

JAN RICHARD BÆRUG

The Collapsing Wall. Hybrid Journalism.  
A Comparative Study of Newspapers and  
Magazines in Eight Countries in Europe



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**JAN RICHARD BÆRUG**

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A Comparative Study of Newspapers and  
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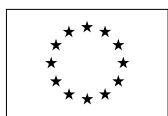
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## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

In the weeks leading up to the 2001 local elections in Latvia I studied the programmes of the nationwide Latvian television channels increasingly loaded with interviews stripped of any critical questions, but leaving a soft, cosy and very positive impression of some of the candidates. It all recalled my anger and indignation from watching Soviet television some fifteen years earlier. Being a young Norwegian student coming to Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) in Soviet Russia, it was, if not a shock, then an anger-producing experience to watch *Vremja* (Time); the main evening news programme on Soviet TV every day.

“How dare they!” I thought back then in 1986. “How dare they try to bluff the audience? How dare these journalists treat the watching public as a group of complete fools who are ready to blindly believe in such one-sided reporting? How dare they try to trick me and other TV viewers with such a deliberate, sly mixture of factual news and outright propaganda?”

I was furious. It was an emotional media meeting with a totalitarian regime. Glasnost had not yet embraced the state TV channel, even though the transparency tsunami was soon to roll over parts of the Soviet territory.

Those hybrids of journalism and propaganda as well as journalism and hidden advertising in Soviet and Latvian TV triggered my interests in various types of hybridisation processes in the media industry. Differently from the Soviet Union in 1986, Latvia in 2001 was characterized by press freedom and freedom of expression, but journalistic autonomy seemed to be a more complicated value to achieve, not coming automatically with the change of a political regime. Both a shortage of press freedom and journalistic autonomy has opened up for a variety of hybrid formats that look like journalism without actually being so.

Hybridisation, blurring, mixing, division and separation are words describing that something is merged or kept apart. The words by themselves are neither positive nor negative. The evaluation and human perception of these words are most often based on *what* is divided or mixed and *from what point* the separating or mixing process is viewed.

History has shown that for an authoritarian regime, mixing news and propaganda as a form of one-sided promotion is usually considered a valuable mix as it may help the regime reach its objectives. For the public, as it was for me, watching *Vremja*, the situation can be quite different. I disliked it because I realised I was given biased information. Others might enjoy the mix of news and propaganda, partly due to the fact that they do not understand that it is a mix; in the same way as some people find hybrid news amusing as they do not understand that it is a mix between news and advertising.

A central element in shaping and strengthening journalism over the past century has been the ideology of journalistic autonomy and the so-called ‘wall’ between the editorial and advertising departments in a media company. According to Benson this ‘church-state wall’ was possibly created in the *New*

*York Tribune* in 1841, but it was only in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that this became a more common practice. For a long time anybody from the advertising department in the U.S. newspaper *Los Angeles Times* would be verbally attacked if they dared to enter the editorial department. In another newspaper the advertising and editorial staff were in the same building, yet used different floors and elevators, the elevators used by one department could not stop on the floor of the other department (Benson 2001). Now these practices have changed. In 1997 the *Los Angeles Times* got 90 % of its revenue from advertising (Craig 2004: 235) and members of the editorial and advertising department have regular meetings to discuss co-operative efforts to increase readership and advertising (Benson 2001). How do such changes effect journalistic autonomy? If this was the case in the United States, what was the situation with regard to the relationship between journalism and advertising in Europe, were questions that troubled my mind.

The more I read and tried to find answers to these questions, the more I understood how little research had been done in Europe on the mixing or hybridisation between journalism and advertising. Except for a few researchers (e.g. Harley Cameron, Karmen Erjavic, Halliki Harro-Loit, Ban-Yuen Kim, Kuen-Hee Ju-Park, Peter Neijens, Edith Smit and Eva Van Reijmersdal), this was still a topic that had not caught the broader attention of the European research community. Until recently, hybridisation between journalism and advertising had mostly been studied by using the discourse analytical approach (Erjavec 2004, Kong 2006, Kress 2004), an ethnographical case study of a certain newspaper (Eckman & Lindlöf 2003), studying audience reaction to advertorials (van Reijmersdal et al. 2005), comparing different media channels (Harro-Loit and Saks 2006) or in the discourse of marketing research (Hardy 2011). Some researchers had approached the hybridisation topic from the point of view of loyalties and moral dilemmas where trust and autonomy are challenged by the financial pressure in the media industry. Many studies on advertorials (Cameron 1994; Dahlgren & Edénius 2007; Eckman & Lindlöf 2003; van Reijmersdal et al. 2005) had been based on the sole premise that the advertorials are labelled as such (Harro-Loit 2015a, Poler Kovačič et al. 2010). What happens when advertorials are not labelled? When labelled, advertorials can be considered an example of moderate hybridisation of advertising and journalism, when not labelled, an example of a strong or complete hybridisation. The shortage of research data on this topic triggered my interest even more. To my knowledge, there had been no comparative, empirical study of the degree of hybridisation between advertising and journalism both in newspapers and magazines in several countries in Europe. Through a comparative analysis weighing data from various nations and print publications, I believed I could get a sharper and deeper understanding of the issue studied, as I would be able to see both similarities and differences, and could compare these to a series of factors. Furthermore, no study had measured the degree of both labelled and unlabelled advertorials. Hopefully my research will help fill some of this gap.

## **Research Aim and Research Questions**

The overall aim of my research is to study and measure to what extent journalism is in the process of being merged with advertising in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe, paying particular attention to labelled and unlabelled advertorials.

Having for several years worked for a Nordic institution in the Baltic countries, I decided to focus my study on the Scandinavian and Baltic countries as I know them well. To observe distance and avoid possible conflict of interests, I decided to exclude the country where I am born (Norway) and the country where I live (Latvia). To make the scope of Northern European countries wider, I decided to include the three countries where I know the key language. Consequently I ended up with eight countries; Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The overall research aim can be divided into several research questions that together can unveil a more comprehensive picture and understanding of the state of hybridisation of journalism and advertising in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe. Research has showed that some of the key indicators of blurring between journalism and advertising, like advertorials, infomercials and product placement, are becoming more widespread (Bogart 1995, Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 66, Jaffe 1990, Stout et al. 1989: 962), yet at the same time, research on advertorials and infomercials, in particular in a European context, is very modest; in a European comparative perspective even almost non-existent. My aim would be to know as precisely as possible how widespread newspapers and magazines in eight countries in the northern part of Europe accept and publish advertorials, thus my first research question is:

RQ1: How widespread is the acceptance for publishing advertorials in magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe?

Very often research on advertorials has dealt with labelled advertorials or taken for granted that advertorials are labelled. The Slovenian researchers Poler Kovačič and Erjavec are among some of the few media researchers in Europe that have paid sharper attention to the practice of unlabelled advertorials as one of the key indicators of blurring between journalism and advertising (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010). As sufficiently clear labelling of advertorials may be considered a litmus test for a newspaper or magazine in terms of a complete blurring of journalism and advertising: answering the question whether media is willing to give in to pressure and manipulate its audience by publishing hidden promotional information, labelling of the advertorials is the key issue in the second research question:

RQ2: To what extent are advertorials labelled as advertorials or advertising that is paid for in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe?

Previous research has revealed that advertisers sometimes would like to have influence on a journalistic product (Coyle 1998: 38; Craig 2004: 238; Kessler 1989; Soley & Craig 1992; Soley 1997; Williams 1992: 167), yet there is a shortage of comparative research on this matter in Europe. Thus the third research question is formulated as such:

RQ3: To what extent does the presence of advertising make a newspaper or magazine in the northern part of Europe more willing to publish neutral or positive editorial content or not to publish very critical and/or negative content about an advertiser?

American media literature is quite rich on research questioning the existence of the once so legendary fire wall between the advertising and the editorial department of a media organisation (Benson 2001, Coyle 1998: 37, Craig 2004: 239), yet, at least in a European perspective, there is to my knowledge, little or no research giving a wider and more comprehensive overview of the current state of this dividing wall when comparing a series of countries. My fourth research question thus goes as follows:

RQ4: How distinct is the wall between the advertising and editorial department and, if any, what sort of communication is there between the two departments in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe?

Blurring of journalism and advertising could possibly be expected to create dilemmas for employees working for both the editorial and advertising department in a media organisation. Should they in their work, base a decision on the interest of the public, the advertiser or something else, that is, where is their loyalty? My fifth research question is as follows:

RQ5: To what extent do the employees in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe taking decisions on advertorials understand possible dilemmas of this practice, and where are their loyalties?

There seems to be a belief among some media experts, possibly also among the public, that serious so-called quality newspapers stand out and are considered bastions of journalistic integrity while journalism in niche magazines and TV shows are more infiltrated with various forms of open and hidden advertising. This impression appears to have been accepted as an unwritten law, yet it is questioned whether this division has been measured and based on research. This, therefore, leads me to my sixth research question:

RQ6: Are there any distinct differences between newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe in terms of hybridisation of journalism and advertising including acceptance and publishing advertorials, labelling of

advertorials, advertising influence on editorial content as well as contact and communication between the advertising and editorial departments?

Past studies, for example, by Hallin and Mancini have revealed distinct differences in the media in various countries in Europe. Yet research has so far not given any clear answers to possible country-based differences in the northern part of Europe regarding advertorial-related issues as well as to the hybridisation of journalism and advertising in general and how these possible differences may be explained. Can any patterns or links between known historical, institutional, educational, normative or other factors on one side, and hybridisation on the other side, be observed? My seventh research question is formulated in the following way:

RQ7: Any there any distinct differences between the northern European countries in terms of hybridisation of journalism and advertising including acceptance and publishing advertorials, labelling of advertorials, advertising influence on editorial content as well as contact and communication between the advertising and editorial departments and if distinct differences exist, could these be linked to differences in historical development, education, press codes and legislation as well as press institutions?

