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Arts Journalism and its Packaging in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States 1955-2005

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Abstract

In the second half of the twentieth century, the volume, content and appearance of arts journalism in Western daily newspapers have changed significantly in accordance with wider transformations in the arts and journalism. Previous studies have focused on (a) which culture receives attention, (b) the way culture gets attention, and (c) economic pressures underlying transformations. In this article we aim to bring these strands together by analyzing how changes in the packaging of arts journalism have evolved in relation to the cultural content which is discussed and the volume of (cultural) advertising that is featured in newspapers. We conduct a content analysis of the coverage given to both "highbrow and "popular" art forms in French, German, Dutch and U.S. elite newspapers for four sample years: 1955, 1975, 1995 and 2005.

The results show that newspapers all seem to converge into a balance between news reporting and reviewing. We find evidence for an increased catering for the needs and interests of audiences in some aspects (e.g. more popular culture) but not in others (e.g. no more human interest). Finally, most newspapers show an increase in cultural advertising, although the European newspapers in our sample contain much less advertising than the American ones. A stronger presence of advertising is positively related to both a lifestyle orientation of newspapers and a focus on popular culture.

Key words: arts journalism; cultural advertising; commercialization; newspapers; content analysis; cultural field; comparative research

Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, the volume, content and appearance of arts journalism in Western daily newspapers have changed significantly in accordance with wider transformations in the cultural field and the field of journalism. These developments have been studied from - roughly - three different perspectives. One line of research has focused on the culture that is discussed. Often emphasizing the role of media as cultural gatekeepers for more or less legitimate forms of culture, these studies have shown how the erosion of boundaries between "highbrow" culture and "popular" culture is being reflected in the increased coverage of film and popular music (Bruhn Jensen, and Larsen 2010; Janssen, Verboord, and Kuipers 2011; Kristensen 2010; Schmutz et al. 2010).

Another strand of research takes a more journalistic perspective by analyzing the way culture is covered in newspapers. Here, studies have highlighted the gradual transformation from an aesthetical reporting to a more news-oriented coverage that keeps an eye on what audiences want to read (Harris and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007; Hellmann and Jaakkola 2012; Kristensen 2010).

Finally, there are studies that explicitly address - and sometimes measure - the commercial pressures which manifest themselves in cultural journalism. While some emphasize the rise of market norms (Rosengren 1998), or of celebrity culture (Pasquier 2010), others point to the impact of advertising on editorial coverage (Heilbrun 1997).

Our research aims to bring these three strands of research together by analyzing how changes in the packaging of cultural journalism have evolved in relation to the cultural content which is discussed and the volume of (cultural) advertising that is featured in newspapers. Besides offering these linkages between theoretically - sometimes - distinct strands, we empirically aim to make progress in the following ways. Drawing on a large, comparative data-set (cf. Janssen et al. 2008 and 2011), our study broadens the scope of the study of cultural journalism by comparing four countries - France, Germany,

the Netherlands, the United States - for a fifty year period running from 1955 to 2005. For each country, 24 editions of two leading newspapers are examined. We analyze both the volume and content of the coverage given to arts and culture via the usage of sections, article types, content types, and illustrations. This is subsequently related to the volume of advertising in these newspapers.

Below, we will first briefly consider how commercial pressures may have affected the volume, appearance and content of the coverage given to arts and culture in so-called elite papers. Next, we will give an outline of the design and methodology of our study and present our findings.

Changing Contexts for Newspapers Arts and Culture Coverage

Since the 1950s, the coverage given to the arts and culture in Western newspapers seems to have undergone significant changes, which appear closely connected to wider changes in the arts and journalism. A key development in both fields has been a growing orientation toward the market and toward commercial values and practices, often referred to as the "commercialization" of the arts and journalism (e.g. Kristensen 2010; Hellman and Jaakkola 2012).

An increasing market orientation can be observed in the cultural fields (Bourdieu 1993) of virtually all western countries since the late 1970s. Changing patterns of leisure participation, in which traditional "highbrow" arts consumption declined in favor of more "popular" cultural consumption – often through audiovisual media, enhanced this development (Cushman, Veal and Zuzanek 1996). In North-America, as well as in Western-European countries, the higher educated traded off part of their consumption of highbrow art forms for more popular ones, thus becoming more omnivorous (Coulangeon and Lemel 2007; DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004; Peterson and Kern 1996; Rössel 2006; Van Rees et al. 1999; Van Eijck and Knulst 2005).

Actors in the cultural field are more or less obliged to take such preference change into consideration while performing their job. Particularly intermediary agents between producers and consumers – such as booksellers, museum managers, teachers, and, last but not least, newspaper editors, arts journalists and reviewers – are dealing on a daily basis with the changing tastes and preferences of consumers (Janssen and Verboord 2015).

Commercialization trends perceived in Western countries are probably best understood in connection with the continuous efforts of such mediators to keep their audience. Without an audience granting their selections and judgments legitimacy by taking them into account, art experts will eventually lose their authority, especially in societies where the (growing) role of the market is not countered by a high level of state support for the arts and for cultural institutions. The more inclusive tastes of the higher status groups appear to have led elite newspapers in these countries to diversify their arts coverage accordingly by paying more attention to popular arts and genres (Jaakkola 2014; Janssen 1999; Janssen et al. 2011; Pasquier 2010). This diversification, in turn, has likely contributed to the wider diffusion and legitimation of such tastes (Janssen et al. 2011).

The last three decades witnessed a flood of research on commercialization's effects on newspapers and journalism. Media scholars have blamed the commercial nature of the news media for a number of ills, such as the diminishing likelihood of rational-critical public debate, the neglect of organizations and people who challenge the capitalist status quo, the privileging of 'corporate' voice over other perspectives, and the production of a fragmented, confusing portrait of the world (Benson 2000).

Other studies have focused on how commercialization has influenced the overall form of stories. They find, for example, that U.S. commercial news media have increasingly emphasized personalities over ideas, and political strategy and spin over substantive issues in their political campaign coverage, thus dramatizing, decontextualizing and trivializing political issues (Kurz 1993; Underwood 2001).

Many authors have observed a down-market slide towards the popular tabloid market, resulting in an erosion of traditional journalistic standards (Franklin 1997; Lewis et al. 2008), a decrease in "hard" news (such as politics and economics), and an increase

in "soft" news such as human interest, personality oriented stories, sensation, crime and entertainment, and *fait divers*. Both quality and popular newspapers have been found to be subjected to "tabloidization", as a result of the increased competition for readers and profits in the newspaper industry (Franklin 1997; Kurz 1993; Underwood 2001).

