

The Transnationalism of Cultural Journalism in Sweden: Outlooks and Introspection in the Global Era

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Cultural journalism is a unique and underresearched subfield of journalism. This article presents the first systematic study of Swedish cultural journalism, quantitatively mapping content from four decades, zooming in on the years 1985, 1995, 2005, and 2015. We study conceptions of the world outside Sweden during times marked by geopolitical turning points, globalization, and rapid structural transformations in the journalistic market. Employing content analysis of a representative sample from the press and public service radio, we explore geographical and scalar aspects, with a focus on political and global dimensions. Although we found evidence for Eurocentrism and domestication—staples of Western journalism overall—results show that Swedish cultural journalism was a steady conveyor of transnational narratives during all studied periods, which together with a primarily nonconflictual approach, sets cultural journalism apart from foreign news and decreases the risk of misframing in a globalized world.

Keywords: cultural journalism, globalization, transnationalism, geography, press, public service radio

In recent years, a growing body of especially Nordic research has been devoted to cultural journalism—that is, journalism focusing on the arts but also on culture more broadly and as reported in the cultural sections of newspapers and in cultural news and magazine programs on the radio. Studies have documented blurring boundaries between cultural journalism, lifestyle, and entertainment coverage (Kristensen & From, 2012) and an increase in news-oriented coverage compared to cultural critique. This trend expresses a more generalist rather than specialist approach (Hellman & Jaakkola, 2012), which corresponds to a larger trend of professionalization of journalism (Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Some studies have revealed differences between Swedish cultural journalism and cultural journalism in other Nordic countries, specifically in how Swedish cultural journalism is more oriented toward political and societal issues (Hellman, Larsen, Riegert, Widholm, & Nygaard, 2017; Kristensen & Riegert, 2017; Riegert, Roosvall, & Widholm, 2015). There are, moreover, indications that Swedish cultural editors have not only a national but a global remit, conveying a broad geographical outlook and discussing events of international and global significance through a “cultural filter” (Riegert et al., 2015). The cultural filter can

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Date submitted: 2017-10-03

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be evoked through the use of multifaceted reference points from arts and philosophy in understandings of terror attacks, as shown in a comparison between cultural opinion articles and editorials in Denmark and Sweden (Kristensen & Roosvall, 2017). The remits of issues of societal importance may therefore be different in cultural journalism than they are in both editorials and foreign news, which tend to focus on strategies and interactions among political elites as well as on polarization (Roosvall, 2014).

This article presents the first systematic and comprehensive study of cultural journalism in Sweden encompassing all genres produced by cultural journalism desks. It is at the same time the first systematic and comprehensive *multimedia* study of cultural journalism, quantitatively mapping content from newspapers and radio, spanning four decades and zooming in on the years 1985, 1995, 2005, and 2015. We focus on conceptions of the world outside Sweden and cultural journalism's contribution to our understanding of the world and our place in it during a period signified by globalization (Rantanen, 2005). This time is marked by major geopolitical turning points (Cold War deescalation, Sweden entering the European Union, 9/11, the war in Syria, etc.), rapid technological development, and structural transformations in the journalistic market. In cultural journalism, digitalization has been connected to, on one hand, an increase in widely shared cultural opinion articles about immigration and Swedish identity and, on the other hand, the shrinking and shutdown of cultural sections in newspapers (Riegert & Roosvall, 2017). The period also saw varied patterns of immigration to Sweden. A new system for receiving people who sought asylum was implemented in 1985, with the creation of a specific immigration board, which termed the 1980s "the decade of asylum seekers" (from, e.g., Iran, Iraq, and Eritrea) (Migrationsverket, 2017). Many immigrants and refugees were subsequently arriving in the beginning of the 1990s, especially from the Balkans. Later, record numbers of immigrants arrived in Sweden during 2015. While the existence and impact of anti-immigration parties in Sweden varied over the examined years, attitudes toward immigration overall have been positive compared with other countries and have gradually become *more* positive (Demker & van der Meiden, 2016; Migrationsinfo, 2017; Migrationsverket, 2017). However, public opinion has lately become more polarized, reflected in growing support for the Sweden Democrats, a right-wing populist party that entered the parliament in 2010.

Employing content analysis of a representative sample of cultural journalism in the press and public service radio, we examine how the remits of culture have been interpreted and articulated, with a particular focus on political and global aspects.¹ The aim is to identify and discuss how the world outside Sweden, as well as intersections of Sweden and the rest of the world, are understood through the prism of cultural journalism in diverse media at different points in time. Thus, we ask:

RQ1: To what extent and how is the world outside Sweden addressed in cultural journalism in diverse media and over time?

RQ2: To what extent and how has cultural journalism connected Sweden with the outside world in diverse media and over time?

¹ This study is part of the Worlds of Cultural Journalism project, which also includes television material, but this material is not analyzed here.

Guided by these questions, we analyze the broader geographical and scalar aspects of cultural journalism over time. This analysis includes depictions of Sweden and the role of Swedish culture abroad as well as cultural practices and phenomena coming to Sweden from somewhere else in the world. We furthermore address cultural journalism's evocation of cultural hybridity, cultural homogenization, cultural polarization, and multiculturalism and, finally, discussions of norms and values connected to issues of race, ethnicity, and nationality. Theories on media, globalization, identity, and geographical scales frame our analysis (e.g., Fraser, 2008; Orgad, 2012; Pieterse, 2009).

