

FROM PRINT TO ONLINE – HOW LIFESTYLE  
MAGAZINE EDITORS-IN-CHIEF PERCEIVE  
ADVERTISING INFLUENCE

Elina Suhanko  
Master's Thesis  
Department of Communication  
University of Jyväskylä  
August 2015

## UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

Faculty Faculty of Humanities	Department Department of Communication
Author Suhanko, Elina	
Title From print to online - How lifestyle magazine editors-in-chief perceive advertising influence	
Subject Organizational communication and PR	Level Master's thesis
Month and year August 2015	Number of pages 72
<p><b>Abstract</b></p> <p>The purpose of this thesis is to study the impacts of advertising influence in lifestyle magazines from editors-in-chief's perspective. Lifestyle magazines publish service journalism that views readers as consumers. The study also aims to increase awareness of lifestyle magazines.</p> <p>This research is based on interviews of eight editors in lifestyle magazines. Thematic interviews have been analyzed in two ways: the data is described by thematic coding and analysis is formed by narrative approach. Narrative analysis separated editors' views to stories of advertising.</p> <p>Magazines accept advertising influence attempts, for example, advertiser's support and the usage of PR material if they are to benefit them. Often the editors describe advertising influence attempts as collaboration, in which both will benefit. Editors-in-chief are the representatives of the magazine brand and they are responsible for the editorial content. Often, the role includes marketing responsibility, for example editor-in-chief attends to the advertisers' meetings. This can cause the editor of the so-called double role, a hybrid-editor, which has dilemmas. The following dilemmas interviews have been identified as: value, role, loyalty and online publishing dilemma. The research also shortly discusses about the future of lifestyle magazines.</p> <p>This work has been used many literature sources to explain the influence of advertising. McQuail's (2010) mass communication model and Shoemaker's and Reese's (2014) hierarchical model explain the influence theory. In addition, a number of other articles for scientific work clarify advertising influence.</p>	
Keywords lifestyle journalism, advertising influence, commercialism	
Depository University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication	
Additional information	

## JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta Humanistinen tiedekunta	Laitos Viestinnän laitos
Tekijä Suhanko, Elina	
Työn nimi From print to online - How lifestyle magazine editors-in-chief perceive advertising influence	
Oppiaine Yhteisöviestintä	Työn laji Pro gradu
Aika Elokuu 2015	Sivumäärä 72
<p>Tiivistelmä</p> <p>Tämän pro gradun tarkoituksena on tutkia päätoimittajien näkökulmasta mainonnan vaikutusta lifestyle-lehtiin. Lifestyle-lehdet tekevät palvelujournalismia, joka näkee lukijat kuluttajina. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on myös lisätä tietoutta lifestyle-lehdistä.</p> <p>Tähän tutkimukseen on haastateltu kahdeksaa lifestyle-lehden päätoimittajaa. Teema-haastattelut on analysoitu kahdella tavalla: materiaali on esitetty temaattisella koodauksella ja analyysi on muodostettu narratiivisella lähestymistavalla. Narratiivisessa analyysissä erotettiin päätoimittajien näkemykset mainonnan kertomuksiksi.</p> <p>Lehdet hyväksyvät mainonnan vaikutusyritykset, esimerkiksi mainostajan sponso-roiman tuen ja PR-materiaalin käytön jos niistä on heille hyötyä. Usein päätoimittajat kutsuvat mainonnan vaikutusyrityksiä yhteistyöksi, jossa molemmat saavat hyödyn. Päätoimittajat edustavat lehtibrändiään ja ovat vastuussa lehden toimituksellisesta sisällöstä. Usein rooliin liittyy myös markkinointivastuuta, koska päätoimittaja ottaa osaa mainostajien kanssa käymiin tapaamisiin. Tämä saa aikaan päätoimittajan kaksinaisroolin ns. hybridipäätoimittajuuden, jossa piilee dilemmoja. Haastatteluista on tunnistettu seuraavat dilemmat: arvo, rooli, lojaalisuus ja onlinena julkaistavan lehden dilemmat. Tutkimus myös sivuaa printtilehtialan tulevaisuutta.</p> <p>Tähän työhön on käytetty monia kirjallisia lähteitä selittämään mainonnan vaikutusvaltaa. McQuailin (2010) joukkoviestinnän malli ja Shoemakerin ja Reesen (2014) malli selittävät vaikutusvallan teoriaa. Lisäksi joukko muita tieteellisiä artikkeleita selventävät mainonnan vaikutusta tarkemmin.</p>	
Keywords lifestyle journalism, advertising influence, commercialism	
Depository Jyväskylän yliopisto, Viestinnän laitos	
Additional information	

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
1.1	Justification of the study .....	4
1.2	Framework of the study.....	5
<b>2</b>	<b>LIFESTYLE JOURNALISM</b> .....	7
2.1	Lifestyle journalism views readers as consumers.....	7
2.2	Commercialism and market-driven journalism.....	9
2.3	Finnish magazine industry.....	10
<b>3</b>	<b>INFLUENCES</b> .....	12
3.1	Multiple sources of influence .....	12
3.2	Shoemaker's & Reese's influences and McQuail's theory .....	13
3.2.1	Pressure groups influencing organizations.....	16
3.3	Advertising influence.....	18
3.3.1	Advertising influence types.....	20
3.3.2	Public relations' influence.....	21
3.4	Summary of the influence theories .....	23
<b>4</b>	<b>EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S INFLUENCE</b> .....	25
4.1	Editor's responsibility and leverage.....	25
4.2	Autonomy and ethics of journalism.....	26
<b>5</b>	<b>THE DIGITAL ERA AND ADVERTISING</b> .....	28
5.1	Blurring editorial and advertising boundaries.....	28
5.1.1	Advertorials in print magazines .....	29
5.1.2	Sponsored content.....	31
<b>6</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS</b> .....	33
6.1	Research questions .....	33
6.2	Interview methodology .....	34
6.2.1	Conducting the interviews.....	35
6.2.2	Magazine profiles.....	38
6.3	Description of the data.....	40
6.3.1	Themes in the research .....	41
6.4	Narratives analysis method .....	42
6.5	Opposites in the continuum.....	43
<b>7</b>	<b>STORIES OF ADVERTISING</b> .....	47
7.1	Editor-in-chief responsibilities and leverage.....	48

7.2	“Lifestyle journalism and marketing language are similar” .....	49
7.3	“Marketing responsibilities are part of the work” .....	50
7.4	“Influence over the content does not exist” .....	52
	7.4.1 “Blurring the line between editorial and ads” .....	54
	7.4.2 “Collaboration means exchanging information” .....	54
	7.4.3 “It is a common practice to please major advertisers” .....	55
	7.4.4 “We attend sponsored trips” .....	56
7.5	“The online form changes advertising” .....	57
	7.5.1 The difficulty in advertising spending online .....	58
<b>8</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION</b> .....	<b>59</b>
8.1	Indirect and direct influence .....	59
8.2	Editor’s dilemmas .....	60
8.3	Research evaluation.....	62
8.4	Future research.....	63
8.5	Discussion .....	63
	<b>LITERATURE</b> .....	<b>67</b>
	<b>APPENDIXES</b>	

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Lifestyle magazines have always had a controversial attitude towards advertising. Although they produce visually beautiful editorials, they also contain a great deal of advertising. One can ask if the advertising has influence over the editorial content. Howland (1989) says that advertising is the skeleton in the closet, everyone knows it is there, but no one wants to talk about it. Advertising pressure or influence, the battle with the advertisers, is often not seen by the public (An & Bergen 2007). Ppress's (2010) research noted that journalists think that objectivity is under increasing influence by the advertisers, marketers and owners (Smet and Vanormelingen 2011). Carlson (2014) notes that "professional journalism's normative commitment to autonomy has long dictated the separation of editorial functions from advertising".

Against this background, this thesis has several aims. Firstly, to investigate how editors-in-chief perceive advertising influence and to investigate advertising influence's impacts on editors' work and role. Secondly, to examine the influence attempts that are acceptable and unacceptable. Thirdly, to study editors' perceptions on the online publishing advertising influence, such as sponsored content. This study explores the professional views of 8 Finnish lifestyle editors through thematic interviews in order to explore the perceptions of advertising influence, commercialism and the future of lifestyle magazines. The research will determine the editor-in-chief's leverage and autonomy. This research also gives new and essential information about lifestyle magazines. The qualitative research was conducted with thematic interviews, applying thematic coding to describe the data.

Perceptions of influence over media content are important to study, especially when it concerns "camouflaged influence", such as advertisers introduc-

ing themes, including advertisers in marketing conversations, the usage of PR materials, or attending sponsored events and trips. Editors-in-chief are the gatekeepers of journalism and in the best position to assess advertising influence's different forms. Unacceptable and acceptable advertising influence attempts are hard to distinguish, but important to acknowledge. The advertising influence can take forms, such as withdrawing ads over a negative story and limiting on what is being published.

When a large part of the content presents products, one can assume that advertising has influence over the content. Advertising influence is undoubtedly a sensitive topic, but important to discuss. The debate about journalism and advertising boundaries is ongoing, especially when hybrid messages occur in online content. In particular, print magazines are beginning to go towards a digital form, which will cause new challenges in magazine publishing related to the controllability of advertising. Transparency is key both in traditional media as well as in new media forms.

Eide and Knight (1999, 527) argue that economic theory should be applied to journalism, as journalists "trade information for attention with their various sources, calculating risks and benefits." Economic reasons must also be taken into account, as magazines are dependent on the advertising as well as subscribers. Fengler and Ruß-Mohl (2008) say that commercialization of journalism and the effects of market-driven journalism have been widely discussed among European scholars of mass communication.

Recently, Finnish media has been going through discussions about native advertising, which resembles a normal article, but is in fact a paid advertisement. The discussion started from Ukkola (2015) who wrote a column about the growing practice of native advertising, creating a future perspective that soon there will be no separate ads and that journalistic content will change into being one capacious advertisement. Hiila (2015) stated that the number of periodical subscribers has been in fierce free-fall since 2008 and magazine overall demand has dropped by 6,3 percent per annum. Juti (2015), who is an experienced lifestyle journalist, explained the industry practices by mentioning what one furniture retailer once said to her: "why should I pay for advertising when you write about our products anyway and that is enough media coverage for us?". This is the dilemma lifestyle magazines are facing due to their commercialized nature.

Lifestyle magazines have always published advertorials that are editorial-looking advertising. The newest form of advertorial is native advertising that tries the same tricks. Bercovici (2013) reminds that the Atlantic Scientology case is one of the most well-known advertorial or native advertising that failed to update policies. Carlson (2014, 10) wrote that this incident showed how this form of advertising can “exemplify not the perils of editorial-advertising hybridity, but the failure of this mixture”. Lifestyle magazines can be perceived as the pre-runners of native advertising, but that is a controversial statement. Lifestyle media outlets need to define the relationship between advertising, editorial content, and audiences.

Sonderman and Tran (2013) say that sponsored content goes by many pseudonyms, such as native advertising and content marketing, but the proposition is the same: creating content that is native to the particular platform. In the USA, native advertising is a widely used form of advertising, but in Finland it is a new trend. Niipola (2015) says that, so far, native advertising has not created famous success cases in Finland.

In this research McQuail’s theory (2010) is as a theory source in addition to other literature about advertising influence. Shoemaker’s and Reese’s (1996; 2014) insights were applied to the research. Many literature sources deal with hard news and do not relate to lifestyle journalism. Different types of literature were matched together to make a clear understanding of this phenomenon called advertising influence.

The keywords used in this research are the following: lifestyle journalism, service journalism, influence over the media, outside influences, commercialization, advertising influence, advertisers' pressure, pressure groups, market-driven journalism, autonomy, native advertising, advertorial, sponsored content and online journalism.



## 1.1 Justification of the study

The importance of this research arises from the lack of attention dedicated to lifestyle magazines. Despite the important role that they have in many people's lives, scholars have neglected these magazines.

Magazines have an important role to play in our culture. They are, as almost everyone will readily admit, sources of pleasure for millions of readers and that alone gives them a cultural value. They are almost as readily granted an important role as informers and educators; anyone wanting to acquire more knowledge about carp fishing, fashion, steam railways, home decoration, the medical profession, local government, cross stitching, or practically anything else under the sun, can easily and relatively cheaply find or be directed to an appropriate magazine (Holmes 2007).

This research primarily focuses on advertising influence that lifestyle journalism has always been confronted with, because of its softer content, as well as its focus on the audience as consumers. Lifestyle journalism has often been accused of consumerism and market-orientation. Therefore, lifestyle magazine editors-in-chief can offer valuable insight on advertising influence.

This Masters' thesis is a part of the Transparency of New Forms of Media Advertising Online, a project funded by Helsingin Sanomat Säätiö. The project will continue until the end of 2015. The objective of the project is to study the transparency and ethics of media advertising online. The terms that will be used in the project are native advertising, branded journalism and sponsored content. This research will serve the projects' aspirations of delving into the advertiser's influence and the corresponding pressures faced by editors-in-chief of lifestyle magazines.

In previous studies, scholars have studied newspaper editors (Howland 1989; Soley and Craig 1992), newspaper writers (Hays and Reisner 1990), and network correspondents (Price 2003) about advertising pressures perceived by sales executives (An & Bergen 2007). Women's trade publications were studied and this research suggested a basic distinction between advertising and ideology-driven publications (Cunningham & Haley 2000). In addition, articles on women's and fashion pages of The New York Times (Fleetwood 1999). Strömback and Karlsson (2011) grouped empirical studies about the topic into editors' and reporters' surveys of attitudes, the perspectives of readers, surveys of the views of advertisers and newspaper's and magazines' policies.

There have been many studies about the advertiser's influence, but so far none of them focused on the perceptions of editors-in-chief in lifestyle journalism. Tuominen (2012) researched the different influence attempts in local newspapers by interviewing Finnish editors-in-chief. This study showed that editors confront influence attempts from inside and outside the newspapers. According to the study, part of the influence attempts are accepted when it is beneficial for the media outlet (Tuominen 2012). Tuominen's research brought some valid points and notions to this research as well. Advertising influence at the level of the editor-in-chief has not yet interested many researchers in Finland.

The online format of the lifestyle magazines has been included to the study as already the print magazines are entering the digital era. Strömbäck and Karlsson (2011) states that from a democratic as well as theoretical perspective, it is important to investigate whether the rise of new, interactive media technologies has empowered ordinary audience members and increased their influence over the media.

This research is conducted for the discipline of organizational communication and PR, therefore its viewpoint leans towards influence theory and research, although it may be taken into account that journalism research is part of influence theory.

## **1.2 Framework of the study**

The literature for the research is mainly gathered from news journalism sources, as lifestyle journalism has been marginally researched, as stated before. Firstly, definitions in the research must be specified. The term advertising influence goes by synonyms, such as advertiser's influence, advertising pressure and pressure groups.

The key definitions in the study are lifestyle journalism, advertiser's influence/advertising pressure and influence attempt. This issue will be treated from the perspective of lifestyle magazines, that Hanusch (2012, 4) says differs from other journalism practices by its strong market-orientation. Hanusch (2012, 2) says lifestyle magazines "primarily address its audiences as consumers". This journalistic field "provides factual information and advice, often in entertaining ways, about consumer goods and services they can use in their daily lives".

Journalism embraces advertising and this is not a new phenomenon, yet it still continues to interest scholars. Most of the definitions of advertising influence or pressure are very similar. DeLorme and Fedler (2005, 8) analyzed journalists' attitudes towards advertising influence over time. Particularly advertisers in magazines and newspapers dislike unfavorable or controversial stories and may withdraw advertisement over controversial publicity. Hamilton (2004) and McManus (2009) also agree that the common form of influence is advertisers threatening to pull out their advertisement over stories they do not like, but their demand for a bigger audience in segments they find particularly attractive is more common (Strömback & Karlsson 2011). Nyilase and Reid (2011) define influence attempt as "advertisers trying to include positive and exclude or manipulate negative stories".

The editorial content may or may not be influenced by the pressure of advertisers, but the overall editorial direction of magazines needs to take the profitability of editorial decisions into account which has a much more powerful influence (Koschat & Putsis 2001, 231).

For many magazines most of the revenue comes from advertisers who see magazine as providing an audience for commercial communication. Advertiser's economic leverage over magazines provides a potential opportunity to influence to the editorial process. In general newspapers have a higher number of percentages of editorial content whereas women's magazines have more advertisements. This has led to pragmatic considerations as publishers need to decide whether to publish editorial content with some advertising or a catalog containing advertisement with supplemental editorial content (Koschat & Putsis 2001, 216-217.)

Advertising influence needs a differentiated definition because the media is constantly changing and media outlets are entering the digital era. Cohen (2002, 533) stated that "in the case of the WWW, it is my argument that tensions between traditional news values of print and broadcast journalism and market values become more apparent. Therefore, these tensions should be conciliated with the pressure of online publishing.

Editors face continuous challenges economically and changing roles as the magazines have to compete for the audience's attention. Underwood (1993) has concluded that market-place pressures have led to a new kind of editor "a cross between an editor and marketing official" whose decision-making is influenced by corporate profit and marketing goals (Erjavec & Kovacic 2010, 95).

