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The Kinship of Literary Journalism and Cultural Journalism: Everyday Life, Interpretation, and Emotionality

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Abstract: This exploration is a first attempt to bring together two strands of research in journalism studies—literary journalism studies and cultural journalism studies—to highlight some of the professional values and practices that literary and cultural journalists share. These include a commitment to everyday events, personal engagement, interpretation and emotions, voice, and providing cultural and aesthetic experiences. While it is important not to be blind to the differences between literary journalism and cultural journalism, it is also important to highlight their commonalities, because other forms of Western journalism, such as news reporting and political journalism, currently appear to be adopting features that literary and cultural journalism have in common. This suggests that while literary and cultural journalism may have gained momentum, they might also be losing some of their distinctive edge. To contextualize this analysis within the broader field of journalism studies, three journalistic trends are highlighted that serve as important perspectives for clarifying the kinship and momentum of literary and cultural journalism: the media's shift of attention from public affairs to everyday life, an interpretive turn in journalism, and a recognition of emotions as a part of journalism. The analysis suggests Denmark as a compelling geographic context for studying the links between literary journalism and cultural journalism because this Nordic country has recently seen media initiatives specifically encouraging literary approaches to cultural reporting.

Keywords: Cultural journalism – the Nordic region – emotionality – everyday life – interpretation

This exploration brings together two research strands in journalism studies that have previously been combined only to a more limited degree: literary journalism studies and cultural journalism studies. In fact, it seems that part of the DNA of literary journalism studies has been to explicitly differentiate itself from what has in recent years been labeled *cultural journalism*—that is, journalism about the arts, culture, and broader sociocultural issues. The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies, for example, defines its territory as that of “‘journalism as literature’ rather than ‘journalism about literature.’”¹ Nonetheless, this exploration focuses on the ways some journalists’ work spans literary journalism and cultural journalism, for example, by making use of aestheticized and performative styles when engaging with literature and other parts of the cultural field. Bombaci has pointed to a similar connection in her work on performative criticism, which she sees as a variation of literary journalism that uses irony and humor to engage audiences in the evaluation of literature and visual or performative arts.² While her argument is grounded in literary journalism studies and considers the female authors, journalists, and critics Gertrude Stein, Janet Flanner, and Dorothy Parker as cases, the present exploration is based in journalism studies more broadly. Applying a mainly sociological perspective, this study focuses on the professional, institutional, and technological factors affecting the roles and practices of literary journalists and cultural journalists, with special attention to the Nordic context. In-depth case studies of contemporary Danish cultural journalists applying features from literary journalism and of Danish literary journalists engaged in cultural reporting can be found in the work of Christine Isager and Steffen Moestrup.³

Although research should not be blind to the differences between literary journalism and cultural journalism, the purpose of this study is first and foremost to suggest some of their commonalities. This is important because both literary journalists and cultural journalists have long been side-lined, as their professional roles, attitudes, and practices differ in several respects from those of mainstream, Western news reporting or political journalism.⁴ The latter forms of journalism seem to increasingly adopt features that literary journalism and cultural journalism have in common, however, such as engagement with everyday events, interpretation, emotions and personal style, or tone of voice. This suggests that both literary journalism and cultural journalism may have gained momentum, but it may also suggest that these subfields are losing some of their distinctiveness. In both cases, reflecting actively on their interfaces, shared agendas, and values seems timely and useful, as this may add to both literary journalism and cultural journalism studies by increasing awareness in the respective research strands about their neighboring fields. The

inquiry may also add to the debate about trends in journalism more broadly, inspiring journalism scholars beyond these two research areas to look more systematically at the theories and practices of these subfields and thereby gain new insights about some of the features that increasingly seem to characterize mainstream forms of journalism but which have a long(er) history in these more specialized forms of reporting.

The remainder of the study has four parts: The first part provides a brief introduction to cultural journalism because, unlike literary journalism studies, cultural journalism has emerged only more recently as a scholarly subfield. The second part highlights three trends in contemporary journalism that contextualize the potential kinship of literary journalism and cultural journalism: The first trend concerns the turn in the media's attention from public affairs to the domain of everyday life during recent decades.⁵ The second and third trends are related in their concern for the respective interpretive and emotional turns in journalism.⁶ These changes may have opened up the broader field of journalism—and journalism studies—for embracing reporting styles drawn from literary journalism and cultural journalism. In the third part, the study presents Denmark as a pertinent case in point for studying the kinship of literary journalism and cultural journalism because the country has seen media initiatives explicitly encouraging literary forms of cultural reporting, especially during the past decade. The fourth and concluding part discusses the potentialities and challenges created by approaches common to literary journalism and cultural journalism seeping into more traditional forms of journalism—that is, in their becoming more mainstream.