The article begins with two theoretical sections: one on media, cultural globalization, and identity and one on place, space, and geographical scales. Then we present the study methodology, including the research design and data sampling. This is followed by a discussion of our results related to societal transformations over time. The article concludes with a broader discussion relating the results to the theoretical framework.

(Cultural) Globalization, Media, and Identity

Globalization involves communication, with connections constituted and/or facilitated by the media. It is often subdivided into economic, social, political, cultural, and technological globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Rantanen, 2005). Cultural globalization is the strand we are concerned with here, not because it necessarily concerns culture as arts but because it concerns attitudes toward culture as a mix of ethnicity, nationality, and tradition (Appadurai, 1996; Thörn, 2004). It thus relates to outlooks on the world and to domestic introspection concerning such aspects. Pieterse (2009) suggests three paradigms of cultural globalization: cultural differentialism, cultural convergence (homogenization or standardization), and hybridity. These paradigms encompass distinctive sensibilities to cultural difference and pinpoint different consequences of globalization.

Differentialism comprises ideas of "clashing civilizations," where allegedly different cultures and identities are contrasted as territorial, ethnic, religious, and "civilizational" categories. In this paradigm, culture is often treated as a key explanation for global conflicts—an argument that prevails in the post-9/11 era, not least in news journalism (Eide, Kunelius, & Phillips, 2008). Such expressions of polarization were more underscored in editorials than in cultural opinion articles in a small sample from Danish and Swedish newspapers (Kristensen & Roosvall, 2017), but it remains to be seen whether polarization is also downplayed in cultural journalism more generally (outside of cultural opinion) and whether this varies over time.

Convergence highlights how globalization gives rise to cultural homogenization and standardized mass culture (McDonald's, Disney, global fashion trends, etc.). Journalism plays a key role in reflecting and constituting cultural objects and trends connected to homogenization and standardization. Kristensen and From (2012) touch upon this in their study of the increasingly blurred boundaries between culture, lifestyle, and consumption in Danish journalism. This transformation corresponds with increased competition in the media market, which has forced newspapers and public service organizations to soften their news by providing more personal and lifestyle-oriented journalism. Similar trends toward more emotional and personal coverage have also been documented in Sweden, although changes related to

increased personalization are stronger in traditional news than in journalism about culture, where subjective voices and a personal tone have always been prominent (Roosvall & Widholm, 2016; Widholm, 2016). However, it should not be assumed that such tendencies necessarily lead to or reflect cultural convergence. Such changes may also lead to cultural hybridity.

Hybridity emphasizes cultural globalization as a translocal phenomenon, reflecting postmodern or cosmopolitan sensibilities of cultural mixing and transgression across locations and identities (Pieterse, 2009, p. 42). Such hybridity characterized the cultural opinion material, specifically in the Swedish articles in Kristensen and Roosvall's (2017) study comparing Danish and Swedish editorials and cultural opinion material. In instances when the hybridity paradigm is evoked, the cultural impact of globalization dissolves the "securities of locality"; culture is no longer an essentially territorial category, but becomes "de-territorialized," infusing artifacts, identities, and practices with translocal meanings (Tomlinson, 1999), thus connecting to de-territorialized geographical scales beyond nation-states (see the next section). The existence of such connections may trigger discussions on how geographic mobility and global (or at least nondomestic) products, ideas, and relations infuse local contexts—and, by extension, possibly transform and confront identities and social relationships.

Because these three paradigms represent different views on valid limitations and extensions of (discursive) space as well as what spatial politics would consequentially be motivated, they constitute useful starting points for empirical examinations of how understandings of the world may change over time. Here, cultural journalism stands out as particularly important, because it may provide an alternative to news journalism and particularly foreign news, which tends to lean on polarization and cultural differentialism rather than hybridity (Roosvall, 2014). Outside of the objectivist reporting style of news, cultural opinion material, as discussed in the introduction, seems to constitute an alternative to editorials by largely avoiding polarizations.

By focusing on material from only one country, Sweden, we evoke in this study "globalization from within" (Beck, 2002)—that is, the idea that growing international dependencies, institutions, and transnational flows of media, goods, and people may take place in and transform the national and local. This connects to Berglez's (2013) conceptualization of "global journalism" as possibly being conducted on the local level, drawing on and evoking global or at least transnational issues and aspects in news. There is a dearth of studies focusing on globalization in cultural journalism. In a comparative study of arts journalism in newspapers in several countries, Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord (2008) discuss international aspects in coverage of the cultural sphere. The word *international* in their study is understood in a broad sense, covering anything outside the domestic realm. Janssen et al. suggest that the creation of meaning from everyday media flows facilitates "the emergence of a variety of 'hybrid,' 'creolized' or 'glocal' phenomena" (p. 720). This process can create a wider consciousness, a "global imagination" (Orgad, 2012, p. 3). The notion of global imagination is not fixed or homogeneous; rather, it interacts with personal and other types of collective imaginations and can involve contestation and confrontation. It is a "sense of ourselves and far away others traversing a common global social space; a sense of distant places, people and cultures being relevant and connected to us, here and now" (Orgad, 2012, p. 3). Such an imagination could thus be pronounced through global journalism (Berglez, 2013). It moreover corresponds largely to the hybridity paradigm from Pieterse's (2009) triadic model of cultural

globalization and Thörn's (2004) view that cultural globalization transforms relationships between geography and identity by weakening the significance of nation-states and questioning stereotypes concerning people-place connections—that is, countering alleged connections between being born in a certain place/space and acting or thinking in certain predetermined ways. Downplaying the relationship between (one) place and identity could, however, also result in the paradigm of cultural convergence (Pieterse, 2009). In our study, it remains an empirical question whether convergence, hybridity, or differentialism characterizes Swedish cultural journalism and whether this varies across media or time.