Still, little conceptual agreement exists as to what precisely constitutes this "commercialization" of newspapers, the "tabloidization" of the (quality) press, or the "softening" of news, and how these developments should be defined or measured (Reinemann et al. 2011). Empirical research aimed at substantiating or qualifying the alleged developments is short in supply and often yields contradictory results. As commercialization and tabloidization are multidimensional, longitudinal, and internationally highly variable processes (Benson 2000; Esser 1999; Norris 2000; Reinemann et al. 2011), they can probably be studied best with long-term, cross-national research designs using a broad range of empirical measures and analytical tools (cf. Esser 1999). In the design of our analysis we have tried to meet these requirements. In our study, we conceive of "commercialization" as an increased orientation of newspapers and other actors in the production and distribution of culture to market requirements and (alleged) consumer interests and preferences (cf. Hanitsch 2007: 375), which has led to important revisions of newspaper contents and formats. Our analysis aims at qualifying the ways in which these changes have affected elite papers' arts and culture coverage.

Commercial Pressures on Newspapers

Newspapers operate in a so-called "dual product" market. They sell two very different types of "products" to two very different categories of buyers: readers and advertisers (Croteau and Hoynes 2001).

In most Western¹ countries, revenues from advertising became bigger over the years than revenues from subscriptions and newsstand sales. Although in the late twentieth century the contribution of advertising to newspapers' revenue declined as a result of competition from commercial television and other media, advertising remained the primary source of income for newspapers (De Bens and Ostbye 1998; Picard 2008), and particularly for those belonging to the quality press (Weibull and Nilsson 2010, 56). However, the value of readerships goes well beyond the direct revenues they provide to newspaper companies, as in the advertiser market readers – in their role of consumers – are the products being sold.

In the period under review, newspapers in Western countries became increasingly concerned with the question of how to attract new, younger readers in order to build a readership for the future. This concern was certainly not unwarranted. Since the 1970s, newspaper circulation figures have dropped in most countries (De Bens and Ostbye 1998, 17). Only in some European countries, such as the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, sales figures have continued to grow, or at least did not decline until the 1990s. The economically prosperous late 1990s witnessed a growth in newspaper penetration in many European countries, notably in the Nordic countries, the UK, and the Netherlands, but thereafter the newspaper market showed a significant decline in most of these countries (Hjavarð and Kammer 2015, 119-120; Weibull and Nilsson 2010, 49). Apart from economic factors, the expansion of new digital, Internet-based media and the rise of free papers have likely contributed to this decline (Weibull and Nilsson, 49), and thus far the revenues from digital subscription appear to be insufficient to substitute for the substantial decreases in print circulation (Hjavarð and Kammer 2015, 119-120).

Moreover, in most Western countries, each successive generation spent less time on reading newspapers than its predecessors (Bogart 1991; Knulst and Kraaykamp 1996 and 1998; Lauf 2001; Nilsson 2005; Elvestad and Blekesaune 2008; Southerton et al. 2012, 252).² Newspapers had to face the challenge of holding on to these new, more individualistic generations, for whom lifestyle and consumption have become increasingly important in the construction of identities and whose information preferences appear to have changed accordingly (Marwick, 2013).

In view of both their readership and advertisers (cf. Soley and Craig 1992), newspapers were more or less bound to adjust the contents and packaging of their information

supply on an ongoing basis. This incessant revision of newspaper contents and formats seems to have also impacted newspapers' arts and culture coverage significantly.

Expansion and Diversification of Editorial content

The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed a marked increase and diversification of editorial content in American and European newspapers (cf. Bogart 1991; Kristensen 2010; Kristensen and From 2012; Weibull and Nilsson 2010). To bring in more and new kinds of readers and advertising and/or to keep pace with the growing number of advertising pages, many newspapers introduced special interest sections covering a broad range of topics in addition to their main news sections. They started running regular (weekly) features on subjects such as leisure and travel, science and education, home furnishing and decoration, fashion, and health.

In many cases, these new sections packaged utilitarian information of the kind formerly regarded as the province of specialized magazines. In their comparative analysis of newspapers in ten European countries, Weibull and Nilsson (2010, 55) find "supplementation" to be one of the most important features of the news press at the dawn of the 21st century, offering readers "not only *more* to read but also a wider selection of themes and subjects." For newspapers, "specific soft news priorities" and the "continual change and renewal of special sections" serve to distinguish and profile the individual newspaper in an increasingly competitive news media landscape (Kristensen and From 2012).

The emergence and rise of special interest sections is part of a wider process of editorial experimentation and innovation (e.g. more flexible formatting, more use of color stimulated by new production technologies (McLachlan and Golding 2000; Schönbach and Lauf 2002; Schönbach 2000 and 2004). In at least several successful cases, these sections have brought in enough new advertising to make possible an increase of the total number of pages of editorial matter.

But the main effect has been of the so-called "sectional" revolution has been to change the overall balance of news ("hard" news, information) and features ("soft" news, infotainment, entertainment) in those papers (Bogart 1991). Newspapers have been found to give increasing editorial priority to "consumer news" and "news-you-can use" items (Underwood 2001, 102). This so-called "service journalism" (Eide and Knight 1999) or "lifestyle journalism" (Kristensen and From 2012) offers readers advice, guidance and information about consumption matters and the manifold choices people face in everyday life.

Growth of Arts and Culture Coverage

In terms of both quantity and visibility, arts journalism appears to have benefited from this extension of editorial content and the shifting balance of news and features. Many daily newspapers – especially the ones targeting higher educated readers (Janssen 1999) – expanded their coverage of the arts and culture in the period under review (Jaakkola 2014; Janssen 1999; Janssen et al. 2011; Larssen 2008; Weibull and Nilsson 2010, 59), while they also started to carry clearly identifiable sections on the arts, books and entertainment.

Developments in the production, distribution and consumption of the arts and culture seem to have stimulated newspapers to devote more space to arts and culture coverage. The material and social conditions for (arts) consumption and other leisure activities generally have become more favorable since the 1950s. Each successive generation enjoyed more (cultural) education than its predecessors and financial, moral and ideological restrictions on people's involvement with art and entertainment diminished. The combination of these factors led to a marked increase in the number of people interested in a wide spectrum of cultural products. Although the unprecedented expansion of higher education was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in high arts consumption,³ the group of people who are able and willing to participate in a broad range of cultural activities and to inform themselves about the supply of cultural products has grown strongly compared with pre-war generations and even the 1950s.

A second major stimulus to devoting more space to the arts has arguably been the

rise of cultural advertising (Szanto et al. 2004, 13). From the 1950s onwards, Western countries witnessed a strong increase in the supply of all kinds of cultural products (books, recorded music, theater and musical performances, films, festivals, exhibitions, etcetera) to the extent that, in some areas, even experts have become overwhelmed by the abundance. This rise was partly due to the sharp increase in international cultural exchange, while the strong expansion of both public and private support for the arts since the 1960s has also boosted arts activity and the supply of cultural products (Heilbrun and Gray 1993).⁴ In addition, the supply expanded and diversified as a result of the growing numbers of graduates of cultural and artistic training programs, eager to present themselves to the public and making a name for themselves. This led to a growth in the number of intermediate agencies, which in effect also pushed up the supply. This unprecedented growth of cultural offerings and the resulting battle for audiences led to a marked increase of newspaper advertising stemming from organizations involved in the production or distribution of cultural products, such as publishing firms, film producers and distributors, galleries and theaters.