## 2 LIFESTYLE JOURNALISM

Lifestyle journalism has been investigated by few researchers, such as Hanusch (2012, 2013), Fürsich (2012), Kristensen & From (2011) and Li (2012).

### 2.1 Lifestyle journalism views readers as consumers

Lifestyle journalism came into existence in the 1950s and 1960's when newspapers began publishing special sections for travel, food and health as these topics usually lay outside the main focus (Hanusch, 2012). Cole (2005) says that lifestyle journalism was, in fact, formed because the amount of journalism content became larger due to technological innovations, therefore, these pages needed to be filled somehow (Hanusch 2012, 2). Most newspapers have a special section for lifestyle (Erjavec et al. 2010, 96).

Delorme and Fedler (2013) say that softening stories have been continuing since the mid-1900 as from then on newspapers published special sections for advertisements which were hard to distinguish from editorial content. Weekly and less regular sections contained "softer" topics such as real estate, cars, travel, entertainment, holidays and gardening. Fürsich (2012, 12) argues that for decades we have undergone "an increasing softening and tabloidization of journalism away from hard news tradition that blur the boundaries between information and entertainment".

Soft news stories were rarely critical (Delorme & Fedler 2013, 16.) One needs to know that entertainment is a big part of lifestyle journalism and some researchers say this type of journalism is never critical. Some scholars actually

claim that hard news and soft news are not far apart. Hanusch (2010) claims that news organizations are increasingly going soft.

What is the difference then between hard news and soft news? Reinemann et. al. (2011) says there is no consensus on what soft and hard news is. Moreover, "the concept has not been clearly differentiated from or systematically related to concepts addressing very similar phenomena; tabloidization and 'infotainment'". Cohen (2006) define soft and hard news as follows (Reinemann et. al. 2011, 224).

Hard news items are urgent occurrences that have to be reported right away because they become obsolete very quickly. These items are truly 'new' (...). Soft news items (...) are usually based on nonscheduled events. The reporter or media organization is under no pressure to publish the news at a certain date or time - soft news stories need not be 'timely'.

Lifestyle journalism can be defined as popular, service or consumer journalism, but experts believe it needs a differentiated assessment. Hanusch (2012) defines lifestyle journalism as a broad range of subcategories such as finance, fashion, arts, culture, travel, health, fitness, gardening and interior design. Kristensen and From (2011) make a distinction between lifestyle journalism, consumer and cultural journalism. In their opinion lifestyle journalism represents issues like fashion, food and psychology, cultural journalism about movies, theatre and music, whilst consumer journalism covers issues such as travel, technology and cars.

Indeed, lifestyle journalism views its audience as consumers providing factual information and advice often in entertaining ways (Hanusch 2013, 401). Fürsich (2012, 15) addresses differences of lifestyle journalism from the traditional news journalism point of view. New professional news practices are ethics, objectivity, authenticity, as well as a rational and critical perspective. Lifestyle journalists receive criticism against the profession about its problematically-close connection towards commercial influences (Fürsich 2012, 15).

Lifestyle journalism provides news to use. Usher (2012, 113) interviewed service journalists who considered themselves as serious journalists committed to serve their public by making people understand their choices as consumers. In contrast, Zelizer (2011) disclaims, that market-driven journalism and soft news are not entitled to be called journalism. Furthermore this "soft

news" is blurring the boundaries of editorial and advertising content (Kristensen & From 2011, 26-27).

McNair (1998, 9) consider journalism as "an account of the existing real world as appropriated by the journalist and processed in accordance with the particular requirements of the journalistic medium through which it will be disseminated to some section of the public" (Hanusch 2012, 4). Hardt (1996, 3) points out that editors have removed the traditional barriers between editorial and marketing departments, and non-advertising space has been turned into soft news and features.

## 2.2 Commercialism and market-driven journalism

Lifestyle journalism can have different synonyms, such as soft news, service journalism and consumer journalism. Market-driven journalism can be understood as being part of this same category. It can be hard to distinguish lifestyle journalism from service journalism (Hanusch 2012, 4). People who work in hard news have always criticized that lifestyle journalism is much closer to market-driven journalism and public relations (Hanusch 2012, 5).

In China, lifestyle magazines are regarded as "the cutting edge of the consumer magazine market" (Li 2012, 122). From and Kristensen (2012) recognize that the boundaries between lifestyle, cultural and consumer journalism are blurring. Erjavec (2004, 554) introduced a new term, promotional news, which seeks to influence audiences in commercial benefits. Promotional journalism can be categorized as market-journalism. The softer side of business journalism, called service journalism can be seen as an umbrella term (Usher 2012). Usher (2012) also refers to Eide and Knight (1999, 527) commenting that service journalism "represents the development of a hybrid social identity - part citizen, part consumer, part client- that is oriented to resolving the problems of everyday life". Usher's (2012, 113) research saw that most journalists that divorced from the product that happened to be advertised in their section, and in fact, viewed their role to act as advocate for consumers in a world of ads. "This suggests that service journalism reflects the ideals of journalism in the public interest". Hardt (1996), McManus (1994) and Underwood (1993) all agree that 'commercialization dictates its nature and prescribes the limits of public interest'.

Commercialization is a trend which is influenced by profitability and efficiency. In this regard editorial content is more influenced by economic principles than journalistic quality. Therefore, there is the risk that publications and media companies will make strategic decisions based on the demands of the advertising industry (Porlezza 2009, 3). In fact, some daily newspapers see commercialization as a key to survive in the media market (Erjavec 2004, 573). In addition to this, commercialization has always been integrated with journalism (Hanusch 2012, 6).

### **2.3 Finnish magazine industry**

According to the Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association (2013) define that magazine can be a print paper, an online publication or anything in terms of its size. The Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association also notes that magazines do not aim to primarily feature business bulletins, price lists, announcements or advertising. The Finnish Audit Bureau of Circulations (2013) report that the biggest magazine groups by magazine circulations in 2012 are consumer magazines with 58 per cent, customer magazine with 16 per cent and professional & membership magazines with 26 per cent (Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association, 2013).

Consumer magazines can also be defined as lifestyle magazines. The Finnish Audit Bureau of Circulations (2013) grouped the most popular consumer magazines with women's magazines (2550203), family & general interest magazines (1574773) and living, building & gardening magazines (Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association, 2013).

Jyrkiäinen (2007) remarks, that Finland is industrially highly developed and a technologically advanced country where magazines are the second largest group by sales volume. The National Library of Finland (2013) stated that the magazine titles by frequency was 4594 in 2012 (Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association, 2013). Surprisingly, newspapers have launched more lifestyle and entertainment supplements in magazine format (Jyrkiäinen 2007, 97-107).

Finnish magazines and print media in general is fighting to stay in the market, but this phenomenon exists everywhere in the world due to the financial instability. Large media organizations constantly lay off people. Some print magazines have entered the digital age and are creating online content

and implementing digital strategies. Statistics of Finland (2012) say most newspapers update online versions and 60 per cent of internet users read online versions. Fortunati's et.al. (2009) researched internet journalism and concluded that in Sweden and Finland newspaper markets are strong in terms of subscriptions and copies sold. Scandinavian households have a high number of Internet connections and the number of online readers is rising constantly (Fortunati et al. 2009, 938). Statistics of Finland (2014) also agree that Finland is still an exceptionally subscriber-dominated country. This applies to newspapers and magazines.

According to the Finnish Advertising Council, TNS Gallup (2013) media advertising sales shares were mostly for television, magazines (10,8 %) and online (17,8 %). Also Mainonnan Neuvottelukunta, TNS Gallup (2013) show that magazine advertising shares have decreased from 2003, when it was 16,6 %, to 10,8 % in 2012 (Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association, 2013). The Finnish Advertising Council also showed that the attitude towards advertising in magazines is 75 positive and 25 per cent negative. Surprisingly, the attitude towards advertising online was only 35 positive, then 65 per cent negative. (Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association, 2013)

KMT Kuluttaja (2013) conducted a survey about magazine advertising influence by interviewing 8577 readers in Finland in order to measure the success of advertising and the perceptions about magazine advertising in general. The survey reinforces the fact that readers find advertising an interesting part of magazines. 55 % of the respondents fully or agreed that advertisements provide good knowledge about products and services and 40 % fully agreed that they are an interesting part of the magazines' content. The respondents also found magazine ads as a good way to find information about new products, 63 % fully agreed that they become familiar with new products through magazine ads, moreover, 53 % fully agreed that magazine ads highlight what is in fashion and trendy. The effectiveness of magazine ads is still controversial as only 12 % fully agree that magazine ads make them purchase the products (Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association, 2013).



### 3 INFLUENCES

This chapter will explain the influence over media according to mass communication theories. Denis McQuail (2010), Shoemaker and Reese (2014) have created influential theories about the matter, but these theories focus mainly on news organizations. Consequently, the models created for news organizations will be applied to fit lifestyle journalism. In addition, these theories have been applied to media sociology perspective. However, outside influence, such as advertising influence can be separated from the theories.

#### 3.1 Multiple sources of influence

In influence theory, the most important factor is which factors affect media content and recognizing the different inside and outside influences. Hanitzsch et.al. (2010) acknowledge that journalists' work is influenced by multiple sources of influence.

The levels, such as the individual level, originate from professional backgrounds, orientations, roles and occupational characteristics of the news media. These factors matter as journalists constantly have to make perceptual decisions. The routine level generates forces that have routinely been investigated, gathering and content presentation. Limited resources can affect these matters. Several scholars view journalism as an organizational phenomenon, thus relevant resources are editorial coordinating, decision making, structures, newsroom conventions, advertisement considerations (Hanitzsch, et. al. 2010.)

The media structure level is valid in commercial news organizations as it refers to commercial news organizations. News production is a high cost production, therefore economic considerations have a huge effect. The last level is the systematic level, which includes political and legal conditions of news making that are social, cultural and ideological contexts as well as the political and legal conditions of news making (Hanitzsch, et. al. 2010, 8).

Hanitzsch et al. (2010, 15) mention six domains: political, economic, organizational, professional and procedural influence, as well as reference groups. From these groups organizational, professional and procedural influences alter more limits on journalists' work than political and economic influences.

Organizational influences mean that “the organizational domain includes sources of influence that stem from multiple levels: from within the newsroom (supervisors and higher editors) and from within the media organization (management and ownership)”. Procedural influences are operational constraints in short; they mean money and time resources. Professional influences include policies, conventions and customs, journalism practice, also how the media laws belong to this cluster (Hanitzsch et al. 2010).

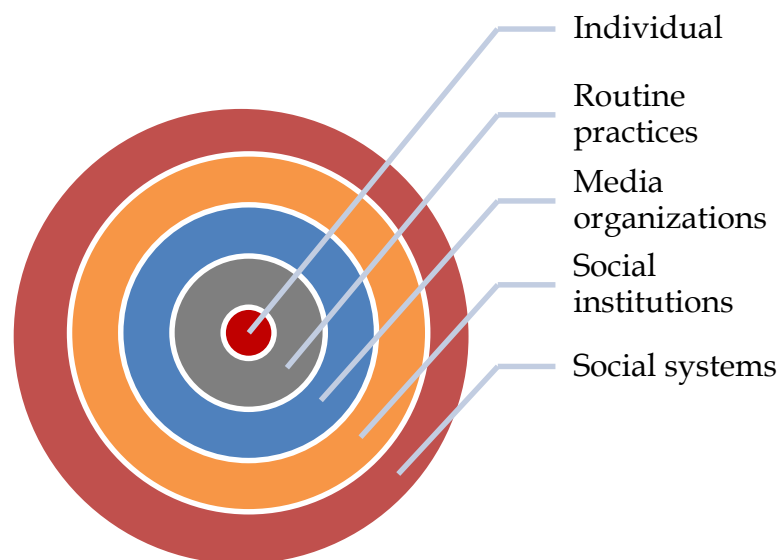
A reference group refers to professional influence, such as an audience and friends. Economic influences refer to profit-oriented organizations and among these influences there are profit expectations of media companies, as well as the advertisers' needs in the news making process. Political influences originate from political contexts, but it is somewhat interesting that the business people seem to belong to this component as well. The business people such as lobbyists and entrepreneurs usually represent business interests in economic policymaking and their influence refers to general interests and trade, that commonly negotiated in the political “world”. Professional influences include cultural conventions, referring to the media laws as well. They are mainly focused on the practical consequences of journalism work which is already in the conventional model of good practice in journalism (Hanitzsch et al. 2010.)

### **3.2 Shoemaker's & Reese's influences and McQuail's theory**

Shoemaker and Reese (2014) created a hierarchical model to explain the influences. The five levels of analysis are individuals, routine practices, media organizations, social institutions and social systems.

At the center is the micro, individual level that includes the attitude and background of the journalist. The next level is routine practices, meaning journalistic practices and patterns in which the individual operates. The third level, media organizations refers to occupational roles, goals, structures and control. The fourth level, social institutions describe the influences arising from the larger trans-organizational media field. The final level is social systems at the macro level, as the influences on content from the system as a whole (Shoemaker & Reese 2014, 8-9) (see figure 1).

FIGURE 1. The Hierarchy of Influences Model uses five levels of analysis (Shoemaker & Reese 2014, 9).



Schoemaker and Reese (1991) identified factors where content reflects social reality, where the content is influenced by media-workers' socialization and attitudes, and those are influenced by media-organizational routines, social institutions and forces outside the media (McQuail 2010, 277.) Shoemaker and Reese since then updated their media sociology perspective for the 21st century. In the newest theory they have proposed important distinctions between levels of analysis, as well locating individuals within the web of organizational and ideological constraints.

Media organizations are fundamentally different in the 21<sup>st</sup> century than they were in the previous centuries. Each technological change made its mark on the content, for example magazines survived the invention of the radio and television. This created the change that small-circulation magazines were targeted at specific audiences. Internet communication and its

diffusion have changed the media organization as well as its content (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, 130-131.)

Shoemaker and Reese (2014, 134-135) also point out that one can still purchase magazines and newspapers as some media organizations have not changed, in term of entering entirely to the digital era. It is important to acknowledge that media organizations interact in varying ways. Shoemaker and Reese (2014, 136) say that by "organization's characteristics we mean organization's traits and properties. Other characteristics of media organization include ownership, roles, structure profitability, platform, target audience, influence from advertisers and market competition".

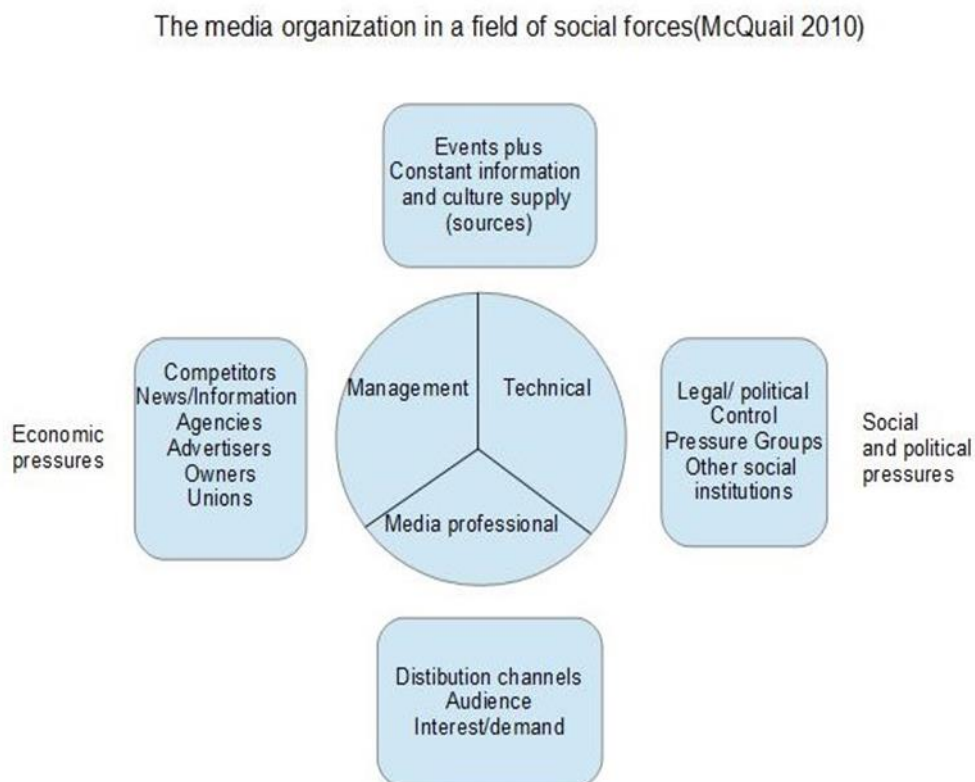
Shoemaker and Vos (2009, 139-140) point out that the primary goal of organizations, is to make profit and only in very unusual cases does the owner choose to make the economic goal secondary. Bagdikian (2004) for example say that online news sites are increasingly dependent on advertising revenue. Indirect influence may have impacts on editorial decisions, says Sigal (1973) and Gans (1979) (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Shoemaker and Reese (2014) question the term indirect pressure as "classic 20<sup>th</sup> century news organizations put up a structural barrier between employees responsible for content and those responsible for profitability".