Place, Space, Geographical Scales, and the Media

A place is a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space (Massey, 2005, p. 131). Space thus works on a broader level, encompassing certain extensions of geography. Place and space are significant aspects of mediated communication, as expressed, for instance, through datelines in news (Rantanen, 2009) pinpointing cities (places) or—which often happens in foreign news—nations (spaces). The specific logics of foreign news infer that almost anything occurring in a “foreign country”—that is, not the home nation of the reporting medium—could be included (Roosvall, 2014). Cultural journalism does not necessarily follow the same logics; the foreign/domestic dichotomy does not govern its *raison d'être*. Nonetheless, places and spaces tend to work as a “geography for our thinking” (Carbaugh & Cerulli, 2013, p. 6). Places matter, for instance, for national self-definition (Urry, 2007, p. 263); they are “known about, compared, evaluated, possessed . . . each is a combination of abstract characteristics that mark it out as more scenic or cosmopolitan or cool or exotic or global . . . than other places” (Urry, 2007, p. 259). Places are “known about” like this in the media, where they anchor, concretize, and naturalize content (Rantanen, 2009; Roosvall, 2017). The way places and spaces are used in cultural journalism may therefore contribute to a sense of the national, the non-national, and the way they may be seen as separate or hybridized.

Geographical scales concern diverse ways of limiting space as well as of (dis)connecting places. The need to consider geographical scales is increasingly underlined in the context of globalization—that is, in an increasingly interconnected world (Fraser, 2008). Events, processes, and people can be framed according to diverse geographical scales such as the ones investigated here: the local/regional, the national, the international, and the translocal/transnational/global. The local/regional concerns limited parts of a nation-state; the national concerns the whole nation-state in some sense (the home nation or a “foreign” nation) or issues of, for instance, Swedishness or Frenchness; the international involves economic or political cooperation, conflicts, or other relations between nation-states; the translocal/transnational/global concerns connections between places of diverse nation-states, such as New York and Stockholm (translocal), or issues spanning two or more nation-states, without the state level or interaction between states being evoked (transnational; see Plaut, 2017), or issues concerning the world at large without focusing on nation-states (global). An injustice can be termed *misframed* if a geographical scale that does not match the scale of the cause of the injustice is applied in public discourse covering the issue (Fraser, 2008). Climate change is often misframed like this in the media and in politics, because it is generally understood in international terms, while its causes as well as the injustices signifying it are (also) transnational (Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2018). Regarding cultural journalism, similar discourses could occur with the framing of migration, which is often discussed in cultural debate articles in the press

(Riegert et al., 2015), and in cultural journalism overall, it is pertinent to pay attention to whether local, (inter)national, or transnational scales are employed—that is, whether and to what degree events are seen as isolated/connected, specific/broad, domestic/foreign, or separate/hybrid.

In a study of climate change reporting, Christensen (2013, p. 27) notes an increasing “scalar transcendence,” a mixing between local and global scales. In our study, such intersections would be coded as translocal/transnational/global, which encompasses all connections extending beyond nations while not focusing on nation-states. The increase in scalar transcendence that Christensen notes indicates the emergence of a post-Westphalian world (Fraser, 2008), where the Westphalian framing is increasingly abandoned. Westphalian framing includes national and international scales. Domestication is one way of applying such framing, viewing issues from not just a general nation-centric perspective but from one that reads everything through the lens of the *own home nation* and its interests (Olausson, 2014). Post-Westphalian framing conversely builds on a logic where state territoriality has lost its dominant grip on our worldviews. Scalar transcendence, as Christensen defines it, could constitute “global journalism” in its mode of approaching the world through connecting the local to the global. Occurrences of the translocal/transnational/global scale as applied in this study would similarly constitute global journalism, while the local/regional scale employed without connection to the global or transnational would not.

Research Design

This study builds on a content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002) of Swedish cultural journalism in the press and public service radio during four decades: 1985, 1995, 2005, and 2015. We define cultural journalism from an institutional perspective as that which is produced and published or broadcast by cultural desks or that which is labeled “culture” in specific newspaper sections or supplements or in broadcast programming. We approach Swedish cultural journalism as a specialized subfield of journalism, characterized by professional values, genres, and areas of expertise that define its unique characteristics in relation to journalism at large (Jaakkola, Hellman, Koljonen, & Väliverronen, 2015; Marchetti, 2005; Riegert et al., 2015). Five newspapers were selected: *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Göteborgs-posten*, *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, and *Aftonbladet*. The selection was based on influence/circulation, ideological diversity, variation in style and scope of the cultural section (degree of inclusion of entertainment, etc.), and geographical diversity (although northern Sweden is not included). In addition, tabloids as well as more traditional “quality” newspapers are included. *Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden’s largest morning newspaper, is based in Stockholm and is widely influential nationally, especially as an arena for political and cultural debate. *Svenska Dagbladet* is *Dagens Nyheter*’s quality newspaper competitor in the capital area. While *Dagens Nyheter*’s editorial section is liberal, *Svenska Dagbladet*’s is conservative. *Göteborgs-posten*, based in Gothenburg in western Sweden, enjoys a broad regional readership and is a key journalism institution in its metropolitan area. *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, based in Helsingborg in southern Sweden and until recently owned by a local family, has a more limited readership but nonetheless a history of a vibrant and ambitious cultural journalism compared with many local equivalents. *Aftonbladet*