Aside from the growth of cultural advertising, the economic contributions and organizational complexities of the arts seem to have become more widely appreciated during the last part of the twentieth century. Therefore, art news reporting - as distinct from arts criticism - has probably gained ground in recent decades, and elite papers may have increased the amount of arts coverage they run in their hard news sections.

Whether this is indeed the case and to what extent the increase in the amount of space devoted to the arts and culture has kept pace with the growth of the total editorial space or the volume of cultural advertising (Cf. Heilbrun 1999) are questions we seek to answer through our study.

Changes in the Content and Appearance of Arts and Culture Coverage

In the late twentieth century, many daily newspapers seem to have more or less abandoned the "gatekeeper/tastemaker"-model of arts journalism. This traditional model emphasizes the paper's filtering role (Szanto et al. 2004); it implies a key role for the editor and critic who are supposed to select the most noteworthy artistic productions and elucidate their importance, meanings, strengths and weaknesses for the reader.

Instead many newspapers have been moving toward a "consumer" oriented model which views arts coverage as a service to time-strapped readers, who have to decide for themselves how to spend their leisure time. For them, choosing from the vast, rapidly changing and heterogeneous supply has become an increasingly complex task. Newspapers have tried to facilitate this decision-making process by supplying readers with extensive information about their options, with arts, entertainment and recreational calendar sections, comprehensive listings and brief reviews to suit every possible need.

Most daily newspapers have come to devote a considerable to large proportion of their arts and culture space to such listings and capsule reviews. However, facilitating the process of deciding which products to buy or what events to attend was not the only service rendered in this fashion. By increasing the amount of calendar information and supplying brief information about a large number of cultural products, newspapers also catered to the wish of many readers to be kept abreast of current events and developments in the domain of art and culture. Many people, who are not frequent novel readers or moviegoers, nonetheless want to keep themselves informed about what is going on in the world of literature or film. For an increasing number of people, the consumption of information about literature and other art forms has become a cultural activity in its own right that has partly replaced the primary activity of novel reading, movie-watching, etc (From 2010; Kristensen 2010).⁵

Newspapers' continuous efforts to make themselves more attractive to readers, - especially to the more individualistic and visual-oriented younger generations, have also led to a greater use of journalistic genres other than news stories; a larger amount of celebrity coverage, personality oriented news stories, community oriented articles and other pieces that include a human interest element; as well as to changes in the mode and form of presentation (cf. Schönbach and Lauf 2002; Schönbach 2004). Such presentational changes include, for example, more personalized or informal modes of addressing

the reader, more stories written in the narrative form (rather than presenting the facts in a straight-forward manner), the tendency to publish fewer longer stories in favor of more shorter ones, extended use of (color) graphic and (color) photographs, and increased application of larger headline types over important stories, news digests presenting the news story's gist and its location inside the paper and other eye-catching visual presentation techniques.

These more general transformations of newspaper contents and formats have likely impacted the coverage given to the arts and culture in the elite newspapers from the four countries under study, although we also expect to find differences across newspapers and countries.

Methodology

The data are collected in the larger research project 'Cultural Classification Systems in Transition'⁶ that brought together key data, for each country, for the period 1955-2005, on developments in newspaper coverage of arts and culture, the media sector, cultural policy, cultural production and cultural consumption. Central to our data collection is the content analysis of articles on arts and culture, as they appear in the newspapers under investigation. Our focus is on newspapers as these media traditionally play an important role in cultural legitimation processes (e.g. Janssen et al. 2008, 2011). Moreover, newspapers lend themselves better to a longitudinal and cross-national comparative analysis of arts and cultural coverage than other (news) media (e.g. opinion weeklies, monthly magazines, websites, television programs, or specialized journals); clearly, for such other media, it would be difficult if not impossible to find comparable outlets for each country covering a fifty year period.

Selection of Newspapers

Due to restraints in resources, our newspaper sample could only include a limited number of daily newspapers per country. Newspapers show considerable differences in their coverage of cultural subjects as well as their impact on classification processes. We preferred to focus on newspapers that target the (policy-making, intellectual) elite, because these papers are generally considered to set standards of news reporting, opinion making, and value formation for a broad range of topics, including politics, economic, and also the arts and culture. For examining how newspapers affect cultural classification practices in society, those *elite-oriented* newspapers seemed the most obvious first choice.⁷

In principle our selection of newspapers involved those papers with a nationwide circulation that belong to the papers with the widest audience within their category. Only where these criteria could not be met due to particularities of the country's newspaper system, we selected other newspapers.⁸ The following eight newspapers were selected for France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the US respectively: *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*; *de Volkskrant (VK)*, *NRC Handelsblad (NRC)*; *New York Times (NYT)* and *Los Angeles Times (LAT)*.

To sum up, for each country we selected two newspapers that (a) are reckoned among the (opinion-) leading newspapers, oriented toward the policy-making elite in the period of research; (b) had a nationwide or supra-regional area of distribution, and (c) are among the most read papers within the population of newspapers satisfying the first two criteria. Confining the number of newspapers to two per country was decided upon for mostly pragmatic reasons; the longitudinal comparative design of the study involved sampling a large number of editions for each selected newspaper per reference year to guarantee reliable analyses of the theoretically important variables.

Sampling Procedures

For each newspaper, we established the amount of attention given to arts and culture for four reference years: 1955, 1975, 1995, and 2005.⁹ In such longitudinal research

designs, a population and a sampling frame have to be used that yield representative data both in terms of time and in terms of content.

Hence, we followed a multistage sampling procedure: (i) the sampling of the newspapers titles involved a non-probability procedure for reasons discussed in the previous section; (ii) the sampling of newspaper editions concerned a stratified sampling procedure. The latter procedure is necessary because newspaper content follows cycles, which lead to systematic variations affecting both the amount and the sort of content. Daily newspapers differ in content per weekday, while they also show seasonal variations. Generally, attention for arts and culture is concentrated in and around the weekends, whereas outside the cultural season, in summer, the coverage of (certain forms of) arts and culture will be at a low. As we want to infer, for each selected newspaper in each selected year, to the total year production of arts and culture coverage, editions are sampled equally out of all weekdays and seasons.¹⁰ For every quarter of the year, we used the constructed week sampling technique, which means that for every day of the week an edition is randomly selected.

