.

General journalism rests upon the basic journalistic principles of objectivity, impartiality, independence, consensus and balance, identified as “the famous five” characteristics of journalism by Hall (1974).¹⁰¹ As constituents for creating for an occupation a code of ethics, operative autonomy and functional differentiation from other forms of communication, objectivity, impartiality, independence, consensus and balance are historically related to the emergence of professionalism in journalism

¹⁰¹ As taken up in Article V, Deuze (2005, 447) interprets these features as 1) public service (journalists provide a public service as collectors and disseminators of information, 2) objectivity (journalists are impartial, neutral, and objective), 3) autonomy (journalists attempt to be free and independent in their work), 4) immediacy (journalists have a sense of actuality and speed), and ethics (journalists have a sense of ethics). Here, I consider the features of public service, autonomy and ethics as overarching features of a profession instead of specific journalistic principles comparable to Hall's (1974) objectivity, impartiality, independence, consensus and balance. In this respect, the general traits of journalism are operated by the apparatus provided by professionalism.

(Waisbord 2013). These qualities affect the journalists' relationship with audiences, objects and sources by regulating the journalistic self-perception, control of work and location in terms of power, as well as setting norms for routines and practices, including ethics and sense of time (Deuze 2005, Carpentier 2005, Hanitzsch 2007). Deuze (2005), adopting Hall's (1974) dimensions, adds the dimension of immediacy to his definition of journalism and the work of journalists.¹⁰² Despite the rapid changes of the media during recent decades, the traditional principles of objectivity, impartiality, independence, consensus, balance and immediacy are still to a great extent perceived to be core ideals of the journalistic ideology, even if their interpretations may have undergone some transformations (Hanitzsch et al. 2011, Finberg & Klinger 2014).

The principles are, as Hall (1974, 23) describes objectivity and impartiality "operational fictions": they cannot be fully attained but serve journalists as guiding operational rules, providing metapragmatic strategies for carrying out routines and solving problems. These principles are hard to locate, and their value is differently stressed in different forms of journalism. In cultural journalism, too, their manifestations can be very ambiguous, as the news values are in reality hybrid, drawing from traditions related to both journalistic and aesthetic paradigms. However, as some generalizations have to be made, the an overview over the ways how cultural journalism relates to these distinctive traits with its appropriated meanings is summarized in Table 3.¹⁰³ I will now discuss how the principles of objectivity, impartiality, independence, consensus, balance and immediacy translate into the adopted principles of symbolic engagement, disinterestedness, pedagogical interventionism, shared categories of taste, systemic balance, and historical universalism in cultural journalism.¹⁰⁴

Objectivity is a strategic norm to gain credibility and autonomy by maintaining a fact-based and truthful discursive practice (Chalaby 1996, Maras 2013). For professionals in journalism, "objectivity is the most important professional norm, and from it flows more specific aspects of news professionalism such as news judgement, the selection of sources and the structure of news beats" (Soloski 1999, 311; see also Carpentier 2005, 205; Schudson 2001). According to Maras (2013), objectivity, a contested and differently interpreted concept, refers to agreement on values, procedures and languages. It has been interpreted as a separation between facts and opinions, based on an idea of facticity as a regulatory ideal with procedural methods and as a standard of judgement (Maras 2013). Recent studies on journalistic values have documented that in their truth-telling strategies, instead of adherence to "objectivity", journalists increasingly tend to refer to the principle of "transparency" (Hellmueller et al. 2013) or "accountability" (Ettema 2007). Despite nuances, telling the truth based on facts

¹⁰² Other models and theories of journalism cultures or journalistic ideologies also point to the centrality of Hall's classical principles. Hanitzsch (2007) distinguishes journalism cultures based on three essential constituents: institutional roles, epistemologies, and ethical ideologies. He divides them further into seven principal dimensions: interventionism, power distance, market orientation, objectivism, empiricism, relativism, and idealism. Carpentier (2005) bases the identity of a media professional on four "nodal points": objectivity, autonomy, management of resources and employee-employer relations.

¹⁰³ In Article V, adapting the classical treats of professionalism discussed in the context of journalism by Deuze (2005), I listed the following characteristics for the agents in the aesthetic paradigm: expertise, subjectivity, autonomy, commitment and pedagogicality.

¹⁰⁴ For an account of the constituents of the journalistic ideology of cultural journalism within the framework of a transitioning professional ethos from high to liquid modern culture, see Jaakkola et al. (forthcoming).

Journalistic principle	Meaning in general journalism	Meaning in cultural journalism	Cultural journalistic principle
Objectivity	Facticity and detachment as regulatory ideals for reproduction of social reality	Normativity and expertise-based engagement as regulatory ideals for reproduction of social/mediated reality	Symbolic engagement
Impartiality	Practice to compromise in conflict situation, neutrality	Involvedness and commitment in production of culture and taste through "distant" judgement	Disinterestedness
Independence	Distance to external constraints, in particular sources	Closeness to sources in order to produce distance to cultural objects	Pedagogical interventionism
Consensus	Presentation of opinions, beliefs and values widely shared among the public	Presentation of a cultural canon based on good taste	Shared categories of taste
Balance	Balancing between conflicting interests and viewpoints	Creating an authoritative profile	Authority, systemic balance
Immediacy	Sense of speed and actuality, unpredictability	Sense of historical time awareness, predictability	Historical universalism

Table 3. Journalistic principles of general and cultural journalism in comparison.

still remains a fundamental paradigm of ideological articulation that serves as a distinctive feature of journalism in terms of other forms of mass communication.

However, like in general journalism, in which increasingly more weight has been put on diverse strategies of analysis and meaning-making (Kunelius & Väliverronen 2012, Steensen 2011) as well as growing engagement with the audience and participatory ideals (Domingo et al. 2008, Blaagaard 2013), "objective" description in cultural journalism often needs to be negotiated with interpretation and evaluation. Art and culture can, of course, be described using facts: we can say, for example, that a festival has taken place, that there were more visitors than the previous year, and we can mention the number of shows and artists on the programme. However, mere facts are often insufficient for cultural consumers; cultural journalism that merely reproduces information provided by the secondary mediation agents is not regarded as ambitious enough. As cultural journalists are ideally legitimate position-takers in the art world, their strength lies in locating objects culturally. By saying that the programme was "versatile" or that the festival belongs to "the most significant" in Europe, we can locate the cultural product to the geographical and cultural map, but valuation is already involved. At the very extreme end of the subjectivity scale, the judgement of taste is explicitly subjective, based on a feeling of pleasure or displeasure, however, perceived

as a reflection of certain habitus and taste reflected by the cultural journalist.

Objectivity is supported by the notion of *impartiality*, which is also often referred to as the “independence”, “neutrality”, “detachment” or “transparency” of journalistic activity. Impartiality is related to the key feature of journalists’ self-perception, the goal of which is to keep an adversarial stance vis-à-vis political and commercial interests. It is “operationalized [during gradual professionalization of media practices] in the norm of keeping an arm’s length distance from one’s news sources” (Hjarvard 2008, 118). Cultural journalism, in contrast, is based on the closeness of the cultural journalist field to the artistic-aesthetic fields. Instead of neutral impartiality, there is dependence on shared categories of what constitutes good arts and culture (taste) and an endeavour towards symbolic engagement in representing and renewing taste. With the help of these shared categories cultural journalism attempts to create cultural distance from the autonomy-forcing frameworks of primary production and heteronomy-enforcing frameworks of distribution, thus trying to find a sort of intermediary autonomy, as depicted in section 2.2.4. Article I, by looking at the crisis discourse, exposed the importance of this autonomy-creating activity that could be called here, to distinguish it from impartiality, pedagogical interventionism. Because of its pedagogical role, cultural journalism has adopted a progressive role, making cultural journalists tastemakers, opinion leaders, protectors, advocates and “cheer-leaders” of arts (Klein 2005, Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007). They draw benefits from being “purposely biased” towards the communities saturated with cultural capital in order to inform those with less accrued cultural capital and trigger learning.

By opposing political and commercial interests cultural journalists define something as (good) art or culture, and they are involved in constructing autonomy for their object. Cultural journalism and especially in criticism the role of the writer is based on the delivery of third-party information and evaluation of art (Anderberg 2009); this role is not based on *independence* from the field production, but, rather, independence is achieved through criticality which can be said to be a guiding element. The creation of self-distance toward the objects of address is created through criticism, based on shared categories of understanding. Precisely the shared framework, discussed more in detail in the context of the aesthetic paradigm in section 3.4.2, enabled by dual position-takings, and the disinterestedness with regard to the field of arts, produces the favoured effect of third-party evaluation, an intermediary independence.

Consensus refers to “the lowest common denominator in the values and beliefs which are widely shared among the population of a society” (Hall 1974, 25); journalists are regulated by their sense of their audience and their assumptions about issues. In striving for consensus, journalists ask what people in general are thinking and feeling about an issue (*ibid.*). However, cultural journalism is less attracted by the idea of asking the “masses” or the “lay people” about how they think about art; in contrast, cultural journalists are expected to be teachers to be listened to. As stated by Anderberg (2009, 169): “[The reviewer] is presumed to have the wide experience which functions as a point of comparison [for the reader].” For cultural journalism, the crucial dimension of a democracy does thus not reside in public opinion; consensus, in fact, appears to be an impossible ideal for the truly non-democratic structures of arts and culture which are based on making differences and distinctions. The consensus in cultural journalism thus rather leans on the consonance with norms created upon

meritocracy, by fields of cultural production and their reception that require the most cultural capital, instead of popular commonalities or rationalist arguments of sources or general audiences. In this respect, cultural journalism is based on an exclusive niche consensus instead of general and inclusively-oriented public consensus.

Balance refers to the avoidance of bias by taking different views into account when reporting. In a news article, cultural journalism subscribes to this rather technical idea without much issue. However, in genres closer to the aesthetic paradigm, attaining a balance between conflicting interests is not a central goal. Instead, like in opinionated articles in general journalism, a central objective for a cultural journalist is to construct a position for arguing for a certain view that the writer wants the receiver to be convinced about. Furthermore, this authoritative position reaches beyond the actual argumentative genre of the review; as an arbiter of good taste, the cultural journalist is an author with a responsibility to represent endeavours for quality instead of a newsworker or an argumentator. Unlike, for example, a columnist, he or she does not argue in a generalist framework but does it by creating and maintaining a specialist profile.

At a more general level, balance in cultural journalism, as discussed especially in Article IV, is translated into an organizational principle that ensures a sufficient amount of attention to those artistic forms that are regarded as most essential in terms of cultural citizenship. Balance is a principle of internal pluralism according to which media organizations, avoiding institutional ties to political groups, “formally represent a variety of political forces within the structure and content of a single organization” (Hallin & Mancini 2004, 30). This results in an intermediate level of political, or cultural, parallelism, as it means that cultural divisions, seen as a departmentalization into different artistic disciplines, are reflected in the structure of the organization and thus also in content. In Article IV the endeavour for balance was called the balancing principle and we could name it here systemic balance, which points to the centrality of the art system as a regulatory ideal behind journalistic reporting. However, nurturing principles for representativeness results in somewhat restrictive formalism that has been criticized by, for example, Bech-Karlsen (1991a), as product-centeredness and predictability. Indeed, in Articles III and IV it was found out that cultural journalists tend to cherish territorial sovereignty in terms of each other’s areas of specialization, which impinges the recognition of news by making the identification of field-penetrating processes and distancing from a field’s *doxa* difficult (see also Jaakkola 2005).

Timeliness, a concept crucial to news reporting, is centrally involved in general journalism where *immediacy* defines newsworthiness. As the events of cultural journalism are linked to cultural products such as works of art (e.g. books, records, shows etc.) and organized happenings (e.g. shows, displays, festivals etc.), the timeliness is dictated more by the agents in primary production and in the distribution chain of the secondary production than journalism itself. Scott (1999, 48) notes that the journalistic coverage in a culture department of a newspaper “must be linked to a cultural event”. Linkage to fabricated reality of planned events, or to what Boorstin (1977 [1961]) calls pseudo-events,¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Pseudo-events are, according to Boorstin (1977 [1961], 11) non-spontaneous events that are staged or fabricated by someone for the immediate purpose of being reproduced. Their relation to reality entail certain ambiguity, as it is not a question about the consequences of the event (what happened and what will it have an impact on?) but of interpretation (did it really happen and what were the motives?). Boorstin (ibid., 12) also characterizes a pseudo-event as a “self-fulfilling prophecy”, as “the hotel’s thir-

renders cultural journalism “predictable journalism” (Golin & Cardoso 2009, 77), the newsworthiness of which does not follow the classical news values of unambiguity and unexpectedness (ibid.; see also Kristensen 2004, Kristensen & From 2011). The proponents of the aesthetic paradigm tend to stick to the more universal and general values of beauty and art theory, whereas the advocates of the journalistic paradigm hold closer to the principle of immediacy, following events occurring in social reality. While the paradigmatic genre of the retrospectively oriented aesthetic paradigm is the review, the journalistic paradigm proactively seeks to take up future perspectives by previewing the agenda set by the cultural organizations.

The epistemological difference between general and cultural journalism can be summarized as a difference between realist and normative constructivism (see e.g. Scholl 2010), which at a general level contrasts the common-sense communication with “direct” or “real” consequences in the social sphere and the normative and mediated communication with “indirect” consequences in the cultural sphere, based on aesthetic judgements and categorization of cultural objects. While general journalism constructs stories about events perceived in the social reality around us, cultural journalism reports about a fabricated reality, the demarcation of which is based on the separation of “art” from non-artistic and non-cultural spheres of life. An important function in this separated area is the function of placing new cultural objects and phenomena in a cultural map which has a hierarchical structure. The professionalism of cultural journalism thus underlie normative dimensions that attempt to categorize cultural issues both horizontally (to which artistic, aesthetic or cultural field the object belongs to) and vertically (which position they attain in the cultural hierarchy or canon according to their quality).

These normative dimensions of (meta)culture reproduce cultural journalistic culture in terms of two major determinants, the representation of culture (the ontological dimension of professionalism) and representational means (the epistemological dimension of professionalism). The representation of culture is brought about by the (meta)concept of culture that I call the *concept of culture* (see also Hurri 1993). To the representational means a central act is the choice of genre, which affects the writer’s closeness and position to the artistic field, creating different degrees of *epistemic authority* in reporting about arts and culture with regard to the mastery of the code needed in artistic-aesthetic fields. A key insight in Articles I–V is that there is a wide range of variation on appropriations of general-journalistic principles within the professionalism of cultural journalism because there are differences in position-takings between the heteronomous and the autonomous pole of the field of cultural journalism. This encourages us to closer examine how the two major paradigms of cultural journalism speak to the general traits of journalism. I will first discuss the ontological and the epistemological metanormativity and proceed to examining the different paradigms as distinct traditions drawing on these metanormative dimensions.

tieth-anniversary celebration, by saying that the hotel is a distinguished institution, actually makes it one”. However, Boorstin ascribes a pejorative dimension to his concept, which is not purposeful in the context of cultural journalism; he regards pseudo-events, especially those mediated by images, as more seductive and spectacular than spontaneous events, causing the masses to be deceived and obstructed by them. This way Boorstin belongs to the advocates of the crisis discourse of culture (see Article I); it is illustrative that his book was originally published in 1961 under the title *The image, or what happened to the American dream*.

3.2 The ontological dimension: the production of culture

As mentioned prior, in the everyday practices of cultural journalism the delimitation of arts and culture occurs both at a substantial and a judgmental level: first, by making choices between arts and non-arts or cultural and non-cultural, and secondly, between “good” art and “bad” art, or culture. The modern concept of culture underlying contemporary cultural journalism is thus not only differential (art vs. life) but also hierarchical (qualified art vs. non-qualified art). The practical decision-making is guided by past events and decisions made based on them. What is always at stake in the everyday struggles is thus the legitimate definition of culture or, more specifically, a particular artistic or cultural subdiscipline (Bourdieu 1994, 19). According to Bech-Karlsen (1991a, 23) the question of how to define the meaning of culture has constantly gained in significance during the second half of the 20th century, in line with the processes of questioning and reframing traditional high art and reorganizing the entire cultural order (Rodríguez Morató 2003, DiMaggio 1992). The set of rules that accounts for the choices and thus delimitations of (good) culture in cultural journalism is characterized in research as *the concept of culture* or the *cultural canon*. In this context I will use the term concept of culture as a general concept and understand it as an analytical tool that is both the result of selection processes forming a representation of “culture” and the set of rules guiding these processes. The democratic and public relevance of culture is defined through this hierarchy-creating tool: it is the manifest result of editorial processes that contribute to a wider cultural canon that is constructed over time via processes of cultural mediation within the fields of arts and culture.

In cultural journalism, the concept of culture can be defined as “the principle according to which a culture department makes editorial decisions about objects and contents of reporting” (Hurri 1993, 33), which results in the categorization of artistic disciplines into a representation of culture and a hierarchy of forms of arts and culture according to their quality.¹⁰⁶ Kristensen and From (2011) and Janssen (1999) speak of “cultural canon” which better underscores the double-act of choice of selection and evaluation in contrast to “concept” which merely refers to the demarcation of the extension of a phenomenon. Semantically, a canon means both the general law, rule, principle, or criterion by which something is judged and a collection or list of writings recognized by an authority. Therefore, while the culture concept focuses on the delimitation of the artistic or cultural field, the cultural canon is better used when the consecrative nature of the selection process is emphasized.¹⁰⁷

With regard to the breadth of the concept, the most essential frictions occur be-

¹⁰⁶ I thus want to extend the definition to cover both the delimitation, categorization and hierarchization of arts and culture. Despite her very general definition, Hurri (1993), too, subsumes both operations, the categorization of different artistic disciplines *and* their hierarchization, under the label of a “culture concept”, which means that she basically sets the cultural concept synonymous with the concept of cultural canon.

¹⁰⁷ It may also be productive to distinguish between the concept of culture that is actively formed and consciously discussed and the concept of culture that emerges through the everyday work and is not based on an awareness of relations between the components of the public image produced (cf. e.g. Schein 1985, see section 2.2.2). The intentional, manifest concept of culture is pronounced in the editorial policy. The latent concept of culture, in contrast, is something that is formed in the course of time on the basis of actions taken. The self-understanding and the action-formed principles are not necessarily consistent.

tween the “broad” or “extended” (inclusive) and “narrow” or “limited” (exclusive) concept of culture (Jensen 1988, Bech-Karlsen 1991a). The concept of culture in cultural journalism varies from a very restricted concept that refers to arts in an objectified sense, i.e. to the realm of arts, such as literature, music, fine arts, and theatre, to a more inclusive way of seeing popular forms of arts and culture as relevant culture, up to a very broad concept that basically includes all human activity, also referred to as “ordinary” or “a whole way of life” (Longhurst 2007) or “common culture” (Williams 1981). Fornäs (2012) distinguishes between four concepts of culture: an ontological (culture as cultivation), an anthropological (culture as a form of life), a hermeneutic (culture as production of meaning) and an aesthetic concept (culture as art). Pirnes (2008) identified in his analysis on the concept of culture supported by the Finnish cultural policy four major understandings that could be designated the aesthetic, the anthropological, the economic and the political. The more heteronomous sectors of economy and politics present instrumental approaches to culture, whereas the aesthetic and socio-cultural understandings are based on a search for autonomy and an intrinsic value of arts and aesthetics. Hurri (1993) suggested that art in cultural journalism is typically differentiated into the forms of high or fine arts, popular or mass culture, folk or amateur culture, and everyday culture. They have their own canons, belonging to a wider cultural systems of hierarchization.

Modern cultural journalism, as it has been produced in Democratist Corporatist journalism, has adopted the sector-based concept of culture with a focus on arts to its basis with a clear emphasis on the arts (Bech-Karlsen 1991a, 1991b). The *sector-based concept of culture* goes down to the modernist idea of art as a distinct field of aesthetic activity, differentiated from utilitarian interests, that can, as said, be categorized into artistic disciplines and their subcategories such as literature (prose, poetry, drama etc.), visual arts (painting, drawing, sculpture etc.), performing arts (theatre, dance, music etc.), and so on.¹⁰⁸ The focus being on high arts, covered with specialized workforce, the sector-based concept of culture has mostly excluded less arts-related cultural areas such as cultural heritage, the media and other kinds of socio-cultural activities, such as tourism, family life, science and political events, leaving them to other sorts of journalism. Sports and games have also been excluded, as their coverage has been established as a distinct professional field and sector that is produced by and identified as sport journalism. An alternative way of framing culture than the sector-based concept, reflected perhaps more clearly in the feuilletonist form of cultural journalism, is the *aspectual or open concept of culture* that underlies an assumption that all issues and areas of human life can be approached aesthetically or anthropologically. Rather than delineating the domain of culture and searching for its boundaries, the open concept of culture takes the definition of culture in anthropological sense and the idea of aesthetic experience in a wider (Deweyan) sense to its starting point (see Dewey 1934).

The conceptualization of culture in cultural journalism follows the general un-

¹⁰⁸ The *UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics* (1986) documented nine different cultural categories with appropriate subcategories: cultural heritage, printed matter and literature, music and the performing arts, visual arts, audio-visual media, socio-cultural activities, sports and games, and nature and the environment. In the 2009 framework (UNESCO 2009), the category sports was repositioned to a supplemental categories for the core “cultural domains”, the “related domains”, which include “sports and recreation” and “tourism”. This indicates the extension of the cultural domain.

derstandings of Western theories of art. Noël Carroll (2010) postulates that aesthetic experience was coupled, as a result of a misunderstanding, with the aesthetic theory where art is valued for art's sake. Creating the idea of autonomous art, art and aesthetics were insulated from their moral, political, and economic contexts. He and other philosophical pragmatists have opposed the culture concept accepted by analytic aesthetics. Advocates of philosophical pragmatism in aesthetics, John Dewey (1934) in the first place, argued that the aesthetic experience should not be delimited to the sense of autonomous art. In the Deweyan idea of aesthetic experience there is some aesthetic state of mind common to both the intercourse with arts and with nature.

Furthermore, Richard Shusterman (1992), who situates his own work in the Deweyan tradition, has argued that the analytic aesthetics, along with the modern conception of art, have been exceedingly preoccupied with art objects in the field of restricted production and consumption (see also Guillory 1993). The focus of the analytic aesthetics has been on the ontological status of the object in different arts and the criteria to identify the same artwork in its various manifestations, separated on aesthetic grounds from moral, political, and other non-aesthetic property, value or experience. Shusterman emphasizes Dewey's conception of the aesthetic experience as a developing process that is constantly evolving, based on incompleteness and suspense, capturing Bourdieu's similar kind of idea of a struggle. The corollary of the development where the contemplative and disinterested conceptualization of the aesthetic experience became widely entrenched has been the separation of "art" and "life", the isolation of art from its everyday settings, where arts have gained a stronger foothold than more inclusive forms of culture. There is thus a need to overcome the historical determinants that have produced the aesthetic discourse as a discourse of purity.

If this historical development has affected the differential definition of culture in culture departments, another historical point of friction in modern art that has contributed to the hierarchical definition of culture is the judgemental distinction of high culture from the popular culture and entertainment. High modernity prioritized high culture, giving it primacy as a singular model of legitimate culture an expression by upper classes and their education. Levine (1988) calls the institutionalization of high culture as the sacralization of high culture, where popular and low forms of culture were cast as inferior. Organizational forms, governed and controlled by social elites, were created to support the high cultural ideal and its distinction of other cultures. According to DiMaggio (1992), the high cultural model came to rule the organization of arts toward the end of the 19th century (see also Alexander 2010). Non-profit theatres, opera and concert houses and museums needed to protect high-status art form from commercial pressures of the marketplace.

As a high modernist formation itself, cultural journalism has basically been an anti-vernacular project, a term used by Miller (2012) to describe the project maintained by the modernist architecture. Miller (*ibid.*, 6) argues that cultural modernism was based on three presumptions that were supported both in architecture and in journalism: the rejection of historical precedent, the acute awareness of the arbitrary nature of the modernist object, and the experience of universalism based on objective standards for expression and reception (see also Hallin 1992). The modernist formation of a canon was clearly based on meritocratic principles, on the hegemonic class defining the quality of art, rather than populist or democratic principles.

There are, nevertheless, several reasons for the adoption of the modernist sector-based and autonomous concept of culture by cultural journalism. There is, of course, the practical reason that the system of artistic disciplines provides the omnibus-concept newspapers with a representative and sufficiently diverse way of reporting about societally relevant issues in the cultural realm. The major artistic disciplines in the cultural canon of culture departments represent the largest artistic domains financed by the state, so the categories of the art system ensure addressing issues of public rather than private or arbitrary interest. The public management of arts in society, too, is organized in line with the sector-based concept of culture (Pirnes 2008), despite the fact that private lifestyles are likely to transgress institutional boundaries and draw contingent lines between artistic fields of production. Last but not least, the separation of cultural issues from politics has enabled and supported the efficient use of specialized workforce in media organizations.

The sectorization of the newspaper into themes of local, national, international, political, economic and other areas of interest is, however, relative. In their everyday activity, the producers of journalism apply the concept of culture without an explicit awareness of the rules they are following. Instead of taking stand to what culture is, they tend to act according to a rule that if something is *not* culture, it is not their task to cover it. Consequently, arts journalists typically have difficulties in defining exactly what constitutes the arts (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, 628). Culture is identified on the basis of an existing concept of culture, and what is defined as culture depends on this basic concept. Therefore, they perhaps most commonly resort to an ostensive definition by pointing out possible examples. Defining culture on the basis of their practical consciousness, the cultural journalists are thus not following an unambiguous shared set of rules and practices.

By the same token, a cultural canon is not a closed, absolute system, but a dynamic, evolving entity that can be reopened, reinterpreted and reshaped (Bennett et al. 2005, 21). Consequently, both the extension (sector, aspect) and the quality of the concept (high, popular) are sources of struggles between the structural agents and their respective discourses. The controversial issue of a grey area between the artistic and the journalistically relevant material is the main factor in this struggle. Since the line between the high and the popular began to erode during the second half of the 20th century due to various cultural metaprocesses discussed in section 1.1.3, the sector-based concept of culture is encountering difficulties. Not only has art theory moved toward a more inclusive concept of culture; the rise of cultural studies has contributed to the rise of scholarly interest in studying ordinary consumption such as car driving, the use of electricity, cooking or listening to the radio (Gronow & Warde 2001). Simultaneously, it has become apparent, as pointed out by Gronow and Warde (2001, 4) that the sociology of (cultural) consumption places more emphasis on individuals' decisions to purchase than practical contexts of appropriation and more on commodified than other types of exchange. The evolution of the entire intellectual context that affects the definitions of culture, touched on in section 2.1, puts increased pressure on the practical applications of those definitions in institutions such as arts education, arts management, and arts and cultural journalism.

3.3 The epistemological dimension: the production of knowledge

The production of cultural journalism encompasses a wide range of different positions across the generalist-specialist axis. The most established work roles in newspaper organizations are the freelance-reviewer, the specialized reviewer, the specialized journalist, and the all-round journalist (Kristensen, 2004, 213; Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007). In the first stages of the culture sections of the modern newspaper, until the 1970s, cultural writers were often employed as specialists whose main area of knowledge was the reviewing and monitoring of a specific area of arts. Later on, from the 1980s onwards, the all-round journalist became the ideal writer, and specialization was manifest in the combined role of a reviewer *and* reporter. An all-round journalist is a generalist who can cover the whole spectrum of artistic-aesthetic issues without deepening into any area with a reviewing ability (at least within the traditions and conventions of the traditional genre of review), which is often the core area of competence of a specialist. Specialization can thus be understood as the delimitation of the area of knowledge and competence in terms of both substance (an artistic discipline) and the genre (newsmaking, reviewing). Nowadays, the permanent staff positions in culture departments are occupied by roles with gradual degrees of specialization. A substance specialist with a general journalistic ability is a typical profile among staff writers in the culture departments. Full specialists with a focus on one area of substance and/or a genre are employed on a freelance basis, and these freelancers are less involved in the organizational activities of the newsroom.

Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007, 625) found a division among the arts journalists they interviewed on the question of whether specialist knowledge was necessary for the arts journalist: freelance critics insisted on the substance specialist qualification for reporting among the practitioners, while those who described themselves as journalists or editors saw the specialist knowledge in the arts as not an absolute requirement. The authors interpret this as a difference in the writers' authority. According to them, in the news genre the reporter is able to hide himself behind the strategic ritual of objectivity (Tuchman 1978), while the critic has to possess epistemic authority to pass judgement, and "such authority is seen to derive from specialist knowledge" (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, 625). What Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) do not clarify is how the establishment of the epistemic authority is actually connected to specialization. It is generally assumed that specialization and formal qualifications in a particular field of arts brings authority to a person involved in valuating objects of art in that particular field. Article V shows that applying a genre (of review) does not automatically warrant *legitimacy* within the artworld, although – or precisely because – the use of the genre implies a textual position connected to epistemic authority.

The functional differentiation based on the organization of work in the culture department is connected to the representation of knowledge in a way that the writer roles in both production of texts and the final text product affect the range of possible position-takings and thus the homologies between the journalistic field and the artistic-aesthetic fields that emerge. Position-takings, which are dependent on dispositions and trajectories of the communicating agents, define the closeness of the journalistic field to the artistic field. As a Bourdieusian rule, the critical process around an artwork involves phases that cannot be conducted from outside the artistic field, i.e. without recognition of shared categories and an appropriate homology. The his-

tory is immanent to the functioning of a field, as a producer and a consumer one has to “possess the whole history of the field” in order not to be “a naïf” (Bourdieu 1993, 61). Operations such as the description, interpretation and classification of art require epistemological foundation for the subject position which the journalistic competence alone does not warrant.

Epistemic authority is related to the aesthetic dispositions that are required for the legitimate interpretation of art. Legitimation means the recognition of an agent by the “art world” community of the particular artistic discipline, encompassing all forms of art and culture. In high modernity, as discussed in the earlier section, art was characterized by the suspension and removal of economic necessity and by its distance from practical urgencies. As Shusterman (2000, 6) describes, art was – and is still, as modernist ideas have not disappeared – thought to be “the product of its sociohistorical differentiation from real-world contexts”, and thus art’s meaning and value are seen as constituted “by the social, institutional setting which distinguishes art from the rest of life”. Analogically, the aesthetic disposition is for Bourdieu (1984, 47) a generalized capacity to “neutralize ordinary urgencies and to bracket off practical ends”, a manifestation of the accumulation of cultural capital that goes hand in hand with distancing from economic necessity. In this line of thought, the reception of art presupposes a certain distance from the world to understand how to create autonomy for oneself and for the cultural object, which is the precondition of the existence of art and the functionality of cultural journalism (or at least criticism). Even if Bourdieu associated the creation of autonomy to high cultural objects, the creation of a certain critical distance can be said to be important to communication on popular culture, too (Shrum 1996).¹⁰⁹

Due to cultural journalism’s close relationship with artistic-aesthetic fields and the agency in those fields is determined by the accumulation of cultural capital, a cultural journalist needs the appropriate dispositions to take a legitimate position in the artistic field or cultural capital to be involved in the operations of the field. There is thus a threshold of specialism that is based on the creation of the journalist’s epistemic authority in text and its recognition by the artistic-aesthetic fields, or, wider, the art world that also includes the art audiences. However, because of cultural journalism’s close connection to the artistic-aesthetic fields of cultural production, the recognition made by the artistic-aesthetic fields of production have traditionally been more important than that of the audiences. In Article V the threshold that emerges when entering the artistic-aesthetic field from the journalistic field was called the “distinctive boundary”. The ability to pass this boundary enabled those journalist-specialists with sufficient dispositions a legitimate access to the field, endowed with recognition by other field agents, while restricting journalist-generalists to become legitimate agents, leaving them in the position of a possible external influence. The epistemic authority is thus constructed in front of a specialist audience (the artistic-aesthetic fields) and the trust redeemed by them is crucial for cultural journalism.

As cultural objects and forms of art are used as class markers by the audiences, by providing the general audiences with access points to art, cultural journalists can

¹⁰⁹ However, because the products of popular culture are partly consumed in a different way from those of the high culture, the significance of reviews for the popular and high culture fields is different, as noted, for example, by Shrum (1996).

contribute to the cultural mobility of their audiences, but in principle only on the condition that they are able to provide the audiences with something that they do not already have. Cultural journalists may basically have better chances in finding a productive pedagogical role if they have reached a legitimate position-taking in an artistic-aesthetic field than if they approach a topic from a generalist's everyday experience. As shown in Article V, homological structures can also be deliberately broken by approaching the arts from unconventional angles, yet this may prove to be unfruitful if it does not reach the right audiences.

The heterogeneity of definitions of the concept of culture requires a set of different competences, and thus position-takings, to address cultural issues for different audiences. Through a wide array of agents in the journalistic field with position-takings with sufficient cultural capital, a culture department in a newspaper can create various homology-based relationships with arts and audiences. As the solution for an organization to cope with the system of arts is the division of labour, which means organizing the work according to degrees of specialization, the changes in the epistemological dimension of the professionalism of cultural journalism is dependent on what kind of emphasis is put on the degree of specialization in the organizations. More concretely, this means what kind of weight is placed on the different paradigms of professionalism. The professional paradigms of cultural journalism, the topic of the next sections, are based on different cultural concepts and epistemic authorities. In terms of the paradigms of cultural journalism, struggles occur on who is able to grant the mandate for the pedagogical act, i.e. who is legitimized to become the delegated holder of the right to exercise "symbolic violence" and thus to impose the rules and to reproduce the power relations – and by whom (Hurri 1993). In the following sections I will discuss the relevance of and the differences and similarities between the two major paradigms, the journalistic and the aesthetic paradigm.

3.4 The paradigms of professionalism

As mentioned earlier, cultural journalists often describe themselves as "writers", "reviewers", "critics", or journalists of a particular artistic discipline ("film journalists", "music journalists", "theatre journalists" etc.) instead of using the general title "journalist" (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, 624; Forde 2003, 113). Alternatively, cultural journalists tend to call themselves as "a journalist *and* a reviewer". The tendency to eschew a direct identification with the mainstream journalism alludes to the complicated relationship cultural journalists have with the journalistic ideology. "Writers", "reviewers" and "critics" give primacy to the journalistic ideals, values and expectancies in different ways.

Basically, the writers on arts and culture for newspapers can be roughly divided into journalists of two kind: generalists with journalistic orientation and specialists with aesthetic orientation. Practitioners in both categories act as cultural intermediaries, but with varying degrees of commitment to the art world. Klein (2005) distinguishes between critics and journalists (see also Forde 2003). Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007, 18) note that "although the authority of critics often hangs in the balance, journalistic authority generally holds firm". "Cultural journalist" or "art journalist" is held for a superordinate term for somebody who takes action in writing along the journal-

istic principles (Scott 1999, 54). “Reviewer” is somebody who values cultural goods on account of explicitly subjective. There are, in other words, two cultural influences at play: the journalistic and the aesthetic, influenced by organizational constraints.

The editors of the NAJP II study (Szántó et al. 2004a, 14) illustratively describe the existence of an internal division between reporters’ and critics’ culture within the cultural journalistic professionalism, which is reflected in “detached” and “attached” roles of the practitioner:

“Making arts journalism ‘harder’ would elevate its prestige in newsrooms. Editors often pine for ‘critics who could pick up the phone.’ But finding a balance between criticism and reporting is not easy. Different traditions, skills and temperaments are involved. There is also a potential for conflict of interest when critics, whose job it is to judge and sometimes take sides in cultural debates, are asked to report dispassionately about the artists and organizations they cover. Similarly, artists and organizations may be reluctant to speak to reporters who, doubling as critics, may have panned their work.”

The same way, Stein (2004, 114) quotes a newspaper editor: “The strongest element at the paper for generations has been its criticism. --- But what is less strong is the news reporting. --- The paper has worked hard to keep its news coverage as energetic as possible.” To Scott (1999), editorial activities such as managerial decisions and newspaper redesigns cause “random mutation and unexpectedness” in the arts journalists’ activity, meaning that journalistic principles to some extent *distort* the activities in how they would otherwise be performed. In the organizational study of HS, which Article III is partly based on, it was indeed found that news was an increasingly desired outcome by the management but often an unplanned by-product rather than the primary goal for the cultural journalists (Jaakkola 2005). The journalistic orientation which is essentially related to the production of news thus occupies an ambiguous role in the production culture of cultural journalism (see also Golin & Cardoso 2009).

Among the reviewers, journalism may be somewhat downplayed, and even the evaluation of cultural objects within journalism can be regarded as a reductionist form of criticism. For Dickstein (1992, 55), for example, the word journalism “suggests a day-by-day-thing, as ephemeral as the paper is printed on”. He asserts that journalists are “expected to be passive conductors of the world’s ongoing business”, while

“the critic, on the other hand, whose working life may be largely confined to an armchair, is engaged in an activity whose root meaning involves making judgements. --- A critic is expected to intervene in his material far more drastically than the journalist. Strictly speaking, journalism is simply information, and cultural journalism, which has been with us since the eighteenth century, is information about books, performances, exhibitions, and other cultural events.” (Ibid.)

In line with George Orwell’s pessimistic characterization of a reviewer (see section 1.2.1), Dickstein (ibid., 56) goes on alleging that “a real love of books is quickly dispirited or *reduced to a hack*” (emphasis by the author). In a similar mode, Schick (1996, vii) calls the term “journalistic music criticism” “awkward” and “music journalism” “offensive” to the writers and prefers the term criticism instead of journalism for clas-

sical music reviewers who write for newspapers and popular magazines. The disparity of journalism and criticism is also described in the preface of a memorial book for an aesthete in a way that the journalistic conduct is conceived of a duty for the critic, whose privileged task is to write about things he is *interested in* (Andersson 1971, 7;¹¹⁰ emphases by the author):

“And how did Dan Andersson act as a critic himself? Well, when he writes about poetry – and about prose – he is talking with *competence and authority*. Of course, in the materials there is something that seems *rather unessential*, because as a newspaperman-poet he evidently has to write about things, too, that he was not notably interested in.”

To debaters in traditions beyond the institutional journalistic settings, journalism, predominantly due to its conception of time that leads into following the “latest fads”, appears as “an immense threat” to the aesthetic understandings, as articulated by Kauffmann (1995 [1977]):

”The journalistic orientation poses an immense threat to the future of the humanities. Some old-fashioned humanists felt that whatever was not worth reading ten times was not worth reading at all. They concentrated on books that had survived for centuries, and they ignored what seemed ephemeral. --- The predilection of journalistic teachers for what is ‘news’ and their concern with the latest fads endangers the conservation of the greatest works of the human spirit.”

As reflected in these value-laden propositions, the internal division within the professionalism of cultural journalism is seen in evaluation of the different traditions. Among aesthetes, journalism is reproached for generalization, damaging brevity, simplification and superficiality: for aesthetes, journalistic discussion goes for a synonym for “simplistic ideas and over-dramatic language” (Parisi 1992, 4). For the aesthetic thinking, journalistic thinking represents the vernacular and the mundane. For journalists, the aesthetic thinking may be valuable, but it is marginal, and aesthetically oriented writers “know their special area like the back of their hand, but they know too little about news journalism”, as put forward by an informant of a Norwegian study on the education of cultural journalists (Grimsmo 1991, 9).