Understanding journalism in its independent form as a cornerstone of any democratic society, and the wider effect the blurring of journalism and advertising thus might have in a society, Chapter 1, the first theoretical part of this monograph, builds a theoretical framework to explain how cracks in what I have chosen to call normative pillars, supposed to safeguard journalistic autonomy and serve the interests of the public, have over the past three decades, due to commercialisation, partly demolished the once fundamental wall between the editorial and advertising departments within a media organisation. Internet and new technologies have triggered, accelerated and been a driving force in commercialisation and the information overload. As a result journalism has been put in a very critical, vulnerable and squeezed position, paving the way for more hybrid journalism and thus a weakened democracy.

Chapter 2 contains contextual country background information, which I argue is essential and may to a certain extent explain possible, current differences between the eight countries in focus for this study in terms of journalistic autonomy and what I have defined as ‘hybrid journalism’. Chapter 3 highlights print journalism with focus on the differences and similarities between newspapers and magazines. Chapter 4 elaborates on hybridisation and ‘hybrid journalism’. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the data and methods applied. The empirical Chapter 6 includes five cases; the study on a) car magazines, b) architecture and construction magazines, c) health and medical magazines, d) MICE (conference tourism) magazines and e) newspapers in eight countries in the northern part of Europe; Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom in terms of



acceptance and labelling of advertorials, the link between advertising and more editorial content, the link between advertising and a guarantee of no negative or critical editorial content as well as communication between the editorial and advertising departments. The key empirical findings are presented in Chapter 7 and further discussed in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 presents the conclusions followed by references and appendixes.

Personally I have been working on both sides of the so-called fire-wall; as a journalist and as a communication and marketing director. As such I can very well understand the working logics of both journalists and advertisers. My position, however, is that journalism and advertising should be kept as much a part as possible to safeguard journalistic autonomy and the credibility of journalistic production. In my opinion, hybridisation of journalism and advertising is an important topic as a strong hybridisation eventually will take away the trust in journalism, which, with its various obligations to serve the public, is a cornerstone in any democratic system. In collecting and presenting data from my research I try as much as possible to be neutral and distance myself from my own standpoint.

# 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter creates a theoretical framework, based on a normative and an economic approach, to explain how cracks in what I have chosen to call normative pillars, supposed to safeguard journalistic autonomy and serve the interests of the public, have over the past three decades, due to commercialisation, partly demolished the once fundamental wall between the editorial and advertising departments within a media organisation. Internet and new technologies have triggered, accelerated and been a driving force in commercialisation and the information overload. As a result, journalism has been put in a very critical, vulnerable and squeezed position, paving the way for more hybrid journalism and thus a weakened democracy.

## 1.1. The Concept of Journalistic Autonomy

The word ‘autonomy’ is derived from the Greek words ‘autos’ and ‘nomos’ meaning ‘self-rule’. Most contemporary concepts of autonomy have developed from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries’ philosophies of Immanuel Kant and John Stuart Mill. A person, following the thinking of Kant, is autonomous only when his choices and actions are unaffected by factors that are external, or inessential, to himself, while according to John Stuart Mill, a person is autonomous insofar as he directs his actions in accordance with his own values and desires. Kant dismissed ‘desire’; for him a person was autonomous if he or she reasoned and acted according to a maxim that he or she wanted to be a universal law (Taylor 2016). This ‘Categorical imperative’ became for Kant the basic principle of ethics. Essential for the idea of autonomy is both the freedom and independence from manipulations by others as well as the capacity to rule, act or reason oneself (Arneson 1991, Christman 2015, Dworkin 1988).

The concept of ‘journalistic autonomy’ builds on the philosophical theories and may in short be understood as the ability of journalists and media organisations to work and report based purely on their own journalistic values and principles, at the same time being free and unaffected by external factors. The concept of ‘journalistic autonomy’ is closely linked to the concept of ‘freedom of the press’, and to a certain degree overlapping. While ‘freedom of the press’ or ‘press freedom’ focuses more on external interferences and restrictions on the media and the journalists; that is, analyses the framework and environment of the media from the point of view how free it is from external influence and restrictions, ‘journalistic autonomy’ gives additional attention to how independently a journalist or media organisation is able to operate, sometimes despite a low degree of press freedom.

For example, even though there are countries where the degree of press freedom is rated as rather low, there might be many examples of journalists and media organisations showing a high degree of journalistic autonomy in the same countries. As such journalistic autonomy is seen as a core element of

journalistic professionalism, and thus consequently as a norm of how journalists and media organisations should behave. Undoubtedly the external level of press freedom may have a serious impact on journalistic autonomy, yet autonomy is very much also shaped internally by the journalists and media organisations themselves by the way they are capable of distancing themselves from political, commercial and other types of pressure.

Even though press freedom does not guarantee an autonomous news media, scholars have claimed that in countries with long traditions of strong press freedom, journalists with an academic degree and longer work experience are more conscious and ready to resist and offer opposition to pressure attempting to restrict their autonomy than in countries with shorter and weaker traditions of press freedom (Ghinea & Avāđani 2011, Helles et al. 2011, Kuutti et al. 2011, Školkey et al 2011, van Besien 2011, Reich & Hanitzsch 2013: 150). Thus, the contemporary situation of journalistic autonomy to a certain degree builds on historical traditions. Until well into the 18th century regulations and censorship of the printed news was considered by many in Europe to be both appropriate and necessary (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009). The struggle for more freedom of the press has, through the recent centuries, mainly been directed towards achieving a reduction in the legal repressions against those that expressed opinions perceived to be critical or offensive towards the dominating religion or government policies and officials (Burrowes 2011: 14). Political changes, conflicts, wars as well as societal and economic crises have had significant impacts on the development or 'life course' of journalism cultures in all European countries; thus also on the understanding of journalistic autonomy (Harro-Loit 2015b: 8). The more frequent and longer interruptions in the development of journalism culture are, seemingly, the less rooted is journalistic autonomy as an occupational value.

Autonomy has been valued as a key factor safeguarding journalistic credibility, as it presumes journalists' independence from external pressures and interests as well as full loyalty to their public (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001b: 53; Larson 1977). A question for a well-educated and well-informed society is thus whether a media institution is autonomous enough to be trusted.

Scholl and Weischenberg distinguish between three levels of journalistic professional autonomy: individual, organisational and societal. On the individual level, journalists ought to be free in selecting information and in covering stories; on the organisational level, newsrooms ought to be free from external influences such as commercial and political constraints; and on the societal or institutional level, media systems ought to have guaranteed press freedom and be free from all kinds of censorship (Scholl & Weischenberg 1999).

Journalistic autonomy can be studied in various dimensions; as ideals, as perceived autonomy or as factual autonomy (Nygren et al. 2015: 80–81), thus stressing the differences between which standards of autonomy journalists, media organisations and media systems should try to achieve, how these three levels regard and understand their own situation in terms of autonomy, and

finally what real or factual degree of autonomy exists. Moreover, journalistic autonomy can be split into external autonomy and internal autonomy (Nygren et al. 2015: 80, Reich & Hanitzsch 2013: 135). In terms of external autonomy, many scholars have noted the decisive role of political and commercial pressures in limiting journalistic autonomy (McChesney 2003: 309–310, Nygren & Degtereva 2012: 733–741, Picard & Van Weezel 2008: 25), others, stressing internal autonomy, have claimed that journalists themselves consider factors originating in their immediate environment, like the organisational, procedural and professional influences to have more influence on their work (Hanitzsch et al. 2010: 17). Organisational influences are here defined to include sources of influence from within the newsroom like supervisors and editors as well as from the media organisation itself like the management and the owners. Procedural influences include the various operational constraints faced by the journalists in their everyday work including deadlines and shortage of resources as well as routine procedures and standards. Professional influences include professional standards, codes and assumptions about how journalism is or ought to be practiced as well as media law (Hanitzsch et al. 2010:17). However, some of these more internal influences, in particular procedural and professional influences, might not necessarily hamper journalistic professional autonomy. As Hanitzsch argues “the relatively strong importance of professional influences may be seen as an indication of a global move toward professionalisation and further consolidation of professional values within the occupation of journalism” (Hanitzsch et al. 2010:17). Put in other words, some influences might restrict journalistic autonomy, while other influences might have no or even a positive impact on journalistic autonomy as long as they strengthen behaviour in line with widely accepted journalistic professional standards and journalistic codes of ethics. In such a way journalistic autonomy includes both freedom as well as responsibility to act in accordance with good journalistic professional standards.

## **1.2. Normative Pillars**

The point of departure for the normative pillars, supposed to safeguard journalistic autonomy and serve the interests of the public, is what has evolved to become a seemingly common understanding of the most essential roles and functions of the press in a democratic society.

As the press has a very special and powerful public role, different from all other businesses, media is the only business that is explicitly protected in a series of constitutions. If “contributing to free opinion formation” (Asp 2007b: 31) to protect the interest of the public may be considered to be the overall role of the press in a democratic society, the press, that is, those who disseminate information to the public, must not be restrained in their role of holding the ruling powers accountable (Common Cause 2008). Just as constitutional contracts oblige the ruling state powers to keep their hands off the press, the

press itself in protecting its autonomy has considered it essential to keep a clear distance to those holding power, to be fully able to control and criticise the three branches of power; the executive, legislative and judiciary powers, thus becoming the fourth power pillar in a democratic state. Classically, the fourth estate concept has been directed towards control of the political decision making. However, a broader interpretation of the concept includes a critical approach and control of those having power in a society in general, including for example military, religious and commercial or economic power holders.