This procedure amounted to 4 constructed weeks, 24 editions (28 including Sundays), per year per newspaper title (except the *LAT* for which due to time constraints only 3 constructed weeks were sampled).¹¹

For all sampled newspaper editions we retrieved the original print versions in archives and, for the US newspapers, in Proquest Historical Newspapers, and coded all articles on arts and culture (For details see Janssen et al 2011). Note that we included articles in newspaper magazines. This yielded two data sets which are combined in this present research. First, we have a data file with all editorial content: articles on arts and culture such as reviews, news features, interviews etc. This file has 18,617 cases (see Appendix 1). Second, we have a data file that contains all cultural advertisements, as well as service related content: cultural agendas, bestseller lists and other "service" articles. This data file contains 17,434 items.¹² We aggregated both data sets to the level of newspaper editions per year and then merged the new data sets. Thus, we analyze 776 newspaper editions which contain information both on editorial content and on advertisements and service articles.¹³

Measurements

We first describe the variables that originate from the data set with editorial content. For each section, the *Name of the section* is recorded, indicating what type of information was supplied in the particular section. A newspaper section is defined as at least three pages of the newspaper with a separate name or heading, dedicated to one specific topic (e.g. economy, arts, sports). A section may or may not have separate numbering, and it may or may not be physically separated from the rest of the newspaper.

Type of section is coded in three categories: (1) arts and culture sections (including book sections), (2) lifestyle and media sections (including weekend sections that include lifestyle content), and (3) else (business sections, local sections, opinion sections, science and education sections, and other specific sections). Note that general sections, including section 1, were coded but not included in the analysis. Also, magazines were excluded from the analysis. For every newspaper edition we then summed up the number of these types, and calculated the share (as a percentage) of these types in the edition.

Type of article is coded in four categories: (1) reviews and previews, (2) news articles and brief announcements, (3) interviews and background articles, and (4) opinion articles (such as editorials, letters to the editor, columns, etc). For every newspaper edition we then summed up the number of these types, and calculated the share (as a percentage) of these types in the edition.

Content of the article measures the aspects of arts and culture which are emphasized in the article and is coded in six categories: focus on (1) a product, (2) an organization (including business, policy, and juridical content), (3) career aspects (of artists or other individuals), (4) some form of expertise (e.g. award, expert such as an art historian), (5) human interest (e.g. private lives of artists), and (6) audiences (e.g. fans) and controversies. Again, we counted the number of occurrences and then calculated the share (as

a percentage) of these content types in the edition.

We counted the *Number of illustrations* for each article and calculated the sum of each newspaper edition. To restrict the effect of four outliers (which ranged from 105 to 179) we set a ceiling score of 100.

Finally, we analyze which *Day of the week* the edition represents. Since we expect editions at the end of the week and in the weekend to be substantially different, we dichotomized the variable. Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are coded as 1.

We measure *Attention to popular culture* as the number of articles per edition which are devoted to popular culture forms such as Film, Popular Music, Popular Theater, Television Fiction, and Popular Dance. For every newspaper edition we calculated the share of popular culture. For more details we refer to Janssen et al (2011).

The *Amount of advertorial space* was measured in cm². The sum per newspaper edition was divided by the sum of the size of editorial content and multiplied by 100, giving us the ed/ad ratio. The original variable runs from 0 to almost 600, where every score under 100 indicates more editorial content, and every score above 100 represents a predominance of advertisements. Since the variable is quite skewed, we performed a logistic transformation.

Results

Volume, Content, and Packaging of Arts Coverage

Editorial Space for Arts Coverage

Table 1 shows, for each sample year and newspaper, the mean number of pages¹⁴ per edition (first column), the proportion of pages devoted to arts coverage (second column), and the mean number of individual arts items per edition (third column).

The American newspapers have many more pages per edition than the European newspapers, which is not only due to larger week day editions but also to large Sunday editions which the European papers do not have (except for the German *FAZ* in 2005). In 1955, the European newspapers typically are between 12 and 17 pages in length, far less than the US averages of 95 and 105 pages. In the course of time, all newspapers increase in size: on average German and French newspapers are over 60 pages in length, Dutch newspapers between 33 and 46 pages, and the American ones between 140 and 160 pages.

The amount of space for the arts also increases, although not to the same extent in every newspaper. In 1955, proportions range from 2 percent (*LAT*) to somewhat above 6 percent (*FAZ*). By 2005, arts coverage in the *LAT* amounts to 4.2 percent of the entire newspaper, while in all other newspapers it is over 5.5 percent, and in the case of the Dutch newspapers and *Le Monde* over 9 percent. In absolute terms, the space devoted to arts coverage has increased in all newspapers, since they all carry more pages. This is reflected in the growth of the number of arts items per edition (except for *Le Figaro* and the American newspapers which published many small items in 1955). Note that the percentages of the *NYT* and *LAT* equal more space than the European newspapers since the paper is much larger as a whole. Already in 1955, the American newspapers, unlike most European newspapers, dedicate at least one page per day to art reviews, and have special Sunday sections on Arts and Culture as well as Books.

In the time-frame studied here, the size of newspapers increases in all four countries, but the space devoted to the arts grows as well. In 1995, however, the largest leap has been made. By then, all newspapers write about the arts on a daily basis; they all carry special weekly sections dedicated to Arts and Culture in general; and, in most cases, they have special sections on subjects such as Literature and Lifestyle. The difference between the European and the American newspapers remains large, mainly due to the latter's substantial Sunday editions, which expand considerably over time.

Table 1: Total editorial space (in number of pages), proportion of editorial space devoted to arts coverage, and number of arts items per edition, 1955-2005
(N = 776)

	1955			1975			1995			2005		
	N pages	Arts prop	Arts items	N pages	Arts prop	Arts items	N pages	Arts prop	Arts items	N pages	Arts prop	Arts items
France												
Le Figaro	14,4	5,1 %	20,5	25,9	5,5 %	19,1	74,3	6,5 %	30,1	74,2	6,1 %	21,6
Le Monde	13,7	4,8 %	8,1	34,5	4,3 %	16,2	38,9	8,3 %	23,1	60,2	9,1 %	26,1
(West) Germany												
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	14,3	6,3 %	9,2	35,5	4,4 %	13,5	74,4	5,1 %	23,3	65,5	5,6 %	23,0
Süddeutsche Zeitung	17,1	2,7 %	7,4	42,6	3,7 %	14,2	75,9	5,2 %	26,1	69,4	6,4 %	22,1
Netherlands												
NRC Handelsblad	13,1	5,8 %	14,7	20,3	7,2 %	17,0	30,6	9,9 %	20,6	33,4	10,9 %	32,0
De Volkskrant	11,7	3,2 %	8,5	23,3	5,5 %	13,3	36,3	8,4 %	18,5	45,8	9,1 %	22,9
United States												
New York Times	95,1	2,7 %	55,4	121,2	2,3 %	28,1	136,6	5,3 %	33,1	139,9	6,4 %	39,1
Los Angeles Times	104,9	2,0 %	49,1	140,9	1,4 %	20,7	114,1	3,4 %	35,1	156,7	4,2 %	29,0

Note: All data in Table 1 concern average numbers per edition; the total number of editions is 776.

