CULTURAL JOURNALISM in the Nordic Countries

Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Kristina Riegert (eds.)

NORDICOM
Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries
Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Kristina Riegert (eds.)

© Editorial matters and selections, the editors; articles, individual contributors; Nordicom 2017


The publication is also available as open access at www.nordicom.gu.se

Published by:
Nordicom
University of Gothenburg
Box 713
SE 405 30 GÖTEBORG
Sweden

Cover by: Per Nilsson
Cover photo: Bartlomiej Zborowski/Epa
Printed by: Ale Tryckteam AB, Bohus, Sweden, 2017
Contents

Preface 7

1. Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Kristina Riegert
   Why Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries? 9

I. COUNTRY OVERVIEWS 27

2. Nete Nørgaard Kristensen, Unni Prom & Aske Kammer
   The Changing Logics of Danish Cultural Journalism 29

3. Heikki Hellman, Maarit Jaakkola & Raimo Salokangas
   From Culture Wars to Combat Games.
   The differentiation and development of culture departments in Finland 49

4. Jan Fredrik Hovden, Leif Ove Larsen & Sille Nygaard
   Cultural Rebels, Popular Journalism and Niche Journalism in Norway 69

5. Kristina Riegert & Anna Roosvall
   Cultural Journalism as a Contribution to Democratic Discourse in Sweden 89

II. COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES 109

6. Heikki Hellman, Leif Ove Larsen, Kristina Riegert,
   Andreas Widholm & Sille Nygaard
   What Is Cultural News Good For? Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish cultural journalism in public service organisations 111

7. Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Anna Roosvall
   Editorial and Cultural Debates in Danish and Swedish Newspapers.
   Understanding the terror attacks in Paris and Copenhagen in early 2015 135

8. Kirsten Sparre & Unni Prom
   Journalists as Tastemakers. An analysis of the coverage of
   the TV series Borgen in a British, Swedish and Danish newsbrand 159
III. CULTURAL JOURNALISM IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: Essays

9. Jostein Gripsrud
   The Cultural, the Political and the Functions of Cultural Journalism.
   In Digital Times
   179

10. Martin Eide
    The Culture of Service Journalism
    181

Afterword
   195

The Authors
   205

   207
From Culture Wars to Combat Games

The differentiation and development of culture departments in Finland

Heikki Hellman, Maarit Jaakkola & Raimo Salokangas

Abstract

Based on earlier research mainly focusing on newspapers, the chapter identifies the major shifts in organisation, content and identity of the Finnish cultural journalism, in particular since the 1970s. With regard to organisation, the cultural newsroom experienced its peak of autonomy in the 1980s and 1990s, whereas since the early 2000s, arts journalists have increasingly been integrated into the managerial conduct of the news organisation. In terms of content, the culture pages went through a popularisation with culture being now defined in a less hierarchic and more inclusive manner than before. As to the journalists’ identity, the traditional occupational professionalism requiring expertise has partly been replaced by organisational professionalism favouring flexibility and multi-skilling. All these gradual transformations of cultural journalism culminate in a fundamental shift that has been described as a transition from an aesthetic to a journalistic paradigm.

Keywords: autonomy, cultural journalism, Finland, history, professionalism, reviewing

It was around midnight on Wednesday, 16 August 1977, when an Associated Press newshash managed to surprise the on-duty subeditor of Helsingin Sanomat, Finland’s largest daily. Elvis Presley, the 42-year-old ‘King of Rock and Roll’, had passed away in Memphis, Tennessee. It was late and the deadline was near, so the subeditor decided that the news was not even worth breaking. However, a night-shift reporter decided on his own to plant a 26-line, one-column notice titled “Elvis Presley dies in hospital” on the foreign page of Thursday’s paper. On Friday, a short two-column obituary with a one-column picture was published in the obituaries section. Finally, on Sunday, a three-quarter-page analysis, “Elvis Presley – the king – the myth – the liberator”, was published in the Helsingin Sanomat features section.1

During the last few decades, the values and news values of cultural journalism in Finland have undergone a dramatic change. When David Bowie, a major cultural icon, died in January 2016, it elicited exhaustive coverage and analysis on the next day’s culture pages of all legacy news media. This was not the case 40 years earlier. At that

time, popular music did not necessarily make news, not to mention cultural news, since its legitimation as a field of art was still unfinished (Mattlar 2015). In contrast, today, popular culture has gained an increasing share of cultural coverage and is given exposure to attract readers' attention (Jaakkola 2015a).

This chapter examines the development of culture departments in Finland. First, we outline the principal traditions of research on cultural journalism in Finland. Second, we explain the main developments of cultural journalism. Third, we focus on the transformation of the organisational structures, content and professionalism of cultural journalism from the 1980s onwards. Finally, we address some recent public debates around culture departments, thus elaborating the changing position of professional cultural journalism.

We focus on newspapers because their culture sections have played a definitive role in the development of cultural journalism and in the research on cultural journalism (Hurri 1993; Jaakkola 2015b). The national public broadcaster is mostly ignored here due to lack of earlier research. Furthermore, we concentrate on culture pages, not journalism on culture in general (Jaakkola 2015b, Kristensen & Porm 2011). Accordingly, we define 'culture' empirically, i.e. we follow the way in which the coverage of Finnish culture sections has evolved. As shown by Hurri (1983, 1993), newspapers tend to understand 'culture' in a restricted, aesthetically and institutionally oriented sense, featuring the various artistic disciplines and cultural institutions. Expansion towards lifestyle issues is a recent tendency (Jaakkola 2015b).