Checking the conduct and actions of the powerful and securing freedom of expression has been considered a pillar, backbone or a compulsory component of a democracy. At the same time, bearing in mind its powerful role in shaping public opinion, a news media failing to behave in a responsible and professional way may cause harm to the democracy (e.g. Bennett et al. 2007, Schudson 2008). James Carey claims that “without journalism there is no democracy, but without democracy there is no journalism either” (Carey 1999: 51) and “without the institutions or spirits of democracy journalists are reduced to propagandists or entertainers” adding that journalism may be ruined not only by an authoritarian state, but also by an entertainment state (Carey 1999: 17). Slightly reformulating we might say that stripped of the fourth estate function, journalists are reduced to PR officers and entertainers in the interest of the ruling political or commercial elite. Stressing the inter-relationship between democracy and a free mass media, Strömbäck writes that mass media needs democracy because it is the only form of government that respects freedom of speech, expression, and information, and the independence of the media from the government (Strömbäck 2005: 332). Zassoursky suggests two simplified approaches to journalism; journalism as a tool of political authority as practiced in, among others, the communist states and journalism as the fourth estate as practiced historically in many liberal, Western countries (Zassoursky 1998). Looking more globally “the chief function of the modern Chinese press has been enlightenment and propaganda, not provision of information” (Lee 2004). Instead of a ‘watch dog’ or ‘guard dog’ function, the media appears to be more of a ‘lap dog’ (Lee 2008).

The information provided by news journalism is essential when people in a democracy go to elections and choose those that shall rule. They provide information to voters, while they also provide platforms for the parties and candidates who compete for voters’ support. If the media does not fulfil their communicative functions, elections cannot fulfil their function as mechanisms of democracy (Asp 2007b: 47). As free media gives people an option to evaluate the political leaders, it also gives politicians an opportunity to reflect and comment on the preoccupations of public opinion (Council of Europe 2007: 16). According to the organisation Common Cause, “a strong democracy depends on information and knowledge”. The more sources of information we have, the greater our knowledge. The greater our knowledge, the more intelligently we can select our representatives in government at all levels, and the better we can guide their decisions (Common Cause 2008: 2). Even though

political elections represent the top of the democratic hierarchy, the public faces many additional decision-making processes where an independent press may play a crucial role in contributing to free opinion formation. To serve these public interests, scholars and others have over the past centuries identified some key normative functions of the press; that is, “what the press should do”. I will briefly present three functions most often listed.

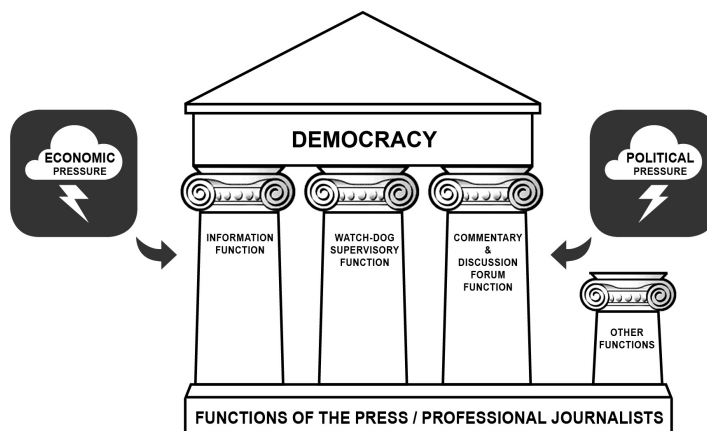
The first function is to provide information to the citizens of a society formulated as giving sufficient information for people to decide on issues in the society (NOU 1996), “providing citizens with the information they need in order to be free and self-governing, the government with the information it needs in order to make decisions in the common interest sensitive to public sentiments” (Strömbäck, 2005: 332). It is crucial for journalists to make sure that pieces of information are not held back or censored because of pressure from groups with power. As Kovach and Rosenstiel argue, in the 21st century we have arrived from the age of information to the age of affirmation, where the main question is no longer about how to find information, but how to decide what information to believe and what sources to trust (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2010:6). In the middle of the first decade of the 21st century there was a hope that bloggers would partly take over the function to provide information for the public. This approach is well presented in Stephen Cooper’s book *Watching the Watchdog: Bloggers and the Fifth Estate* (Cooper 2006), where Cooper tells several stories where the bloggers have been the main media analysts. Moreover, the rise of the so-called citizen journalism actually broke the information monopoly of professional news media. Still, as for example, S. Elizabeth Bird argues: “The new digital environment has jolted traditional journalism out of its conservative complacency; news operations are much more responsive to their empowered and engaged audiences. Yet surely effective democracy requires the existence of news organizations that employ professional journalists who know how to report new information, not merely recirculate it.” (Bird 2009: 295). Furthermore, with more available information, the more professional journalists have to select and analyse to make sure that information passed on to the public is as little biased as possible and as trustworthy and essential as possible (Harro-Loit et al. 2012: 131). That is, the journalists have a task to take out one-sided materials, including advertising, propaganda and other promotional material, or, if passed on to the public, inform the public about the nature of this information.

The second function is often referred to as ‘the supervisory function’, ‘the watchdog function’ or ‘the function to act as the fourth estate’. In line with this function the media ought to “scrutinize those who govern by exposing misbehavior” (Asp 2007b: 31), “scrutinize and control those having influence in the society” (NOU 1996), “by acting as a watchdog against abuse of power in politics and other parts of society” (Strömbäck, 2005: 332). Kovach and Rosenstiel have labelled this function as “journalism of verification” (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001a: 78–112). This means that journalism is the institution that should be able to control power; both political and economic power. Again, this function can only be implemented if the journalists enjoy autonomy in their

operations. The more actively the media scrutinizes politics, the better for democracy, according to a Swedish governmental report on the development of democracy published in 2000 (SOU 2000: 85). If the attitude towards the elite is tough, the opposite might sometimes be the case towards those that are not so strong. In some countries, journalists acting as advocates for the poor and socially unprotected and handicapped might be seen not only as a form of positive discrimination, but also as a sub-task of the watchdog function.

The third function often mentioned is the ‘commentary and discussion forum function’. Again, it has been formulated in different ways: “providing a forum for public discussion about diverse, often conflicting political ideas” (Strömbäck, 2005: 332), the Hutchins commission wrote: “a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism” (Blanchard 1998: 378). A classical democratic ideal is that decisions should be based on the best arguments from open and public discussions and take into account the interest of the community (SOU 2000:78). Even though the internet has lifted part of the public discussion forums out of the press (Schudson 2010: 104), it has also given a boost to more public discussions on the websites of the press.

While these three afore-mentioned functions by the press in democratic societies are often repeated by scholars, the press do have other functions or roles, as well, like to entertain, to sell ads to finance their existence as well as other functions, yet these do not appear to be so essential to a democracy. The above-mentioned roles and functions lead the way to descriptions on the four normative pillars, which will mainly focus on how the media companies and the journalistic community should carry out their roles and functions to safeguard journalistic autonomy and serve the interest of the public. In terms of time, the focus is on the period from the end of the 1980s until the present (2017); that roughly correspond to the past three decades. Of particular interest is whether there are signs indicating possible cracks in these normative pillars; that is, have the norms that governed the end of 1980s been challenged or weakened.



**Figure I.** The Pillars of Democracy

The relationship between the functions of the press and democracy

### 1.2.1. The First Normative Pillar – Journalistic Conduct Through Self-regulation

Codes and other professional norms together with the mechanisms like press councils, ombudsmen, reviews, blogs and other instruments established to promote the implementation of these norms make up the core of the system for journalistic conduct through self-regulation. These media accountability instruments, which intend to monitor, comment on and criticise journalism as well as seek to expose and debate problems of journalism are not used only by media professionals, but also by media users (Fengler et al. 2011: 20). Increasingly so, as the internet with social networks like *Facebook*, *Twitter* and other *Web 2.0* venues, have speeded up the process of involving the media users into the media accountability process as it offers an almost endless array of new venues for pluralistic debates about journalism, at high speed and low cost (Fengler et al. 2011: 14–15). As Leipold points out, the more media professionals and media users become involved, the more the power and value of journalistic norms and codes of ethics as network goods will increase (Leipold 2006).

Through press codes of ethics, as a rule, the journalistic community itself<sup>1</sup> voluntarily defines the norms of how journalists and media organisations should carry out their roles and functions. The published codes and their implementation should discourage external interference and thus protect journalistic autonomy as well as set a framework for journalistic operations where there is a distinct border between public interests, which the journalistic community should defend, and non-public interests, from which the public, if necessary, should be protected.