Attention to Popular and High Arts

Not all forms of culture benefitted equally from the extended space for arts and cultural coverage. In each of the countries/newspapers included in this study, arts and culture coverage shows a clear shift in focus from traditional high art forms (such as theatre, classical music, and literature) to popular ones like film, pop music, and television fiction; among the high arts, especially theatre and classical music are far less prominent in 2005 than in 1955. The latter finding corresponds to the declining interest in the four countries for attending classical music and theatre performances in the period under review.

In the popular domain, popular music experienced the strongest growth in attention, and, to a lesser extent, television fiction (cf. Janssen et al. 2011). Jaakkola's (2014) longitudinal study of arts coverage in Finnish dailies also reports a significant increase in the review coverage of popular music and film, but in these papers the position of the aforementioned high arts remained more or less stable between 1978 and 2008.

Type of Section

Table 2 shows the different trajectories of newspaper structures in the European and American newspapers. Whereas the *NYT* and the *LAT* already in the 1950s had separate arts and lifestyle sections in which a portion of their arts and culture articles appeared, the European newspapers in most cases developed such sections in the 1960s and thereafter. Still, the French, German and Dutch papers show considerable differentiation. For instance, the French newspapers again publish most arts and culture articles in general sections in the 1995 and 2005, whereas the German newspapers stick to a distinctive culture section that contains most of their cultural coverage. The increase of arts coverage in lifestyle sections is not all that clear. We see large shares in some years, but not in a clear temporal order: in the *NRC* 1955 (this concerns a weekend section); in *NRC* 2005 (a general "Agenda" which actually contains many editorial articles), and in the *NYT* 1995 (combination of The Living Section, the Home Section, and Television).

Table 2: Percentage of arts and culture articles by section, per year

		<i>Figaro</i>	<i>Monde</i>	<i>FAZ</i>	<i>SZ</i>	<i>NRC</i>	<i>VK</i>	<i>NYT</i>	<i>LAT</i>
1955	General	100	100	80	83	67	100	57	29
	Arts	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	19
	Lifestyle	0	0	21	17	33	0	0	33
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	17
1975	General	6	31	7	53	64	100	63	65
	Arts	93	47	83	7	34	0	30	33
	Lifestyle	1	8	8	17	1	0	0	2
	Other	0	13	2	24	2	0	7	1
1995	General	73	80	6	10	61	69	11	4
	Arts	12	19	83	74	26	27	44	83
	Lifestyle	1	1	6	7	7	4	26	4
	Other	3	0	4	7	7	0	19	8
2005	General	61	65	6	12	47	54	4	1
	Arts	5	17	81	68	15	41	76	82
	Lifestyle	0	8	1	3	31	1	6	5
	Other	3	1	12	15	8	2	13	12

Note: The percentages do not always add up to 100% since magazines are not included in this analysis. Shading: Less than 33% per cent are not shaded; 33-66% per cent light shades; +66% per cent dark shades.

Content of Article

Table 3 shows trends in the types of content that is covered in the eight newspapers. Clearly, in all years most attention is paid to a cultural product: often more than 70% of

all articles discuss at least one product. The second type of content which is featured in newspapers concerns careers. This can concern careers of individuals (e.g. film actor has a new role), organizations (e.g. anniversary of a museum) or even products (e.g. update on the production of a movie). In the latter case, the article is coded in two categories, product and career. Thus, while it is possible that this finding partly reflects the rise of “celebrity culture” (e.g. Gamson 1994), careers should actually be seen as broader than that: the tendency to provide background on all facets of culture. Career articles seem to occur slightly more often in 1955 than in the other years (particularly in *Le Figaro*, *NRC*, *NYT* and *LAT*), but the differences are not very large. The other content types are not found a lot, and little appears to change over time.

Table 3: Percentage of arts and culture articles by content type, per year

		Figaro	Monde	FAZ	SZ	NRC	VK	NYT	LAT
1955	Product	82	56	73	68	76	78	79	73
	Organisa- tion	10	11	11	11	8	11	8	4
	Career	37	25	21	23	21	33	37	51
	Experts	8	16	6	8	6	18	9	6
	Human int.	8	2	1	4	1	5	3	15
	Aud/Contr	1	2	1	1	1	8	1	1
1975	Product	67	79	64	74	76	80	74	86
	Organisa- tion	8	9	17	11	16	14	10	3
	Career	27	16	25	18	18	25	22	12
	Experts	12	6	10	5	14	15	7	6
	Human int.	1	1	3	5	1	1	2	4
	Aud/Contr	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1
1995	Product	75	76	63	75	78	75	76	74
	Organisa- tion	9	10	20	10	11	10	11	8
	Career	33	19	28	22	28	21	29	26
	Experts	12	10	16	7	18	13	10	9
	Human int.	6	1	2	3	2	3	3	5
	Aud/Contr	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	2
2005	Product	85	85	68	61	82	77	73	73
	Organisa- tion	6	7	14	12	12	10	9	7
	Career	18	22	24	24	22	21	30	19
	Experts	5	6	9	9	13	10	9	7
	Human int.	2	1	4	10	3	3	5	7
	Aud/Contr	1	2	1	2	4	2	4	3

Note: since articles can be about more than one content type, the percentages can add up to more than 100%. Shading: Less than 33% per cent are not shaded; 33-66% per cent light shades; +66% per cent dark shades.

Type of Article

Table 4 gives an overview of which article types are used in the newspapers analyzed. The most important finding appears to be the rise of the background article (which includes interviews). In all newspapers, this genre continues to increase its share until it comprises about a quarter of all cultural articles in 2005. This growth is at the expense of both the review and the news article. Although we expected to find more opinion articles in the papers due to diversification of editorial content, even in the last sample year this article type stays at only 5% of all articles. Like other studies (Jaakkola 2014; Szanto et al. 2004), we also observe a reduction of the editorial space assigned to reviews after 1975, notably in *Le Monde*, the American and the Dutch papers, although the decrease is not very pronounced and the timing varies.

Table 4: Percentage of arts and culture articles by article type, per year per newspaper

		Figaro	Monde	FAZ	SZ	NRC	VK	NYT	LAT
1955	Review	23	40	46	39	55	28	28	12
	News	67	44	36	43	34	54	65	78
	Backgr	9	13	17	16	10	11	4	8
	Opinion	1	3	0	2	2	5	2	1
1975	Review	38	44	44	43	47	45	48	51
	News	46	35	32	39	36	44	29	31
	Backgr	12	16	18	17	11	8	15	16
	Opinion	4	4	6	1	5	3	8	1
1995	Review	33	22	40	38	46	49	39	32
	News	38	57	30	31	32	30	32	38
	Backgr	27	20	27	26	17	18	23	20
	Opinion	1	0.5	3	2	5	3	5	7
2005	Review	43	32	36	37	27	35	35	33
	News	32	40	31	28	51	39	34	34
	Backgr	25	26	28	32	16	23	25	28
	Opinion	0.5	1	4	3	5	4	5	5

Note: Shading: Less than 33% per cent are not shaded; 33-66% per cent light shades; +66% per cent dark shades.