In short, the journalists and reviewers present different paradigms of professionalism. *The journalistic paradigm* and *the aesthetic paradigm* are interdependent variables of the professional identity and culture of cultural journalism. In principle, they both subscribe to the same basic principles of journalistic activity discussed in section 3.1, but they put the ideals of journalism differently into practice, producing a different epistemological relation to their cultural objects. In the entire field of cultural journalism, the heteronomous and the autonomous poles of the field provide the agents with different relationships to the dominating field of journalism, resulting in the analytical distinction of the “common-sense paradigm” and the “judgement paradigm”. Agents with different position-takings thus maintain different grades of autonomy with regard to the heteronomous principles of the fields of arts and the media.

¹¹⁰ The preface was also written by an aesthete, the composer Gunde Johansson who received the literary prize named after Dan Andersson in 1978.

The journalistic and the aesthetic paradigm, summarized with regard of their central dimensions in Table 4, differ from each other at some significant points of emphasis in the ontological and the epistemological dimension of professionalism. In the ontological dimension, the paradigms produce the concept of culture differently and in the epistemological dimension, the knowledge produced differs on the basis of fact-centeredness and valuation. The journalistic paradigm approaches the artistic-aesthetic fields from field positions of journalism and treats agents of the artistic-aesthetic fields as sources of information. It tends to foster a more inclusive concept of what counts as culture, and the emphasis is less on the creation of a cultural canon, i.e. placing cultural objects into a hierarchy, than on reporting news on relevant issues (also beyond cultural objects) to a widest possible audience. The audience of the aesthetic paradigm is more restricted, with an exclusive concept of culture; the aesthetic paradigm leans upon a concept of culture that is focused on high arts and is primarily object-centred because of its main genre of review. Whereas journalists in the journalistic paradigm think of their presentations as consisting of different textual pieces (sidebars, fact files, listings etc.), images, and graphics, writers in the aesthetic paradigm approach their objects of reporting in a much more holistic way, concentrating less on the medial form of presentation.

	Journalistic paradigm	Aesthetic paradigm
Ontological dimension: the concept of culture	Popular/everyday culture (large-scale production)	High culture (restricted production)
	Amateur productions	Professional productions
	Use value	Aesthetic value
	Contexts of production	Aesthetic product
Epistemological dimension: the production of knowledge	Position-taking in the media field required	Position-taking in an artistic-aesthetic field required
	Reproduction of meanings (giving voice)	Evaluation of cultural objects (defining value)
	Multigeneric framing	Monogeneric framing
	Using sources	Being an authority
	Visual/multimedial presentation	Textual presentation

Table 4. Differences between the professional paradigms of cultural journalism.

The differences in the epistemology do not appear as the distinction between fact-oriented and opinionated texts, as journalists within the journalistic paradigm also write opinionated texts, but between the fact-oriented and the subjectively-based texts with calls for “primary-field representativeness”, i.e. the attempt to share the doxa of an artistic-aesthetic field and this way to get legitimized by it. Journalists can give voice to their sources, while the reviewers use themselves as sources or authorities to produce information and to define values of the cultural goods. Generalists’ activities affect the source- and object-fields from outside these fields, while specialists’ activi-

ties are capable of immediately re-structuring the field from inside, given that the specialists are position-holders in the artistic-aesthetic fields in question and thus already part of the “field-game”. Therefore, it could be said that while the prevalent function in the journalistic paradigm is the reproduction, analysis and interpretation of other fields, in the aesthetic paradigm it is the evaluation-based categorization of cultural products of the cultural fields. We can thus subscribe to Carroll’s (2009) assertion that evaluation is an obligatory and distinctive part of reviewing, and it is precisely the reasoned evaluation that sets criticism off from comparable discourses.¹¹¹

The term *paradigm* is used to describe how actors work within accepted and unquestioned ways of defining, assigning categories and theorizing during particular historical periods. Paradigms signal the dependencies on understanding a discourse while including the idea of knowledge, and socially, the epistemology involving a subject-object-relation. Kuhn (1970, 175), having received criticism for a vague definition of the paradigm while examining normal science as “puzzle-solving”, defines his concept in a twofold way: first, as a “constellation of beliefs, values and techniques shared by the members of a given community” and, secondly, as “the concrete puzzle-solution” in that constellation, “an element which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles”. The structure of a paradigm, which Kuhn separates into “the disciplinary matrix”, “symbolic generalizations” and “metaphysical parts of the paradigms”, resembles Schein’s (1985) concept of organizational culture that has been applied in Article III (see section 2.2.2).¹¹²

Paradigms are in this context thus relatively stable structures of ideas that are applied in the subfields of a professional field. Klein (2005) notices that professionals in both paradigms also show similarities; for example, both journalists supporting the journalistic paradigm and reviewers adhering to the aesthetic paradigm have similar work experiences, and both professions lack licensing. However, it can be said that the paradigms have a distinct structure of production that renders a distinct identity for their advocates. The journalistic paradigm is fostered mostly within the media organizations where the organizational culture forms a cotext for the work with some stability and coherence, whereas the aesthetic paradigm has a more dispersed basis with freelancers coming from very different backgrounds. Additionally, the paradigms are supported differently by the stakeholders of cultural journalism such as professional unions (journalists’ vs. critics’ or cultural workers’ associations) and educational institutions with different disciplinary foundations (social sciences vs. the humanities).

The idea of two paradigms at the opposite ends of the professional field of cul-

¹¹¹ Other component operations of criticism include according to Carroll (2009) contextualization, classification, elucidation, interpretation, and analysis. By elucidation Carroll (*ibid.*, 108) means determining and delivering the denotative meaning of the content; it is “the critical operation of identifying the literal meaning, narrowly construed, of the symbols of the artwork”.

¹¹² With a reference to the section 2.2.2, we could sometimes also speak of *professional subcultures* instead of “paradigms”. However, as the boundaries between high and popular forms of arts and culture are becoming more and more flexible, as brought on by the postmodern interpretation of the cultural change (see section 2.1.1), it is more appropriate to use the term paradigm to designate orientations that relate both to the autonomous and heteronomous poles of both aesthetic and journalistic subcultures and the heteronomous poles of these subcultures. In addition, in order to avoid the linguistic tautology because of the various derivatives from the term “culture” (cultural journalism, culture departments, organizational culture, cultural canon, culture concept etc.) it is more lucid to use the term “paradigm”.

tural journalism is an analytical concept to understand the professionalism of the specialized journalism. The adherence to one paradigm does not wholly *exclude* the other paradigm; rather, an agent's location within a paradigm defines the position (or cultural proximity) of the agent in terms of artistic fields and the field of journalism, and in so doing it defines the order of which paradigm is given primacy to in the occupational culture of the writer. The paradigms operate as ideal-types toward which agents orientate. The idea of the two paradigms are cumulatively elaborated and described in Articles III and V that build the theoretical body of knowledge for the dualistic structure. With regard to the professionalism of cultural journalism and its change, it can be declared that the dualism plays a key role for the future of cultural journalism, as the relation between the paradigms fundamentally regulate cultural journalism's relationship with arts and, thus, its specialist character. As formulated by Kuhn (1970), paradigm shifts can occur when the dominant paradigm is challenged by another paradigm that is able to incorporate the existing paradigm and also offer wider explanatory power and understanding.

Capturing the categories that agents of different paradigms follow may sometimes be difficult because the paradigms are unevenly supported by their professionalist structures. Using the distinction by Hall (1977), we may characterize the aesthetic paradigm as a professional high-context culture where many aspects of cultural behaviour are not made explicit, because knowing the context, the code of deciphering the cultural form in question, is a prerequisite for belonging to that community. In contrast, the journalistic paradigm points more to a low-context culture where knowledge is externalized and made accessible with an explicit set of rules, reflected at its most clearly in the standardized industrial product of news. However, as said, in reality the boundaries between these ideal-types of production and presentation are gliding. In the next two sections, I will go deeper into the differences and interplay of these major paradigms of cultural journalism.

3.4.1 *The journalistic paradigm*

As Zelizer (1992, 34; in Schudson & Anderson 2009, 97) notes, much of journalists' authority lies not only in what they know, but in how they *represent* their knowledge. Journalism claims to re-present the world and its events; its "texts 'stand for,' or correspond to, reality" (Kunelius 1996, 165). Kunelius (1996, 170) defines that journalism, as politics, is a discourse of citizenship, because it assigns itself "the curious combination of duty and privilege, claiming to be articulators of the concerns of the audience to which they are talking" (see also Ettema 2007). This representational character related to the audiences, as well as the one pertinent to the semiotic representation of the "real" world, are to a large extent followed in the journalistic paradigm of cultural journalism, even if the journalistic professionalism is affected by objectives of specialism and the general-journalistic principles appropriated to match goals of reporting about arts and culture, as discussed in the previous sections.

If the non-cultural news suggests to be representative of realism by deriving directly from the structure of the world – journalism reproduces the world – there is no denying that cultural news is also grounded in this conceptual space of constructivist realism. Cultural news address economic, political, social, everyday and other heter-

onomous-pole issues that are only implicit in the review. The news discuss aesthetical issues by following agents who are representative of symbolic capital in the art world, refraining from taking stand to the issue and thus a position in an artistic field. In the journalistic attempt to remain objective and independent, the news genre rests in its pure-type on a transparent and relatively independent narrative voice (Kunelius 1996, 175). The logics of news operate on the pre-rational basis of common sense, which means the indisputable, everyday-based, taken-for-granted assumptions which make sense of the world (ibid., 204–205; Ettema 2007).

The classical idea of journalism, as articulated in the U.S. by Walter Lippmann and John Dewey in the 1920s, rests upon a conception that social elites are possessors of knowledge. This knowledge can be circulated from experts and expert institutions to the masses which can be educated with the means of journalism. (Ettema 2007, McQuail 1992, Bauman 1987.) Newswriters see it as their responsibility to ensure that citizens get credible information that they need to govern themselves (Kunelius 1996, Ettema 2007). Even if confronted with severe scholarly criticism by scholars and new, more interventionist and participative forms of journalism that break the audience from the role of a mere spectator, this classical idea of journalism in the liberal democracy continues to be relevant to the role of the contemporary media. Culturally relevant is that the liberal democratic models of the press presuppose universal access to basic informational and cultural resources.¹¹³ For cultural journalists in particular, democratizing efforts imply deconstructing barriers by accelerating flow of ideas and providing a most diverse supply of cultural information.¹¹⁴ The democratic endeavour is, above all, based on the assumption of culture as a right (Hastrup 2010 [2004], 143). According to this view, culture is defined in a broad sense, as “a whole way of life” that bears both collective and individual dimensions, and journalism is regarded as a central medium for enhancing participation and empowerment. The role of *cultural* journalism appears in this light as a vehicle for building partnerships between the public sector, the private sector and civil society not only in and with the help of the specialized forms of arts but in and with the help of all socio-cultural activities.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ The UNESCO's *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, passed on 10 December 1948 in Paris, define to every citizen “the right to education” (Article 26), “the right to take part in cultural life” (Article 27), “the right to freedom of opinion and expression including the right to seek, receive and impart information” (Article 19), and “the right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications” (Article 27). The importance of human and cultural rights are further supported by the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2002), adopted in the wake of the events of 11 September 2001, which makes a number of calls for cultural diversity as a necessity and a common heritage of humanity in the name of intercultural dialogue and international cooperation. Cultural journalism is informed by the principle that “[p]articular attention must be paid to the diversity of the supply of creative work, to due recognition of the rights of authors and artists and to the specificity of cultural goods and services which, as vectors of identity, values and meaning, must not be treated as mere commodities or consumer goods” (Article 8).

¹¹⁴ However, as discussed in section 2.2.4 in attachment to journalism as public pedagogy, it would be illusory to see (cultural) journalism as a solely democratizing force. As Bourdieu's work on domination and social reproduction has shown, by creating and maintaining categories of evaluation and supporting class distinctions, cultural journalists are also part of a mechanism that produces inequality by tacitly legitimating social differences and operating within the given structure of artistic and aesthetic order of the elite (see also Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 [1970], 53–54; for the reproduction of the cultural canon by art reviewers, see Janssen 1997).

¹¹⁵ This is also explicitly pronounced as an aim in the Article 11 of the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2002).

The journalistic paradigm defines itself with relation to news and *newsworthiness*, or the news value, which is at the most prevalent in the news text but basically affects all journalistic genres by defining their value. The news text is subjected to a high level of regularity which all types of events in social reality are supposed to be reconcilable. News is “a report of what a news organization has recently learned about matters of some significance or interest to the specific community that news organization serves” (Fuller 1996, 6). News values are, in Hall’s words (1974, 25), a “man-made, value-loaded system of relevancies” with practical usability which, instead of being a set of neutral practices, present favoured events as naturalized and privilege perspectives of the most powerful groups in society. Newsworthiness has typically been hard to explicate, as a journalist is said to know a good news story when he smells one. The classical pattern of news selection, based on analyses on foreign news (Galtung & Ruge 1965), makes clear that events that are less likely to be registered as news as social trends that take place over a long period of time, predictable and ambiguous events that can be anticipated and interpreted with multiple meanings, as well as events with positive ramifications. News, in other words, concern short-term events, actions, changes and statements.

Cultural news reporters are well aware of the fictionality, artificiality and the mediated nature of the cultural events and products (Kristensen & From 2011, Golin & Cardoso 2009, Forde 2003). A remarkable number of news events are pseudoevents by their nature. News is revolved around key organizations, issues and institutions that are assessed to be significant either in the number of people involved or in their potential impact. The fabricated nature of arts and culture may even hamper reporting on spontaneous, unforeseen events (see Jaakkola 2005). Instead of these kinds of discontinuities and breaks from the prevailing order, continuities and qualitative features in cultural issues such as elite persons, organizations and individuals, celebrity, stories unfolding drama, surprise, entertainment and human interest are favoured (Harcup & O’Neill 2010). While schedules are often dictated by the cultural organizations that decide when somethings is going to happen, the central task of the cultural journalists is to define the value of what is happening.

In this respect, cultural news are more likely to be news identified and termed by Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky (2010) “general news” which distinguish from soft news in terms of relative immediacy and service orientation: they are news that must be reported, unlike soft news, but not necessarily immediately, unlike hard news. General news provide useful information even for the general public, although they influence only certain groups and may not affect the public in the short term, in contrast to hard news which typically have immediate impacts on a large public. In general and soft news, the journalist has a large extent of freedom of choice and has to be able to evaluate the importance of the event by his or her background knowledge, as no consequences can yet be observed or followed, upon which the editorial decisions could be based. However, at a general level, the basic rule for newsworthiness is that the news are defined by the journalistic institution by assessing what is relevant to the audience. Even if the time concept is more flexible in cultural news than in hard news, even cultural news are a “perishable commodity” (Park 1999); it remains news only until it has reached the persons for whom it has news interest and its significance has been recognized. Recognizing news is for journalism the crucial power that accrues it with distinguished autonomy. Consequently, the credibility of the news reporter is

based on whether he or she follows the rules set by the journalistic institution.

The genre of news, with all its derivatives based on immediate newsworthiness, is, nevertheless, not the only relevant genre for reporting in the journalistic paradigm, even if it can be regarded as the paradigmatic genre for the “journalistic” orientation of cultural journalism. The cultural journalist has a number of different genres at his or her disposal, starting from news and interview up to the reportage and column. If compared to the genres faithful to the aesthetic paradigm, the journalistic paradigm shows in its genres a greater degree of flexibility for the writer. Objectively oriented genres are more open in terms of their authorship than the genres of art review and expert essay of the aesthetic paradigm. The aesthetic paradigm is connected to reviewing a cultural product or, like in the essay, the status quo and development of an entire discipline, which places the writer-aesthete in the role of an agent who establishes an authoritative relationship to the artistic-aesthetic field(s). In contrast, an agent within the journalistic paradigm may more freely formulate questions and trace them independently from the (pseudo)events and field boundaries of the artistic-aesthetic fields, as there is no symbolic contract between the fields of tertiary mediation (journalism) and primary and secondary mediation (art and cultural organizations), based on mutual recognition, shared categories of taste and trust. The journalistic paradigm rather seeks to establish this contract with the (imagined) audiences of journalism.

Perhaps because of its closeness to the audiences, the journalistic paradigm has it easy to establish a more inclusive definition of culture than the aesthetic paradigm. Unlike the aesthetic paradigm that is connected to the historical system and hierarchy of criticism, journalism in the journalistic paradigm can cover contexts of production without the immediate need to place cultural objects, persons, phenomena and events in a guarded historical hierarchy in terms of their aesthetic value. However, in reality, the boundaries of the journalistic and the aesthetic paradigm are porous, and they affect each other. Reviewing may be considered as newsmaking, and newsmaking often contains elements of valuation. Both aesthetically and journalistically oriented writers are free to utilize different genres and even different definitions of arts and culture; however, they always approach cultural issues from field positionings that establish different degrees of proximity and distance to the art world.

In all, news can be said a generic mode of communicating that basically differentiates cultural journalists from all its competitors and equals of agents in the art world, or the fields of cultural production. No other group of cultural intermediaries base their communications on the particular mixture of conventions of neutrality, impartiality, independence, and immediacy. Scholars and other (public) intellectuals base their arguments with a set of scientific methods. Bloggers and other cultural pundits may win trust and credibility in the audience, but they do not claim their legitimacy by explicit, shared professional norms of neutrality, impartiality, independence, and immediacy. The journalistic paradigm, but also the aesthetic paradigm, is thus distinguished in the first place from other cultural intermediaries by this norm-regulated systematic third-party-claim that contributes to the credibility and legitimacy of the institution.

3.4.2 The aesthetic paradigm

In contrast to the journalistic paradigm, much of the aesthetically oriented journalists' (or reviewers') authority lies not only in how they represent knowledge according to shared rules but what they know and how they succeed to argue for their views. The aesthetic paradigm is intimately connected with the genre of review. Blank (2007, 7) defines reviews as "public summaries and evaluations that assist readers to be more knowledgeable in their choice, understanding, or appreciation of products or performances".¹¹⁶ To be exact, in the context of cultural journalism the question is about the *connoisseurial review* in contrast to the procedural review, a distinction put forward by Blank (2007) which also reflects a distinction between the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigm.¹¹⁷ Connoisseurial reviews rest on the alleged ability of a person to pass a refined judgement due to his or her unusual talents, extensive experience, special training and, therefore, a refined sensitivity with respect to a certain product and genre (Blank 2007, 29). Reviewers are "professional recipients who make verbal sense of an aesthetic experience by recourse to a discursive repertoire" (Weisethaunet & Lindberg 2010, 467), and reviews are thus personal responses to a cultural product, although socially embedded undertakings to influence the reader. Blank (2007, 30) explains that reviews are almost entirely text-based and measured by their literary qualities. The pervasiveness of the personal perspective of the reviewer is not only a weakness, implying biasedness, but also the strategic coordinate to produce independence, or, as put by Bourdieu (1993), "the interest in disinterestedness" needed to define the cultural meaning and value.

The ideal of democratic enhancement fostered in the journalistic paradigm is not

¹¹⁶ Blank (2007) also characterizes (connoisseurial) reviews in his book as "refined judgements", "recommendations for the reader", and "rating systems".

¹¹⁷ Blank (2007, 35) defines the procedural review as a rating system in which the judgement is impersonalized by applying certain procedures to measure and compare the performance of similar consumer products such as tires, cars, electrical gadgets or computer software and to report the resulting scores in numerical data. The aim in defining reviews in such a broad way is to overcome the largely unexplored disjuncture in the sociology of culture, the split between the arts and consumer products (ibid., 14). Along with procedural reviews he examines restaurant reviews as a form of the connoisseurial review, although restaurant reviews are by no means pure types of connoisseurial reviews because they differ from the most traditional form of connoisseurial evaluation, art reviews, in certain points – for example, the consistency of the performance (ibid., 51) not being as predominant a criterion in art reviews than in restaurant reviews. To write a restaurant review, the reviewer agreeably needs to pay multiple visits to the restaurant to adequately sample the range of quality, and the anonymity of reviewing (ibid., 52) is a central ethical issue among restaurant reviewers. The anonymity is not as sensitive in artistic performances where the reviewers are blended in with the audience. In my framework that builds on daily newspapers, the procedural review would be classified as the *product test*, a standardized journalistic format that rests on empirical evidence and represents ways of acquiring information by systematic comparative methods. It does not deal with aesthetic experiences but is rooted in the everyday experiences of the consumer. Blank (ibid., 40) himself consents that it is unclear if the procedural review produces a canon like the connoisseurial review. Therefore, product tests are often published in consumer and lifestyle sections related to the art and culture section rather than on the actual arts and culture pages. I interpret that Blank's distinction does not apply in my framework because, although declaring to be examining the sociology of reviews in a very broad sense, he discusses reviews in lifestyle- and consumer-oriented magazines such as *Chicago magazine* and *Zagat* and thus differentiates from my object of study by the media type. The same goes for Lindberg and colleagues' (2005) study on rock criticism in which magazines are identified to play a central role.

fully compatible with the ideals of the aesthetic paradigm. As remarked earlier, aesthetic understanding, in fact, shows certain aversion against the democratic aims, seeing democracy as mediocrity. The populist ideology that journalists develop to address ordinary people and to act between the populace and the holders of power is not seen an equivalent of addressing cultural consumers to enhance their competence in the artistic-aesthetic realm. The aesthetic paradigm thus works on the assumption of audiences already active in the art world, or potentially active, i.e. can be educated into it. The cultural journalist or reviewer operating within the aesthetic paradigm is in this respect an ideal public consumer of arts and culture, somebody who a cultural consumer ideally relates to when reflecting on his or her own cultural activities.

The production of specialist reviews is relatively straightforward, notices Blank (2007, 124), referring to the standardization of the production process. An editor assigns the review to a reviewer, stating the deadline, length of the published text, and other relevant characteristics. The choice of cultural objects to be reviewed is thus subjected to editorial decisions, even if often negotiated with the reviewers themselves, which lean on formal and technical information rather than information concerning the content. Cultural products are typically chosen for review by the source of production: the products by major museums, concert halls, publishers and record companies get regularly reviewed, whereas avant-garde and underground productions often remain unheeded, unless the reviewer takes the initiative. Along with pre-defined lists of producers to be noted in reviews, the cultural objects are selected across different artistic disciplines regarded as the most important to the cultural canon of the culture department. The selection process underlying the commissioned review is therefore not as open as the one related to news or news-oriented stories.¹¹⁸

Despite the standardized act of commission, the review is according to Blank (2007) a “craft product”, because it is produced one at a time and it is one of a kind; each product is regarded as unique like a literary piece (Reus et al. 1995). Publishers typically have no formal, written ethical standards other than the journalistic codex (Blank 2007, 133), which allows a large extent of autonomy for the reviewer, typical of experts (Tunstall 1971). The review is, therefore, at least in its modernist ideal-typized manifestation, an “auratic” product, which endows it with a personal touch, accruing a recognizable profile to the reviewer in question, unlike the industrial product of news whose writer is rather faceless if not adding a comment or detaching from the classical principles of the inverted-pyramid-news. Unlike the pure-type newsmaker, the reviewer is therefore an author with a production history against which he or she is understood and interpreted.¹¹⁹ The NAJP visual critic study (Szántó et al. 2002) indeed reported that critics reported a deep involvement in the art world that frequently extended beyond their journalistic role: four out of five art critics collected art, two

¹¹⁸ However, a review can be refrained from publication after the reviewer has got acquainted with the cultural object. This can be the case if the cultural object turns out to be of such low quality that it is regarded as “beyond criticism”. Blank’s (2007, 56) informants, restaurant critics, argue for this method that “bad food kills reviews”: “Why tell people *not* to go to a restaurant when they don’t know that it exists in the first place?” (emphasis by the author).

¹¹⁹ It is worth noticing that among news-oriented generalists, especially scoop-makers and columnists also create a profile. However, the newsmakers’ news are not dependent on the previous scoops, and the columnists are creating their profile based on opinions and personal style instead of an expert position with representational obligations in terms of the art world, which distincts their authorship from the art reviewers’.

out of five made art, and half of those who made art actively exhibited their works (ibid., 8).

Compared to the news and news-oriented genres, the relationship of the review with its ontological objects is more limited. The object-relation of the review is confined to the artwork; a review does not take persons, institutions, or questions defined as contexts of art, to its topic (Stegert 2001). The affordance of the review thus allows the description, interpretation, valuation and contextualization of a cultural product. The artwork is typically defined by its position according to the autonomous principle of hierarchization, i.e. the functional separation of art from life (although art can, of course, be partly addressed from non-aesthetic perspectives). Additionally, the artwork is normally reviewed as a single and completed product, although in some disciplines and depending on subjective choices it is typical that the review is based on multiple encounters with the product.¹²⁰ By reviewing a cultural product one makes a statement about the art-ness of the object, yet not about the quality of the art in question.¹²¹ The review also implies that the author is an expert; the review produces the subject position of a connoisseur and leaves the receivers, to which also the specialist audiences belong, the evaluation about whether he or she is credible enough to be part of the legitimate mediation of art.

Both modernist and postmodernist readings adhere to the idea that the aesthetic value is constituted through an intertextual and transhistorical function, in other words, in terms of other works and the interpretations made in different times. Time marks a vital point for both paradigms of cultural journalism, but in a contradictory ways; the aesthetic principles define the dimension of time through the dialectic of distinction whereby artists and works are associated with a moment in the history of art and are at some point condemned to fall into the past and become classic or outdated (Bourdieu 1993, 106). The temporal dimension is thus immanent in the idea of struggle that, in Bourdieu's words, "creates the history of the field" (ibid.). As Dickstein (1992, 55) asserts, the critics' work "brings to bear criteria that are enduring rather than ephemeral". Moreover, the proponents of the critical cultural theory contend that the difference between (high) art and entertainment is based on the temporal conditions of their existence. In an essay, Arendt (1977), following Bourdieu's thought that artistic objects are deliberately removed from the processes of consumption and isolated against the sphere of human life necessities, assert that works of art are made for the sole purpose of appearance, "for the world which is meant to outlast the life-span of mortals, the coming and going of the generations" (ibid., 209). This reflects the traditional distinction between arts and crafts, based on development in the 17th and the 18th century such as the emergence of the middle-class art market for new, broader audiences in opposition to the old system of patronage (Shiner 2001,

¹²⁰ A "single and completed product" means that reviews are seldom written on processes preceding the release of the final product, even if the reviewer is acquainted with the background and birth history of the cultural product. However, a review can sometimes combine different cultural products into one single review to enable the notification of a number of similar products and to enable their comparison (see also the procedural review in Blank 2007). Performances where contingency plays a relevant role, such as theatre plays and restaurant visits, can be visited a number of times to be informed about the constancy of quality (Blank 2007, 52).

¹²¹ However, it has been observed (Janssen 1997; Blank 2007, 61) that positive reviews get more often published, whereas the negative reviews more easily get omitted.

103), the subsequent emergence of the professional category of an artist in opposition to artisan (Heinich 2012) and the autonomization of arts as an aesthetic realm in opposition to the pre-modern understandings of art (Baumann 2007, 163; Carroll 2010). The ideal-type of art is evaluated according to the creativity, expressiveness and uniqueness, disinterestedness and *universal* values, whereas the ideal-type of crafts is evaluated according to their ability to fulfil a function, with *particular* utilitarian and functional references.

As the review is the paradigmatic genre of the aesthetic paradigm, subjectivity is the epistemological foundation of the paradigm. The narrator of the review text is the writer him- or herself, and activities of the reviewer are primarily based on subjective accounts. The reviewer also claims to draw more on his or her personal interests and experiences than those of the readers (Reus et al. 1995, 320). The sources and production processes are hidden; the reviewer does not normally reveal to his or her reader where and how he or she has retrieved the information which the descriptions, interpretations and judgements are based on, and he or she does not generally rely on quotations from an interview (Blank 2007, 122). Evaluations and judgements are, however, something further developed than opinions; as stated by Klein's (2005) informants, a critic is supposed to make a studied judgement beyond his or her personal tastes. Although the judgements are personal, they are not arbitrary or merely idiosyncratic. The existence of reviews is based on the possibility of a shared relationship to the art addressed. This shared relationship is based on shared basic categories of a taste community (Gans 1974). Fürsich (2012, 22) notes that the opinionated stance of the reviewer "asks readers to take a position as well". According to her, the pleasure of reading reviews is derived from "a strong expertise in the area presented --- developed by fans of the genre" and, to some extent, the positions of the reviewer and receiver are interchangeable: "the 'popular' expertise of the critics positions the critics' voices fairly openly amongst the audience, maybe even blurring social hierarchies" (ibid.).

As Anderberg (2009, 168) puts it, applying the Bourdieusian thought, the reviewers do not *choose* their taste or individual expression, they *own* it, meaning that aesthetic responses are not wholly the result of deliberation or choice but expressions of a certain culture (see also McDonald 2007). Reviewer is, therefore, received in his or her subjectivity as a selected representative of his or her taste community. Due to the field proximity discussed earlier, the activity of reviewing is based on *shared categories* between the reviewer as a social agent in his or her field and the artistic-aesthetic field he or she relates to (Blank 2007, 150; Carroll 2009). The cultural valuations and classifications in a specific artistic discipline are thus structurally determined by the particular artistic field. Criticism mobilizes the categories as a crucial element in the process of evaluation and the reviewer's credibility depends, in part, on whether he or she follows these diffuse "rules" shared by the artistic field. Therefore, as analyzed in Article V, art can often not be legitimately approached in the professional and public framework from *whatever* perspective without causing conflict with the taste community in the powerful position;¹²² the generalist-journalist, in contrast, can much

¹²² Hall (1974, 26) calls this linkage as the "broadcasting's double bind" and describes it in general-journalistic settings as a conflict between journalism and politics: "The media cannot long retain their credibility with the public without giving some access to witnesses and accounts which lie outside the consensus. But the moment it does so, it immediately endangers itself with its critics, who attack broadcasting for unwittingly tipping the balance of public feeling against the political order."

more freely decide the angle from which he or she approaches, say, military affairs, tax policy, or public schools.

In their activities, reviewers adhere to a diverse set of criteria (Blank 2007, Baumann 2007, Shrum 1996, cf. Janssen 1997). During the history of the aesthetic theory, further universal principles for artistic quality have been searched for. Signs of a high aesthetic value include authenticity, originality and beauty (Anderberg 2009; Lindberg et al. 2005, Glynn & Lounsbury 2005), all of them topics of long-lasting historical debates.

Authenticity can refer to the truthfulness of origins, attributions or intentions of a particular genre, style, or a person.¹²³ Applying Fornäs' (1995a, 274) thought we could define authenticity as a quality ascribed to a presentation in terms of how textual structures are constructed to present themselves as related to the subjects that created them, and the previous productions in that genre.¹²⁴ By searching authenticity the reviewer thus assesses either the artwork in terms of conventions and norms or the cultural producer in terms of his or her trajectory. Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010) note that authenticity, implying truthfulness, adds an ethical dimension to the aesthetic experience. It is described as the reviewer's "genuine feeling" (Fürsich 2012, 15) and contrasted with commerciality (Fürsich & Avant-Mier 2012, 105). The recognition of authenticity of an artwork is also connected to its legitimation (Koreman 2014). Therefore, it can be said that authenticity means recognizing a work of art as a manifestation of autonomous, genuine and thus legitimate art, separating qualified and legitimizable from non-art, kitsch, "crap", or forgery.

Originality, rooted in the Romanticist ideas of the artist as a creative genius and contested by the postmodern theorists and creative industries, concerns the novelty and invention of ideas (Heinich 2012). According to Janssen (1997, 278) "the appreciation of a critique strongly depends on whether it is perceived as an original, inventive viewpoint". In the core of the concept is the individual expression which can be achieved by different means but which is thought to be recognizable by a connoisseur, whose task is, then, to single out original from non- or less original works. Originality, as authenticity, requires from the reviewer contextual knowledge about the author and the genre, as a single occurrence needs to be placed into a larger set of previous occurrences.

The subjective aesthetic experience is linked with *pleasure* or *displeasure*, an affective component that differs from mere perception.¹²⁵ The discernment of aesthetic properties of an object can be carried out only with *direct experience* of the object; no second-hand account suffices to make an aesthetic judgement (Korsmeyer 2001, 195;

¹²³ According to Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010) authenticity is also sometimes referred to with the terms "integrity", "honesty", "sincerity", "credibility", "genuineness" and "truthfulness". According to Shusterman (1984, 116) authenticity deals with the identity of an artistic work and is connected with the problem of determining what copies or performances count as genuine or correct manifestations of the work. The idea can be based on Heidegger's concept of *Eigentlichkeit* which means the state of being genuine, or true to the state of being: "responsible for one's own self, as part of one's community" (ibid., 466). Authenticity was endorsed by both existentialists and critics of the mass society for whom the alienation from the genuine being-in-the-world, Heidegger's *Dasein*, "state of being in conformity with an accurate understanding of the ontological structures of existence" (Sembera 2007, 144) presented a problem.

¹²⁴ See Weisethaunet and Lindberg (2010) for different meanings ascribed to the term in rock criticism.

¹²⁵ The term "aesthetic" was indeed first used in the 18th century by the philosopher Alexander Baumgartner to refer to cognition by means of the senses.

Carroll 2010, 89). An artwork is always open to different readings at both synchronic and diachronic levels; the more *complexity* or *ambiguity* the work shows, the higher it is often located in the canon (Shrum 1996).

In the system of mediation of arts, among its self-interested intermediary agents, the reviewer forms the only independent source of information for the cultural consumer, “in the same way than the highest court of justice is independent from the government” (Anderberg 2009, 169–170; see also Blank 2007). In other words, he or she acts as a source of subjective judgement capable of identifying properties such as authenticity, originality and beauty for the favour of the cultural consumer. It is, therefore, the producer of the journalistic text that the premise of the intermediary independence is based on, not on the collection of sources chosen by the reviewer, or cultural journalist.

3.5 The functional dynamics of creating autonomies

The previous sections of this chapter discussed the fundamental structures of cultural journalist professionalism. It was suggested above that the professionalism of cultural journalism is “cross-influenced” by ontological and epistemological determinants. With regard to the ontological dimension, cultural journalists are positioned in terms of the situated definitions of art and culture and their respective position-takings in the fields of cultural consumption (the artistic-aesthetic fields), based on the amount of cultural capital and aesthetic dispositions. In terms of the epistemological dimension, cultural journalists conduct journalistic intermediation by positioning themselves in the journalistic field and its ideology. The field of cultural journalism is an intermediary field which has traditionally presupposed a close, symbiotic connection to artistic-aesthetic fields and a marginal position within the field of (general) journalism. In the field of cultural journalism, it is typical that journalists take legitimate positions both in the journalistic and the artistic-aesthetic fields. Therefore, cultural journalism constitutes a more “open” field than, for example, the field of news or political journalism, which are more aligned to the journalistic ideology and conduct. Cultural reporting is an activity in which journalists not only exert (mediated) *impact* on their source, object and audience fields, but they are *part* of the artistic-aesthetic fields’ internal functionality.

In other words, the positionings in the intermediary field of cultural journalism typically require, to a varying degree but as a necessary condition, legitimation by the field of primary production (the artistic field in question). Cultural journalism also operates on this contract toward the field of reception (the art-world audience with their [homological] position-takings in the artistic field in question). The audiences assess the quality and truthfulness of cultural journalism on the basis of homological position-takings and dispositions between the journalistic-artistic field and the artistic-aesthetic field.

The professional paradigms of cultural journalism discussed in section 3.4 draw differently on aesthetic and journalistic ideologies and in equivalent position-takings. Each positioning in the field of cultural journalism produces different audiences that, for their part, actively construct a relationship with the artistic-aesthetic fields, as outlined in section 2.2.4. The dynamics of the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigm can

be characterized within the field of cultural journalism as a zone of heteronomous imposition on arts and culture, yet with a continuous attempt to create autonomy for arts and culture. As intermediary agents, cultural journalists fluctuate between heteronomous imposition and creation of autonomy. The organizational functions of the media which the cultural journalists at the heteronomous pole of their field (journalistic paradigm) stand for tend to define arts and culture as a journalistic (comprehensive to the widest possible audience and thus saleable) object. However, as advocates of arts and culture, cultural journalists do not directly adopt the definitions of the heteronomous imposition but attempt to create autonomy for the fields of arts and culture. Journalists in the journalistic paradigm are typically agents in the dominating pole who “exert symbolic violence” on the autonomous, dominated pole, while simultaneously attempting to gain autonomy from the heteronomous efforts of general journalism, including principles of commonplace thinking (which appears as sorts of de-aestheticification of the cultural object) as well as management and marketing. Cultural journalists at the autonomous pole attempt to gain autonomy from the heteronomous efforts of the journalistic paradigm and general journalism but also from the heteronomous impositions of cultural production such as cultural PR. There are thus a number of simultaneous efforts for creating and contesting autonomy at stake, which causes the tensioned “crisis” dynamics.

As a result of the symbolic work that the artistic-aesthetic fields undertake to free themselves from the heteronomous impulses, art holds relative autonomy in relation to the institutions of journalism, markets or politics, which attempt to exert influence on the norms and hierarchies developed in the artistic fields. In their intermediary and public-pedagogical work, cultural journalists attempt to establish cultural distance from the primary production of arts and culture to provide audiences resources that they can use to transform their lives. This transformativeness is, however, differently realized according to the receivers’ relationship to the art world. In general, the journalistic paradigm constructs a more populist relationship to its audience, producing bigger audiences with less requirements for cultural capital, while the aesthetic paradigm remains more elitist, producing more limited audiences with a higher need for cultural capital.

The differences between the paradigms within the professionalism of cultural journalism can be understood as different ways of creating professional autonomy, which is a basic working condition for their functionality. However, the paradigms create professional autonomy differently. The difference could perhaps be crystallized in a different conception of criticality. Criticality, in this sense, basically means the ability to create cultural distance from other producers or their products (see section 2.2.4). In the journalistic paradigm, being critical means creating cultural distance toward the frames provided by the primary field of cultural production (artists) and other intermediaries (PR and communication). Being critical thus means, above all, setting an agenda of one’s own, which can be realized by finding an independent angle of approach or a method of creating content, as shown in Article V (see e.g. Olsen 2014, 115; Lund 2005). In the aesthetic paradigm, criticality is based on the classical idea of institutional art criticism which leans upon shared categories with the art world and disinterestedness in the aesthetic judgment by a third-party evaluator (see e.g. Loman et al. 2007, Carroll 2009, Shrum 1996). The objective and methods of the process of reviewing are often pre-defined, while criticality rather implies the recognition of the

quality of arts within the conventional pattern of argumentation.

Again, it has to be noted that the relevance of the journalism applied within the aesthetic paradigm is stronger for high arts which has historically been closer connected to the journalistic evaluation system than the younger canon-formation of popular culture (Shrum 1996, Hohendahl 1982). The journalistic paradigm is more inclusively oriented in terms of art and the aesthetic paradigm more exclusively oriented, even if also proponents of the aesthetic paradigm may justify their activities by their public-pedagogical aims. The journalistic paradigm tends to cherish the inclusiveness and democratic right to art and culture, whereas the aesthetic paradigm focuses on enhancing inner experience and development in favour of exclusivism of those who are interested and competent to recognise the value of the cultural objects and phenomena. Within the aesthetic paradigm, journalists are also legitimized field-players in an artistic-aesthetic field, while they are more typically treated as external agents in an artistic-aesthetic field within the journalistic paradigm.