Resistance and fear of government regulations, control and outside pressure for further self-regulation (Evers 2000: 256–257, 264, Fengler et al. 2015: 261), as well as fear of the loss of benefits have historically been driving forces in developing and reviewing journalistic codes: as was the case with the first code of ethics for newspapers formally adopted in 1910 by the Kansas Editorial Association in the United States (Evers 2000: 261). Due first and foremost to the publishing of unlabelled advertorials or ‘unsigned advertisements’, as it was referred to at that time, national politicians accused newspapers of offenses against public interests. Fearing losing their postal rights, the newspapers apparently reacted by producing the code, which began with addressing unlabelled advertorials stating that “unsigned advertisements in the news columns should either be preceded or followed by the word ‘advertisement’ or its abbreviation” (Hill 1922: 181–182). Similarly, when a UK governmental committee in 1990 threatened to replace codes with a law and the press council with a state commission with statutory powers, the press was quick to set up a new complaint commission to avoid state regulations and protect their journalistic autonomy (Frost 2004: 102). According to Harris, under repressive regimes, a

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<sup>1</sup> In a European context Denmark is an exception where the code is adopted by journalists and the state (Laitila 1995: 528-530)



code may be a way of providing moral support to journalists as well as encouraging solidarity with the profession. While here the emphasis is on protecting journalists themselves, in more politically liberal regimes the emphasis is possibly more on protecting members of the public (Harris 1962: 62). Yet, with growing commercial pressures, we might state that the core of self-regulations again reactualises moral support to journalists and solidarity with the profession.

When the media industry has set up a well-functioning self-regulation system including codes of ethics, press councils and other self-regulatory mechanisms, the state will normally have less arguments and motivations for trying to introduce laws and other regulations to control the operations of the media. Seen from a more positive state's perspective, the freedom of the press guaranteed in basic laws gives 'breathing space' for the press, but at the same time its general and short formulations imply that the press should solve ethical dilemmas themselves, that is, adopt a code of ethics and make sure it is observed. Moreover, the test norm is broader as the codes may deal not only with illegal actions, but also legally unexceptional, socially undesirable actions as well (Evers 2000: 261). A possible drawback is that the public may conclude that they lose the control of the decision making process as those judging are showing too much solidarity with their colleagues in their decisions, while at the same time, a council may be criticised for acting needlessly and severely (Evers 2000: 261).

Codes are one of the criteria of professionalisation. White even argues that "the adoption of a code of ethics is the single most important symbol of the fact that this occupation is seeking to justify itself in terms of professional norms" (White 1995: 455). According to Evers: "someone proves himself to be a professional if he or she is able to integrate moral reflections into his or her professional practice" (Evers 2000: 260). Codes also show the clients, suppliers and public that the organisation takes its social responsibility seriously (Evers 2000: 257). In a comparative European survey on media accountability, codes, both company guidelines and professional codes of ethics, were rated to have higher impact in journalism than other self-regulation instruments (Fengler et al. 2015: 256).

Although a code most often formulates what already in the past was experienced as a binding norm (Evers 2000: 265); that is, what ought to be done and avoided in professional practice, crucial societal and media changes push for corrections in the codes as well. As McQuail has claimed, moral principles in journalism are often expressed in the clearest way at the time of crises and at turning points in national or media history (McQuail 1992). Logically at such times also the need for clarity and assistance experienced by journalists is possibly at its strongest.

### **Content of the Codes**

The principles listed in the codes serve as the core guidelines for journalists to operate in a professional way and to safeguard their journalistic autonomy. The

code principles might be seen as a key protection against external pressure, both against commercial and political power holders. Yet, today only slightly more than half of the national codes of ethics for journalists in Europe include the principle that editorial content must be separated from advertising (EthicNet 2012), a principle that was mentioned as the primary one in the first formally adopted code of ethics for journalists in 1910.

Some of the codes describe how a journalist as an individual should behave, others how the press as such should carry out its work, as such they relate both to the individual, organisational and societal level of journalistic autonomy. Blöbaum argues against the individualistic approach where a journalist is kept solely responsible for his or her action by stating that “journalists do not work as single individuals who are solely responsible, but in a system of economic, technical and hierarchical structures where responsibilities are difficult to spot” (Blöbaum 1994). Possibly it would be correct to state that in vulnerable periods, when external pressures of various kinds increase, it is logical that the various levels; the individual journalists, the media organisations and the society attempt to join forces as much as possible to protect journalistic autonomy. When comparing codes of ethics in the media industry in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Muslim Asia, Hafez discovered that codes in some non-western countries mention freedom rights, but also limit them owing to political, national, religious, and cultural considerations (Hafez 2002: 236). Traditions, mores and religion are mentioned in the codes in Arab/Muslim countries, but not in the codes of the Western countries (Hafez 2002: 242).

The length of a code may vary greatly. A long and detailed code may seemingly offer more protection to the public, but such a code could also foster an attitude among journalists and the press that what is not specifically defined as unethical in the code is permitted (Harris 1992: 67, Evers: 2000: 274). One could say that a code needs to have enough ‘breathing room’ with more round and open formulations. Evers argues that a brief code with some rather general principles may more easily adapt to new situations and times (Evers 2000: 274). Despite these differences, research shows that there are many norms and principles that are repeated in codes in Europe as well as world-wide. Even though there is no complete common understanding of norms for what is good and bad in journalism, at the same time, we can identify some core values that seem to be shared by the majority of journalists, more or less regardless of country. These normative principles of ‘good journalism’ sometimes referred to as ‘traditional journalism’ or ‘western journalism’ are based on an ‘Anglo-American’, ‘professional’ and ‘social responsibility’ model, which again “is widely recognised as a universal model for journalism practice and theory all over the world” (Mancini, 2000: 265). Schudson has raised the question whether a prevailing pattern of behaviour gives rise to moral norms (Schudson 2001). Maybe an answer could be that what is once perceived as moral behaviour by a group of people when many times repeated, after some times become a norm for social behaviour. In a comparative study of the 31 national codes of journalism ethics in Europe Laitila identified 61 various ethical

principles. Out of these principles 24 were present in more than half of the codes, none of them were listed in more than 90 % of the codes. Out of seven most frequently listed principles, listed in no less than 84 % of the codes, four were closely linked to journalistic autonomy (Laitila 1995: 537) as seen in the table below.

**Table I.** The Frequency (in percentage) a Principle is Listed in the National Codes of Journalism Ethics in Europe

Principle	Listed, in %
Provide true, fair and accurate information	90
Correct errors	90
Not accept bribes and other benefits	87
Not allow any outsider to have influence on journalistic work	84
Separate advertising and editorial content	58

Source: Laitila (1995: 537)

As seen above, “providing true, fair and accurate information” and “correct errors” are the two most frequently mentioned principles. Not striving to carry out these principles, that is, “providing false and biased information” and “not correcting errors” could be explained by professional incompetence or shortage of time in live and online reporting (Lauk 2009: 79), but it nevertheless raises suspicion that the journalist has a hidden agenda and possibly receives benefits from external forces to report in a special way, which contradicts the principles of journalistic autonomy.

The principle of “prohibition of accepting bribes and other benefits”; which in some national codes is extended with specifying benefits as “gifts, free trips, payment, compensation or other rewards” that could “question your status as a free and independent journalist” (EthicNet 2012), as well as the principle of “prohibition of allowing any outsider to have influence on journalistic work”, which in some national codes is further explained as “not giving in to outside pressure intending to prevent or restrict justified publishing” (EthicNet 2012), would both increase the chances for biased reporting, thus breaking the principles of journalistic autonomy. Certainly, dilemmas arise when, for example, in cases where favours are given to journalists from those that can provide important information or in war zones where close relations and accompanying censorship might sometimes seem to be the only way to get information from the military; as the alternative might be no information at all unless journalists working for different media companies unite.

The issue that triggered the introduction of journalism codes more than one hundred years ago; “the separation of advertising and editorial content” is included in far less national codes. The code may address the material or the product produced by a journalist as well as the conduct in a situation where a

journalist appears. Some codes stress that advertising also includes “promotional materials”, “hidden or surreptitious advertising”, emphasise “the credibility of the press as a source of information demands particular care when handling PR material” and states that “in the case of consumer-oriented journalistic content, the audience must be informed how the selection of the products was made and how the products were tested” (EthicNet 2012).

It could be argued that separate listing of the separation between journalism and advertising could become redundant when a series of other principles like not allowing any external forces to influence the journalistic work are mentioned. Yet, the omission could also reflect a possible reality and indicate that the separation has become outdated in today’s media world. Despite the fact that the principle of separating advertising and editorial content was included only in 58 % of the codes in 1995, yet it rose to 75 % in 2008 (EthicNet 2012), and the frequent, dominating reference to the principles related to journalistic autonomy, confirms the stable position journalistic autonomy enjoys among journalists when defining what is essential in journalism. This is echoed by Laitila’s conclusion that “the most common feature of the European codes is to show accountability to the public and the sources, and to protect the professional integrity of journalists from external interference” (Laitila 1995: 527).

Codes without an accountability system may lead to the simulation of self-regulation (Lauk 2009: 73). A key role in the implementation of the codes has traditionally been given to the press councils, and later also to press ombudsmen. The councils are usually initiated by journalists or other actors in the news media industry, sometimes following political pressure, to handle complaints against the content in the news media (von Krogh 2008; Weibull 2007), yet in some countries media councils are established by laws passed by the Parliament (Nordenstreng 2000: 82). The councils may both focus on mediation through arranging apologies, negotiating corrections and settling disputes as well as on adjudications, a threat that usually makes editors produce apologies and correction in an operative and speedy way (Gore and Horgan 2010: 524). In some countries there is a culture for having not only national, but also in-house press council and press ombudsmen.