Focus, Research, and Professional Traits

As a backdrop for identifying the kinship of literary journalism and cultural journalism, this section takes a closer look at cultural journalism. Compared to literary journalism, the study of cultural journalism is a relatively new scholarly phenomenon that has matured especially over the past decade.⁷ As is the case for literary journalism, different terms have been used to refer to cultural journalism, and these terms may mean slightly different things in different contexts.⁸ One reason for this is the polysemic and complex concept of culture itself,⁹ which may refer to a broad spectrum of artifacts (from arts to entertainment, including particular cultural subfields or genres, such as opera, design, TV series, or crime fiction), to more everyday dimensions of lived culture (such as food and fashion), and to more politicized dimensions (e.g., norms, values, and traditions; and gender, ethnicity, or identity). In addition to covering the arts, cultural goods, and the creative industries, cultural journalism may thus engage with a broad range

of sociocultural and sociopolitical issues. One example is the #MeToo movement. Although this movement has been a topic across many journalistic beats, cultural newsrooms have been important drivers during the past five years, with investigative, analytical, opinion, and cultural stories focusing not only on sexual misconduct in the cultural industries and beyond but also on the broader sociocultural and human implications of inequality and the abuse of power. Although the study of cultural journalism is not yet a global phenomenon, the term *cultural journalism* has become more commonly used in international scholarship during the past decade and is, for that reason, also the term used in the present context.¹⁰

Cultural journalism studies have taken a particular interest in analyzing, first, the changing genres and cultural outlook of cultural journalism. Comparative and single-country studies have shown that coverage of culture in the broad sense has increased considerably in many countries and across platforms during the twentieth century in view of changing cultural hierarchies, cultural globalization, and the transformation of media institutions.¹¹ Second, research has focused on the characteristics, professional role conceptions, and actual practices of cultural editors and journalists.¹² Comparative survey research involving journalists from around the globe has shown that cultural journalists are more well-educated and more often work in magazines and radio, and in public service or state-owned media, compared to other journalists.¹³ Furthermore, they experience less production pressure and more freedom in story selection and framing, and they value purposes such as educating the public, telling stories, and promoting tolerance more than other journalists do.¹⁴ In the British context, Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen have, for example, found that “arts journalists” see themselves as being on “a crusade to improve society by educating the public about the arts,”¹⁵ and Danish production studies have shown that cultural journalism allows for greater creativity and personality in journalistic writing.¹⁶ Swedish scholars Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm have argued that cultural journalism is “not necessarily defined by content, it is the artistic or literary perspective that matters, and *who* is producing it,”¹⁷ again indicating a creative span. Although these studies do not equate cultural journalism and literary journalism, they do indicate a kinship between the two approaches.

Everyday Life, Interpretation, Emotionality

Three trends in journalism are of importance to the arguments about the commonalities of literary journalism and cultural journalism. They focus on reporting *everyday life*, *interpretation*, and *emotionality*. They are also important as some of their features currently seem to be seeping into other forms of Western journalism.

Everyday Life: The first trend is acutely summarized by Hanitzsch and Vos, who have claimed that “One of the most significant transformations of our time has been a remarkable shift from a media focus on public affairs to a focus on the domain of everyday life.”¹⁸ This shift has had implications for the roles journalists play in society, as today these roles pertain not only to the domain of political life but also to the domain of everyday life, including areas such as “consumption, identity, and emotion.”¹⁹ From a study of more than 5,300 news stories published by multiple U.S. news outlets from 1980 through 1999, Patterson, for example, shows there have been increases in stories without a public policy component, in stories with a human-interest perspective, and in stories with journalistic self-references.²⁰

This has led to the emergence of a range of new(er) journalistic sub-fields beyond the hard news paradigm. Examples include *service journalism*, which emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, offering advice and life help to audiences on everyday life issues in an increasingly complex society;²¹ *constructive journalism*, which emerged in the 2010s and provides productive, positive, and solutions-oriented stories about social and everyday issues, among other things, as an attempt to reconnect the news industry and their audiences, but with clear traces back to action journalism, public journalism, and service journalism;²² *feature journalism*, which has a longer history but has increased with time and, Steensen notes, involves a family of genres dominated by “a literary discourse and discourses of intimacy and adventure”;²³ and *lifestyle journalism*, which engages with issues related to consumerism, individualism and identity, and has become more prominent in the journalistic supply as the media have taken over the role of providing “collective orientation in an increasingly multi-optional society,” as Hanitzsch and Vos put it.²⁴ Of particular importance in the present context are, however, *literary journalism* with its focus on routine events and ordinary lives,²⁵ which has expanded and perhaps even been “mainstreamed” in the second half of the twentieth century, as argued by, among others, Collins;²⁶ and *cultural journalism* with its focus on arts, culture, and the creative industries but, as indicated, sharing its topical interest with literary journalism by also addressing larger cultural themes and current trends rather than the immediate news of the day. A broad understanding of culture and a sociocultural commitment are in many ways key to both literary journalists and cultural journalists: Sims, for example, argues that “literary reporters view cultural understanding as an end,”²⁷ and Hovden and Kristensen argue that cultural journalists see their role as “providing alternative perspectives on the world, or ‘a cultural filter’ on pertinent issue[s] of society.”²⁸