Illustrations

Table 5 clearly corroborates the expectations from the literature with regards to illustrations: in every newspaper the mean number of illustrations grew considerably in the period 1955-2005. Only for the Dutch newspapers, 2005 showed a slightly smaller amount. This finding accords with the expectation (see theoretical framework) that newspapers have been trying to make their publications more attractive to readers by adding more visual elements (cf. Kristensen 2012).

Table 5: Mean number of illustrations per article, per year per newspaper

	Figaro	Monde	FAZ	SZ	NRC	VK	NYT	LAT
1955	.26 (.67)	.14 (.82)	.13 (.40)	.12 (.35)	.20 (.53)	.16 (.38)	.23 (.67)	.33 (.71)
1975	.19 (.59)	.11 (.32)	.27 (.74)	.30 (.70)	.51 (1.00)	.33 (.75)	.32 (.76)	.39 (.92)
1995	.70 (.97)	.15 (.41)	.44 (.79)	.40 (.81)	.63 (1.01)	.58 (.99)	.81 (1.31)	.46 (.86)
2005	.80 (1.45)	.60 (1.25)	.57 (.80)	.59 (.96)	.48 (.74)	.57 (1.07)	1.04 (1.42)	.86 (1.29)

Note: Between brackets standard deviation

Volume of Cultural Advertising

The last trend which we discuss concerns the volume of cultural advertising. Table 6 shows both the absolute size of cultural advertising and the Ed/Ad ratio (which provides a measure of the relative size of advertising). In most newspapers the volume of cultural advertising shows an increasing trend over time. There are two notable exceptions: the French newspapers show a peak in the 1970s, after which the volume never quite reaches the same heights. In Germany, the SZ has a peak in 1995. It is difficult to explain these particularities: more information on the newspaper market is probably needed for that. There is a clear distinction between the European and American newspapers in the meaning of cultural advertisements. Whereas in Europe advertisements only comprise a fraction of the cultural content in the paper (read from the Ed/Ad ratio which is mostly far below 100), in American newspapers advertising often exceeds editorial content. Most of this advertising concerns movie advertisements (see also Heilbrun 1997); in addition, the *NYT* also makes room for many musical and theater advertisements which reflect the supply on Broadway.

Table 6: Development advertisements in newspapers per year

		Figaro	Monde	FAZ	SZ	NRC	VK	NYT	LAT
1955	ED/AD	35.6	25.1	1.6	121.5	16.1	38.2	151.9	61.2
	Advert	.56	.24	.03	.75	.22	.25	7.22	1.73
1975	ED/AD	53.3	86.3	3.7	22.3	10.8	54.3	242.7	172.4
	Advert	1.72	1.66	.16	.52	.26	.63	9.92	5.35
1995	ED/AD	10.3	11.3	5.0	24.9	22.5	34.1	160.0	164.0
	Advert	.53	.56	.47	1.61	1.30	1.73	17.65	5.85
2005	ED/AD	13.5	14.8	8.5	7.6	26.1	9.9	94.0	218.2
	Advert	.67	.93	1.07	.67	1.42	1.36	14.57	20.72

Note: ED/AD = Editorial /Advertisement ratio (size advertisements divided by size editorials, times 100). Advert = Mean size cultural advertisements in cm2 (*1000) per edition.

Shading ED/AD means higher than 100 (=more advertisements than editorials).

Shifting Orientations in Arts Coverage

To get a more comprehensive picture of how newspapers have evolved over time, we conducted a factor analysis to look for underlying dimensions in the set of variables presented in the previous section. We used a Principal Component extraction, and Direct Oblimin rotation (to take into account correlations among the factors). Table 7 shows the results of the factor analysis.

Table 7: Factor analysis of Orientations in Arts Coverage

	Factor 1 News orientation	Factor 2 Background orientation	Factor 3 Lifestyle orientation
Article type: Reviews	-.889		
Article type: News	.688	-.471	
Article type: Background	.225	.655	
Article type: Opinion			
Content: Product	-.729		
Content: Organization			
Content: Career	.711		
Content: Expertise			
Content: Human Interest	.224		
Content: Audiences/Controversy			
Arts & Culture section		.725	
Lifestyle/Media section			.752
Other section			
# Illustrations		.659	.422
Weekend day (incl. Friday)		.317	.715
Eigenvalue	2.603	1.952	1.580
% of variance	17.4	13.0	10.5

Structure matrix. Factor loadings <.200 are not shown

Based on the interpretation of the eigenvalues and the screen plot, we can distinguish three factors. The first factor indicates the degree to which the newspaper is more oriented towards news reporting (in contrast to reviewing). Clearly, such orientation on types of articles is accompanied by specific types of content (more careers, less products). This result is strongly in line with Hellman and Jaakkola (2012), Jaakkola (2012) and Norgaard Kristensen (2010) who also found this tension between news values and values grounded in the artistic field.

The second factor we find can be labeled background orientation. This factor represents editions which have relatively many background articles and interviews, many articles in arts and culture sections, and large amounts of illustrations. The third factor taps into the degree to which the edition contains lifestyle or media sections. This type of edition is strongly associated with weekend days, but shows no correlation with particular article types or specific content.

As can be seen in Table 7, not all variables contribute to the three factors. It is important to remember we analyze newspaper editions. Many of the variables that fail to load on the three primary dimensions have simply marginal positions in cultural journalism. About 60% of the analyzed editions did not contain opinion articles and in all but one edition the percentage of opinion articles was below 30%. Similarly, there was little reference to audiences (only for 30% of the editions). Organizations and experts were part of many editions (81% and 76% of the editions, respectively), but represented only small portions of what newspapers report. And more importantly, they show insufficient correlation with other variables analyzed. This may seem paradoxical since opinions and audiences are important within cultural journalism, but our results suggest that most opinions are still voiced within reviews and audiences are rather implied than directly addressed or discussed.

To analyze developments in these orientations, we saved the factor scores of the three factors and rescaled this between 0 and 10 to enhance interpretability.¹⁵ Figures 1 to 3 (Appendix) show how the studied newspapers have evolved over time. In 1955, newspapers show large differences in their news orientation and their usage of lifestyle sections. *Le Figaro* and both American newspapers are more oriented towards news reporting than the other newspapers. In contrast, the *FAZ* and *NRC* tilt more towards an artistic orientation emphasizing reviews of products. With regards to lifestyle sections, it is mainly the *LAT* which stands out. Inspection of the data shows that the *LAT* published many of its arts and culture articles in the section "Women (Part III)". When this section disappears and specific arts and culture sections are introduced ("View", "Calendar", "Book Review"), the visibility of lifestyle sections drops considerably.