While in terms of the content of the codes there do not seem to be any traditional dividing lines between groups of countries in Europe, Lauk argues that codes are largely ignored in the EU countries that joined the EU in 2004 (Lauk 2009: 72–73). The more consciously and critically the public not only follow, but also understand the operations of the media, the more likely the public is to object to violations of the codes and the opportunities for the media to ignore the codes decrease. As cases of complaints as a rule are expected to be initiated by the audience, few cases might reach the national press councils and the press ombudsmen if the audience is untrained in detecting various types of violations, like for example, mixing journalism and advertising, due to the ambiguous nature of advertorials and other hybrid formats. In such a way, an active and highly media literate public can function as a positive external

pressure on journalists to stick to their professional standards and journalistic autonomy. Even though all principles in the codes, as a rule, are directed towards working in the interest of the public, the corresponding implementation of the codes increases with the active engagement of the public itself.

### **1.2.2. The Second Normative Pillar – Journalistic Conduct Through Legal Regulations**

The first pillar, where the journalists themselves can have a say in defining what should be proper journalistic conduct, differs from the second normative pillar as the defining role has been moved mainly to the legislative power; the parliaments, sometimes also to the executive and judiciary power; as governments may adopt more detailed regulations and the courts interpret and demand adjustments to the laws adopted. Laws, directives, regulations and court decisions set the frameworks for media operations and define what should be the relationship between public interests and commercial interests, which again will impact on the conditions both for media organisations and individual journalists.

Most countries in Europe have included a few sentences on press freedom and a separate sentence against censorship in their constitutions (European Journalism Centre 2012). Even though it is rare that constitutions include comprehensive acts focusing on safeguarding press freedom, as in the case of Sweden (Sveriges Riksdag 2012), the constitutions do not challenge journalistic autonomy. In the age of the internet and online media, national legislation has become less important and in certain cases useless as, for example, libel cases can be tried in any country where the online version of a newspaper, magazine, radio or television can be seen (Školkay & Sánchez 2012: 116). Different to press laws, which not all countries in Europe have adopted due mainly to resistance from journalists seeing this as a possible attempt to control the print media, laws on radio and TV are common in most European countries. Here we can observe ‘tension zones’, where certain paragraphs, introduced in the national broadcasting legislation as implementation of the 2007 EU’s *Audiovisual Media Service directive*, seem to conflict with key principles in the codes essential in the first normative pillar.

In terms of legal regulations in Europe, it thus appears that the media-related European Union directives, adopted over the past couple of decades have had and will have the most challenging impact on journalistic conduct. Two media-related EU directives adopted in 1989 and 2007 respectively with amendments adopted in 1997 reflect a gradual and accelerating shift towards paying more attention to commercial interests at the expense of public and journalistic interests. While the first directive confirmed a new wave of commercialisation, the latest directive openly challenged and conflicted with journalistic professional standards and journalistic autonomy.

The fore-runner for the 2007 media directive was the so-called *Television Without Frontiers Directive* from 1989. The technological development in the 1980-ies saw the emergence of cable and satellite TV giving new possibilities for cross-border broadcasting (Syvertsen 2001, Craufurd 2006). Unlike the state-subsidised public service broadcasting companies, the increasing number of commercial broadcasters had to base their financing model on advertising. With the technological development, they saw new opportunities for increased advertising revenues by broadcasting across national borders, yet this EU-wide circulation of television programmes became complicated as both the channels and those companies advertising in the channels had to comply with different media laws and rules in each of the countries. The discussions on a media law on a European level towards the end of the 1980-ies were also motivated by the perceived dominance of American culture in the sphere of film and TV programmes (Gollmitzer 2008: 334).

While the 1989 EU directive allowed trans-border advertising, the amendments passed in 1997 removed the barriers for full-time tele-shopping channels (Gollmitzer 2008: 345). Both this directive and its amendment increased the commercialisation of media in Europe as more commercial TV stations financed through advertising were established. Quite rapidly newspapers and magazines in Europe faced much fiercer competition to attract advertising revenue as the old monopoly, often with one single national public service broadcasting company, not depending upon advertising, was broken.

Ten years later it was time for more changes, one of the most debated issues was the Commission's proposal to allow product placement in films and television programmes as it, according to the Commission, would "increase the competitiveness of European industries" (European Parliament 2006: 36). For many, the proposal was seen to conflict with journalistic ethics, open for increased commercial pressure on journalistic autonomy and the blurring of journalism and advertising.

According to Gollmitzer, the Commission's focus in pushing forward the new directive was on making the European media organisations more competitive, ignoring the European Parliament's concern about media pluralism, media literacy, diversity in programming and the protection of minors (Gollmitzer 2008: 332)<sup>2</sup>. Noting that "the media industries are among the most dynamic and influential of all European businesses" (Goldberg, Prosser and Verhulst 1998: 1), the European Commission seemed to perceive a united Europe more as a business project compared to the European Parliament

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<sup>2</sup> The new directive also put the spotlight on the conflict or opinion differences between the European Parliament and the European Commission. While the members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of all the EU countries, they do not have the right to initiate laws, only amend them. This paradox, that the legislative initiative rests with members of the European Commission only, has not diminished the impression of a so-called "democratic deficit" in the European Union (Gollmitzer 2008: 333).

where there was more understanding for seeing a united Europe as a strong peace and democracy project.

Product placement according to EU means “any form of audiovisual commercial communication consisting of the inclusion of or reference to a product, a service or trade mark thereof, so that it is featured within a programme, in return for payment or for similar consideration” (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 457, European Commission 2012). The 1989 directive had prohibited product placement stating that advertising should be clearly distinguishable as such (Goldberg, Prosser and Verhulst 1998: 31). Even more so, until 2007 the separation of advertising and editorial content was a clear requirement of EU broadcasting legislation. Sponsored broadcasts had to be identified as such while product placement and surreptitious or hidden advertising were almost completely banned. For exceptions, like game programmes with awards, there were restrictive rules (Elping, 2004: 59 ff.; Steininger & Woelke 2008: 455). As Baerns laconically states: “Being able to identify the origin of what is shown is something we can expect – not more and not less” (Baerns, 2004: 65).

In the discussions on the new 2007 EU directive the European Parliament stated that it was “highly critical of the Commission’s proposal to legalise product placement, as this advertising instrument breaches the separation in principle between advertising and editorial content, risking an increasing loss of editorial independence and of the integrity of editorial content” (European Parliament 2006: 76). Nevertheless, the European Parliament took a somewhat passive stand against the increasing commercialisation of journalism and in its actual amendments merely suggested more detailed definitions of terms. Both the Parliament’s proposals in the new directive to include provisions on media education and media literacy as well as a requirement for the media to clearly and continuously help audiences identify which content is product placement, by showing a symbol or logo, were rejected by the Commission (European Parliament 2006: 64; Gollmitzer 2008: 342–343). As noted, for example, by Germany’s federal consumer association, “in the age of channel hopping, a reference in the opening credits is completely devoid of reality”, that is, without an informative text or sign on the screen about the presence of the commercial product shown not only before, but non-stop during the screened TV programme or other media product, regular viewers will not understand what in the editorial programme is placed there for commercial reasons. Consequently the new directive will result in a surge in commercialisation (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 458).

Commercial television, as mentioned above, depends upon the successful sale of advertising space or commercials to exist. This link between editorial and advertising makes television a ‘dual product’ (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 465). If TV channels would include only advertising, it is believed that few people would want to watch. If TV channels could have no advertising, they would have to be funded by a state, a company, a rich organisation or, for example, viewers’ or licence fee which is the case for public service television

in many countries. So far, no system has been developed to make people pay, for example, by credit card each time they want to watch a programme on a TV channel. So, the compromise for having a plurality of TV channels, radio stations, journals, newspapers and other media products is that advertising is the main financial source for the production of editorial content. A key norm and principle in media ethics have, as mentioned earlier, been that advertising and editorial content should be kept strictly separate so that the media consumer, the reader, viewer or listener should clearly understand what is what. A deliberate mixing would be considered a violation of media ethics.

In the end of 2007 the European Commission, the European Council<sup>3</sup> and the European Parliament approved the new *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* (Gollmitzer 2008: 334). This implies that product placement is no longer prohibited for certain programme formats (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 455–456) like films, TV series, sports programmes and light entertainment programmes. The final directive version stated that product placement is prohibited in children's programmes. However, if the product is provided free of charge (production props or prizes) it is allowed in all programmes including children's programmes. Product placement of tobacco products and medicinal products available under prescription is prohibited as is also surreptitious product placement. The rule that product placement should be identified at the start and at the end of the programme and when programme resumes after an advertising break can be omitted by the member states if the programmes have neither been produced nor commissioned by the media service provider itself (European Commission 2012).

Even though member states were allowed to adopt stricter rules when adapting the directive in their national legislation (Gollmitzer 2008: 334), this did not happen and undoubtedly the principle of separation of editorial content and advertising in journalism has been watered down in the new directive (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 456). This could lead to a situation where many viewers get confused followed by an increase in suspicion and decline in trust towards all editorial content presented or as the Federation of German consumer organisations (In German: Verbraucherzentrale Bundesverband) formulated it in 2006: "Every programme, every word, every action will in future be suspected of being paid advertising or conveying certain lobby interests" (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 458–459).

While the EU directives have increased the commercial pressure on journalistic autonomy, another important European institution has over the past couple of decades shown stability in supporting public interests, protecting press freedom and to a certain extent also journalistic autonomy. In Europe the final word in a legal conflict involving freedom of speech and press freedom often belongs to the European Court of Human Rights. The Court has had a strong influence on

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<sup>3</sup> The European Council consists of the heads of state or government of the EU member states, together with the EU president and the president of the European Commission



the norms of both national media legislation and journalistic conduct for about half a century. Unlike the directives of the European Union, which are to be followed by 27 member states with its approximately 500 million inhabitants as well as those countries that through agreements have committed themselves to follow the directives, the Court has a broader impact, as it serves around 800 million Europeans in the 47 member states of the Council of Europe that have ratified the European Convention on Human Rights, although some countries follow the rulings of their national supreme court in case of conflicting rulings of the European Court of Human Rights and their supreme court (Craufurd Smith & Stolte, 2011: 10). Moreover, member states should, but often fail to adjust their media laws as well as other laws to be in line with the decisions made by the Court. (Van Besien et al. 2012. 160).