Denis McQuail's theory is widely known among the mass communication studies and it has been influential among scholars. McQuail (2010, 219) draws three overlapping influences. In the center are media institutions and the overlapping circles are economics, politics and technology. McQuail's (2010) model consists of five levels: individual/role, organization and medium industry/institution as well as societal and international levels. Other researchers often prefer to define three levels as individual, organizational and institution.

McQuail (2010, 276-277) takes a media-centric approach instead of a society-centric approach and notes that this might lead in to "an over-estimation of the significance of organizational influences on content". Organizational routines, practices and goals have systematically more influence on content. Shoemaker and Reese (2014, 130) determine the organizational influences to be tied more to certain media organizations which have also changed because of technology. Turow (1984) points out that media organization compete with audiences and advertising revenue (Shoemaker and Reese 2014).

McQuail's (2010, 281) representation of media organization in a field of forces is mainly derived from research on news media, but the picture would be the same in self-contained and multipurpose media. McQuail (2010) points out that the pressures and demands are not necessarily constraining on media organizations. Some can provide sources of income and therefore act as sources of liberation. Also some forces can cancel or balance each other, "such as audience's support against advertiser pressure or media institutional prestige against external institution or source pressure". Actually, lack of external pressure would probably show social marginality or insignificance (see figure 2).

FIGURE 2. The media organization in a field of social forces (McQuail 2010, 281).



### 3.2.1 Pressure groups influencing organizations

McQuail (2010) states that pressure groups try to influence media organizations, especially by trying to limit what they publish. Shoemaker and Reese (1991) note that the examples of these established bodies can be political

bodies; religious groups, occupational groups and lobbying groups, for example who lobby for matters of morality (McQuail 2010, 290). The media is cautious when handling these pressures and reluctant in reducing their autonomy, therefore the pressures tend to cancel each other out. Nevertheless, evidence shows that outside agencies are successful in influencing the content (McQuail 2010).

Montgomery's (1989, 217) research showed, that the most effective advocacy groups "were those whose goals were most compatible with the TV network system and whose strategies were fashioned with a keen sense of how that system functioned". Hard news is less open to external pressures (McQuail 2010, 290.) Analysis by Shoemaker and Reese (1991) shows that media companies have the greatest control. McManus (1994; 1995) theorized that news is a result of an elaborate compromise among powerful market-driven influences outside the Newsroom (McQuail 2010, 293).

Tucman (1978) says that unacceptable pressure is hard to distinguish. Generally the media wants to please the audience and advertisers, whilst also trying not to hurt minorities as they are cautious of legal reprisal (McQuail 2010, 290). Strömbäck and Karlsson (2011, 645) note that investors and advertisers are perceived as the most influential groups according to media economics literature. McManus (1994, 197) phrase that to think of rational market journalism truly as reader-driven is naïve because it must serve the market for investors, advertisers and powerful sources often at expense of the readers and viewers.

Media organizations' autonomy is the central issue, when talking about the owners or economic agencies, especially those who provide operating funds such as investors, advertisers and sponsors. Althull (1984) claims influence over content is typical in news media and serves the interests of those who finance the press. This principle is also fairly clear with the principles of free press theory in its market version. Market-based media owners have power over the content and they can say, what will be left out and included. Schultz's (1998) study recognized that commercial considerations and owner pressure resulted compromises. Editors in newspapers were reluctant to admit that proprietors had an influence on the content (McQuail 2010, 291.)

Giffard (1989) highlights that media has become too big of a business to run by personal whim. The decisions are made on the grounds of managerial and market considerations (McQuail 2010, 292.) McQuail (2010) says there is an ongoing discussion about media being financed by advertising industry:

“it is obvious that the structure of much of the mass-media industry in the most capitalistic countries reflect the interests of advertisers”. The normal influence means that the media content patterns match the consumption patterns of targeted audiences. In that case media design, layout and scheduling often reflect advertiser’s interests.

McQuail (2010) says “what is less easy to demonstrate is that particular advertisers can directly intervene to influence significant publication decisions in their own interests, beyond what is already provided for in the system”. Baker (1994) observes that advertisers are the primary censors of the media content in the U.S.A. today. The evidence shows that advertisers have tried to block communication that damages their interests. “Advertiser pressure influences personnel as well as editorial decisions in the media”. Influences come in the forms of product placement, providing promotional material and sponsoring etc. (McQuail 2010, 292.)

Bogart (1995, 293) used five key points to summarize the influence of advertising. Advertisers are more likely to suppress news they do not like instead of favorable content. They have sensitivity towards the environment for their messages and are edgy about the controversy. Media producers turn to self-censorship when advertisers yield to vigilante pressure. In broadcast programs advertisers shape the content, “the virtual end of local press competition shows how advertisers determine the life and death of media”. (McQuail 2010, 293.)

Gans (1979) argues that the economically strong and elite media are the best in resisting undue pressure. Picard (2004) makes a clear point “media organizations most likely to be influenced by advertiser pressure are those “whose sole or overwhelming source of revenue is advertising, especially where the competition is heavy”. “But the same is true of media that are supported by varied balanced sources of revenue (such as subscriber payments as well as advertisers, or in Europe especially broadcast license revenue plus advertising income”. (McQuail 2010, 293.)

### **3.3 Advertising influence**

Nyilasy and Reid (2011) claim that advertiser pressure creates a serious threat to “consumer interests and, as such, is a key advertising-ethics issue”. They also claim that advertisers manipulate editorial content and that this influence “is not acknowledged – consumers are deceived in their search for

reliable product information". Howland's (1989) survey reported in Folio, that editors saw that ad revenue is a more profitable source of revenue than circulation. 40 percent of the editors had been advised by publisher or advertising director to do something that they believed significantly compromised editorial work.

De Smet and Vanomelingen (2011) note that several models have been set up to explain advertiser influence. Their survey was conducted among Belgian newspaper journalists to investigate whether advertisers steer newspaper content, either directly or indirectly.

Firstly, we asked whether journalists think it is important for the editor in chief to maintain good relations with the advertisers. The percentage of journalists that (strongly) agreed with the statement was the same as the percentage that disagreed. Obviously, this does not imply that journalists think these good relations should cause higher coverage. When asked whether advertisers receive as much attention in the newspaper as non-advertisers, over 60% of the journalists thought that no advertising bias existed at all. However, still 20.8% (strongly) disagreed with the statement and thought advertisers are mentioned more than non-advertisers. (De Smet & Vanormelingen 2011, 7).

Fedler and Delorme (2005, 8) focus on print media and they looked at whether advertiser's influence can take different forms. Unfavorable and controversial articles which are disliked by advertisers can cause problems that affect magazines and newspapers. Ellman and Germano (2009) found that the revenues from the advertisers' side are bigger than those from the reader side. Porlezza (2009) notes that advertising pressure can lead to blurred lines between editorial content and advertising, thereby making advertising hybrid forms, such as marketing journalism, cross promotion and target group reporting.

An and Berger (2007) also conclude that the line between news and advertising continues to blur. Their study observed the trouble with the Los Angeles Times advertising encroaching into news content that may not be an isolated incident. A present survey found frequent conflicts between the business side and journalism. This scenario indicates a practice of engrained favoritism towards newspaper's own advertisers by interviewing them as experts and excluding the ones who do not advertise in the paper (An and Berger 2007, 118.)

Porlezza (2009) used the Chinese wall as metaphor as it might demolish the editorial and commercial content. Media markets are changing and that can be seen in the changes of the structures of the media market. A growing number of media mergers and investors from outside the media sector are



beginning to interfere with the editorial production process by modifying the general conditions. These factors, that come from outside the media can also converge together in the process. The organizational level of media companies have rising concerns about the economical side within the editorial production process and in the published content. Journalistic routines are constantly influenced by economic conditions (Porlezza 2009, 2.)

### 3.3.1 Advertising influence types

The survey of Nyilase and Reid (2011) also identified facets for the advertising influence phenomenon. One is influence attempts where advertisers are trying to include positive and exclude or manipulate negative stories. Second is economic pressure either the threat to withdraw or actually withdrawing advertising from the medium. Third is acquiescence which means "the extent to which newspapers cede to advertiser pressure though complying to overt influence attempts, internalizing the pressure and self-censorship". (Nyilase & Reid 2011, 540.) Lazare (1989) says media can also run content that is specifically meant to draw advertisers, for instance Vanity Fair that turned around the magazine by running stories on the magazine's major advertisers after 1984 economic slump (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996.)

To understand the theory from the advertiser's perspective, Shoemaker and Reese (1996, 181) identified advertiser's tactics. Commercial mass media receives income from advertising income, therefore the bigger the advertiser is, the more considerable power it has. Advertisers want to target audiences by finding the best audience for their products. An even more efficient method of delivering ads, is where advertisers tailor an edition so that the "ads go to those readers who are likely to buy the advertised product". Herbert Gans (1979) and Leon Sigal (1986) view economic considerations as constraints on news work and, thus, as indirect influences on editorial decisions. News workers find it hard to relate audience demand and advertising revenue to the nature and quality of news coverage" (Shoemaker & Reese 1996). Knecht (1997) found that the Chryslers Corporation demanded to be alerted of any editorial content that might harm the company.

Hanusch (2012, 7) says that advertisers support eases the costs of news outlets which makes lifestyle journalism profitable and the management to be more supportive towards this, as not many magazines can afford to finance trips for travel sections or pay reviewed gadgets.

One of the outcomes of advertisers influence on journalism is favorable coverage. Seib and Fitzpatrick (1997) note that marketing and editorial departments function separately but the influence of advertisers can be seen in different forms such as "control over editorial content; biased editorial opinions in favor of the advertiser's position; limited or lack of coverage of controversial topics that would reflect negatively on advertisers; positive coverage of the advertisers products and services; and blurred lines between advertising and editorial content" (Erjavec et al. 2010, 96.)

The battle with advertisers is not seen by the public therefore the public needs to know when editorial content is actually commercial communication or it has been leveraged by advertisers steering the content. There is a lot of proof that journalists and editors undergo discussions with advertisers and that undoubtedly there is pressure from advertisers. Delorme and Fedler (2005) found that business journalists who write critical stories have become even more concerned about the advertisers who have been known to pull advertising over unfavorable coverage.

According to this historical analysis they found that editors and reporters would not get their paychecks without the revenue generated by the selling of ads (Delorme & Fedler 2005, 10). Editors will have to answer questions about favorable coverage of their magazines advertisers. Delorme and Fedler (2005) state that favorable stories called 'puffs' reduce newspaper's revenue.

### **3.3.2 Public relations' influence**

Advertising agencies are losing market share to PR, therefore this is an important subject to cover in the influence theory. Yet, the media field often narrowly understand the public relations as "the simple mailing", it is more than that. Brunner (2008) says relationship is a much used term in public relations, but is often a mysterious definition and many PR practitioners actually refuse to define it. Kreps (1986) defined "the ongoing management of communication relationships among organizations that share an inter-organizational field". Huang's (1997) definition focused on the relationships in public relations "the goal of public relations not only includes the dissemination of information, but also involves facilitating mutual understanding and resolving conflicts between an organization and its publics" (Brunner 2008, 154).

Public relations practitioners are primarily a source of information to the press. The analysis determines five reasons for editors and journalists using PR sources: accessibility of information, journalistic routine practice and

news values as well as economic, political, cultural and ideological pressures of PR sources, the employment status of journalists, lack of human resources in editorial offices and time pressure, journalists' and editors' personal motive. The editors and journalists use public relation sources as they are easily edited into articles, therefore it is possible to create an article in less time and with less effort (Erjavec 2005, 160-163.)

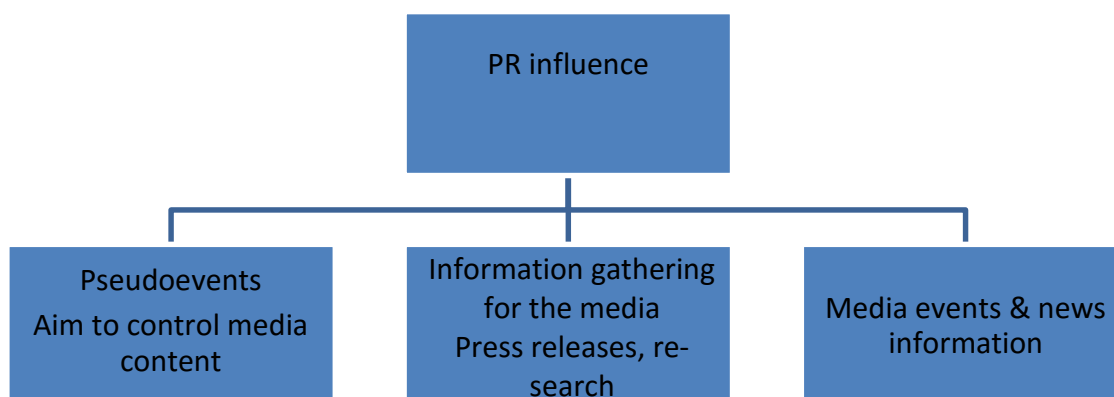
Travel journalism is lifestyle journalism and public relations is a significant part of reporting about travel. Hanusch (2012) says that PR literature has rarely addressed the relationship between tourism PR and travel journalism despite the importance in modifying travel journalists' reporting. Groundwater (2009) notes that the travel industry itself suffers from a perceived lack of credibility in the eyes of journalism profession due to its reliance on the tourism and subsidized travel (Hanusch 2012, 70).

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) say that in commercial media, "audiences are important only because their attention can be sold to advertisers". Advertisers often tell the media what they think and how their content should be altered. Public relations practitioners and other interest groups provide the media with event information to cover. Advertisers often tell the media their views including how their content should be altered (Shoemaker & Reese 1996.)

Public relations is part of media content in increasing ways. Witschge and Nygren (2009, 38) conclude that journalists produce three times as much copy than they did twenty years ago. The researchers found, that 60 percent of press articles and 34 percent of broadsheet stories come fully or mainly from prepackaged sources. In consequence, recycling and regurgitating PR and wire material is more prevalent.

Public relations practitioners have various ways of influencing. Erjavec (2004) said that the selection of events is also a handy tactic used by advertisers, as the press is usually also invited to pseudo-events which have no rational meaning and are unreal events. These events are usually press conferences which would not be covered without an order because of the 'little information available for a small circle of readers'. The second event group is promotional events that of course have a promotional purpose, therefore they can be events such as business meetings, competitions and sponsorship events. The difference between pseudo and promotional events is that certain journalists are only invited to the last one (Erjavec 2004, 560.) Shoemaker & Reese (1996) identified several ways in which public relations influence media content (see figure 3).

FIGURE 3. PR influence attempts according to Shoemaker' & Reese' theory (1996).



### 3.4 Summary of the influence theories

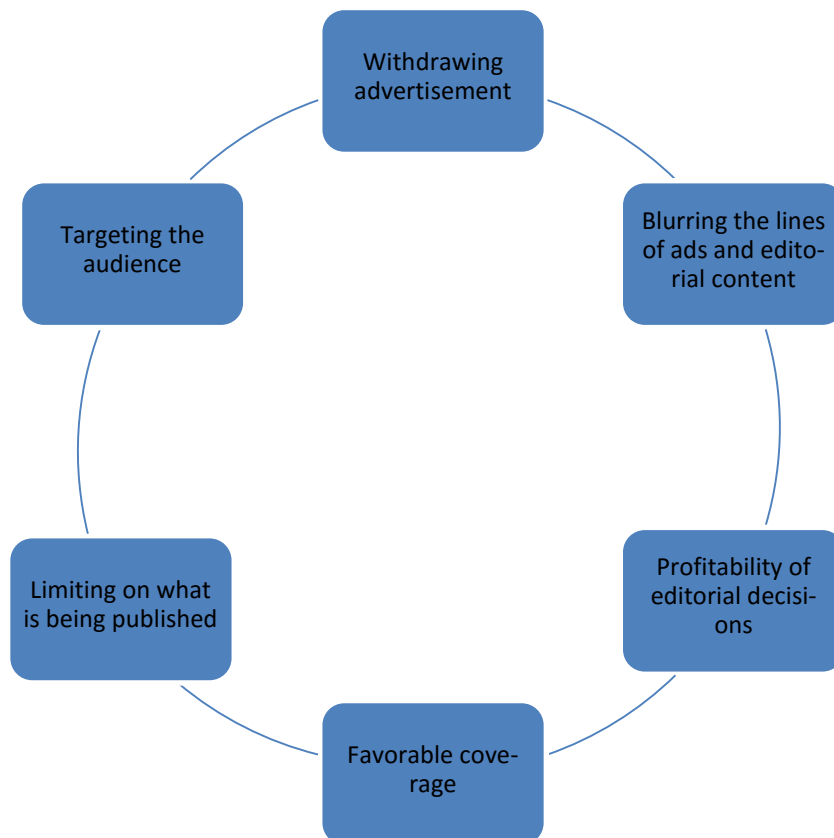
To summarize the theories, the Shoemaker and Reese (2014), McQuail (2010), Hanitzsch et al. (2010) models divided advertising influence in different ways (see table 4). Other theories combined them to give an understanding of the phenomenon. To summarize all theories, a figure was created to categorize different advertising influence attempts (see figure 5). This figure shows the most common advertising influence according to the literature.