Although the review of books, theatre plays, concerts and the like flourished as early as the second half of the 19th century and newspapers were active participants in various societal debates and culture wars, culture departments in Finland were not generally organised until the 1950s and 1960s (Hurri 1993, Keränen 1984, Salminen 1988). With regard to organisation, we identify three phases in the development of cultural journalism: (1) differentiation commencing in the 1950s, (2) autonomisation starting in the 1960s and (3) integration into managerial control since the early 2000s (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola et al. 2015).

In terms of content, we also pinpoint three phases of development: (1) 'elitisation' characterising the cultural journalism of the 1950s and the 1960s, (2) popularisation gaining ground gradually from the late 1960s and (3) increasing 'newsification' and standardisation of coverage since the early 2000s (Hurri 1983, 1993; Jaakkola 2015a, 2015b). As to the journalists' identity, we refer to the distinction presented by Evetts (2006): In the first phase, the institutionalisation of cultural journalism developed the expertise and autonomy of journalists, i.e. their 'occupational professionalism', whereas since the early 2000s, 'organisational professionalism' has dominated, compromising the earlier autonomy of cultural journalists (Jaakkola 2015b, Jaakkola et al. 2015).
FROM CULTURE WARS TO COMBAT GAMES

Earlier research on cultural journalism

Cultural journalism is situated along a borderline that runs between the humanities and the social sciences. This has resulted in its treatment either as a function of arts and cultural mediation, with an emphasis on criticism and the aesthetic substance, or from the aspect of reporting on the condition of mainstream journalism. These two dimensions have seldom been integrated. This is also true in the case of Finland, where there are clearly two traditions in investigating cultural journalism.

One tradition draws from the research and history of journalism. Quantitative longitudinal analyses of cultural coverage and its distribution across the various fields of art have been conducted by Hurri (1983, 1993) and Jaakkola (2013, 2015a). In her seminal enquiries, Hurri (1983, 1993) conducted a content analysis of the culture pages of five Helsinki-based national newspapers, including the organs of both parties (Uusi Suomi, Suomen Sosialidemokraatti, Maakansa/Suomenmaa and Vapaa Sanal/Kansan Uutiset) and the leading independent daily (Helsingin Sanomat), between 1945 and 1985. Later, Jaakkola (2013, 2015a) conducted a similar analysis of one national and four regional newspapers (Helsingin Sanomat, Aamulehti, Turun Sanomat, Savon Sanomat and Kaleva) covering the years 1978-2008.

Interestingly, in general newspaper histories (e.g., Keränen 1984, Mervola 1995, SLH 5 1988, SLH 7 1988, Tommila & Salokangas 2000) or histories of individual newspapers (e.g., Hokkanen 2006, Kiipli 2007, Manninen & Salokangas 2009, Pietilä 2011, Salokangas 2003, Suistola 1999), cultural coverage has seldom gained attention, although criticism and debate were major functions of early newspapers and culture pages later fundamentally profiled readership of the newspapers (Hurri 1993).

While the first tradition approached cultural journalism as an entity and analysed the distribution of coverage as illustrating the journalistic choices of the newspapers, the second tradition represents a sector-based analysis of arts and focuses on the intermediary and legitimating role of criticism in the artistic field in question. Scholars have described, analysed and discussed the development of, for example, literary criticism (Huotari et al. 1980, Korhonen 2012, Soikkeli 2007, Sucksdorff 2005), theatre criticism (Linkala 2014, Niemi 1984, Westman 2016), music criticism (Sarjala 1990, 1994; Välimäki 2012), film criticism (Laito 2012, Pantti 2002) and TV criticism (Hellman 2009), considering newspaper reviews intrinsic to the genre of criticism.

Reviewers have also been investigated. Jokinen (1988) conducted a survey among the members of the Finnish Critics' Association (SARV) and revealed that three quarters of the reviewers had a university degree and almost two thirds were men. While only one out of five wrote criticism full time, the reviewers tended to have close ties with the fields of art they covered, as observed in other studies too (Harries & Wahl-Jørgensen 2007, Kristensen & From 2011).

This chapter is indebted to both of these traditions, i.e. journalism research and aesthetically orientated research. We draw heavily on empirical studies on the historical development of culture pages in Finland while making use of the general history writing
of Finnish newspapers as well as individual newspaper histories that provide interesting, sometimes incidental, information about the formation and focus of cultural coverage in regional dailies. In addition to journalism research, we refer to evidence drawn from arts and criticism-oriented research. Some MA-level theses are also utilised, since they often make excursions into fields neglected by established research.

Development of Finnish cultural journalism

Cultural issues have been part of Finnish journalism for as long as there have been newspapers, but the rise of language-based nationalism in the latter half of the 19th century made the advancement of 'Finnish' culture a core area in political and social mobilisation. The notion of 'national' culture in the nation's own language(s) was central to the nation-building process. Cultural issues were perhaps most significantly present as a group of young liberal or even radical intellectuals established the newspaper Päivälehti in 1889, the predecessor of Helsingin Sanomat (Tomtila & Salokangas 2000). As an indication of the importance of culture, a regular vignette for 'Literature and Art' was introduced by Uusi Suometar, the leading conservative daily, in 1886. Päivälehti introduced a similar vignette in 1891, and Työväenemies, the organ of the Social Democratic Party, followed suit in 1904 (Hurri 1983).