Literary journalism and cultural journalism, among other journalistic subfields, thus exemplify the broader topical refocusing of parts of journalism from public affairs and disruptive events to everyday life, culture, human interest, and routine events. These subfields have, at different points in time, been associated with a need to rethink the role of journalism in Western societies, exemplifying the ever-changing “interpretive community” of journalism.²⁹

Interpretation: The second trend is, in many ways, related to this shift of attention in both practice and research, but it has more to do with form, style, or technique than with topical focus. It concerns the *interpretive turn* in news and journalism.³⁰ Based on a literature study, Salgado and Strömbäck put forward the following definition of this turn:

Interpretive journalism is opposed to or going beyond descriptive, fact-focused and source-driven journalism. On the story-level of analysis, interpretive journalism is characterized by a prominent journalistic voice; and by journalistic explanations, evaluations, contextualizations, or speculations going beyond verifiable facts or statements by sources. It may, but does not have to, also be characterized by a theme chosen by the journalist, use of value-laden terms, or overt commentary.³¹

Various empirical studies support this: In the U.S. context, Barnhurst points to the increase in explanation, judgment, and opinion across daily news outlets since the 1960s;³² Soontjens demonstrates that explanation, evaluation, and speculation have become more prominent in Belgian political journalism since the mid-1980s;³³ and Swedish scholars have shown a change in television news reporting from reflection, through investigation, to interpretation during the second part of the twentieth century.³⁴

Looking at the histories of both literary journalism and cultural journalism provides evidence that techniques such as going beyond the descriptive, fact-focused, and source-driven, journalistic voice, explanations, evaluations, and contextualization are not new. In literary journalism, a key discussion has concerned the continuum between presenting an “increasingly alienated objectified world on the one hand, or, on the other, a solipsistic subjectivity in the most personal of memoirs,” as Hartsock puts it.³⁵ Referencing Sims, Pauly notes that literary journalists “imagine themselves on an interpretive quest in which reporters deploy an ensemble of literary techniques to make sense of ‘true stories’ . . . ”³⁶ Similarly, a key debate in cultural journalism studies and practice concerns the dual or hybrid nature of the beat, which has one leg in more traditional forms of cultural reporting, epitomized by the cultural preview genre, and another in more evaluative, critical or interpretive approaches, epitomized by the cultural review and feature genres.³⁷ In addi-

tion to sharing a broad sociocultural interest, literary journalism and parts of cultural journalism thus share an epistemology grounded in analytical and interpretive approaches. Pauly writes, “Literary journalists assert a knowledge claim when they reject the traditional news story’s contrived display of objectivity and routinized, formulaic structure. They seek to capture social complexity in all its richness and nuance, and to celebrate the integrity and cultural authority of the individual reporter.”³⁸ Kristensen presents a similar understanding of the epistemology of cultural journalists as adhering “more to a subjective belief in how reality or truth can be conveyed, often basing their claims to truth on an analytical approach.”³⁹

What is new is that these dimensions seem to be (re)entering parts of Western journalism that have subscribed to the separation of news and views, distance and immersion, during large parts of the twentieth century as part of the professionalization of the field.