The Court bases its decisions on the above-mentioned European Convention on Human Rights. Article 10 of the convention together with the Declaration on the Freedom of Expression and Information adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1982 has been considered as a “veritable European Media Charter” (Goldberg, Prosser and Verhulst 1998: 25, 41). Article 10 deals with the right to freedom of expression, that is, the “freedom to hold and to receive opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers” (European Court of Human Rights 2012). In such a way, the Convention protects freedom of speech and press freedom from external influence from a public authority, but leaves it open when it comes to external influence of a commercial nature. The Court has on several occasions in dealing with media freedom used argumentations like “not only does the press have the task of imparting such information and ideas: the public also has a right to receive them”, “the interest in the public’s being informed”, “protecting the freedom of the press to impart information on matters of legitimate public concern” (Council of Europe 2007: 11–28), thus linking freedom of the press to the public need and public interest. Yet there are few absolutes in free speech law as a right (Youm 2007) and the second part of the article acknowledges that there might be restrictions to this freedom if “they are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary” (European Court of Human Rights 2012). These formulations are rather broad and general and it is primarily through the court’s decisions that the article is more narrowly interpreted. As Youm writes, the overwhelming majority of case law since its first Article 10 case in 1976, has been concerned with how to define the restrictions on free speech (Youm 2007). The Court’s tradition under Article 10 on Freedom of Expression of giving higher protection to ‘political speech’ than to ‘commercial speech’ (Fenwick & Phillipson 2006: 60) may possibly be seen as a way of supporting freedom of the press as information in the public interests compared

to promotional texts based on commercial interests are valued higher and considered more essential for democracy. While ‘political speech’ refers to all speech relevant to the development of public opinion on the whole range of issues which an intelligent citizen should think about (Barendt 2005: 161–162), ‘commercial speech’ refers to “speech that has the purpose of forwarding the commercial interests of an organisation by promoting its products and services” (Fenwick & Phillipson 2006: 60). Commercial speech in its nature houses a promotional discourse where the speech primarily is in the interest of the promoter, as is typical for advertising, while political speech without necessarily having an informational discourse emphasises the interest of the public and is thus more in line with principles of journalism. Political speech is not narrowly about politics, it could just as well contain information about commercial actions of interest to the public, just as commercial speech is not narrowly about commerce; it could just as well contain information promoting a political organisation.

The Court has shown in its ruling that it is less likely to overrule the decision made by a national court in cases concerning commercial speech compared to political speech, thus giving member states a wide area of discretion in regulation (Fenwick & Phillipson 2006: 60). However, in the case *Hertel v. Switzerland*, the European Court of Human Rights, based on Article 10, overruled the national court decision and decided to apply a high level of protection, as in other cases involving political speech, even though the case originated in a conflict involving strong commercial interests as Mr. Hertel had been punished by the national Swiss court for criticising the microwave oven industry. The European Court of Human Rights emphasised that what was at stake “was not a given individual’s purely ‘commercial’ statements, but his participation in a debate affecting the general interest, for example, over public health” (Graber 2005: 274–277; The International Journal of Human Rights 1999: 152). Summing up, it could be stated that the European Court of Human Rights gives higher protection to speech that is not advertising and not written to promote or protect commercial interests, but information affecting general, public interests, thus mirroring the divisions between advertising and public relations on one side and journalism on the other side. At the same time the Court explicitly fails to protect journalists and others from commercial pressure. Nevertheless, the protection that the Court directly and indirectly has given is stable as it has formally not changed over the past decades; the current wording of Article 10 is identical to the original wording.

### **1.2.3. The Third Normative Pillar – Journalistic Conduct Through Media Policies**

Just as codes and laws set norms for behaviour, so do policies defined by the ruling elite of a state; laws just being one of the outcomes of a policy. In a European perspective, the national media policies have traditionally tried to find

a balance between commercial interests on one side and public interests more focusing on democratic, social and cultural aspects on the other side (Nieminen 2009: 233). While most democratic governments have been reluctant to regulate media operations in detail, they have used a series of media political instruments to set a framework for media operations in order to ensure freedom of speech, support national language(s), protect minors from harmful media content, as well as to promote diversity and quality in the media – essential features of a democratic society. Even though a government supported by a parliament majority often is involved in issuing broadcasting licences, establishing structures and control mechanisms to cap dangerously high media ownership concentration as well as putting other media issues on the agenda, the main media political instruments a government possesses are various kinds of legal regulations and financing. Deciding on funding, the ruling political elite may decide to collect broadcasting licence fees, or to give tax relief, subsidies and other methods of financial support to anything from small newspapers to journalism and media studies. Some media policy issues like deregulation of broadcasting as well as press subsidies and various support mechanisms have been, and are considered important for the issue of journalistic autonomy and the separation between journalism and advertising.

If economic developments have given birth to intensified commercialism, concentration and globalisation, then deregulation according to Gripsrud and Weibull has been the midwife. Deregulation is the media policy process whereby the various laws, rules and codes that governments use to shape media ownership, financing and on-going activities are withdrawn or weakened (Gripsrud & Weibull 2010). The deregulation of broadcasting has had a strong influence not only on radio and TV, but also on newspapers and magazines as their advertising-based income base through broadcasting deregulation became completely changed and weakened. Until the 1970s the broadcasting markets in European countries were dominated by one or several public service broadcasting monopolies, but by 1990 most countries in the western part of Europe had changed their legislation allowing commercial broadcasters (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 274) and soon the eastern part followed suit. In a few years the broadcasting audience in Europe traditionally used to just one or a few channels broadcasting for a limited number of hours, often without any advertising breaks, found themselves in a jungle of numerous domestic and international cable and satellite channels often broadcasting around the clock with regular breaks for commercial advertising blocks. Lobbying pressure from businesses had convinced legislators to allow the funding of broadcasting operations through commercials. Raising taxes or licence fees to be paid by the public was not a popular alternative that politicians could sell to their voters. Understanding that the commercialisation wave could not be held back, governments and parliaments in some countries occasionally introduced measures to soften the consequences of the change. However, as Nieminen claims, the public interest became subordinated to the profit motives of the industry (Nieminen 2009: 245). The above-mentioned EU directive, opening for a blurring of

advertising and journalism must be seen as a continuation of these deregulation policies and the gradual shift where media policies drift from protecting primarily public interest to paying more attention to commercial interests.

While broadcasting used to public regulatory powers over recent years has faced a period of deregulation, the press seems to be gradually ‘de-subsidised’ or stripped from the direct and indirect support which they have enjoyed in the past decades aimed at counteracting negative trends in circulation and advertising income. Less public support to the newspapers is likely to make the newspaper industry more vulnerable as the journalists and the media face more commercial advertising pressure. A press subsidy scheme was introduced in several of the Nordic countries as well as some other Western European countries in the 1960s and 1970s responding to difficulties that newspapers faced mainly due to increased competition and the introduction of radio and TV (Hadenius & Weibull 2003, Ots 2009: 379, Picard & Grönlund 2003: 110). Different from the media policy of reducing or exempting newspapers from value added taxation on incomes from subscription and advertising, applied by many European nations (Leroch & Wellbrock 2011: 284), the subsidies in the Nordic countries as well as, for example, Austria and France went further and were largely used to promote diversity by supporting the secondary daily or the smallest of two newspapers in a city or area (Murschetz 1998: 294; Ots 2009: 376). However, at the beginning of the 21st century, many of these supported newspapers were taken over by their competitors (Ots 2009: 381–382), which raised scepticism over the efficiency and usefulness of the subsidy scheme. With circulation numbers decreasing it seems to be getting increasingly difficult to keep the original objective of pluralism, diversity, competition and choice for the audience by subsidising newspapers only. Critics suggest to apply support schemes not only to newspapers, but also to other media, in order to ensure a diversity of opinions and media (Ots 2009: 388). Despite discussions about how efficient the press subsidies are research has shown that subsidies, at least in the Nordic countries, have not reduced the independence of the subsidised papers (Murschetz 1998: 303; Picard & Grönlund 2003; Hadenius & Weibull 2003).

As a result of adapting EU’s new postal directive, newspapers in some European countries are likely to pay significantly more for delivery services (Nieminen 2009: 244) as the postal operators will not be allowed to continue their press support as earlier; that is, subsidising newspaper delivery by using incomes from other profit-making postal services to support the daily distribution of newspapers around the country. To get an understanding of the size and importance of the indirect subsidies like VAT exemption and subsidised newspaper delivery compared to journalists’ salaries, figures from a country like Finland shows that VAT exemption for newspapers and magazines amounts to 207 million euro per year, subsidised delivery of newspapers from the postal operator Itella amounts to 100 million euro per year, while the total sum of salary costs for all Finnish journalists annually amount to 400 EUR (Nieminen 2009: 243–244). Nieminen concludes that if these indirect subsidies would be taken away, more than half of the Finnish journalists would be

redundant (Nieminen 2009: 244, Kuutti et al. 2011: 24–25). It goes without saying that a discontinuation of the public financial support for the newspapers would have a severe impact on employment issues and create a ‘fear-of-losing-my-job’ atmosphere which could be used by those who want to weaken or dismantle journalistic autonomy.