Over time, differences in news orientation tend to blur, as newspapers all seem to converge into a balance between news reporting and reviewing. The other two factors continue to show differentiation, however. There is a steady increase of background stories in all newspapers although this is less pronounced for the Dutch and French newspapers than for the German and American ones. For the reliance on lifestyle sections we see strong fluctuations over time, which is, of course, also the consequence of the nested structure of the data. Introducing or abolishing sections will be amplified in the results since in each year a small number of sections comprise the majority of articles. In 1995, the *NYT* published quite some cultural articles in the sections "The Living Section", "The Home Section", and "Weekend", but by 2005 much of the culture was allocated to the new section "Weekend Arts" while the new section "House & Home" contained much less culture.

Next we examine to what extent journalistic orientations are related to cultural content and structural features (see Table 8). Interestingly, all three factors are positively correlated to popular culture which implies that stronger orientations on news (in contrast to reviewing), background stories, and lifestyle sections is often combined with discussing popular culture instead of highbrow culture. When we conduct partial correlations controlling for year, only the correlation with background stories disappears. Thus, when newspapers have more news-oriented styles and rely more on lifestyle sections they also have a stronger focus on popular culture (regardless the year under observation). Only the association between background stories and popular culture appears to be spurious and should be ascribed to both orientations having become more prominent over time.

Although we find little correlation between journalistic orientation and the logged ed/ad ratio, what we observe is in line with the theory. Having stronger presence of lifestyle sections goes together with an ed/ad ratio in which the balance is tipped to advertisements. This effect cannot be contributed to changes over time.

Table 8: Correlations and partial correlations

	News orientation	Background orientation	Lifestyle orientation	Popular culture	Ed/Ad
News orientation	1	n.s.	n.s.	.121 *	n.s.
Background orientation	n.s.	1	.082 *	.101 *	n.s.
Lifestyle orientation	n.s.	.119 *	1	.087 *	.117 *
Popular culture	.152 *	n.s.	.098 *	1	.227 *
Ed/Ad (log)	n.s.	n.s.	.114 *	.267 *	1

Note: Above the diagonal Pearson Correlations; under diagonal partial correlations controlling for year. N=775, except for correlations with Ed/Ad (N=754). * significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Conclusion

This paper examined in what ways and to what extent elite papers in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States have adapted their arts and culture coverage to wider developments in the fields of culture and journalism, in the period 1955-2005. Based upon a content analysis of 776 newspaper editions, we analyzed how changes in the packaging of cultural journalism have evolved in relation to the cultural content which is discussed and the volume of (cultural) advertising that is featured in newspapers. Besides trends, we present a multivariate perspective on this issue.

The first conclusion is that over time print versions of newspapers gradually show similar structural features. Differences in art journalism orientation tend to blur, as newspapers all seem to converge into a balance between news reporting and reviewing. This result is in line with Kristensen (2010) and Hellman and Jaakkola (2012), but extends the evidence to more and, in some cases, also larger countries. Second, we find evidence for increased catering for the needs and interests of audiences, in so far as arts coverage has come to include more background articles and more illustrations, and the genre focus has clearly shifted towards popular culture. However, we do not observe the rise of lifestyle perspectives, nor a strong increase in human interest stories, or more opinion articles. This may be explained by our more restricted operationalization of "arts and culture" than for instance in Kristensen and From (2012). Our focus was on artistic genres (of various degrees of legitimacy), but consumer culture topics or broader takes on culture such as food, traveling, religion, interior decoration were not considered.

Finally, in line with expectations, we see that most newspapers show an increase in cultural advertising, but not as pronounced as anticipated. In general, European newspapers do not contain large amounts of cultural advertisements in stark contrast to American newspapers in which advertising outweighs editorial content most of the time. Importantly, a stronger presence of advertising is related to a lifestyle orientation of newspapers (in the sense of having relatively a lot of arts and culture coverage in such sections) as well as to a focus on popular culture. Of course, it is difficult to say whether the volume of advertising influences the number of articles on particular genres (see Heilbrun 1997), since the causality cannot be determined with our data.

Clearly, our study leaves open several questions. We did not have sufficient space to further analyze what kind of cultural advertisements are featured most often, and how this relates to editorial content. For instance, are advertisements on new movies planted in synergy with reviews on these films, or the other way around? Also, a more in-depth analysis on how particular genres are discussed within specific sections from a longitudinal perspective would be an important follow-up question. Finally, the media field has seen many transformations in the past decade, of which the increased usage of internet-based media is probably the most prominent one. Hence, a follow-up analysis of arts reporting after 2005 is much needed to see how the key variables of our analysis of the print era have developed in the digital age, not only in the print editions of the newspapers under investigation, but also in these papers' online editions. While this requires coping with the complex structure as well as the ephemeral nature of such coverage, it is an obvious target for the study of arts journalism (see Verboord 2014, Verboord and Janssen 2015).

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Notes

1. For brevity's sake, we use the term Western countries in the context of this article to refer to Western-European countries, the United States and Canada.
2. However, Weibull (2005) found that in Portugal, Spain, Italy, and the UK the young population read more than the rest of the population.
3. As numerous participation studies have shown.
4. For European countries, this also applies to domestic cultural industries - such as the film, television, and publishing industry - that could expand their production thanks to all kinds of state support aimed at improving the competitive position of these industries and at leveling the growing dominance of cultural imports from abroad, in particular, the United States.
5. This seems to be particularly true of individuals with high occupational status who tend to have wide-ranging networks that require knowledge of a wide variety of cultural forms (DiMaggio 1987: 444).
6. Cf. the project's website: <http://www.eshcc.eur.nl/viciproject/>
7. However, it should be noted that this argument to focus on elite newspapers is strongly tied to the societies under investigation. In other contexts (periods, places), perhaps alternative argumentations would have been more apt.
8. For instance, the intellectually leading newspapers in the U.S. are all regionally based, although the largest ones, including the two most influential and here selected papers, the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*, are distributed all over the country.
9. Please note that the data collection took place in 2005-2006. While we acknowledge that a new more recent sample year would be very welcome, limitations in resources have so far prevented us from doing so.
10. Over-sampling weekdays on which special cultural sections appear, would therefore be unwise. There might be systematic differentiation by weekday in the sort of cultural disciplines or the type of articles that are dealt with.
11. According to sampling efficiency studies, two constructed weeks suffice for representing a year's content adequately (Riffe et al. 1993). We used two extra constructed weeks to stay on the safe side. Moreover, selecting additional weeks increases the total sample of content units, which improves both the reliability in general and the detail level at which reliable analyses can be made.
12. Very small advertisements were not individually measured, but as bulk advertisements. We will therefore not use counts of the number of advertisements but use the size in cm². Due to time limitations not all sampled editions for the LAT 1975 and 1995 were coded for advertisements and service articles.