Emotionality: The third trend links to the interpretive aspects of journalism, as it concerns *emotionality*. While interpretation can be connected to an analytical approach, emotionality is tied to a subjective approach, because a key trait of emotions—a term often overlapping with feelings, moods, and affect—is that emotions can, according to Stenvall, be “deduced to be basically subjective experiences.”⁴⁰ Like interpretation, emotions are not new to journalism, but the use of emotionality has become more prominent and multifaceted. This is due to, among other things, new media technologies blurring the boundaries of not only fact and interpretation but also of rational and emotional discourses,⁴¹ the emergence of an increasingly confessional culture,⁴² and because emotionality and emotionally stimulating journalistic narratives may be a means for media producers to cater to audiences in an increasingly competitive and diverse media ecology.⁴³

In her study of Pulitzer Prize–winning journalism from 1995 to 2011, Wahl-Jorgensen shows that emotionality—in the shape of personalized storytelling, anecdotal leads, and human interest perspectives—is found across a range of prize categories, including explanatory, international, national, investigative, feature, and public service reporting.⁴⁴ Maguire also shows how Pulitzer Prize–winning journalism employs literary journalism techniques, which he sees as a sign of literary journalism having matured and even being mainstreamed in the early twenty-first century.⁴⁵ Wahl-Jorgensen also argues, however, that “objectivity as strategic ritual,” a concept coined by Tuchman in the early 1970s and key in the professional self-understanding of Western journalists for decades, has made emotions a criticized aspect of journalistic practice and a topic not prioritized by scholars.⁴⁶

What is characteristic of current research about emotionality in journal-

ism is that it focuses especially on the reporting of public affairs and disruptive events. Less attention is devoted to those parts of journalism that have a longer tradition of being emotional and raising emotions, for example, by means of a distinct voice and emotion-laden words and wording. Literary journalism scholars have, for instance, long emphasized the role of emotion in this journalistic subfield. Sims has argued that audiences expect “literary journalism to raise emotions not evoked by standard reporting” and that “[l]iterary journalists bring themselves into their stories to greater or lesser degrees and confess to human failings and emotions.”⁴⁷ Kramer has argued that the voice of the literary journalist is one that “doesn’t blank out emotional realities of sadness, glee, excitement, fury, love,”⁴⁸ and Keeble argues that literary journalism is “practiced by artists of integrity and passion.”⁴⁹ Going back to the seminal work of Wolfe, Collins writes that Wolfe “drew attention to writers who wrote with individual, idiosyncratic voices . . . They wrote with attitude, humor, anger, frankness, style. They incorporated a wider set of emotions than what was allowed in conventional journalism, . . .”⁵⁰ Similarly, cultural journalists—and critics in particular—have long reacted emotionally to aesthetic expressions and cultural trends. This is not only because that is what arts and culture do—that is, evoke emotions—but also because critics use emotional language to perform their distinct, critical voice to guide members of the public in their cultural consumption.⁵¹ However, as Kotisva argues, critics perform a “strategic ritual of objectivization of emotionality” as they consciously reflect upon, question, and analyze their emotional and subjective responses to cultural artifacts rather than provide mere subjective responses.⁵² Such approaches are also visible in other genres key to cultural journalism. Based on a study of the developments in the cultural pages from 1960 through 2010 in Spain, France, Finland, Great Britain, and Sweden, Purhonen and colleagues conclude that there has been an increase in the length of stories and in the frequency of interviews and features since the beginning of the 2000s, which they interpret as a “trend towards personalized styles of writing, which can be seen as linked to the changing professional ethos of cultural journalism oriented towards emotional appeal, human-interest aspects and storytelling.”⁵³

Emotionality in literary journalism and cultural journalism thus does not per se signal a change or disruption from the previous logics of these particular forms of journalism. It does, however, emphasize their momentum in the current media landscape, because emotionality and voice have come to the forefront in many forms of media work. Wahl-Jorgensen and Schmidt even argue that, today, the “mastery of the strategic ritual of emotionality is a prerequisite for success in the profession.”⁵⁴

The (Nordic) Context Matters

While literary journalism has a strong Anglo-American tradition in both practice and research, cultural journalism has a strong tradition in Northern Europe, especially in Nordic newsrooms.⁵⁵ One explanation is the Nordic culture policy model—including the Nordic media model—which supports the production, circulation, and communication of arts and culture in society. Accordingly, research about cultural journalism is particularly robust in the Nordic context. This may be one of the reasons why the similarities between literary journalism and cultural journalism seem to become particularly visible in the Nordic setting. This is a reminder of the importance of the historical and geographical context for understanding new directions within or new forms of journalism,⁵⁶ and it is exemplified in the following, which uses Denmark as a case in point.