TABLE 4. Review of the theories (Shoemaker and Reese 2014; McQuail 2010; Hanitzsch et al. 2010).

ADVERTISING INFLUENCE CONCEPTS
<p>“Media organization characteristics include ownership, roles, structure profitability, platform, target audience, influence from advertisers and market competition”(Shoemaker &amp; Reese 2014).</p>
<p>Economic influences refer to profit-oriented organizations and among these influences there are profit expectations of media companies, as well as the advertisers' needs in the news making process ( Hanitzsch et.al 2010).</p>

Pressure groups limit on what is being published: The media is cautious when handling these pressures and reluctant in reducing their autonomy, therefore the pressures tend to cancel each other out (McQuail 2010).

FIGURE 5. Summary of the main advertising influence types, according to the literature.



## 4 EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S INFLUENCE

Editors-in-chief have the ultimate leverage and influence over content. Whilst this research does not concern editor-in-chief influence, nevertheless it is important to cover.

### 4.1 Editor's responsibility and leverage

The editor-in-chief has power over the publication content and editorial decisions. The decision power also affects advertisements and announcements. The power of the editors-in-chief over decisions is regulated in the law of Finland, freedom of speech fourth article by stating that "the editor-in-chief's role is to manage and supervise the editorial work, decide the content of the magazine publication, online publication or program, as well guard the after assignments regulated in this law". Instead of using the word ruling, the word was softened into deciding. Despite this, the power over content is unquestionable (Uimonen 2009.)

The power of the editors-in-chief has grown and many Finnish magazine editor-in-chiefs are now in charge of many magazines at the same time. The phenomenon of more work, less positions applies to magazine journalism as well (Salomaa 2014). Finnish editors' responsibility has grown and there is 'more cooperation, less editors-in-chief'. The next step might be a consolidated corporation editor-in-chief model where one person is responsible for the whole finance and editorial content. There are already newspapers and magazines trying out this model (Salomaa 2014).

It is obvious that journalists and editors have influence over media content because their role is at the core of news production processes (Karlsson and Strömback (2011, 644).

Undoubtedly, editors-in-chief have the power over editorial content in the magazines. On top of that, they are usually the directors of the staff such as freelancers and journalists. Editor-in-chiefs are strategic leaders as well as journalists many times. They can sometimes view themselves as more journalists or managers of the company, or try to find the balance between these roles.

## **4.2 Autonomy and ethics of journalism**

Journalists' autonomy alerts protect them from certain external influences such as politics and business influences. That can still leave them pretty defenseless against organizational forces. Many journalists find economic and political influences to be less important. Although the political and economic factors may be less noticeable in news work because of the ability of organizational and procedural influences to mask them, they still have a stronger grip on everyday practice of journalists' (Hanitzsch et. al. 2010, 17.)

Witschge and Nygren (2009, 48) claim, that financial motives are stronger now than ten years ago, according to their survey in Sweden. Nowadays newsroom editors talk about eyeballs, target groups and the portfolio offered to the advertisers. Advertising departments and journalism are connected more and more as "everything is done to defend the position of the advertising market".

Peeler and Guthrie (2007, 352) say that nowadays self-regulation is challenging because of the difficulty of monitoring new media and the difficulty in distinguishing advertising content when it is placed within regular content. Guidelines are useful, of course, but they "need to be backed up by strong self-regulatory action if the practices cross the line". The blurring of advertising and editorial content, in particular, has led to numerous governmental and self-regulatory actions for the advertising industry (Peeler & Guthrie 2007, 350-351.)

The Code of Ethics (1996) in the U.S.A. suggests that journalists should refuse gifts, fees, free travel and any special treatment, because it might harm

the objective reporting. But it is in the journalists' control to make ethical decisions." For example, journalists are obliged to deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage." In order to avoid the ethical breach, one can wonder if the owning company must deny itself benefits, therefore revenues from advertisers (McManus 1997, 8.) In Finland 'Guidelines for journalists' gives the same type of guidance. One must add that they guidelines also make a remark about hybrid messages "there must be a clear demarcation kept between advertising and editorial content. Hidden advertising must be avoided" (The Council for Mass Media, 2014).

Beam (1990) surveyed newspaper editors and found out that "professional autonomy makes more sense considered as an organization level, rather than individual level, variable". Fink (1995) on the other hand conducted that "either you and the hand that feeds you agree on ethics in reporting and writing, or you (not your editor) will be a very unhappy employer unemployed" (McManus 1997, 11.)



## 5 THE DIGITAL ERA AND ADVERTISING

This study examines the editors-in-chief perceptions also about future perspectives, such as digital magazines. One of the forms of advertising influence is hybrid forms, where advertising and journalism are mixed together. These new ways of advertising are sponsored content and native advertising. Below, they will be further explained.

### 5.1 Blurring editorial and advertising boundaries

Scott (2005) argues that digital journalism will somehow become even more disconnected from the old print and broadcast news if the economical and professional conditions prevail in the industry. Cohen (2004) believes "that online media is especially likely to follow the market-driven model (McQuail 2014, 294.) The digital age has brought new challenges. Scott (2005, 90) notes that journalism is in crisis, moreover the Internet has brought up the blurred distinctions between editorial and advertising content which is caused by economic considerations and the more saleable trend. "In the clutter of advertiser-friendly infotainment, the complexities of serious political coverage are often subordinated to entertainment values and squeezed to the margins—where they are more easily shaped into predictably shallow and homogeneous forms privileging image over issue (Scott 2005, 95).

Cohen (2010, 541) agrees that in online journalism the blurring of the editorial content and commercial content seems to be a growing practice. Also online journalism outlets use different layouts, such as banners, links to other organizations and media as well as search engines that can explore in or outside the website.

Peeler and Guthrie (2007, 352) say that nowadays self-regulation is challenging because of the difficulty in monitoring new media and in distinguishing advertising content when it is placed. Guidelines are useful, of course, but they "need to be backed up by strong self-regulatory action if the practices cross the line". The blurring of advertising and editorial content in particular has led to numerous governmental and self-regulatory actions for the advertising industry (Peeler & Guthrie 2007, 350-351).

### 5.1.1 Advertorials in print magazines

Advertorials are the 'old' form of mixing editorial content and advertising. In terms of advertiser's influence this raises concerns among editors-in-chief about the objectivity and might be a threat towards the autonomy. Advertorials are yet published in print media, but their use and labeling differs in magazines.

Sonderman and Tran (2013) said that advertorials seek to present advertisement as editorial content and let the reader know about the brand involvement. It is still not very transparent in all the magazines, but Sonderman and Tran (2013) see also that advertorials borrow the credibility of editorial content and indeed advertorials are the oldest form of content marketing.

Van Reijmersdal et.al. (2005) note that advertorials' typeface and layout mimic the magazine's editorial style where the advertorial is placed. Stout et.al. (1989) make a similar definition of advertorial as "those advertiser paid blocks that combine clearly identifiable advertising with simulated editorial text." Andersson (1995, 25) says "advertorials, like commercial copy, are designed to camouflage their commercial identity and capitalize on the public's trust in journalistic integrity" (Cohen 2010, 535).

Cameron and Curtin (1995) call the advertorials information polluters as print media has unwritten rules about advertisement labeling. Feature advertising means special advertising features and advertorials "single items for inserted sections". Stout et. al (1989) state that advertorials have been the fastest media trends since the 1980's. Advertorials can be an "issue advocacy advertisement that is designed to influence the citizen opinion". This is what Cooper and Nownes (2004) came up with when they researched after examining ExxonMobil advertorials published on the pages of the New York Times.

Transparency becomes an issue when talking about advertorials and content marketing. How does a reader distinguish advertisements from editorial content? Finnish Periodical Publishers' Association has made guidelines for the usage of advertorials as editorial simulating advertisements should state "advertisement" in a clearly distinguishable way (Mainonnan Neuvotteelukunta, 2014). In fact, new guidelines were made in order to distinguish online advertising, therefore newspapers would start using the word 'advertisement' instead the old term 'notification' that in Finnish have different meanings (Finnish Council for Mass Media, 2015).

Cameron et.al. (1995) found frequent violations of the American Society of Magazine Editors on their usage of advertorials. The violations were present in the labeling as one third of the magazines were not labeled at all and most of them did not use the recommended label on each page (Cameron et al. 1995, 723).

As Cohen (2002) and many others have said, in newspapers the advertorial is labeled as advertorial or advertisement. Also many scholars have seen how ineffective all the guidelines can be as the media seem to neglect or interpret them in different ways. Cohen (2002, 545) notes that there needs to be future research about which standards journalism should meet to be non-commercial. They need to provide un-supplemental editorial content. Non-commercial journalistic efforts should be determined and from this it can be discovered "how online journalism routines may be influenced by market forces".

Erjavec and Kovacic (2010, 93-94) write that state-owned companies are the biggest advertisers in Slovenia and they are referred as the new advertising gatekeepers. This term comes from the fact that "advertising money is often distributed according to the political loyalty of the media". Favorable coverage is used as advertisers will not want to advertise in the media if the media does not write as they want. In the small media and advertising markets this kind of extortion is effective as each advertisement cancellation of advertisement causes huge financial problems for the newspaper. It can also be seen in the way advertorials are developed as a result of illegitimate forms of communication and noncritical reporting (Erjavec and Kovacic 2010, 93-94.)

Erjavec et al. (2004, 103-104) conclude in their research that advertisers are the key factors in determining content as they are the initiators of the practice. Also they define the form of the publication to achieve financial goals. Erjavec et al. (2004) conclude that marketing agents as well as journalists

and editors are subordinate in all the stages of the production. Many researchers bring up the problem of blurring editorial content and advertisement (Peeler & Guthrie 2007; Erjavec 2004). This hybrid form has commonly been referred to as advertorial.

### 5.1.2 Sponsored content

Sponsored content can be seen as an umbrella term as it means integrating commercial and editorial content. Peeler and Guthrie (2007, 351) say that it is in the interest of consumers to let advertisers experiment with new advertising forms. For example consumers can edit out advertising content and advertisers can target a specific interest group with their messages. Porlezza (2009) sees that with special advertisements such as advertorials and sponsorships, the likelihood of hybridization increases as the advertisement format determines the strength of the relationship to the editorial content.

Sponsored content is better defined by what it does rather than what its appearance displays. Sponsored content appears in many ways but in general it is understood that it takes the same form as the publisher's content. One other recognizable feature is, that its purpose is to alter favorable influence on the brand (Sonderman & Tran 2013, 4).

In television, sponsored content is often referred as brand and product placement. Boerman et.al. (2014) see sponsored content as brand placement where for example a television program shows Coca Cola cups on the table of the Idol judges. Viewers should be able to distinguish editorial and commercial content by sponsorship disclosure. Current European Union regulations state that the disclosure needs to be provided at least at the beginning or in the middle of the sponsored content, as this gives viewers enough time to process the information critically and recognize content as sponsored content (Boerman 2014.)

Editorial guidelines and rules for sponsored content were also released by The American Society of Magazine Editors. The base of the principles is that readers get accurate information and news. Transparency is important as commercial messages and editorial content has to be able to be seen and advertiser's influence can't harm editorial integrity. "Reader's trust depends on the value of magazines advertisers". In terms of labeling there should be transparent labeling which keeps the quality of the content (Sonderman & Tran 2013).

Sponsored content and journalism teams are preferably kept separate but it depends on resources, as they may be limited. Moreover, to readers this might not be too crucial. Unsolved issues that challenge sponsored content can also be areas where knowledge is missing. Impact on readers is always a problematic issue, as more research is needed on how they react and tolerate sponsored content (Sonderman & Tran 2013.)

## 6 METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS

This qualitative research has gathered the material from thematic interviews. The description of data is conducted with thematic coding. Then the research is analyzed in a narrative approach where substantive themes were divided into short stories.

### 6.1 Research questions

The research questions were selected after determining the perspective. The aim of the study was to research advertising influence in lifestyle magazines. Lifestyle editors-in-chief hold the supreme power, but they have to face different influence attempts. The study defines the most common commercial actors that are trying to influence the magazine content.

The challenge was to find which influence attempts the editors find acceptable and unacceptable. Also if there is a way to show that profitability and financial situation has an influence on the magazine as a whole. Mixing editorial and advertising content may be increasing and this is one influence attempt from the advertiser. When digital technology is increasing, also hybrid messages are increasing and this requires different control from editors. The research questions were formed as here below:

RQ1: How is advertiser's influence perceived by lifestyle magazine editors-in-chief?

RQ2: How do lifestyle magazine editors-in-chief expect that advertising and advertiser's influence will change when magazines are published in an online form?

## 6.2 Interview methodology

The research data was collected from thematic interviews, which was the methodology thought to be the best for this research. Hirsjärvi and Hurme (1985) say that thematic interview is often used when intimate and sensitive subjects are studied. Also weakly acknowledged issues such as ideals, appreciations and justifications can be the targets. Themes are selected before conducting the interviews and questions have no certain order or form. Thematic interviews are often referred to as half-structured interviews (Metsämuuronen 2006, 115.)

Often the researcher analyses the material already during the interview situation. When performing observations of the interview, it can be executed according to the frequency, segmentation and identification of special cases. The material can be collected to confirm the hypothesis or the model. A perception of the observations is formed whilst typing and visualizing the material. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 136).

The researcher makes interpretations by transcribing the interviews. Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001, 137) list three different ways for carrying out transcriptions. One is that the data is organized and highlighted by its construction. When there is a large amount of data collected, then this is necessary. This stage is done by transcribing and analyzing the data with a computer. The second way is that the clarification of the material is performed by taking away the irrelevant parts. The narrative structuring is formed when the interviewer makes stories from the matters discussed in the interview. Even though there has not been a story in the interview, the researcher can make a story out of it (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 139).

After collecting the data from the interviews, the analysis process was conducted in five stages that are mentioned below.

1. Analysis of the data
2. Thematic coding
3. Description of data
4. Reconstruction of stories/  
Specifying the content themes
5. Contrastive comparison of stories and theory

### 6.2.1 Conducting the interviews

Firstly the lifestyle magazine editors were chosen according to their publications. They had to be lifestyle magazines whose topics were traveling, health, food, family and other lifestyle themes. Many of the chosen magazines were women's publications because often that is common lifestyle content. In the Finnish lifestyle media market most of the magazines are owned by media concerns. There are few independent lifestyle media outlets, the market is mostly dominated by few big media concerns.

Secondly, the magazine's editors were chosen from publications that published some content online. This research's one aim was to study editors' perceptions also on advertising influence online, therefore the magazines had to have functions as a digital magazine as well.

To approach the editors, they received an email about this research conducted for Helsingin Sanomat Säätiö. The email included an introduction of the research as well as the Transparency of New Forms of Media Advertising Online -project. The introduction email also emphasized the anonymity of every participant. Every participant's identifiable characteristics were removed to insure anonymity.

When approaching the magazine editors, some of them refused to take part in the research. Naturally some were too busy with urgent work, and others felt they had nothing to say about the topic. Editors are usually the most occupied people at the magazines and magazines are implementing digital strategies, thus resources can be low. The interviewed editors-in-chief felt they had some insights to give to the research and they had a need to talk about the topic.

This researcher interviewed eight editors-in-chief in different Finnish lifestyle magazines. Most of the interviewees were female and only one of the participants was male. Most of them have a Master's degree (see chart 6) and their years of experience in this specific role was up to 10 to 12 years (see chart 7). The interviews took place in November-December 2014. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 1,5 hours.

The interview frame kept the conversation on the right track, as some interviewees were easily misled to talk outside the subject. When interviewees talked outside the subject for a longer time, then these stories were not tran-



scribed at all. The digital era was the most discussed subject among the editors and advertising influence was clearly a difficult topic to talk about.

Only one editor was either not prepared or misunderstood the research and therefore answered the questions in few words. Most of the editors brought interesting insights and perspectives, they also showed a passion towards their work. Several questions concerning advertising influence and influence attempts generated irritation among the editors.

All the editors received an information sheet for research subjects and they signed the participation agreement. Considering the fact that the topic can be perceived as a sensitive one, these interviews have all been handled carefully. As said by Ruusu vuori (2005, 41) the researcher needs to tell the interviewees truthfully about the purposes of the interview, confidently handle the obtained information and protect the interviewees' anonymity.

Editors-in-chief are the strategic leaders in the magazines, therefore they offer valuable information to the research. They are in the highest position in the magazine when it comes to performing journalistic and managerial decisions. The position of the editor-in-chief includes responsibility, managerial and marketing skills.

CHART 6. The education of the interviewees.