is Sweden's largest newspaper and a tabloid.² Its editorial profile is social-democratic. The fact that our sample includes one left-wing and four liberal/conservative newspapers reflects a broader ideological imbalance in the newspaper market in Sweden.³

Since Sveriges Radio (Swedish Radio) has no significant competition concerning cultural journalism from any private-owned radio companies, it is the only source for our sample of cultural radio programs (see below). As a public service company, Sveriges Radio has a mandate to monitor, mirror, and scrutinize events within different domestic cultural circuits as well as those in other countries—especially the Nordic region—and an obligation to reflect cultural diversity and cater for minorities in Sweden (Hellman et al., 2017; Horsti & Hultén, 2011; Sveriges Radio, 2016).

Our data consist of a constructed-week sample of cultural journalism from each year and media ($N = 2,256$).⁴ Constructed weeks ensure that every weekday is included in the sample, which adheres to journalism's publication rhythm, including variations between weekends and workdays (Neuendorf, 2002; Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993). The first date for all examined years was set to January 29, after which we collected material every 54th day, resulting in a data series distributed over almost the entire year. The cultural pages of the press were analyzed in their entirety. We included print editions only, for consistency over time. Cultural programs on the radio were identified through archived program schedules of P1, the channel carrying the most programs produced by the cultural desk. We used the Swedish Media Database, a search service for audiovisual collections at the National Library of Sweden. We selected cultural programs aired during the sampled dates, including reruns that would not otherwise be included in the final sample. Due to the scarcity of cultural coverage on the radio during 1985 and 1995, data for an additional week was gathered for these two years to enable comparisons over time and in relation to the press. The specificity of these years should not necessarily be seen as a time-bound expression of a lower priority for cultural journalism but rather as an instance of the gradual expansion of broadcasting airtime toward 24-hour programming in the latter periods. The sample includes cultural news as well as specialized magazine programs covering music, literature, and cultural/political debate. The unit of analysis was individual articles (newspapers) and thematic program sequences, such as individual news stories, interviews, reviews, and studio talk about a particular subject (radio). Although newspapers and radio differ in format and technology, many of the genres of cultural journalism in these media are the same. The program sequences identified in radio can be seen as the equivalent of articles in the press. Longer segments on a particular theme were divided into separate sequences or units if the news anchor or program host marked a clear shift in perspective or angle. The coding scheme for radio was adjusted slightly to media-specific technicalities, but the variables we discuss here are the same for radio and the

² *Aftonbladet* became Sweden's largest tabloid in 1996 and was for many years Sweden's largest printed newspaper. Despite a dramatic decrease in circulation, it is still Sweden's largest newspaper in terms of reach due to its dominant position online.

³ *Helsingborgs Dagblad* was previously politically "unbound," but since it was sold to *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (2014) and its cultural and editorial desks were converged, it became liberal.

⁴ N varies slightly across variables in the presentation of results because some variables were not applicable to all articles and program sequences.

press, and the way they are coded in both groups is identical, even though written text is dealt with in one part and spoken text in the other.

This study draws on the following five variables: (1) main geographical region, (2) type of interconnection between Sweden and the rest of the world, (3) geographical scale, (4) dimension of cultural globalization, and (5) assessment and discussion of norms and values. Regions, interconnections, and scales (1, 2, and 3) were constructed as nominal variables (each item could only be coded for one region/scale/type of interconnection). Dimensions of cultural globalization (4) and assessment and discussion of norms and values (5) were coded through dichotomous categorical variables; a series of theoretically derived dimensions/norms/values were coded separately as present or absent in the material. The five selected variables, including ascribed values, are described in detail below.

Geographical regions were coded according to which country the text dealt with (if several, the coder chose the country that received the most attention). Country values were then clustered into 10 geographical regions: Sweden, Scandinavia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and Oceania.

Potential interconnections between Sweden and the rest of the world were operationalized into five values: (1) Sweden only (no connection with the outside world); (2) the outside world only (no connection to Sweden); (3) Sweden and the world (relations between Sweden and at least one other country); (4) Sweden in the world (depictions of Swedish culture as performed, expressed, or exported to the outside world); and (5) the world in Sweden (people, texts, ideas, and expressions of other cultures coming to Sweden).

Geographical scales were distinguished as local/regional, national, international, and translocal/transnational/global. Local/regional scales were defined as focusing on local or regional aspects only. National scales center on country-specific or nationwide phenomena, often through depictions of state actors. The international scale is characterized by relations between two or more states and includes state actors and intergovernmental organizations. The translocal/transnational/global scale is characterized by relations between places, people, and countries beyond a nation-state frame (and beyond the merely local). Cultural stories about Hollywood movies in China, Algerian music in France, or Norwegian writers in Sweden are all examples of a translocal/transnational/global scale (see also the Theory section).