Culture is a central pillar of the Nordic welfare model. Harding, among others, argues that following World War II, Nordic cultural policy has largely been “characterized by a combination of two, somewhat opposed, normative concepts; the autonomy of the arts, and the democratization of culture.”⁵⁷ These normative concepts have materialized in considerable public funding for arts and culture to guarantee an arm’s length principle between politicians and artists/creatives and to enable all citizens to participate in a broad range of cultural activities. In Denmark, the Ministry of Culture (originally The Ministry for Cultural Affairs) is the main body responsible for the distribution of these funds. Today the Ministry applies an inclusive definition of culture, as its purview includes “Visual Art, Music, Theatre, Film, Libraries, Education in the Arts, Archives, Museums, Zoological Facilities, Cultural Environment, Sport, Broadcasting and Copyright.”⁵⁸ Eurostat data show that Denmark ranked number three among EU countries in public expenditure on recreation, culture, and religion in 2020, devoting 1.7 percent of the GDP to these areas.⁵⁹ Part of this funding is allocated to the media: around 4.9 billion Danish Kroner (DK KR) in 2019, approximately 700 million U.S. dollars.⁶⁰ Funds are based on taxes, profits from the national lottery, and football pools, and on media license fees (the latter gradually turned into a tax by 2022). The Danish population of around 5.8 million people are very active users of these cultural offerings and may be labeled cultural omnivores, because they engage in many different forms of both highbrow and popular culture activities.⁶¹

National news media and their adoption of cultural journalism play a key role as intermediaries between these cultural institutions, producers, and audiences, as they remain relatively strong and authoritative cultural gatekeepers, communicators, and tastemakers. The Nordic media model sup-

ports this mediator role. In Denmark, the key obligations of the main public service media provider, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), include the production, distribution, and communication of arts and culture.⁶² DR continues to be the top Danish news brand in terms of audience reach and trust.⁶³ Furthermore, to qualify for subsidies for the production of digital and/or printed journalism, Danish news media have to “primarily treat political, societal and cultural topics,” according to §3 of the present *Lov om mediestøtte* [Danish law of media subsidies].⁶⁴ This points to the importance of culture—and by extension, of cultural journalism—in Danish media policy. This is one reason this particular domain of journalism has drawn the attention of Danish media and journalism scholars. This is the case not only for Denmark but also for the other Nordic countries.⁶⁵

Of particular importance in the present context is that newer Danish media initiatives have explicitly encouraged literary and performative forms of cultural journalism. Two such examples are highlighted in the following: The first example is the public service radio channel Radio24Syv (Radio24Seven), publicly funded and licensed from 2011 to 2019, with the aim of, among other things, providing room for journalists doing experimental, persona-driven cultural journalism and using techniques known from literary journalism. As Moestrup argues, the people behind this media initiative “wanted to do talk radio in ways that [were] different from the norm,” and their vision included three recurring keywords: “an *experimental* approach to radio,” radio programs that give “listeners an *experience*” and that “allow *new kinds of voices* to be aired.”⁶⁶ Over the years, the program portfolio has included various formats devoted to cultural news and/or reviews, typically experimenting with genre conventions and putting the personality and voice of the host at the center. Examples include a conversational wine show, *Flaskens Ånd* (The Spirit in the Bottle), hosted by a well-known Danish journalist, Poul Pilgaard Johnsen, who is both an investigative reporter and a flamboyant wine connoisseur, and who uses his own life story in his narrative wine journalism and criticism;⁶⁷ the theatricalized food review show, *Béarnaise er Dyrenes Konge* (Bearnaise Is the King of Beasts), hosted by a well-known Danish multi-artist (novelist, playwright, drummer, and actor), cultural journalist and critic, Martin Kongstad, who, among other techniques, mixes his fictional writing and culture critical work to stage his reviews;⁶⁸ and a daily cultural news program, *AK24Syv* (AK24Seven), hosted by a controversial cultural journalist, René Fredensborg, known for his two novels and his gonzo-like and offensive approaches in his cultural reporting, including quite harsh criticisms and exposures of the close ties between cultural journalists and the cultural industries.⁶⁹

The second example is the independent digital-only news platform Zetland established in 2012, specializing in longform journalism and occasionally producing intimate, live-stage journalism shows.⁷⁰ Based on a hybrid business model of public subsidies and subscriptions (called “member fees”), Zetland publishes a news overview and a few feature stories each day. The medium is framed by its founders as a (cultural) community, involving the journalists and its members (aka readers), who all contribute to the journalistic production, as Zetland aims to integrate its members in the editorial process. More specifically, the editorial staff produces journalism based on six commitments, among them that “#1 We *are* our members” and “#6 We are passionate about our journalism and honest about everything we do.”⁷¹ The journalists are staged as journalistic personalities, present in their texts, and expected to have an active social media presence.⁷² This public visibility and staging are key elements of the construction of Zetland’s cultural community and voice. Culture is among the topics treated, but from a broad, sociocultural perspective rather than from the perspective of artists, cultural producers, institutions, or industries. One of Zetland’s key (cultural) journalists is freelancer Torben Sangild, who writes not only about culture but also about science, psychology, philosophy, comedy, and debate, thus exemplifying Zetland’s broad sociocultural approach.