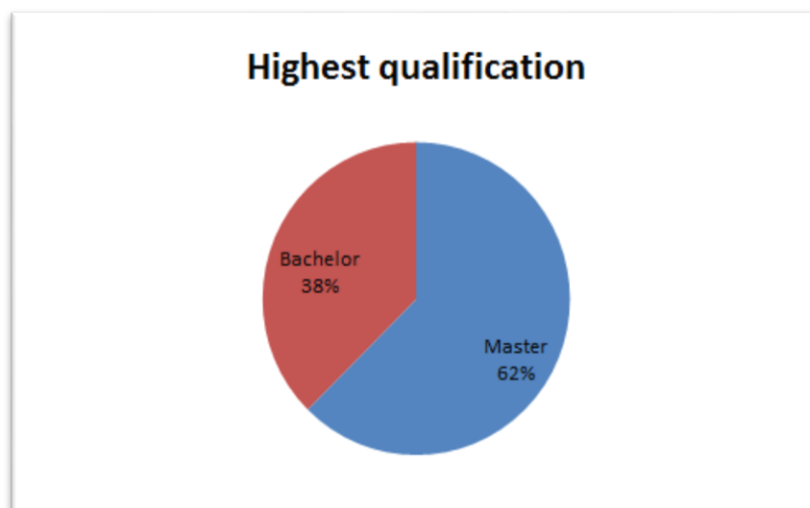
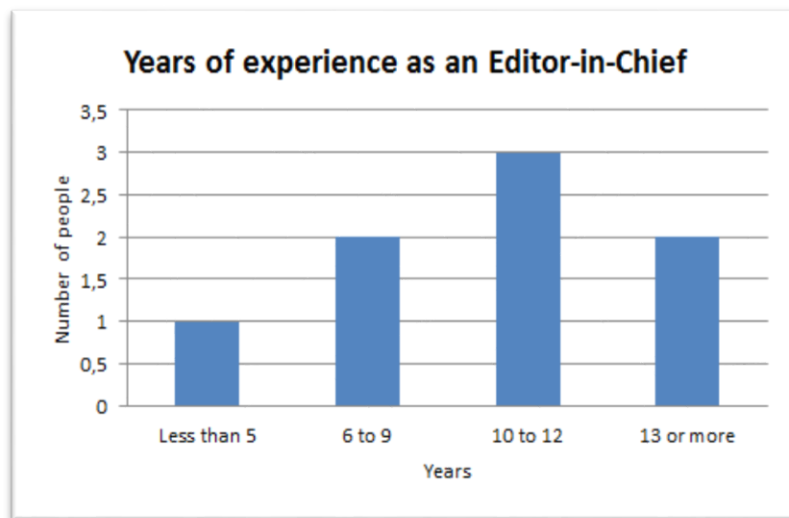


CHART 7. The editors-in-chief years of experience.



A pilot interview was conducted in order to test the interview frame and questions. The interview was executed via Skype and it lasted approximately 1,5 hours. The approach of the interview was conceived as slightly high-pressure and the interview itself was too long. After the pilot interview the questions were narrowed down and shaped in a new form. Major changes were made to the interview frame and adapted to four sections: editor-in-chief's role, outside influences, influence attempt impacts and the future of online journalism & the future.

The questions were adapted for the interview situation. The interviews were arranged to be done face-to-face, but if this was not possible, then it was conducted over the phone or via Skype. Actually Skype proved to be a beneficial communication tool as it was still possible to have face-to-face conversation and interaction. Since the editors-in-chief are trained communication professionals, the conversations flowed smoothly.

The interview situations were natural although the editors were the representatives, consequently they were not willing to talk very openly about their product and its economic funding. The honesty level was quite high, and some of them shared more experiences than others.

The interviews were transcribed after conducting them. The interviews all together lasted in total nearly 200 hours and in the transcribed form consist of approximately 100 pages. As is typical in thematic interviews, they were

also transcribed by themes and experiences and not word for word or taking sighs into account.

One of themes found outside the interview frame was the words editors-in-chief used when talking about advertisers and advertisers pressure. First of all editors-in-chief were strongly against using the word pressure as they felt no pressure from anyone or any sector in the process of producing the magazine. Also editors reacted in different ways when asking about the advertisers' influence, but in general they perceived discussions about advertisers' influence as an attack on their autonomy. The editors' autonomy and leverage has not changed in their opinion, and this was stated multiple times.

### **6.2.2 Magazine profiles**

The aim of the research was to study online lifestyle magazines, but given the fact that many of them were going through major changes when these interviews were conducted, not all of them were active online. Some of them had made a digital version of the print magazine, but most of them still perceived the print version to be the main product (see chart 8). Others expressed their plans in changing the magazine into a digital form or were implementing the changes already. Media concerns have now started to establish content marketing departments, but implementing digital strategies was still in the beginning in the interviewed editors' magazines.

Editors-in-chief's responsibilities was mainly print content and magazine's website. Some were responsible of a magazine family with couple of magazines and websites (see chart 9).

I also interviewed two lifestyle online magazines which did not produce a lot of print content. Both of them had been in online form since the beginning. The other one had been purchased by a big media concern and the other one was independent. The independent online magazine was in fact struggling to get advertisers at all. These specific cases brought a lot of insight about the future of magazines. As many experts have said, the online form is difficult as one cannot "own the reader". Especially when the content is free and not in digital form where the subscriber needs to pay for the content, then there are lots of challenges in making the magazine profitable.

The online content varied a lot from videos, texts, recipes, tips and blogs. Most of the ones active online contained blogs. Of course they will have edi-

torial content as well, but many of them hire external bloggers that supported the magazine brand. Besides, famous bloggers can reach a bigger audience for the magazine.

Interviewees all saw that that lifestyle blogs are also the competitors of lifestyle magazines. Both blogs and lifestyle magazines create content for the same audience but their sources of income differs, as traditional media relies on subscription and single copy sales as well as advertising sales.

Blogs on the other hand rely on advertising sales and some content contains sponsored content. Subsequently, there will be more results of editors' perceptions on the future of lifestyle magazines on whether it is heading towards commercialism.

CHART 8. The editors-in-chief magazine type/form.

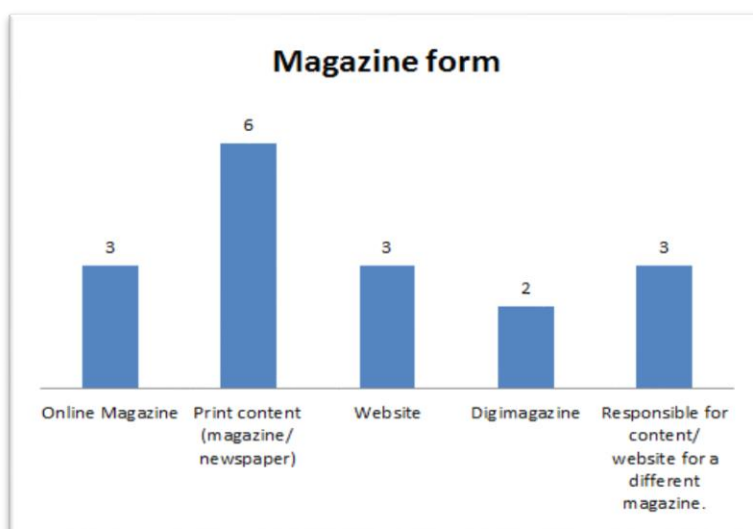
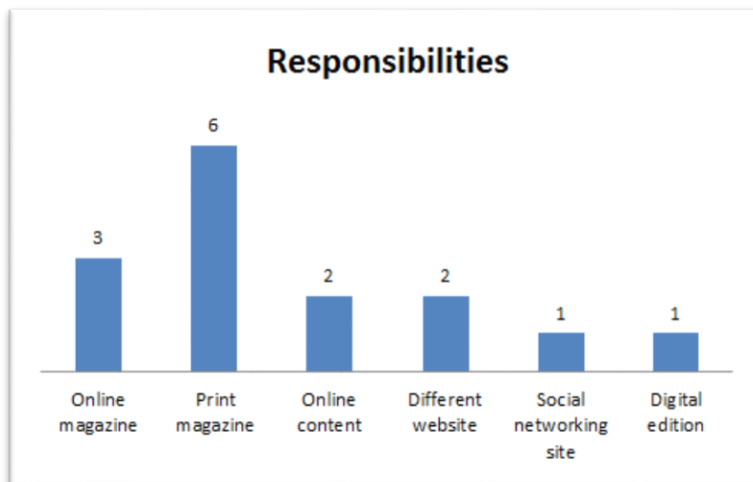


CHART 9. The responsibilities of the interviewed editors-in-chief.



### 6.3 Description of the data

Firstly, I started to analyze the material in relation to the research questions. As the aim of the study is to analyze the perceptions of advertising influence and advertising influence in online publishing, therefore these perceptions had to be identified from the interviews. The transcripts of the interviews formed the data from which the thematic analysis was conducted.

The next step to in the thematic analysis was to create conceptual tools to classify and understand the phenomenon of the study. This was done by way of coding. To perform that I took chunks of text and labeled them as certain categories. I made the codes in order to answer the research questions. Coding noted the patterns, key words and rallying points in the data.

Aronson (1995) says that after conducting the interviews, the next step in a thematic analysis is to identify all the data that relates to already classified patterns. All the discussion that fits under the specific pattern must be identified and placed with the corresponding pattern. When patterns have been identified the next step in the thematic analysis is to combine and catalogue related patterns into sub-themes (Aronson 1995.)

Taylor and Bogdan (1989, 131) define a theme as units derived from patterns such as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs". Leininger (1985) explained that themes

are identified by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which are often meaningless when viewed alone". The comprehensive picture of collective experience is formed when interviewee's stories are pieced together. The "coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together" (Aronson 1995).

When gathering sub themes to attain a comprehensive view of the information, it is easy to see a pattern emerging. When patterns emerge in the interview, it is best to obtain feedback about them. Interviewers can then go back to the informant and ask for feedback from the transcribed conversations. The interviewer can also use the informants' feedback to establish the next questions in the interview which is then incorporated into the theme analysis (Aronson 1995).

The important step is to build a valid argument for choosing the themes. By reading the literature and referring back to the literature to make conclusions from the interview. Once the themes have been collected and the literature has been studied, the researcher can formulate theme statements and develop a story. When the literature is interwoven with the findings, then the research is meritorious as the reader can comprehend the process and understanding as well as the motivation of the interviewer (Aronson 1995).

### **6.3.1 Themes in the research**

The main themes are editor-in-chief leverage, advertiser's influence and the advertiser's influence online and challenges of the online format to advertising. These themes were included in the interview frame, but also other themes were found from the interviews. Themes found from the research were coded into these the sub themes below:

1. An unacceptable proposal from an advertiser
2. Advertorials
3. Advertisement's uncontrollability in the internet
4. Blogs' commercialism
5. Content marketing without a label
6. Editor-in-chief's responsibility
7. Advertisers' influence
8. Comparing culture journalism and lifestyle journalism
9. Service journalism
10. Advertiser's support

11. Co-operation with the advertisers
12. Newspapers versus lifestyle magazines
13. Advertising language close to the lifestyle journalism language
14. Commercialism in editor's role
15. The differences between print and online
16. Reader's influence / power
17. PR and communication agencies' influence attempts
18. Content marketing / content co-operation
19. Lifestyle magazines' commercialism
20. Favorable coverage
21. Association's influence attempts
22. Indirect influence attempt
23. Attitude towards advertisers
24. Internet advertising / advertising revenue
25. Journalistic independence

The material was divided into themes by firstly making transcripts of all the interviews, then coding all of the material. Themes were marked with their identification code. Hirsjärvi & Hurme (2001, 141) state that it is important to search for the frequency of occurrence and the context, where they appear and the word in connection with and the word in the vicinity. As usually in this type of research, the researcher has to make assumptions about when the interviewee is talking about the examined theme.

#### **6.4 Narratives analysis method**

Narrative has taken a position in communication research. There is a distinction between narrative and story, both of them need to be defined for conceptual and analytical clarity. Stories can provide causal linkages between events while narratives have special structures. Escala (2006) informs that narratives tell stories by including episodes with actors engaged in actions to achieve goals. Narratives and stories are similar as they both require at least one factor and event connected through some sort of causal spatio-temporal framework (McDonalds 2014, 177)

There are no complete guidelines for conducting narrative research, says Hyvärinen (2006). Narrative analysis can be conducted in various ways such as thematic reading and content analysis. Other alternatives can be narrative classification on the basis of the total figure, detail-oriented or interactively

produced analysis. Hyvärinen (2006, 16) reminds about thematic reading which can easily lose the interactivity and the narrative. This can be lost when using themes and content extraction as well as combining with computer programs. Careful analysis can be conducted, when the breakdown of the themes and collection is attached to the narrative. One way is to connect the theme to the story stages.

How can narrative benefit this work? Since this research studies how editors-in-chief perceive advertisers' influence, I identified stories of advertising from the data and then analyzed the data with a narrative approach. As I went deeper into the data, I could find some recurrent words and stories from the interviews. The narrative themes which I selected to analyze more closely were narratives and stories around advertisers' influences which were actually camouflaged in different subjects. After reading the material thoroughly, I went to the next phase. In this initial phase, I chose to apply analysis of narratives as a method of the research.

The reconstruction of the stories keep hold inside the stories of advertising as well as own stories of the editors. The stories were collected on the basis of their interest value as well as their frequency in the interviews. The stories about advertising were mainly selected because of their interest value as well as the themes that stood out from the data. After selecting the advertising stories to be mentioned, the stories were compared to the theory.

## **6.5 Opposites in the continuum**

The interview frame also included questions about certain opposites, and that caused different reactions in editors-in-chief. These questions were difficult to get an exact answer for, as some interviewees perceived the questions as too controversial and felt that the terms could not be placed as opposites. The questions had been designed to see where the industry is heading.

Overall the discussion around these questions was lucrative in terms of finding out the perceptions of the editors-in-chief about the future. Unfortunately, some of the interviewees did not feel the need to give qualitative numbers or felt they would prefer to only talk about the subject. Some interviewees perceived the opposite options as caricatured or exaggerated, for example few interviewees thought that, especially advertisers listening and independent decision could not be placed as opposites.



The answers were positioned either to the left, middle or right based the discussion or clear numbers the interviewees gave to the questions. The interviewees place their magazine to the left (the world of brands, advertisers listening, content collaboration, economic pressure), middle or right (free journalism, independent decisions, separate ads, free content). The next question asked where they place competitors in the continuum. Then the interviewees were asked to indicate the future and whether the magazines are heading towards content marketing and advertiser interest content. The last question asked where the interviewees would place their magazine in three years (see table 10).

As a result the editors saw themselves more favorably in comparison with the other magazines. Their magazines were now creating independent decisions, free journalistic content with separate ads. Whereas, the competitors were already creating more content collaboration and branded content. In three years, the competitors were seen much more in the right in world of brands, advertisers listening, content collaboration and economic pressure defined competitors work more than now (see chart 11 &12).

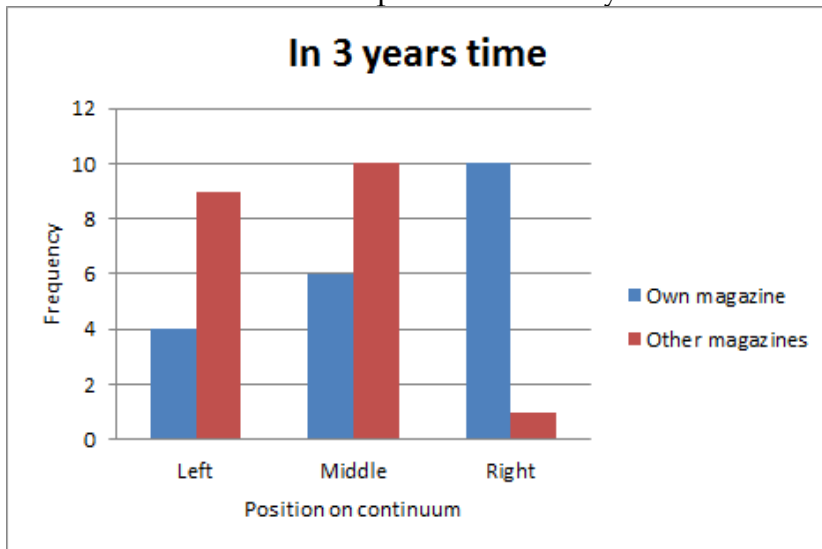
TABLE 10. Questions and interviewees' answers on the continuum scale.

	Left	Middle	Right	
<b>Where do you place your magazine in this continuum?</b>				
The world of brands.		1	4	Free journalism
Advertisers listening	1	1	3	Independent decisions
Content collaboration	1	1	3	Separate ads
Economic pressure	2	1	2	Free content
<b>Where do you place your competitors and other magazines in this continuum?</b>				
The world of brands.	2		3	Free journalism
Advertisers listening	2	1	2	Independent decisions
Content collaboration	1	2	2	Separate ads
Economic pressure	3	1	1	Free content
<b>Where do you position your magazine in 3 years time in this continuum</b>				
The world of brands.	1	2	2	Free journalism
Advertisers listening	1	1	3	Independent decisions
Content collaboration	1	2	2	Separate ads
Economic pressure	1	1	3	Free content
<b>Where do you place your competitors and other magazines in 3 years time in</b>				
The world of brands.	3	1	1	Free journalism
Advertisers listening	2	3		Independent decisions
Content collaboration	2	3		Separate ads
Economic pressure	2	3		Free content

CHART 11. Interviewees' answers at the situation now.



