

Into the Great Wide Open? A Comparative Study of the Contents of Newspaper Culture Sections in the UK and Finland, 1970–2010

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Many studies suggest that during recent decades, legitimate culture in Western countries has become less hierarchical and more open. Relatively little is known, however, about when, to what degree, and with what national variation this process has happened. When analyzing these questions, a major challenge is the scarcity of suitable longitudinal and comparable data covering several decades. This problem can be solved by using media data. This study presents an analysis of the changes in the cultural coverage of two main newspapers from two European countries – Helsingin Sanomat (Finland) and The Guardian (UK) – from 1970 to 2010. Through content analysis of samples of the newspapers (N=1,473, the unit of analysis being an article), we examine how the content of cultural pages has changed in terms of structure and cultural areas covered. We ask whether the content of culture has become more heterogeneous (corresponding to the rise of the cultural omnivore) and “entertaining” (as suggested by the discourse on the crisis of cultural journalism) and whether Helsingin Sanomat and The Guardian are different in these respects. The focus is especially on music and how the coverage given to classical and popular music has evolved. The results are largely in line with the opening of culture, but not as straightforward as one might expect.

Keywords: Cultural legitimacy, classifications, newspapers, music, taste, omnivorousness

Introduction

The “opening” of culture and cultural omnivorousness

Like shown by the profound yet arbitrary distinction between highbrow and popular culture, a hierarchical divide in which the former is granted higher prestige and legitimacy, the processes of classification and social valuation of arts and culture are not only strongly interrelated but also historically and cross-nationally variable social phenomena (Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio 1987; Peterson 1997; Daloz 2010; Roy & Dowd 2010; Lamont 2012). Recent studies have questioned the role of classical highbrow culture, such as classical music, opera, or ballet, as a status marker in Western countries

and have suggested that the self-evident bourgeois “good” or legitimate taste is becoming less hierarchical and more open (DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Van Eijck & Knulst 2005; Peterson & Rossman 2007). The idea of cultural omnivorousness originally presented by Peterson (1992) – that the taste of the high status groups is no longer exclusive but inclusive and includes elements from popular culture – is one way of conceptualizing this trend. For Peterson, omnivorousness was a generational phenomenon characterizing the high status groups of the baby boomers and subsequent cohorts and was closely related to the large-scale sociocultural transformations of the post-war period (especially from the 1960s to the 1980s) in Western societies (Peterson & Kern 1996; see also Reeves 2015). The idea behind the “rise of the omnivore” was also deeply associated with the involvement of cultural genres – genres in popular music in particular – and the dynamics of their status and legitimacy (DiMaggio 1987; Peterson & Rossman 2007; Roy & Dowd 2010). An emerging omnivorous taste profile able to appreciate both classical highbrow music and popular music such as jazz or pop was understood not only as a result of increased tolerance but also as a product of the elevated status of popular music through processes of legitimization (Peterson 1997, 2005; Peterson & Kern 1996).

Omnivore scholarship has concentrated mostly on the consumption rather than the production side of culture (although the literature has expanded in myriad ways since Peterson’s original contribution; for a review, see Peterson 2005; Purhonen et al. 2010; Karademir Hazir & Warde 2015). Changes in legitimate taste, as expressed in people’s dispositions and preferences, should nevertheless receive support or even be preceded by transformations in cul-

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tural institutions consecrating legitimate art (Bourdieu 1984, 1993). The media is an institution that should reflect the changes in dominant cultural classifications and hierarchies (Janssen 1999; Janssen et al. 2008; Jaakkola 2015; Verboord et al. 2015). Since art journalists and intellectuals play a crucial role as cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu 1984; Smith Maguire & Matthews 2014), the changes in the patterns of legitimate taste should be recognizable in their evaluations and writings, i.e., how cultural classifications and hierarchies are represented in the media (Janssen 1999; Jaakkola 2015; Verboord et al. 2015). Sociological studies of such cultural institutions that would include both cross-national and longitudinal dimensions have so far been rare (although see, e.g., Janssen et al. 2008, 2011). The main obstacle has been the scarcity of suitable longitudinal and comparable data sets, even if many of the central debates of the field imply the importance of tracking changes and trends (e.g., the supposed “meltdown” of the status of classical highbrow culture or the “rise” of the cultural omnivore; see DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Peterson 2005). Consequently, relatively little is known about the timing (when), thoroughness (how far), and the level of national variation (where) of the process of opening and the de-hierarchization of culture, more or less supposed by much of the omnivore literature.

Newspapers as a showroom of culture and the “crisis of cultural journalism”

Cultural classifications and hierarchies appear, spread, and become legitimized – as well as debatable – in the media (Janssen 1999). This is why media content and newspapers in particular with their special pages devoted to “arts” and “culture” can be considered as potentially useful data (e.g., Janssen et al. 2008, 2011; Jaakkola 2015). Another reason why newspapers and their culture sections are a tempting data source for cultural sociologists to focus on is practical; especially when trying to study longer time periods and compare several countries, one often finds a notable lack of good quality longitudinal data (e.g., Peterson 2005; Reeves 2015).

Specialized sections on arts and culture were established in many major European newspapers around the middle of the 20th century; they became “an influential area for discussion and debate in the cultural and partly political public sphere” (Jaakkola 2015, 26). The newspaper culture sections, as part of the media more widely, can be interpreted as the structural frame or milieu that mediates shifts in taste dispositions (although causal relations are obviously reciprocal and difficult to establish) by producing symbolic value and hierarchies (e.g., Bourdieu 1993; Janssen 1999; Jaakkola 2015). Elite newspapers – those papers that “principally target higher educated social classes and whose coverage emphasizes political, economic and cultural affairs” (Verboord et al. 2015, 448) – have been considered especially influential in shaping the public opinion about the value and legitimacy of art forms and cultural objects. Cultural journalists and critics are both gatekeepers and tastemakers defining what counts as good taste (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2014). From this perspective, the relative amount of news-

paper space for particular art forms and genres can be seen as “indicative of their cultural status at a given point in time” (Janssen 1999, 330).