13. The *NYT* has Sunday editions for the whole period; the *FAZ* has also Sunday editions in 2005. For the *LAT* editions per year were coded.
14. The space devoted to advertisements is not included in these figures.
15. Minimum score was set at 0, and then divided by the maximum, and multiplied by 10.

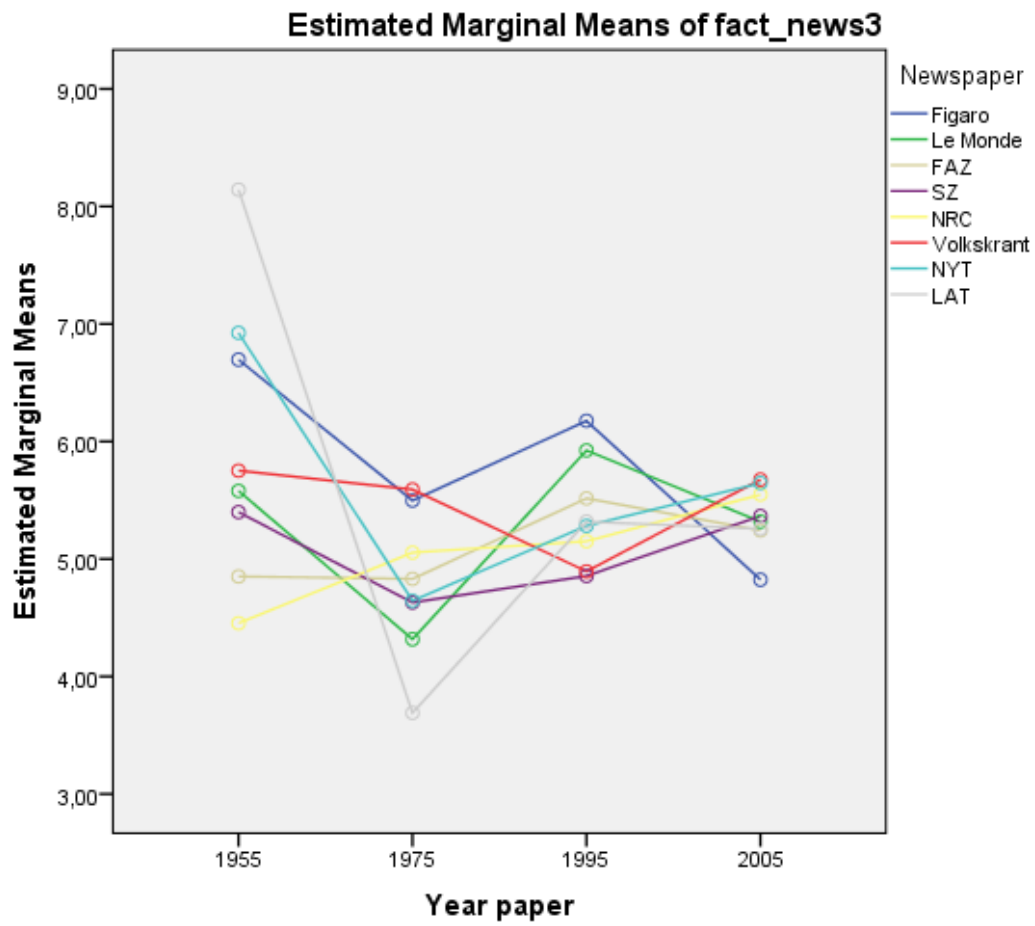
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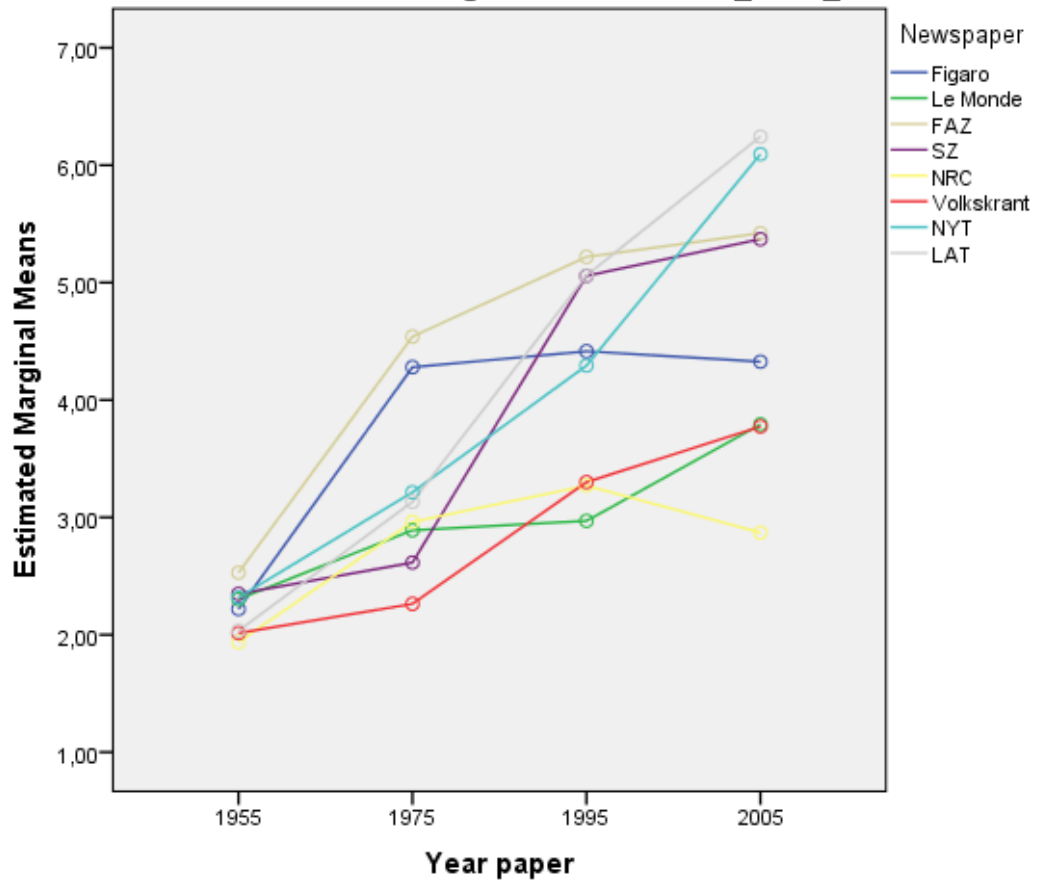
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Appendix (Figures 1-3)



Estimated Marginal Means of fact_back_sect3



Estimated Marginal Means of fact_lifestyle3