In terms of the definition of culture, the creation of cultural distance is determined according to the position-takings in relationship to journalistic and artistic-aesthetic fields. The application of a certain type of journalism produces an audience which varies in its socio-structural qualifications such as the amount of cultural capital and size. Consequently, the main dimensions that distinguish the two paradigms of cultural journalistic professionalism from each other can be identified first in terms of cultural journalists' relationship to the artistic field, i.e. between the *specialist dimension* and the *generalist dimension*, and second in terms of cultural journalists' relationship to their audiences, i.e. between the *elitist* and the *populist dimension*. The specialist-generalist dimension refers to the journalist's distance and proximity with the fields of arts and journalism (a member or non-member of the art world), whereas the elitist-populist dimension is primarily related to the production of a certain type of audience (a limited or widest possible).

The specialist-generalist and elitist-populist dimensions are connected to each other as relationships to the artistic-aesthetic field and the audience, as depicted in Figure 7. The x axis shows cultural journalists' definition of culture as populist (inclusive) or elitist (exclusive). The y axis shows the application of the variant of journalistic ideology as specialist (exclusive) or generalist (inclusive).¹²⁶ The journalistic paradigm is typically located in the generalist-populist area (light colour), whereas the aesthetic paradigm operates in the specialist-elitist area (dark colour). The specialist-elitist area requires cultural capital and represents art of restricted production, while the generalist-populist addresses the field of large-scale production. If we proceed diagonally in Figure 7 from the generalist-populist corner to the specialist-elitist corner, the size of the audience becomes more limited.

Cultural journalists operate both in the journalistic field and the artistic-aesthetic fields. To map the combined field that emerges from the cultural journalistic field operations, we can thus say that the position-takings in the professional dimension (journalistic ideology) and in the artistic-aesthetic or cultural dimension (cultural concept) produce different locations in the field of cultural journalism and its related

¹²⁶ Here, the "definition of culture" refers to the concept of culture (ontological dimension of professionalism) discussed in 3.2., and the "application of the journalistic ideology" represents the production of knowledge perspective (epistemological dimension of professionalism) discussed in 3.3.

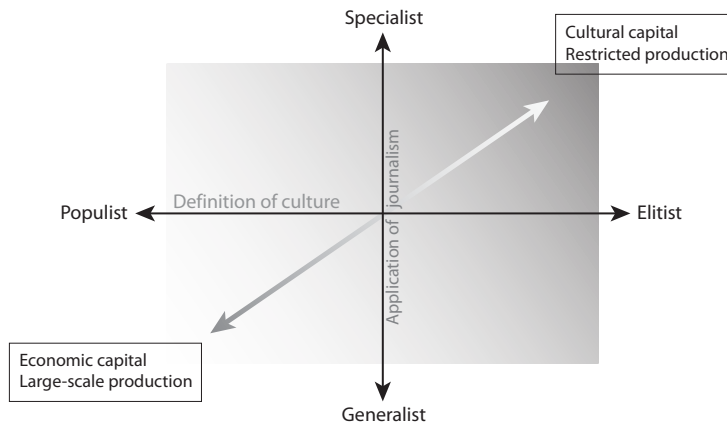


Figure 7. Dimensions of the cultural journalists' relationship with the arts and art world.

fields of cultural production. Figure 8 illustrates the ways how these orientations produce different forms of culture to be addressed within different journalistic epistemologies. The autonomous pole of professionalism tends to fall with the aesthetically oriented concept of culture, thus producing the tradition of aesthetic arts criticism. The prevalent concept of culture in the aesthetic paradigm of the journalistic ideology is thus high culture. Professionalism at the heteronomous pole of the journalistic ideology adheres to a wider concept of culture, in which culture is defined in the anthropological sense, or applies aesthetics as a pragmatist, everyday-oriented concept.

The professional, i.e. epistemological, dimension (E) and artistic or cultural, i.e. ontological dimension (O) of professionalism (see sections 3.2 and 3.3) are thus related to each other because they produce field locations in the cultural field (or artistic-aesthetic fields) at heteronomous (h) or autonomous (a) poles. In general, four different orientations can be distinguished from each other (letters A–D in Figure 8):

- A) Criticism-oriented journalistic communication emphasizing popular and everyday culture ($E_a O_h$)
- B) Criticism-oriented journalistic communication emphasizing high culture ($E_a O_a$)
- C) News-oriented journalistic communication emphasizing high culture ($E_h O_a$)
- D) News-oriented journalistic communication emphasizing popular/everyday culture ($E_h O_h$)

In other words, the paradigms help create autonomy for the agents and the associate fields in different ways. The journalistic paradigm seeks to achieve relative autonomy by emphasizing the creation of independence in terms of sources in the form of objectivity and thus distancing from the authorities and cultural producers, struggling for autonomy for the journalistic field from heteronomous constraints. The aesthetic paradigm seeks to gain relative autonomy by creating independence from the media, emphasizing the reviewers' expertise in art which is defined as non-art, thus gaining autonomy from the heteronomous constraints imposed by the media and commercial

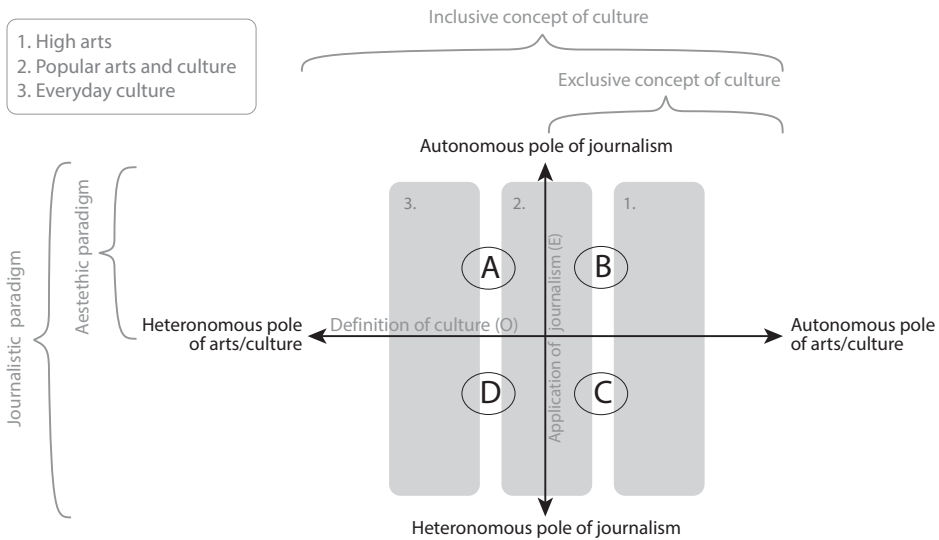


Figure 8. Professional position-takings across cultural and professional dimensions.

agents. In these relative positionings, journalists may arrive at an incommensurability in perspectives between the professionalist paradigms of cultural journalism, the journalistic paradigm adhering at its extreme end to the “lay” perspective and the aesthetic to the “expert” perspective. Besides, not only contradictory aspirations are supported by the aesthetic and journalistic paradigm, but there is a crucial intervening factor in the production environment, the organizational culture, which regulates the application of professional paradigms in reality; the organizational culture influences how the paradigms are applied in a media organization through, for example, recruitments of employees as well as genre and format use. The corollaries of different emphases taken by the media organization vary according to the created relations between the journalistic and aesthetic-artistic fields.

The dynamics in the creation of mediated culture through variants of journalism bring us back to the evident point that the production of culture in cultural journalism is strongly dependent on the media concept and the pertinent organization of work. Culture departments have adopted a culture concept based on defining arts and culture as a sector (not as an aspect of life); this sector is further categorized according to different artistic disciplines, which allows writers to specialize. This has a remarkable consequence in that the central task of demarcation thus runs between art and non-art, or culture and non-culture, within the cultural concept of cultural journalism in newspapers. Following analytic philosophy in aesthetics (see Carroll 2010, Shusterman 1992), a strong predilection exists to define art as an area to be removed from its heteronomous boundaries by adding cultural meanings to objects and thus avoid reducing them to the definitions provided by the market, politics and everyday uses. The question of demarcating the boundaries between culture and non-culture is not just a matter of noting what is and is not culture but is also related to the degree of an object’s “aesthetification”. It is connected to the division between aesthetics and economy, i.e. to what degree a cultural object is seen as an aesthetic object and to what

degree a consumer product. By creating a symbolic value for a cultural object, whether highbrow, popular or lowbrow, the object is re-located in the sphere of symbolic struggles in terms of autonomy from heteronomous dimensions. This way, cultural journalism addresses and creates different audiences.

In the light of the different rationalities of content production that the journalistic and the aesthetic paradigm constitute, the criticism that cultural journalism has encountered seems understandable. As mentioned earlier, cultural journalism has been found overtly art-, product- and professional-focused (Bech-Karlsen 1991a, Olsen 2014).¹²⁷ In order to cover arts and culture broadly, organizations have organized work along specialized sectors, which has had the corollary that the most general sector-marker has become “culture” in contrast to “non-culture”. Even if the work sectorization follows the institutional structure of artistic fields, this static pattern of cultural sectors ignores questions penetrating different fields and occurring in the lifeworld of cultural citizens and consumers. The closeness of cultural journalism to its sources, which is distinctive in the aesthetic paradigm, has been defined a shortcoming and a threat to the idea of journalism (Lund 2000, 2005; Olsen 2014). Cultural journalism, and in particular criticism, has also been found to have lost on its evaluative dimension which has traditionally marked the distinctive feature of the aesthetic paradigm (Elkins 2003, Szántó 2004b). This criticism¹²⁸ is reflected in the instrumentalizations of the discourse studied in Article I: elitization, popularization, commercialization, journalistification and apathization. They are all symptoms of allegedly lost or reduced *autonomy* of arts, and, considering the connection between the artistic fields and the journalistic field in particular in the aesthetic paradigm, of cultural journalism. Changes observed in the production environment of cultural journalism in newspapers in Articles II, III and IV have led to a situation where the journalistic paradigm’s way to create autonomy has become increasingly supported in the journalistic production. How it affects cultural journalism and the coverage of arts and culture in the public sphere has consequences for how journalism functions as a democratic force to create access to the audiences – a question which will be the lead when the key findings of this study are summarized in section 4.1.

4. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore the change in the theoretical context developed throughout the articles and in this introduction. The starting point for the series of studies was found in the crisis discourse that suggested that cultural journalism was in decline. The proficient crisis discourse about cultural journalism provided the thesis with a hypothesis of an alleged change. Taking Finnish cultural journalism in newspapers to

¹²⁷ Similarly, Pirnes (2008) suggested on the basis of his analysis on the concept of culture in the Finnish cultural policy that there has been a disparity between the concept of culture underlying official discourse and the cultural policy realised on the basis of that concept. Discourse has tempted to define culture in a wide sense and bond it with lifestyles, whereas policy has been firmly art-based. Therefore, he concludes that cultural policy has not “kept its promises” in the broad concept discourse (ibid., 17).

¹²⁸ For more contributions supporting and elaborating the same critical arguments on cultural journalism, see entries in Frey (2014), McDonnell and Tepper (2014), Elkins and Newman (2008), Lamprecht (2012), Rubinstein (2006), Berger (1998) and Brandstrup (1994).

the object of study, the changes were examined, firstly, as assumptions used in discourse to conceptualize the field and, secondly, as observable evolvments in manifest content.

Through the incongruity of discourse and empiric evidence the crisis was allotted a third dimension, that of structural tension, which was explored as a key to the internal structures of cultural journalistic professionalism. In the introduction, I combined the different impulses and findings of the individual articles to contextualize and place them into a theoretical framework. Also, as the focus above has predominantly been on continuities in the professionalism of cultural journalism, it is now time to scrutinize the main findings from the aspect of change.

4.1 Revisiting the key findings

In section 1.3.4, the change of cultural journalism was aligned with three perspectives. First, in correspondence with RQ1, the general claims for the change were traced in the metadiscourse during the past two decades. Second, in attachment to RQ2, observable changes in the contents and production structures of cultural journalism were examined in the time period 1978–2008. Third, in the context of RQ3, the professionalist structures of cultural journalism and the metadiscourse were brought together with an elaboration of a structural model of dualistic professionalism within cultural journalism.

Having provided an expanded theoretical context for these observations, I will now summarize the key findings of the studies (Articles I–V) under three aspects that read the research questions RQ1–RQ3 in reverse order. First, the dualism is interpreted as an analytical and dynamic distinction in the professionalism of cultural journalism that is manifest as a difference in the appropriation of the journalistic ideology. It does not draw a static boundary between the paradigms but shows flexibility in writers' roles and position-takings which are constantly set under negotiation and change. Second, both the changes in coverage and in the production structures reflected the consolidation of the journalistic function of cultural journalism, some kind of a "journalistification" of this specialized type of reporting. The perceived changes in cultural journalism present shifting autonomies within these professional structures. Third, as cultural journalism has traditionally operated in a close relationship with other forms of cultural mediation, the change of the environment of cultural production may be as important as the change of cultural journalism itself. Cultural is fundamentally affected by the changes in the cultural environment and has in fact followed the paradigm shift in metadiscourse. These changes have altered the position of cultural journalism, and aspects of inclusiveness and exclusiveness in both ontological and epistemological dimension of the professionalism have become a central concern for cultural journalism, the democratic relevance of which is to a large extent defined by these dynamics.

The dynamics of dualism, the shifting autonomies and the changes in the environment, in turn, are all connected to the idea of a (permanent) crisis. The crisis can, in fact, be regarded as a constitutive element for cultural journalism, as it implies a struggle for autonomy for arts and journalism. Recognizing the historical and contemporary importance of the crisis discourse thus helps us seeing the interdependence of the change and continuity in the professionalist structures.

4.1.1 *The dynamic dualism of the professional paradigms*

The agents in the field of cultural journalism orient themselves by both journalistic and artistic-aesthetic norms and values. In other words, they have two fields of references that help them to constitute their professional identity: the field of journalism and the fields of arts and culture. Cultural journalism, the subfield of journalism, thus essentially draws on the double standards of journalism and aesthetics. However, the leading values of the ideologies of journalism and art or aesthetics are adopted by the heterogeneous group of agents in the field of cultural journalism in varying degrees. The main values of general journalism – objectivity, impartiality, independency, consensus, balance and immediacy – are more clearly applied in the journalistic paradigm even though they are moulded into compromised objectivity based on aesthetic authority, interventionism and shared categories of meaning-making to remain in proximity to the art world. The aesthetic paradigm approaches the art world from a distinctively subjective and internal position. Whereas the journalistic paradigm tends to represent the sociocultural spheres of cultural production and consumption, the aesthetic paradigm tends to stay in the more limited artistic-aesthetic spheres. In its definition of culture, the journalistic paradigm is more inclusive and the aesthetic paradigm more exclusive; in its positionings towards the institution of journalism, the journalistic paradigm places its agents in the field of journalism in the first place, while the aesthetic paradigm primarily positions its agents in the art world.

Both paradigms, however, define the boundaries and quality of arts and culture. This way, they attempt to see arts and culture as separate and distinctive realms of activities, detached from or attached to other forms of social life. In the journalistic paradigm, references to the social world and its commonalities make journalistic contents closer to larger audiences' lives. In the aesthetic paradigm, the need for a sufficient amount of cultural capital leads to smaller audiences. However, the mobility between different artistic forms and social realms such as economy and culture is increasingly flexible, which it is also for the increasingly omnivorous cultural consumers. This is likely to make the differences and boundaries between the professional paradigms weaker, too.

Because the dualism of the paradigms discussed above is a matter of neither attitudes nor norms but it is, because of its field-relatedness, a sociologically objective structural feature, the dualism is not always necessarily observable in the journalistic discourse. On the contrary, cultural journalists and department heads typically make claims regarding the equality of the two major genres (i.e. reviews and news). As shown in Article IV, culture departments deploy certain organizational and professional strategies to guarantee internal pluralism within the differentiation system of artistic disciplines and different journalistic genres. The idea of a systemic balance between arts and genres, in particular between reporting and reviewing, is crystallized in the balancing principle. This idea is expected to lead to a representative overview of "full service" in cultural offerings within a certain geographical or cultural area.

A cultural journalist is not confined to one single paradigm in his or her discursive activities or career trajectory. Depending on his or her dispositions in the journalistic field and the artistic-aesthetic fields, the journalist can relatively smoothly switch from a journalist-paradigm newsmaker to an aesthetic-paradigm reviewer. The textual roles the cultural journalist takes in producing journalistic contents are,

nevertheless, connected to the structures of the fields, and the established distinctions maintained by the field structures can be less easily contested and crossed, as shown in Article V. The dualism of the professionalism thus includes a more static, constant dimension supported by commonly shared field structures and a more flexible dimension of journalistic production where the selection of the genre defines the more provisional positioning of the writer.

When not seen as a dichotomy of mutually exclusive, closed systems, the dynamic dualism in the professionalism of cultural journalism is a productive analytical model for examining and understanding the internal dynamics of cultural journalism(s). It can be seen as complementary to the idea of difference from the cultural journalists' mainstream journalism. The professionalism of cultural journalism is constituted as a result of two interdependent operations of creating autonomy: creating autonomy from the institution of general journalism, on one hand, and negotiating between the various "in-between" appropriations of journalistic and artistic-aesthetic ideology that are represented by cultural journalists in their different professional roles, on the other hand.

4.1.2 The increased influence of the journalistic paradigm

The content analyses of this study offered a broad identification of certain trends in the newspaper coverage on arts and culture in Finland. The analyses basically showed an increase in various determinants characteristic of the journalistic paradigm. The content analyses indicated that the coverage of popular culture in culture sections had increased, even though the relative proportion of high cultural issues was still dominant. The editorial space assigned to reviews had diminished, the average length of articles, in particular reviews, had been cut down, and the production of reviews was increasingly outsourced. Additionally, the interviews in Article IV and the case study in Article III suggested that reviews were aligned more with the journalistic repertoire. Culture departments encountered increased pressures to emphasize newsworthiness in their content production, which had resulted in a growth of news written by the cultural staff writers.

It seems that the role of news production, the leading function of the journalistic paradigm, has thus become to play an increasingly important role in culture departments. Layout redesigns have contributed to the growth of the number of texts as well as the favour of alternative presentation forms than one plain written text, such as combinations of different articles with varying length and different genre, fact files, listings, images and other visual presentations. In addition, the production of cultural journalism has come to encompass more journalistically characterized production methods in which the journalist takes a more active and an unconventional role instead of giving the lead to the conventions of the genre, as shown in Article V.

While Hurri (1993) described the culture department as an autonomous unit within the media organization and Keränen (1984, 131) declared that "in most newspapers, the culture department creates its daily layout independently", culture departments now seem to be increasingly integrated into the functions of the core organization. Culture departments are treated and lead nowadays more similarly to the other news departments.

The only sociodemographic feature among the writers examined in the content analyses was the category of gender, which was included because it was thought to deliver information about the overall development of the profession, comparable with that of general journalism. Although the journalistic profession in Finland has showed a gender balance since the late 1980s and the amount of women in lower and mid-level managerial posts has lately grown in general (Torkkola & Ruoho 2010; for global development, see Gallagher 2008), the reviewers were still males in majority. In average, the aesthetic paradigm was more likely to be represented by male than female writers throughout the research period. In particular the reviewing of popular culture such as popular music was male-dominated (see also Hovden & Knapskog 2008), perhaps resonating with Hanitzsch and Hanusch's (2012) finding on gender differences in news production according to which "men are more likely to concentrate on news that will attract the widest popular audience" (ibid., 272). As cultural journalism and especially the aesthetic paradigm does not have a solid educational basis that would homogenize the practitioners' backgrounds, the feminization of journalism education (see Franks 2013) has not affected the gender share of the occupation in the same way that it has influenced general or news journalism.

The changes in content were in general relatively minor compared to the radical evolutions anticipated in the crisis discourse: there was, for example, no dramatic decrease of reviews. However, in all culture departments of the dailies there are signs of a paradigm shift observed in the HS culture department in the case study of Article III. With a paradigm shift was referred to a development were culture departments had increasingly adopted features of the journalistic paradigm as their cultural preference, which implies a shift in values – the "journalistification" of cultural journalism – and a redefinition of the cultural journalistic field's relationship to the art world. This shift may lead to the dissolution of the strong connection between the artistic and journalistic fields. This may be not only because of organizational profiling, which was described in the HS newsroom in Article III, but also because of possible aesthetic de-professionalization, or the "apathization" of the much more dispersed aesthetic community discussed in Article I. In a single newsroom, the public pedagogy of arts and cultural journalism does not have to be profoundly changed because the paradigms may be used as complementary. The development of news production may, however, lead to a situation in which action is justified to an increasing extent in journalistic rather than aesthetic terms.

The slow shift from aesthetic to journalistic in ideology may intensify the fundamental tensions between the paradigms. This may also heighten the sense of a crisis, particularly from the perspective of the proponents for the aesthetic paradigm. Once the journalistic paradigm strengthens its position supporting strategic action towards journalistic conduct, the aesthetic ideals and artistic ideologies followed by (professional) artistic fields are distanced from the journalistic field and the journalistic field creates a discourse on arts and culture that does not match that of cultural producers. Because specialists who are socialized in the production environments of art are mostly reviewers, and thus freelancers, aesthetes have less and less influence on journalistic content. Freelancer reviewers have less access to internal organizational resources than journalistic staff and are less involved in defining and maintaining a specific organizational culture in which the consensus on culture and journalistic concepts emerge. Reviewers are dependent on their commissioners, who are first and

foremost proponents of the journalistic paradigm.

In sum, as a result of organizational and ideological changes, cultural journalism has become a more integral part of the general journalistic field. This may lead to a certain loss of autonomy and the heteronomous pole's increased influence in the subfield of cultural journalism. However, the increased outsourcing of reviewing may also imply increased autonomy from journalistic requirements for agents in the aesthetic paradigm. It seems that some kind of polarization may occur between the two professional paradigms, namely the increasingly journalistically oriented staff writers of the journalistic paradigm and the aesthetic-paradigm freelancers focusing on reviewing. However, in the two-paradigm model of cultural journalist professionalism, the changes should not be seen as unilinear. As there is an ongoing internal struggle for the autonomy of arts and culture between the different subfields and -cultures, it would not be appropriate to label the processes identified above as linear heteronomization of previously autonomously hierarchized agents and fields, or vice versa.

4.1.3 Inclusiveness as a democratic concern

Because cultural journalism is an elementary and integral part of the mediation of arts and culture, as outlined in section 2.2.1, it is hard to define the extent to which changes actually occur in the field of cultural journalism and to which they derive from other fields of cultural production. Many contextual changes in the fields of cultural production, some of them briefly discussed in section 2.1, have reconfigured the role of cultural journalism and contributed to a less central role of cultural journalism in defining cultural preferences. The modernist institution of cultural journalism occupied an influential position in the public cultural sphere which was dominated by the high cultural preferences of the "art world". Due to changes in the cultural environment that have opened up ways for more heteronomous influences of economy and politics as well as diversified ways of mediated communication, these exclusivist ideas have been questioned.

In late modernity, there are roughly two kinds of evolutions in the cultural environment that have a important impact on cultural journalism. First, there are concrete and immediate changes that influence how cultural journalism functions in the postmodern political economy. For example, cultural products become obsolete more quickly because of the accelerated circulation of objects (Blank 2007, 170; Bauman 2011).¹²⁹ The accelerated publication cycle, which stands at odds with the traditional temporal figuration of the aesthetic paradigm (see section 3.4.2), forces reviews to be more spontaneous reactions instead of "thinking over-night". Simultaneously, the professionalization of the arts management, curatorial work and cultural PR and the growth of the number of new cultural intermediaries as competitors to cultural jour-

¹²⁹ This condition is described by Bauman (2011, 15–16): "A liquid modern, consumer-oriented economy relies on a surplus of its offerings, their rapid ageing and an untimely withering of their seductive powers. Since it is impossible to know in advance which of the offered goods or services will turn out to be sufficiently tempting to awaken the desire of consumers, the only way to sift reality from wishful thinking is by multiplying attempts and making costly mistakes. An uninterrupted supply of ever new offers is imperative for an increased turnover of goods, with a shortened time interval between their acquisition and their disposal, accompanied by their replacement with 'new and better' goods."

nalists have increased the challenges cultural journalists face when selecting events for news, previews and reviews. Technological possibilities and the “opening up” of high cultural institutions, which is manifest as cross-over productions and audience management efforts put forward by cultural organizations, have contributed to increased disintermediation by the audiences. The increased diversity of gatekeepers, multifarious discourses and heightened complexity of primarily horizontal relationships have led to a situation where cultural journalism and its metadiscourses must more powerfully position themselves as opposites to other agents in cultural mediation to create cultural value and strengthen their own public-pedagogical work. The cultural environment has thus become more competitive than before, and the emergence and professionalization of other intermediary practices in the fields of cultural production have deflated the alleged monopolistic position of cultural journalism as a single definer of taste for the audiences.

Second, as discussed in section 2.1 on metaculture, a metadiscursive paradigm shift has occurred in understandings of culture. With the rise of cultural and critical studies, the popular forms have become legitimized and the concept of culture has become more inclusive. The increase in reflexive accumulation means that the boundaries between “aesthetic” or “artistic” and “non-artistic” or “consumer” products have become harder to maintain. The demarcation of the concept of culture underlying professionalism is thus undermined by increasingly blurred boundaries between “art” and “life” and between “culture” and “economy”.

As a result of these evolutions, the concept of culture maintained by cultural journalism has become more inclusive. Consequently, the symbiotic connection between the (high-cultural) art world and cultural journalism has become looser, while the mediation of arts and culture has become a more diverse and dispersed field. Along with and supported by the numerous contextual changes, the normative ideal of culture that cultural journalism is expected to represent has become more diverse. Since the powerful symbiosis of high cultural institutions and aesthetically oriented reviewers has dissolved, cultural journalists in general have lost on their authority as cultural arbiters. Simultaneously, the strengthening of the journalistic function in the professional production of cultural journalism (see section 4.1.2) has put more emphasis on the service and entertainment function of journalism, “liquefying” the interpretation of its norms and the application of its practices (see Jaakkola et al. forthcoming). However, ideas of the aesthetic paradigm has not become obsolete and displaced by non-artistic or non-aesthetic ideas, as cultural journalists and their superiors still seem to appreciate aesthetic ideals, too. Instead, the traditional gatekeeping and tastemaking functions of the aesthetic paradigm have increasingly been aligned with objectives in the journalistic paradigm, and the integrative perspective on the dualism (see section 1.3.1) has become increasingly prevalent. The application of the balancing principle and the conception of the review as one possible way of reporting about the arts, to be selected among other journalistic genres rather than to be appreciated for its intrinsic value, can be regarded as signs for this kind of development.

From the integrated perspective, the democratic function of cultural journalism appears as a question of regulating inclusiveness and exclusiveness. This is done by operating within the two determinants discussed earlier: defining culture and journalism. When the aesthetic authority of cultural journalists and reviewers has

been questioned, a more important question for cultural journalism has become the pedagogical function through which cultural journalism, in its both paradigm orientations, can create value for the cultural consumer by producing cultural distance to cultural producers and other cultural mediators (see section 2.2.4). By launching debates beyond conventional boundaries and patterns, as discussed in Article V, cultural journalism can reach new audiences, while deepening its contact to the established art and culture audiences by adhering to conventional distinctions. This does not sweep away the distinctions between cultural forms and lifestyles, but the distinctive tensions remain and cause a condition that can be observed as some kind of a “permanent crisis” in the field (see also Frey 2014, McDonnell & Tepper 2014). The constancy of the crisis discourse, maintained by the inherent tensions in cultural journalism that have been addressed above especially in the form of professional dualism, can thus be assessed to be necessary for creating the autonomy for arts and for cultural journalism.

For cultural journalism and its metacriticism, the concern about exclusiveness and inclusiveness is a question that both unites and stabilizes as well as disunites and destabilizes the professional field. The idea of a crisis allows attempts to preserve sensitivity for the multiple cultural realities that produce different narratives of what is going on, projected onto the institution and activities of arts and cultural journalism, rather constructing a single and totalizing reality (see also McDonnell & Tepper 2014). As Shusterman (1984) writes: “The coexistence and competition of diverse practices ensures both critical balance and the exposure of all critical practices to criticism and improvement from rival practices. --- It is a natural and proper response to the complexity of the literary object and the variety of aims.” (ibid., 224). Or, as Mulhern (2000, 167) notes about the essence of *Kulturkritik*: “‘Culture’ (good) must repeatedly discover ‘civilization’ (bad) and its approaching catastrophe, which is what confirms its own identity and mission.” A necessary precondition for tertiary discourses may thus precisely be the plurality of competing and sometimes complementary approaches reflected in the crisis debates.

4.2 Evaluation of the studies

In trying to produce a description of the social world, the individual articles confront different demands of reliability and validity, which will be discussed next. The reliability of research results entails “whether or not (or under what conditions)” the researcher “would expect to obtain the same finding if he or she tried again in the same way” (Peräkylä 2004, 285). A perfectly reliable instrument would be repeatable and produce the same score every time administered (Wrench et al. 2008, 188). Generally, validity involves determining the degree to which researchers’ claims about knowledge correspond to the reality being studied (Peräkylä 2004, 294). According to Hammersley (1992, 69), an account is “valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorize”. In qualitative social research, there is a range of meanings attached to validity.¹³⁰ Internal

¹³⁰ Krippendorff (1980) distinguishes between catalytic, construct, descriptive, evaluative, interpretive, and theoretical validity. Altheide and Johnson (1998, 289) add the concepts of imperial, interrogated, situated, successor, and transgressive validity. According to Altheide and Johnson (ibid., 290), validity

validity concerns the extent to which causal propositions are supported in a study of a particular setting (Seale 1999, 38). The measure of external validity is the extent to which the results hold true in or can be generalised to other settings (ibid., 40).

All articles in this study have been subjected to a double blind review before their publication in international peer-reviewed journals. The articles have thus undergone a revision process before reaching their final version, benefiting from the peer reviews by non-Finnish referees. To increase the reliability and the validity of the studies, appropriate methodological procedures in each individual study were taken. I will now concentrate on the limitations and inconsistencies of the methodological choices made.

4.2.1 Reliability of the findings

The weakness of the systematic literature review in Article I is its dependence on bibliographical records and the search phrases selected due to work economy. As the professional guidelines of cultural journalism have been discussed in various non-public contexts such as committee meetings, seminars and workshops of scholars and practitioners, there are informal materials dealing with cultural journalism that are not published and indexed, such as reports, research papers, and memoranda. They thus fall under the label of grey literature (Schöpfel & Farace 2010; Hart 2001, 94). Such materials are not recorded and classified by library systems, which makes them weakly accessible. As the selection of the material in the qualitative metasynthesis followed the bibliographic system of databases at the author's disposal, the material included in the data had been assigned an official status of publication. An analysis comprising all possible subfields of cultural journalism such as literature, music, theatre, criticism and journalism and their subfields such as prose, drama and poetry, or popular music, classical music, world music, folk music etc., would have been not only beyond resources available but also dysfunctional, as the focus was on the discourse that has evolved around the integrative concept of "cultural journalism", not on its subfields connected to specific and often very limited artistic-aesthetic questions.

Systematic reviews basically allow a large variation of methods, but in social sciences, sociology and cultural studies there are few established methods for synthesizing literature. In social sciences the literature review is often regarded as a technique with varying methods as part of any research, rather than an independent study (Hart 1998). It often bears a practical corollary either to accumulate knowledge in a previously understudied area within a wider set of qualitative research or to inform policy (Petticrew & Roberts 2006). Some scholars argue against the synthesis on the grounds that the findings of individual contributions are de-contextualized (see e.g. Thomas & Harden 2008, 7). Even if Article I was published as an independent study, it served the thesis as a literature review and helped forming a basis to construct hypotheses and elaborate ideas of professionalism.

In critical appraisal checklists applicable to systematic literature reviews (Hart 1998, Petticrew & Roberts 2006, 296; Salmond 2012, Rutter et al. 2010), the most fre-

can be examined from the perspectives of culture, ideology, gender, language/text, relevance and standards.

quent criteria are the transparency of the review's inclusion and exclusion criteria and the assessment of the relevancy, the quality and the heterogeneity of the retrieval outcomes. In Article I, both scientific studies and journalistic or essayistic contributions to public debates were brought under the same label, as the objective of the review was to shed light on the complete phenomenon of the "crisis discourse" in the public sphere, manifest in printed and bibliographically recorded journalism, book publishing and academic research. This generalization was justified with the view that the line between academic and non-academic contributions on cultural journalism was often fine, as seen especially in the aesthetic discourse that seemed to be partly theoretical, partly popular. The quality of individual entries was not taken into account. Presenting different forms of public and recorded metacriticism, the set of contributions thus covered a heterogeneous set of written texts addressing the change of cultural journalism; the literature included both international academic studies and non-fiction books published within the timeframe. The criteria for exclusion and inclusion, the coverage and the relevance of the contributions were discussed and assessed in the article. The comparability of divergent contributions was ensured by the limitation to a geographical location (geographical context) marked by the use of same established bibliographic search terms and the same type of the mass media (cultural context). The body of literature retrieved was relatively limited, like the public debate and research on cultural journalism, but it was assessed to be relevant, and the searches were repeatable. The coordinates pointed out by the frames of professional discourse could thus be evaluated to be comprehensive enough, providing a basis for further theory construction.

Questions of reliability in the quantitative content analyses in Articles II, III and IV are related to the coding of the data and the statistical significance of the results (Neuendorf 2002). Coding, the process in which "the researcher goes through to group one's variable of interest in a consistent way" (Wrench et al. 2008, 247), is an attempt to "fix meaning" (Seale 1999, 154) of something that is partly subjected to evaluative judging such as the boundaries of the categories for certain artistic disciplines. Article III formed the basis for the data collection and sampling of the content analyses in Articles II and IV with partly pre-made methodological decisions (see section 1.3.3). The data was extended from HS to four regional newspapers with an established culture department and national relevance. To evade the accumulation of cultural events within one particular artistic discipline in one week, two sample weeks were included by using the method of consecutive sampling. In fact, a more reliable sampling method might have been the use of a constructed week (see e.g. Hurri 1993, 1983). Indeed, it has been shown (see e.g. Hester & Dougall 2007, Riffe et al. 1993) that constructed week sampling is more efficient in newspaper content analysis than simple random sampling or consecutive day sampling. However, as said, this methodological choice was pre-met and it was adopted due to work economic reasons. The weeks were assessed as free from any significant biases, which was supported by the fact that the results seemed to be in line with the theoretical context and earlier research.

The hypotheses H1–H3 articulated in Article II concerning the change of cultural journalism were formulated based on a review of literature (Article I). To test the hypotheses, appropriate statistical tests – a two-sample chi-square (χ^2) test of independence, a proportion test and Welch's t-test – were conducted. The chi-square test evaluates whether the proportions of individuals who fall into categories of two or

more nominal variables are equal to hypothesized values (Wrench et al. 2008, 315). The proportion test measured the balance between the categories (of gender) over the years irrespectively of the number of the written stories. Welch's two-sample t-test (Welch 1947) was used because the variances were unequal. The t-test adjusts the number of degrees of freedom when the variances are considered not to be equal to each other (Spector 2011, 229). The tests were conducted with the statistical software package of R in which they were implemented.¹³¹

To measure the level of agreement, an intercoder reliability test was conducted for the half of the sample. The coder was a student in journalism as well as a theatre journalist and reviewer who had previous experience in coding. She could show in-depth knowledge about cultural journalism, as she was finalizing her Master's thesis in cultural journalism at the time of coding (Salonen 2013). The coder received written and verbal instructions and training into the coding procedure. She was asked to mark down the problematic cases, which were then taken up and clarified. The agreement coefficient was 81 percent on average, which can be assessed as good (Krippendorff 1980). The percentages of agreement varied between 59 and 95 in the category of genre and between 11 and 100 percent in the category of artistic discipline. When relevant categories were merged to eliminate the existence of residual categories, the percentages of agreement varied between 71 and 93. The variation in the main categories of artistic discipline and genre is presented in more detail in the confusion matrixes in Appendix B. Additionally, Cohen's kappa was used as a measure for the estimation of the intercoder reliability. The reliability estimate for the category of artistic discipline was 0.76 and for genre 0.79. As 0.60 has been rated as an acceptable and 0.80 as good overall agreement (Kvalseth 1989), the kappa values could be assessed to fulfil the criteria of acceptance.

The qualitative data in Article III was based on the data collected for an ethnographic study that had involved direct personal experience and engagement as a participant-observer in the newsroom community (Jaakkola 2005). The co-author of Article III was the former long-standing chief (1989–2005) for the newsroom under study (HS). At the time of writing he was working as a Visiting Professor in Journalism at the University of Tampere. The author of this study had left the HS newsroom in 2005 and had been employed by the University of Tampere since 2006. Although both authors had previous professional experience in working in the community that formed the object of study, the research was carried out from an external perspective in the role of an academic researcher. Having been an insider, "gone native", meant in this respect to accommodate to the viewpoints and valuations of the journalists and to act in the role of a participant-observer, but thereafter, reverting and "reacting less in their favor when back again with academic colleagues" (Stake 1995, 46) to revert into an external observer. As pointed out by Patton (2002, 575), however, distance alone does not guarantee objectivity; being distanced should thus not be conflated with being objective. Yet for Bourdieu (1988 [1984]), objectification of the historical conditions of one's own production meant breaking with the inherent complicity of being involved in the social game, its *illusio*.¹³² However, the authors' position also provided

¹³¹ R is a free software environment for statistical computing and graphics (see homepage, <http://www.r-project.org/>, retrieved 28 January, 2014).

¹³² Bourdieu (1988[1984], xi), who applied a reflexive encounter with the familiar especially in the study of the academic world, thought that authority and epistemological integrity could be reached by

the study of the field with some assets such as the entry into the field and access to archival material (Patton 2002, 321). The risk of researcher inference was minimized by seeking transparency, balance and accountability with description and documentation as well as methodological triangulation of combining qualitative and quantitative analysis, which were approved to be sufficient by the independent journal referees.

Article IV included, along with the quantitative data, semi-structured theme interviews conducted by a journalism student for her Master's thesis (Salonen 2013). The author was involved in planning and commenting on the interview questions. It is possible that the interview sessions with the cultural editors were influenced by the interviewer's undergraduate status and the interviewees would have told different things in a different manner to a university researcher. However, as to its content, the interview data was assessed as rich and relevant to be used with the permission of the student. The secondary analysis of the semi-structured interviews thus served as a complementary analysis to support and contextualize the findings retrieved from the content analyses conducted by the author.

Article V presented cases for the qualitative analysis that showed similar structural characteristics. The intention was not to provide a generalizable and exhaustive analysis of the cases but to cast light on the workings of field-structure related journalistic roles with the help of these cases. A qualitative analysis of a limited number of journalistic texts was expected to pay a closer attention to the workings of the paradigms at a textual level and thus designed to complement the quantitative content analyses of larger data over a wide time span. The aim of the analysis was the substantiation and illustration of the boundary between fields, which partly leaned on the theory construction of the two professional paradigms in Article III. The interpretation of cases was conducted within a theoretical framework provided by Bourdieu (2010 [1979], 1993), relating observations to the conceptualizations of a field in the close-reading. The trustworthiness of the close-readings was increased by description and contextualization of the cases to an international audience.¹³³

4.2.2 *Validity of the findings*

The focus of the studies in question lied on newspaper journalism in which “cultural journalism” is regarded as the specialized production of content by specialized journalists, regulated by certain collective and relative criteria. The general-interest print journalism was selected for study because – despite the abundance of discourse about its alleged decline – from the late 1970s till the turn of the millenium it formed a major forum for reporting about artistic, aesthetic and cultural issues relevant to the general public(s) in democracy, as also pointed to by earlier studies (see section 1.1.2). Even after the increase of the supply of online cultural journalism, culture departments of the legacy media still to a large

“participant objectivation” that would combine the outsider and insider knowledge, which he expressed this also this way: “The sociologist who chooses to study his own world in its nearest and most familiar aspects should not, as the ethnologist would, domesticate the exotic, but --- exoticize the domestic, through a break with his initial relation of intimacy with modes of life and thought which remain opaque to him because they are too familiar.”