We also identified whether dimensions of cultural globalization were evoked in the material, coding for homogenization, hybridity, multiculturalism, and polarization. Indicators of homogenization involve cultural convergence as mass culture, including global cultural products adapted to local markets. Stories that draw on hybridity encompass cultural diversity in terms of cultural cross-fertilization and mixture. Multiculturalism, in contrast, emphasizes how multiple cultures exist side by side, without tendencies toward convergence or hybridity. Polarization focuses on cultural differentialism in terms of conflict (e.g., war and terrorism). Norms and values encompass journalistic discussions and assessments relating to ethnicity/race/nationality, gender, sexuality, age, and class. In this study, we focus on ethnicity/race/nationality.

The research process started with the development of a coding scheme, which was tested in a pilot study of random samples from each year. Two research assistants were involved from the beginning in order to optimize reliability. Intercoder reliability tests were conducted in the pilot stage and after coding was finalized. The general intercoder agreement in the final test was 91%, which should be considered a high and satisfactory level of reliability (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken, 2002; Neuendorf, 2002). Whereas most studies of world coverage in journalism tend to focus on news geography (e.g., countries and regions that receive the most attention in the news), we chose a more fine-tuned approach, using variables that consider change as well as stability across geography, scales, interconnectedness, and norms and values. The goal with this design is to enhance validity and allow for the complexities in cultural journalism's relationship with globalization over four recent decades. Due to the method of selection (see above), results are generalizable for the examined years.

Results

In light of major geopolitical changes, migration patterns, and more general expressions of globalization, including media technology changes, Swedish cultural journalism's outlooks on the world were remarkably stable between 1985 and 2015. Nonetheless, there are also some intriguing variations between years and between the press and radio. This section details to what extent and how the world outside Sweden has been addressed in Swedish cultural journalism in light of previous studies of journalistic world coverage, especially in foreign news (mainly addressing RQ1). This is followed by an account of how cultural journalism has *connected* Sweden with the outside world (mainly addressing RQ2). Last, we address the geographical scales used in the constitution of such links and how cultural journalism in Sweden relates to various dimensions of cultural globalization as well as to representations of norms and values, specifically regarding ethnicity/race/nationality (interconnecting RQ1 and RQ2). All sections consider differences between the press and radio over time.

The Geography of Cultural Journalism

One of the more general stable features of Swedish cultural journalism is that cultural events, issues, and expressions seem to be folded into European, and especially Swedish, discourses. Europe, including Sweden and Scandinavia, constitute the geographical center of 80%–89% of the items during the studied periods (see Table 1). Cultural journalism, moreover, consistently focuses on Western rather than Eastern Europe. In fact, on average for press and radio, coverage of Eastern Europe decreased slightly from 1985 onward, despite the dramatic transformations of the political landscape after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the inclusion of several former Soviet states into the European Union. Due to this (Western) Eurocentrism, there are few signs of a truly global cultural journalism in terms of extension of space outside Europe. The MENA countries, which usually receive considerable foreign news coverage (Roosvall, 2014), are almost totally absent in the cultural coverage. Asia, Africa, Oceania, as well as South America and Latin America follow a similar pattern and are largely uncovered in Swedish cultural journalism. Overall, we find no larger significant differences concerning news geography between the years within cultural journalism in general or in the press. There is, however, a moderate correlation between publication year and news geography on the radio (see Table 1). This mainly reflects changes in coverage of North America, varying between very low coverage in 1985 (1%) and relatively high coverage

in 2015 (14%). The tendency toward more coverage of North America (generally represented by the United States) also appears in the press, where the coverage increased from 9% to 14% between 1985 and 2015. South America and Latin America received some attention on the radio in 1985 (8%) and dropped to 1%, or even below 1%, in later periods. Similarly, Africa was the subject of 8% of the cultural coverage on the radio in 2005, while the other years show considerably lower numbers (below 1% in 1985). The press also shows slightly more interest in South America and Latin America in 1985 than it does later. The political conflicts in Latin America during the 1980s may explain the marginally higher interest in the region during that period. More generally, the 1985 coverage might reflect the tail end of the increased interest in the world outside Europe and North America that characterized Swedish cultural journalism in the press of the 1960s and 1970s, with a specific focus on Asia (e.g., the Vietnam War) and people assigned to cover Spanish and Latin American literature (Lundqvist, 2012, p. 277; Riegert & Roosvall, 2017, p. 95; Sjögren, 2008, pp. 585–586, 578).

The relatively higher degree of coverage of North America in the press compared to the radio in 1985 can be connected to the newspapers' more open attitude toward popular culture at the time. Traditionally, Swedish cultural journalism has leaned toward the highbrow, drawing sharp lines between culture and entertainment as well as between high arts and popular culture (Hemer, 2010; Lundqvist, 2012). However, historical studies of cultural journalism in the Nordic countries show that the notion of culture has become gradually more wide-ranging, not least through a growing presence of the popular (Kristensen & From, 2012; Lundqvist, 2012). The vague yet clearly visible gradual Americanization of cultural journalism in Sweden can be seen in light of this development. During the 1990s, many newspapers dropped the distinction between culture and entertainment, both organizationally in the newsrooms and in content presentation (Hemer, 2010; Lundqvist, 2012; Riegert & Roosvall, 2017).