#### **1.2.4. The Fourth Normative Pillar – Journalism Culture and Environment**

If we claim that the aim of one group of journalists is to earn as much money as possible by working overtime, accepting money from various commercial enterprises and political parties to write positive articles about those paying, while the aim of another group of journalists is to protect their integrity and report in a balanced way on the issues they themselves consider to be of most importance for the public, we might find these groups a little exaggerated and one-sided, yet they would certainly represent two diametrically opposing journalism cultures. While journalistic norms define how a journalist should work, his or her journalistic work usually depends on his or her core values and what ideas, practices, traditions and other factors of influence exist in the surrounding environment. The physical wall that was introduced in many newspapers in the 20th century to separate the editorial and advertising departments is possibly the single most well-known feature reflecting a journalism culture. The wall signalled and signals a clear decision to distance the journalists from possible commercial pressure from the department working with the advertisers of the newspaper. More recent talks about co-operation without a wall between the two departments, indicates a change in journalism culture.

Even though scholars like Hanitzsch consider ‘ideology’ to be a more narrow term than ‘culture’, he confirms that the terms are often used interchangeably (Hanitzsch 2007: 369–370). Deuze has defined ‘occupational ideology’ as “a collection of values, strategies and formal codes characterizing professional journalism and shared most widely by its members”. He believes that such an ideology is recognized worldwide and can be described through five values linked to public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics. That is, the journalists provide a public service by actively collecting and disseminating information and acting as a ‘watchdog’, the journalists are impartial and objective, the journalists are autonomous and independent in their work, the journalists have a sense of immediacy and speed when producing news and finally, journalists have a sense of ethics (Deuze 2005a: 445–450). The definitions offered for ‘journalism culture’ are quite similar. Ross defines it as “a set of practices, or ... a professional framework that becomes the accepted way of doing things” (de Bruin & Ross: 2004: 155). Based on Hallin and Mancini’s models of journalism in Europe, Cornia similarly describes journalistic culture as “distinct sets of norms, values and working practices” (Cornia 2010: 367) while Hanitzsch expands this definition by defining

journalism culture “as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful for themselves and others” (Hanitzsch 2007: 369). As seen, Hanitzsch focuses on an individual approach, not on the organisational or societal level of the press.

Hanitzsch splits journalism culture into seven dimensions. Three dimensions deal with the institutional role; to what extent the journalist intervenes or gets involved to promote certain values or stays passive as an observer, to what extent the journalist is distant and independent or close and loyal to those in power, and to what extent news production is guided by and oriented towards the market or guided and oriented towards the interests of the public. Two dimensions are linked to epistemological considerations, to what extent it is possible to report objectively and to what extent a journalist may justify a claim of truth, empirically or analytically. The final two dimensions deal with ethical ideologies; relativism – that is, to which extent people base their personal moral philosophies on universal ethical rules and idealism – that deal with the responses to ethical dilemmas, and to which extent should a journalist apply only non-harmful actions to achieve a good outcome (Hanitzsch 2007: 371–379).

Hanitzsch’s approach has gained popularity and been used by many researchers (Berganza-Conda et al. 2010, Hanitzsch et al. 2011, Mellado et al. 2012) to measure and compare journalism culture. At the same time, both the definition by Hanitzsch and others mentioned above do not seem to embrace all factors that heavily influence journalistic conduct and that could be considered to form a part of the journalistic culture. Such factors may be roughly divided into two. First, there are factors which most often are initiated by journalists and media experts to strengthen the professionalisation of journalists like media or press councils; that could mean a well-functioning accountability system that processes complaints of violations on codes of ethics, journalistic organisations, educational programmes for journalists including further education, journals focusing on media and journalism as well as the tradition of having active and critical debates both among journalists and others on journalism and journalistic conduct. The actual performance of a press or media council reveals much of the essence of the journalistic accountability culture in a country or a news media organisation (Fengler et al. 2011: 17; Mazzoleni & Splendori 2011: 90–100). Second, there are many other factors influencing journalistic conduct starting with the political and economic situation in the country, societal and cultural traditions, possible persecutions and threats from criminals, state authorities or the business elite, or on the contrary, friendship and close relations with the ruling elites, possible pressure from advertisers and media owners, to living conditions and shortage of time. In conditions when jobs and salaries are cut, profits lower or non-existing, and dependency on advertisers increases, both journalists and the media organisations might become even more vulnerable to commercial and political pressures, which again can have an effect both on journalistic culture and journalistic autonomy.

Not all factors, but those influencing factors initiated by journalists and media experts could be considered an integrated part of a broader definition of journalism culture. Just as the seven dimensions identified by Hanitzsch are made operational and comparable, it is possible to, for example, compare to what extent there exists a culture to debate journalistic dilemmas, to what extent journalists strive to obtain higher and further education in journalism and other fields of media studies, to what extent there are press councils and more importantly to what extent there is a culture in the press council of thoroughly and seriously processing complaints and implementing decisions on these matters.

Nordenstreng has stressed the importance of a discussion culture for journalism by stating that “you cannot improve the media through legal and economic measures except in marginal ways, but you can do a lot by maintaining a culture of constant, ruthless criticism of media content and media monitoring, which involves professionals, academics, and the general public” (Nordenstreng 2001: 63). As criticism universally is something that tends to be difficult to handle, it is indicative of the journalism culture in a country how professionally the journalists are able to tackle this issue. Media criticism can take various forms from internal discussions among journalists in a media company or media organisation, comments from the public directly to a media company, critical articles in academic media journals, TV and radio programmes on journalism, columns on media critique in newspapers to public debates where representatives of the media audience, the public together with or without journalists discusses journalistic issues.

As a critical response to seeing western models of journalism as universally capable of modernising traditional societies, there have been developments in many non-western countries aimed at reasserting cultural autonomy over journalism (Obijiofor & Hanusch 2011: 51). In many regions there have been forces promoting the idea that journalism cannot be performed in the same way all over the world, but must adjust and reflect the values and traditions in a specific region. The idea that allegedly ‘Asian values’ such as respect for authority, discipline, harmony, supportiveness and an emphasis on collectivism rather than individualistic values, which should lead to a new type of journalism, was in the 1980s and 1990s very much promoted by the Singaporean and Malaysian governments (Obijiofor & Hanusch 2011: 51–52, Xu 2005). In a way similar to which the Russian leadership has criticised the import of western democracy to Russia and advocated their own model of ‘steered democracy’, some Asian governments have argued that “cultural values cannot be transplanted from one society to another and no single press model can be applied to all societies” (Xu 2005: 3). However, noting the wide variety of Asian cultures, critics have doubted the existence of a uniform Asian culture and perceived the approach as an excuse for restricting press freedom and accepting authoritarian regimes (Obijiofor & Hanusch 2011: 52, Xu 2005: 3–4) for journalism that lines up with the so-called ‘Asian values’ could require the press to operate in close conformity with government regulations and expectations (Xu 2005: 64). Comparative research has also concluded that ideals and values shared by journalists

and students of journalism are largely the same all over the world, despite political differences (Weaver 2005, Nygren et al. 2010). A content analysis study of ten Asian on-line newspapers by Massey and Chang, which examined the frequency of articles that included such allegedly Asian values as harmony and supportiveness, found that these two features were neither convincingly pan-Asian nor even uniformly Southeast Asian journalistic norms, but they were particularly evident in news reporting in the countries of Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei; countries known for a restrictive press environment (Massey & Chang 2002: 999).

In a European perspective, research on journalism culture has often been done within one or just a few countries and comparative research to discover similarities and differences in journalism culture in a larger number of European countries is relatively rare, even less so to trace changes in journalism culture over time. The MediaAct and the Worlds of Journalism projects embracing researchers from the EU countries and 66 countries worldwide respectively are exceptions and have become vehicles for the comparative study of journalism (MediaAct 2017; Worlds of Journalism 2017). The research done by Hanitzsch, central within the Worlds of Journalism project, shows that journalism culture in the part of Europe with a recently undemocratic past and current difficulties with press freedom is characterized by journalists being less critical to those in power, more willing to convey a positive image of political and business leadership, having a more market-driven news production, being less inclined to motivate people to participate in civic activities and political discussions and more favourable to situational ethical practices compared to universal ethical practices than journalists in a journalism culture in parts of Europe with democratic rule since WWII and a higher level of press freedom (Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 281). According to Lauk in the countries that joined EU in 2004, the “internal codes of individual media organisations, where they exist, seem to be more appreciated” than nationwide ones, a preference echoed among the older EU members as well (von Krogh & Nord 2010: 200–202). In one of the new EU countries public debates on media policy are, according to Harro-Loit & Balčytienė, non-existent, and journalists and the media industry are rather passive in stimulating such debate (Harro-Loit & Balčytienė 2005: 37). Lauk argues that open and public discussions on the quality of journalism and ethical issues are still missing in all of the ten countries that joined EU in 2004 (Lauk 2009: 74) and links this also to the shortage of strong civil society structures (Lauk 2009: 80). Owners running media with high journalistic standards do not, according to Lauk, necessarily bring these standards along when establishing or taking over media in the new EU countries. 85 % of media in the post-communist block is owned by Scandinavian and other Western European companies. Media companies at home known for high standards, abroad are more focused on making money than good journalism (Lauk 2009: 76). The intensity and quality of public debates on media is also dependent upon the level of media literacy among the population. If a larger part of the public possesses the ability to decode, analyse and evaluate the content and the



techniques used by the mass media from training in school or elsewhere, it is likely to be both more interested in taking part in debates and keep these debates on a high quality level.