¹³³ As one sign of success in its reception may be regarded the top student paper award that the pre-article version of the paper received at the 60th annual ICA Conference in Singapore in 2010.

degree both practically and symbolically influence the reporting about arts and culture in the public sphere (Frey & Sayad 2015, Jokelainen 2014).

Although the limitation to the culture department of the printed dailies is motivated by many points, it also proves to be problematic when drawing conclusions on the change of cultural journalism. By excluding online data, this study suffers from a rather limited perspective. After the turn of the millenium, cultural journalism in legacy media newspapers has increasingly been published online, either as direct copies of the print articles, modified versions of the print articles or independent contributions with no connection to the print paper. Today, the journalistic work process does not focus on a single text published in the print paper but has become to cover the publication of different entries and versions on the same topic both online and in print. Therefore, content analyses in print newspapers succeed to capture only half of the truth about the change of cultural journalism; they cover the development only in terms of printed content but ignore the whole picture, namely the expansion of the content production. However, the “online first” and “digital native content” models of production have become established in the newsrooms under study, and in particular in their culture departments, relatively late.¹³⁴ Most of the research period 1978–2008 thus involves production where the print paper still played a significantly central role in the newsrooms’ production processes.

Despite some changes, cultural journalism appeared in the time span of the three decades to face quite a stable professionalist evolvement (see also Hurri 1993). Following Bourdieu, we can support the view that social stasis is a more prevalent phenomenon than the social change. Values are knowingly those elements that are changing slowly, and small changes can thus be remarkable. Cultural journalism being somewhat protectionist by its approach, as substantiated with aspirations for the paradigmatic balance, for example, in Articles IV and V (see also section 2.2.4), there has been a tendency to cater for the growing audiences with interests external to the traditional high-cultural framework, which has typically been realized in newspapers with week and weekend supplements beyond the traditional culture section.¹³⁵ The supplements typically have a sharper focus on film and popular culture rather than an aspiration to cover a wide variety of forms of arts and culture. They also show a tendency to deliver listings and other concept-led genre formats instead of applying the traditional genres of news and review. (Tyndall 2004, 30.) The change described in this study thus concerns the specialized workforce with specialized content and production structure, the social structure the processes and end-products of which we call cultural journalism in the press-centered model presented in section 1.1.1.

In other words, the distinctions described in the study and the developments in

¹³⁴ By “online first” I mean the systematic timely prioritizing of online content over print content, and by “digital native content” I mean the systematic utilization of presentation forms enabled by the online technologies such as videos, interactive graphics and multimedial presentation forms. For example, HS introduced a weekly online shift for its staff writers in the culture department as late as in 2009 (Hellman & Jaakkola 2009, 34). AL started online video production in 2006 (Koski 2008, 34), but it was not yet an established practice in the culture department in 2008; the first video reviews were published in 2014.

¹³⁵ HS introduced its popular culture supplement *Nyt* in 1995. AL established the popular cultural style tabloid *Valo* in 2004 (which replaced the supplement *Allakka*, founded in 1987). Additionally, AL’s Sunday supplements *Asiat*, featuring topical issues and phenomena, and *Ihmiset*, focusing on persons, were established in 2006. A city tabloid *Moro*, focusing on local everyday issues from an “ordinary people” perspective, was started in 1994. (Koski 2008, 35.)

the print papers are not directly transferable to other contexts. They cannot, in the first place, be generalized as such to account for changes in broadcasting, as television and radio have different production structures. Television and radio do have organizational units and programmes with a distinct focus on arts and culture, but the organizational unit usually covers a wide range of different productions and presents less coherent an organizational division of work as the culture department in the newspaper. The delimitations of art and culture are thus probably less differentiated and less dependent on the thematic categorization both internally (in terms of work division) and externally (in terms of other organizational units). Besides, it is precisely in the press that the formal institution of criticism plays such a pivotal role. The dualistic professionalism is thus not either directly applicable to the production models of the broadcast media, even if they may draw on quite similar resources.

As mentioned earlier, the central conception of the study, the dualism in the professionalism of cultural journalism, should not be misinterpreted as a dichotomy, or as a monistic and totalizing entity striving to reduce the professional culture to one single logic. Certainly the development of such a binary scheme runs the risk of overpolarization. To minimize the risk I have included an entire section (section 2) to polydimensionally conceptualize the functions of cultural journalism in society. As noted earlier, the paradigms are not mutually exclusive but they are intermingled in practice. There are no sharp boundaries between the categories of the “aesthetic” and the “journalistic”, but units under scrutiny show different degrees of involvement in the ideological components within the paradigm. Nevertheless, as analytical distinctions to illuminate the two different orientations based on different traditions they are helpful in structuring the field and enhancing our understanding about the inner tensions and in demonstrating potential interaction between subcultural forces. Organizational solutions and structures contributing to dissolving section boundaries such as work rotation, teamwork and writing for general-interest supplements, may, indeed, intensify the cultural journalist’s and even the reviewer’s interaction with commonplace themes and aspects, but, as Titchener (1998, 164) remarks, the extended interaction does not override the cultural journalist’s main priority in understanding the art world. Neither are there any signs that would bespeak of journalists increasingly acting as reviewers, which, according to the principle of the aesthetic boundary, is a sign for the co-existence of two separate fields.

Content analyses in Articles II, III and IV presented a very general overview over developments during three decades, and they do not deliver information for studying, for example, the subgeneric development of single artistic disciplines (for studies with primacy on the subgenres, see e.g. van Venrooij 2009, Schmutz 2009, Schmutz et al. 2010, Regev 2002). Furthermore, the set of studies provides a Western perspective where cultural journalism does not necessarily occupy a same kind of role in identity-forming, a social and even political relevance and function as pointed out for instance in the post-apartheid context of South Africa by Wasserman (2004) and Botma (2008, 2013), or in the German feuilletonism (Reus et al. 1995, Lamprecht 2012). The paradigms may thus be manifest in a different way in countries with other than Democratist Corporatist models of journalism (Hallin & Mancini 2004), or in different journalism cultures (Hanitzsch 2007, Hanitzsch et al. 2011). In general, specialized cultural journalism is a typical big-city phenomenon, which makes the generalizability of the findings to local newspapers dubious. Cultural journalists are likely to be residents

of metropolitan areas where the cultural scene is versatile and culture occupies an increasingly central role reconfiguring the cultural order (Rodríguez Morató 2003). In other words, only in sufficiently large fields can there be multiple dimensions that make mastering the field “a problem without an obvious solution”, characteristic of cultural omnivorousness (Blank 2007, 171).

Methodologically, the divisions between the forms of high and popular culture are sometimes very difficult to draw, and the discourse on high and popular forms, and the related lifestyles, leans more or less on generalized abstractions or ideal-types. The numerous cross-overs between high and popular culture in cultural production make the categorization increasingly questionable. In culture departments, music is typically roughly categorized into classical and popular, which is supported by a relatively clear division of work between classical music journalists and reviewers, on one hand, and popular, world music, folk music etc. journalists and reviewers, on the other hand. In contrast, in literature, visual arts and performance arts, there is often no equivalent stable division of work organization between followers of prose and poetry, painting and photography, or serious drama and more popular or experimental forms of performances, even if some functional differentiation between the reviewers is often realized due to the writers’ educational backgrounds, individual interests and work-economic reasons. Moreover, the content on cultural pages and in newspapers presents not only topics that can be labelled under the traditional disciplines of “fine arts”, but also topics that are extrinsic to arts are regularly treated. Examples of these issues are cultural institutions, cultural politics, celebrities and more “mundane” everyday issues such as eating habits and interior decoration. They are basically not included in the “cultural beats” or in the areas of specialization in culture departments either (for an exception, see Szántó et al. 2004).

A question of validity is whether the operationalized variables are fit indicators for a cultural change, specifically for the “paradigm shift” in the professionalism of cultural journalism (see Article III). Rather as describing the evolvement as a “turn” or a “shift”, it could perhaps more aptly be characterized as a slow transition where the concept of culture has become increasingly inclusive and the journalistic paradigm has increasingly taken hold, as discussed in section 4.1. It has to be emphasized that the coverage of genres and the categorization of an issue into an artistic discipline do not alone measure the qualitative change of *modes* of journalism or the *quality* of writing. “Journalistification” as a generalization of approaches, as the consolidation of journalistic goals, the establishment of journalistic methods and increased pressures for multiskilling are apparently shared by the specialized fields to varying degrees. “Journalistification” can be understood as a form of heteronomization of the epistemological and the ontological dimension of professionalism, which leads to the narrowing of the autonomy of the specialist field of cultural journalism. The development found in the studies is supported by analogous developments in cultural production that have been characterized as instrumentalization of journalism (Hallin & Mancini 2004, 37),¹³⁶ professionalization of sources (Kristensen, 2004), and blurring of

¹³⁶ Instrumentalization means the increasing control of the media by external actors with political or commercial purposes. Political agents include parties, politicians, social groups or movements or economic actors who seek political influence, and commercial agents include advertisers and organizations with aims of product placement seeking influence over the editorial content. (Hallin & Mancini 2004, 37.)

boundaries (Kristensen & From 2012, Cramerotti 2009). Simultaneously, also in fields of arts education (Lamprecht 2012, Sandlin et al. 2010) and arts policy (Pirnes 2008) the concept of culture has encountered efforts toward greater inclusiveness.

In terms of external validity, the question occurs if cultural journalism is comparable to other specialized types of journalism in the newspaper, primarily to sport journalism, as cultural journalists share with sports journalists the feeling of difference, manifest as difficulties in finding their place within the institution of journalism (see section 1.2). Similar tendencies of change from specialist to generalist conduct in reporting have indeed been found in sports journalism in Finland: according to Koljonen (2000), the sports reporting has turned from a specialist's task into less specialized coverage on general sports-related issues. Sports shares with popular culture the cultural reality based on everyday and collective experiences, but in the collective experience the expertise-based, institutional canon formation is not as prevalent as it is in high arts; in sports, moral issues, questions of identity formation and personal preferences are at stake (Tainio 2015). As reporters of mediated cultures, journalists are gatekeepers, opinion-influencers and tastemakers, but there is no historical institution of formal criticism within the sports field as there is in the high arts. Sports and popular culture do not "need" such an institutional system of classification of taste as much as the high arts, in which the institution of criticism has played an integral role as part of the functioning of the field (Shrum 1996, Hohendahl 1982). Therefore, it seems that the more significant differences are located between the high cultural paradigm and the everyday-cultural paradigm (see also Shrum 1996) rather than between *types* of journalism like between cultural and sports journalism. This emphasizes the importance of the internal difference within cultural journalism between the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigm which has been the object of study in this thesis. Since the popular and everyday-based paradigm of cultural journalism has gained more weight during the three recent decades, in line with increased mediatization of the fields of cultural production (see section 2.1.2), cultural journalism has come closer to other forms of journalism. However, without a careful analysis of homological structures it is not possible to generalize changes in cultural journalism to describe changes in all specialized subfields of journalism.

In all, the findings of the studies of the change are in line with relevant previous studies and with the cultural context presented above. However, the conceptual elaboration of the major paradigms is not yet sufficiently empirically tested beyond newspaper print journalism and needs validating through more empirical research. The struggles can be traced in final products, as was done in this study, but the inspection of cultural changes should not solely rest on them; the reasons for the distinct behaviour that creates those products are to be found in organizational culture manifested as values embedded in speech and action. Therefore, the application of journalistic principles in diverse practices of cultural journalism should be further studied.

4.3 Future research

With its contributions to professional cultural journalism in printed newspapers, this article-based study aspired to offer an integrative framework for further studies to address arts and cultural journalism in newspapers. The studies did not intend to

provide an exhausting account of the developments in the field; rather, they can be considered piecemeal approaches that present themselves in a continuing process of research. Accordingly, individual articles leave unexplored gaps which need to be complemented with further research. Further research on cultural communication, also beyond journalism and especially in the fields of consumption or prosumption, shall refine and complement our understanding of the professional structures of mediation and cultural change.

Regarding the general tendencies in the fields of cultural production, it can be said that contemporary cultural journalism is facing challenges which were less acute three decades ago. There is an increased diversity of possibilities to address “culture” due to an increased number of events and products and proliferated possibilities for cultural consumption. Culture departments have to create increased diversity to serve the cultural consumers with specialized consumption and to provide them with tools for cultural mobility. It is thus increasingly challenging to disentangle and interpret cultural products, the distinctiveness of which is simultaneously more and more ambiguous. At the same time, there is an increased need to withstand market pressures and contravene them with increased criticality and reflexivity to defend the meaning of culture in political economy regulated by efficiency and cost awareness. Today’s cultural journalists are thus working in an increasingly competitive, cacophonous cultural scene where their monopolist authority as gatekeepers and tastemakers has been weakening and becoming challenged by other mediated forms of cultural communication.

With the increase of diversity as a value and the collapse of physical and national boundaries in contemporary digital environments, all agents are demanded to open up for co-operation with “foreign” ideologies. By identifying the very distinctive features of cultural journalism, this study provided answers to how “foreign” ideologies are appropriated and negotiated among cultural journalists. Once inter-ideological encounters are in increase, it becomes increasingly important to regard the activities of cultural journalists on a par with non-journalistic actors. The framework of public pedagogy provides an overarching framework for examining agents enhancing reflexivity as gatekeeper-tastemakers, “reviewers” and “critics”, i.e., evaluators of cultural goods. How they draw on journalistic values, practices and principles and form professional guidelines is interesting, as agents acting as intermediaries always have a need for legitimacy in front of their audiences in a way of being accountable by formulating explicit rules for their activity. In the same way aesthetic principles are appropriated and blended with journalistic principles, the journalistic principles are re-invented and introduced into new contexts.

With regard of the expanded sphere of cultural communicators, the distinction between professional cultural intermediaries and devoted audiences may become superfluous, as all cultural practitioners are enabled with reviewing and meaning-making in the sphere of culture. We should, however, not be taken by the much-repeated claim that “we all are critics now”, reducing the evaluation of cultural goods into one single practice. Journalism is assigned the ethical responsibility for representativeness and balance in coverage, which distinguishes it from other intermediary practices. The expansion of the consumption field opens up new needs for the study of change of the professionalist standards of arts and cultural journalism in the context of the artistic and aesthetic theories as well as social theory. Unlike what the representational

politics of a “crisis” postulates, the development is unlikely to be linear, and, it is, for sure, not uniform. As the modernist ethos of universal rationality and singularity is replaced by a number of new, partially contradictory and overlapping paradigms of thought, the new forms of theory do not wholly replace the old forms, but they are recorded as historical sediments in the professionalism.

The question of interest for the general-public cultural journalism is whether there will be divergence or convergence between the professional paradigms, the journalistic and aesthetic paradigm. The development that general journalism has underwent during the past decades seems not to unfold until now in the specialized type of cultural journalism. For cultural journalism, the increase of organizational influence means both professionalization and de-professionalization, depending on from which perspective the norms of professionalism are defined. In the 19th century, general journalism and politics were not separated but more or less part of the discourse of politics; in the 20th century their separation became institutionalized (Kunelius 1996, 191). As suggested in this study, cultural journalism has remained a constellation of merged fields during the 20th century, and this double bind still forms its distinctive feature. However, around the turn of the 21st century, due to an increasing organizational influence, the calls for professional norms of journalism have strengthened. As a consequence, cultural journalism may gain more autonomy from artistic fields, as cultural issues can be approached from a variety of perspectives without the authorization from the power-holders in the artistic-aesthetic fields. However, the evolution also means the increase of power for the dominating field of journalism, while the autonomy for arts and the aesthetic paradigm decreases. With regard to the structure of two paradigms, this development can also be seen as polarization of the two paradigms.

This is by no way to say that the distinctions in cultural fields would be disappearing; cultural journalism obviously continues to be a resource for different distinctions. It may, however, become more ambiguous which field is at stake at a given moment. Cultural goods are more and more “boundary objects”, the meanings of which are publically negotiated with a more diversity in the intermediating fields than ever before.¹³⁷ Furthermore, if journalism is supposed to convey to its public(s) information, analysis, comment and entertainment while equally purporting to *represent* the public, it has an increasingly challenging task to do.

As central a forum as the newspapers have been for public information on arts and culture so far, now the most important reconfigurations in arts and cultural journalism do not necessarily occur in dailies. The timespan of this study covers the broadsheet era of newspapers. The first studies on tabloidization (Reunanen 2013, Andersson 2013; Lund 2005, 93) show that the change of format has had a relatively minor impact on the journalistic content. Studies on the emergence of new artistic disciplines such as jazz (Lindberg et al. 2005) and rock (Powers 2010) have demonstrated that the vigorous defenses of popular forms of culture as a legitimate field of intellectual scrutiny have been carried out in alternative journalism rather than in major culture departments in which the discussions are directed to general audiences.

¹³⁷ Boundary objects are according to Star and Griesemer’s (1989) original definition objects that “cross the boundaries between multiple social worlds, used within and adapted to many of them simultaneously” (ibid., 408). As boundary objects cultural goods can thus be used in different ways by different taste communities.

As Bourdieu (1993) stresses, the most important changes do not typically occur in the centre of the field but in the periphery. Popular culture and entertainment may be increasingly covered online while culture departments have remained the arenas for traditional high-cultural coverage (see also Larsen 2008). Today's alternatives are also formed in the blogosphere, in the twitosphere and other platforms dedicated to the public debate. With the aesthetization of culture and culturalization of life, it is imperative to be not confined to (high) arts but identify parallel functions and rules across different forms of culture, without losing one's eye on difference.

As reflected in this thesis, the term "cultural journalism" can take on a variety of different forms and meanings. In fact, the definitions and the situated meanings of cultural journalism prevails an object of study of its own, and the boundary work of what count as culture and journalism becomes increasingly interesting in the transforming media landscape. The study on arts and cultural journalism calls for interdisciplinary and contextualized sensibility towards research and theorizing, which is basically something that this study has attempted to hold on. To counteract the diaphanousness effect, also in other forms of cultural mediation than cultural journalism, the appropriation of journalistic and pseudojournalistic norms in all forms of communication on arts and culture should be further explored and made visible. Even if it is not always unproblematic to distinguish between the intertwined ideologies and norms of professional and aesthetic cultures, by disclosing their functionalities we need to get a more specified and diversified picture of communicative forms of cultural mediation as part of cultural production.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Coding sheet

Sample

The sample consisted of two weeks (7 and 43) per year (1978–2008 in an interval of 5 years) of culture pages of the following Finnish-language daily newspapers: *Aamulehti* (Tampere), *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki), *Kaleva* (Oulu), *Savon Sanomat* (Kuopio) and *Turun Sanomat* 1978–2008.

Year	Week 7	Week 43
1978	13.–19.2.	23.–29.10.
1983	14.–20.2.	24.–30.10.
1988	8.–14.2.	17.–23.10.
1993	15.–21.2.	25.–31.10.
1998	9.–15.2.	19.–25.10.
2003	10.–16.2.	20.–26.10.
2008	11.–17.2.	20.–26.10.

General features

A) Pages

The amount of editorial area. The area for advertisements are measured, and their area (cm²) is subtracted from the total area of pages. The total number of pages is given in 2 decimals.

B) Count of articles

Fact files, sidebars, independent listings, calendars, images with captions etc. are counted as separate articles.

C) Image size

Counted in number of columns (1c–8c). Half columns are approximated into round numbers (1,5c = 2c).

D) Article length

Counted in rows and turned into an approximate number of characters by a characters per row estimate (C_{row}). Only rows with text are counted, blank rows are excluded.

The characters per row estimate C_{row} is created as follows: Four different texts from both sample weeks (7 and 43) are chosen per year and newspaper. The examination is limited to the first 50 rows of body text. The characters of the first 10 complete rows C_{cr} , the number of complete rows N_{cr} and the characters of incomplete rows C_{ir} are counted. A story-specific characters per row estimate $C_r = (C_{cr}/10 * N_{cr} + C_{ir})/50$. The C_{row} for one volume of the newspaper = $(C_{r1} + C_{r2} + C_{r3} + C_{r4})/4$.

Categories

A) Artistic discipline

Variable	Legend
1. Literature	Fictional genres such as poetry, literary novels, thrillers, and detective novels; non-fictional genres such as encyclopaedias etc.
2. Classical music	Symphonic music, chamber music, opera, academic contemporary music etc.
3. Visual arts	Painting, drawing, graphical art, sculpture, media art etc.
4. Theatre	Drama, experimental theatre, melodrama, comedies, cabaret, operette, musical, show etc.
5. Design	Design of artefacts, jewellery, fashion, interiors, graphics etc.
6. Architecture	Design and aesthetics of buildings and built environment, city planning etc.
7. Dance	Contemporary and modern dance, ballet, folk and ethnic dance etc.
8. Film	Fictions, documentaries, experimental films
9. Media	Mass media: press, television, radio, internet etc.
10. Comics	Illustrated periodicals
11. Cultural politics	Art policy and politics concerning arts and culture
12. Children's culture	Art and culture for children
13. History, cultural history and folklore	Historical issues and phenomena
14. Other	Calendars, listings, mixed, items not suitable to any other category
15. Popular music	Pop and rock music, jazz, country music, folk music, dance music etc.
16. Photography	Artistic photography
17. Everyday culture	Non-artistic issues, commonalities etc. non-institutional "lifeworld" issues
18. Arts education	Educational and pedagogical issues
19. Society, context	Everyday issues, cultural production not suitable into other category

B) Genre

Variable	Legend
1. News	Informative article intended to include a novelty, a recent news event etc.
2. Review	Opinionated article intended to evaluate a cultural product
3. Other commentary	Opinionated article: column, causerie or commentary related to news article
4. Personal portrait, feature	Article in which a person (as someone interviewed) plays a major role
5. Reportage, feature	Informative article intended to give account of backgrounds or to deliver based on a journalists' presence etc.
6. Other	Article not suitable into any other category
7. Essay	Opinionated article intended to discuss a phenomenon, state of art of an artistic discipline etc.

C) Writer

Variable	Legend
1. Cultural journalist	Text produced by a staff writer of the culture department
2. Journalist from other department	Text produced by a staff writer of other than culture department
3. Signature (HS/AL/Kaleva/TS)	Text signed with a byline referring to the newspaper in question
4. News agency	Text produced by a news agency (STT, Reuters, AP etc.)
5. Freelancer	Text produced by someone employed as a freelancer
6. Not recognizable	Text producer unknown
7. Member of audience	Text produced by a reader/non-journalist

D) Gender

Variable
1. Female
2. Male

E) Event type

Variable	Legend
1. Single event	A single non-organized, i.e. spontaneous, news event as the prevalent news value
2. An overview over a phenomenon or a process	A broader phenomenon with no single spontaneous news event as the prevalent news value
3. Cultural product from the audience's perspective	A cultural object such as book, theatre play or a record discussed from the consumer's perspective
4. Cultural product from the artist's perspective	A cultural object such as book, theatre play or a record discussed from the producer's perspective
5. Festival or other organized cultural event (e.g. a seminar)	An organized cultural event (pseudoevent) such as a festival, seminar, workshop etc. as the prevalent news value
6. Artistic discipline	An artistic discipline such as a news value
7. Prize or recognition	An award or acknowledgement as the prevalent news value
8. Statement	An opinion, a statement etc. as the prevalent news value
9. Person, artist	A primary producer as the prevalent news value
10. Person, other	Another cultural producer or consumer as the prevalent news value
11. Anniversary	A person's or an organization's anniversary as the prevalent news value
12. Listing	A list of the most sold books or other cultural products within a time-frame, the best cultural products etc.
13. Other	A text not suitable into any other category

Appendix B

Confusion matrix, category artistic discipline (agreements in %)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	79	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	21	0	7	0	6	4	0	0	8	11	11
2	0	86	0	0	0	5	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	6	2
3	0	0	89	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	9	2	2	0	0	0	0	9	7
4	2	5	1	85	0	0	0	0	7	0	9	7	6	4	1	0	8	2	0
5	0	0	0	0	67	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	1	0	0	96	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	93	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	2	0
9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41	0	1	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	11
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	3	0	54	0	0	4	0	4	0	13	5
12	2	0	0	9	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	82	0	3	0	0	0	9	2
13	5	1	4	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	6	0	65	4	0	0	0	0	18
14	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	5
15	1	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	2	97	0	0	6	0
16	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	2	0
17	7	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	14	0	4	0	19	24	0	0	75	6	27
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	2	0	0	0	0	34	0
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11

Confusion matrix, category genre (agreements in %)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	93	1	7	4	13	5	0
2	1	95	3	5	8	1	13
3	0	0	61	1	2	18	0
4	2	1	5	86	18	5	0
5	3	2	6	2	59	1	69
6	1	0	17	1	1	70	6
7	0	0	1	1	0	0	13

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Witnesses of a cultural crisis: Representations of media- related metaprocesses as professional metacriticism of arts and cultural journalism

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Abstract

Arts and cultural journalism have been found in numerous debates during recent decades to struggle in the midst of a crisis. This article traces the recorded discourse of professionalism that considers cultural journalism to be in a state of decline. A literature review on academic research and contributions in public debates provides an insight into the 'crisis talk' of the last two decades and unveils general controversies in the development of the professional culture of cultural journalism. By mapping the discourse in terms of the unfavourable directions that the development of cultural journalism has moved in, the analysis constructs a model for the future research of this specialized branch of journalism.

Keywords

arts criticism, arts journalism, cultural journalism, metacriticism, professionalism

In recent decades, there has been a widely shared consensus on the viewpoint that cultural journalism and especially its adjunct criticism is in crisis. In the United States, in particular, the discourse on cultural journalism has been imbued with pessimism in the form of numerous compilations of newspaper and magazine articles dealing with arts

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journalism and criticism, endowed with emblematic titles such as *The Crisis of Criticism* (Berger, 1998), *What Happened to Art Criticism?* (Elkins, 2003), *Critical Mess* (Rubinstein, 2006), *The Death of the Critic* (McDonald, 2007), *Faint Praise: The Plight of Book Reviewing in America* (Pool, 2007), and *The State of Art Criticism* (Elkins and Newman, 2008).

By the same token, whenever there is discourse about cultural journalism, not only is its quantity and quality lamented but so too is the shortage of academic attention dedicated to it. Cultural journalism has remained a ‘scholarly fallow’ (Reus and Harden, 2005: 153) and an ‘unrepresentative case of journalism’ (Hellman and Jaakkola, 2012), a scientifically unexplored area approached only sporadically within the studies of culture and arts as well as in communication studies during the last few decades (Hurri, 1993: 20; Knapskog and Larsen, 2008: 7; Szántó et al., 2004: 13). In continental Europe the research of feuilletons, according to academics, has lagged behind the objectives posed in the mid-1900s (Haacke, 1951–3; Kauffmann and Schütz, 2000).

Nevertheless, the most recent contributions to academic research on cultural journalism have emphasized that the idea of the ‘history of decadence’ should be overcome (Knapskog, 2008; Kristensen, 2010b; Kristensen and From, 2011). Studies have suggested that the development of cultural journalism does not testify to a decline but rather a natural expansion and presentation of culture in line with the changing cultural landscape (Kristensen, 2010a). Because studies on the transformations of cultural journalism are scarce and diffuse, it may be productive to focus especially on the key structures producing and maintaining the discourse of moribundity, in particular as the lamentations are nothing profoundly new, which Pool (2007) illustratively shows by dating such complaints back to the 18th century.

This article intends to provide an insight into the recent crisis talk witnessed in numerous debates and contributions about cultural journalism during the past two decades in northern Europe. The article presents a review of relevant literature retrieved in multiple languages from electronic databases of social sciences and humanities. The objective of the study is to identify framings of cultural change delivered in professional and academic discourse on cultural journalism. The study attempts to answer the following question: *How has the change of cultural journalism been represented in published literature on arts and cultural journalism in the Nordic countries in 1990–2010?* The frames are examined in relation to Bourdieu’s (1993) fields of cultural production, a framework widely applied in the analysis of cultural journalism (see e.g. Hurri, 1993; Knapskog and Larsen, 2008; Kristensen and From, 2011). The analysis is expected to deliver conceptual tools for future research on arts journalism to deal with multi-faceted professionalism.

The origin of the word ‘crisis’ lies in the Greek substantive *krisis*, derivative from the verb *krinein* (‘to decide’) and it marks the turning point in a disease. Crisis is typically applied as a normative concept denoting a move in an undesired direction in the middle of a transition when the speaker’s conceptions and their underlying values need to be re-adjusted to the changes in the environment. As known, the idea of a crisis is deeply rooted in western philosophical thought, and cultural pessimism is echoed in an abundance of modern metanarratives about the decline of arts and culture in the modern public sphere (see e.g. Bennett, 2001; Ekelund, 2002; Habermas, 1962). Artistic production and

discourse in particular have additionally undergone fundamental structural changes that have triggered crisis thinking in contemporary art (Béland, 2003). The media industry and journalism have recently confronted economic, technological and cultural reconfigurations (McChesney and Pickard, 2011). Rather than discussing these actual changes in cultural journalism (see Janssen, 1999; Kristensen and From, 2011; Wasserman, 2004), the focus of the following analysis lies on the reception of the alleged external impulses, and the representations of the crisis in professional metacriticism, discourses that are analytically separate from the actual developments.

Metacriticism as professionalist boundary work

The object under study is metadiscourse, often characterized in relation to criticism as the ‘criticism of criticism’ or ‘metacriticism’, the examination of principles, methods and terms of criticism (Baldick, 2008b). Metadiscourse is closely linked to professionalism in which reflexivity is regarded as a tool for development (Schön, 1984). Metacriticism is a form of public reflexivity: it takes its form in a broad scale of public arts communication, ranging from academic inquiries and semi-academic contributions, such as essay works and administrative surveys, to journalistic representations. According to Elkins (2003: 6) professional discourse is a diaphanous layer, or as he eloquently puts it, ‘like a veil, floating in the breeze of cultural conversations and never quite settling anywhere’. The loci of professionalist discourse in cultural journalism are, indeed, contingent spaces where discussions among practitioners emerge, for instance in seminars, during educational events, special courses, art fairs, in newspapers, magazines and catalogues, and in other physical-virtual spaces where communication takes place. When presented and recorded in larger public spheres, they are formed into discursive objects that permit access to the constituted subjectivities of agents in professional fields.

Cultural journalism has been characterized as a hybrid construct that is not completely situated either in the field of journalism or in any other arts-related field. Rather, it finds its location somewhere ‘in between’, as indicated by the characterizations of cultural journalists as ‘double agents’ (Dickstein, 1992), ‘cultural intermediaries’ (Bourdieu, 1993), ‘oddities in culture’ (Hurri, 1993), ‘better journalists’ (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007), ‘cultural eunuchs’ (Jowett and Linton 1989) and ‘practitioners of a parasitic profession’ (Goldman, 1974). The dual-field system is characterized by ‘intermediary aesthetics’ (Lindberg et al., 2005) requiring dispositions in both the media and the artistic fields. Therefore, the scattered metadiscourse on cultural journalism is based on the professionalism that forms a dual, if not multicentred field (Elkins, 2003), where no single scientific discipline or organizational environment surpasses another as the major source for the construction of a professionalist body of knowledge.

Instead of a solid educational and disciplinary background, cultural journalists typically share a background as amateurs of an artistic discipline (in the two senses of ‘hobbyist’ and ‘lover’ according to the French etymology of the word *amateur*), and it is precisely their theoretical and practical knowledge either as professionals and cultural workers or connoisseurs and aficionados that has allowed them to enter the field. The experts with these diverse backgrounds share a passionate relationship with the object of

reporting and evaluation (Harries and Wahl-Jørgensen, 2007; Jørgensen, 1991). Therefore, the epistemological foundation of the profession is normative, which means it is based on values driven by taste (Bourdieu, 1996) instead of being scientific and using knowledge empirically derived from observation (Freidson, 2001: 155).

Professionalization (Freidson, 2001) is basically an attempt to homogenize the conception of a particular field of practice by elaborating a solid set of values and rules for the practitioners and setting up the qualifications required for entry into the field. Historically, most professions achieved social closure during the 19th and 20th centuries, but journalism in general has remained a semi-professionalized area (Deuze, 2005; Witschge and Nygren, 2009). In arts journalism a large number of professionals have remained largely external to the news organizations and find their main occupation in a field other than journalism (Freidson, 2001: 157). Basically, there is still no official way into the occupation, and recruits come from many different disciplines (Jørgensen, 1991). Since cultural journalism is very weak in its social closure, professionalization has to be constantly constructed and maintained through discursive action in the public spheres with the lowest common denominator of the parties involved. As the autonomization process has therefore never quite reached fulfilment, the cultural journalist's occupation is basically affiliated with a number of divergent subcultures that are engaged in a constant struggle to protect their integrity.

Cultural journalists in the field of cultural production

Culture, as a multidiscursive (Williams, 1983: 87) and hypercomplex (Fink, 1988) concept, is produced in a situated discourse. There are two major dimensions in this respect (see e.g. Bech-Karlsen, 1991): First, cultural journalism is delineated by the delimitation of its substance. In the mediation of arts and culture it is pivotal how 'art' or 'culture' is defined, because every statement potentially subsumes the agent into the game where the boundaries of art and culture are redefined. Second, cultural journalism is produced in different positions, showing varying relationships with the mainstream journalistic ideology and aesthetic theory as well as the (sub)fields supporting them. Taking these two dimensions as a starting point, we can declare that the production of cultural journalism operates according to two factors: the practitioners' culture concept, seen as the representation of art and culture in products of journalism, and the professionally legitimized representational means for representing art and culture, supported by the journalistic ideology.

The key agents in cultural journalism have been identified by Duncan (1953): the writers (journalists and reviewers as representatives of professional paradigms), the artistic producers (artists representing different forms of arts/culture) and the culture-consuming audiences (see also Hurri, 1993). It is within this communicative triangle that public communication about art comes into being, although not without friction and a constant need for re-balancing the triangular relationship (Duncan, 1953: 68). Hurri (1993) depicts the field of cultural journalism as a 'battlefield' of the aestheticizing, journalistic and popularizing orientations. Building on Duncan (1953), Hurri (1993: 300) states that these orientations basically build up 'inner conflicts for cultural journalism that can never be fully solved'.

For Bourdieu (1993), the artistic field is a site of struggle between the two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle, ‘favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically’, and the autonomous principle ‘which those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital tend to identify with a degree of independence from the economy’ (1993: 38–9). The discursive space of professionalism thus entails degrees of relative autonomy in terms of the heteronomous centres of power.

In the art world, the producers and consumers of different artistic disciplines act in the process of cultural production as secondary fields that attempt to exert power on the processes of signification. The primary field of production, the field of cultural journalism, forms a close relationship with the secondary fields of cultural production that can, in many respects, be regarded as an instance of co-production rather than mere sources and objects of reporting. To avoid a biased social structure, that is, to encourage cultural journalism to serve a large rather than a restricted public, cultural journalism in the general public sphere must aim at plurality that provides its agents with many different positions and thus triggers different kinds of homological relations. Such plurality of journalism enables a great variety of interconnections between the fields of the media and of artistic and cultural production, which is widely held to be a significant trait of democratic communication (Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Duncan, 1953; Kristensen and From, 2011).

Methodology

Definition of cultural journalism in the Scandinavian context

In this article, cultural journalism is understood as a *distinct subfield of journalism* on arts or, wider defined, on culture, pertinent to the journalistic ideology and its practices but differentiated from them through specialization. It is not to be confused with the journalistically sound production of literary journalism or nonfiction, which generally refers to the use of fictional techniques in journalistic writing (Jones and Featherly, 2002). Neither should it be confused with the anthropological method of writing about communities and cultures in a journalistic context, which has been applied for educational purposes since the 1960s for its potential to increase understanding among different groups of people (Olmstead, 1986).

Besides these methodological understandings of culture in journalism, the term is occasionally used reductively and made synonymous with criticism or reviewing practice. The use of the term ‘(literary) criticism’ designates ‘the reasoned discussion of literary works’ (Baldick, 2008a) carried out over a long period of time and mainly in academic settings by (public) intellectuals. Reviewing, instead, refers to an overnight reaction, an opinionated comment, regarding an artistic effort (Titchener, 1998: 1). Criticism is like an institution in its own right and it would thus require a separate analysis, which lies beyond the scope of this article. In contrast, accounting for the dual ontology of cultural journalism (see Hellman and Jaakkola, 2012), the focus of inspection here lies on an integrative perspective of professionalism that entails both news-related work and reviewing practice, carried out in the mass media context and in organizations with predominantly journalistic objectives. The producers of cultural journalism are therefore

specialized in reporting about arts and culture and preoccupied with maintaining a distinct professional identity (Kristensen and From, 2011); yet operating in a multidiscursive area with a number of inter-field relationships (Jaakkola, 2012) makes the professional sphere particularly complex.

Journalistic ideals and models differ from each other in Anglo-American and central European traditions (Esser, 1998), and the difference is particularly clearly seen in cultural journalism. Nordic countries and the Anglo-American media have adopted the Anglo-American model with its separation of commentary and reporting (Chalaby, 1996; Hallin and Mancini, 2004), while the central European print media especially represents a distinct tradition closely linked with Kantian criticism and literary expression, the so-called *feuilletonism* (Reus and Harden, 2005). Feuilletons represent a more elitist value system than the egalitarian Anglo-American model, with the German model encouraging conscious subjective evaluation rather than the expression of public opinion, based on differences in the very idea of press freedom (Hanusch, 2009). Besides, when observing the final products of journalistic practice, the feuilletons appear to have undergone a different kind of development than the Anglo-American-style culture sections: for example, the length of articles has increased in Germany, where cultural journalism has additionally been found to have undergone a process of re-politicization (Reus and Harden, 2005: 161), while a decrease in the average article length and a proliferation of news orientations have been the prevalent trend in Anglo-American newspapers (Tyndall, 2004: 26).

In this article I will thus concentrate on literature drawn from the Scandinavian mediascape. It builds upon the model of democratic corporatism, which, similar to Anglo-American liberalism, pursues 'neutral' professionalism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). The Nordic countries share a similar kind of press tradition, with a strong political and aesthetic parallelism, which regards the newspaper as a major forum for discussion on arts and culture (Knapskog and Larsen, 2008; Kristensen and From, 2011). The limitation to national contexts is motivated by the fact that the production of arts journalism is profoundly ethnocentric; despite globalization in the flows of information, very little internationalization has been found in the artistic coverage of dailies (Janssen et al., 2008).

Data

The challenges in information retrieval are related to the delimitation of the field of cultural journalism and the lack of common search terms and a database, which makes both primary and secondary literature difficult to access (Elkins, 2003: 4). The search term 'cultural journalism' localizes the subject in the context of the mass media, and probably does not incorporate contributions where the mass communication aspect is a by-product rather than the primary object of inspection.