In Sveriges Radio's cultural journalism, the distinction appears to have lasted longer as popular culture programs were mainly allocated to channels where the cultural desk had and still has considerably less influence over the content (Hellman et al., 2017). Ultimately, Sveriges Radio provides a slightly broader news geography than the press. Newspapers are more focused on Sweden, while the European context has a more prevalent position on the radio. Whereas the press is commercial and does not have to attain certain news geography standards other than those it sets for itself, Sveriges Radio, as a public service company, has an obligation to provide different geographical and social perspectives and to mirror multiple cultural circuits, including a special emphasis on "the Nordic cultural community," as stated in the broadcasting permission (Sveriges Radio, 2016). This public service mandate is an important backdrop for these differences.

Table 1. The News Geography of Swedish Cultural Journalism, 1985–2015 (%).

	Sweden	Scandinavia	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	North America	Latin America	Africa	Asia	MENA	Oceania	Total ^a	<i>n</i>
1985	60	7	15	4	7	4	1	2	1	< 1	101	387
1995	58	6	16	4	10	1	0	3	3	< 1	101	445
2005	63	4	12	3	12	1	2	2	2	< 1	101	643
2015	60	4	15	3	14	1	1	0	2	< 1	100	671
Press												
1985	61	6	13	3	9	3	2	1	2	< 1	100	290
1995	60	5	14	5	10	1	0	2	3	< 1	100	337
2005	63	3	12	3	13	1	1	2	2	< 1	100	551
2015	62	5	13	2	14	1	1	0	2	< 1	100	516
Public service radio												
1985	57	8	18	6	1	8	0	2	0	< 1	100	97
1995	53	7	20	0	11	3	0	5	2	< 1	101	108
2005	63	5	15	1	4	0	8	1	2	< 1	99	92
2015	53	2	22	5	14	1	2	1	1	< 1	101	155

Note. MENA = Middle East and North Africa region. Level of associations: press and public service radio ($p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .100$); press (*ns*); public service radio ($p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .231$). $N = 2,146$.

^a Percentages are rounded.

The Spatial Interconnections of Cultural Journalism

Although cultural journalism appears to be strongly Eurocentric, there are more nuanced and complex ways of analyzing the geographical underpinnings of journalism than concentrating solely on geographical centers of texts. In a society with globalizing and multicultural potential, an equally important aspect is the extent to which cultural journalism provides links (or not) with people in other parts of the world. Table 2 distinguishes between five such spatial approaches, illustrating that cultural journalism, to a large extent, connected Sweden with other countries fairly constantly during the studied period.

Table 2. Interconnections Between Sweden and the World, 1985–2015 (%).

	Sweden	The world	Sweden and the world	Sweden in the world	The world in Sweden	Total ^a	<i>n</i>
1985	33	18	39	4	7	101	402
1995	30	25	32	4	9	100	482
2005	37	24	33	1	5	100	670
2015	35	18	39	4	4	100	681
Press							
1985	37	19	33	4	7	100	302
1995	31	21	33	4	11	100	366
2005	37	26	31	1	4	99	577
2015	36	20	36	4	4	100	525
Public service radio							
1985	22	13	56	4	5	100	100
1995	28	37	29	1	4	99	116
2005	34	13	42	2	9	100	93
2015	30	11	49	6	4	100	156

Note. Level of associations: press and public service radio ($p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .085$); press ($p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .090$); radio ($p < .001$, Cramér's $V = .193$). $N = 2,235$.

^a Percentages are rounded.

In fact, stories focusing on Sweden alone have never been specifically characteristic of cultural journalism (at most comprising 37% of articles in the press in 1985 and 2005). Instead, stories that involve connections with the outside world are far more common. There is, however, a noteworthy difference between the press and the radio: The former tends to adopt a Swedish outlook, whereas the latter more often employs a focus on Sweden and the world. This connection between Sweden and the world combined with the simultaneous focus on Sweden in terms of news geography underscores that cultural journalism—like other types of journalistic practices—must be understood in relation to spatial frameworks of domestication (Olausson, 2014), which may appear through how (cultural) phenomena are constructed in ways that make them relevant to a national Swedish audience/readership.

When results from the press and the radio concerning interconnections are merged, the year that stands out is 1995, when representations of the world outside Sweden come closest to representations of Sweden alone (25% vs. 30%). The 1990s were signified by a focus on identity politics (Fraser, 2000) and intense immigration (in the first half of the 1990s, leading up to the year we examined, 1995). In Swedish foreign news, the same year is characterized by a renegotiation of news geography after the Cold War (Roosvall, 2014). While 1995 stands out also in cultural journalism through a strong focus on the rest of the world (especially Europe), the restructuring of the foreign news geography was connected to emphasis on the nation-states and the changing borders between these. This is, as we discuss in the next section, not the case in cultural journalism.

The Scales, Globalization Approaches, and Norms and Values of Cultural Journalism

Cultural journalism in Sweden seems to share central characteristics with foreign news journalism: tendencies toward domestication and Eurocentrism. However, in sharp contrast, cultural journalism goes beyond the state-centered perspectives that dominate foreign news (Riegert, 2011). Strong evidence for this is displayed in Table 3, where we distinguish between four geographical scales: local/regional, national, international, and translocal/transnational/global. The transnational scale dominates, and although there are variations between the years—especially for radio (60%–82%)—the transnational can be described as the default mode of Swedish cultural journalism, and we found no significant changes over the years.