Institutionalisation of culture sections

From the late 19th century to the 1980s, the press system in Finland was political and leaned heavily on regional dailies. The political parties usually had their 'main organ' in Helsinki, with thin national coverage, complemented by a network of regional papers. This resulted in parallel political markets, a high external pluralism of the press and a high newspaper circulation, typical of the Nordic media model (Hallin & Mancini 2004). As it was important for the parties to cover the entire nation to mobilise their supporters to the polls, the papers were usually published by local companies owned by supporters of the party in the region. Consequently, local and regional issues, including cultural events, were comprehensively covered, representing the early forms of cultural journalism. Naturally, the capital-based dailies had the widest cultural offerings (Tomtila & Salokangas 2000).

By the millennium, all the leading regional dailies gave up their party political status. The most notable earlier cases are three organs of the liberal Progressive Party that declared themselves independent: Helsingin Sanomat in 1943 (Manninen & Salokangas 2009), Kaleva in Oulu in 1951 (SLH 5 1988) and Turun Sanomat in Turku in 1961 (SLH 7 1988). Because becoming independent forced the newspapers to address a wider readership than before, cultural coverage also became broader.

It is perhaps the slow disconnection of its party political bonds that explains the considerably late differentiation and institutionalisation of cultural journalism in the
FROM CULTURE WARS TO COMBAT GAMES

Finnish press. Another structural explanation is the small population in the regions, which was insufficient to maintain all-round cultural offerings, in spite of the fact that even small towns often supported theatres and orchestras. As broadening their content became necessary, the newspapers hired more journalists and developed new ways of organising their work. There were individual reporters assigned to cultural issues as early as the 1920s (Keränen 1984, Tommila & Salokangas 2000). However, according to Keränen (1984), it was not until the 1950s that the differentiation of newsrooms gained ground, and it was not until the 1960s that full-time cultural journalists were increasingly hired.

Reviews were published in regional papers as well, but in the capital-based dailies, they represented the most prominent form of cultural journalism. Until the 1950s, critics were not journalists but typically artists themselves too. According to Hurri (1993), this created a culture of ‘insider’ criticism, which stood out because reviews were not necessarily signed or used only pseudonyms. Hurri (1983) estimated that in 1950, one third of the reviews were not properly signed; even in 1960, the corresponding proportion was one fifth. This artists-as-reviewers convention disappeared in the 1980s. Today, it is still sometimes applied but only if the importance of a new work calls for special high-profile attention.

As long as the newspapers promoted party politics in their editorial pages, even their approach to culture tended to have a political flavour. In her thorough study on the culture departments in five Helsinki newspapers, Hurri (1993) characterised the period 1945-1959 as a transition from a political conflict to a conflict of generations, while the 1960s were dominated by the latter. In the 1970s, politics re-emerged in the form of a battle between the far left and the rest. Hurri showed consistently that the position of the newspapers’ culture pages on the conservative-liberal or right-left axis did not necessarily follow the position of the parties in general politics or the official line of the party in question. Two showpieces were Kansan Uutiset, the main organ of the Democratic League of the People of Finland (communists and their socialist allies) in the late 1960s, and the conservative Uusi Suomi in the same period. In both cases, the culture pages aimed to be more radical than the parties that the papers supported, and a backlash followed (Hurri 1993). The tendency to break with the ideological orientation of the paper demonstrated the shift of cultural journalism towards increasing autonomy and occupational professionalism, which characterised its development until the 1990s.

It is notable that Helsingin Sanomat, despite being the leading national newspaper, established a culture department only in 1965. The culture department was part of a major development project, focusing strongly on newspaper design, launched by the new leadership (Manninen & Salokangas 2009, Tarkka 1994). The autonomy of the culture section was accentuated by the fact that it was not subordinated under the news division but had an editor in chief of its own (Blåfield 2014). Helsingin Sanomat was among the first newspapers to develop an ambitious design for its culture pages, particularly on Sundays (Mervola 1995).
Entrance of popular culture

As to the contents, Hurri (1983, 1993) demonstrated that between 1945 and 1985, four classical fields of art – music, theatre, literature and visual arts – accounted for two thirds of all coverage of the culture pages of the Helsinki-based newspapers. As 59 per cent of the articles represented the news genre and 27 per cent were reviews, the newization of culture pages is not a new phenomenon. From the mid-1940s until the mid-1980s, the cultural provision remained relatively static, and the cultural concept among newspapers was considerably homogenous, i.e. elitist, aesthetically oriented and focusing on professionally produced culture and arts. Nevertheless, towards the end of Hurri’s research period, the share of reviews and opinion articles appeared to be increasing at the expense of news genres while popular culture was receiving growing attention. This shift reflects the gradual start of the popularisation of culture pages, a development observed in other Nordic countries as well (Kristensen 2010, Larsen 2008).