The choice of search terms is also motivated by the fact that in Nordic countries, the conception of cultural journalism can be found to be relatively established, primarily seen in a comparatively high number of essential book titles carrying the term 'cultural journalism' (see e.g. Andersson 1971; Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Hansen, 1977; Knapskog and Larsen, 2008; Kristensen and From, 2011). 'Cultural journalism' is included as a subject heading in the general thesaurus for bibliographic records in Finland and Sweden; the Finnish term '*kulttuurijournalismi*' is listed in the YSA cataloguing system and the

Swedish equivalent '*kulturjournalistik*' in YSA's translation ALLÄRS as well as in Svenska ämnesord, a thesaurus applied in Sweden. In contrast, '*kulturjournalistik*' is not found in the Danish DTU's Tesaurus. Neither are the concepts 'cultural journalism', 'arts journalism' and 'arts and letters' included in other major international databases, such as the UK Data Archive's subject thesaurus HASSET, the American Library of Congress Subject Heading (LCSH), or the multilingual UNESCO Thesaurus.

Searches were carried out by the author in February 2011 on the largest databases accessible through the worldwide web using the search term 'cultural journalism' in Finnish (*kulttuurijournalismi*), Swedish (*kulturjournalistik*), Norwegian and Danish (*kulturjournalistikk*). The searches were conducted for published articles and books with the subject, title and keyword as 'cultural journalism', '*kulturjournalistik[k]*' and '*kulttuurijournalismi*' (in relevant truncations to enable conjugations and derivatives: 'cultural journalis?', '*kulttuurijournalis?*', '*kulturjournalis?*'). Additionally, retrievals with the term 'arts journalism' were carried out by title, keyword and full text. The search words '*konstjournalistik*', '*kunstjournalistikk*' and '*taidejournalismi*' were discarded, as they did not produce any relevant hits.

The searches with the terms '*kulttuurijournalismi*', '*kulturjournalistik*' and 'cultural journalism' were first carried out in the databases of Nordic national libraries. These include the Linda (73 results) and Arto (81) databases of the Finnish National Library, the Regina (9) and Libris (40) databases of the Kungliga biblioteket in Sweden, the REX database by Det kongelige bibliotek in Denmark (16) and the Biblys ASK database of the Nasjonalbiblioteket in Norway (40).¹ Thereafter, to find academic research records in Nordic countries, the Ncom database was searched (15/27 results).² The total number of items covered 301 published contributions.

Subsequently, the following databases were searched with the terms 'cultural journalism' and 'arts journalism': EBSCOhost databases (118/146 results in Communication & Mass Media Complete, Humanities International Complete, MLA International Bibliography), Sage Premier (23/25), JSTOR (134/64), Sciencedirect (6/32), CSA Social Sciences Collection (7/9; ASSIA, Sociological Abstracts, PAIS International), Literature Online (LION) (4/0) and Literature Resource Center (LRC) (45/32). The international articles comprised 946 items, and the total number of hits was 1247 items.

On closer examination, and in line with the fluidity of the search term, a significant number of records in international databases did not produce results that were relevant to the subject of cultural journalism. Even among those contributions that dealt more or less with arts/cultural journalism, the results included contributions that were examples of cultural journalism itself: re-publications of essays and columns, memoirs or history books in a particular medium. When off-topic material (e.g. pieces not dealing with cultural journalism as defined above) and recursive titles³ were excluded, the relevant corpus totalled no more than 221 entries.

In the interests of the study it is appropriate to handle single articles in article compilations as independent contributions, so they were counted as single items. Counted in this way, there were 247 items for the analysis. Since the focus of this article is on the perceived crisis of cultural journalism, pre-eminent contributions with normative statements of a 'crisis' were of interest. The material was thus divided into two categories according to whether the contributions dealt with the problems, contradictions or shortcomings of

cultural journalism (129 items, 52 percent of all contributions) or did not deal with them (118 items, 48 percent of all contributions). In other words, the number of publications that could reasonably be used in the analysis comprised 129 items. Their distribution according to the type of communication was as follows: general audience 34 items, education 2 items, occupational/professional 15 items, administrative 4 items, and academic 75 items.

‘Cultural journalism’ and ‘change’ are conceptually bound together: more than half of the contributions in the sample affirm the development of cultural journalism in an unfavourable direction or problems related to the change in cultural journalism. The material comprised 71 items from the Nordic countries, and, categorized according to the author’s home country, more than half (53 percent) of the academic contributions (Master’s theses, conference reports and research papers recorded in databases) were of Norwegian origin. Many of the educational guide books on cultural journalism are unfortunately outdated, having been published decades before the current scope of examination (Andersson, 1971; Hansen, 1977; Mikkola, 1972). Despite the emphasis on Norwegian material, the data can be estimated to yield a high relevance with respect to the development of cultural journalism, as the majority of the most influential surveys and seminar reports produced in Scandinavia during the last two decades have indeed originated from Norway (Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Grimsmo, 1991; Knapskog and Larsen, 2008; Lund, 2005).

Analysis

Five major frames of crisis

The narrative about a crisis holds relevance as a product of professional imagination that enables and restricts certain things. Frames, as proposed in Entman’s (1993: 52) conceptualization, select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in discourse by articulating a problem definition and offering for the proposed conception a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation and eventually a treatment recommendation.

The contributions were organized into categories according to their main statement in terms of the state of cultural journalism. The statements unfolded via the following questions: In what way has cultural journalism allegedly changed? What kind of deficiencies are there in contemporary cultural journalism according to the advocates of different views? What is precluding cultural journalism from attaining its ideal state? Although single contributions were allocated to only one category according to their main focus, they are re-examined in the analysis below, as they are, in practice, strongly intertwined. The frames – named elitization, popularization, commercialization, journalistification and professional apathy – are briefly summarized in Table 1 and subsequently discussed.

Elitization. Elitization presents a fading echo of the traditional cultural journalism of high modernism, following the conception of autonomous art and its alleged supremacy at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The frame reproaches the modern critic for her isolated subjectivity, previously seen as a virtue (Hohendahl, 1982). Elitization suggests a

Table 1. Frames addressing the crisis of cultural journalism in the literature (N = 129).

Frame	Elitization (N = 10, 8%)	Popularization (N = 22, 17 %)	Commercialization (N = 34, 26%)	Journalistification (N = 38, 29%)	Disengagement (N = 25, 19%)
Description of the development	Specialization in high culture, attachment to the cultural elite, emphasis on consecration and cultural capital	Mass orientation through increase of popular themes and the 'demotic turn'	Succumbing to market forces, strengthening of economic bonds, expansion of consumerist orientation	Increase in media's dominance over the aesthetic, 'internal' mediatization of journalistic culture of arts journalism	Mechanization and marginalization through refusal of renewal and inaction, aesthetics' disempowerment
Advocates of the frame	0 journalistic, 3 aesthetic, 7 academic	2 journalistic, 3 aesthetic, 17 academic	1 journalistic, 6 aesthetic, 27 academic	5 journalistic, 6 aesthetic, 27 academic	3 journalistic, 14 aesthetic, 8 academic
Designations and metaphors	Reserve for elitist art (Hurri, 1993), an aesthetic game, ivory tower	Democratization of expression, nightmare of opinion-making (Hajdu, 2009), culture of outbursts, new cultural order	Disneyfication, 'launch' journalism, Faustian bargain with industry (Hoberman, 1998), poison pill of consumerism (Hajdu, 2009)	A paradigm shift, cultural struggle, news vs. views, rationalization, erasure of academic thought	Ghettoization, impotence, silence, anachronization
Characterization of cultural journalists	Critics, reviewers, experts, gatekeepers, arbiters of taste	Fans, enthusiasts, journalists	Cultural workers, puppets of commerce, 'blurb whores'	All-round journalists, journalists on culture, staffers	Critics, freelancers, writers with diverse unidentifiable goals
Reasons	Self-protectiveness, aesthetic	Professionalization of PR machinery	Market economy, neoliberalism	Economization, economic competition	Inability to react to changes in environment, unclear goals, inertia
Alleged field domination	Cultural elite, literati	Masses	Arts and entertainment industry	Media (organizations)	Journalists, media professionals, other mediators of artistic production
Consequences for cultural journalism	Futilization through self-closure and audience loss	Decline of taste, dumbing down	Uncriticality, paid publicity, celebrity, propaganda	Superficiality, diversion, ignorance of good taste	Purposelessness, loss of authority, retraction of the field

meritocratic view, emphasizing the gatekeeper role of cultural journalists – and particularly the role of critics, positioned as the arbiters of good taste. According to the proponents of the frame, the field of cultural production is accessible only to those with an adequate amount of symbolic capital. Elitization thus suggests that cultural journalism is produced for, by and in accordance with the cultural elite, and is strongly affiliated with high art, which is seen as the core of the cultural public sphere. Seen from the perspective of the fields of production, the elitist discourse is needed to maintain the structuration of the cultural hierarchy; the cultural hierarchy of high art is indeed found to have a greater reliance on expert discourse than the hierarchy of popular art (Baumann, 2002).

Elitized cultural journalism presents mutual professionalization where the agents in the artistic fields and in the media field share a relatively similar set of values and goals, although they may disagree on the value of a single work or action. Elitist cultural journalism collides in the first place with the principles of journalistic ideology in western democracies and its public service function, as rather than making culture accessible to all, it acts as a wall between the field of certain arts and its external fields. With this protectionist attitude, cultural journalism exerts a primarily conservative force aimed at defining and appropriating the institutional status quo of arts and ‘protecting it from apparent incursions of disorder’ (Oates, 1998: 40). Interventions from on the part of non-members of the art world are seen as assaults from laypeople, labelled as philistines or barbarians.

In the serious or elite press the cultural hierarchy is dominated by four major disciplines that have often participated in constructing society and citizenship during the history of a nation: literature, classical music, fine arts and theatre. According to the modern cultural order, which is the result of a long-term rationalization process involving differentiation in representations and institutional functions organizing social life, the disciplines have their own specialists in newsrooms that are typically organized according to and driven by this sector-orientation, which reinforces the elitist bias. As the dispositions are provided by the artistic fields rather than by the media, the position-holders in the journalistic field can rarely afford to challenge the artistic fields, because their own legitimization in the art world is at stake.

Because cultural journalists are said to regard themselves as missionaries, delegates or trustees for artistic disciplines (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007), critics of endangered areas of arts especially are suspected of falling into a certain boosterism in their criticism, as they do not want to harm the discipline (Hajdu, 2009). The conception of cultural journalism as a hermetically closed aesthetic game between forms of artistic production and distribution presents a shared control of the fields involved (Bourdieu, 1993), but dominance of the aesthetic paradigm and aesthetic disinterestedness cannot serve as the sole basis for journalistic communication in society.

Popularization. Popularization implies broadening the concept of culture and, therefore, the cultural hierarchy within cultural journalism. The frame implies the ‘democratization’ of cultural journalism in three major ways. First, it simply means the inclusion of popular themes into the cultural hierarchy. Second, it suggests that the consecration of artworks by the gatekeepers is replaced by a populist concept of quality. Third, it conceives the agents in the popular field to be a legitimate part of intellectual history.

According to interviews with 25 Norwegian journalists by Bech-Karlsen (1991), the breakthrough of popular culture in the 1980s and 1990s forced the culture departments of the newspapers to take a stand on what the substance of cultural journalism ought to be. Some debaters on cultural journalism were anxious about the popular invasion, because high culture, supposedly advancing awareness and engagement with the surrounding world, was being supplanted by mass taste, which deflected people into detachment and disengagement. Academic findings show that the niche of popular issues in the journalistic discourse space has increased during the last few decades (Larsen, 2008; Schmutz et al., 2010), causing the ‘declassification’ or ‘pop-rockization’ of critics’ aesthetic classification system (Venrooij, 2009), which has occurred in parallel with the increasing cultural legitimacy of popular fields (Lindberg et al., 2005).

Moreover, the creation of a boundary between high and low, legitimate and illegitimate, authentic and commercial has appeared to be eroding in recent years (Baumann, 2002; Venrooij, 2009). However, popular culture is increasingly regarded as a resource for empowerment and a path for the democratization of cultural journalism. The legitimization of the popular is perhaps a reason that the popularization frame seems to be less emotionally charged than developments that are seen to be more restrictive for cultural journalism, such as elitization and commercialization.

Commercialization. The increase in public prizes and recognition, mediated events and celebrity culture has propelled cultural journalism to become a partner of the culture industry. The commercialization of cultural journalism is seen as an amplification of consumerism that pre-empts any criticism and implies the reduction of criticism to a form of marketing. The neoliberal market agenda of advanced capitalism that is reshaping institutions and labour processes tends to make traditional intellectual identities more unsustainable (Connell, 2006).

Commercialization means abandoning the idea of resistance and succumbing to pressures from the entertainment industry by taking up the position of cooperator that is offered by the industry. Rather than ‘eternalizing’ themselves through great historical traditions that are in harmony with the ideology of criticism (Titchener, 1998), cultural journalists, mostly understood as critics, have now sunk to becoming mere servants subjected to the everyday circulation of commodities. In the American context especially, it is claimed that ‘[s]erious arts criticism and reporting have become victims of bottom-line, lowest-common-denominator-driven entertainment, publicity, and celebrity frenzy’ (Janeway and Szántó, 2003: 281). Publicists are said to categorize journalists in terms of their use-value, and treat them as part of the artistic production’s distribution machinery, ‘part of a movie’s anticipatory build-up’ (Hoberman, 1998: 76). Reviewers are described in this asymmetric relationship as ‘blurb whores’ (Hoberman, 1998: 76; see also Bech-Karlsen, 1991: 23). A prominent symbol for commercially led consumer guidance is the thumbs-up/thumbs-down rating or, following a distinct tradition in Norway, dice throwing.

The commodification of cultural goods and the growing influence of the cultural industry, as anticipated by many public debaters, have inspired a series of research studies in Norway and Denmark dealing with ‘launch’ journalism (*lanseringsjournalistik[k]*, *slippjournalistikk*) and source criticism (*kildekritikk*) (Lund, 2005; Kristensen, 2004).

Kristensen (2004) argues that because the source fields have professionalized, the cultural journalists' criticality is increasingly relevant, although challenging in practice. However, with an increase of heteronomous connections, the form of cultural capital required is then allegedly undergoing a transition in emphasis from cultural to economic capital (Knapskog and Larsen, 2008; Lund, 2005).

Journalistification. Journalistification depicts the increasing influence of generalist, economically driven journalism on the specialized branch of cultural journalism. The tendency towards the increasing dominance of the media has already been observed in the intellectual, judicial and medical fields (Benson, 1999; Brenson, 1998: 104). In the frame of journalistification, the trend is seen as tendencies that could be described as the 'secularization', 'normalization' or 'horizontalization' of communication, meaning that the paternally educational style in newspapers has disappeared and been replaced with a more sound and matter-of-fact manner of representation (Larsen, 2008: 164). The generalization of specialized practice means that cultural sections are increasingly treated in line with other sections in journalistic organizations (Hellman and Jaakkola, 2012).

Conditions for critics have been deteriorating in the media environment with regard to the quantity and quality of content production (shorter stories, preference for journalistic treatment) and position in the labour market (cutbacks of culture sections, deteriorating conditions of employment, dismissal of freelancers). The marginalization or 'ghettoization' of criticism within cultural journalism has partly resulted, in Hellman and Jaakkola's (2012) terminology, in the predominance of the 'journalistic paradigm', that is, the increase of media-governed production in contrast to the previously aesthetically oriented cultural journalism (see also Hurri, 1993; Tyndall, 2004). The journalistic paradigm changes journalistic conventions by emphasizing the proactivity of journalistic conduct and the use of different genres as alternatives to the review format. The writers are more subjected to standardized story formats and pre-set routines in the gatekeeper chain, which means shorter stories and less in-depth analyses.

In the specialist tradition among practitioners of criticism, the generalization of journalistic skills is sensed as an organizational and cultural bias and as de-skilling. It means the 'rationalization' of work practices, layout and language, as the journalistic approach is equated with an increase of photo usage, the simplification of language and the shortening of texts, as well as the supplanting of the notion of artistic standards by attention-driven news values. It is also feared that the emphasis on journalistic ideology diverts the writer's attention from reflections about societal responsibilities and contextualizing towards more immediate concerns about attracting readers and cutting costs.

Professional apathy. In the frame of professional apathy, the problem in cultural journalism is not so much journalists' succumbing to external forces as their avoidance of developing and updating their own practices. According to advocates, the loss of the gatekeeper role by larger volumes of publications and an increasing supply of cultural events, together with numerous other contextual changes, have proven that cultural journalists are missing the tools they need to struggle against the changes. Instead of taking the pressures from secondary subfields as a starting point for the reconsideration of their own professional identity, the changes are met with passive nostalgia (Brunick, 2010).

The decline is described as ‘the impotence of contemporary criticism’ (Duncan, 2006: 111), meaning the self-inflicted intellectual weakness of the professional culture itself: a loss of authority and identity, inactivity, passiveness and stagnation. According to Brenson (1998: 101) there is a ‘silence inside and outside the profession’ that appears to him as an ‘unofficial conspiracy that damages the profession’. Cultural journalism presents an ‘unwavering obedience’ to institutional expectations that ‘might be parochial, if not anachronistic’ (Hajdu, 2009: 125). As a result, it is, as an institution, marginalized, trivialized, suppressed and tumbled into a self-destructive vortex – ending up with an ephemeralization of its own values and public de-valuation (Elkins, 2003).

For many debaters, criticism fails to meet the challenges of its time, because its format and procedures have become ‘too predictable and formulaic’ (Chukri, 2010). Emergent areas of art and culture, such as performance, community art or stand-up, as well as some established areas traditionally left outside the scope of cultural journalism, such as architecture and fashion, constantly call out for critical comment, but cultural journalism refuses to change its concept of culture bound up with patterns of specialization, and focusing on traditional disciplines (Grimsmo, 1991).

The unwillingness of cultural journalism to change is additionally seen as an ethical problem, because the imperative of social responsibility associated with the journalistic function in society is overlooked. This is clearly indicated in Wasserman’s (2004) analysis on the state of cultural journalism in South Africa’s post-apartheid context, where cultural journalists are expected to have an ethical obligation to a society in transition. In the same way it is presupposed that cultural journalists should intervene in inauspicious tendencies in artistic and cultural production, such as coverage of the consequences of the market economy.

Discussion

Elitization, popularization, commercialization, journalistification and professional apathy describe alleged lines of development that have widely found resonance in debates about arts journalism around the globe. They present *metaprocesses* that emphasize that cultural journalism should actively function as a critical counterforce in its ideal state. Metaprocesses are general narratives of transformation applied as conceptual constructs to comprehend long-term changes (Hepp, 2013: 47). Through metaprocesses, cultural journalism can be observed to create a *doxa* of its own, a set of tacit principles. Legitimate professional relationships for the producers of cultural journalism are those where cultural journalism exerts dominance over secondary fields of cultural production, without uncritically resigning itself to their values and norms. The metacritical *doxa* of cultural journalism is thus a counter-*doxa* for all contextual fields.

Nevertheless, the metaprocesses described as a crisis imply *instrumentalizations* of such critical and distanced journalism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). The agents involved in producing discourse about the change doubt whether cultural journalism can fully serve its diverse audiences in a sufficiently pluralistic way if the heteronomous poles of journalism overshadow the autonomous poles in their homologies with secondary fields of production and audiences (heteronomization, seen in the frames of popularization, commercialization and journalistification), or if the focus of reporting solely lies on the

autonomous poles of cultural production (autonomization, as in elitization and apathy). This is why a certain kind of 'centripetal' aspiration is needed, as identified, for instance, by Connell (2006) in the form of a central operational principle of cultural intermediaries to *keep a distance* from the parallel fields of production, and by Duncan (1953) as a bid for balance between the agents of the triangular model and their fields. The ideal autonomy of cultural intermediaries therefore emerges as an 'in-between' oscillation, and is based on a variety of position-takings to match the ideals of journalistic diversity.

The struggles deal with the quality of art and journalism, or in other words, with the concepts of (good) culture and journalism. On the one hand, the struggles appear to be *endogenous*, residing in the inner structures of the dualistic professional field (between the dominated pole of the aesthetic and the dominating pole of the journalistic paradigm), as well as in and between the subfields of artistic production (dominated and dominating cultural forms and artistic disciplines). On the other hand, they are *exogenous*, occurring between journalistic agents as the primary field of journalistic production and the secondary fields of cultural production. Developments seen as unwanted progression put pressure on homologies between subfields of primary and secondary production by imposing external norms and values in their art and journalism conceptions.

Conclusion

The particular nature of cultural journalism is based on distinctions related to the formation of taste, which is the way individuals form their relationship with art and culture. The struggles in metadiscourse accentuate the relativity of the idea of a 'crisis', defined as 'a perceived unfavourable change'. The professional discourse of cultural journalism is a symbolic struggle where agents of different fields, in competition with each other, apply strategies that defend those rules according to which their own symbolic goods are most profitably priced. The tensions are thus supporting structures that ensure relative autonomy for the subfields in search of balanced pluralism.

As the body of literature is dependent on the bibliographic record system that encompasses neither the term 'cultural journalism' nor the concept of criticism, the corpus obviously ignores a great range of literature dealing with specialized forms of arts journalism (such as music journalism and theatre journalism) and reviews. However, the goal of this analysis was to depict the perceived change of cultural journalism without being limited to any special subfield. It is also noteworthy that much of the discourse is concentrated on print journalism and the culture sections of quality dailies; the general profession appears to be less affected by new technological changes so far, and the term 'cultural journalism' is perhaps less associated with cultural debate in blogs and other social media platforms.

'Critical skills' were identified in all frames as the reflexive basis for the practitioners' professionalism. It is therefore important to attain a more diversified picture of the relation between cultural journalism and its external fields by focusing on these critical and subversive strategies of professionalism. So far, rather little attention has been dedicated to the interaction and interrelations between the diverse secondary and primary fields in the production of arts journalism. Besides, the more the discourse on crises proliferates,

the better cultural journalism may be fulfilling its task by acting as a critical and pluralist counterforce. The discourse about the crisis of cultural journalism might thus set store by the development and improvement of the practice of arts journalism as it is not fully supported by any exclusive occupational-cultural structure in society.

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Notes

1. The article search of REX was accessible to university users only. Biblys ASK included articles in the retrievals.
2. The Ncom database is divided into two parts with different graphical user interfaces: 1975–2006 and from 2007 onwards.
3. If the reference in Nordic publications was listed in many databases, it was categorized into the nationality that it represented.

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OUTSOURCING VIEWS, DEVELOPING NEWS

Changes in art criticism in Finnish dailies, 1978–2008

Maarit Jaakkola

Reviewers, as specialist writers legitimized as arbiters of taste by the artistic fields, form a distinct subculture within cultural journalism. The change in their status in the journalistic hierarchy is due to changes in the in-house policies of newsrooms. This paper outlines some key developments of reviews in Finnish dailies comparing changes in criticism with other journalistic genres. A quantitative analysis of the culture departments of five quality dailies (N = 5795) from 1978 to 2008 indicates the following trends. While staff workers in culture departments have increasingly taken responsibility for news production, the production of reviews has increasingly been outsourced. While cultural journalism in general undergoes a process of masculinization, criticism has been subjected to very little change. The average length of reviews has been cut by more than half, and the diminution of the high cultural canon is accompanied by the popularization of content. However, the number of unique reviewers has increased, potentially testifying to a more multi-voiced criticism.

KEYWORDS art criticism; artistic coverage; cultural journalism; professionalism; reviews

Introduction

During recent decades, the state of art criticism globally has initiated manifold polemical debates addressing a potential crisis (see e.g. Elkins 2003; Berger 1998; Boenisch 2008; Hemer and Forsare 2010; McDonald 2007; Nickel 2006). These anxieties about the future of reviewing have mostly focused on newspapers, as they have shown the most profound changes by cutting back on production costs and enhancing text re-use as a result of wider adaptation to changes in the post-industrial media environment (Anderson, Bell, and Shirky 2012).

Nevertheless, comprehensive analyses of recent developments in journalistic criticism¹ from the perspective of its professional (instead of aesthetic) determinants have remained rather scarce. Longitudinal analyses of the contents of arts journalism have been rather limited in scope (Larsen 2008; Reus and Harden 2005; Sucksdorff 2005), and cross-sectional analyses (e.g. Lund 2005) do not deliver a complete picture of institutional developments over time. Furthermore, most studies dealing with art criticism have been conducted through the research interests of a certain artistic discipline, like theatre or film studies, art history or ethnomusicology, thus dismissing the parameters of professional journalistic standards. According to Elkins (2003), the general discourse about art also suffers from its difficult access; art-related discussion that socially and societally generates

art consists of a nexus of discursive traditions ranging from academic to journalistic, from artistic to lay discourses, resulting in its becoming “diaphanous”. A journalism-centred approach based on quantitative data is a desideratum to get a grip on the changing professional dimensions of the public mediation of arts. Therefore, for journalism research it may be illustrative to study professionalism in periphery to get a more diversified idea of journalistic professionalism.

The production environments of the media and art have been drastically changing in late modernity, inciting scholars to describe symptomatically the present as an era of “post-criticism” (Ulmer 1983) and “post-journalism” (Altheide and Snow 1991). Recent studies have referred to the changes as popularization (Janssen 1999; Larsen 2008), commercialization (Lund 2005), re-politicization (Reus and Harden 2005) and a paradigm shift from an aesthetic valuation towards a more media-oriented production (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012). A quantitative study of Finnish reviews (Hurri 1993) suggested that no radical change had occurred in terms of volume in reviewing until the mid-1980s. However, print papers in Northern Europe showed continuous expansion of arts and culture (Janssen 1999; Kristensen and From 2011; Larsen 2008). The nationwide National Arts Journalism Program study in the United States (Szántó, Levy, and Tyndall 2004) reported that the size of arts sections had generally declined relative to sports sections but they had gained ground *vis-à-vis* hard-news sections. In some newspapers, reviewing was increasingly displaced by feature interviews and “previews” (Tyndall 2004). The changes appear to be diverse and are not brought under a consistent framework.

This article intends to identify general tendencies in the cultural coverage of quality dailies in Finland by outlining an integrative perspective in which criticism is seen as a structural and functional part of non-reviewing activities. The aim is to find out if the position of reviews has changed in relation to other types of journalistic coverage, as anticipated in discourse on a crisis. The change is examined with regard to three fundamental dimensions that underlie the ontology and epistemology of cultural journalism. First, I will explore the change in the *representation of arts and culture* that is generated by long-term practice, based on the taste-related concept of culture and observable in the hierarchization of artistic disciplines over time. The cultural canon can be seen to reflect this categorization by regulating the space assigned to different disciplines. Secondly, I am interested in changes in the *journalistic means of representation* that are rooted in the concept of journalism, which are adopted and applied by a particular culture department within its organizational tradition. The main choices concerning the representational means are the type of genre—in this context, primarily the choice between review and news—and the space given to a certain artistic discipline. Thirdly, the scope of the work of the writer who produces the review is determined by the *authorship structure*, which is regulated by the production structure and is tasked with selecting and commissioning writers with experience of either reviewing or other kinds of reporting. This question of authorship directs attention to the structures of production: as I will discuss below, it is relevant whether reviews are written inside or outside the newsroom and what kind of socio-economic structure underlies the reviewership. Writers of reviews can thus be divided into staff and freelancers, and as the professionalization of this occupation has shown a rise in female practitioners, changes in the writers’ gender distribution can also constitute a significant change in the field as a whole.

For the position of art criticism within journalism, the recent shifts from an “aesthetic” to a “journalistic paradigm” (Hellman and Jaakkola 2012) and from cultural

capital to economic capital (Kristensen and From 2011) are of great relevance. To operationalize the three interrelated macro-level fundamentals of representation of arts and culture, journalistic means of representation and the authorship structure, they have to be broken down into variables that allow statistical treatment and deliver a correlated outline of the changes in a given national context. Before proceeding to the analysis, the core dimensions are contextualized by discussing the entire field structure of cultural journalism and the position of criticism within it. By addressing the issue as a question of change in the entire production environment we can gain a deeper understanding about the change with its connections to mainstream journalism, rather than merely regarding it as a marginal issue in terms of general journalism.

Distinctive Dimensions in Change

Arts and cultural journalism differ from general journalism at some significant points (Forde 2003; Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012). Above all, arts journalism is distinguished from mainstream journalism through its proximity with its audience, which Bourdieu (1993) characterizes as “a group of equals”. This difference is particularly characteristic of reviewing. Criticism—the production of reviews—forms a subfield of arts and cultural journalism occupied by reviewers designated by the institution of journalism, but legitimated (also) by the artistic fields in question. In reviewing cultural products the reviewer is presupposed to occupy a homological position with the positions in the artistic fields. The review is therefore a personal retrospective response by such a legitimized agent to a cultural product (Blank 2007).

The reviewer’s production role is a subjectively oriented position based on the author’s intellectual resources, rooted in accumulated cultural capital and aesthetic legitimacy, and demonstrated by a sufficient amount of cumulated experience (Bourdieu [1979] 1984). Therefore, criticism, situated as a subfield in the autonomous pole of the field of arts and cultural journalism, basically presents a different system of knowledge production than that supported at the more journalistic side of cultural journalism. The reviewer’s ideology draws on aesthetic theories and artistic resources. The function of criticism as an integral valuator of arts presumes an *insider* position, whereas cultural journalists foster practices aimed at distanced reporting with norms of objectivity, neutrality and independence. The journalistic paradigm, located in the more heteronomous pole of the field of cultural journalism, is thus inclined to regard the artistic fields of cultural production as mere sources of information and objects of reporting, with the subject in a position of detached observer and inquirer. The aesthetic paradigm leans on a shared framework between its source-fields.

By recruiting appropriate employees, news organizations allocate resources to the two paradigms of cultural journalism. Due to the use of a notably large network of freelancers, culture departments form a very exceptional case compared with any other department in journalistic organizations. The freelancers form the resource of an external workforce that is employed with rather limited and well-defined tasks (typically reviews), whereas the core workers within the organization may perform a wider subset of journalistic editorial tasks. Freelancers are thus allowed specialization in a journalistically relevant field of cultural production. As individual agents they may, however, occupy multiple positions in different artistic-aesthetic fields.

Cultural journalists, whether in “aesthetic” or “journalistic” positions, operate by making choices by which they assign meaning to “art” and “culture”. The activities of every culture department underlie a principle according to which it makes editorial decisions about the object and content of reporting, categorizing artistic disciplines into a hierarchy. The cultural canon (Kristensen and From 2011; Hurri 1993, 33) involves the processes of selection, categorization and evaluation of cultural goods. These processes, particularly the valuation of cultural goods, are not guided by sole subjectivity but by the Bourdieusian concepts of taste and habitus (Bourdieu [1979] 1984), which form the shared aesthetic categories between the cultural journalistic and the artistic-aesthetic fields (Blank 2007). This aesthetic and distinctive dimension implies that cultural journalists identify in their daily action something that can be considered to be art and culture, on the one hand, and qualified art and culture, on the other.

When examining the production of reviews, the space and resources dedicated to reviews and reviewers deliver us information about changes that may be symptoms of structural changes in the fields. It is of interest to note the amount of resources that are invested in specialized review production and whether this is located inside or outside the organization. Besides examining changes in the allocation of resources to the dominant genres of the paradigms and the distribution of artistic disciplines in terms of coverage, we can trace the professionalization of cultural journalism by its gender structure. Cultural journalism has traditionally been treated as a distinctively feminine area of journalism, as it has been conceived to possess qualities traditionally associated with feminine features, such as softness, eloquence, aestheticism and emotional investment (Kristensen and From 2011, 22). Consequently, cultural journalism has occupied a lower rank in the journalistic hierarchy than the hard core of political and economic journalism dealing with essential issues of democracy (Kristensen and From 2011; van Zoonen 1998). It has been postulated that the professionalization of the trade has even disadvantaged women (Djerf-Pierre 2007, 100; Jokinen 1988, 15), as masculinization has been thought to go hand in hand with hard-core news journalism, where traditionally male attributes such as rationality and objectivity are emphasized (van Zoonen 1998). In the roll of members of the Finnish Critics’ Association SARV, about 37 per cent out of the 705 members were female in the 1980s (Jokinen 1988, 11), while in 2009 this proportion had increased to 49 per cent out of 1386 members (SARV 2009). Organized labour in cultural journalism has thus become feminized, as it also has within general journalism in Finland and other Western countries (Savolainen 2010, 148). In the 1980s, reviewing cultural products was dominated by men, in that they produced more published reviews (Jokinen 1988, 14; Hurri 1983, 157). In journalistic ideals, however, a representative balance between genders is preferable (see e.g. van Zoonen 1998).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This article intends to outline the change in criticism as part of the comprehensive change in cultural journalism from a three-point perspective. Pursuing a holistic view, the research questions are the following, covering the time span from 1978 to 2008:

RQ1: How has the coverage of arts and culture changed in reviews (representation of art and culture)?

RQ2: How has the use of genres changed, conceived of as relations between the main genres representative of the main paradigms, the review and the news (representational means)?

RQ3: How has the structure of review production changed in terms of employees' work contracts and writers' gender (authorship structure)?

Topics in the art and culture section of a newspaper can be roughly divided into high, popular and everyday culture (Hurri 1993). The core of the cultural canon underlying the practices of culture departments forms the four major artistic disciplines: literature, classical music, theatre and visual arts (Bech-Karlsen 1991; Hurri 1993). Studies have declared the popularization of coverage, especially the increase in film and popular music (Janssen 1999; Larsen 2008; van Venrooij 2009). We can thus assume that the traditional four high-cultural disciplines have had an emphasis on high-cultural issues, and we can propose the following hypotheses:

H1a: The proportion of the cultural canon of the four major disciplines has decreased in the coverage of reviews.

H1b: The proportion of popular music and film has increased in the coverage of reviews.

The position of reviews within the journalistic-organizational culture can be measured by the resources assigned to reviewing. Essayists and pamphleteers (Elkins 2003; McDonald 2007; Nickel 2006) have anticipated that reviewing space is in decline. To be more exact, the space given to reviews can be measured by their relative share and length as compared to other published material. This results in the following hypotheses:

H2a: The proportion of reviews has decreased in cultural coverage.

H2b: The average length of reviews has decreased.

With regard to reviewership, in line with the declining space, the proportion of specialized members of the workforce has been claimed to be decreasing. As discussed above, the professionalization of journalism is likely to boost feminization due to the increasing number of female members in the professional union and in journalism education. As freelance positions are also more often occupied by women, we can formulate the following hypotheses concerning the development of reviewers:

H3a: The proportion of reviews written by freelancers has increased.

H3b: The proportion of reviews written by women has increased.

Data and Method

The content analysis covers the story items published in the culture pages of five Finnish quality dailies. The newspapers under study comprise the leading nationwide capital-based newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), as well as four regional newspapers with the largest national circulations and a leading role in their market areas as cultural gatekeepers, located evenly in terms of geography around the most populated parts of the country: *Aamulehti* (AL), *Kaleva* (KAL), *Turun Sanomat* (TS) and *Savon Sanomat* (SS). HS forms the main forum for distinguished cultural debate in the Finnish-speaking public sphere, and sets the standards for national cultural public spheres. In the European

context Finnish newspapers represent, along with Nordic countries, the Democratic Corporatist model of journalism, with “a legacy of commentary-oriented journalism, mixed with a growing emphasis on neutral professionalism and information-oriented journalism” (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 74).

The data were constructed by systematic sampling with a five-year interval from 1978 to 2008. To minimize the effect of a bias caused by seasonal variation in a particular discipline—typical of cultural journalism, which basically leans on such seasonal cycles—two weeks (numbers 7 and 43) per year were chosen for the study. All in all, the data consist of 5795 single text items, of which 1802 items (31 per cent) are reviews.

The data were coded into the categories “artistic discipline” and “journalistic genre”, as well as “author’s gender” and “employee contract”. The artistic disciplines were categorized at a very general level, ignoring possible subgenres. Only in music was a distinction made between classical music and pop music (understood as a general category for music produced for the masses), to reflect a typical distinction made in the organization of journalistic work. The category “Other” consists of different peripheral disciplines such as architecture, comics, media and history; since their total proportion was shown to be under 10 per cent, these were collapsed into a single category.

The contract variable distinguished between the staff of culture departments with monthly salaries, journalists from other departments and freelancers. As organizations are unable to provide complete lists of contracts of employment, the information on the contract type was given by the long-time heads of culture departments.² Writers who had produced at least one review were regarded as reviewers in the data. Freelance reviewers were then identified by the co-occurrence of the variables “review” (category “genre”) and “freelancer” (“employee contract”). Cross-tabulations were thus conducted to find qualities that are formed out of dependencies between variables, such as a freelance or a female reviewer. The authors of reviews were additionally counted as unique writers, based on the information on changes of names delivered by the informants.

Reliability

To add to the objectivity of the coding of categories that partly involved a risk of subjective bias, a test of intercoder reliability was conducted. Having received instructions in the coding procedure, a trained theatre critic and cultural journalist coded the half of the data concerning AL, KAL, SS and TS including either of the two sample weeks in alternating order, starting with week 7 in 1978. The agreement coefficient was 81 on average, which can be assessed as good (Krippendorff 1980). The percentages of agreement varied from 71 up to 93 in different categories. The highest scores were achieved in the category of genre. In the “artistic discipline” category there were various marginal variables that were coded with the highest divergence but, as mentioned above, these were collapsed in a later phase into the category “other”.

Cohen’s kappa was used to estimate the intercoder reliability. The reliability estimate for the artistic discipline variable was 0.76 and for the genre variable 0.79. The kappa values can be assessed to represent substantial intercoder reliability, as 0.60 has been rated as an acceptable and 0.80 a good overall agreement (Kvalseth 1989). Table 1 summarizes the tests for the statistical significance of the hypotheses. Tests of proportion were conducted for the hypotheses H1a–b, H2a and H3a–b, and Welch’s *t*-test was

TABLE 1
Tests of hypotheses H1–H3

H1a (decrease in proportion of high culture)				
Year	χ^2	<i>p</i>	df	prop2 ^a
1978	0.887333	0.173101 ns	1	0.755435
1983	9.306321	0.001142 **	1	0.831169
1988	0.223396	0.318232 ns	1	0.732824
1993	1.618671	0.101639 ns	1	0.763566
1998	0.938320	0.166355 ns	1	0.753192
2003	0.314771	0.287384 ns	1	0.736060
H1b (increase in proportion of popular culture)				
Year	χ^2	<i>p</i>	df	prop2 ^b
1978	2.528060	0.055919 ns	1	0.141304
1983	7.773965	0.002650**	1	0.108225
1988	2.808758	0.046875*	1	0.145038
1993	3.878908	0.024448*	1	0.135659
1998	1.538134	0.107448 ns	1	0.157447
2003	1.222579	0.134428 ns	1	0.163569
H2a (decrease in proportion of reviews)				
Year	χ^2	<i>p</i>	df	prop2 ^c
1978	0.044665	0.416310 ns	1	0.266667
1983	4.039354	0.022225*	1	0.305556
1988	7.638954	0.002856**	1	0.321078
1993	14.766130	0.000061***	1	0.347241
1998	0.846341	0.178795 ns	1	0.281101
2003	0.710489	0.199641 ns	1	0.278757
H2b (decrease in review length)				
Year	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	df	mean x^d
1978	-9.3908	273.123	2.2e-16	3447.673
1983	-9.5070	393.522	2.2e-16	3243.134
1988	-6.5882	441.187	6.355e-11	2892.024
1993	-6.2473	484.575	4.576e-10	2756.206
1998	-3.4535	424.529	3.045e-4	2496.669
2003	-5.4322	501.612	4.346e-08	2671.170
H3a (increase in proportion of freelancers)				
Year	χ^2	<i>P</i>	df	prop2 ^e
1978	8.736010	0.001560**	1	0.562842
1983	13.854080	0.000099***	1	0.536797
1988	4.396632	0.018005*	1	0.613027
1993	5.218513	0.011174*	1	0.604651
1998	4.476808	0.982821 ns	1	0.791489
2003	0.747475	0.193638 ns	1	0.665428
H3b (increase in proportion of women)				
Year	χ^2	<i>P</i>	df	prop2 ^f
1978	1.199678	0.136693 ns	1	0.285714
1983	0.213813	0.321898 ns	1	0.316017
1988	0.001055	0.487043 ns	1	0.334615
1993	1.670475	0.901903 ns	1	0.401869
1998	1.385980	0.119543 ns	1	0.286325
2003	1.433032	0.884365 ns	1	0.394052

^aprop1 = 71.0 per cent (year 2008). ^bprop1 = 20.5 per cent (year 2008). ^cprop1 = 26.1 per cent (year 2008). ^dmean y = 2113.023 (year 2008). ^eprop1 = 70.4 per cent (year 2008). ^fprop1 = 34.0 per cent (year 2008).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; ns, not significant.

conducted for the hypothesis H2b. The data consisted of six subsamples between 1978 and 2008, and the tests were conducted with the year 2008 as the point of comparison.