Given the potentiality of the newspaper culture sections as a longitudinal and comparative data source for a research on the (supposed) “opening” of culture during the last decades, the cultural pages have so far remained understudied from this perspective (again with important exceptions by Janssen et al. 2008, 2011; Verboord et al. 2015). Instead, a major debate regarding newspaper culture sections and art criticism has recently been, in both academic literature and a more general discourse, the crisis of cultural journalism (e.g., Janssen 1999; Elkins 2003; McDonald 2007; Jaakkola 2015). It has been claimed that cultural journalism has lost at least some of its autonomy and become part of the market economy, both because most writers are nowadays external forces of the newspaper and because the content of the cultural products discussed in the newspapers has become more commercial (Janssen 1999; Jaakkola 2015). This has, in part, led to the crumbling of proper art criticism (Elkins 2003), which goes hand in hand with the finding that, actually, newspapers produce more and more “neutral” news instead of traditional reviews (Jaakkola 2014). Nevertheless, the assumed crisis well reflects the much-debated opening of the conception of culture itself; the shift from “serious” or “highbrow” cultural journalism to “light” or “entertaining” cultural journalism could be seen as yet another addition to the omnivore thesis.

Previous research has used a variety of indicators for the “crisis of cultural journalism”, pointing toward more entertaining and less serious cultural content; these include, e.g., briefer article length than before (Jaakkola 2015); signs of increasing commercialization (Janssen 1999); and a decreasing proportion of aesthetic-normative reviews calculated from all journalistic content (Jaakkola 2014). It is noteworthy, however, that both the discussion on the opening of culture (via the concept of omnivorousness) and the debate about the crisis of cultural journalism suggest that the newspaper cultural sections have been popularized. The former discussion on the opening of culture implies that this is linked mainly to the content of cultural pages (which cultural areas are discussed in the culture section; e.g., a shift from music to computer games, and inside music, from classical music to pop music), whereas the latter discourse on the crisis of journalism implies that this could also be connected to the structure and form of cultural coverage (e.g., a shift toward briefer articles or a decrease in reviews).

Aims, hypotheses, and the comparative setting

This paper addresses the two interrelated debates discussed briefly above – one on the “opening” of culture and one on the “crisis of cultural journalism”, both of which have supposedly taken place in recent decades – by a comparative and longitudinal analysis of the content of culture sections of two European newspapers. More precisely, by using quantitative content analysis, we focus here on two countries and

their respective newspapers, the UK (The Guardian, “GU”) and Finland (Helsingin Sanomat, “HS”), from 1970 to 2010.

First, we briefly analyze whether there is evidence supporting the idea of the “crisis of cultural journalism”, i.e., that the content of the culture sections would turn more “entertaining” and less “serious” during the research period by taking a look at the structure and form of the articles published. Here, our first hypothesis is that (H1) we should be able to trace signs of the alleged change in the format of cultural journalism, including a decline in the length of the articles and in the number of traditional aesthetic-normative reviews, and an increase in visually illustrated articles and articles including commercial elements.

Second, we investigate whether the cultural content in these two major newspapers has become more open, broad, and heterogeneous, as implied by the debate on omnivorousness, during recent decades in terms of the art forms and their subgenres (topics) discussed in the articles of the cultural pages. Our analysis of this question is divided into two sections, both giving particular emphasis on music. After a brief look at the distribution of different art forms discussed in the newspapers, we analyze whether the proportion of the articles on music has changed from 1970 to 2010 in GU and HS. We then focus more closely on music alone and analyze whether and how much the coverage given to classical music has changed.

We concentrate on music because in modern Western societies music is perhaps the most established and institutionalized art form (or cultural field) with its own traditions, canons, genres, and subgenres along with institutions, public funding instruments, prizes, curricula, experts, and criticisms; it is a field with which only perhaps literature can compete (Frith 1996; Roy & Dowd 2010; Purhonen et al. 2014). Focusing on music, we are able to measure the relative space given to highly legitimate classical music and more popular music genres (cf. Peterson & Kern 1996). Against this background of the centrality of music as a cultural field in general and the distinction between highbrow and popular forms inside music in particular, it is no surprise why much of the omnivore literature has concentrated particularly on music tastes (Peterson 2005).

Thus, our analysis is guided by the expectation that (H2) between 1970 and 2010, the conception of culture has “opened” in terms of cultural areas and genres discussed in the culture sections, showing that the dominance of the classical highbrow arts has dwindled. We should be able to trace this trend in two ways: through the increased heterogeneity of the cultural content caused by the appearance of new, emerging, popular art forms that have gained space at the cost of traditional and established art forms, for instance, music (which should be translated as a downward trend in the proportion of articles discussing music; H2a); and through the shift on the weight between articles on classical and popular music (seen as a downward trend in the proportion of articles on classical music; H2b).

Last, our hypothesis regarding the differences between Finland (HS) and the UK (GU) is that (H3) there are no other differences between these two newspapers apart from

the “opening” of the content of culture, which we expect has happened earlier and more thoroughly in the UK (in both cases of H2a and H2b).

The rationale behind the third and last hypothesis about the cross-national difference can be illustrated by the example of pop music and its status in the UK prior to our research period. The Beatles, for instance, received many types of public recognition by the state, including the prestigious MBE medals awarded by the Queen in 1965, which can be seen as strong indicators of legitimization (Moore 1997). In Finland, such public acknowledgements to pop music from the state authorities were absent at the time; it was not until the 1980s that such public prizes for pop music were established in Finland (Bruun et al. 1998). The elevated status of pop music was possible in the UK earlier because it had become a commercially successful part of the cultural industry and thus significant for the national economy (Frith 1996).

Another factor to justify our third hypothesis is related to the different locations of the UK and Finland in the global cultural system. The division between center and periphery is significant for the diffusion of cultural influences because new orientations and fashions first gain popularity in the centers and only afterwards “trickle down” to peripheries (Appadurai 1996; in the context of cultural content in the media, see Janssen et al. 2008, 2011; Jaakkola 2015). In this respect, Finland is more of a cultural periphery as it is extremely reliant on external influences; Britain, however, especially when it comes to popular culture, represents a center, at least from the 1960s onwards (Wright et al. 2013). Much of this difference is due to languages (English can be considered the lingua franca of popular culture) but also to the size of the nation in terms of population and the economy as well as its geographic location. All this provides additional grounds for expecting H3 to be true (see Janssen et al. 2008). On the other hand, we do not expect HS and GU to be different regarding the “crisis of cultural journalism” because the debate has taken place similarly in the Nordic countries and in the Anglo-American world (Jaakkola 2015).