The way popular music became stepwise legitimate in Helsingin Sanomat provides a good example of how topics that are eventually accepted as ‘culture’ find their way into different sections of a newspaper. According to Mattlar (2015), the first jazz column appeared in the paper in 1950. It was placed in the ‘From Day to Day’ section, which also included the weather, anniversary interviews and entertainment news on foreign celebrities. ‘Proper’ culture was covered under the ‘Literature and Art’ vignette, but as early as 1951, some of the jazz columns were already placed there. In 1954, Helsingin Sanomat established a youth section in its Saturday issue, including a regular jazz column by two young men. A more seasoned jazz musician kept writing for the ‘From Day to Day’ section, which was also the site for pop music articles in the 1960s. The founding of a separate culture section in 1965 with a chief of its own, Marja Niinihuto, eventually clarified the positioning of stories. Jazz had already become ‘culture’, and from the mid-1960s, eminent figures within ‘serious’ music could write analytical reviews on the Beatles and Bob Dylan.

Spectrum of voices

Helsingin Sanomat was the paper that the regional papers kept an eye on. For instance, when the medium-sized daily Vaasa founded a culture section in 1974, the journalist appointed was instructed to “make the section look the way it looks in Finnish regional dailies”. Thus, she started to apply the model of Helsingin Sanomat and the big regional daily Aamulehti in the context of a smaller paper. (Salokangas 2003: 37.) However, innovations in cultural journalism were not a monopoly of Helsingin Sanomat. In the 1960s, its number one position was challenged by Uusi Suomi, a conservative daily, which reshaped its culture pages by hiring young journalists (Hurri 1993). In the late 1980s, during its last years of existence, Uusi Suomi developed an ambitious culture page concept by launching an eight-page Saturday section with a creative design and high-profile contents addressing a young urban readership.
Sometimes a regional player can also have a strong presence in the cultural field. In particular, *Aamulehti*, published in Tampere, has presented a proactive approach to culture since the 1980s by emphasising journalistic values and the importance of cultural news. One of its sweetest triumphs was in 1984, when the Finlandia Prize, the national book award, was granted for the first time. On the morning of the prize giving, when the Helsinki-based media finally learned the name of the winner, essayist Erno Pasila, and placed a call to him, his telephone was answered by Erikk Lehtola, the culture editor of *Aamulehti*. He was already at the writer’s home in Hameenlinna, preparing to travel with him to the ceremony in Helsinki (Pietilä 2011).

Also, the Swedish-speaking press in Finland is traditionally known for its cultural emphasis, which is explained by the minority language position and the need to create a linguistically differentiated public sphere. For example, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the leading paper published in Helsinki, had in 1970 a culture section of six staff writers and dozens of contributors (Rotkirch 1971). In 2004, most of the Swedish-speaking newspapers, some of them showing a circulation of less than 10,000 copies, still had at least one journalist specialising in culture and publishing routinely reviews too (Sucksdorff 2005).

Unlike in Sweden, afternoon tabloids have never played a strong role in Finnish cultural journalism. The most lasting imprint was perhaps left by Matti Rinne, the culture editor of *Ilta-Sanomat* from 1968-1998. During his time, *Ilta-Sanomat* routinely reviewed books, theatre premieres, gallery exhibitions, concerts and so on, yet was more selective and brief than its sister daily *Helsingin Sanomat* (Kilpi 2007). During the early 2000s, reviews disappeared from the pages of *Ilta-Sanomat*, and culture was integrated into the entertainment section of the paper. An increasing share of its cultural coverage dealt with television, a trend accelerated by the popularity of drama series and, later, reality programming (Herkman 2005).

Although our focus is on newspapers, a few words must be said about cultural journalism in radio and television. The original ethos of radio, operated by Yleisradio (YLE), Finland’s public service broadcaster, was educational, and airtime for popular culture was limited; the radio carried the voice of “a cultured middle class” (Lyytinen 1996, Salokangas 1996). When YLE launched its regular television transmissions in 1958, it settled on cooperating with a private commercial company, Mainios-TV (later MTV). Until 1993, the two companies operated on shared channels, a peculiar hybrid arrangement not spotted in other Nordic or European countries (Hellman 1999; Salokangas 1996, 2014). In the division of labour between the two companies, it was YLE’s duty to provide culturally oriented debates and magazines, literature programmes and the like. However, news journalism on cultural issues was institutionalised in radio and television even later than in newspapers. It was not until 1983 that the first culture reporter was hired to work in the YLE newsroom, and cultural coverage in newscasts remained sporadic until the late 1990s (Honkavaara 2001).
"Arts exceptionalism"

During the formative years from the 1950s to 1980s, a culture of 'arts exceptionalism' (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007) among cultural journalists was developed in Finland, resonating with their 'occupational professionalisation' (Evett 2006) in three respects. First, they represented specialist expertise that was directed towards the field of arts, which was highly valued in society. Second, the specialisation was well supported by the organisational structure of the media, which gave culture departments autonomy and liberties. Third, cultural journalists differed professionally from the rest of the newsroom, since a significant share of culture reporters were freelancers who were only occasionally involved in journalistic production. They were artists, art professionals, academics, enthusiasts or connoisseurs in a certain artistic or cultural field.

Cultural journalism in the mainstream media

Hellman (2010) and Herkman (2009) claimed that as the political public sphere in Finland has been mediatized and commercialised, the Nordic media model has also been increasingly challenged. A clear landmark was the deep recession of the early 1990s, leading to the growing importance of business ethos in media companies, with ideological and non-profit purposes becoming undermined. Newspaper companies started to buy each other, and some publishers also went into broadcasting, thus creating large consolidated corporations. In terms of circulation and economy, the Finnish press was at its strongest just before the recession of the 1990s, after which there's been a continuing downward trend (Grönlund & Björkroth 2011). As to broadcasting, the leading position of Yleisradio has been challenged by various private radio chains and free-to-air or subscription-based TV channels, owned by the few major commercial players.