The data covered the length of the stories in rows, but due to diverging layout designs and layout redesigns carried out during the research period, the line spacing and column width, as well as the font type and size varied. To enable comparability between years and newspapers in the sample, an estimate based on the number of characters was formed.³ The “characters per row” normalization score, created on the basis of four sample texts of different types, indicated the length of the body text in characters, in a format that is also common among journalists.

Results

Position of Reviews

The proportion of reviews in Finnish dailies, according to Hurri’s (1993) study, accounted for a third of all texts in the culture pages on average. Table 2 shows that the average proportion has remained the same during subsequent decades as well. However, after a phase of slow increase until the end of the 1990s, the proportion of reviews has reduced subsequently, settling at just under a third. A radical breakdown of criticism has thus not occurred.

The most used genre of all time in the culture department is the news (Hurri 1993; Janssen 1999; Larsen 2008). Its proportion has occupied over 40 per cent of all published material, as indicated in Table 2. The decrease in reviews has been accompanied with a rise in other journalistic genres. Personal features and commentaries have gained more ground as means of journalistic approaches to cultural products and events. They allow a journalistic treatment beyond the cultural product, which the review is overtly focused on: the illumination of background information, a follow-up of processes and phenomena, the introduction of people and their views, and criticism of institutions and individual actions. The increase in the category “Other” suggests that culture departments have started developing their own formats, which do not fit into traditional categories of journalistic genres. This category may also contain a number of various types of fragmentary information, such as listings, fact boxes and Q & A columns.

Table 3 indicates that the number of pages and stories has increased while the stories have become shorter on average, which is a common trend (Janssen 1999; Larsen 2008; Szántó, Levy, and Tyndall 2004). The average length of reviews has constantly been on the decrease: while the reviews counted approximately 3600 characters in 1978, their average length marked only 2000 characters in 2008. In comparison with other genres, it is the review whose average length has decreased the most. The decrease has been strongest in newspapers with the widest circulation. Reviews have decreased relatively strongly, even in those newspapers where the average shortening has been less pronounced. Overall, the average shortening rate between 1978 and 2008 has been 44 per cent for reviews, compared with 34 per cent for news items and 26 per cent in total.

Recent newspaper redesigns (AL in 2007, 2000 and 1994; HS in 2008, 2000 and 1989; KAL in 1996; SS in 2003, 1999 and 1995; and TS in 2002—see Pulkkinen 2008, 54) have apparently intensified the shortening of stories, as in many cases the new layout has simply endorsed shorter texts. The journalistic thinking puts stress on the creation of hierarchy in the layout to indicate distinctions in the importance of stories. To some extent the shortening may reflect the urge to cover the increased offerings in the cultural scene.

TABLE 2
Proportion of reviews and other genres, 1978–2008 (N = story items)

	1978		1983		1988		1993		1998		2003		2008		Mean %
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Review	184	26.7	230	30.4	262	32.1	258	34.8	235	28.3	266	27.7	259	26.1	29.4
News	320	46.4	309	40.8	345	42.3	305	41.1	340	40.9	421	43.8	403	40.7	42.3
Other commentary ^a	49	7.1	62	8.2	70	8.6	65	8.8	76	9.1	80	8.3	95	9.6	8.5
Personal feature	20	2.9	31	4.1	30	3.7	44	5.9	47	5.7	52	5.4	65	6.6	4.9
Feature	87	12.6	96	12.7	82	10.1	58	7.8	95	11.4	117	12.2	86	8.6	10.8
Other	30	4.3	29	3.8	26	3.2	12	1.6	38	4.6	25	2.6	83	8.4	4.1
Total	690	100	757	100	815	100	742	100	831	100	961	100	991	100	100

^aColumns, comments and causeries.

TABLE 3
Quantitative dimensions of the use of stories and images, 1978–2008

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008
Average number of pages per day ^a	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.8	2.2	1.8
Number of stories per day	10.3	11.0	12.0	10.8	12.3	13.7	14.0
Average story length (in characters) ^b	2360	2394	2279	2148	2167	2097	1691
Average length of reviews (in characters) ^b	3596	3213	2916	2686	2620	2689	2005
Average length of news (in characters) ^b	2389	2310	1982	1498	1749	1598	1542

^aJournalistic material only.

^bBody text.

Shortening indicates that the review format increasingly implies a concise presentation that functions as an introduction into a cultural product rather than a detailed analysis intended to explain and interpret the work in its historical, political and aesthetic contexts.

Cultural Canon in Reviews

As for the cultural canon in reviews, [Table 4](#) points to the fact that the four major disciplines of literature, classical music, theatre and visual arts have retained their dominance. However, in terms of total coverage their proportion has decreased from 81 to 70 per cent during the observation period. The proportion of classical music has diminished the most: the share was about 24 per cent in 1978 but in 2008 it made up only 17 per cent. At the same time film has improved its ranking in visibility, despite the fact that HS placed all film reviews in a supplement founded in 1995, which was not included in the data. Popular music is another discipline that has notably increased its coverage in reviews. Both popular music and film almost doubled in their proportion of reviews during the research period: popular music increased from just under 4 to 7 per cent and film from 8 to 14 per cent. In comparison, the proportion of film reviews was only 5.5 per cent of all reviews on average according to Hurri's (1993) data.

When the distribution of different artistic disciplines is examined in other journalistic genres apart from the review ([Table 5](#)), it is notable that the same development has come about there too. The proportion of the four major disciplines has gone down, whereas coverage of film and popular music has gained ground during the three decades. On the one hand, this confirms that criticism has not undergone a different development

TABLE 4
Coverage of different artistic disciplines in reviews, 1978–2008 (%)

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Mean
Literature	10.9	15.0	13.2	10.1	11.0	15.3	23.7	14.2
Classical music	17.2	18.3	16.2	18.6	14.3	10.5	7.6	14.7
Visual arts	11.1	10.5	11.7	11.3	10.5	8.9	8.3	10.3
Theatre	12.8	11.2	11.4	9.5	12.5	8.4	8.0	10.5
Dance	1.0	1.5	4.3	3.1	3.2	5.5	1.6	2.9
Film	9.3	6.3	6.0	4.9	10.0	8.8	13.8	8.4
Popular music	1.4	3.6	2.5	2.3	4.8	9.4	10.2	4.9
Other	36.4	33.5	34.7	40.2	33.8	33.3	26.7	34.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 5
Coverage of different artistic disciplines in non-reviews, 1978–2008 (%)

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Mean
Literature	33.5	35.5	25.0	25.0	29.1	27.8	30.2	29.4
Classical music	24.4	21.4	23.5	18.9	22.0	16.8	16.5	20.5
Visual arts	11.6	11.7	14.1	16.3	12.1	12.4	9.1	12.5
Theatre	11.6	14.4	10.7	17.1	11.7	15.9	14.0	13.6
Dance	4.4	1.9	4.6	1.5	1.2	3.2	2.6	2.8
Film	7.8	5.1	7.6	9.8	12.7	10.6	13.8	9.6
Popular music	3.6	5.4	7.4	3.3	4.6	6.7	6.9	5.4
Other	3.1	4.6	7.3	8.2	6.4	6.6	7.2	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

compared with other journalistic material published in the culture pages. On the other hand, the change by all accounts boils down to a profound change in the culture concept in newsrooms, and not just in the reviewing culture.

However, the reduction of the four major disciplines basically means a diversification in the reviewed artistic disciplines. As inclusion into the range of reviewed disciplines implies the legitimization of the particular discipline, it can be concluded that the popular disciplines have gained more legitimacy than in previous decades. At the same time, the consumers of culture have become more omnivorous, endorsing a greater variety of forms of culture than previously, with the higher socio-economical classes simultaneously enjoying both high cultural and popular forms of culture (Peterson and Kern 1996; Alasuutari 2009). However, the number of different artistic disciplines reviewed by individual freelance reviewers has not increased remarkably during the research period.⁴ Each reviewer evaluated cultural products from an average of 1.1 disciplines.

Reviewers

Table 6 shows that more than half of the reviewers (64 per cent) were freelancers during the observation period. The proportion of reviews written by freelancers has increased. It achieved its peak towards the end of the 1990s, when almost 80 per cent of all reviewing was outsourced. In 2008, 7 out of 10 reviews were written by freelance writers. The staff on monthly salaries wrote less than a third of the reviews on average, and their role in the production of reviews has been diminishing in recent decades.

While their role as reviewers has diminished, journalists in culture departments have moved into news production. Table 6 shows that they have continuously taken more responsibility for news production in culture sections, whereas the role of journalists from other departments as news producers has slackened. The journalists in culture departments wrote a minority of news items from the 1970s until the beginning of the 1990s; the proportion of news in their assortment of genres always remained under 10 per cent, while over 90 per cent of news was produced by other departments of the organization. Since the early part of the 1990s, news production has been strengthened in the culture section to the extent that it ran to almost a third of all texts written by culture journalists in 2008. The increased responsibility for news production has obviously affected the position of reviewing within the organization: reviewing has increasingly been passed on to the freelancers.

TABLE 6
Writers on different contract bases for the news and the review, 1978–2008 (%)

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Mean
News								
Freelancers	3.8	2.6	2.6	3.6	5.9	5.0	4.0	3.9
Cultural journalists	0.9	1.9	3.5	3.9	13.5	7.1	16.1	6.7
Journalists from other departments	8.8	7.4	4.4	5.2	11.2	5.5	3.7	6.6
No signature	86.6	88.0	89.5	87.3	69.4	82.4	76.2	82.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Review								
Freelancers	56.0	53.7	61.1	60.5	79.1	66.5	69.9	63.8
Cultural journalists	35.3	31.2	30.9	29.1	14.5	26.0	23.9	27.3
Journalists from other departments	8.2	15.2	7.6	10.5	6.4	7.4	5.4	8.7
No signature	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stories in total								
Freelancers	21.4	23.1	27.6	31.4	34.7	28.8	26.5	27.6
Cultural journalists	14.3	17.5	18.3	20.6	19.1	20.8	24.7	19.3
Journalists from other departments	9.0	10.4	6.0	8.7	9.4	7.3	5.2	8.0
No signature	55.3	49.0	48.1	39.3	36.8	43.1	43.6	45.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

With its current tendency for outsourcing, criticism has turned into a mainly freelance-based trade since the second half of the twentieth century. There is, in other words, less competence in artistic judgement required for reviewing for modern culture departments than ever in the history of newspaper organizations. This development could be interpreted as a specialization of the reviewer's skills, as reviewers are by definition experts specialized in a specific area or discipline in art and culture. The data indicate, however, that those who have written reviews have been recruited as writers for other genres as well. The average number of different genres per freelancer has thus slightly increased: in 1978 the writers of reviews wrote on 1.1 genres on average, while in 2008 the average number of genres per freelancer critic had increased to 1.3.⁵

When the freelancers' texts are examined with regard to separate genres (Table 7), it becomes evident that in particular the relative number of commentaries, understood as columns, causeries and comments, has grown. The production of these opinion-based genres has increased from under 10 per cent to over 14 per cent. The proportion of reviews in freelancers' total content production was about the same in 2008 as in 1978, remaining stable during the research period. Among all stories written by freelancers, an average of almost 70 per cent of them have been reviews.

This is to say that reviewers in culture departments, whose stories, in total, have moderately increased (as indicated in Table 6), now clearly consist of freelance writers producing opinion-based, argumentative and subjective texts. These freelance reviewers are, in other words, not trained to be news reporters, as perhaps anticipated by the established dominance of the journalistic paradigm. Instead, there is no fundamental change in the freelancers' traditional writing position as producers of subjective observations and views. However, the column is, as a journalistic genre, less regulated by

TABLE 7

Proportion of texts written by freelancers, cultural journalists and journalists from other departments, 1978–2008 (%)

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Mean
Freelancers								
News	8.1	4.6	4.0	4.7	6.9	7.6	6.1	6.0
Review	69.6	70.9	71.1	67.0	64.1	64.4	69.1	68.0
Other commentary	9.5	9.7	12.4	13.7	11.4	10.8	14.1	11.7
Personal feature	4.7	4.0	2.7	5.2	6.9	5.0	5.0	4.8
Feature	4.7	9.1	6.7	9.0	8.6	11.5	4.6	7.7
Other	3.4	1.7	3.1	0.4	2.1	0.7	1.1	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cultural journalists								
News	3.3	4.5	8.1	7.8	28.8	14.9	26.5	13.4
Review	70.7	54.5	54.4	49.0	21.3	34.8	25.3	44.3
Other commentary	16.3	9.8	13.4	9.8	14.4	15.9	14.7	13.5
Personal feature	3.3	9.1	12.8	17.6	9.4	15.9	15.9	12.0
Feature	4.3	18.9	8.7	11.8	23.1	17.4	13.5	14.0
Other	2.2	3.0	2.7	3.9	3.1	1.0	4.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Journalists from other departments								
News	95.0	94.7	95.0	94.1	89.9	87.8	89.0	92.2
Review	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other commentary	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.7	1.5	0.9
Personal feature	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.7	0.7	0.4
Feature	5.0	5.3	5.0	2.0	4.3	1.4	0.0	3.3
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	0.0	9.4	8.8	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

distinctions than the review: almost everyone who has been volunteered to write a column is accepted as a columnist. Reviews, in contrast, cannot legitimately be written by just anyone; the function of the review as part of the valuation of art requires the judge to be legitimized

by the art world. The diversification of the scope of genres has not resulted in the transformation of the freelancers' skills, but has merely extended their channels of expression. From an organizational perspective, it can be noted that reviewers' functional flexibility, meaning the employer's ability to enlist labour across functional boundaries (Reilly 2001, 29), has not actually increased. Reviewers are not working beyond their functional area of expertise.

During the time period 1978–2008, an average of more than two-thirds of art and culture reviews produced in Finland were written by male writers, as depicted in Table 8. Yet men have been in the majority as writers not only of reviews, but also of the other major genre, the news. For news items there have been more female writers on average (43 per cent) than for reviews (34 per cent). In total, there has been an average of 37 per cent female writers during the research period.

As shown in Table 8, the proportion of female writers kept increasing until the twenty-first century. It achieved its peak in 2008, when the proportion of female writers reached 47 per cent, but after that the growth turned down. On the whole, authorship in cultural journalism has undergone a process of feminization in line with journalism in general. It is noteworthy that this development has not, however, occurred in criticism. In

TABLE 8
Female (f) and male (m) writers in different genres, 1978–2008 (%)

	1978		1983		1988		1993		1998		2003		2008		Mean	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
News	28.6	71.4	27.8	72.2	50.0	50.0	48.6	51.4	58.3	41.7	45.2	54.8	41.2	58.8	42.8	57.2
Review	28.6	71.4	31.6	68.4	33.5	66.5	40.2	59.8	28.6	71.4	39.4	60.6	34.0	66.0	33.7	66.3
Other commentary	22.6	77.4	30.6	69.4	23.5	76.5	33.3	66.7	32.8	67.2	49.3	50.7	34.7	65.3	32.4	67.6
Personal feature	50.0	50.0	24.0	76.0	23.1	76.9	47.5	52.5	45.0	55.0	52.1	47.9	68.3	31.7	44.3	55.7
Feature	37.9	62.1	11.1	88.9	50.0	50.0	39.1	60.9	57.3	42.7	65.9	34.1	34.0	66.0	42.2	57.8
Other	14.3	85.7	11.1	88.9	0.0	100.0	40.0	60.0	41.2	58.8	50.0	50.0	43.8	56.3	28.6	71.4
Total	29.6	70.4	27.7	72.3	33.6	66.4	40.7	59.3	40.6	59.4	46.7	53.3	39.3	60.7	36.9	63.1

reviews, the proportional number of male and female writers has remained roughly the same. Reviewership has, in other words, remained male-dominated.

Table 9 shows that the artistic disciplines with female reviewer dominance have been visual arts and dance throughout the research period. In turn, popular topics such as film and popular music have been strongly dominated by men. Among the four major disciplines, classical music stands out as an area that has consistently been dedicated to male reviewers. The share of female reviewers in the four major disciplines has grown but, then again, as noted above, the position of the high-cultural canon has been narrowed in the newsrooms.

The fact that the authorship structure of criticism has not become feminized—as has general journalism and the membership of the reviewers' professional union—may bear connections with the increased share of popular topics. Hovden and Knapskog (2008) discovered interdependence between popular topics in arts journalism and male cultural journalists. Popular and heteronomous topics are more likely to be taken over by male journalists, which the Norwegian scholars explain in terms of the requirements of popular disciplines: heteronomous subjects demand less cultural capital from their reviewers, and men, as less educated writers, own less cultural capital than women. Female writers, in turn, are more likely to review visual arts and literature, which corresponds to the findings in the Finnish data.

Conclusion

The content analysis indicates that in terms of the three core dimensions of cultural journalism—the culture concept, the journalism concept and the authorship structure—the characterization of the change in art and culture reviewing as a crisis would be premature. The development of content shows continuity rather than disruption, which substantiates Hurri's (1993) observation about the slow change of cultural journalism (see also Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord 2008). However, some organizational displacements in the production environment can be seen to affect the role of criticism in culture sections:

- *Growth of the popular canon:* The traditional high-cultural artistic disciplines of literature, classical music, visual arts and theatre have taken up about half of the review coverage during the three decades observed in the study. A statistically significant change in their dominance was not found in the analysis; however, popular music and film, as representatives of disciplines with a popular orientation, showed an increase in review coverage. Studies elsewhere show a growth of popular disciplines (Janssen 1999; Janssen, Verboord, and Kuipers 2011).
- *Reduction of space assigned to reviews:* The proportion of reviews in cultural coverage has fallen back to just under a third after the heyday of criticism at the beginning of the 1990s. Reviews have also become shorter and have undergone a shortening in length more severe than any other journalistic genre in the culture section. These findings are in tandem with results from other studies, for example in the United States (Szántó, Levy, and Tyndall 2004) and the Netherlands (Janssen 1999). However, some studies show contradictory developments (Kristensen and From 2011, 109; Reus and Harden 2005).
- *Outsourcing of review production:* The production of reviews has been increasingly outsourced to freelance writers. Freelancers are increasingly commissioned with other subjective-argumentative genres as well. Simultaneously, news production has been strengthened within culture departments because cultural journalists are producing more news items themselves, whereas this was previously carried out by news

TABLE 9
Female (f) and male (m) reviewers in different artistic disciplines, 1978–2008 (%)

	1978		1983		1988		1993		1998		2003		2008		Mean	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
Literature	30.0	70.0	40.2	59.8	30.0	70.0	25.5	74.5	31.1	68.9	39.2	60.8	36.8	63.2	33.3	66.7
Classical music	9.8	90.2	11.8	88.2	14.7	85.3	19.5	80.5	11.5	88.5	22.9	77.1	15.9	84.1	15.2	84.8
Visual arts	47.1	52.9	40.7	59.3	52.8	47.2	80.6	19.4	58.8	41.2	70.3	29.7	60.7	39.3	58.7	41.3
Theatre	50.0	50.0	43.8	56.3	33.3	66.7	50.0	50.0	45.0	55.0	51.3	48.7	55.9	44.1	47.0	53.0
Dance	90.0	10.0	100	0.0	75.0	25.0	80.0	20.0	66.7	33.3	77.8	22.2	66.7	33.3	79.5	20.5
Film	0.0	100	16.7	83.3	18.8	81.3	14.3	85.7	4.8	95.2	13.8	86.2	19.4	80.6	12.5	87.5
Children's culture	66.7	33.3	33.3	66.7	88.2	11.8	87.5	12.5	100	0.0	100	0.0	66.7	33.3	77.5	22.5
Popular music	0.0	100	7.7	92.3	4.8	95.2	0.0	100	12.5	87.5	0.0	100	4.5	95.5	4.2	95.8
Other	33.3	66.7	14.3	85.7	100	0.0	44.4	55.6	16.7	83.3	43.8	56.3	11.1	88.9	37.7	62.4
Total	30.0	70.0	40.2	59.8	30.0	70.0	25.5	74.5	31.1	68.9	39.2	60.8	36.8	63.2	33.3	66.7

generalists from other departments. A tendency for outsourcing was also identified in the United States (Szántó, Levy, and Tyndall 2004).

- *Constancy of male dominance among reviewers*: The share of female writers has been growing overall and in line with development in mainstream journalism, but the proportion of female writers of reviews, as well as of commentaries (columns, causeries and comments), is still lower than in more news-oriented journalistic stories such as the news, the reportage, the feature and the personal feature. Popular forms of culture that have undergone an increase in coverage are more likely to be reviewed by men (see also Hovden and Knapskog 2008).

Reviews have been hit the hardest by economic pressures such that their production has been shifted to a workforce whose contracts are temporary and short term; with their work marked by economic uncertainty, these individual agents are mostly unable to affect editorial decisions and policies. With the shrinkage of the traditional high-cultural canon and the legitimization of forms of popular culture, the cultural canon has, however, essentially become more diverse. Journalistic methods based on patterns other than that of reviewing a cultural product pave the way for the possibility of a more multi-voiced style of reporting, detached from the expert monopoly of reviewers. Arts and cultural journalism is, in a way, becoming more “mainstream” in its approach. Strengthened connections with core (news) journalism may fortify the hierarchical rank of culture departments within media organizations, although cultural journalism may simultaneously lose out on the appreciation and trust previously shown by the artistic fields of cultural production.

Different newspapers show slightly diverging development, as the representation of culture is strongly subjected to newspapers’ local strategies and policies as well as affected by changes in the local cultural scene. The quantitative dimensions of this study inevitably remain somewhat reductive, as categories like gender, for example, can be expected to have a larger cultural impact rather than being a sole background variable. These discursive socio-cultural dimensions need to be studied further in newsrooms to examine the change from qualitative perspectives.

The fact that broadsheets are currently turning into tabloids (HS in 2013, AL in 2014) and new online formats are being developed mark another point of change during which the position of reviews may once again be at stake. Despite its relatively stable position in newspapers, the traditional review is also challenged by a number of digital alternatives with differing formats but with the same function. These para-journalistic areas of cultural production, or prosumption, should be taken into account when examining the role of criticism in contemporary society. In terms of print papers, criticism continues to be a central part of arts and cultural journalism directed to the general audiences.

NOTES

1. Despite some analytical differences in meaning (Titchener 2005), I am using the terms “reviewing” (reviewer) and “criticism” (critic) here interchangeably for the sake of linguistic variation to designate the object under study, the journalistic review in newspapers.
2. Thanks to Mr Seppo Roth and Mr Arto Seppälä (AL), Mr Heikki Hellman (HS), Mrs Kaisu Mikkola (KAL), Mr Seppo Kononen and Mr Risto Löf (SS), as well as Mr Tuomo Karhu and Mr Kimmo Lilja (TS).

3. The characters per row estimate C_{row} was created as follows: four different texts from both sample weeks (7 and 43) were chosen per year and newspaper. The examination was limited to the first 50 rows of body text. The characters of the first 10 complete rows C_{cr} , the number of complete rows N_{cr} and the characters of incomplete rows C_{ir} were counted. A story-specific characters per row estimate $C_r = (C_{cr}/10 \times N_{cr} + C_{ir})/50$. The C_{row} for one volume of the newspaper = $(C_{r1} + C_{r2} + C_{r3} + C_{r4})/4$.
4. The average number of artistic disciplines per freelancer reviewer was in 1978–2008, respectively, 1.2; 1.1; 1.2; 1.1; 1.1; 1.1; 1.2.
5. The average number of genres per freelancer reviewer was in 1978–2008, respectively, 1.11; 1.1; 1.2; 1.2; 1.4; 1.2; 1.3.

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From aesthetes to reporters: The paradigm shift in arts journalism in Finland

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Abstract

The crisis of cultural journalism has recently been a topical issue in many countries. In Finland, too, it has been claimed that arts pages, previously dominated by aesthetically oriented critics, have been shrinking and become more news oriented and entertaining. In this article, we explore the change of structures, values and ideals of arts reporting as friction between two opposing paradigms, the aesthetic and the journalistic, and analyse how the changes are reflected in the contents of the cultural pages and in the self-image of arts journalists. The research data of this case study consist of the arts pages of the biggest national newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, and of various internal planning documents related to its management. In addition to a longitudinal content analysis, we also employed theme interviews with and observation of cultural journalists. The results show a change of paradigm in arts journalism, with the consequence that the previously autonomous department has become an inseparable part of the news organization, increasingly adapted to meet the challenges of news journalism.

Keywords

Arts criticism, arts pages, cultural journalism, Finland, journalism culture, professionalism

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Recent changes in journalism have generally been conceptualized as a fundamental 'crisis of journalism'. Indeed, as a result of economic, technological, institutional and cultural shifts, 'journalism as it is, is coming to an end' (Deuze, 2007: 141). Several studies (e.g. Bromley, 1997; Deuze, 2007; Fenton, 2010; Schudson, 2003; Sparks and Tulloch, 2000) have shown that competition between the media has increased and news organizations have become more business oriented. The change has coincided with the rise of the online news media, which, together with the fragmentation of the audience and decreasing readership of printed newspapers, has forced the publishers to look for more efficient ways of news production. This, in turn, has fostered multi-skilling and job rotation in newsrooms and an increasing convergence of news organizations.

In this article, we examine how these pressures may affect a specialized journalistic branch: cultural journalism. Interestingly, studies of journalism have often analysed foreign correspondents, business journalists or general newsroom values, but arts journalists have only seldom made their way to academic research, with few exceptions (e.g. Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Forde, 2003; Golin and Cardoso, 2009; Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007; Hovden and Knapskog, 2008; Jones, 2002; Klein, 2005; Kristensen, 2010; Kristensen and From, 2011; Reus et al., 1995). This in itself may be evidence of the distinctive nature of cultural journalism: it has not been studied because it has been considered an 'unrepresentative case' of journalism. For us, it is this specific character of arts journalism that makes it worth examination.

Parallel to the general debate on the crisis of journalism, the arts pages, too, have been under a lively professional and public controversy. In the United States, it has been observed that the majority of newspapers are running fewer articles about arts and culture than they used to. Stories are becoming shorter and a larger share of them is assigned to freelancers or wire services than before (Tyndall, 2004). In Germany, the balance between the various journalistic genres has changed radically since the 1980s with the pieces of news having increasingly replaced events reporting, background stories and commentaries in the arts pages (Reus and Harden, 2005). In the United States, France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway, popular music has conquered an ever-growing share of the culture sections (Kristensen, 2010; Larsen, 2008; Schmutz et al., 2010).

Our focus is on Finland, where it has been claimed that arts pages, which previously concentrated on high culture and were dominated by aesthetically oriented writers, have been shrinking and become more news and entertainment oriented, and that arts criticism in newspapers has suffered a breakdown in both its standards and coverage. Tuva Korsström (2009), the previous culture editor of *Hufvudstadsbladet*, Finland's major Swedish-speaking daily, declared recently that the critical analysis of cultural journalism has surrendered to the dominance of newspaper format and design. Besides, Matti Apunen (2009), the editor-in-chief of *Aamulehti*, Finland's second largest daily, criticized cultural journalism for having changed into 'a compliant subdivision of the arts sector, providing it with a review service'.

A common denominator of this 'deterioration thesis' (Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Lund, 2005) is not only the shrinkage of arts coverage but, in addition, concern about the lack of critical approach and general debate on arts pages. In our study, we interpret this 'crisis talk' as reflecting a collision between two fundamental paradigms of cultural journalism, a clash between *aesthetic* and *journalistic* approaches and values. In the Nordic

countries, it has been observed that the professional self-definition and work practices of cultural journalists have traditionally leaned on the aesthetic paradigm, according to which a journalist/critic is a representative of the artistic field in the newspaper rather than a representative of the journalistic field in the arts (Hovden and Knapskog, 2008; Hurri, 1993; Kristensen and From, 2011). We suggest that the journalistic paradigm has become dominant and converged arts-reporting journalists towards the general news-room values and general occupational ideology of journalism.

This article illuminates this controversy around the 'dual' nature of cultural journalism by analysing how the conflict of interest between the two paradigms is reflected on the arts pages and in the self-definition of Finnish cultural journalists. As Mark Deuze (2005) has suggested, journalism can be seen as an occupational ideology which is reproduced in the routine-based organization of newswork through internal communication, where reporters and editors constantly repeat and refine certain ways of doing things. Ideology refers here to 'a collection of values, strategies and codes characterizing professional journalism and shared most widely by its members' (2005: 445). We argue that the traditional values of cultural journalism have differed from the consensual value basis of general journalism. Now the division between them appears to be blurring.

The self-identity of cultural journalists

As a result of professionalization, journalism tends to become uniform and commonly shared, at least in elective democracies (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). This means that journalists, whether they live in the United States, Japan, Germany or Finland, share similar values in their daily work although they may apply these in a variety of ways. Deuze (2005: 447) names five discursively constructed ideal-typical values which constitute the dominant occupational ideology of journalism and give journalists legitimacy to what they do:

- 1 *Public service*: journalists serve the audience as watchdogs, collecting and disseminating information.
- 2 *Objectivity*: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective and fair.
- 3 *Autonomy*: journalists are autonomous, free and independent in their work.
- 4 *Immediacy*: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed.
- 5 *Ethics*: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy.

According to earlier research, these characteristics are not entirely applicable to cultural journalists. The arts journalists do agree that they serve the public while disseminating information about arts and making choices and judgments on behalf of the public. Immediacy and ethics, too, are respected by cultural journalists although the novelty of information is not always as pressing as in ordinary newswork, since arts reporting is identified with 'soft news', not requiring similar instantaneity. The value of neutrality, then, is often in apparent contradiction with the working practices of arts journalists since opinionated criticism and the capacity to make subjective judgments appear to be an ideological cornerstone of cultural journalism. Similarly, the autonomy of cultural journalists can be questioned since they tend to have close ties with the artistic fields they

cover (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007; Hovden and Knapskog, 2008; Kristensen and From, 2011; Reus et al., 1995).

Indeed, one of the main characteristics of arts journalism has always been a certain 'cultural elitism', perhaps explained by the fact that cultural journalists tend to have higher education and more cultural capital than other journalists (Hovden and Knapskog, 2008; Reus et al., 1995). Gemma Harries and Karin Wahl-Jorgensen (2007), analysing the self-image of arts journalists in the United Kingdom, identified a distinctive professional and cultural role, which they call *arts exceptionalism*. This exceptionalism consists of three aspects: first, the arts reporters construct themselves as specialists, more extensively qualified than conventional news reporters. Second, they also celebrate arts journalism as something qualitatively different from and more important than the conventional news agenda. Third, arts reporters emphasize their special responsibility by seeing themselves as 'crusaders' for the public appreciation of the arts and writing to a peer audience, a public of equals.

A specific feature of arts journalism can also be found in its newsroom power structure. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007: 624) distinguish between three different sub-professions: (a) arts editors, (b) arts reporters, and (c) freelance critics. In particular, freelancers are central in arts journalism although their position is highly ambivalent. On the one hand, they are free from the newsroom routines but, on the other, they are often fully dependent on the commissions of editors. In fact, they do not necessarily define themselves as journalists because of the lack of structure and routine in their work (see also Forde, 2003). Bourdieu (1993) calls critics 'cultural intermediaries' who operate somewhere between the two fields, arts and journalism. In Finland, they are typically either academically educated 'expert-critics' or 'artist-critics' whose experience is drawn from practising the arts. Freelancers, in particular, remain somewhat alien to the ideals and values of general journalism, whereas arts editors and reporters can be expected to share part of its ideology.

On the basis of these anomalies in their ideology, status and working practices, arts journalists can be considered a unique case, 'journalists with a difference' (Forde, 2003: 113). Their self-understanding is contradictory, as the two opposite identities, that of a conventional news reporter and that of aesthetically inspired reviewer, are constantly present in their work.

Two paradigms of cultural journalism

Finland is a highly developed newspaper culture, with a very large number of newspaper readers and minimal educational differences in reading habits (Elvestad and Blekesaune, 2008). Although newspapers' circulation has steadily fallen, Finland has suffered only minor losses, with an average decrease of 11 per cent for the 10 largest newspapers since 1999 (Nordicom, 2010). As to contents, a recent long-term analysis showed that the Finnish readers have been provided with newspapers that are increasingly professional with the topics covered having become more uniform (Picard, 2003).

In a small country (5.3 million inhabitants) with a separate main language (Finnish) and a strongly normative policy of bilingualism, arts pages have served as an important forum of cultural, social and political debate, value conflicts and symbolic struggles.

However, the institution of the cultural page did not develop until after the Second World War. The full-time staffers were employed mainly during the 1950s and 1960s, and the arts pages of newspapers experienced a slow but continuous growth until the mid 1980s (Hurri, 1993; Keränen, 1984).

At least four features of Finnish cultural journalism can be discerned on the basis of previous research (Hurri, 1993):

- 1 *Constancy*: the emphases on different artistic disciplines on arts pages changed only minimally between 1945 and 1985.
- 2 *Homogeneity*: the newspapers share a common concept of culture and cultural journalism, concentrating on professionally produced arts and high culture.
- 3 *Broad coverage*: although two-thirds of articles dealt with the four ‘major’ arts, i.e. literature, music, theatre and visual arts, the arts pages did not neglect the ‘minor’ arts, either.
- 4 *Generic diversity*: the Finnish culture pages have provided a broad set of various journalistic genres, e.g. news, reporting, commentary and criticism.

The dual nature of cultural journalism is best illustrated in the broad coverage of the arts and balancing between news and commentary. In fact, these two traits have been legitimized with the journalistic value of public service, suggesting that the arts pages provide a full and as balanced as possible coverage of the cultural field. For example, in its own advertisement in October 1978, *Helsingin Sanomat*, Finland’s largest broadsheet newspaper, claimed to be a ‘rapid and diverse cultural newspaper’ which ‘reports cultural issues every day with expertise’, ‘covering events in arts and sciences, reviewing premieres, concerts, newly published books and art exhibitions’ and ‘providing you with a background against which you can reflect your own opinions’.¹

This balancing between two essentially different duties – previewing and reviewing – also characterizes the arts pages in other Nordic countries (Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Kristensen, 2010). It appears that there is in cultural journalism an internal tension between two poles, one based on an aesthetic, evaluative, opinion-based and educational approach to the arts and the other on an informative, fact-based communication about the arts and standard news values. The dimensions of these two opposite traditions, the aesthetic paradigm and the journalistic paradigm, are depicted in detail in Table 1.

According to the aesthetic paradigm, opinionated criticism is the core of cultural journalism and its journalistic process is governed by a distinctive concept of meaningfulness. The higher a cultural product is valued, the higher its news value. A cultural journalist, or a critic, is a specialist in his/her field of art and needs a sufficient amount of cultural capital in order to gain legitimacy. His/her articles relate to the general art discourse, and he/she plays the role of an expert instructor who is able to interpret artistic products for the readers. In cultural journalism, sources of information are seldom explicitly disclosed. Instead, art criticism is ‘self-referential’, with a critic melting his/her experience and judgments into a coherent analysis, the critic’s monologue. Criticism is reactive by its nature; that is, it comments on things that have already taken place.

The journalistic paradigm, then, reflects the general values of the ideology of journalism. It aims to address its readers as large audiences and in everyday settings. The journalist is

Table 1. Two paradigms of cultural journalism

Dimension	Aesthetic paradigm	Journalistic paradigm
Professional identity	Reviewer, critic	Journalist, reporter
Goal of action	Promotion of the quality of arts	Promotion of democracy
Role of audience	Men-of-letters, segmented audience	Citizen, customer, universal audience
Means of thought	Emotion and experience	Common sense
System of reference	Aesthetics	Politics
Writer's position	Expert position: subjectivity based on epistemic authority	Outsider position: objectivity as strategic ritual
Position of sources	Undisclosed	Exposed
Relation to object	Predefined, disciplined	Open, problem-oriented
Relation to genres	Monogeneric	Polygeneric
Relation to methods	Methodical monism	Methodical pluralism
Time concept	Retrospective	Proactive

expected to report the various events and issues impartially and informatively. The information is collected from external sources and, following a strategic ritual of objectivity (Tuchman, 1978), the reporter closes him/herself to the background by subscribing the expressions of opinions to his/her sources or by separating facts and opinions to different types of articles. According to the journalistic paradigm, reporting should be proactive and anticipatory, while, at the same time, the journalist is *not* specialized but is able to cover any issue and any event with his journalistic competences.

In terms of journalistic work process, the difference between the two paradigms is best demonstrated in the choice of journalistic genres and methods as well as in the position of the journalist, which is a result of these choices. To a large extent, the aesthetic paradigm is tied to one journalistic genre and its method only: the review. In opposition, the journalistic paradigm celebrates the use of various approaches and methods.

The requirement of universalism in newspapers has always forced cultural journalism to balance between its two paradigmatic traits. Hurri (1993) noticed that criteria typical of the journalistic paradigm, such as timeliness, immediacy and diversity, were not introduced into the culture sections until the 1970s and that it was during the 1980s that news-oriented journalism started to replace the aesthetic approach. However, as Jaakkola (2005: 135) has noted, as late as the early 2000s, the journalistic paradigm was still secondary, or even alien, to the newsroom culture of the arts reporters at *Helsingin Sanomat*:

The cultural department has – neither in terms of its organization nor its cultural capacity – sufficient tools for immediate, news-oriented reacting, which, admittedly, is not required every day in the cultural field. The deadline does not allow immediate covering of events that take place in the evening, and the formalistic, slow-paced daytime work does not favour the news orientation. Indeed, in the cultural department, a piece of news is often a ‘necessary evil’, a surprise, a by-product of another project.

In other words, earlier research suggests that the alleged shift of paradigms is still on its way (see also Knapskog and Larsen, 2008; Kristensen, 2010).

Case study design

In order to trace the transition of its ideology, we approach the cultural newsroom employing Edgar H. Schein's (2004) model which distinguishes three levels in the organizational culture: artefacts, values and assumptions. Conscious of the difficulties assigned to differing values and assumptions from each other (Martin, 1992), we make use of the three-level concept by analysing the change of the organizational culture of arts journalists in the levels of structural preconditions, normative practices and symbolic meaning. With artefacts we refer to structural circumstances and visible manifestations of cultural journalism, such as the occupational titles of arts journalists, organization of work and amount of space devoted to culture. With values we refer to consciously expressed norms and ideals about cultural journalism, and with assumptions to socialized, unconscious ways of doing things, not necessarily correlated with the espoused values. Cultural journalism is understood here as a cultural construction reproduced by the professional community of cultural journalists within an organization.