Table 3. Geographic Scales in Cultural Journalism, 1985–2015 (%).

	Local	National	International	Transnational	Total^a	<i>n</i>
1985	15	16	2	68	100	397
1995	14	14	2	71	101	469
2005	14	20	2	65	101	618
2015	11	18	1	70	100	678
Press						
1985	19	18	1	62	100	297
1995	15	10	1	74	100	361
2005	15	18	2	65	100	525
2015	12	19	1	68	100	520
Public service radio						
1985	5	12	1	82	100	100
1995	11	25	4	60	100	108
2005	4	29	2	65	100	93
2015	10	14	1	75	100	158

Note. Level of associations: cultural journalism in general (*ns*); press ($p < .05$, Cramér's $V = .063$); radio ($p < .01$, Cramér's $V = .134$). $N = 2,162$.

^a Percentages are rounded.

It is important to emphasize that scale should be understood independently from the variables for news geography and interconnections between Sweden and the rest of the world in the sense that it works as a discursive/spatial framework that can be applied to various phenomena. Thus, cultural stories about Sweden can be placed in an international as well as a transnational setting, just as stories about any other country, region, or place can be constructed through local as well as national scales.

The international scale is seldom used in cultural journalism, which may be related to its strong focus on cultural rather than political actors. Only 3% of the actors in our sample are politicians. Much more common actors are journalists, authors, artists, musicians, and academics. Cultural journalism tackles political issues frequently, but it does so through other discursive frameworks, referred to by practitioners as a "cultural filter" (Riegert et al., 2015). Looking at news geography and geographical scales, respectively, the results may at first glance seem contradictory regarding the globalization in and of cultural journalism. On one hand, they display Eurocentric and domesticating modes; on the other hand, they stress the transnational/global scale and tend to connect Sweden to other parts of the world. To better understand cultural journalism's approaches to the world's increasing interconnectivity, we analyze cultural globalization in more detail, assessing the extent to which homogenization, multiculturalism, hybridity, and polarization are explicitly discussed in our material.

The evocation of (some of) the dimensions of cultural globalization were relatively rare in our sample. Results should therefore be interpreted with caution (and are not displayed in a table). What is nonetheless noteworthy is that the most evoked approach is multiculturalism—especially on the radio. In 1985, 12% of the radio items included references to multiculturalism. The corresponding digits for 1995 and 2005 are 18% and 15%. In 2015—as in the mid-1990s, a time when many immigrants arrived in Sweden—multiculturalism seemed to be disappearing as a way of approaching cultural globalization (multicultural references reached 5% on the radio during this year).⁵ While being evoked less, representations of polarization expose similar tendencies, peaking in 1995 (radio: 10%, overall: 7%) and then subsequently shrinking (this development is less pronounced and slower in the press). In the other examined years, polarization is represented in no more than 5% of the items. Even homogenization and hybridity appear more often in 1995, although the numbers are rather limited regarding these categories.

The stronger emphasis on all categories in 1995 corresponds again to the renegotiation of the world order in foreign news at the time. Other features, however, appear to distinguish cultural journalism quite clearly from the more objectivist news traditions. For instance, a critical discussion of norms and values was explicitly expressed quite often. Ethnicity/race/nationality appears most often among the examined norms and values, surpassing gender in both media during all examined years (see Table 4). For both media taken together, and for the press individually, 1995 stands out again, displaying the strongest focus on ethnicity/race/nationality. The radio, however, emphasized this category the most in 1985. We elaborate on the implications of this finding in relation to the other results in the conclusion of this article.

⁵ The general number of items produced by cultural desks in the press and on the radio increased between 1995 and 2015. Despite this trend, multiculturalism decreased both in absolute terms and in percentage share.

Table 4. Occurrence of Norms and Values, 1985–2015 (% per Year and Category).

	Class	Gender	Ethnicity/race/nationality	Sexuality	Religion	n
1985	5	6	14	1	5	403
1995	9	12	21	2	6	488
2005	4	9	15	2	3	675
2015	7	12	13	3	4	690
Press						
1985	5	5	7	1	4	302
1995	8	9	19	2	6	372
2005	3	9	12	2	2	582
2015	7	10	12	3	4	532
Public service radio						
1985	6	10	36	1	8	101
1995	13	22	26	2	7	116
2005	5	11	28	2	7	93
2015	7	17	18	4	3	158

Note. Norm variables are dichotomous. The table displays the percentage of items in the press and radio that contained each norm category during every year examined. $N = 2,256$.