CHART 12. Interviewees' prediction for 3 years ahead of time.



## 7 STORIES OF ADVERTISING

This chapter explains all the findings of the research and will use a narrative approach for the analyses. The stories were divided into mini stories of advertising, although this method has been applied mainly on a content basis.

This research found that the narratives that described the advertiser's influence were manifested in different ways. Stories of advertising are presented here to give a better understanding of the qualitative research and theories in the indicated to (see table 11).

TABLE 11. Stories of advertising.

STORY SUBJECT	EDITOR'S STORY	COMPATIBILITY WITH THE THEORY
Editor-in-chief's leverage	The leverage has remained the same as before	The editor-in-chief has power over the publication content and editorial decisions
Lifestyle journalism	"Lifestyle journalism and marketing language are similar"	Lifestyle journalism is close to marketing communication and PR
Editor-in-chief's role	"Marketing responsibilities are part of the work"	Hybrid editor-in-chief
Influence over the content	"Influence over the content does not exist"	Favorable content, Withdrawing/limiting the content
Hybrid messages	"One suggestion is blurring the lines	Advertorial usage, native advertising,

	between editorial and ads”	advertiser’s influence attempts
PR influence/ advertiser’s support	“Collaboration means exchanging information”	The usage of PR material
Favorable coverage	“It is a common practice to please major advertisers”	Favorable coverage such as non-negative publicity
Advertiser support	“We attend sponsored trips”	Magazines cannot always afford to send journalists on trips
Online journalism	“The online form changes advertising”	Hybrid messages, profitability
Economic considerations	The difficulty in advertising spending online	Elite media, economic pressures

## 7.1 Editor-in-chief responsibilities and leverage

Although this research does not examine the respondents’ influence, it is still an important aspect to determine before having a closer look at the advertising influence. First of all, the interviewees had different amounts of responsibilities, some were responsible for many magazines and websites as stated before.

All of the interviewees were unanimous that their power had remained the same as before. The editor-in-chief holds supreme power and the owners of the magazines in most of the cases have given away the responsibility of the magazine, therefore the owners did not have influence over the content, especially in the elite media. In independent magazines editor-in-chief’s responsibilities were the same as in elite media, but often they were also the owners of the magazine and that naturally resulted in managerial responsibility.

Most of the magazine editors-in-chief interviewed in this research were working in elite media, owned by large media concerns. The literature separated owners’ pressure and influence, and the interviewed editors-in-chief felt they were given free hands for making decisions of the editorial content.

## 7.2 “Lifestyle journalism and marketing language are similar”

Lifestyle journalism is service journalism and most editors-in-chief also categorized their magazine in this genre. These type of magazines aim to produce ‘feel good journalism’, somewhat uncritical content, introducing consumer goods.

*“When talking about the mega trend in taking care of oneself and the state’s inability or lack of money due to the responsibility for one’s well-being and maintaining health is the individual’s responsibility more and more. Then there will be more online services to replace things. That is quite a revolutionary field, where in the other end is the advertisers who want to branded content with health and welfare which still might not necessarily come to mind when thinking about their brands. The field is going through all kinds of changes. Women’s magazines as a print media they have not found a place online. Lifestyle magazines’ most important role is to give an opportunity for tools to promote and maintain one’s health. At least the problem is not that you don’t have information about it. Before, people had medical books in the shelf and they advertised them from door to door. Nowadays it is not that one does not get enough information about these topics, especially if you have motivation and interest to perceive it. Some lifestyle magazines emphasize market-orientation but actually the maintenance may depend on the products and tools. Then the reader also wants to get more information about them. If you want supplements, sometimes the supplement retailer or importer is the best source of information. Then reader’s media literacy will be emphasized.” Interviewee1*

Lifestyle magazines are a part of the reader’s lifestyle, which can include gardening, decorating, fashion, fitness, traveling and so on.

*“Lifestyle magazines are the counterbalance. They support people’s leisure time and picturing one’s life better. Because the manner of how one dresses and what kind of lifestyle one has is communication. I think Facebook is also lifestyle because the things I say on Facebook are my way of viewing life and I have a very positive Facebook character. In a way I feel lifestyle does not make our dreams. In a way you see things through your own lifestyle. For me décor is not just décor, fashion is not only fashion. Life would be very boring without lifestyle brands, magazines and sites.” Interviewee 2*

One aspect of lifestyle journalism’s is photo journalism and creating pleasure for the audience.

*“The benefit is one aspect and of course what is beneficial and to whom can be defined in multiple ways. Usually the reader finds information which is beneficial to herself. Visuality is important, as well as finding pleasure and comfort with beautiful visuals.*

*We do not only have photos of beautiful homes; there is a person and story behind them. The text is subordinate to the photos, when other journalism practices always consider the text as the most important thing, if it is not a photojournalistic magazine. Newspapers have become closer to magazines in two different things, one is the material world and other is feature stories. Newspapers contain lots of lifestyle content. Apparently, readers want the same beneficial information such as food, products, everyday life related content from newspapers.” Interviewee 3*

Lifestyle journalism has been stated to be closer to marketing communications and PR. Some interviewees stated that, oddly enough, lifestyle magazines use language which is very close to advertising language. News organizations cover where and when something happened, but the first person form is used when writing lifestyle stories. Lifestyle magazines address the individuals by offering information and giving advice to them on how to live a ‘good life’.

*“It is about what kind of feeling the reader gets when she reads the article. For example we address readers very differently compared to the newspapers. Newspapers do not address readers personally. I was working in magazine X for a long time and it was an advanced form of that. Such as when you do this, act like this, you should do it like this, dye your hair this way so then the reader does not think this was written by someone else when reading it. The reader thinks it has been written for only her. She does not think of the other 200 000 readers.” Interviewee 3*

### **7.3 “Marketing responsibilities are part of the work”**

Despite the media, editors-in-chief have the same role in all newspapers and magazines. Traditionally they are in charge of the editorial content, but in a small newspaper the editor-in-chief may be responsible of financial aspects as well. As mentioned before, small newspapers might also assign marketing responsibility to the editor-in-chief. This also applies to lifestyle editors-in-chief as all of them told that they cannot avoid assisting marketing tasks. Usually, this means that they have to be the face of the brand and attend the meetings with the advertisers. On these occasions they, for example share information about upcoming issues.

*“Sales and marketing responsibilities are in practice not assigned to me, but I have to participate to every marketing discussion and meeting. To give an example from sales, if a partner is completely unaware of us, then I introduce our product. Or I do marketing, and then the circulation is the metric to measure my success and then I try to work*

*with the marketing team to come up with ideas on how to get more readers.” Interviewee1*

Sometimes editors-in-chief must have two roles: the head of the journalistic work and as a leader of the group. One of the interviewees stated, that “no-body else carries the flag of the brand as the editor-in-chief”.

*“I know many people (editors-in-chief) have their background in journalism so for some of them it is very strange to suddenly be the person who goes with the media sales to tell why one should buy ads from this magazine.” Interviewee4*

Many of the interviewees also did not feel that there was a reconciliation problem between journalistic and marketing roles. It was mostly perceived as maintaining and collaboration with the magazine’s major advertisers.

*“In principle I do not see commercialism as a bad thing that I have to accept in order to work in this role. The editor’s work consists of different sections. I am a pretty strict editor-in-chief in the way that I will not easily give my influence away and I try to be on top of everything. When we are developing new advertising concepts, they go through me because I insist that they do. I regularly communicate that hey, I am the editor-in-chief in all the material that will be published, be it advertising, user-generated content or editorial content. I’m responsible for it and not you dear sales person, you won’t get in trouble if we do something that is not ethically right but I will. It’s in my best interest to be on top of the matters.” Interviewee4*

The literature also acknowledges the financial management aspects of editorial work. Sometimes financial limitations affect the editorial freedom and they determine the content more than before. In addition, the magazine needs to sell every single feature story.

*“It is of course hard to speak about selling; the story has to sell. How to prevent circulation from decreasing or figures deteriorating in that sense I kind of set up a commercial target, which is hard to manage nowadays.” Interviewee4:*

*“We are able to think about things pretty much from the usual reader’s point of view. Because without the readers and the public we do not have advertisers. That is what advertisers are interested in; good readership and an acceptable number of readers.” Interviewee5:*

The number of staff members can vary, therefore some editors-in-chief have more responsibility over marketing as well. They can have many responsibilities, such as managing, marketing and acting as the head manager of jour-



nalistic work. Managing freelancers is one of the challenges they face in every day work.

#### 7.4 “Influence over the content does not exist”

In the promo and first interview I used the word pressure, which I left out after the first interviews as I perceived that word in Finnish was conceived more aggressively and perhaps did not result in the desired reaction. The cause of this was that editors-in-chief are of course sensitive when talking about anything that would weaken their leverage. The interviewed editors perceived advertising influence in different ways. Most of them had very condescending attitude towards the questions regarding advertising or outside influences.

*“Maybe there is pressure or perhaps pressure is not the right word. They can say that you should write an article about this, but that is probably typical in all magazines.”*

Interviewee7

The typical reaction of editor-in-chief’s typical, when asking about the outside influences, resulted in the same type of stories. At the same time, they felt no pressure from any instance or commercial actor. Often the influence was perceived as a being in a very direct way and in forms of blackmailing or threatening to pull out the advertisement. Advertisement influence theories recognize advertisement pressure and influence variety of forms. Some interviewees were more open to talk about the influence and pressure perceived in magazines, but it was easier for them discuss about other magazines. Typically they perceived advertising influence and favorable coverage in competing magazines.

The respondents’ norm stories emphasized their influence as being the greatest. Usually they mentioned something about the advertising influence attempts noting immediately after, that it does not mean anything and their own influence is the greatest. Only few interviewees admitted that pleasing the major advertisers is a common practice in lifestyle journalism.

External influences attempts usually came from PR and communication agencies contacting regarding a story offer or promotional material. Many of the editors ignored calls from persistent communication and PR agencies, especially phone calls. In general the contacts were not taken so seriously.

*"Sure, the media, communications and digital agencies send emails constantly, but they go straight to the trash bin. Usually I receive a threat from an individual reader who has lost her nerves and wants to correct or erase something that was written in the magazine. Nowadays, every individual can challenge the industry experts and talk about nutritional recommendations. In terms of advertisers, we have not received threats from advertiser who is trying to limit on what is going to be published or withdraw advertisement." Interviewee1*

*"Commercial companies try to get their messages across and that is why they send press releases. That is why they invite editors for meetings. They seek to influence and we are there to evaluate what is relevant to the reader, whether it serves the brand's mission, what it wants to give its readers, and whether it is significant in the world (magazine) we live in." Interviewee2*

*"Well, in a sense, few of them are in pretty determining positions. If you think how important cosmetics are in women's magazines. In our magazine it is not, so I am not in a tricky situation because of that. But one can imagine that it is a big factor in those other magazines which get a very big income through it." Interviewee3*

*"If the brand does not have readers (i.e. the brand is not strong at speaking to the people it is trying to reach), then it also not appealing to advertisers. The advertisers understand that everything is done on editorial staff's terms and the brand's convenience. There is no doubt about that, otherwise the magazine is left with nothing if it doesn't have readers." Interviewee8*

*"Of course all the companies would like coverage of their products across different media. Also in this magazine the sales department wishes sometimes, but not all the time, that their clients are taken into account in the content. We use our own judgement according to the situation. Maybe it would be different if we were asked to attend some meetings to listen to what they have to say, but ultimately we think about how we would represent it interestingly to our readers." Interviewee5*

*"In fact, all kinds of associations, small businesses and even individuals have a strong agenda. But I think advertisers don't do it so much because they know how the industry works and they don't want to affect the editorial content, at least not in such obvious or even destructive way. The largest influence is from the different associations that bring quite a large amount of knowledge and aspirations of how their case should be dealt with because they do not provide any advertising budgets, and therefore rely on free attention." Interviewee5*

*"Magazines are by no means independent and if they claim otherwise that is bullshit-talk. Because, they are extremely dependent on advertising; it is their source of livelihood." Interviewee6*

#### 7.4.1 “Blurring the line between editorial and ads”

One recognized form of advertising influence is the blurring of the line between editorial and marketing content, as these hybrid concepts can be the cause of advertising influence. It is necessary to mention that Finnish journalism relies heavily on the journalistic rules that of course deny advertorials that are not clearly labeled as such. One editor-in-chief said that these strict rules can sometimes stand in the way of magazine business success and profitability.

*“It is sometimes annoying when talking about lifestyle journalism or women’s magazine journalism because usually the tone is negative if they publish advertorials. What one does usually understand, is that it requires very specific professional skills to do this work” Interviewee3*

*“Usually the way it is said is that we would like to try a special solution. This special solution is something that has not been done previously. Then usually we have to make our rules across as it (advertorial) has to be different from editorial content and advertising. In the journalist rules it is stated that the reader has to be able to differentiate that. That is something I always have to stress, no you cannot do that because it would mix. One advertiser wanted to make an advertorial that would mimic editorial content. We have a well-established practice how to do it and we for example do not use the magazine’s own fonts, they must always stand out from it even though an advertorial is supposed to look like editorial. That is the purpose of advertorial. Although it is an advertisement, there is usually the title and picture and text which should be different from fonts and it should state advertisement. Some have a well-established norms on how to do it.” Interviewee3*

*“I personally wonder if the story will keep its objectivity; a risk exists there. When a journalist returns from a trip and writes the story, objectivity can be hard to obtain. A human is a human and if he has driven a Ferrari in the Italian mountains, objectivity is at risk. Our only case example is a sponsored trip taken by a journalist; we had to discuss about the content of the article with the sponsor when the journalist returned from the trip. After that we decided that we won’t accept sponsored trips anymore because we have to go through what we publish and so on.” Interviewee1*

#### 7.4.2 “Collaboration means exchanging information”

Co-operation with the advertisers was frequently mentioned in the interviews. When talking about advertisers, some interviewees used the words “cooperation with the advertisers” and “listening to the advertiser”. Overall, they felt that their advertisers were ethical and followed best practices when dealing advertisements in the magazines. Cooperation included exchanging

information and receiving well researched facts from the advertisers. Overall they saw that advertisers were an important stake holder group that magazines work closely with.

The narratives revealed how much of an open dialogue they have with the advertisers. Some stories brought up concerns about content marketing and other new forms of advertising.

*“I strongly believe that when making a new service, we must listen to the advertiser about what they expect from the media. In that way it certainly looks more and more like an advertisement. That would mean more content cooperation.” Interviewee1*

Interviewees saw that they receive valuable information from the PR people.

*“Having good cooperation with the advertiser is not pressuring. If they have conducted new research then usually it is exchanging information.” Interviewee7*

*“Advertisers have never tried to influence any story directly. Normally they want us to write about a certain topic but we make the final decisions. There are so many stories that interest the advertiser as a collaboration. Our king is the reader for whom we create content.” Interviewee8*

#### **7.4.3 “It is a common practice to please major advertisers”**

Favorable coverage is one of the very common types of advertising influence. The interviewees did not experience withdrawing advertising over unfavorable coverage. It is also because of the nature of lifestyle journalism that hardly ever creates big scandal features. Service journalism publishes softer content, which is usually not critical.

One editor-in-chief argued that lifestyle journalism would never write unfavorable coverage over a major advertiser. Magazines please advertisers and “everyone knows that”.

*“Of course we never write negative articles about our major customers, but that is our choice and that is somehow in the spine of this industry. But if the regional newspapers have the same situation, they would also not want to make a big local retailer angry.” Interviewee5*

At the same time, the interviewee agrees that magazines do not create negative publicity about their advertisers but they also don’t write overly positive coverage. Lifestyle journalism stories often have a different tone in comparison to hard news.

*"It is often seen in the lifestyle magazine industry and other industries as well, that editorial staff will not admit anything like this or any linkages or any outside influence attempts. They want to be quiet about them and so on." Interviewee5*

Many magazines might not use their advertisers as interviewees as it might affect their credibility. The magazine's own advertisers are hardly ever used as interviewees for articles. However, using promotional material in the coverage was a very common practice. Usually as background information to an article.