We have chosen to compare newspapers from Finland and the UK for several reasons. At the level of general sociohistorical characteristics, besides some obvious similarities (both are, e.g., post-industrialized capitalist economies and EU members), key differences include Finland being a small social-democracy-oriented country of the Nordic welfare regime, whereas the UK, culturally more heterogeneous since its colonial history, is often considered a traditional class society (e.g., Wright et al. 2013). At the level of national media systems, as classified by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Finland belongs to the North European “Democratic Corporatist model”, whereas the UK is part of the North Atlantic “Liberal model” (see also Jaakkola 2015). The differences between these two models of media systems include, among other things (Hallin & Mancini 2004) high newspaper circulation in Finland and moderate circulation in the UK; historically a strong party press but a shift toward a neutral commercial press in Finland, whereas mostly a neutral commercial press in the UK; strong professionalization of journalism in both models but with institutionalized self-

Table 1
An overview information of the data by year and newspaper.

	1970		1990		2010		Total
	GU	HS	GU	HS	GU	HS	
Issues (N)	18	21	18	21	18	21	117
Articles (N)	124	331	237	326	124	331	1473
Pages per issue (mean)	21.0	42.5	40.6	69.6	131.0	50.1	58.9
Cultural pages per issue (mean)	1.1	1.9	3.2	3.9	10.2	4.0	4.0
Percentage of cultural pages per issue (mean)	5.5	4.6	8.2	5.8	8.8	8.4	6.9
Cultural articles per issue (mean)	6.9	15.8	13.2	15.5	6.9	15.8	12.6
Articles per cultural page (mean)	6.3	9.3	4.4	4.1	0.9	4.0	4.9

regulation in Finland; a strong role of the state in Finland (with freedom of the press), whereas a market-oriented press in the UK.

Taken together, we argue that these differences between Finland and the UK, while only very crudely summarized here, are all in line with our third hypothesis (or at least they do not contradict it). More importantly, they provide the background for a fruitful comparative analysis between Finland and the UK in the context of cultural journalism and perhaps especially a field of culture like music. It should be emphasized, however, that our intention is not to study cultural journalism as such. Some of the factors at the journalistic level may play a role, but they are embedded in a larger social and cultural environment that varies depending on the country. Indeed, the newspapers can be seen not only as sources creating cultural classifications but also as an institution that reflects existing classifications (Janssen 1999; Jaakkola 2015).

Research design

Data

This paper presents a comparative analysis of the cultural sections of two newspapers, HS (Finland) and GU (UK) from three time points, 1970, 1990, and 2010. The paper is based on a larger research project that aims at a systematic analysis of the coverage of culture and the arts in five European countries – Finland, the UK, Sweden, France, and Spain – from 1960 to 2010 (both quantitative and qualitative content analysis; more information about the project can be found online at <blogs.helsinki.fi/cudige-project>). In the project, data were collected (between 2013 and 2014) using 10-year intervals from each country and newspaper, which means that here we use limited data sets both in terms of countries (newspapers) and time points.

Coverage of arts is often concentrated around weekends, and there may be seasonal variation because of cultural events; in order to eliminate these effects we followed Riffe et al. (1993) and Janssen et al. (2008) and used “constructed weeks”, including randomly sampled weekdays. We divided each year into thirds (January to April, May to August, and September to December) and used a stratified sampling pro-

cedure to select random dates to form one full week for each third of each selected year. We thus had $7 \times 3 = 21$ editions per sample year for HS and $6 \times 3 = 18$ editions per sample year for GU (GU only comes out six times per week). Altogether the data consisted of 117 editions (63 editions of HS and 54 editions of GU). Nonetheless, the unit of our content analysis is an individual article, which means that the total number of cases (N) in our analyses was 1,473. Only journalistic content was included in the data (advertisements as well as announcements and also lists, such as TV programs, were excluded).

Both newspapers analyzed can be regarded as nationally leading major papers – even “elite” papers in contrast to tabloids (Taylor 1993; Janssen et al. 2008; Jaakkola 2015; Verboord et al. 2015). One difference is that HS has had practically no national competition in the Finnish printed press during the recent decades, whereas GU, albeit clearly one of the major newspapers in the UK, has many competitors such as The Times or Daily Telegraph (Taylor 1993; Jaakkola 2015). Politically, however, both HS and GU share a moderate social-democratic or center-left tendency. Of the papers, GU – called The Manchester Guardian until 1959 – is older than HS (originally named Päivälehti); GU was founded in 1821, while HS was founded in 1889. The circulation of HS in 2010 was 375,000 (Levikintarkastus Oy 2014), whereas GU’s was 327,000 (Audit Bureau of Circulations Ltd. 2014).

Since the 1990s, all major European newspapers have faced a decline in circulation. This tendency applies to both newspapers examined here, and HS and GU resemble each other regarding the trajectory of their numbers of circulation throughout our research period. After a rapid growth between 1970 and 1990, they have faced a similar slight but not radical decline (Levikintarkastus Oy 2014; Audit Bureau of Circulations Ltd. 2014). While the current problems of traditional print media are due to the rapid digitalization of journalism in recent years, this trend does not affect our research period (Jaakkola 2015; Verboord 2014). A factor that we do have to take into account, however, is the growth of different supplements and thematic sections (Jaakkola 2015, 27). HS and GU also resemble each other in this sense; GU started publishing its supplement G2 in 1992, and HS followed its example with its supplement NYT in 1995. G2 has

been included in our data while NYT has not. G2 is a daily part of the newspaper and covers different areas of culture more widely (including “highbrow” culture, such as classical music and theater), whereas the weekly supplement NYT concentrates almost entirely on urban youth culture (pop music, film, TV, etc.). The fact that G2 is included in the 2010 data on GU should be taken into account, especially regarding the information presented in Table 1 as it is information at the level of issues (and not the articles themselves, which is the case in the subsequent tables and figures of this paper).