We have chosen to approach the issue with a case study, focusing on *Helsingin Sanomat*, published in Helsinki with a daily circulation of 398,000 (2009). *Helsingin Sanomat* is undeniably the most influential print news medium in the country with personnel of about 300 staff journalists, a comprehensive online service and a local radio station. Traditionally, *Helsingin Sanomat* was known as a family-owned newspaper, controlled by the family Erkkö. By 1999, however, their Sanoma Corporation became a listed company, which introduced new expectations of profitability to the newspaper organization. Today, Sanoma Corporation is Finland's leading media firm, controlling dozens of newspapers and magazines, book publishers and television channels in several European countries. *Helsingin Sanomat*, then, has been widely criticized for its 'monopoly' position as a national news forum. Its culture section, in particular, has a superior editorial strength, the most acknowledged reviewers and the broadest arts coverage in Finland and has, thus, been claimed to have too much power in the field of culture (Hurri, 1993; Klemola, 1981; Luukka, 2007).

Typical of a case study, we combine multiple sources of evidence, applying both quantitative and qualitative methods. To find out structural changes, we carried out a content analysis of the arts pages over a period of 30 years. The sample covered the *Helsingin Sanomat* arts pages for a two-week period in 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003 and 2008.² The unit of analysis was the individual article and the variables coded included the length of the article, article type and status of author or source. Indications of a shift from the aesthetic towards the journalistic paradigm would be a fall in the average length of the articles, a decrease in the length and share of reviews, an increased variety of article types and a declining share of articles written by freelancers.

To discover the evolution at the socio-cultural level, 15 cultural journalists of *Helsingin Sanomat*, including the culture editor, were interviewed in 2004. The thematic interviews focused on the writers' identity and their conception of the alleged change in the department's working practices. In addition to the interviews, to contextualize the statements, we also applied participative observation in the summer of 2004 and had access to the various strategic planning documents of the culture department. The observation at the news desk and at editorial meetings enabled us to verify if the interviewees really acted as they claimed and to compare the values with the assumptions.

The documented material, mostly written and collected by the culture editor, made it possible to reconstruct some conversations run in the community and to understand the decisions made in the past.

The results of the content analysis helped us to describe the change in cultural journalism over a longer period of time and independently of personal accounts, whereas the thematic interviews, the observation of journalists and the examination of documents supported our analysis of value transition and changing axioms by providing us with a subjective perception by the agents involved. As our content analysis was based on rather a limited sample, it hardly provided more than suggestive results of the changes in the contents, sources and approaches in arts reporting. With interviews, observation and documentary analysis we aimed at a triangulation of these shifts, to gain a deeper understanding of them in the organizational context. Interviews can never be taken at face value, and the internal memoranda may not necessarily provide a coherent image of how the culture section actually works, but they served as an inroad to the expressed values and immanent axioms.

In ethnographic research, it is typical that a researcher tries to penetrate a community and its culture that he/she is unfamiliar with, in order to understand its identity, values and norms (e.g. Born, 2004). In this case, the setting is different: one of the authors was the culture editor of *Helsingin Sanomat* from 1989 till 2005 and, in that capacity, also one of the interviewed informants as well as the producer of most of the analysed documents. In spite of his controversial role, we claim that an internal observer with his personal minutes can provide information which otherwise would not be available for research. The credibility of results, then, is controlled by the other researcher, whose role has been that of an 'external' observer.

The structural limits of arts pages

The distinctiveness of the culture section was not emphasized in *Helsingin Sanomat* until the latter half of the 1960s when it was developed into a flagship section of the paper by means of ambitious editing and impressive layout, particularly during weekends (Mervola, 1995; Tarkka, 1994[1984]). Although the daily average number of arts pages increased from one, in 1960, to one and a half, in 1980 (Hurri, 1993), proper expansion of the section did not start until the 1980s, as Figure 1 shows. With the continuing growth lasting until the early 2000s, *Helsingin Sanomat* published, in 2003, an average 3.2 pages of culture per day. Figure 2, in turn, depicts that, in correlation with the number of pages, the number of articles, too, continued to increase until 2003, after which the figure decreased slightly. The average length of the articles has come down almost consistently during the research period, reflecting the increased pressures to create more reader-friendly arts coverage. As for reviews, the reduction is even more dramatic. Since the late 1980s, the majority of them have been short commentaries of 30 to 60 lines, illustrating the trend towards the journalistic paradigm.

Newspaper redesigns

During the last two decades, newspaper redesigns have essentially affected the arts pages of *Helsingin Sanomat*. Perhaps the most fundamental reform took place in 1989, the year

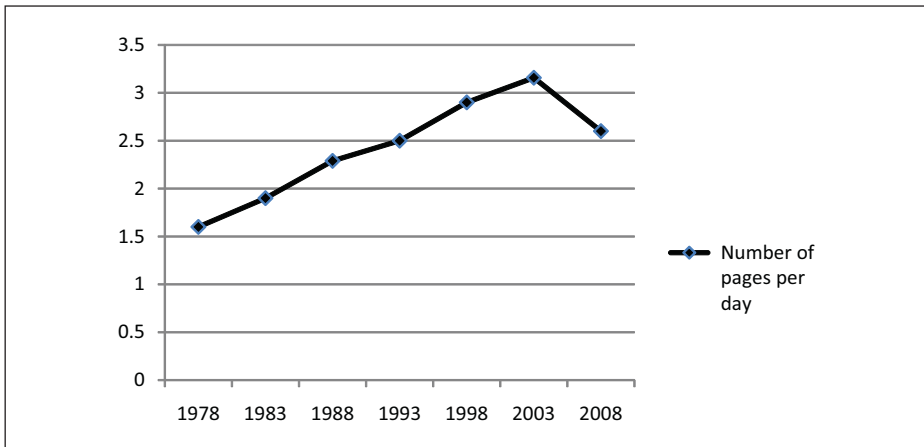


Figure 1. The average number of arts pages in *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1978–2008.

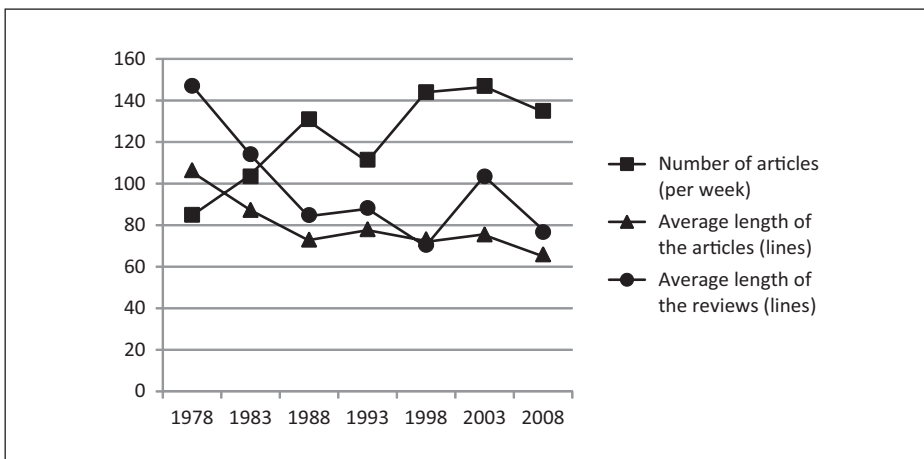


Figure 2. The number and length of articles in the arts pages of *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1978–2008.

marking the hundredth anniversary of *Helsingin Sanomat*. The paper was divided into four parts, A, B, C and D, and the opening page of each section was standardized but, at the same time, given more strength. The culture section was placed in part C, together with foreign news and sports. On weekends, culture was allowed to open the part. This emphasized the status of culture in the offerings of the paper and increased its attractiveness to the reader (cf. Kristensen and From, 2011) while also introducing new working habits for the journalists (Pulkkinen, 2008).

Importantly, this renewal forced the culture section to share the same grammar of layout as the rest of the paper, whereas earlier it had had liberties of its own. It also

encouraged it to employ a more varied journalistic tool pack than before. At the same time, the special nature of the section was signalled by introducing separate ‘thematic’ pages, published on a regular basis, for book reviews, art reviews and record reviews. While the philosophy of the culture section was tuned towards the standard newsroom values and general readership, the thematic review pages were addressed to special-interest audiences. This exemplifies how the journalistic culture of the late 1980s tried to negotiate with the dual nature of the arts pages.

The redesign of 1995 included a major organizational reform and resulted in an expansion of the editorial staff and the provision of the culture section. The film critics and TV reviewers of *Helsingin Sanomat*, working earlier in a separate department, now joined the culture department, thus encouraging the arts pages to broaden their popular arts coverage. Daily listing duties, too, were dramatically increased. Both changes aimed to increase the service function and popular appeal of the arts pages. Similar changes took place in other Nordic countries at about the same time (Kristensen, 2010; Larsen, 2008).

In 2000, a set of new standard content elements were applied, which moved the culture section further towards the general journalistic culture of *Helsingin Sanomat*. It was now, if not earlier, that the journalistic trend to split articles into several smaller pieces – one providing for the main story, another for the background story, and yet another for commentary – was adopted as the ‘house style’ of the paper. In 2005, the culture section was given a permanent place as the opener of part C, which was redesigned as a ‘softer’ features section, including people, obituaries, listings and letters to the editor. The latest redesign in November 2009 emphasized the feature character of the arts pages by highlighting the use of photographs and drawings in the layout. These adjustments appear to have consolidated the new journalistically oriented values of arts reporting in *Helsingin Sanomat* and improved the position of the arts pages in the ranking of the organization.

Development project

The journalistic management of *Helsingin Sanomat* had been speaking up for the shrinking of arts coverage since the late 1990s. In the spring of 2004, the editor-in-chief initiated a development project that identified three problem areas considered to require reforms: (1) the *concept of the arts pages* was too formal and its provision too broad and unfocused; (2) the *working process* of the section was poorly organized, with too weak a news orientation and the interests of the critics dominating the coverage too much; and (3) the *newsroom hierarchy* of the culture department was too decentralized, allowing semi-independent decision-making by the specialized arts reporters.

As a result of the development project, the new concept of the arts pages was gradually introduced between 2005 and 2009. The number of arts pages was reduced slightly, as shown above. The thematically specialized pages for book, gallery and record reviews were given up. The new culture editor since 2006 argued for the change:

Now it’s like everything is mixed up in one big tub. There are so many things happening, and as the rivalry for space on the arts pages got more intense, it turned out to be impossible to maintain protectorates for some of the arts only. This is a more fair and journalistic way of organizing things. (Pietiläinen, 2006: 4)

The arts coverage broke consciously away from the earlier philosophy of ‘full service’. The weekday provision was directed towards news orientation, whereas the weekend issues were tuned to provide ambitious features, larger interviews, commentaries and reviews.

The exceptional organization of the culture department was a result of its historical development, with new specialists having been recruited along with the rise in importance of new forms of arts. Demonstrating the autonomy of the department, it even had a separate editor-in-chief until 1982. Alongside the culture editor, it had since 1995 no fewer than three sub-editors, with slightly unclear responsibilities and lax division of labour. In 2006, a new organization, similar to other departments of the paper, was introduced, together with a culture editor and one sub-editor. In addition, centralized editorial decision-making, as far as reviews are concerned, was applied.

Furthermore, staff journalists, about 25 in number, were more intensively engaged in the editorial routines of the culture newsroom, sharing the weekly shifts at the news desk, producing online news. Strict borderlines between the arts, created by specialization during the previous decades, were relieved, and journalists were encouraged to cover the fields they were not so familiar with. Eventually, this undermined their specialized knowledge of the arts but aimed to improve their general journalistic skills, reflecting a general tendency in newsrooms to decrease the autonomy and specialization of individual journalists (Meier, 2007; Nikunen, 2011; Phillips, 2010). Indeed, some of the journalists had thought that the earlier division of labour favoured highly specialized, experienced reporter–critics who had privileges the younger reporters could only dream of:

Most of the staff critics do not have to work in the news desk. The fact that there are different job profiles is one of the big problems and difficult to fix. For the spirit of the working community it would be more equal if all had similar profiles. But it’s a kind of a historical relic here. (Culture reporter)

Partly, the shift in values is due to new recruits and the change of generation in the organization of the cultural department. By the early 2000s, most of the ‘first generation’ specialists, hired in the 1960s or 1970s, were able to retire. As journalistic competence had been favoured in the recruitments of the 1980s and 1990s, the balance of expertise had gradually changed to favour newsroom skills. In other words, the shift from the aesthetic to the journalistic paradigm has also been a ‘natural’ one, with the substitutes ‘automatically’ representing new professional identity. On the other hand, this transition decreased the role of ‘star critics’ on the arts pages. For example, when the main film critic and reporter of *Helsingin Sanomat* retired in 2005, the paper decided not to recruit a replacement but to employ a whole pool of critics, which, it was assumed, would better reflect the differentiated taste cultures.

The transition has also affected the role of freelancers. As Table 2 shows, in the sample of 2008 the freelancers provided just 25 per cent of the articles on the arts pages while 10 years earlier their provision had been 42 per cent. At the same time, the staff journalists of the cultural department have provided an increasing share of the articles published. In 1983, almost three out of four opening articles of the arts pages were written by freelancers or experts outside the organization but, in 2008, not more than one in seven. Together

Table 2. Breakdown of culture articles by author/source in *Helsingin Sanomat* (%).

Author/source	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Average
Staff reporter/critic	24.1	31.9	27.1	30.6	25.0	30.6	37.6	29.8
HS (author not specified)	7.6	7.7	5.3	19.4	14.9	31.6	25.8	17.0
News agency	0.6	0.5	5.3	12.6	7.6	10.5	3.7	6.2
Freelancer	24.1	20.3	27.1	37.4	42.0	24.8	25.1	29.1
No byline*	43.5	39.6	35.1	0.0	10.4	2.4	7.7	17.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	170	207	262	223	288	294	271	1715

Note: *Until 1989, small pieces of news were not routinely bylined.

with increased centralization of decision-making in the newsroom, this is a clear indication of the change towards the generalistic values of the journalistic paradigm at the cost of the aesthetic paradigm.

New values, old assumptions

Two types of articles appear to dominate the arts pages. One is the news story, the characteristic genre of the journalistic paradigm, and the other is the review, the cornerstone of the aesthetic paradigm. In fact, the share of the pieces of news changed only slightly, as Table 3 shows. The average share of news items over the research period is almost 39 per cent, while the average share of reviews is 32 per cent. Reflecting the opposite and interdependent character of these two genres, their variation seems to correlate negatively, i.e. when the share of the news increases, the share of the reviews tends to fall, and vice versa.

In particular, the role of the review as an opening article has become marginalized. In 1983 and 1988 no fewer than 50 per cent of the opening stories were reviews but, since the 1990s, this pole position has been assigned to feature articles, interviews and news stories, i.e. to more 'journalistic' genres. In 2008, one half of the opening articles represented the news genre. This is explained by the present culture editor:

My identity is journalistic, news-oriented. What we try is to operate a little less than before on the conditions of the cultural field and little more on the conditions of journalism. Similar to the other sections of the paper, we are in the search of the news. All in all, our aim is to provide a diverse image of culture, respect the role of high culture and traditional arts reviews but, at the same time, to demonstrate new phenomena. (Pietiläinen, 2006: 4)

The gradually increased ambition to approach the general newsroom values is also illustrated in the multitude of journalistic genres employed on the arts pages. The article type variety, as measured by the Relative Entropy Index (H_{rel}), grew almost consistently from 0.73 points in 1978 to 0.84 points in 2008.³ This depicts a consistent tendency to broaden the journalistic repertoire of arts reporting. In addition to pieces of news and

Table 3. Breakdown of culture articles by genre in *Helsingin Sanomat* (%)

Article genre	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Average
News item	40.6	33.3	34.3	36.0	42.4	45.9	37.3	38.5
Review	31.2	32.9	36.3	35.1	30.6	25.9	30.6	31.8
Other commentary	16.5	19.8	15.3	14.4	10.7	8.2	16.2	14.4
Profile. interview	0.6	2.4	5.7	9.9	6.9	8.2	5.9	5.7
Feature story	1.2	3.4	1.9	3.6	5.9	5.4	3.0	3.5
Other*	10.0	8.2	6.5	0.9	3.5	6.5	7.0	6.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	170	207	262	223	288	294	271	1715

Note: *Includes listings, events promotion and various info boxes.

reviews, profiles and interviews, feature stories and commentaries were increasingly used, reflecting an ongoing change in the ideology of cultural journalism.

Although the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigms are here presented as opposites, in the everyday life of the culture department their values are mixed and employed side by side. Typically, cultural journalists favour balancing between paradigms. Moreover, it is often admitted that the arts pages would not be arts pages if the reviews were dropped out:

I couldn't imagine the arts pages without the reviews. However, it would be possible to design a culture section without the news, depending on the readership of the paper. The world is full of newspapers with the arts pages focusing solely on opinionated writing. You know, long commentaries, well-informed critics, et cetera. (Culture editor)

In this thinking, reviews serve as the 'hard core' of the arts pages while cultural journalism also requires newsroom skills, thus combining two opposite competencies. What is at stake in the value transition of cultural journalism is the gradual shift of focus towards the journalistic paradigm, which, in the case of *Helsingin Sanomat*, appeared to take place as a deliberate 'development project' initiated by the editor-in-chief.

Because the journalistic paradigm has not been unanimously accepted by the culture department, the requirement to provide more news items has caused contradictions between the strategic and operative management of the paper. The operative management of the culture department felt that increased news coverage would compromise the space allotted to reviews. The strategic management of the paper, in turn, considered that fixed formats such as thematic review pages prevented journalists from reacting flexibly to upcoming events and served their limited readership 'too well'.

Readiness to change

The cultural journalists themselves acknowledged their own lack of curiosity in seeking news items and deemed it a problem. In an internal seminar in April 2004, the staff journalists of the culture department created lists of their strengths and weaknesses, with the

weaknesses including rigidity of news work, vagueness of news values and major gaps in news coverage. For example, it was noticed that specialized reporters do not always recognize news items or that they tended to ‘protect’ their own fields from bad news. In general, the staff writers agreed that a more proactive approach to issues should be espoused. The expressed values appeared to coincide with the pressures to adopt the journalistic paradigm.

At the same time, the cultural journalists felt that, as a result of the various redesigns, the arts pages had already converged towards the ‘general journalistic goals’ of *Helsingin Sanomat*, invigorating its contacts with the journalists from other departments.

The attitude towards the culture section has changed dramatically. I remember when arts reporters were considered snobs and eccentrics. I don’t know if it’s good or bad but we have been normalized. Earlier, we used to be a section that provides sophisticated but snobbish reviews, you know –. But now we have started to write in a more reader-friendly way – and that I find extremely positive. We can’t isolate and write some abracadabra that no one understands. (Theatre critic and reporter)

However, signifying that the paradigm shift is not yet complete, the interviews underline that the arts pages should still focus on artists and artistic products, instead of, for example, cultural policy:

In the last instance, the only real news item in culture is that an artist has accomplished something worthwhile. In other words, an artist has done his job. And when he has completed something it is reasonable and fair to review it. (Literature editor)

The interviews suggest that reviewing is still considered the core duty of the arts pages:

It is often claimed that the news of the day makes the topical issues of the day. But for us it is clear that it is the review of a motivating book, a theatre play, a gallery exhibition or a concert that provides the readers the topics of the day. (Culture sub-editor)

Our analysis shows that the confrontation of the aesthetic and the journalistic paradigms caused identity problems to the arts journalists of *Helsingin Sanomat*. On the one hand, the obligation of news orientation was acknowledged. On the other hand, the journalists were afraid that if the values promoted by the journalistic paradigm were acquired completely, something essential of cultural journalism would be missed. It is possible that this is an expression of a fundamental professional self-identity of arts journalists, resistant to change: the subjective assessment, needed in the valuation of works of art, is felt alien to news work.

In conclusion, we can say that the arts journalists have approached the normative centre of the mainstream ideology of journalism and, in this way, eventually gained a more respected status in the field of journalism. To a large extent, the paradigm shift has been carried out as a consequence of the generational change, with new recruits contributing to the accomplishment of the new journalistically oriented values. Although it is evident that some of the interviewees exaggerate their readiness to espouse the journalistic paradigm, articulating a tendency of professional self-legitimation, it is

obvious that, little by little, the expressed values will turn into internalized assumptions and work practices.

Conclusion

On the basis of our analysis, the cultural pages of *Helsingin Sanomat* demonstrate an increasing tendency of arts journalism to lean on the journalistic paradigm instead of the traditional aesthetic paradigm, at the level of organizational structures, explicitly argued values and implicit assumptions. Whereas the culture department used to be a relatively self-directed unit, differing in many ways from other sections, it has now been subordinated to the strategic management of the newspaper and the general standards of news journalism.

The content analysis confirmed that genres typical of the journalistic paradigm have increasingly gained ground, whereas the interviews illustrated the ambiguity typical of a transition period: new values were being accepted in the organization of work but old axioms still lurked deep in the minds of the journalists. Observation and documentary analysis confirmed that the new working practices have been introduced but are only partially accepted. In spite of the transition, the balance between the two paradigms, the aesthetic and the journalistic, is still respected as an ideal of 'good' cultural journalism.

The external push towards the values of news journalism, as promoted by the strategic management, brings about both positive and negative consequences. While the reformed cultural journalism, employing standard journalistic methods, such as interviews and feature stories, and news values, such as significance, scale and nearness, may invite new readers to take an interest in arts, it may also result in abandoning the traditional cultural news criterion of 'good quality'. This would question the distinctive basis of the traditional arts journalism and end up alienating the readership deeply engaged in arts and culture. Thus, gaining new readers can risk the established constituency. Moreover, targeting the general audience shows contempt for the fact that the audience demand in today's cultural scene is becoming increasingly specialized.

It is also possible that denying the weight of expertise causes a decline in the status of cultural journalists. Although their close ties to various cultural fields can be claimed to compromise their independence, it is also true that cutting these ties completely may risk their legitimacy in both the eyes of the art world and the eyes of the readers. After all, the source of the authority of reviewers lies in their engagement with the cultural field. In particular, the freelancers are increasingly dependent on the commissions of the culture editors and subject to their requirements concerning even the angle of their articles. However, similar tendencies towards 'de-specialization' and decreased autonomy have also been discovered in other fields of journalism.

These developments illustrated by our case study are parallel to the general decline of expertise and legitimacy of established institutions as promoted by broader socio-cultural transitions (Bauman, 1987). Marketization of the institutional media industry has caused general homogenization of the press towards the liberal model, typical of the Anglo-American media (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Traditional barriers between high culture and popular culture have been torn down (Danto, 1981). The distinguished taste of the cultural elite of yesterday is today replaced by cultural omnivorousness (Peterson and Kern, 1996). The fields of arts have expanded and diversified the legitimate ways of

doing art, and the artistic field, as many other specialized fields in society, is undergoing processes of professionalization and mediatization (Hjarvard, 2008; Kristensen and From, 2011).

Our analysis has been severely restricted while focusing on one country and one newspaper only. A case study, however, can deliver in-depth information about the underlying principles in cultural journalism as well as form the basis for following inquiries. Although our results cannot be generalized we claim that our observations are indicative of the pressures directed at arts journalists to change and to react to the crisis of journalism. There are signs that more 'economical' ways of producing journalism are under development, for example by co-producing and sharing content between several newspapers. A focal question is what happens to the public representation of arts if the artistic field is increasingly approached with emphasis on economic instead of cultural capital.

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Notes

- 1 'Helsingin Sanomat on kulttuurilehti' [*Helsingin Sanomat* is a cultural newspaper] (advertisement), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 10 October 1978.
- 2 The sample weeks were seven and 43. Altogether the sample included 98 newspaper issues and 1,715 articles.
- 3 The Relative Entropy Index is a widely used measure of variety. It expresses how varied and balanced the distribution of content categories is. The higher the figure, the higher the variety. Relative entropy varies between 0 and 1, with 0 expressing minimum variety (all content in one category) and 1 expressing maximum variety (all categories equally large). To read more about the measure see, for example, Hellman (2001) and McDonald and Dimmick (2003).

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Diversity through Dualism

The Balancing Principle as an Organizational Strategy in Culture Departments of Newspapers

Maarit Jaakkola

Abstract

This article examines the changes in cultural journalism in newspapers with regard to its dual field structure. The influence of media organizations' policies on professionalist dualism is discussed based on the results of a quantitative content analysis over the period 1978-2008 and semi-structured theme interviews with the heads of the culture departments of major Finnish dailies. The results indicate that culture departments have developed their own news production, with increased managerial control and the strengthening of the journalistic paradigm, whereas opinionated journalism, including criticism, is increasingly outsourced. The culture departments thus aspire to sustain a balance between the professional paradigms related to field-hybridity, which creates a distinct structural formalism in this specialized type of journalism and makes its evolution over time relatively stable.

Keywords: cultural journalism, art criticism, reviews, professionalism, specialization, newspapers

Introduction

In October 2013, the literary critic of the daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, Åsa Beckman, asserted that aesthetic consciousness had never been as low on the culture pages of Swedish newspapers as it is now: "The writers avoid talking about the literariness itself – in other words all which distinguishes a novel from a TT text¹ and makes literature literature" (Beckman 2013). Similar claims about a crisis in criticism within cultural journalism have recently been made in public debates elsewhere (for Finland see Jaakkola 2010). The cause of the deterioration is considered to be in succumbing to external forces, like the market (Lund 2005) and the masses (Elkins 2003, Berger 1998), instead of guarding the autonomy of art. The main argument underlying this criticism is that cultural journalism is moving away from what used to be its core, that is, the reviewing of artistic products in their own right.

In line with studies on source-fields of journalism that suggest a growing media influence in specialized fields of journalism (Benson 1999, Bourdieu 1998 [1996], Bauman 1987), it has been stated that cultural journalism is evolving in a way that implies an increased proximity of mainstream journalistic values through increased institutional profiling (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Kristensen 2010). To attain sufficient diversity in content and fulfil its functions in society, culture departments have traditionally balanced

dedicating space to a wide selection of different artistic disciplines with covering both ends of the continuum of genres, news and reviews (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). The editorial choices made with regard to these fundamental issues in culture departments regulate the deployment of the physical, economic and human resources available in the organizational environment to support the implementation of certain strategic goals. By observing changes in the coverage of artistic disciplines and genres, and the allocation of resources to cover these variables, we can trace the changes in the journalistic ontology. The relevant issue from the perspective of balancing is whether the balance between the aesthetic and the journalistic is shown in the cultural coverage of newspapers over past decades.

Cultural journalism, in this context, is understood as coverage initiated by organizationally differentiated culture departments with specialized workforce, in contrast to journalism on culture (see also Kristensen & From 2011). The culture departments of the daily newspapers form the primary forum for the journalistic representation of arts and culture for the general public. On the basis that major regional papers strive to represent local cultural life in their region and to cover national and international artistic and cultural issues relevant to everyone, the changes in culture pages can be assumed to reflect the general changes in the position and role of arts in society. The cultural legacy of culture departments, originally formed during the second half of the 20th century to become an integral part of the modern newspaper (Hurri 1993), derive from a blend of professional, intellectual and organizational values, and explain the complexity of tensions and contradictions in the professionalism of cultural journalists. Historically, the most noticeable tensions have been observed in discussions about the concept of culture (Hurri 1993, Bech-Karlsen 1991, Hansen 1977) and, as suggested above, in the position and volume of reviews. Tensions in the definitions of culture and in reviewing reflect the dualistic structure of the cultural journalist's professional field, which will be discussed in more detail before proceeding to the analysis.

Methodology

Using the results of a quantitative analysis and semi-structured theme interviews with the editorial management of the departments of four major dailies in Finland, we considered the changes in cultural journalism between the structuration of the fields of cultural production and organizational change. The content analysis covers the story items (N=5795) published on the culture pages in five Finnish newspapers, showing the quality of the dailies from 1978 to 2008 (see Jaakkola 2013, forthcoming).

The newspapers studied included the leading nationwide capital-based newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), and four regional newspapers with the largest circulations and with leading roles as cultural gatekeepers in their market areas, and located geographically evenly around the country: *Aamulehti* (AL), *Kaleva* (KAL), *Turun Sanomat* (TS) and *Savon Sanomat* (SS). The data was collected by systematically sampling two weeks per year every five years over the period 1978 to 2008. It included information about the change of artistic disciplines, generic distribution and the employment of freelancers.² In addition, to contextualize the historical development and to illustrate the organizational aims behind the published content, each of the heads of the culture departments of AL, HS, KAL and TS were interviewed about their ideas about quality in cultural journalism.

The semi-structured theme interviews with the heads of the cultural journalism departments of HS, AL, KAL and TS were conducted by a theatre critic and journalism major at the School of Communication, Media and Theatre at the University of Tampere for her master's thesis (Salonen 2013).³

Among all genres applicable in cultural journalism, the categories news and review are both somewhat difficult to be fitted into the general ideals and norms of journalism. The genre of news is the cornerstone of the ideology of mainstream journalism. It draws on central professionalist features such as objectivity and neutrality, but as these features do not fit into the evaluative characteristics of cultural journalism, its position within cultural journalism is partly problematic. Criticism, in turn, is a peripheric phenomenon with regard to the entire institution of journalism to which the shared framework between journalism and its source-fields appears alien. News and reviews represent not only the guiding principles of two subfields but also the ends of the generic continuum of cultural journalism between objective/detached and subjective/attached. Changes in their position may thus be symptomatic of a more profound, structural change.

The organizational environment of cultural journalism is understood with regard to intra-organizational, extra-organizational and inter-organizational relationships. The core of content production forms the culture department as a single organizational unit within the main organization with two kind of specialized writers, journalists and reviewers. Culture departments, in contrast to other departments in the newspaper, have historically maintained an extensive network of freelancers. The freelancers are specialist writers who follow their areas as agents in artistic fields; by entering the media field they are able to enhance their power and scope for legitimate action. Although traditionally relatively autonomous in their activities, culture departments also maintain an operational relationship with the rest of the organization, including other departments and the organizational management. These three relations – the relationships between journalistic and aesthetic staffers within the culture department (intra-organizational), cultural department and other departments (inter-organizational) as well as culture department and freelancer networks (extra-organizational) – form the operational coordinates in allocating human capital in cultural journalism.

Dualistic Field Structure and Organizational Strategies

The organizational sub-culture of a specialized culture department is different to other, more news-oriented journalism produced by generalist departments (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Hurri 1993; for parallels between cultural journalism and sports see Salwen & Garrison 1998). The distinction basically lies in the relationships between the media and the source-fields. Cultural journalism stands out because of its notable proximity to its source and object fields of reporting. Specifically, what differentiates cultural journalism from less specialized types of news journalism is the connection between the professional fields and source-fields, seen in its dual professionalism. Although the media field regulates news production of specialized topics, the fundamental aspects of the dualistic structure than underpin cultural journalism influence the production by imposing cultural features that are deviant from the mainstream journalistic values (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012).

The journalistic and the aesthetic paradigms, (see Hellman & Jaakkola 2012 and Jaakkola 2012), are historically grounded approaches to art and culture within the profession of journalism, both contributing to the structure of the cultural journalistic field. The former relies on traditional journalistic values and norms, such as objectivity and immediacy. The latter has a different starting point – subjectivity – based on the activities of art experts and enthusiasts (amateurs). The paradigms are followed differently at the two poles of the field of cultural journalism. The heteronomous pole, with its emphasis on heteronomous connections of art and culture, and thus the journalistic paradigm, has its ideology closer to mainstream journalism than the autonomous pole of the aesthetic paradigm, which, by its aesthetic approaches, stresses the autonomy of art.

Bourdieu's field theory has, to a large extent, relied on the notion of homology that sets the fields in tandem through their internal operations (Couldry 2004, 171; Bourdieu 1993) instead of elaborating the internal workings of a particular field and the field interrelations (Benson & Neveu 2005, Couldry 2004, Benson 1999, Champagne 1999). To Bourdieu, the structure of the space of positions is the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties that govern the success in the field. Reviewers and art journalists serve their audiences through “an objective connivance” based on homology between the writers' position in their field and the readership's position (Bourdieu 1993, 94). However, even as double agents, not all writers can automatically enjoy equal recognition in both subfields or be equally recognized as representatives of both paradigms. Fully recognized double agents struggle to convey the characters required in both fields of cultural production to produce legitimate social action: the positions they take are recognized both in the journalistic and in the artistic fields.

The heads of the cultural departments tended to state that both paradigms are equally important (see also Hellman & Jaakkola 2012): they argued for the centrality of cultural forms and for a juggling act for both major genres in the paradigms, previewing (news) and reviewing (reviews). They spoke of “full service” which obliges them to follow culture on a wide scale, locally and globally, as well as high and popular forms of culture. The heads of cultural departments also stressed the significance of the reviewer's role as an extension of the intra-organizational content production. However, the aspect that the concepts of culture and journalism share is the tendency to emphasize in managerial discussions that both criticism and popular culture have to be taken into account *as well as* the traditional core content (news, high culture). Although “criticism still forms the basis of our activity”, as the head of the cultural department of KAL declared, “we should always consider what the most appropriate way to say things is” (interviewed by Salonen on October 31, 2012). He stressed that criticism “is just one way of saying it but there are many others as well.” To the head of the department in AL, criticism was “a specific form of expression, no way a sacrosanct genre in cultural journalism that should not be further developed” (interviewed by Salonen on October 29, 2012). So, the flexible shift from one form of culture or journalistic expression to another was emphasized, which forms the basis of balancing in both the culture (high-popular) and the journalism concept (news–reviews).

The distribution of artistic disciplines in cultural coverage is traditionally a widely shared concern in cultural journalism (see e.g. Kristensen & From 2011, Knapskog & Larsen 2008, Sucksdorff 2005, Hurri 1993). A number of studies on cultural production have suggested that artistic fields are facing growing heteronomy (Venrooij 2009,

Baumann 2007). For example, the increasing influence of television news criteria within journalism has increased the susceptibility of the other fields to external pressures, reducing their autonomy as fields and increasing their reliance on the media field (Couldry 2004, 170). In recent years cultural relations have been reconfigured in a way which may also challenge the traditional culture concept that relies on the dominance of the general rule of high culture and professionally produced product-centred reporting, pushing it towards a more heteronomous culture concept. The reconfigured cultural order may also move the generic balance towards heteronomously connected ways of reporting, as anticipated by advocates of low aesthetic consciousness.

Changes in Artistic Coverage

The disciplines of literature, classical music, theatre and fine arts dominate cultural coverage throughout the observation period (see Table 1). These four major artistic disciplines represent the classical high-cultural forms of culture. They show the strongest societal connection, not only because they have historically been a means of reinforcing the national identity, but also because they are the most financed by the state.

Table 1. Coverage of Artistic Disciplines 1978-2008 (N=texts)

	1978		1983		1988		1993		1998		2003		2008		Mean
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Literature	105	15.2	161	21.3	133	16.3	107	14.4	128	15.3	180	18.7	251	25.3	18.1
Classical music	138	20.0	147	19.4	158	19.4	141	19.0	147	17.6	121	12.6	100	10.1	16.9
Theatre	85	12.3	91	12.0	91	11.2	91	12.2	95	11.4	97	10.1	93	9.4	11.2
Fine arts	74	10.7	82	10.8	101	12.4	98	13.2	97	11.6	99	10.3	90	9.1	11.2
Film	56	8.1	45	6.0	49	6.0	49	6.6	81	9.7	90	9.3	132	13.3	8.4
Popular music	24	3.5	32	4.2	36	4.4	21	2.8	45	5.4	80	8.3	97	9.8	5.5
Cultural politics	53	7.7	76	10.1	57	7.0	63	8.5	36	4.3	53	5.5	52	5.2	6.9
Other	155	22.5	122	16.1	191	23.4	173	23.3	207	24.8	243	25.2	178	17.9	21.9
Total	690	100.0	756	100	816	100	743	100	836	100	963	100	993	100	-

However, the aggregate coverage of these four major disciplines has somewhat weakened during recent decades, from 58 per cent (1978) to 54 per cent (2008). Literature is the only discipline of the four that has shown an increase in coverage over the period 1978-2008, and currently represents 25 per cent of cultural coverage. Although the heads of the cultural departments dispute that their departments are emphasizing any particular areas, they admit that the coverage of Finnish literature, both fiction and non-fiction, is high on their agenda. For example, AL explicitly identified the promotion of national literature in their strategy and in 1994 HS established a prize for first-time authors, accompanied by specialized coverage of the nominees.

In contrast, classical music has suffered the most extreme decline in its coverage during the research period. In line with the recent decrease in concert attendances, and that the proportion of space devoted to classical music in elite papers has significantly decreased elsewhere, the share of its coverage has decreased from 20 per cent to 10 per cent since the 1970's. The same trend applies to reviews, for which the share of coverage

diminished the most dramatically of all the artistic disciplines from about 24 per cent (1978) to only 17 per cent (2008).

Simultaneously, popular disciplines, such as film and popular music, have become an increasingly important part of the total coverage. In reviews, film improved its ranking despite the fact that HS placed all film reviews in a supplement founded in 1995 which was not included in the data. Both popular music and film almost doubled their share, both in total coverage and in reviews: popular music increased from under 4 per cent to 10 per cent in total coverage and from under 4 per cent to 7 per cent in reviews. Film increased from 8 per cent to 13 per cent in total and from 8 per cent to 14 per cent in reviews. In comparison, the share of films in reviews was only 5.5 per cent on average in Hurri's (1993) data.

Preserving the Generic Balance

The share of reviews in Finnish dailies has, according to Hurri's (1993) study, accounted for a third of all texts on culture pages on average. Table 2 shows that the average share has remained the same during the subsequent decades as well. However, after a period of slow increase until the end of the 1990's, the proportion of reviews decreased, settling down to under a third. There has not been a total decline of criticism, but there are signs that reviews have not been able to hold their position.

Table 2. Coverage of Genres 1978-2008 (N=texts)

	1978		1983		1988		1993		1998		2003		2008		Mean
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Review	184	26.7	230	30.4	262	32.1	258	34.8	235	28.3	266	27.7	259	26.1	29.4
News	320	46.4	309	40.8	345	42.3	305	41.1	340	40.9	421	43.8	403	40.7	42.3
Other commentary ¹	49	7.1	62	8.2	70	8.6	65	8.8	76	9.1	80	8.3	95	9.6	8.5
Person feature	20	2.9	31	4.1	30	3.7	44	5.9	47	5.7	52	5.4	65	6.6	4.9
Feature	87	12.6	96	12.7	82	10.1	58	7.8	95	11.4	117	12.2	86	8.6	10.8
Other	30	4.3	29	3.8	26	3.2	12	1.6	38	4.6	25	2.6	83	8.4	4.1
Total	690	100	757	100	815	100	742	100	831	100	961	100	991	100	-

¹ Columns, comments and causeries.

The average length of reviews, as seen in Table 3, has been cut by more than a half over the period from approximately 3600 characters in 1978 to 2000 characters in 2008. In comparison with other genres, the average length of reviews has decreased the most, and the decrease has been greatest in the newspapers with the largest circulations (HS, AL). The length of reviews shows significant decrease even in those newspapers where the story length has been cut less than the average. In all, the average shortening rate between 1978 and 2008 has been 44 per cent in reviews, 34 per cent in news and 26 per cent in total.