Neither Radio24Syv nor Zetland is representative of conventional Danish media outlets. Both do, however, exemplify strong media brands cultivating alternative forms of journalism, connoting literary styles of reporting when engaging in cultural issues. Both Radio24Syv and Zetland have influenced the cultural journalism of established media institutions such as DR, which has developed more narrative and persona-driven cultural formats,⁷³ indicating the broader circulation of such approaches.

Conclusion

The ambition of this exploration has been to start a scholarly conversation about the kinship of literary journalism and cultural journalism. Both forms engage with sociocultural themes and everyday life events more than with disruptive day-to-day news, and they share a passion for artistic, narrative, or otherwise aestheticized approaches, presenting their stories in a distinct voice.⁷⁴ Both are concerned not only with reporting events but also with providing audiences aesthetically and linguistically pleasurable experiences performed by writers, novelists, intellectuals, critics, and aesthetically trained academics—perhaps also to a larger degree than by professionally trained journalists.⁷⁵ In brief, both groups of journalists follow their own set of (breakable) rules⁷⁶ or are journalists with a difference.⁷⁷

There are also important differences between literary journalism and cultural journalism, however. Most literary journalism engages with a broad range of social matters rather than with arts and culture in the narrower sense, as is the case for large parts of cultural journalism. Much cultural journalism is not literary, as cultural journalism basically walks on two legs—partly an artistic, creative, and immersive dimension rooted in the humanities and aesthetics and often associated with cultural criticism; and partly a news-driven and more traditional form of news reporting about arts and culture rooted in journalism.⁷⁸ It is especially the former—that is, the artistic, creative, and immersive dimension rooted in the humanities and aesthetics—that links cultural journalism to literary journalism. Furthermore, rather than engaging with ordinary people as literary journalism does, cultural journalism often engages with the cultural elite, their cultural production, creative processes, and everyday lives. Cultural journalists could indeed themselves be considered part of this elite, as they move in the same circles as their creative and cultural-industry networks.⁷⁹ Finally, literary journalistic practice requires narrative style and technique along with reporting skills, while cultural journalism—and criticism in particular—requires aesthetic expertise, as knowledge about particular cultural domains has long been a prerequisite for practicing this particular subgenre of journalism.⁸⁰ It may be stretching the argument too far to argue that literary journalism is closer to “literature” than cultural journalism is, and that cultural journalism is more “journalistic” than literary journalism is, to rephrase the definition of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies, cited in the introduction. But some parts of cultural journalism do involve more conventional forms of reporting than literary journalism uses.

A key reason for highlighting their commonalities more than their differences in this analysis has been that recent years’ expansion and mainstreaming of traits from both literary and cultural journalism tap into broader trends in journalism—the shift of topical attention from public affairs to everyday life, and the shifts in journalistic style from mainly descriptive to added interpretation, and from rationality to the inclusion of emotion. This has challenged the normative idea that factual, objective reporting about the most important events of the day is the main, legitimate form of Western journalism. A key question for future research is whether the trend that some of the values, traits, and professional logics shared by literary journalism and cultural journalism are seeping into these more mainstream forms of journalism signals momentum or dilution for literary journalism and cultural journalism. One could argue that it is a testament to the broader professional recognition of the potential of such journalistic modes for engaging audiences. But one

could also argue that when such modes become mainstream to the journalistic toolbox, they lose some of their “power to shock and motivate,” as Maguire noted,⁸¹ which may challenge their role in the broader societal narrative of journalism. This paradox is further accentuated by digital media technologies, which have, on the one hand, given “the people formerly known as the audience”⁸² access to tell stories, perform cultural and societal criticism, and cultivate everydayness in a distinct voice on (v)logs, in podcasts, and other innovative formats.⁸³ On the other hand, new media technologies have also provided professional literary journalists and cultural journalists with new means of audience engagement and innovative storytelling—potentially reinforcing the momentum of literary and cultural journalism. That is one reason why studying the kinship of literary and cultural journalism seems particularly pertinent today.