Table 1 shows basic information about our newspaper sample from the point of view of this study. It should be noted that our data consist strictly of the “cultural section” of the newspapers, not on cultural coverage in other parts of the newspapers (as in the case of the studies by Janssen et al. 2008, 2011). The idea behind this decision to concentrate only on “explicit” cultural pages (as far as possible) is – apart from evident reasons regarding research economy – that we rely on the newspapers’ definitions of culture.

Our sample includes more articles from HS than from GU. The number of articles from HS is very stable across years, whereas in the case of GU, the sample includes more articles in 1990 than 1970 or 2010. The average number of pages per issue is again rather stable in the case of HS, but in GU it has been on the rise (the abundance of different, not only culture-related, supplements explains the very high number of 2010). The average number of cultural pages per issue shows (again) steady growth in the case of GU, but HS shows no increase after 1990.

The proportion of cultural pages in relation to the entire newspaper was approximately even in 2010 in both papers (around 8% – note that this was despite the GU supplement being included in the data); GU had achieved that level in 1990, while HS reached it in 2010. The average number of articles on culture per issue has been extremely stable in HS, whereas in GU the number was roughly at the same level only in 1990 and was lower both earlier and after that.

The average number of articles per cultural page shows that HS published longer articles after 1970 (no difference between 1990 and 2010), whereas in the case of GU, articles have become increasingly longer. The difference between papers was quite dramatic in 2010, but that is mainly because of the G2 supplement in which most articles on culture tended to be longer than those encountered in the main newspaper.

Variables

For the purposes of this paper, the articles were coded by two researchers using ATLAS.ti software. The coding system included 11 variables (with altogether 88 codes) besides the basic information that we utilize about each newspaper (e.g., the paper, year, total number of pages, and the number of cultural pages). The variables we chose to use for this paper were selected – as well as recoded in the analysis – in order to allow the study of the hypothesized “opening up” of the concept of culture as well as the alleged “crisis of cultural journalism” as economically as possible. Apart from

this, our aim was also to test how the coding process worked in practice and whether the coding system established after various smaller test codings was useful in answering the research questions. Certain variables were chosen from the coding system of Janssen et al. (2008, 2011) to allow further comparison.

The key variable – the cultural area discussed in the articles – was coded into 20 categories ranging from the most established art forms (music, literature) and other classical highbrow arts, such as opera, theater or fine arts, to more popular and modern areas of culture, like film, television, photography, and comics (cf. Janssen et al. 2011; Jaakkola 2015). The variable also included cultural areas other than conventional art forms (such as cultural policy). All categories (except computer/console games, which received a zero frequency in both newspapers) are shown in Figure 1.

Articles discussing music were further coded into seven categories: western classical/art music, pop music (with a wide definition that included rock, heavy, punk, indie, electronic dance music, and other subgenres of pop music that have attracted young people in Western countries since the 1950s and especially since the 1960s; see Frith 1996), jazz, world music (ethno), traditional folk music, domestic hit music, and other. This classification of articles on music into these seven genres was not intended to be all-encompassing but was designed to capture the theoretically most interesting genres (cf. Peterson 2005). An inclusive classification of music genres would be an impossible task for a contribution like this one.

Besides the two major independent variables, the year and the newspaper, the other variables used in the analysis are as follows (for the distribution of each variable, see Appendix Table 1): Four variables possibly indicative from the perspective of the debate on “crisis of cultural journalism” were used: 1) the length of the article, 2) the illustration of the article, 3) the type of the article, and 4) the possible commercial dimension. The length of the article was coded into six categories, but it was used in the analysis as a dichotomy separating articles of a quarter page and longer (thus providing a crude measure for “long articles”, as the majority of the articles were shorter; for a different way to code article length see e.g. Janssen 2008; Jaakkola 2015). Visualization has been seen as a major means of popularization in media and communication studies as well as culture more widely (see e.g. Hartley 1992); thus, the illustration of the articles was coded as dichotomous (a picture or not). Article type was coded into four categories, but for the analysis it was used as a dichotomy separating traditional aesthetic-normative reviews from other types of articles (cf. Jaakkola 2014). The commercial dimension (cf. Janssen 1999) was a dichotomous variable; according to the coding system, the article was considered to have a commercial dimension whenever it made any reference to money (typical cases would be, e.g., commercial successes or failures, sales figures, artistic prizes or the expenses of cultural products).