The structural transformation of the media sector has been reflected in cultural journalism as well. Since the establishment of the differentiated organisational structures from the 1980s onwards, culture departments and newsrooms have encountered developments characterised by the consolidation of professional journalistic ideals and news production models. Changes can be seen at three levels: (1) in the published content, (2) in the organisation of work in the newsroom and (3) in the professionalism of cultural journalists. These aspects will be discussed in this section.

Contents of the culture pages

As stated above, the cultural canon that culture departments constructed through the selection and hierarchical valuation of topics focused traditionally on the high arts, such as literature, classical music, theatre and fine arts (Hurri 1993, Huotari et al. 1980). In Finland (Jaakkola 2015a, 2015b, Hurri 1993) and in other Nordic countries (Larsen
FROM CULTURE WARS TO COMBAT GAMES

2008, Kristensen 2010), the established high cultural canon has been complemented with a popular cultural canon, and the concept of culture has become more inclusive over the past three decades (see also Janssen 1999, Janssen et al. 2011).

Jaakkola's (2013, 2015a) content analysis of the five biggest daily newspapers in Finland between 1978 and 2008 demonstrated that popular disciplines, i.e. popular music and film, gained significantly wider ground by the early 2000s. Illustratively, action/battle games such as Max Payne and Alan Wake now appear routinely on the review columns of Helsingin Sanomat, side by side with other artistic objects. However, also literature increased its share, whereas classical music and, to a lesser degree, theatre and fine arts lost ground. The overall reduced share of the four major classical arts means a diversification in the covered artistic disciplines. On the other hand, all major newspapers tend to emphasise that the coverage of Finnish literature, both fiction and nonfiction, is still high on their agenda. As an example, in 1994, Helsingin Sanomat founded a prize for first-time authors, accompanied by extensive coverage of the nominees (Jaakkola 2013b).

At the same time, the journalistic genre palette of the culture department became more diverse, with feature stories and interviews becoming more common. Reviewing became increasingly scant, although it was not replaced by but gave way to other genres. Between 1978 and 2008, of all the journalistic genres, reviews experienced the largest cut in length. Since the late 1990s, the reviewing function of the Finnish press has been increasingly outsourced (Jaakkola 2015a).

These changes have been intensified by the recent newspaper redesigns, which typically emphasise visual presentation, shorter texts and a clear hierarchy of elements created by variation of text length and the use of tie-ins, fact files and similar concise formats (Pulkkinen 2008). This has also affected the presentation and content production modes of cultural journalism. Consequently, Finnish culture sections from 1978 to 2008 increased their use of images. The use of tie-ins, fact files and listings also became more common (Jaakkola 2015a). All of these redesigns have not been enforced without collateral damages: Gustaf Widén, the then culture editor of Hufvudstadsbladet, resigned in 2000 since he felt he was overridden in the layout reform of the paper (Widén 2000).

The latest reason for redesigns is the gradual shift of newspapers to tabloid format, a trend that started in the 1980s in secondary regional newspapers and spread across major dailies in the 2000s. Although this has caused fears of 'tabloidisation' of content (Esser 1999), research findings on the immediate effects are reassuring albeit contradictory. For example, in a study comparing the culture pages before and after the tabloid reform in Helsingin Sanomat and Satakunnan Kansa, Reunanen (2013) found that the switch to tabloid format of Satakunnan Kansa, a regional daily published in Pori, expanded its cultural coverage by two thirds by introducing significantly more interviews and feature stories while decreasing reviews. In Helsingin Sanomat, the share and space devoted to reviews remained stable, and the overall changes were less dramatic.
This suggests that a tabloid reform may lead to a significant reconceptualisation of culture pages and introduce new journalistic approaches that address a new kind of readership (see also Mervola 1995, Pulkkinen 2008). On the other hand, what the tabloid format has institutionalised is a module-based and extremely formatted design of the papers, which directs the contents and methods of all journalists. The articles, whether pieces of news, feature stories or reviews, are written to fill certain 'gaps' in the page template. However, as a recent study on cultural journalists of Aamulehti shows, reporters themselves appear to see the changes affirmatively and emphasise the opportunity to write longer articles than before as a favourable consequence of the transition to tabloid (Ohtamaa 2016).

Organisation of the cultural coverage

The production of journalism on culture has been characterised by a sharp division between arts and popular culture, i.e. between a high-culture-based exclusive concept of culture and a more inclusive concept of culture with a focus on entertainment. Traditionally, culture departments have concentrated on the definition and evaluation of arts, while contents concerning popular culture and culture in an anthropological sense (food culture, travelling culture, street culture, etc.) have been produced by entertainment journalists or journalists with a more general work description, e.g. news journalists, local journalists and correspondents. Furthermore, there have been internal divisions in the culture departments based on the separation of arts and entertainment journalists. For example, when the Finnish Press Agency (STT) established a department for cultural news in 2000, the posts of cultural and entertainment journalists were separated. In newspapers, it has also been a typical practice to separate specialists on traditional high cultural forms and popular cultural forms, such as classical and pop music (Jaakkola 2015b) or specialists (arts writers, reviewers, etc.) and generalists (all-round journalists, newsmakers, etc.) (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Kristensen & From 2011).