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Notes

- ¹ International Association for Literary Journalism Studies, "About Us."
- ² Bombaci, "Performative Criticism and the Problem of Modernist Chic," 132.
- ³ Isager, "The Passive-Responsive Journalist," 32–51; Moestrup, "Theatricality, Body, Voice, Spatiality," 52–73.
- ⁴ Keeble, "Literary Journalism," 3–5; Kristensen, "Cultural Journalism—Journalism about Culture," 3; Maguire, "Literary Journalism at the Center," 213.
- ⁵ Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalism beyond Democracy," 146–64.
- ⁶ Salgado and Strömbäck, "Interpretive Journalism," 144–61; Wahl-Jorgensen, "An Emotional Turn in Journalism Studies," 175–94.
- ⁷ Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, "The Culture of Arts Journalists," 619–39; Hellman and Jaakkola, "From Aesthetes to Reporters," 783–801; Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm, "Cultural Journalism," 1–21.
- ⁸ Keeble, "Literary Journalism," 1; Kristensen, "Cultural Journalism—Journalism about Culture," 2–3; Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm, "Cultural Journalism," 3.
- ⁹ Williams, "Culture," 87.
- ¹⁰ Kotisova, "An elixir of life?," 1–17; Kristensen, "Cultural Journalism—Journalism about Culture," 4; Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm, "Cultural Journalism," 3.
- ¹¹ Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord, "Cultural Globalization and Arts Journalism," 719–40; Purhonen et al., *Enter Culture, Exit Arts?*, 52, 120, 146.
- ¹² Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, "The Culture of Arts Journalists," 619–39; Hellman and Jaakkola, "From Aesthetes to Reporters," 783–801.
- ¹³ Hovden and Kristensen, "The Cultural Journalist around the Globe," 695–97.
- ¹⁴ Hovden and Kristensen, 697–702.
- ¹⁵ Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, "The Culture of Arts Journalists," 635.
- ¹⁶ Kristensen, *Journalister og Kilder* [Journalists and news sources], 210.
- ¹⁷ Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm, "Cultural Journalism," 2 (emphasis in original).
- ¹⁸ Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalism beyond Democracy," 156.
- ¹⁹ Hanitzsch and Vos, 157.
- ²⁰ Patterson, "Doing Well and Doing Good," 3–5.
- ²¹ Eide and Knight, "Public/Private Service: Service Journalism and the Problems of Everyday Life," 526–47.
- ²² Bro, "Constructive Journalism," 504.
- ²³ Steensen, "The Featurization of Journalism," 59.
- ²⁴ Hanitzsch and Vos, "Journalism beyond Democracy," 157; Hanusch and Hanitzsch, "Mediating Orientation and Self-Expression in the World of Consumption," 943–59.
- ²⁵ Keeble, "Literary Journalism," 2; Kramer, "Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists," 27–28; Sims, "The Art of Literary Journalism," 3.

- ²⁶ Collins, "From Magazines to Newsprint," 209.
- ²⁷ Sims, "The Literary Journalists," 5.
- ²⁸ Hovden and Kristensen, "The Cultural Journalist around the Globe," 701. A study of multiculturalism, immigration, and integration in Nordic news media shows, for example, that cultural coverage more often offers "resources for identification, empathy and arguments for specific points of view" compared to coverage by other beats. Riegert and Hovden, "Identity, Empathy and Argument," 158.
- ²⁹ Zelizer, "Journalists as Interpretive Communities, Revisited," 181–90.
- ³⁰ Barnhurst, "The Interpretive Turn in News," 111–41.
- ³¹ Salgado and Strömbäck, "Interpretive Journalism," 154.
- ³² Barnhurst, "The Interpretive Turn in News," 111–41.
- ³³ Soontjens, "The Rise of Interpretive Journalism," 963.
- ³⁴ Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, "From Public Educator to Interpreting Ombudsman," 195.
- ³⁵ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 3.
- ³⁶ Pauly, "The New Journalism and the Struggle for Interpretation," 590; Sims, *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*.
- ³⁷ Hellman and Jaakkola, "From Aesthetes to Reporters," 783–801.
- ³⁸ Pauly, "The New Journalism and the Struggle for Interpretation," 590.
- ³⁹ Kristensen, "Cultural Journalism—Journalism about Culture," 6.
- ⁴⁰ Stenvall, "On Emotions and the Journalistic Ideals of Factuality and Objectivity," 1751.
- ⁴¹ Wahl-Jorgensen, "An Emotional Turn in Journalism Studies?," 175–94.
- ⁴² Coward, "Confessional Journalism," 91–112.
- ⁴³ Peters, "Emotion Aside or Emotional Side?," 310.
- ⁴⁴ Wahl-Jorgensen, "The Strategic Ritual of Emotionality," 129–45.
- ⁴⁵ Maguire, "Literary Journalism at the Center," 213.
- ⁴⁶ Tuchman, "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual," 660–79; Wahl-Jorgensen, "The Strategic Ritual of Emotionality," 129–45.
- ⁴⁷ Sims, "The Literary Journalists," 4.
- ⁴⁸ Kramer, "Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists," 29.
- ⁴⁹ Keeble, "Literary Journalism," 2.
- ⁵⁰ Collins, "From Magazines to Newsprint," 200.
- ⁵¹ Chong, "Valuing Subjectivity in Journalism," 427–43; Kristensen, "Critical Emotions," 1590–1607; Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm, "Cultural Journalism," 9.
- ⁵² Kotisova, "An Elixir of Life?," 12, 13.
- ⁵³ Purhonen et al., *Enter Culture, Exit Arts?*, 186.
- ⁵⁴ Wahl-Jorgensen and Schmidt, "News and Storytelling," 266.
- ⁵⁵ Keeble, "Literary Journalism," 12; Kristensen and Riegert, "Why Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries?," 9–23.
- ⁵⁶ Keeble, "Literary Journalism," 12.
- ⁵⁷ Harding, "Cultural Policy Research in the Nordic Countries," 9.
- ⁵⁸ Ministry of Culture Denmark, "Public Support to the Arts and Culture," para. 1.