*" It may happen that they are the best interviewees that we can find, but as a rule we hardly never use them in the interviews. It might be that we receive some information from them if they have studied the background of their product really well and the facts relate to the area. If so, we often use the background information. The interviewees are often other types of experts that have no connections with the firms." Interviewee 5*

*"Of course they want to please the advertiser; we would perhaps act the same way, but we do not have advertisers now. They are forced to please the advertiser in order to sell advertisements. Favorable coverage will appear in the content in one way or another. There are plenty of objective, wonderful stories but most of the content is product-related and their subjects vary from beauty, health and food. The stories are sold to the advertiser who is buying the coverage as well. The product placement exists in a way that they highlight products even though they are being journalists at the same time. They are forced to please advertisers, otherwise why would the advertisers bother buying the ads? Why would they otherwise advertise all the time if they get advantages in other ways as well, such as the favorable coverage? The magazines would rather not admit this, but it is my view on it." Interviewee6*

#### **7.4.4 "We attend sponsored trips"**

The literature defines advertising influence as sponsored trips and receiving promotional gifts from advertisers as advertisers' support. One interviewee even demanded the freelancers to note if they received promotion gifts. Most of the interviewees did not see a problem in attending to sponsored trips.

One editor-in-chief saw sponsored trips problematic as then the magazine would have to discuss about the coverage.

*" I think an unacceptable influence attempt is a product gift. Surely lifestyle journalists receive them more than others. I have said to our journalists that it would be good to know if you get a product from PR-visits. Also because of transparency. We have not let freelancer journalists go on sponsored trips. We haven't even been offered those trips as we already travel quite a lot. I am pretty strict and I always place partners'*

*logos in the corner of the magazine. It is serving the reader that we state partnerships clearly." Interviewee2*

Advertiser's support still occurs because magazines cannot afford to send their editors on trips abroad.

*"We take sponsored trips as we do not have the budget to send journalists there to write a story, otherwise we would not go on these trips." Interviewee3*

*"I know newspapers that travel at their own expense. There are differences though. We go on a journey if it is clearly the sort of story that interests our readers. We take sponsored trips if we can't afford to pay them ourselves." Interviewee4*

*"I have been in this industry for so long that I am not influenced by anything. Of course journalists receive a lot of information; I can't describe an indirect influence attempt. Cosmetic industry organize beautifully arranged events and of course it is part of our job to receive products. We have received plenty of them over the years that it has no influence over me. Our main thing is to think about our sales on behalf of our subscribers and surely sustaining good relations with clients and advertisers. Whether it be an indirect or direct influence, it is keeping up the good spirit and that is ok."*

## **7.5 "The online form changes advertising"**

There was an interesting perspective on the research that rose up from the thematic interviews. Perhaps the findings of this topic give a better picture on how magazines are changing first of all in terms of the content, as well as advertising influence. Most of the magazines were still publishing a print version, but had already an active digital magazine or were planning to make an online magazine as a side product.

*"There is a lot of content that doesn't exist in print version, they are two different worlds. In the internet, ads are not seen as disturbing at all. The reader is ready to accept the blurring of the line between editorial and advertisement. An advertisers' content can be there and it is not perceived as disturbing. People are quite smart and they can read media better than we can understand it. They realize that this is advertiser's content and still it interests them and it does not bother them at all. Still, drawing the line is needed and that conversation needs be had more and more when going online." Interviewee3*

In the thematic interviewees, the editors-in-chief were keen to talk about the online form of the magazine. The discussion raised concerns about owning the reader, uncontrollability of advertising and new forms of advertising.

One editor-in-chief brought up the idea of content marketing and brand journalism hybrid that could be the key to survive in the media market. When asked about the power of money, this is what one lifestyle editor answered:

*“One example could be that a certain traditional media publication with money and know-how could establish a brand magazine through advertising. If you think of other sites, they have been doing well at challenging some traditional magazines. One can think if advertising is then needed in traditional lifestyle magazines.” Interviewee1*

### **7.5.1 The difficulty in advertising spending online**

This a separate story from an online lifestyle magazine editor-in-chief. This magazine has been an online magazine since the beginning. It is also independent and the owners also write the magazine content. In this story there are two main factors, such as the difficulty of getting advertising revenue.

*“This magazine has been a dream job, it has been wonderful to do what you like. We have had no budget or money although we had good expectations that we would get income from this, but that has been very little. Getting advertisements has been nearly impossible since the beginning although we have done a lot marketing, research and so on. The people who have been working in this magazine are not so marketing-minded. When there are not a lot of us, then creating the content also takes some time and there is no time for marketing. We would like to find a marketing person on provision, but to find that kind of person nowadays is nearly impossible as not a lot of people are interested in that. In the beginning, companies did not see advertising online as worth anything. TV and print have traditionally been the most important and print has not been doing well lately. They have lost readers and print advertisement. Advertising is on TV now and there is the big money in there. We should have great reader figures but we do not have enough in order to be appealing to the advertiser. At least it is enough for the advertiser to have hundreds of thousands as it should be hundreds of thousands per month. That would be a lot in this kind of country. I often think about how the bloggers get advertisers.” Interviewee 7*

## 8 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes editors' perceptions on advertising influence. The key findings answer the research questions. Secondly, the evaluation of the research is presented together with trustworthiness and validity. Suggestions for further study will be represented in this chapter.

### 8.1 Indirect and direct influence

As discussed in chapter 3, media outlet's work is influenced by multiple sources. The literature with empirical research has been combined together here, in order to show the factors that were found from theory and research. As the theories were (Shoemaker & Reese 2014; McQuail 2010) made to fit with inside influences as well as outside influences, which includes advertising influence.

Indirect pressure is a questionable term as the structures are created so that media organizations' employees have responsibility over content or profitability (Shoemaker & Reese 2014). Tucman (1978) says unacceptable pressure is hard to distinguish as generally media wants to please advertisers and audience (McQuail 2010).

All of the interviewees saw the difficulty defining what is indirect, unacceptable and advertiser's support (see table 15.) To give an example of the answers, a typical answer for the question asking about unacceptable influence attempt from the advertiser was this:



*"I do not experience it as an influence attempts as I can always refuse the proposition. I usually say no so they can try out and those limits are being experimented with. Maybe some other media will take accept the proposition." Interviewee3*

TABLE 15. Editors-in-chief perceptions on what is indirect, unacceptable and advertising support.

Indirect	sponsored trips, promotion gifts, PR events
Unacceptable	content marketing without label, phone calls offering an article, influence over the content, withdraw advertising over coverage
Advertiser's support	sponsored trips

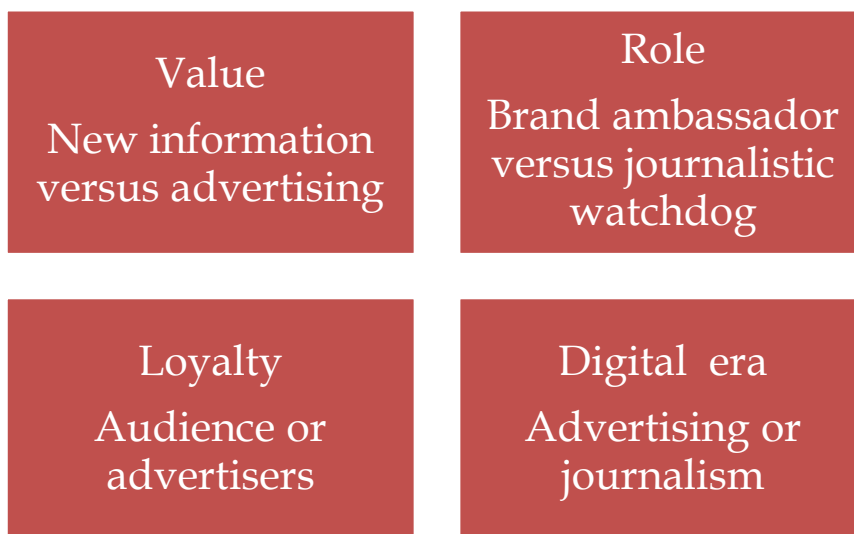
The editors generally found it difficult to determine, what they consider to be indirect and unacceptable pressure, as well advertiser's support. Paradoxically, they attended, for instance, sponsored trips although they knew this was an acknowledged influence attempt. But sometimes the advertiser provided economic funds, such as advertisers support and the magazine took it.

## 8.2 Editor's dilemmas

Based on the data, this research suggests that lifestyle editors-in-chief are hybrid editors where the proficiency of the media outlet and quality of the journalism are being measured in certain dilemmas. I identified four editorial dilemmas that summarize advertising influence and prevailing challenges in digital editorials. Lifestyle outlets need to make decisions between advertising, editorial content, and audiences (see figure 16).

The outcome of the study resulted in these categories that were affected by advertising influence. The dilemmas lifestyle editors were facing are divided into four groups. Dilemma is a situation where choices between options seem unfavorable and unsatisfactory. The outcomes of both choices are acceptable.

FIGURE 16. Editor's dilemmas based on the research.



The first dilemma was “*value*”, news information versus advertising. This dilemma emerged from the role of information they publish. Editors receive information from advertisers in the form of promotional material and other information, such as promotional events. They acknowledged that sometimes advertiser’s information is beneficial, especially when writing articles about products, services and brands. Lifestyle editors-in-chief receive a large amount of information and invitations, for that reason they carefully select which brands are valuable to the audience. Advertisers’ information is used as information, especially to give background information. Central to this dilemma are reader’s expectations and the information provided by brands.

The second dilemma is the “*role*” that editors have adapted in maintaining relations with the advertisers as well as being the journalistic watchdog. The role as journalistic watchdog and brand ambassador was sometimes perceived as a mandatory obligation. Editors ensure that the editorial integrity will not be harmed when combined with the role of brand ambassadors of their own product in the direction of advertisers and readers. As editors are ethically and legally responsible for the content, but also responsible for economic success of the publication; in practice, they have to be aware of the magazine’s marketing department’s deals and assignments, when they are creating the publication.

The third dilemma is “*loyalty*” for the audience or advertisers. Advertisers provide economic resources for the publication, but editors have to continuously choose the topics that are interesting from the readers’ point of view.

This dual loyalty can cause situations where the loyalty has to be weighed up.

The fourth, and final, dilemma is "*advertising or journalism*", which was raised from the interviews with the editors. These hybrid forms have started to play a big role in online media and this concerned editors. In terms of blogs, the transparency is not always there and the reader cannot tell whether the content is advertising or editorial. Hybrid messages are the cause of online, as well the uncontrollability of advertising.

### **8.3 Research evaluation**

An obvious challenge was finding literature about lifestyle magazines and previous studies about advertising influence in lifestyle magazines. The influence theories of mass communication authors was mainly from the media sociology perspective (see Shoemaker & Reese 2014; McQuail 2010). The major difficulty was to combine these theories for the advertising influence phenomenon. Therefore, these theories were perfunctory applied to the research. Thus other literature sources were combined to the text to get an overall understanding of the subject. Most of the literature had not been studied in relation to lifestyle journalism, but for news organizations, so this was an obstacle as well. This research also used some older sources and second hand sources when the original source was not found.

The data collection for this research was conducted through thematic interviews. The interviewees were selected based on the study objective, which is to study lifestyle magazines in the print and digital world. As most of the magazines had not fully implemented digital strategies, the digital forms were not able to be researched fully. Editor's perceptions on the advertising influence online were conducted merely in a hypothesis way and could not have been studied thoroughly because the magazines had not fully applied digital strategies.

Selecting the analysis method was difficult as the material was thematic interviews but inside of it were short stories. That resulted in the necessity of using a different methodology for the research, although very loosely. The thematic method was used to analyze the data and to separate them into stories of advertising. This was a major problem as they could not be entirely represented in the narrative method, because it fails to keep a chronological

order that is typical for this method. Analysis transformed type and core stories that showed editor's perceptions, approaches, attitudes to the subject of a report on issues related to advertising influence. There are many challenges facing the narrative inquiry, such as crisis of validity and rights representation. One has to accept these challenges and accept that one truth does not exist and that a researcher can only express views.

Of course there are other limitations to the study. The data was only collected in Finland and this provided narrow research results. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and that resulted in the translation dilemma; some words cannot be culturally translated.

#### **8.4 Future research**

An obvious research subject would be to compare sales executives' and editors' views, to examine how these groups differ from each other. Further research could be done to determine how implemented digital strategy has been perceived by editors. Lifestyle editors expressed their concerns towards the existence of magazines in the world of blogs that are their biggest competitors, therefore research about lifestyle blogs would provide important information.

The world of advertising and journalism still remains an interesting field to study, especially when new forms of advertising are arising. Future research could delve more into this issue by asking "What is the hybrid-editor's role in the future?" and "How to combine these roles in the digital age?", to make these issues more explicit. Lastly, this study also suggests that audience influence is also interesting to study. Strömback and Karlsson (2011) conclude that results and respect to audience influence are mixed. Online editors have seen the audience influence increasing, yet journalists do not see it increasing.

#### **8.5 Discussion**

How much influence does advertising have on lifestyle magazines? Recognizing that perceptions are not necessarily accurate, the group that is in the best position to experience how much influence advertising has over editorial content, is arguably the editor-in-chief'. In their daily work, they interact

with advertisers, as well as other shareholder groups. The influence from these groups channeled often by the advertising department, hence editors-in-chief cannot avoid being in contact with them.

Usually the advertising department handles advertising requests, but often editors-in-chief take part the advertising meetings by introducing upcoming themes. McManus (2009) and Hamilton (2009) state that the common form of influence may be their demands for greater audiences in segments they find particularly attractive. The demands from the advertiser wanting to target messages is occurring more often. Smith (1977) says that circulation and the sales departments provide journalists a picture of the audience they are writing for (Shoemaker & Reese 1996).

In the Finnish case, this study has shown that the groups perceived to have the greatest influence are editors-in-chief, followed by the audience, clients and advertisers. Editors-in-chief emphasized their power over the owners and advertisers. Nevertheless, advertising influence is often invisible. They felt they were mostly serving the audience, as they perceived that lifestyle journalism is service journalism. The magazine's major advertisers commonly know the rules and practices, and therefore the editors-in-chief usually collaborate with them.

Advertising influence can take different forms, however mostly editors-in-chief perceptions on the phenomenon was the example of threatening to pull out the ads for unfavorable coverage. Usually the relationship that the editors had was a common understanding of the rules, but once in a while advertisers say they would like to try a 'special solution' meaning mixing editorial content and advertising without labeling it clearly. A couple of editors-in-chief perceived that pleasing major advertisers is a common practice. Economic influence was undoubtedly their concern as well, especially fighting for the audience attention. Looking at the influence attempts, editors-in-chief think that influence attempts of PR and communication agencies had increased over the years.

The research also found that independent magazines are in a different situation than of course bigger media companies. Circulation size and ownership type had said to influence the advertising and to somewhat it is true. Elite media are different as they have the media concern/publishing company already behind them. Elite media do not have the same concerns as smaller

magazines with less circulation. In my experience the bigger the media is, the more resistant towards advertising influence it is. The elite media handles advertisers' influence in a different way than smaller regional newspapers, which battle to get advertising in a small market.

When approaching the subject one could argue that first that advertisers are a problem as they try to influence the magazine's content and perhaps make unethical influence attempts. Actually magazines and advertisers have "good cooperation", as a couple of editors-in-chief said. PR and communication agencies approach magazines all the time and editors-in-chief did not experience any problem with that. One editor-in-chief described this as a win-win situation: the advertiser gets visibility and the magazine receives promotional material. The editor-in-chief screens and selects issues from the PR message flood.

Media is admittedly influenced by multiple sources and the editor-in-chief needs to act as an advertiser gatekeeper. Editors-in-chief have not experienced the pressure of writing an article about a certain topic, but some acknowledge that it is typical that some advertisers would ask for favorable coverage. As stated in the literature, advertising influence comes in the forms of product placement, providing promotional material and sponsoring. Product placement is used mostly by television channels, in print media it is defined as an advertorial. Also advocacy groups are usually compatible with the TV-network systems fashioned with a keen sense of how that system functioned. The literature also distinguishes that media financed by advertisers reflects the interests of advertisers. Also advertisers can block communication that damages their interests. According to media economics literature advertisers and investors are influential groups and most influential groups. Undoubtedly, to think of journalism only as a reader driven is naïve as commercial actors have an influence, be it visible or invisible.

Some scholars say hard news is less open to external pressure. Lifestyle journalism is a different field and the scholars have determined that advertiser's support exists in hard news too. This sort of support includes paid trips and other sponsored events that the magazine would not have been able to make without advertiser's sponsoring them. Most of the editors-in-chief took sponsored trips, attended press events and received promotional gifts. The thematic interviews in this research included topics about unacceptable influence as well as indirect pressure. The literature shows clearly that unacceptable and indirect influence is hard to distinguish.

In this research, I have learned much about the differences between newspapers and lifestyle magazines, and found that the fundamental difference is the content. Lifestyle magazines focus on feel good -journalism while hard news narrate the reality as objectively as possible. The relation with advertisers and magazines is different because of the commercial nature of lifestyle magazines.

When the conversation continues around native advertising and poor economic situation for many magazines, it is important to ask what could be the key to survive in the market. Lifestyle magazines created the term service journalism, and they have been the forerunner in creating branded content. In many cases this has been seen as a battle between advertising and journalism, when actually these matters do not have to be the opposites. The key thing is transparency and professional journalism with ethical issues are taken into account. However, with major financial challenges and the digital development, branded content could be one solution for media to survive in the market.