Conclusion

The most distinctive result of this study is the domination of transnational over national, international, and local scales both on the radio and in the press over all examined years. This sets cultural journalism apart from both foreign news and editorials—that is, from other types of news journalism and from other types of opinion journalism. However, a strong emphasis on scales that transcend the national and/or local/regional does not necessarily mean that attitudes toward the rest of the world are positive or fair. In a study of foreign news (Roosvall, 2014), increasing internationalization corresponded with an increasing exoticization. Our study attempts to capture such nuances by focusing also on norms and values concerning ethnicity/race/nationality. As shown in the results, ethnicity/race/nationality is conspicuously brought up both in the press and on the radio during all examined years. It is also clear that these aspects were emphasized more by radio than the press during all years examined. This should be seen in light of the cultural diversity policies of Swedish public service broadcasting, including the broadcasting license that requires Sveriges Radio to provide diverse coverage reflecting various cultures present in Sweden (Horsti & Hultén, 2011; Sveriges Radio, 2016). Norms and values are only registered when they are explicitly discussed in the examined material. This may indicate that the *naturalization* that often accompanies exoticizing practices, such as in the mythologization of people and places (Roosvall, 2014), are not evoked in the instances when *explicit* norms and values regarding ethnicity/race/nationality are registered. Nonetheless, ethnicity/race/nationality can still have

been discussed in negative terms in the sample. Further qualitative studies are needed to examine the details of this finding.

The transnational scale, which includes both translocal and global aspects, presupposes scalar transcendence (Christensen, 2013), transgressing the otherwise often dominating national and international scales as well as the solely local/regional scale. Hence, scalar transcendence permeates cultural journalism. Potentially, global issues can be more pertinently approached in cultural journalism than in journalism signified by international scales, which mitigates the risk of misframing in an increasingly globalized world (Fraser, 2008).

Although the press and the radio both display a strong emphasis on the transnational scale, they differ somewhat in their focus on geographical areas as well as in their focus on Sweden versus the rest of the world. The press geography is more centered on Sweden, while the radio emphasizes Europe. Consequently, when we zoomed in on separations and interconnections between Sweden and the rest of the world, the radio emphasized the world outside Sweden, while the press stressed the solely Swedish context. We should, however, remember that the majority of articles and segments, regardless of the main region or nation, still apply a transnational scale and that both in the press and on the radio, the world outside Sweden is drawn on in most of the articles and segments (including interconnections with Sweden). The emphasis on regions and interconnections differs slightly over the years. This is also true of the types of globalization evoked as well as of assessment and discussion of ethnicity/race/nationality. Overall, the year 1995 stands out in this regard. The mid-1990s was a time of identity politics (Fraser, 2000), following intense immigration to Sweden and world order transformations after the Cold War. Issues of multiculturalism appeared most strongly in cultural journalism during this period, and they had largely disappeared in 2015, even though this was also a time of intensive immigration to Sweden.

We thus conclude that the world outside Sweden is understood as signified by translocal/transnational/global relations, that Sweden is seen as strongly connected to the rest of the world, and moreover in a manner that does not emphasize cultural conflict. Although we found some variations between the investigated media and some variations over time, cultural journalism appears stable in terms of worldviews, to some degree aligning itself with foreign news concerning Eurocentrism and domestication (Riegert, 2011; Roosvall, 2014) while distinguishing itself from foreign news and editorials through the downplaying of cultural conflict and of (inter)national scales. These seemingly contradictory tendencies require some elaboration.

Our results indicate that the world is addressed as borderless, as post-Westphalian in Fraser's (2008) terms. Singular places do not appear as important in this world dominated by the translocal/transnational/global scale as they do in news media in general (Rantanen, 2009). Therefore, connections between certain places and identities are given less attention as well, which means that cultural globalization in terms of a questioning or abandoning of previous stereotypical ideas about relationships between places and identities (Thörn, 2004) seems to occur in cultural journalism. In addition, polarization was not highlighted in the material, because cultural conflict was downplayed in all years and across all media. Thus, cultural journalism is, as previous research has indicated (Kristensen & Roosvall, 2017), distinguished from editorials in its worldviews. Although homogenization was not often

explicitly evoked in the material, it may be present in other ways, such as an emphasis on North America—that is, the United States—which tends to dominate popular culture and appears as an increasingly important region in cultural journalism over the years. Thus, while hybridization seems to signify the attitude toward the rest of the world—through the application of scales and scalar transcendence rather than through explicit discussions of hybridity—it is generally limited to include mainly Europe and North America. Hybridity concerning Asia, Africa, and other regions (at least as centers of attention) is not prominent.

Building on the theoretical framework, is there a wider consciousness, a global imagination (Orgad, 2012) to be found here? Yes, to some extent there is. The dominating imagination is at least transnational, even though it mainly concerns certain parts of the world. For it to be termed *global* regarding geographical extension, there is still a way to go. However, the journalism comprising this outlook on the world can certainly be characterized as global in Berglez's (2013) terms. With a strong focus on the Swedish and European context, it combines scales and interconnects the local and national with the world, displaying, if not a completely global, then at least an inherently transnational outlook as well as a transnationally imprinted introspection.

Researchers have mainly looked for global journalism in classic news, specifically in foreign/international/world news. Olausson (2014) criticized the one-sided focus on foreign news in "the search for constructions of the transnational" (p. 711) and suggested a shift toward reporting where inherently global issues such as climate change are discussed, which would also allow for more complex and pertinent discussions of domestication. Building on our results, we suggest that researchers also ought to focus more on cultural journalism to better understand the complexities of transnationalism, domestication, global outlooks, and the evocation and combination of geographical scales. Theories on media, globalization, and identity can thus be infused with a sensitivity to the complexities of journalism's diverse modes of communication, taking into account material outside of news and more traditional politics, where opportunities of understanding transnationalism, its links to worldviews, multiple forms of interconnections, and norms and values emerge more clearly.

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