Table 3. *Average Length of Texts 1978-2008*

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008
Average story length (in characters)	2360	2394	2279	2148	2167	2097	1691
Average length of reviews (in characters)	3596	3213	2916	2686	2620	2689	2005
Average length of news (in characters)	2389	2310	1982	1498	1749	1598	1542

Despite the shortening of the length of reviews, in times of economic difficulty organizations consider that reviews bring added value to printed and paid content. In regional papers reviews are thus written with a strong focus on the printed version of the newspapers. For example, in 2010, KAL removed all the paper's reviews from the Internet, in order to centralize their production behind a paywall. This is apparently one reason why reviews have not been included as a specific format in the new (online) versions of the papers. Its standardized form of the review allows cultural journalists to commission outsourced labour to fulfil certain tasks that are pre-defined and of stable quality.

Table 4. *Coverage of Articles (%) Written by the Various Types of Journalists by Genres 1978-2008*

	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	Mean
News								
Freelancers	3.8	2.6	2.6	3.6	5.9	5.0	4.0	3.9
Cultural journalists	0.9	1.9	3.5	3.9	13.5	7.1	16.1	6.7
Journalists from other departments	8.8	7.4	4.4	5.2	11.2	5.5	3.7	6.6
No signature	86.6	88.0	89.5	87.3	69.4	82.4	76.2	82.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Review								
Freelancers	56.0	53.7	61.1	60.5	79.1	66.5	69.9	63.8
Cultural journalists	35.3	31.2	30.9	29.1	14.5	26.0	23.9	27.3
Journalists from other departments	8.2	15.2	7.6	10.5	6.4	7.4	5.4	8.7
No signature	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Stories in total								
Freelancers	21.4	23.1	27.6	31.4	34.7	28.8	26.5	27.6
Cultural journalists	14.3	17.5	18.3	20.6	19.1	20.8	24.7	19.3
Journalists from other departments	9.0	10.4	6.0	8.7	9.4	7.3	5.2	8.0
No signature	55.3	49.0	48.1	39.3	36.8	43.1	43.6	45.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4 shows that the development of generic modes has resulted in a situation where staff workers in culture departments ("cultural journalists" in the table) have increasingly taken responsibility for news production and the production of reviews has increasingly been outsourced. Previously, journalists from other departments produced most of the news. Now, according to the interviews of the heads of departments, the requirements for cultural journalists within their departments have increased, as they are expected to produce stories for supplements, other departments and the online versions. Freelancers

are hired to obtain specialized skills for coverage directed at special audiences as well as to increase efficiency and to cope with peak demand.

The tendency to employ workers as an organizational resource for different kinds of tasks is denoted by the term “functional flexibility” (Atkinson 1984). An organization with increased functional flexibility expects workers to transfer from their mono-functional roles into task-flexible and multi-functional roles (Reilly 2001, 40). Intra-organizationally, while the other departments’ news generalists are now less involved in the domain of culture, the cultural staffers’ functional flexibility within the entire organization is increasing.

Among the freelancers, who are mostly reviewers, functional flexibility has not grown significantly. In 1978 the writers of reviews wrote in 1.1 genres on average, while in 2008 the average number of genres per freelancer critic had increased to 1.3. The increase consisted of commissions in opinionated genres, rather than news, so the writers were still employed on the basis of the aesthetic paradigm. However, the number of unique reviewers has still increased, potentially indicating more multi-voiced criticism.

In other words, the boundaries between departments have been blurred, in that cultural journalists have recently been turned into more desirable members of the workforce in relation to other, more news-oriented departments. They can, and are expected to, replace generalists in times of peaks in reporting. The head of KAL explained how he had even tried to shelter his staff from the external pressure to work for other departments, as they are not equally replaceable by generalists in the specialist department of culture, and commissioning freelancers is expensive.

Conclusion

The heads of culture departments typically make claims for the equality of the two major genres, reviews and news. They also tend to emphasize the significance of criticism on culture pages and the importance of specialized freelancers in journalistic production. Despite the support for reviews, the recent development of news production within culture departments indicates that news characteristics are now highly valued in the professional culture. When speaking about reviews the heads of the culture departments indicated strong support for criticism, but they evidently encountered pressures to develop content other than criticism. Reviews have been outsourced and shortened in length. For advocates of the aesthetic paradigm, increased outsourcing may be seen as an opportunity to increase the use of specialized labour from the artistic fields that mark the foundation of aesthetic expertise.

Hurri (1993) noted that rather than the change in content, the characteristic of the content produced by culture departments was its constancy. As seen from the data, even the more recent changes are relatively minor and cultural departments appear to form a seemingly stable reserve of established culture within the newspapers. Besides the fact that cultural change is slow in general, the balancing principle may affect temporary fluctuations in coverage. While specialized cultural journalism substantially preserves its basic structures, traditions and policies, more revolutionary changes may have occurred in the free- and lifestyle coverage that leads up to the culture section of a newspaper, or in emergent online criticism.

The balancing principle, where the organizational unit of the culture department allocates resources to both the expert and generalist workforce, and attempts to cover

a wide variety of artistic disciplines, is synchronic with the idea of “full service”. The coverage of as wide a range of cultural offerings in their circulation area as possible is motivated not only by the mixed variety of readers with heterogeneous backgrounds and different habits and tastes but also by the unique role of reviews in society, which implies that reducing the space dedicated to reviews is not just a matter of media policy but it concerns the entire societal function of reviewing arts. Even if the principle of balancing is becoming increasingly challenging in a more complex cultural environment, the idea of full service is considered to redeem the democratic mandate of culture on culture pages and, in this way, maintain the democratic underpinnings of cultural journalism. This eventually justifies cultural journalism as a type of journalism in society.

Notes

¹ TT Nyhetsbyrån is a Swedish press agency.

² For an evaluation of the validity and reliability of the analysis, see Jaakkola (2013, forthcoming).

³ The author wants to thank Aino Salonen for permitting the re-use of the data.

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PROMOTING AESTHETIC TOURISM

Transgressions between generalist and specialist subfields in cultural journalism

Maarit Jaakkola

Cultural departments in newspapers are reported to be encountering increasing pressures towards the production of news and more “journalistic” expression. However, journalistic values do not fit unproblematically into the dualistic professionalism of cultural journalism. The article elaborates an insight into the practice of arts journalism as an act of framing between the epistemic paradigms of journalistic and aesthetic tradition. The traditions are inspected as Bourdieusian fields, and the boundary-crossing between the fields is clarified by close-reading texts with deviations from the typical framings, accompanied by social tensions and indignation among the actors of the artistic field. By investigating the reconciliation between the two epistemic frames of cultural journalism, the journalistic and the aesthetic paradigm, certain restrictions between the generalist and specialist role-shifts can be found. This distinctive boundary between the fields leads into the question about how the newsworthiness of culture could be defined without losing the sensitivity to the characteristics of arts and culture, operated by their own logic.

KEYWORDS art criticism; culture departments; cultural journalism; field theory; professional journalistic culture

Introduction

The professionalism of cultural journalism is basically twofold (Forde, 2003, p. 114; Hurri, 1993, p. 54). On the one hand, informative material, such as news and news features, interviews, portraits and reportages form a central part of the content. On the other hand, reviews written by those who call and identify themselves as critics, are said to be the hard core and a special trait of cultural journalism, as no other type of journalism adheres to such a systematic institutional practice in evaluation like criticism. Cultural pages without either of the components are regarded by journalists as inadequate.

Recent discussions about cultural journalism have highlighted a crisis in the aesthetic tradition within cultural journalism, proclaiming a decline in the amount and significance of serious reviewing, primarily reflecting an increased orientation towards entertainment and commercialism (Berger, 1998; Elkins, 2003; Lund, 2005; Rubinstein, 2006). At the same time, an urge to produce shorter pieces of news in less time in a more journalistically oriented mode of production has been documented (Hellman and Jaakkola, forthcoming; Tyndall, 2004).

The objective of this article is to refine the conception of the professionalism of cultural journalism as a historically rooted apparatus made up of two paradigms, i.e. the generalist-informative and the specialist-evaluative tradition, and to examine their interplay in journalistic practice. I am addressing myself to Finland, a country with the democratic corporatist press model in which the relationship of political parties and the media is differentiated (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Finland is also characterized by loyal

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readership of dailies, high newspaper circulation and penetration (Sauri, 2012) as well as relatively centralized dissemination of arts information due to a small population and a restricted intellectual field in which newspapers form a central forum (Hurri, 1993). The focus is on constraints of (sub)field interaction which is examined through some indicative cases from several cultural sections of newspapers that have raised indignation among the sources and targets of cultural reporting.

The questions to be answered with the help of case analyses are the following: (1) in what way is the substance in culture sections of newspapers framed within the dualistic tradition of professionalism? What kind of metapragmatic strategies guide epistemic framing in the professional production of cultural journalism? (2) What are the rules and restrictions of paradigm shifts? These questions are examined by close-reading cases from Finnish dailies from the early 2000s.

The Bourdieu-inspired analysis in this article seeks to understand journalistic textual practice at a crossroads between professional fields that surpass organizational boundaries and are affected by larger occupational and intellectual cultures external to the organization. Calls for studying journalism at the point where organizational, institutional and ideological cultures converge have been made (see e.g. Hirsch, 1977), but journalists' position-takings in the journalistic field are rather a new issue on the research agenda (Benson, 1998; Marchetti, 2005). Partly this may be because for Bourdieu, the exact boundaries of (sub)fields have always marked a contingent question left for detailed empirical inquiry rather than a theoretical issue. Bourdieu's notion of fields (1984 [1979], 1993 [1984]), however, asks how individual actors function as institutional agents within a set of constraints imposed on them by manifold contexts, and how they manage to reconcile the complex challenges related to identities and roles producing legitimate agency in this tensioned space.

By the same token, the cultural sociologist Duncan (1953, p. 73) has pointed out the urgency to divert the social components whenever considering arts as a social institution. When examining literary criticism as a triangular model with the parameters author, critic and audience (see e.g. Hohendahl, 1982, pp. 235–7; Hurri, 1993, p. 55), he declared that “we need to know whose traditions we are talking about”. The significance of the journalists' position-takings is, however, often overlooked in academic research when generalizations of an ideal journalistic process are constructed. In the textual practice of the press, the social role of the writer is typically regarded as constant and explicit.

Understanding the nature and functions of cultural journalism is further important regarding how often cultural journalism has been considered a scholarly “fallow” (Reus and Harden, 2005, p. 153), a scientifically unexplored area approached only sporadically in communication studies during the last decades (Hurri, 1993, p. 20; Knapskog and Larsen, 2008, p. 7; Reus and Harden, 2005, p. 153; Szántó et al., 2004, p. 13). The study of the dominant occupational ideology of (news) journalism has been found to be based in elective democracies on a relatively consensual body of knowledge, a widely shared understanding of key theories and methods, and an international practice of teaching, learning and researching (Deuze, 2005, p. 442). Journalisms of expertise such as arts journalism thus pose a serious challenge to this singularly defined and monolithic view of (news) journalism to be advanced into a more diversified concept encompassing specialist discourses of journalism.

The Dualistic Professionalism of Cultural Journalism

Cultural journalists have characterized themselves as “journalists with a difference” (Forde, 2003) and “better journalists” in relation to “normal” journalists (Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007). They have also been described as “oddities in culture” (Hurri, 1993), which equates to Bourdieu’s (1984 [1979], p. 315; 1993 [1984], p. 96) view of critics as “cultural intermediaries” between two fields, namely those of art/culture and communication/media (Negus, 2002). The dual essence of cultural journalism can be identified as manifestation of two paradigms which I call the *journalistic paradigm* and the *aesthetic paradigm* (see also Hellman and Jaakkola, forthcoming). The journalistic paradigm connects to the general idea of (news) journalism, while the aesthetic paradigm is founded on the cornerstone of criticism, which in the context of the mass media practically means the genre of the review and possibly other rather exceptional texts written by critics. These two profoundly different types of generic expression and epistemic structure cast disparate perspectives on cultural reporting, and they have a complementary function in the production of cultural journalism. In reality, they tend to be more or less interwoven, but for analytical reasons it is appropriate to separate them as professional orientations related to wider social structures. To understand the differences and interactions between the paradigms I will first look at the central values of the two professional cultures and then clarify their contexts more thoroughly.

According to Deuze (2005, p. 447), journalists share a relatively similar kind of ideology, the basic traits of which are (1) *public service* (journalists provide a public service as collectors and disseminators of information), (2) *objectivity* (journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and thus credible), (3) *autonomy* (journalists attempt to be autonomous, free and independent in their work), (4) *immediacy* (journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed, inherent in the concept of news), and (5) *ethics* (journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy). These characteristics of the professional standard are largely similar worldwide in Western democracies where journalism serves as a fundamental role for the functionality of the societal system. Thus, the journalistic paradigm upholds a central function concerning basically all members of society, fostering active citizenship with democratic participation and inclusiveness.

The sense of being in public service, the autonomy, the ethics and the immediacy are values that all writers working for newspapers share without qualification, including cultural journalists, but some reservations need to be made. When asking how arts journalists give meaning to their work, particularly objectivity does not automatically fit into the standards of specialized field, because criteria for what is (good) art are partly dependent on distinctions in the cultural or artistic field (Bourdieu, 1993 [1984]). Autonomy, too, implicates for the aesthetic paradigm not only autonomy in respect to the art world but also to the journalist paradigm, i.e. the heteronomous pole of cultural journalism. In the aesthetic paradigm, the central dimensions of journalistic activity could be identified, respectively, as (1) *expertise* (critics are familiar with a certain field or subfield of art, recognized as connoisseurs by the art world, although simultaneously being in public service), (2) *subjectivity* (critics have a special emotionally-orientated relationship to the subject, cumulative through experience, and they are able to make use of this relationship in order to build opinions and views based on a distinctive concept of good art), (3) *autonomy* (the critics’ activity is based on relative autonomy as to the sources and objects of writing and reviewing, but, because they as freelancers also have some

independency in relation to the media organization, also to the journalistic paradigm), (4) *commitment* (critics act as spokespeople for the field or subfield of art they are representing and the critics are involved in promoting the quality of art even on a historical scale), (5) *pedagogicality* (critics help people understand the arts and act as educators to the greater audiences to enable them to recognize and cherish good taste).¹ (See also Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007; Klein, 2005.) As at least three of the five features have a tie-in with subjective voice, it can be said that the aesthetic paradigm is permeated with subjectivity; actors in the aesthetic paradigm build up a profile of their own that is recognizable to the readers. They rely on epistemic authority that is acquired through legitimacy in the fields of reception, whereas the journalist compiles his or her stories according to strategic ritualy, exploiting the knowledge of outsider expert sources and marking clearly who is speaking, which accords his or her legitimacy (Tuchman, 1978).

Furthermore, three central differences, listed in Table 1, deserve attention. Firstly, the aesthetic paradigm sticks practically to one single genre, the review, whereas the journalistic paradigm has a wide-ranging palette of genres at its disposal, starting from hard news through reportage till opinion-based texts such as commentary and the column. Text production within the journalistic paradigm also encompasses a substantial body of different methods of realizing journalistic ideas. The critic basically has only one method—to get acquainted with the artistic product the critic is supposed to review, whether this occurs by going to a concert or an exhibition, or reading scripts, scores, or books. In the discipline-based view as opposed to an open aspectual notion of culture (Bech-Karlsen, 1991, p. 72), culture in reviews cannot be set synonymous with everyday life. Because the reviews do not primarily concern people, institutions or events unless they can be approached through the idea of an artwork, the everyday aspects of cultural activity are mainly handled with journalistic methods (Stegert, 2001, p. 1725).

Secondly, the critics are devoted to promoting the quality of arts, and as mediators in the artistic distribution system they are inevitably part of the phenomena they are writing about. This is unavoidable because art, a discursive construct, cannot be accessible without attempts to decipher it. Thus, by inevitably participating in the construction of art discourse, the cultural journalist and the critic have definitional power related to the very

TABLE 1
Two paradigms of cultural journalism

Dimension	Aesthetic paradigm	Journalistic paradigm
Professional identity	Reviewer, critic	Journalist, reporter
Goal of action	Promotion of aesthetics and good taste	Promotion of democracy
Role of audience	Men-of-letters, segmented audience	Citizen, customer, universal audience
Means of thought	Emotion and experience	Common sense
System of reference	Aesthetics	Politics
Writer's position	Expert position: subjectivity based on epistemic authority	Outsider position: objectivity as strategic ritual
Position of sources	Undisclosed	Exposed
Relation to object	Predefined, disciplined	Open, problem-oriented
Relation to genres	Monogeneric	Polygeneric
Relation to methods	Methodical monism	Methodical pluralism
Time concept	Retrospective	Proactive

essence of arts and culture. According to the institutional orientations of art theory (see e.g. Becker, 1982; DiMaggio, 1987), both production and reception of arts are attached to the identification of what art is (classifying function) and to the evaluation of it (judgemental function), which are intertwined. Cultural journalism is substance-driven activity in the way that the cultural journalist is interested in what distinguishes itself as qualified culture that is worth reporting. Those types of journalism that occur within the commonplace framework that primarily news journalism is accustomed to, are aspect- or problem-driven affairs: they practically constitute an indifferent relation to the outline and quality of their substance as soon as they have chosen the topic and constructed the point of view for their own disposal. A news journalist, in turn, keeps asking “what has happened and what does it mean to people in their everyday life”. Cultural journalism is not that much concerned with the volume as with the quality, understood in terms of good taste.

Thirdly, an important underlying difference is the representation of the arts and culture maintained by the practices of each paradigm. The *raison d'être* of the institution of art criticism is the evaluation of high culture products. Along with the extension and renewal of the concept of culture in cultural departments since the 1980s, at the latest, forms of popular culture have been accepted under the scope of criticism as well. The normative centre in distinctive hierarchies is still high art, and cultural pages in newspapers are based on a concept of professionally made culture and with a high culture bias (Forde, 2003; Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007; Hurri, 1993; Tyndall, 2004).² Based on the domination of high art the basic function of the institutional system of criticism is seen in keeping mediocrity apart from renowned culture. Equally, the aesthetic orientation maintains the boundaries between high and low culture, art and non-art, quality and non-quality.

Bourdieu's answers to the question of the compatibility of different fields—that of cultural journalism and its contextual fields, such as audiences and the art world—are the notions of habitus and homology. The artistic field and the field of cultural journalism are two systems of interest, the relationship of which is built upon a structural and functional homology. According to Bourdieu (1993 [1984], p. 94) “the critics serve their readerships so well only because the homology between their position in the intellectual field and their readership's position within the dominant-class field is the basis of an objective connivance”. This means that critics “defend the ideological interests of their clientele when defending their own interests as intellectuals against their specific adversaries, the occupants of opposing positions in the field of production” (Bourdieu, 1993 [1984], pp. 94–5). Expressed in field-structural terms, there are “objective histories” of journalistic expression, the paradigms analysed above, and “histories incorporated in habitus”, meaning the convergence of disposition (habitus) and position (structural location within a field) (Benson, 1998, p. 483). The notion of habitus points to the social production of self that is different within the paradigms; the paradigms carry different orientations in self-understanding and lifestyle preferences and they operate and evaluate their action according to different parameters.

The emerging epistemological framework of a paradigm constitutes an interpretative contract between the text and the reader. In positioning herself as a writer, the actor in the field of cultural journalism routinely adheres to the paradigm that forms the context of the discursive action, and by doing this, she conducts a fundamental act of epistemic framing, simultaneously positioning herself in a field with homological ramifications. Both paradigms of cultural journalism are important factors in shaping both production and consumption: they allow people to observe, identify and name certain things and events

and to tell what counts as the most important in the chosen overall context. According to Entman (1993, p. 52) framing involves selection and salience, which means “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation”.

The professional discourse space of cultural journalism forms no solid kind of epistemic entity but a discordant universe of different institutional and informal discourses. The special feature of cultural journalism is the distinctive blend of expert and generalist professional discourses where a specialized type of journalism has to be able to negotiate a balance. Due to the close tie with the contextual fields—which is, in general, truly characteristic of cultural journalism (see e.g. Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007)—the writer needs to make her role and professional context explicit in order to be intelligible. If the contexts of discourse remain somewhat unspecified, the interpretative contract between the writer and the reader may be disturbed, which may be disadvantageous for the public connection of the journalist–reader relationship that is based on recognition and consecration granted by the audience.

Analysis

The journalistic pieces chosen for closer analysis in this section illustrate cross-field dynamism that does not provide the writers with typical social roles with established field relationships and connivance produced by the homologies. Unlike in a typical process of reviewing a cultural product, the stories require frame and role reconciliation, as the aesthetic paradigm is modified into strategies more typical of the journalistic paradigm. This deviation from the typical process of reviewing makes them worth attention in terms of position-takings within the professional field. The cases with such aesthetic or journalistic “tourism” were pointed at by cultural journalists in personal encounters related to data gathering (see Hellman and Jaakkola, forthcoming).

The texts are published in established cultural departments of Finnish-speaking daily newspapers with national or at least regional significance in the cultural area from the years 2000–2005. The newspapers share the same kind of occupational (organization, specialization, workflow, etc.) and professional characteristics (media role perceptions, views on ethics, etc.).

Ritualization of Judgemental Practice

A review with the title “The Trust is Tottering—Ulla Remes’ pictorial world is based on dangerous assumptions”³ discussed an exhibition in the local art museum in the province of Eastern Finland in which a Finnish artist showed artworks with mixed technique. The artist had been a member in an academic cross-disciplinary research project initiated and carried out by the Academy of Finland in 2004–2006. The project *Behind the Scenes of Society* (BeSS) was aimed at analysing family relationships and social networks of young people and investigating how young people form cohesive social and moral norms of trust and co-operation in the contexts of social class, ethnicity, gender and youth culture, religious identity, intergenerational values, worldviews and ideologies. The context is noticed in a by-line at the end of the story where the tie between the exhibition and the project is mentioned and the purpose of the project shortly described.

In the exhibition the artist presented native and immigrant people of different ages living in Finland under the theme of confidence. She had taken facial shots and presented the emotional charge by means of colour and abstract painting. The exceptional part of the project was that an artist was involved in the interdisciplinary framework. This was told in the press release of the exhibition but not emphasized in the exhibition space itself. In her works Ulla Remes tried in her own words to “study how confidence is created” and “how it might become fragile”. The works tried to provoke discussion about the meaning of confidence in everyday life.

In her review in the newspaper the critic of the newspaper calls Remes’ art and exhibition “non-valuable art”. According to her view, the combinations of photograph and painting are “pretended art”, imitation of what is understood as (high) art. The critic commends the artist for her previous activity as a writer, and regards the exhibition now—somewhat misleadingly—as a showcase for her artistic skills. She remarks:

A visual artist becomes a visual artist because image is her language—If we did not know the thematic of Ulla Remes’ exhibition in advance, would it unfold in the pictorial world? No. If we ignored the theme, would Ulla Remes’ pictorial world force us into a vivid dialogue, would it challenge us to thinking, would it push us into seething emotions, would it stimulate experiences? No. How did it come to this? Because the author’s pictorial world itself is without any appeal and intensity.

So, the critic continues, “Ulla Remes’ exhibition is based on assumptions—assumptions on what fine art is. The foundation for an exhibition is alarmingly fragile. A strong image originates from powerful pictorial imaginary and originality. Not from assumptions as well as unconscious or conscious imitation.”

The critic draws a twisted conclusion by reviewing Remes’ art on the grounds of aesthetics and values of what she considers to be good (fine) art, just like she is accustomed and expected to do in a review concerning a museum exhibition. The disproportion comes about when no sensitivity is shown for the exceptional arrangement and context of the exhibition; the fact that the question is about community art, a dialogical and community-based experiment with immigrants related to non-artistic objectives, is dismissed.

A shift of frame from the aesthetic paradigm towards the journalistic paradigm would have enabled a transition from the critic’s frame towards a more journalistic position, which would have contributed to better understanding of the process beyond the exhibition. However, the professional practice in newspapers is often confined to the *ritualization of judgemental practice*. Many commissions for the specialist freelance-critics are made before the critics have actually seen the exhibition—a procedure more and more often conditioned by the museums and other cultural institutions allowing the critics a free entry. The pre-made decision concerning the generic mode of representation does not promote alternation between the paradigms. Journalistic mobility would demand more role-taking competence and freedom from the largely freelance-based writers, as well as more journalistic competence from those identified first and foremost, and maybe solely, with the institution of criticism.

Externalization of Judgemental Practice

The isolated subjectivity in which the (post)modern critic finds herself and the journalistic convention to turn the critical discourse into a monologue (Hohendahl, 1982, p. 19) endorse journalistic framing. The fact that the genre of review always adheres to the

same format leads to the corollary that the pages filled with reviews look pretty much the same. This is one of the reasons, although most likely not the only one, why culture sections have felt tempted to try out different strategies in reporting. With the hope of attaining more dynamics to the pages they have started searching for alternatives to discuss cultural products.

The motivation for strategies that extend the modern review format was explicitly unveiled in one article series of the leading national newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. In an article series (2005) in which art was examined through someone else's eyes than the critic's, the introductory text said: "This spring, we will *write about a concert differently* once a month. The music journalist of the culture section will run a discussion about music with an interesting guest" (emphasis by the author). Amateurs and semi-professionals in the cultural field—a young composer of classical music, a musically talented five-year-old girl, an accordion player, an elderly woman with a season ticket and a young female member of a choir—were taken to a concert.

In a similar way, in an article with the title "Odour Included"⁴ the journalist introduced the spokesman of the Fishermen's Central Association to an exhibition on Dutch painting of the sixteenth century dealing with fish. The task of the interviewee was to review the paintings portraying dead fish in still lives from a "fisherman's and a fish specialist's" point of view. Another article, "They Look Rather Silent"⁵, dealt with paintings by the Finnish von Wright Brothers, representatives of the Biedermeier period with an excellence in animal depiction. The artworks had been displayed several times previously, so the journalist decided to seek another perspective by allocating the role of a judge to the spokesman, who was also a nature photographer who specialized in birds.

The journalistic piece was interpreted as a manifestation of the aesthetic paradigm, which was signalled in a letters-to-the-editor "Rather Narrow a Point of View"⁶ written by the personnel of the art museum where the exhibition took place. The head of the art museum and a professor of art history stated in their public letter that "it is wonderful that new forms and perspectives are sought for an exhibition review" but, unfortunately, in their opinion, the viewpoint "was too limited", because "in the text the writer has totally forgotten the sense of the art historical context" and neglected "questioning what life was like during the brothers' lifetime". According to them, a relatively and even unintentionally high importance was attached to a marginal and biased voice. The art of the von Wright Brothers "may be difficult to understand from the restricted angle of photography, binoculars and telescopes".

The emphasis on everybody's aesthetic experience and a commonplace frame instead of connoisseur's knowledge and aesthetic frame creates more possibilities for the readers to be able to enter into personal relations with the exhibition regardless of whether they have seen it by themselves or not. An outsider's eyes are expected to find a new approach to the subject, the advantage being that the activity of reviewing becomes more accessible to everyone, still without losing the expertise out of sight and slipping into naive amateurism. The critic has the possibility of using her own expertise although she is listening to an outsider's opinions and mediating them to the public.

The *externalization of judgemental practice* represents a more relativist and a more negotiable metapragmatic strategy, given that the interviewee is explicitly positioned at the textual level. The smooth shift of focus from the aesthetic paradigm to the journalistic paradigm opens up possibilities for a more aspect-oriented way of embracing arts in its social contexts rather than sticking to the cultural product. Moreover, the externalization

strategy turns an exhibition into an event that may add (news) value to the topic and deconstruct an artwork for purposes of learning. It can also prove successful in terms of polyphony and dialogue, which is regenerative as critics frequently tend to consecrate those already consecrated (Becker, 1982, p. 113; Janssen, 1997; Marchetti, 2005, p. 78).

Appropriation of Judgemental Practice

When someone delivers an utterance in terms of arts, it is a core question whether she is a legitimized member of the art world (Becker, 1982; Danto, 1981). To reveal the reactions of a newcomer is a legitimized journalistic strategy, if the “judge” is framed within the journalistic paradigm: the person making judgements does not pretend to be anybody else than she is. Thanks to the exact precision of the context no reader mistakes the writer for a recognized representative of the art world. The following cases present a re-adoption of the specialist frame of the aesthetic paradigm.

In *Helsingin Sanomat*, it was probably in the middle of the 1990s that a journalist went to an opera festival for the first time and used introspection to build up an outline of the experience of a first-timer within the journalistic paradigm. Before, the representation of an aesthetic experience had been pretty much a professional critic’s sophisticated experience—at least the non-aesthetic descriptions had been realised within the aesthetic paradigm in the form of the review. In one article,⁷ the journalist reported her observations about the dress code of the audience, the atmosphere and the emotional effects of the music: “During the interval one has to have a refined drink and an intellectual discussion. This is what is also being done, on two floors.” The approach is deliberately naive compared to the sophisticated expert discourse imbued with beaming eloquence and striking familiarity. The journalistic paradigm notwithstanding allows without a greater discomfort a lay perspective that is free from the conventionalized patterns of (re)viewing and self-evident truths of art talk. After the initial experiment the journalistic pattern of “being there for the first time” has been applied several times in *Helsingin Sanomat* to achieve fresh perspectives on cultural events.⁸

In the journalistic story “Gazing and Thickened Agony”,⁹ a middle-aged man—a journalist, permanent staff for the second biggest Finnish daily *Aamulehti*, ignorant of high culture and art life according to his own words—went to a local dance festival dedicated to contemporary dance. In the hallway of the dance theatre he realized he did “not have the slightest clue what contemporary dance is all about”. He made the description of the performer’s motions to his task, thinking and acting honestly as a layman. He told the reader that he had seen two pieces of dance in his life. In a humorously stylized text he wrote down his observations and reactions during the performance. The conclusion was something that could not be heard from a distinguished critic’s mouth:

After Haapala [the previous dancer] [the dancer] Pirjo Yli-Maunula comes up to the stage, celebrating her 25th anniversary as a professional. For some reason, even she has chosen weird yowling for her incidental music, which even a foolish idiot could not listen to. It is still far from boring watching Yli-Maunula: the dark beauty is moving on the stage soulfully, albeit the overdramatic gazing, the desperate quest for the ego and cosmic roaring in agony belong to her repertoire as well. Till the end, I am carefully whistling in the dark and hoping that Yli-Maunula would do the same as Haapala and strip down to her underclothes. No hope: she will be wearing the red cocktail dress till the bitter end.

The publication of the article caused uproar in the circles of contemporary dance professionals. A press conference was held by the centre of contemporary dance for journalists willing to report about contemporary dance and, needless to say, the writer of the article in question was invited. The journalist's "judgement" was experienced as disparaging not only towards performers but also towards the form of high art that the contemporary dance festival represented. The article was a normal journalistic feature text in a reportage style but it was publicly received as a review, which was quite a justified interpretation, as only the typography differentiated the two genres. In this case, the first-timer was striving for not only a credible first impression that other novices could easily identify themselves but also a humorous way to deal with an elitist form of art that additionally turned into a relationship of power amalgamated in a nearly philistine, extra-artistic male gaze towards the professional female dancer.

The same kind of "review tourism" was practised in a series of articles in *Helsingin Sanomat*, where everyday phenomena were examined with aesthetic concepts and termini, i.e. commonplace objects were aesthetically framed. Commonplace items such as a cash dispenser, a restaurant menu and motions of a skateboarder in the street were reviewed in terms of their aesthetic impressions.¹⁰ The reviewer found the function of a cash dispenser to provide the client an oasis in the middle of the harsh world where the individual stays in the centre of attention. In the "street-review" of a skater's performance the street was re-interpreted as a stage and the passers-by were treated as an audience: "The skater is first twirling cautiously around and then diagonally cleaves the whole stage. He dramatically, but still not surprisingly, ends up in the forestage, at a basin that separates the stage and the audience."

The play with the expert role can be seen as a certain kind of *détournement* willing to re-use elements of a well-known media practice to create a new work with a different message, one opposed to the original. The *appropriation of judgemental practice* to a journalistic frame could also be regarded as a strategy to create new publics, both to artistic disciplines as well as to cultural journalism. By choosing a commonplace frame for reporting about the performance the subject can be made more accessible to the general public but, at the same time, specialist publics, struggling for their autonomy, are likely not to accept the "intruders" or "tourists" in their field. This is not a question of predilection or courtesy but a fundamental rule that the whole field is based upon: the artistic or aesthetic field is constitutive of specific statements—it is the cluster of those statements, the Bourdieusian *doxa* that keeps the field in existence. Thus, the artistic field is self-reflexive as it creates and maintains its own reality and representation. The field "owns" the work because it has practically made it, and every actor who trespasses the field changes it—it cannot take positions in that field without showing the dispositions required and acquiring recognition.

Discussion

The fact that a story has been published in the cultural section of a newspaper creates a horizon of expectation that is bound with the traditions of the arts and culture section of the particular media. The cases illustrate, as noted among others by Hurri (1993; see also Bech-Karlsen, 1991; Mikkola, 1972), that the Finnish cultural public sphere has unfolded a fairly modernist project indicating—to adopt Hallin and Mancini's (2004, pp.

26–30) idea of political parallelism—strong “aesthetic parallelism” in which the culture and discursive style of journalism are closely related through several connections with that of the artistic field. Indeed, it is noteworthy how the art world becomes indignant if a commonplace framework substitutes the conventionalized aesthetic one. The field of communication in cultural production has thus for a long time been mediatized in a way that the central fundament of operation has basically not been the independence of the media from the artistic field but, rather, the independence of the artistic field from the media (cf. Strömbäck, 2008). By the same token, the cultural journalist has been more a representative of the artistic field in the media than the other way round. Moreover, it has been noted in general that the aesthetic experience in the Western world during times of modernism has to a significant extent been bound to the artistic field and its focus on artistic products (Shusterman, 2000).

Accordingly, the cases show that aesthetically framed themes may not be legitimately discussed in a subjective mode in the social role of a journalist, but vice versa may be the case: commonplace objects can be treated aesthetically in a subjective generic mode because it does not denote an entry into the artistic field. Since audiences of cultural journalism interpret journalistic contents as manifestations of art talk, they are to be read through the requirements directed to actors in the aesthetic or artistic field. Art has been found to enter into life only with dubious consequences; when treated as everyday material, it turns into philosophy and ceases to be art, as documented among others by Danto (1981). While the aesthetic dimension can still relatively fruitfully enter the everyday lifeworld, the reverse is not usually the case, as interestingly observed in the production of a contemporary Italian artist by Principe (2005). There is, in other words, a *distinctive boundary*, a barrier between the aesthetic and the commonplace spheres that cannot be trespassed from the direction of the commonplace towards the aesthetic without the legitimate dispositions of the artistic field. The artistic fields, striving for relative autonomy, defend their guardianship in competition with other fields.

Beyond the cases discussed above, cultural journalists and theorists between the academy and practice have been searching for “third ways” of producing satisfactory cultural journalism at the institutional and structural level. According to Bech-Karlsen (1991), an alternative way of reporting could be found in recognizing processes instead of cultural products and extending the sector-based concept of culture to a more open concept. Even methods including artists in the cultural production within the media have been sketched (Hognestad, 1995; Mikkola, 1972). It is interesting that these professional discussions envisioning alternatives for cultural journalism often have the same aim: to overcome the boundary between paradigms without violating the artistic field.

Conclusion

This article traced field transgressions between two subfields of cultural journalism, conceptualized as epistemic framing between two paradigms. In the Bourdieusian view, the more heteronomous pole of cultural journalism, the journalistic paradigm, is typically regarded as dominant in relation to the autonomous pole, the aesthetic paradigm. However, it was illustrated that the field transgression is more legitimate from the aesthetic paradigm to the fields of journalistic paradigm than vice versa, as a non-member of the artistic field does not occupy the dispositions required for discursive acts in the artistic field.

The distinctive boundary is an indication of a rather limited, sector-based concept of culture with tight kinship with the artworld. The concept of culture in cultural journalism has begun to extend with the inclusion of popular and lifestyle themes from cultural journalism to journalism on culture (see e.g. Kristensen, 2010). Simultaneously, calls for re-contextualization of cultural journalism emphasizing theories of social sciences instead of aesthetic and humanistic approaches have been made in academic research (see e.g. Knapskog and Larsen 2008). The paradigm shifts may thus well present an emergence of new criticality which, however, differs conceptually from the way it has been understood within the aesthetic paradigm. In the traditional form of (aesthetic) criticism, reviewing has been attached to a normative value system celebrated as quality in the arts, but the new kind of criticality may find laymen's perspectives equally useful for the constitution of cultural citizenship. These "counter-framing strategies" (as opposed to reaffirmation of existing stereotypic patterns and lifestyles) are likely to be regarded as characteristic of ambitious arts journalism as they are manifestations of journalistic criticality and independence.

Obviously, one paradigm can never fully serve all audiences at once because the different paradigms of cultural journalism create and nourish different publics and culture is based upon voluntary inclusion to a community of taste. To avoid reciprocal doxa reinforcement that happens when cultural journalists place themselves in the structural locations of homology, and to boost the accumulation of symbolic capital in wider strata of society, different impetus for different forms of culture (high, popular, and everyday culture) are needed. "Aesthetic tourism" enables a transition from an elitist to pluralist concept of arts and culture that embraces different tastes and lifestyles within the frame of daily journalistic reporting.

The most urgent question for cultural departments of newspapers is how they intend to cultivate the paradigmatic traditions in their organizational culture and policy. In previous research, a growing hegemony of organizational identity over professional identity in media organizations has been observed (see e.g. de Bruin, 2000). The consolidation of the journalistic paradigm can be seen first and foremost as a conscious strategy of the management to attach the culture sections to the heteronomous core of the mainstream news organization, which means, for instance, establishing new forms and ideals for information acquisition. As today's newspapers are struggling with major financial troubles and the ideal journalist seems to be a multi-skilled generalist, understanding and handling the dualistic nature of cultural reporting means for newspapers, above all else, a challenge in expertise management.

This study delivers a preliminary insight into the sub-cultural anatomy of cultural journalism, which contributes to conceiving of specialized professionalism as more diversified than previously. This case study does not provide evidence for any generalizations, but it indicates possible directions for studying the interplay of paradigms more closely in the future. Further studies should inspect the paradigm transgressions more thoroughly both technically, linguistically and procedurally, and also with an eye for their social impacts and uses of social control in organizational environments.

NOTES

1. I use the word "critic" as opposed to "journalist", although I am conscious of the distinction between the words "critic" and "reviewer" proposed by Titchener (1998, p. 3).

2. Klein (2005, pp. 1–2) notes that popular music critics often regard themselves as having a lower status than colleagues writing about high culture, and they experience a need to legitimize themselves to the critics of high culture, which mirrors the hierarchy within the arts.
3. *Savon Sanomat*, 25 March 2005.
4. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 27 May 2004.
5. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 9 June 2004.
6. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 20 June 2004.
7. “Verdi and Shakespeare opened the gate to the world of the opera: The first time”, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 4 August 1995.
8. For example, “Oh, Kullervo! For the first time in theatre”, 7 February 2002.
9. *Aamulehti*, 21 April 2005.
10. “An Addictive Experience, Permitted Only for the Well-off”, 7 August 2000; “Mastered by Desire Impulsive”, 6 July 2000; “Dramatic Standstills at a Basin”, 30 June 2000.

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