In newspapers, the 1990s marked an active period for launching supplements in which the reporting on popular culture and lifestyle issues played a prominent role. This functional division allowed the culture departments to continue focusing on the core of arts while still expanding the journalistic supply for possible new audiences. For example, in 1995, Helsingin Sanomat launched a weekly supplement called Nyt (Now), which provided a rich repertoire of film, record, game and restaurant reviews, as well as various listings including weekly TV charts. At the same time, the film critics and TV reviewers who previously worked in the 'From Day to Day section' joined the culture department. Although the reviewers contributed to Nyt, this move also encouraged the culture pages to broaden their popular appeal (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). It was not until the end of October 2015 that the weekly film reviews were moved to the culture pages.

Over the past decade, media organisations have progressively supported the tendency to merge the functions of arts and entertainment. For example, in 2007,
the Finnish Press Agency merged its cultural newsroom and general newsroom. Similarly, in 2010, Kaleva, the leading newspaper of Oulu region, merged its cultural newsroom with its features desk, interlinking a culture producer and three culture reporters. In organisational reforms, departmental boundaries have been lowered, allowing a stronger focus on news instead of differentiation between artistic disciplines and cultural forms. In 2012, Helsingin Sanomat cancelled its long tradition where the sections, including the culture section, had their own subeditors and imposed their own pages, substituting it for a centralised subeditor team and layout personnel. The regional newspaper Aamulehti introduced editor shifts based on rotation from one department to another in 2001, but restored the traditional organisation in 2012.

Another indication of the rationalisation of the work process appears in the sharing and recycling of articles, reviews and commentaries by major newspaper chains. Publishing the same book and TV reviews and entries by the same columnists is typical not only in corporatons owning several regional newspapers, such as Alma Media (the owner of Aamulehti in Tampere, Satakunnan Kansa in Pori, Kainuu Sanomat in Kajaani and Lapin Kansa in Rovaniemi) or Keski-Suomalaainen (the owner of Keski-Suomalaainen in Jyväskylä and Savon Sanomat in Kuopio), but also in various alliances created across corporate and regional borders. Although this broadens the cultural coverage of smaller newspapers, it also narrows the diversity of opinion and content (Hirvonen 2011, Ohtamaa 2016).

Since the turn of the millennium, online platforms have come to play an important role in publishing content along with the printed articles. For example, Helsingin Sanomat introduced a weekly online shift for its staff writers in the culture department in 2009 (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). Aamulehti started online video production in 2006 (Koski 2008), but the first video reviews were not published until 2014. Today, Helsingin Sanomat routinely provides video interviews and discussions with reviewers, authors and other artists. Online publishing now constitutes a heterogeneous space for public discussion about arts and culture, inviting cultural amateurs and independent bloggers to participate (Kammer 2015). However, these new bottom-up forms of cultural journalism, potentially challenging the traditional gatekeeping function of institutional cultural journalists, have not been thoroughly analysed in Finland (cf. Lainio 2012).

**Identity of cultural journalists**

Changes in content and organisational reforms reflect the general expansion of cultural boundaries or the expansion of the concept of culture that the cultural journalists follow (Kristensen & From 2012). In line with this transition towards more inclusive ways of defining culture, cultural journalism has developed from a distinctively specialist and autonomous area of production towards an organisational unit regulated by the managerial principles of news production (Jaakkola 2013). This has consequences on the identity of cultural journalists.
Unfortunately, how cultural journalists read their changing professional status has not been systematically analysed in Finland. Supinen (2003) interviewed a number of cultural editors and cultural reporters in six newspapers and observed a contradictory identity characterised by, first, contentment with their relative autonomy but, at the same time, low esteem in the newsroom and, second, awareness of their authority as opinion leaders in the field of culture and recognition of the need to incorporate in the journalistic values of the news organisation. Similar pattern was later found by Hellman and Jaakkola (2012) in their analysis on *Helsingin Sanomat* and by Ohtamaa (2016) who studied *Aamulehti*.

While the production of reviews in daily newspapers has been increasingly outsourced since the 1990s, the managing role of the editors and the core editorial staff has grown. The frame of news production is becoming increasingly prevalent in the cultural journalists' culture, since reviewing is also seen as producing news and alternative ways of reporting about arts are actively sought. Culture departments have thus become closer to other news-oriented departments and have lost their specialist autonomy, while cultural journalists feel their identity has become more similar to that of general journalists. This change has been interpreted as a paradigm shift from an aesthetic to a journalistic orientation (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola 2015b).

The paradigm shift can be interpreted in the light of two historically successive forms of discourse on professionalism, as suggested by Evetts (2006): "occupational" and "organisational". Occupational professionalism, representing the earlier layer, involves "a discourse constructed within professional groups themselves", "collegial authority" and "the occupational control of the work" and is "operationalised and controlled by practitioners themselves" (Evetts 2006: 140). In contrast, organisational professionalism represents a "discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organisations", incorporating "hierarchical structures of authority, the standardisation of work practices, accountability, target-setting and performance" (Evetts 2006: 140). We suggest that the two historical layers of professionalism resonate well with the transformation of professionalism in cultural journalism. Elements of the two forms of professionalism negotiate with one another, with the values of organisational professionalism increasingly dominating (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola et al. 2015).