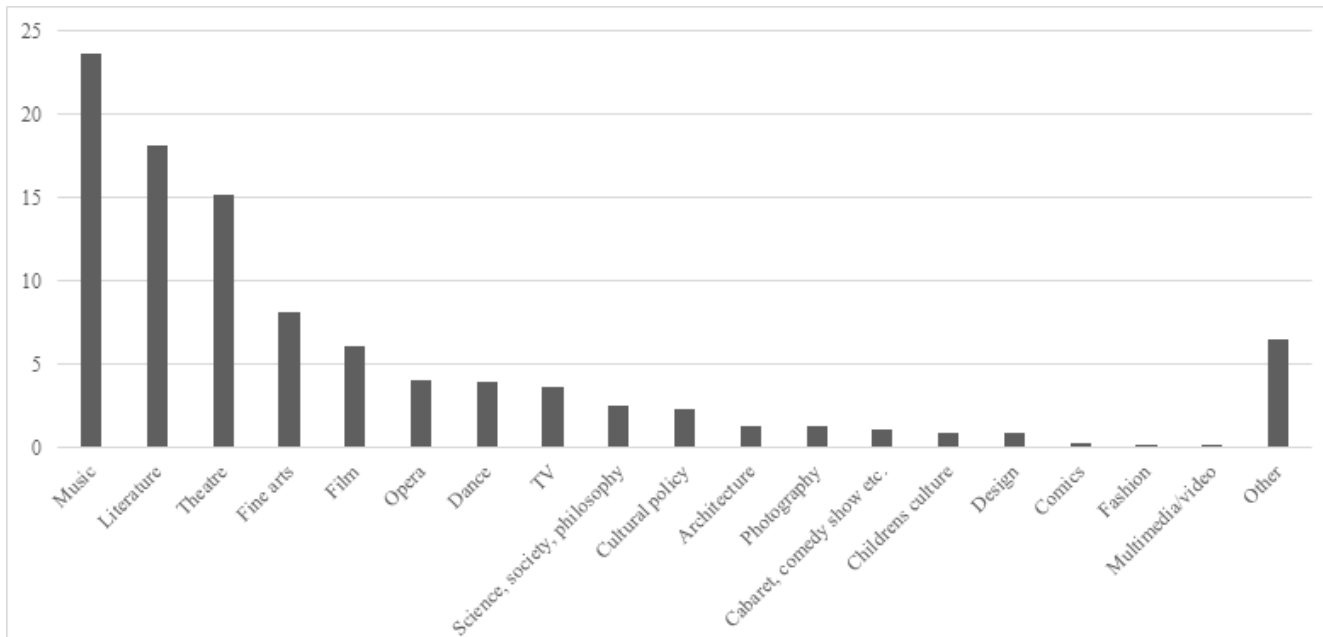


Figure 1. Primary cultural areas discussed in the articles (Percentages; N=1,470).

Method

In the first section, we examine the elements and form of the cultural content of HS and GU through variables possibly useful in depicting the transformation toward more “entertaining” or “light” (as opposed to “serious”) cultural content (H1). Moreover, we examine the content of cultural pages through the distribution of the space assigned to different art forms, which is a necessary first step before an in-depth analysis of the hypothesized “opening” of culture (H2). In this first section, we present the results in the form of a simple contingency table and a frequency distribution.

The second section includes further analyses of the supposed opening of culture by focusing more closely on the articles discussing music. First, we analyze whether the proportion of articles discussing music has decreased during the research period (as counted from all articles published in the culture sections) because of new emergent art forms (H2a). Then, a similar type of analysis is performed on the proportion of articles on classical music by concentrating only on articles discussing music (H2b). In both cases, the main idea is to test the significance of the interaction between time point and newspaper in order to see whether the opening of culture happened earlier in the UK than in Finland (H3).

Both analyses are done by logistic regression modelling as we examine dichotomous group memberships (whether the article discusses music or some other art form and whether the article on music discusses classical music or some other genre of music). In these analyses, associations are expressed as odds ratios. In addition, the Wald statistic for each individual independent variable and Nagelkerke pseudo R² as an effect size measure for the overall models are also given. Despite the chosen method, the results of these logistic regres-

sions should be considered descriptive, not revealing causal relationships (“effects”) between independent and dependent variables in the strict sense. For instance, one could argue that variables, such as whether there are pictures in the article and the length of the article, are endogenous to what the article is about (the newspaper probably decides what to write before deciding to have pictures for the article rather than the other way round), and therefore these kinds of features cannot be considered “explanatory” factors of the topic of the article. Logistic regression analysis simply provides an economic and clear method for analyzing several associations simultaneously. Moreover, it is a good way of testing the significance of the interaction term between time point and newspaper – indicating whether the trends have been similar or dissimilar in the two newspapers during the research period – which is the main target of our analysis.

Besides the main independent variables (time point and the newspaper) and their interaction term, the logistic regression models included five control variables: the four variables possibly indicative of the “crisis of cultural journalism”, along with the number of cultural pages. When predicting the prevalence of articles on music and, inside music, the prevalence of articles on classical music, the number of cultural pages is relevant because it can be expected that well-established areas of culture (like music) or cultural genres (like classical music) could find their place in the newspapers even in the case of small cultural sections, whereas more weakly established newcomers might emerge only if there were more space. A similar logic can be used to justify other control variables. It might be expected that established cultural content enjoys more space in the newspaper, whereas newcomers might – at first, at least – be treated in smaller articles. In the case of pictures and commercial di-

Table 2

Possible indicators of the hypothesized changes in the elements of cultural pages (Percentages).

	1970		1990		2010		Total (N)
	GU	HS	GU	HS	GU	HS	
Long articles (quarter page/more)	21.8	15.1	29.1	41.7	44.4	34.4	30.6 (451)
Articles with picture	41.1	30.2	35.9	52.1	56.5	51.1	43.8 (645)
Article type review	77.4	23.0	59.1	41.4	68.5	45.3	46.3 (682)
Commercial dimension	11.3	20.8	13.9	18.7	4.0	19.0	16.6 (245)
Four largest cultural areas together (music, literature, theatre, fine arts)	62.9	65.8	56.5	69.9	67.7	65.3	65.0 (957)

mension, it could be expected that well-established “serious” cultural forms are treated autonomously, without a need to use visual illustrations or references to commercial success; both of these dimensions would be, according to this reasoning, more typical to emerging, more “entertaining”, popular cultural forms. Article type (review or other) could be expected to work in the opposite way: well-established cultural content (“traditional” high culture) could be typically represented in aesthetic-normative reviews, while emerging popular culture could be covered (again at least in the first phase) more in the form of articles other than reviews. Hence, each of these control variables not only have their own reasons to be included in the analyses; controlling for these structural or formal features of the newspaper cultural content also helps to clarify whether the main results – the differences in the cultural areas discussed between the time points and between the newspapers – are due to the differences in these structural features.

Results

The elements and the content of cultural sections

Table 2 sheds light on our first hypothesis regarding the expected crisis of cultural journalism. Besides four variables connected to the much-discussed meltdown (the distributions of long articles, illustrated articles, reviews, and articles with commercial dimension), we analyze the proportion of the four most established (and frequent, see Figure 1) cultural areas – music, literature, theater, and the fine/visual arts – of traditional cultural journalism (see Hurri 1993; Jaakkola 2014) as calculated from all content. Table 2 shows that in HS, long articles increased dramatically between 1970 and 1990, but between 1990 and 2010, long articles slightly decreased without returning to the low level of 1970. In GU, the number of long articles grew between 1970 and 1990 (albeit not as dramatically as in the case of HS), and stronger growth happened between 1990 and 2010. This can be explained by the fact that the data of 2010 include the supplement G2, characterized by its longer (very commonly multiple-pages) articles. There is, in other words, no indication of a radical shortening of articles, rather the contrary.