⁵⁹ Eurostat, “Government Expenditure on Recreation, Culture and Religion.”

⁶⁰ Ministry of Culture Denmark, “Medieaftale 2019–2023” [Media Agreement 2019–2023].

⁶¹ Ministry of Culture Denmark, *Danskernes Kulturvaner* [Danes’ cultural habits 2012], 13.

⁶² According to DR’s public service contract 2019–2023, “DR should focus on Danish arts and culture all over the country and on communication about Danish culture, history, nature and climate, and cultural heritage, including the Christian cultural heritage. DR should collaborate with cultural agents all over the country about the communication of Danish culture.” Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), “DR’s Public Service-Kontrakt for 2019–2023” [“DR’s Public Service-Contract 2019–2023”], 2 (translations from the original are the author’s).

⁶³ DR’s news reaches 59 percent of all Danes every week, and 78 percent of all Danes trust this news institution. Newman et al., “3.07 Denmark,” 68.

⁶⁴ *Lov om mediestøtte* [Danish law of media subsidies], 1604 §3.7.

⁶⁵ Kristensen and Riegert, “Why Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries?,” 9–23.

⁶⁶ Moestrup, “Performing the Persona,” 7 (emphasis in original), referencing Knudsen and Ramskov, *Radio24syv Public Service Redegørelse 2011*.

⁶⁷ Moestrup, “Performing the Persona,” 111–43.

⁶⁸ Moestrup, “Theatricality, Body, Voice, Spatiality,” 52–73.

⁶⁹ Isager, “The Passive-Responsive Journalist,” 32–51; Fredensborg, *Hønehunde* [Bird Dogs: Novel]; Fredensborg, *Sjuff* [Douchebag].

⁷⁰ Isager, “Literary Journalism in Denmark,” 12.

⁷¹ Zetland, “About Zetland.”

⁷² Zetland, “Integritet og etik på Zetland” [Integrity and ethics at Zetland].

⁷³ A recent example is DR’s program *ArtyFarty* (aired in 2020), which presented itself as the “self-smart cultural cousin, who you did not know existed, but who turns out to be both fascinating, funny, and bordering on the maniacally geeky in his approach to arts, theater, literature, etc. Each program goes into depth with a well-known cultural topic or phenomenon and advances with surprising angles and gestures” (author’s translation). DR, *ArtyFarty*. Several former Radio24syv hosts were part of the program, among them René Fredensborg in some episodes.

⁷⁴ Hellman and Jaakkola, “From Aesthetes to Reporters,” 788; Keeble, “Literary Journalism,” 2; Kristensen, “Cultural Journalism—Journalism about Culture,” 1–13; Pauly, “The New Journalism and the Struggle for Interpretation,” 590.

⁷⁵ Keeble, “Literary Journalism,” 6–7; Riegert, Roosvall, and Widholm, “Cultural Journalism,” 5.

⁷⁶ Kramer, “Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists,” 21.

⁷⁷ Hovden and Kristensen, “The Cultural Journalist around the Globe,” 689–708.

⁷⁸ Hellman and Jaakkola, “From Aesthetes to Reporters,” 786–88; Hovden and Knapskog, “Doubly Dominated,” 791–92.

⁷⁹ Hovden and Knapskog, 791–92.

⁸⁰ Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen, “The Culture of Arts Journalists,” 624; Hellman and Jaakkola, “From Aesthetes to Reporters,” 787.

⁸¹ Maguire, “Literary Journalism at the Center,” 220.

⁸² Rosen, “The People Formerly Known as the Audience,” 13.

⁸³ Collins, “From Magazines to Newsprint,” 209.

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