At the same time, some other structures of professionalism have remained underdeveloped in cultural journalism. With regard to education, the training of cultural journalists was considered an important concern after the World War II to ensure the uniformity of culture. Interestingly, training courses were assigned to a private trust, the Finnish Cultural Foundation (SKR), which organised training seminars and 'masterclasses' also in 1967 and 2013 (Jaakkola 2015, Westman 2016). At the same time, this specialised form of journalism has rarely found its way to the academic curricula of journalism schools, even though Finnish journalist students, similar to students in other Nordic countries, tend to name culture as one of their most preferred areas to work in (Hovden et al. 2009).
Cultural journalism under attack?

In recent decades, the 'crisis' of cultural journalism has become a prominent theme in the discourse addressing this specialised type of journalism, both internationally and in Finland (Jaakkola 2015b, 2015c; McDonnell & Tepper 2014). Cultural journalism has been under constant criticism, reflecting its contested professionalism. This section briefly discusses two separate but interrelated debates that questioned the autonomy and expertise of cultural journalism. The first debate took place in the early 1990s and critically highlighted the gatekeeping function of cultural journalism. The latter debate from the early 2000s focused on criticising the coverage of culture pages. Contradictions between cultural institutions and major newspapers and claims of domination by artists illustrate the earlier stage, whereas cultural institutions and artists are now increasingly blaming cultural journalism for running fewer, shorter and more superficial articles about arts and culture than they used to. Some debaters have also criticised culture pages for their elitism and for complying with the interests of the art world.

The monopoly of Helsingin Sanomat?

Typical of the Finnish media sphere, one newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat, largely dominates the cultural field. With its broad readership and national circulation of at most half a million copies (in a country with a population of 5 million), it has an exceptional power to define what is considered 'culture' or 'arts' in Finland. Accordingly, the paper has been widely criticised for its 'monopoly' position. Criticism increased when its main rival, Uusi Suomi, was closed down in 1991 and Kansan Uutiset and Demari, the organs of the Left Alliance and the Social Democratic Party, renounced their full-time culture editors. The Helsingin Sanomat culture section had superior editorial strength, the most acknowledged reviewers and the broadest arts coverage in Finland and was thus claimed to have too much power in the field of culture (Hurri 1993, Klemola 1981). In an enquiry conducted in 2007, respondents representing the art world, cultural institutions and policymakers named Helsingin Sanomat the main influential player in the art world, even preceding the Ministry of Education and Culture (Laukka 2007).

Highlighting the extraordinary position of the paper, criticism by the art world often fell upon individual critics and journalists. Shortly before it was closed down, Uusi Suomi organised a publicity campaign in which renowned artists, including the conductor Esa-Pekka Salonen and the soprano singer Karita Mattila, argued for the pluralism of reviewing. In a full-page advertisement defending the survival of Uusi Suomi, Salonen asked, "What if Seppo Heikkinen was the only music critic with nationwide circulation?" By doing so, Salonen indirectly criticised the leading music critic of Helsingin Sanomat, who was a controversial figure hated by many in the music circle.
Exactly one year earlier, 43 prominent persons representing the field of music had made an explicit appeal against Heikinheimo, claiming that the weight of his forum gave the critic an extraordinary voice and resulted in the misuse of the freedom of speech (Hurri 1993). It is worth mentioning that in none of the various addresses Heikinheimo’s expertise was denied, as he had a PhD in musicology; rather, it was his quick judgements and sharp writing that made musicians furious. In his reply, Heikinheimo proclaimed his autonomy and right to be subjective, declining to accept orders from the artists. He refused to be a ‘Trojan horse’ of the music world in the newspaper; instead, he declared himself a representative of journalism in the field of music.

Interestingly, this was perhaps the last major public debate concerning the authority of criticism in Finland. As the circulation of the print press has steadily fallen since 2005 and as the traditional position of newspapers in the heart of the media sphere has become increasingly questioned, the claims of misuse of power have decreased. This suggests that the rise to power of the journalistic paradigm and the deposing of the aesthetic paradigm (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Hurri 1993) has been accepted. At the same time, other kinds of concerns have become frequent, reflecting the increasing integration of cultural journalism into the ‘media logic’ of the news organisation and increased organisational pressures to emphasise newsworthiness and broad readership.

**Crisis of cultural journalism?**

As a result of the general shrinkage of newsrooms, the number of staff reporters and freelance job opportunities in cultural journalism have decreased. Various artists’ organisations and SARV have expressed concern about how major newspaper houses, particularly Sanoma Corporation, the publisher of Helsingin Sanomat, and Alma Media, the publisher of Aamulehti, jeopardise the plurality of reviews by cancelling commissions from established freelance critics and favouring syndicated reviews. For example, in spring 2012, a review by Maila-Katriina Tuominen of the 150th anniversary exhibition of Helene Schjerfbeck, a famous Finnish expressionist artist, was published not only in Aamulehti (Tampere) but also in Satakunnan Kansa (Pori), Lapin Kansa (Rovaniemi) and Pohjolan Sanomat (Kemi). (Kastemaa 2013.)

What is more interesting, however, is the discussion about the outcomes of the newification and organisational professionalisation of the culture section. For example, Tuva Korsström, the former culture editor of Hufvudstadsbladet, recently complained that the critical analysis of cultural journalism has surrendered to the dominance of the newspaper format and design. She argued that one of the major mistakes was to transplant cultural debate from the culture pages to the leading articles page (Korsström 2009). In a similar vein, Matti Apunen, the then editor in chief of Aamulehti, criticised cultural journalism for having lost its interest in social issues and changing into “a compliant department of the arts sector, providing it with a review service”. Apunen yearned for societally aware and politically incorrect journalism that
would address major national and global issues instead of serving the interests of the art world only (Apunen 2009).