Regarding the illustration of articles, about half the articles have had picture(s) since 1990 in HS (which is more than

in 1970, which had only one-third of the articles illustrated). In GU, the increase in pictures did not occur until 1990; in 2010, more than half of the articles in GU had picture(s). There are, nevertheless, no signs of a rapid clear growth of visual journalism, unlike one might have expected from the grounds of the interpretation of pictures as a sign of popularization of newspaper content.

In terms of article types (review/other type of articles), the two papers are very different; only about one-fourth of all articles in HS were reviews in 1970, whereas in GU, 77% were reviews. The difference decreased clearly in 1990 when reviews became more prevalent in HS and less prevalent in GU compared to 1970. Despite this, the same difference prevailed in 2010, GU giving more space to reviews in its cultural pages than HS. Nevertheless, reviews as a genre have not faced a crisis.

The commercial dimension of cultural articles has been more common in HS than GU. In HS it has been relatively stable across time (with one-fifth of all articles referring to commercial aspects), whereas in GU it has been lower in general and with a radical decrease from 1990 to 2010. In fact, in 2010, only 4% of all articles on culture had a commercial dimension. This difference between the countries could also be explained by the fact that GU has used a stricter and more traditional format in its cultural pages (reviews being the dominant type of articles), whereas HS has perhaps had a more integral perspective on culture in general.

In sum, these figures don’t lend much support to the assumed crisis in cultural journalism or the debated turn into the more “entertaining” (and less “serious”) content of cultural pages. There are only weak signs of a decrease in the number of longer articles since 1990; the number of articles with pictures has not increased at all (HS) or only moderately (GU); and lately there has been no discernible decline in the number of reviews (apart from the very high figure of GU in 1970) – reviews being interpreted here as the most traditional aesthetic-normative article type. Even the commercial dimension did not increase during the studied time points. Our first hypothesis regarding the assumed crisis of cultural journalism, therefore, does not receive support.

Figure 1 shows how the content of the cultural pages are distributed according to the primary cultural area discussed in each article. The most established and institutionalized major arts clearly dominate; the largest cultural area is mu-

Table 3
Articles on music according to year, newspaper and other independent variables (odds ratios and Wald statistics from logistic regression analysis).

	<i>Unadjusted</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>
<i>Year</i>	19.79***	19.43***	9.47**	7.98*
1970	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1990	1.09	1.10	1.18	1.42
2010	1.85***	1.85***	1.71**	1.99**
<i>Newspaper</i>	0.53	0.20	0.11	6.26*
HS	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
GU	0.91	0.94	0.91	0.48*
<i>Paper x Year</i>			2.00	2.14
HS x 1970			1.00	1.00
GU x 1990			0.85	0.94
GU x 2010			1.31	1.51
<i>Number of cultural pages</i>	1.13			4.15
1–2	1.00			1.00
3–4	0.89			0.67
5 or more	1.05			0.88
<i>Size of the article</i>	13.26***			2.44
Smaller than a quarter page	1.00			1.00
At least a quarter page	0.59***			0.74
<i>Picture</i>	19.96***			13.57***
No picture	1.00			1.00
Picture	0.56***			0.53***
<i>Type of the article</i>	47.55***			48.27***
Other	1.00			1.00
Review	2.39***			2.77***
<i>Commercial dimension</i>	8.52**			0.80
No commercial dimension	1.00			1.00
Commercial dimension	0.58**			0.84
χ^2 change of the model		***	ns.	***
Nagelkerke pseudo R ² change		0.02	0.00	0.09

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. $N=1,473$.

sic, which was the primary topic in 23.6% ($n=348$) of all articles. Music is followed by literature, theater, and the fine arts. If the proportion of these four largest cultural areas are combined (cf. Jaakkola 2014) and examined according to the year and paper, the proportions are remarkably stable across time and between HS and GU, amounting to around two-thirds of the cultural sections of these papers (Table 2, last row). This finding that established art forms still dominate the cultural content is complemented by the fact that the proportions of emerging and less traditional cultural areas are generally granted little space in the cultural pages of these papers. For instance, multimedia, fashion, comics, or even

design have only very small, if not nonexistent, coverage. This result alone contradicts the first part of our second hypothesis (H2a) about the “opening” of culture by the increase of emerging art forms.

Music and the question of classical versus pop

About a quarter of all articles in the data covered music, but how has this proportion evolved across time? Table 3 shows how the time point, newspaper, and other factors predict whether the articles discuss music instead of other cultural areas. Here, as well as in Table 4 below on the propor-

Table 4

Articles on classical music according to year, newspaper and other independent variables (odds ratios and Wald statistics from logistic regression analysis).

	<i>Unadjusted</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>
<i>Year</i>	27.70***	28.49***	28.42***	29.45***
1970	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1990	0.68	0.73	1.79	1.07
2010	0.24***	0.24***	0.29***	0.14***
<i>Newspaper</i>	6.81**	7.65**	0.65	0.22
HS	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
GU	0.54**	0.50**	1.65	1.37
<i>Paper x Year</i>			13.23**	15.53***
HS x 1970			1.00	1.00
GU x 1990			0.09**	0.10**
GU x 2010			0.50	0.93
<i>Number of cultural pages</i>	0.38			4.67
1–2	1.00			1.00
3–4	0.94			1.85
5 or more	1.12			2.52*
<i>Size of the article</i>	0.58			0.14
Smaller than a quarter page	1.00			1.00
At least a quarter page	0.82			1.15
<i>Picture</i>	6.89**			3.16
No picture	1.00			1.00
Picture	0.54**			0.56
<i>Type of the article</i>	1.19			4.14*
Other	1.00			1.00
Review	1.28			1.86*
<i>Commercial dimension</i>	2.11			1.27
No commercial dimension	1.00			1.00
Commercial dimension	0.61			0.63
χ^2 change of the model		***	**	**
Nagelkerke pseudo R ² change		0.14	0.05	0.06

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. $N=348$.

tion of articles discussing classical music, we first estimate the impact of time and the newspaper (model 1), then the interaction between year and newspaper (model 2), which shows the possible difference in how the changes have occurred (cf. hypothesis 2). Last, we estimate the role of the selected indicators on the structure and elements of the cultural content of the papers (model 3). In addition, we present unadjusted associations between each independent variable and the dependent variable.