## LITERATURE

- An, S. & Bergen, L.** (2007). Advertiser pressure on daily newspapers: A survey of advertising sales executives. *Journal of Advertising*, 36(2), 111-121.
- Aronson, J.** (1995). A pragmatic view of thematic analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 2 (1). Retrieved 30.4.2015 from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/BackIssues/QR2-1/aronson.html>
- Bercovici, J.** (2013). The Atlantic on that scientology advertorial: "We've screwed up". *Forbes* 1.15.2013. Retrieved 1.8.2015 from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jeffbercovici/2013/01/15/the-atlantic-on-that-scientology-advertorial-we-screwed-up/>
- Boerman, S.C., Van Reijmersdal, E.A., & Neijens, P.C.** (2014). Using eye tracking to understand the effects of brand placement disclosure types in television programs. *Journal of advertising*, 44 (3), 196-207.
- Brunner, B.R.** (2008). Defining public relations relationships and diversity's part in the practice: Practitioners' perspectives. *Journal of promotion management*, 14 (3-4), 153-167.
- Cameron, G.T., Ju-Pak, K.H. & Kim, B-H.** (1996). Advertorials in magazines: Current use and compliance with industry guidelines. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly*, 73 (3), 722-733.
- Cameron, G.T. & Curtin, P.A.** (1995). Tracing sources of information pollution: A survey and experimental test of print media's labeling policy for feature advertising. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72 (1), 178-189.
- Carlson, M.** (2014). When news sites go native: Redefining the advertising-editorial divide in response to native advertising. *Journalism*, 1-17.
- Cohen, E.L.** (2002). Online journalism as market-driven journalism. *Journal of broadcasting & Electronic media*, 46 (4), 532-548.
- Cooper, C. A. & Nownes, A.J.** (2004). Money well spent? An experimental investigation of the effects of advertorials on citizen opinion. *American politics research*, 31 (5), 546-569.



- Council for Mass Media** (2015). Ilmoitus-sana jää historiaan –tilalle mainos myös sanomalehtiin. Retrieved 5.8.2015 from <http://www.jsn.fi/uutiset/ilmoitus-sana-jaa-historiaan---tilalle-mainos-myos-sanomalehtiin/>
- Cunningham, A. & Haley, E.** 2000. A look inside the world of advertising-free publishing: A case study of Ms. Magazine. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(8), 943– 959.
- DeLorme, D.E & Fedler, F.** 2013. An Historical Analysis of Journalists' Attitudes toward Advertisers and Advertising's Influence. *American Journalism*, 22 (2), 7-40.
- Eide, M. & Knight, G.** (1999). Public and private service: Service journalism and problems of everyday life. *European journal of communication*, 14 (4), 525-547.
- Ellman, M. & Germano, F.** (2009). What do the papers sell? A model of advertising and media bias. *The Economic Journal*, 119 (537), 680–704.
- Erjavec, K.** (2004). Beyond advertising and journalism. *Discourse & Society*. 15(5), 553–578.
- Erjavec K.** (2005). Hybrid public relations news discourse. *European journal of communication* 20 (2), 155-179.
- Erjavec, K. & Kovacec, M.P** (2010). Relations with the media: Who are the main actors in an advertorial process in Slovenia? *Journalism* 11(1), 91–109.
- Fengler S. & Ruß-Mohl** (2008). Journalists and the information-attention markets: Towards an economic theory of journalism. *Journalism*, 9(6), 667–690.
- Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association** (2013). Magazine Facts. *Aika-kausmedia*.
- Fleetwood, B.** (1999). The broken wall: How newspapers sell their credibility to advertisers. *Washington Monthly*, 1 (1).
- Fortunati, L., Sarrica, M., O'Sullivan, J., Balcytiene, A., Harro-Loit, H., Macgregor, P., Roussou, N., Salavveria, R., De Luca, F.** ((2009). The influence of the Internet on European journalism. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14 (4), 928–963.
- Fürsich, E.** (2012). Lifestyle journalism as popular journalism: strategies for evaluating its public role. *Journalism practice*, 6 (1), 12-25.

- From U., Kristensen, N. N.** (2012). Lifestyle journalism: Blurring boundaries. *Journalism Practice*, 6 (1), 26-41.
- Hanusch F.** (2010). The dimension of travel journalism: Exploring new fields of journalism research beyond the news. *Journalism Studies*, 11 (1), 68-82.
- Hanusch, F.** (2012). Broadening the focus: The case for lifestyle journalism as a field of scholarly inquiry. *Journalism Practice*, 6(1), 2-11.
- Hanusch F.** (2012). Travel journalists' attitudes toward public relations: Findings from a representative survey. *Public Relations Review*, 38, 69-75.
- Hanitzsch T., Anikina M., Berganza R., Cangoz C., Coman M., Hamada B., Hanusch F., Karadjov C.D., Mellado C., Moreira S.V., Mwesige P.G., Plaisance P.L., Reich Z., Seethaler, J. Skewes E.A., Noor D.V. and Yuen K.W.** (2010). Modeling perceived influences on journalism: Evidence from a cross-national survey of journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87 (1), 5-22.
- Hardt, H.** (1996). The End of Journalism: Media and Newswork in the United States. *Javnost-The Public: Journal of the European Institute for Communication and culture*, 3(3), 21-41.
- Hays, R. G. & Reisner A. E.** (1990). Feeling the heat from advertisers: Farm magazine writer and ethical pressures. *Journalism & Mass Communication*, 67 (4), 936-942.
- Hirsjärvi, S. & Hurme, H.** (2001). *Tutkimushaastattelu – teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö*. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.
- Hiila, M.** (2015). Miten saadaan asiakkaat maksamaan natiivimainonnasta? *Image blogit*, 15.4.2015. Retrieved 1.5.2015 from <http://blogit.image.fi/minna/median-on-opittava-uutta-eika-myydasieluaan/>
- Holmes, T.** (2007). Mapping the magazine. *Journalism Studies*, 8 (4), 510-521.
- Howland, J.** (1989). Ad vs. edit: the pressure mounts. *Folio*, December, 92-100.
- Hyvärinen, M.** (2006). *Kertomuksen tutkimus*. Tampereen yliopisto. Retrieved 1.4.2015 from <http://www.uta.fi/yky/yhteystiedot/henkilokunta/mattikhyvarinen/index/Kerronnallinen%20tutkimus.pdf>

- Juti M.** (2015). Median on opittava eikä myydä sieluaan. *Image kustannus*. Retrieved 1.5.2015 from <http://blogit.image.fi/minna/median-on-opittava-utta-eika-myyda-sieluaan/>
- Jyrkiäinen, J.** (2007). The Finnish media landscape: trends and issues. *European media governance national and regional dimensions*. Intellect books: USA.
- Koschat, M.A., Putsis, Jr W.P.** (2001). Who want you when you're old and poor? Exploring the economics of media pricing. *The journal of media economics* 13 (4), 215-232.
- KMT kuluttaja** (2013). Aikakauslehtimainonnan vaikutukset KMT kuluttaja kaikki aikakauslehdet 2013. *Aikakausmedia*. Retrieved 31.7.2015 from [http://www.aikakauslehdet.fi/content/Tutkimusraportit/Mainonnan%20vaikuttavuus/Kaikki\\_Aikakauslehtimainonnan\\_vaikutukset.pdf](http://www.aikakauslehdet.fi/content/Tutkimusraportit/Mainonnan%20vaikuttavuus/Kaikki_Aikakauslehtimainonnan_vaikutukset.pdf)
- Mainonnan Neuvottelukunta,** (2014). *Mainos & Markkinointi*. Retrieved 6.8.2014 from <http://www.marmai.fi/uutiset/advertoriaalit+saivat+uudet+saannot/a2232647>
- McDonalds, D. G.** (2014). Narrative Research in Communication: Key Principles and Issues. *Review of Communication Research*, 2 (1).
- McManus, J. H.** (1997). Who's responsible for journalism? *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 12 (1), 5-17.
- McManus, J.H** (1994). *Market-driven journalism: Let the citizen beware?* Thousands Oaks, CA:Sage.
- McQuail, D.** (2010). *Mass communication theory* (6th edition). London: Sage Publications.
- Metsämuuronen, J.** (2006). *Laadullisen tutkimuksen käsikirja* (1.painos).Jyväskylä: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy.
- Niipola, J.** (2015). Mitä on natiivimainonta? *Kauppalehti*. Retrieved 7.7.2015 from <http://www.kauppalehti.fi/uutiset/mita-on-natiivimainonta/acMkeCR6>
- Nyilasy, G., Reid L. N** (2011). Advertiser pressure and the personal ethical norms of newspaper editors and ad directors. *Journal of advertising research* 51 (3), 538-552.

- Peeler, L., Guthrie, J.** (2007). Commentary 1: Advertising and Editorial Content: Laws, Ethics, and Market Forces. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics: Exploring Questions of Media Morality*, 22 (4), 350-353.
- Porlezza, C.** (2009). Bridges over the Chinese wall: The consequences of advertising pressure on the journalistic content.
- Price, C.** (2003). Interfering Owners or Meddling Advertisers: How Network Television News Correspondents Feel About Ownership and Advertiser Influence on News Stories. *The journal of media economics*, 16(3), 175-188.
- Reinemann, C., Stanyer, J., Scherr, S., Legnante, G.** (2011). Hard and soft news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*, 13 (2), 221-239.
- Ruusuvuori, J & Tiittula L.** (2005). *Haastattelu – tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Salomaa, J.** (2014). Enemmän yhteistyötä, vähemmän päätoimittajia. *Journalisti*. Retrieved 18.11.2014 from <http://m.journalistiliitto.fi/journalisti/lehti/2014/02/artikkelit/vastuukasvaa/enemman-yhteistyota-vahemman-paa/>
- Scott, B.** (2005). A contemporary history of digital journalism. *Television & New Media*, 6 (1), 89-126.
- Shoemaker, P.J. & Reese, S.D.** (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. USA: Longman Publisher
- Shoemaker, P. J. & Reese, S. D.** (2014). *Mediating the message in the 21st century: A media sociology perspective* (Third edition). USA: Longman Publisher.
- Shoemaker, P.J., Vos, T.** (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. Routledge: New York.
- Smet, de D. & Vanormelingen, S.** (2011). Advertiser pressure on newspaper journalists: A survey. *Hub Research Papers Economics & Management*.
- Soley, L.C. & Graig R. L.** (1992). Advertising pressures on newspapers: A survey. *Journal of Advertising*, 21 (4), 1-10.
- Sonderman, J. & Tran, M.** (2013) . Understanding the rise of sponsored content. *American Press Institute*.
- Statistics Finland** (2013). Finnish Mass Media. Retrieved 25.8.2015 from [http://www.stat.fi/tup/julkaisut/tiedostot/julkaisuluettelo/yklt\\_jvie\\_201300\\_2013\\_10433\\_net.pdf](http://www.stat.fi/tup/julkaisut/tiedostot/julkaisuluettelo/yklt_jvie_201300_2013_10433_net.pdf)

- Stout, P. A., Wilcox, G. B., Greer, L. S.** (1989). Trends in Magazine Advertorial Use. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 66 (4), 960-964.
- Strömbäck, J., Karlsson, M.** (2011). Who's got the power? journalists' perceptions of changing influences over the news. *Journalism Practice*, 5 (6), 653-656.
- The Council for Mass Media** (2014). *Guidelines for journalists*. Retrieved 1.8.2015 from <http://www.journalistiliitto.fi/in-english/ground-rules/guidelines/>
- The National Library of Finland** (2013). Magazine titles by frequency. Finnish Periodical Publisher's Association. Retrieved 25.8.2015 from <http://www.aikakauslehdet.fi/Frontpage/Information--Statistics/Magazine-titles/Magazine-titles-by-frequency/>
- Tuominen, T.** (2012). "Tokihan tää Suomi on hyvä veli -maa vielä" Päätoimittajien näkemyksiä lehteen kohdistuvista vaikutusyrityksistä. *Tampereen yliopisto*.
- Uimonen, R.** (2009). *Median mahti*. WSOY:Juva.
- Ukkola, S.** (2015). Kun media myi sielunsa. *Yle uutiset*. Retrieved 1.5.2015 from [http://yle.fi/uutiset/sanna\\_ukkola\\_kun\\_media\\_myi\\_sielunsa/7911490](http://yle.fi/uutiset/sanna_ukkola_kun_media_myi_sielunsa/7911490)
- Underwood, D.** (1993) When MBAs Rule the Newsroom. How the Marketers and Managers are Reshaping Today's Media. New York: *Columbia University Press*.
- Usher, N.** (2012). Service journalism as community experience: Personal technology and personal finance at the New York Times. *Journalism Practice*, 6(1), 107-121.
- van Reijmersdal, E., Neijens, P. & Smit, E.** (2005) . Readers' Reactions to Mixtures of Advertising and Editorial Content in Magazines. *Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising (CTC Press)* 27 (2), 39-53.
- Witschge T., Nygren, G.** (2009). Journalistic work: A profession under pressure. *Journal of media business studies*, 6 (1), 37-59.
- Zelizer, B.** (2011) "Journalism in the Service of Communication", *Journal of Communication*, 61(1), 1-21.

## APPENDIXES

### Appendix 1. The theme interview frame

Background questions:

Name:

Publication:

Owner of the publication:

Education:

How did you become an editor-in-chief?

- How long have you been in the industry?
- How long have you worked as an editor-in-chief?

Why do you want to work for a lifestyle magazine?

- What is the work environment of a lifestyle magazine like?

What is your target group?

- Who does it represent?
- What kind of brand do you want to create?
- How much have you invested in an online magazine?

How would you classify lifestyle journalism?

- What are the most important tasks for a lifestyle magazine?
- Is it more commercial than news journalism?

### EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S ROLE

Could you describe your responsibilities as an editor-in-chief?

- What does your work include?

Do you feel that your role is more that of a journalist or that of a profit-making company manager? Please explain.

- How can the roles of a journalist and a manager can be fit together?
- What sort of problems can be involved in that?

What are the challenges and difficult issues as an editor-in-chief?

- Are the challenges related to the routines?

Which stakeholder groups and partners are important to you as an editor-in-chief?

- What kind of collaboration do you have with these groups?

## OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

**What are the outside influence attempts that a lifestyle magazine editor-in-chief can come across?**

- Which groups could be called pressure groups?
- Is lifestyle journalism more open to outside influence attempts than news journalism?

**Which interest groups want to influence the editorial content? (readers, advertisers, owners etc.)**

- Who has the greatest influence?
- Can different influences conflict with each other?
- How often have you had to resolve an issue where there is a conflict of interest between editorial content and advertising?

**What kind of cooperation do you have with advertisers at this moment?**

- What kind of deals do you have?
- Do you use advertorials in your magazine?
- Do you use new forms of advertising (such as native advertisement, sponsored content and content marketing)?

**Have you experienced a desire to influence magazine content from the advertiser's side?**

- Can advertisers have influence?
- Do you get approached by interest groups, public relations or advertising agencies or lobbyists?

**What is an unacceptable influence attempt?**

- How can you identify unacceptable influences?
- How can it be distinguished from a normal influence attempt?
- What is an indirect or informal influence attempt?
- What is meant by the advertiser providing support?

## INFLUENCE ATTEMPT IMPACTS

**Do you ever have to be worried about your autonomy weakening?**

- Who can threaten your autonomy?
- What kind of leverage do the owners have?

**What impacts can outside influence attempts have?**

- Can they cause favorable content being included to please the advertiser?

**How are the outside influence attempts usually responded to?**

- Are they negotiable?
- What kinds of compromises are being made?
- What kind of influence attempts have you encountered?

**How do you turn down influence attempts regarding magazine content?**

- Who makes these sorts of influence attempts?
- When is it good to give in?

**ONLINE JOURNALISM AND THE FUTURE**

**How do you see the future of lifestyle journalism?**

- What will change and what will remain?
- Are blogs going to be a big part of the content?
- Will blogs bring outside influence attempts to the magazine?

**Do you think the online form will make the magazine more commercial? In what ways?**

- Do you think so called hybrid forms (editorial and advertising blending together) will increase?
- Do you think this will happen more online?

**It is said that money runs the world more and more, what do think about that?**

- What kind power does money have?
- Give an example!

**Where do you place your magazine in this continuum? Scale 1-10.**

The world of brands.....Free journalism  
 Advertisers listening.....Independent decisions  
 Content collaboration.....Separate ads  
 Commercial pressure.....Free content

**Where do you place your competitors and other magazines in this continuum? (why)**

The world of brands.....Free journalism  
 Advertisers listening.....Independent decisions  
 Content collaboration.....Separate ads  
 Commercial pressure.....Free content

**Where do you position your magazine in 3 years' time in this continuum (why)?**

The world of brands.....Free journalism  
 Advertisers listening.....Independent decisions  
 Content collaboration.....Separate ads  
 Commercial pressure.....Free content



**Where do you place your competitors and other magazines in 3 years' time in this continuum?**

- The world of brands.....Free journalism
- Advertisers listening.....Independent decisions
- Content collaboration.....Separate ads
- Commercial pressure.....Free content