Perhaps romanticising the past, both statements recalled the previous decades when culture pages were a central forum of social and cultural debate. Indeed, compared with Sweden and Germany, for example, where an ongoing re-politicisation of cultural journalism has been detected (Reus & Harden 2005) or the political is claimed to be a core value for cultural journalists (Riegert et al. 2015), Finnish cultural journalism since the 1980s appears to be arts oriented and apolitical. Debate on general issues, not to mention global issues, does not generally find a home in the culture pages. This is partly because the role of academic scholars in culture pages has radical diminished (Jaakkola 2015b); *Helsingin Sanomat* is no longer a ‘department’ of the University of Helsinki as it could have been labelled in the early 1980s. It is possible that, in order to secure their job opportunities, freelance critics even avoid politically topical issues.

The claims by Korsström and Apunen resonate well with the ‘crisis frames’ detected in the international debate on cultural journalism. According to Jaakkola (2015c), five discursive frames can be identified: (1) elitisation, (2) popularisation, (3) commercialisation, (4) journalistification and (5) professional ‘apathisation’. Korsström emphasised threats posed by popularisation, commercialisation and journalistification, whereas Apunen blamed cultural journalists for their artistic elitism and professional apathy. While Korsström seemed to favour traditional virtues of autonomous cultural journalism, Apunen called on cultural journalism to shape up and integrate into journalism proper.

The debates described above all illustrate the inevitable tension between the aesthetic and journalistic fields that continues to characterise cultural journalism (Hovden & Knapskog 2015). Despite major changes in the media sector, the agents in the field of cultural journalism orient themselves to both journalistic and artistic-aesthetic norms and values. Cultural journalists have two fields of reference that help them constitute their professional identity: the field of journalism and the field of arts and culture. As a subfield of journalism, cultural journalism in Finland thus essentially draws on the double standards of journalism and aesthetics, resulting in both collisions and continuous balancing between the two (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola 2015b).

**Conclusion**

With regard to organisation, we identified three different phases in the development of cultural journalism. First, the field went through a process of differentiation from the 1950s to the early 1970s, during which culture departments were established and the first professional generation of cultural journalists were recruited. Second, from the late 1970s until the late 1990s, culture sections enjoyed perhaps the peak of their autonomy in relation to the newspaper organisation while maintaining firm bonds with the artistic fields. Finally, since the early 2000s, culture departments have increas-
In the managerial conduct of the news organisation, the editorial control and hierarchy between editors, staff writers and freelancers have become critical.

In terms of content, the first phase in the development of culture pages can be called elitisation, which characterised the 1950s and 1960s. The culture section addressed a cultivated readership sharing the cultural values of the art world and served as a forum of cultural debate, which, reflecting a generational conflict, often found more radical tones than the papers otherwise tolerated. The second phase, popularisation of the culture pages, started in the 1960s, with popular culture taking root little by little. However, it was not until the early 2000s that the definitive legitimisation of popular culture materialised in the increasing coverage of popular arts. There are signs of a third phase, partly overlapping with the popularisation of culture pages: an increasingly inclusive concept of culture. By inclusiveness, we refer to the partial breakdown of the earlier symbiotic connection between the high-cultural art world and cultural journalism, which has broadened the approach of cultural journalists to everyday issues, highlighting the entertainment and service functions of journalism and appealing to a general public.

As to the journalists’ identity, the early developments institutionalised the specialised group of cultural journalists, who went through a process of occupational professionalisation by the 1990s. During these phases, expert knowledge and bonds with the artistic field were highly appreciated and served as cornerstones of the professional identity of cultural journalists. Since the early 2000s, the aesthetic consciousness has weakened due to the transfer to the next generation and the increased managerial expectations concerning the approach and content, illustrating the growing organisational professionalism of cultural journalism.

All these gradual transformations of cultural journalism culminate in a fundamental shift that has been described as a transition from an aesthetic to a journalistic paradigm. As Jaakkola (2015b: 132-133) noted, the journalistification of the culture section may generate innovative cultural journalism but simultaneously distance the journalistic field from the artistic fields and create "a discourse on arts and culture that does not match that of cultural producers", thus intensifying the fundamental tensions between the two fields – a trend that is observed also in other countries (e.g. HOWDEN & KNAPSKOG 2015). Moreover, the fact that reviewing is increasingly outsourced encourages polarisation between the fields, as the in-house cultural journalists increasingly represent the journalistic values of the newsroom while the aesthetic values of the art world remain the domain of the freelance critics. Hence, hidden value conflicts may reappear and cause new tensions in Finnish cultural journalism.

Notes
1. The Helsingin Sanomat coverage of the death of Elvis is described in Mattila 2014.
2. The full-page advertisement was published in Uusi Suomi, 1 September, 1991.
References


Huuri, Merja (1983). Kulttuuriosasto: Nefalin puolelleen ja yhden sitoutumattoman päävälleen kulttuuriosastojen sisällö ja kehitys. [The culture department: Contents and development of the cultural pages of four party newspapers in rural Finland]. Licentiate thesis in journalism and mass communication, University of Tampere.