Table 3 shows that music has become a more familiar topic in both newspapers, especially after 1990. In 2010, there were significantly more articles on music than in 1970

in both newspapers, even if all other variables are controlled for. On the other hand, HS and GU are relatively similar in the prevalence of articles on music (only in model 3, in which the other characteristics of the cultural sections are taken into account, GU appears to have fewer articles on music than HS). The interaction between year and newspaper is not significant (model 2), indicating that the increase in the number of articles on music has been relatively similar in both newspapers. There is clearly no downward trend on articles on music; our hypothesis H2a, therefore, does not receive support.

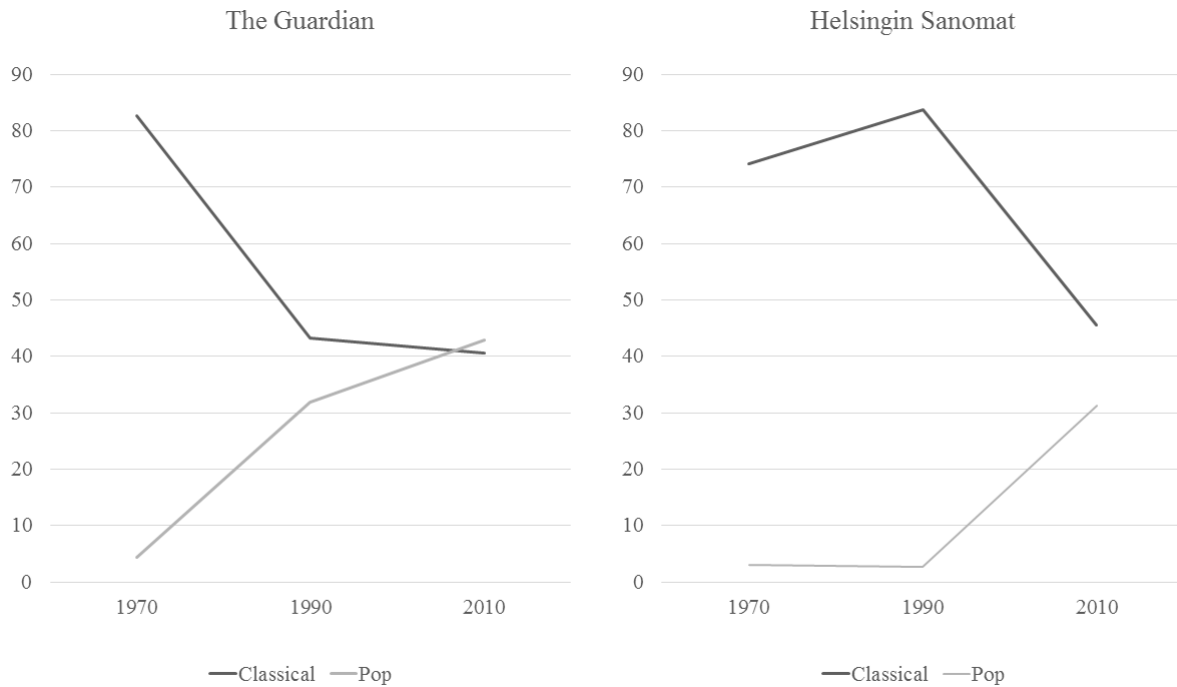


Figure 2. The proportion of western classical music and pop music as the topics of all articles on music in Helsingin Sanomat and The Guardian from 1970 to 2010 (Percentages; N=348).

The control variables measuring characteristics of the content of cultural sections other than the cultural area discussed have a strong impact on the prevalence of the articles on music (indicated by the 9% rise in pseudo R2 in model 3). Some notable details include that articles on music are less frequently illustrated than other articles and that they are reviews more often than other types of articles. These two findings support each other. This is probably a reflection of the fact that most of the articles on music cover classical music. An additional support to this finding is the prevalence of the commercial dimension—articles on music more often lack it than have it. This finding could be considered to be in line with the above-considered fact that articles on music tend to be reviews more often than other types of text.

It is perhaps surprising that there is no systematic association between the number of cultural pages and articles on music because it would have been possible to expect that the dominant position of music compared to other areas of culture in the cultural sections would be translated into a connection between extensive space (many pages) and the abundance of cultural areas other than music. In any case, music could perhaps be considered a “regular” or at least a very fixed part of the cultural pages; it is the most common cultural area discussed in general, and articles on music are often reviews. They also less frequently have pictures and a commercial dimension compared to articles on other topics.

Classical music accounted for 60.6% (n=211) of all articles on music. How has this proportion evolved during 1970 and 2010 in our two newspapers? Table 4 shows that while articles on music in general have increased through the years,

articles on classical music (as counted from all articles on music) have decreased. The shift from 1990 to 2000 appears especially radical in this sense. Our hypothesis H2b, unlike H2a, does receive support. When examined separately, GU has had fewer articles on classical music than HS. Our main finding, however, can be found in model 2; there is a significant interaction between the newspaper and the time point. Its impact remains significant even in model 3, which takes into account variables measuring different elements of the content and structure of cultural sections. The interaction shows that the decrease in the prevalence of articles on classical music has happened in a different way in both newspapers. In GU, the articles on classical music decreased earlier and more abruptly compared to HS.

When predicting the prevalence of articles on classical music, the control variables measuring different elements of cultural content play only a minor role. Unadjusted associations show that only the variable measuring the illustration of the article is significant (articles on classical music having visual illustrations less often than articles on other types of music). According to model 3, articles on classical music are published more often than articles covering other types of music in large cultural sections, which goes against our expectation that spacious cultural sections could have been areas for emerging and popular – not the most strongly established – cultural content. On the other hand, articles on classical music tend to be reviews more often than articles on other types of music. The association with the commercial dimension is negative but statistically nonsignificant; articles

on classical music nevertheless more often lack a commercial dimension than articles on other types of music.

It is perhaps noteworthy to mention that if similar logistic regression analysis is done to the prevalence of pop music (as compared to articles discussing all other types of music; table not shown), the results are reversed when compared to the case of the prevalence of articles on classical music. First, articles on pop music have become more prevalent, and there is a significant interaction between year and newspaper, which shows that the articles discussing pop increased earlier in GU than in HS. In addition, articles on pop music have pictures and a commercial dimension more than two times more often than articles on other types of music.

Figure 2 illustrates our main results regarding music – the proportions of Western classical music and pop music as the topics of all articles on music in HS and GU during the whole time period examined. In HS, articles covering classical music diminish and articles about pop music start to increase radically only after 1990, whereas in GU, this happened between 1970 and 1990. In the most current editions, the proportions of articles on pop music and classical music are similar. The UK cultural scene, represented in this case by GU, transformed earlier than the Finnish one, which followed the same route but only a bit later. In other words, our third hypothesis – that popular culture arrived earlier to the UK newspapers than to the Finnish ones and thus became part of legitimate culture – is supported.

Discussion

The starting point of this paper was to consider and address empirically, through newspaper data and the relative amount of space given to different art forms and genres, the changes in the ways in which culture and the arts have been classified and valued during recent decades (DiMaggio 1987; Janssen 1999; Janssen et al. 2011). We argue that the cultural sections of newspapers are an interesting showroom of culture; not only are they a daily, one might say even banal, way of consuming culture for many people (through reading about music, theater, and books) but also a central cultural institution that reveals what has been considered culture – and more specifically, a culture valued enough in order to be included and discussed in the cultural pages of major newspapers – at different historical moments and in different societal contexts. From this, rather general point of view, we note that our two newspapers worked well as longitudinal data, allowing us to study shifts in the cultural legitimacy and the supposed opening of the conception and content of culture.

We hypothesized that there would be signs of the much-debated crisis of cultural journalism (e.g., Elkins 2003; Jaakkola 2015) in our data and that we would be able to trace them (H1), that during our research period (between 1970 and 2010) the conception of culture would have turned more heterogeneous and open (H2) as envisaged by the literature on the rise of the cultural omnivore (e.g., Peterson & Kern 1996; Peterson & Rossman 2007), and that we would be able to notice the “opening up” of culture both in the downward trend of the coverage of established forms of culture, like

music (H2a), and focusing solely on articles on music, in the downward trend of the coverage of the highbrow parts of it – in this case, classical music (H2b). Likewise, we postulated that our two newspapers would be similar apart from the timing of the opening of culture, which we expected would have happened earlier in the UK than in Finland (H3).

H1 did not receive support in the light of our analysis; rather it seemed like traditional legitimate journalism (long, unillustrated articles, reviews, no commercial dimension) was keeping its position in spite of the alleged “crisis of cultural journalism”. Regarding H2a, we did not find a decrease in the coverage of established areas of culture, in our case music; rather, the coverage of major cultural areas, like music, literature, theater, and the visual arts, has kept its place and still dominates the cultural pages both in HS and in GU. H2b, nonetheless, was supported by the data; out of all the articles on music, the proportion of classical music has clearly diminished while the space assigned to pop music has increased. Our main result is summarized in relation to H3, which is supported by our findings; there are surprisingly few substantial differences between GU and HS except for the fact that the “opening up of culture”, in this case exemplified by the rapid growth of articles on pop music (in relation to the ones on classical music), happened earlier in the UK than in Finland. This result fits nicely with the idea of the rise of cultural omnivorousness in recent decades (e.g., Peterson 1992, 2005; see also Janssen et al. 2011).

Our results can perhaps be summarized in a question that only further studies can fully answer: Is cultural journalism really in an ongoing crisis or is there a simple shift in what is considered as valuable enough to write about? Our results suggest that the most strongly established art forms – like music – have all but disappeared from cultural sections, and the emerging forms of art and culture have remained very marginal. Then again, there have been major shifts in the balance between traditional “highbrow” and more popular forms of culture inside the well-established arts, evidenced here by the increase in articles on pop at the cost of a major decline in articles on classical music. In other words, even if the coverage of pop music has recently risen to the level of the coverage of classical music, the position of music (and other types of traditional highly legitimate arts, such as literature or visual arts) remains strong. While more open, broad, and comprised of more heterogeneous elements than before, it seems that legitimate culture, at least if we look at the pages of the main newspapers in Finland and the UK, is not exactly in crisis but actually doing well.

Another topic for further research is to identify and theorize how exactly sociohistorical factors condition and shape cultural classifications and valuations and the ways in which they change and evolve (DiMaggio 1987; Fishman & Lizardo 2013). Cultural classifications are always embedded in macro-level socio-structural contexts. Can we identify, for instance, different types of historical trajectories among European countries that would represent national context-dependent variations of the grand story of cultural transformation toward more heterogeneous and less hierarchical cultural classifications (cf. DiMaggio 1987)? While a

good start, it is not enough to analyze cultural stratification; the interrelationship between cultural and social stratification needs to be included.

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APPENDIX

Table A1: Distributions of the variables included in the logistic regression analyses.

	N	%
<i>Cultural area</i>		
Music	348	23.6
Other	1,125	76.4
<i>Articles on music</i>		
Western classical music	211	60.6
Other	137	39.4
<i>Year</i>		
1970	455	30.9
1990	563	38.2
2010	455	30.9
<i>Newspaper</i>		
The Guardian	485	32.9
Helsingin Sanomat	988	67.1
<i>Number of cultural pages</i>		
1–2	608	41.3
3–4	464	31.5
5 or more	401	27.2
<i>Size of the article</i>		
Smaller than a quarter page	1,022	69.4
At least a quarter page	451	30.6
<i>Picture</i>		
No picture	828	56.2
Picture	645	43.8
<i>Type of the article</i>		
Other	682	46.3
Review	791	53.7
<i>Commercial dimension</i>		
No commercial dimension	1,228	83.4
Commercial dimension	245	16.6
Total	1,473	100.0