Journalism began to be taught at institutions of higher education only from the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The necessity for a special professional education for journalists was raised at the first International Congress of the Press held in Antwerp in Belgium in 1894 (Bjork 1996: 68). However, in a lot of European countries many years would pass before special schools for journalism education did appear. In particular, in the western part of Europe, the understanding of journalism as a 'free profession' lived very strong. There were fears that a rigid, institutionalised journalism education programme could lead to more state influence and control as well as possible limitations of freedom of the press. The compromise included the introduction of university-level journalism education programmes without making this education a mandatory entrance door for employment as a journalist. As Hebarre has stated, in democratic countries no degree in journalism is compulsory in order to practice the profession of journalism (Hebarre 1979). In the former Soviet Union and in post-war Eastern bloc countries journalism education just as journalism and journalists were partly considered as tools the state could use to disseminate its propaganda to the people, however there were occasions when the heads of the journalism programmes managed to link journalism to fields like language and literature, making them research-based, thus attempting to avoid and soften the intentions of the soviet leadership (Harro-Loit 2015b: 10).

Despite a new wave of pan-European mobility programmes both for teaching staff members and students, joint academic programmes, common degrees and standards, Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha argue that journalism education, just as journalism, in Europe is dictated by national media systems and national influences. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that journalism education in Europe is offered as academic university programmes, at separate journalism schools, in the media companies and as combinations, the debates about journalism education are very similar in each of the countries (Fröhlich & Holtz-Bacha 2003).

Not only is the basic in-house and university-level education important for the professionalisation of journalism but also further education for journalists is an important element to possibly adjust or consolidate ideals and norms in the journalist community. As Nygren writes, in a professional education, ideals and norms for the profession are transferred to and reproduced in new members (Nygren et al. 2010: 116), thus the quality and the content of the programmes taught in journalism education is of importance for the development of the journalism culture in a country. It appears that no research project has had the ambition to compare the quality and content of the programmes in journalism in all European countries, at the same time, so far, there seems to be no research confirming that journalism education in Europe has left the aim of educating independent journalists and promoting public service ideology.

Despite many journalists' courage and risk-taking, most journalists are just as uncertain as other humans. Just as Donsbach writes that most journalists would feel uneasy and embarrassed, possibly also worried about their professional reputation if they were to report from a press conference what nobody else reports or even worse not to report what everybody else reports (Donsbach 2004: 139), a serious psychological impact on journalistic culture is the issue of to what extent the journalists are united as a group in a journalists' union or other journalists' organisation. Karol Jakubowicz writes that "the fragmentation of the journalistic community and its inability to present a united front against the owners and managements of the media outlets in which they are employed prevents them from being able to fight for their rights, including journalistic independence" (Jakubowicz 2007: 323).

Consequently, while journalism education appears to contribute to a stable fourth normative pillar, at times, weak discussion culture on media policy issues as well as weak and fragmented journalists' unions unable to unite journalists in response to cuts and threats of losing jobs seem to be more frequent after 2000 than before 1990 in many European countries.

### **1.3. Economic Approach**

#### **1.3.1. The Business Logics and the Rise of Advertising**

While the ideals of the previous normative pillars have been based on serving a public need or public interest, these ideals are challenged and encountered by business logics and economic pressure. Alongside the unique role of serving the public with fair information, a media business needs to be economically sustainable, that is, earn money to be able to pay its employees and cover all the costs mainly linked to production and distribution. There are cases where a state, a political party, a business company or an organisation covers all or part of these costs, possibly to guarantee the publishing and dissemination of diverse views and information, to promote its own agenda and viewpoints or to ensure a combination of both. However, in most cases media is dependent upon income from the audience itself or from advertisers. The audience itself may cover part of the costs by paying, for example, a licence for being able to see a public television channel. It may pay a fee for being able to read news articles online or it may pay a sum for buying a copy of a printed newspaper or magazine. The advertisers pay the media companies for getting access to space or time where they can place their advertising and thus get access to the consumers of the media.

Newspapers and magazines have for centuries offered space to those that would like to announce or sell something (Selfors 2000: 115), however until the late 1800s advertising played only a minor role in the financing of newspapers and magazines (Peterson 1981). The prices both for single copies and subscriptions were relatively high, but the politically, socially and economically

active members of the community for whom the newspapers were primarily produced, were wealthy enough to afford these prices (Picard 2004: 58). In the 1890s magazines discovered that their product could be much more attractive for advertisers if the focus of their stories would be more directed towards the middle class. With higher advertising income, the magazines could lower the subscription rates and dramatically increase the size of the magazines, which again could result in more subscribers and more advertisers. This shift in content focus was quickly repeated by newspapers (Peterson 1981: 19–20).

This shift in content focus reflected a transition from a public of readers to a market of readers. In 1907 the ad executive James Collins stated that “a magazine is simply a device to induce people to read advertising” (Häckner & Nyberg 2008: 79). Chalaby considers the change to a market of readers to be the single most important historical event in British press history over the past two hundred years. This change in the second part of the 19th century included a shift in the press away from heavy political content towards lighter content filled with sensations, sports and crimes (Chalaby 1998).

In 1843 an advertising agency was founded in the United States promoting advertising on behalf of several newspapers, a forerunner for the future advertising industry (Selfors 2000: 216). As this and other agencies bought advertising space from a series of newspapers and sold it to advertisers around the country, advertising became increasingly important for the newspapers’ financial situation (Craig 2004: 235). As Bagdikian has pointed out, the danger to journalism is not a multitude of many, small advertisers, but the emergence of mass advertising (Bagdikian 1997: 119). Advertising campaigns aimed at reaching a large number of people through the combined use of various types of media like radio, TV, newspapers, magazines and internet are usually administered by nationwide or international advertising agencies purchasing advertising space and time in selected media. With their sometimes giant budget and strong purchasing powers it can mean tremendous income for the newspapers or TV stations towards which they direct their advertising money. If there are two or more newspapers in a city or region, the agency might find it sufficient to place their ad campaigns in one. If such campaigns are repeated in one of the newspapers and reinforced by other agencies doing the same, the result after some time might be the bankruptcy of the other newspapers in the city or region. The advertisers not having to place ads in more than one paper is usually happy, the winning paper is content of not having to deal with its hitherto tough competitors, the losers are the other newspaper and possibly the audience, as the chances of getting a quality product reflecting diverse and pluralistic views and voices might decrease with the one and remaining newspaper’s monopoly position. According to Bagdikian, mass advertising has ordained that many cities in the United States will have only one newspaper, most cities will have none (Bagdikian 1997: 119–120).

In 1889 advertising made up 39 % of total newspaper revenues in the United States, in 1929 it was already 64 % (Owen 1975: 79) and in 1997 an influential newspaper like the *Los Angeles Times* got 90 % of its revenue from

advertising (Craig 2004: 235). Even though the average figures for US newspapers are lower, they are substantially higher than many European figures. According to Benson in 1998 the US average was 80 %, while in French newspapers, 44 % of revenues originated from advertising (Benson 2001). In 1992 German publications like *Der Spiegel* and *Stern* on the other hand got 35 % of its income from the readers, while a newspaper like *Die Zeit* received as much as 50 % of its revenue from its readers (Ludwig 2000: 198). Although the importance of commercial criteria in the media industry is thus nothing new, for a newspaper or magazine the income from advertising compared to subscriptions or direct sales of the publication has gradually increased, and eventually it may reach a tipping point where crucial or dominating income from the advertisers may turn into a new level of threats to journalistic autonomy. In Europe there seems to be a general understanding that commercial interests, often referred to as commercialisation, have accelerated since the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. For Eastern as well as some parts of Central and Northern Europe, the gradual commercialisation after WW II did not take place due to strict market regulations in the Soviet Union and the countries which it controlled, but hit these parts of the continent with crushing force during and following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

### **1.3.2. A New Wave of Commercialisation**

The term commercialisation is a broad term often defined as embracing a broad series of trends and features in the media industry including deregulation of broadcasting, deregulations of the labour market including shorter and more flexible working contracts, the decreasing role of unions, detachment of the media from political parties, more competitive media markets, increased use of technologies, increased tabloidisation, journalism increasingly influenced by advertising pressure and business considerations as well as weakening professional standards (Franklin 1997; Hallin & Mancini 2004: 273–282; McManus 1994; Weymouth & Lamizet 1996: 24; Örnebring 2008: 9–10). What is common for many of these features is that they seem to move towards strengthening commercial interests, quite often at the expense of public interests and journalistic autonomy.

### **1.3.3. Effects of the Internet and New Technologies**

Having reached a position where the print media relied mainly on advertising to cover their costs, the print media became extremely vulnerable when advertisers discovered the advertising possibilities on the internet (McChesney 2012: 684). Indeed, a lot of advertisers have over the past years left print media in favour of what they consider as a more favourable medium for getting their message across, the internet, which has resulted in severe damage to the finances of the

traditional media (McChesney 2012: 687; Školka & Sánchez 2012: 107). The development echoes the crisis and need for change in the print media business following the broader introduction of television in the 1950s and new cable and satellite technology taking away a good technological argument for keeping broadcasting monopolies in the 1980s (Syvertsen 2001). According to Picard, there is one advertising category in particular that is more effective on the internet than in print; and that is classified ads. The decline of this advertising category threatens newspapers as it has been the primary category of advertising sales growth for the past years (Picard 2008: 705).

According to German statisticians, during the first half of 2012, the advertising revenues of the U.S. internet corporation *Google*, founded in 1998, for the first time in history, became higher than all U.S. newspapers and magazines together. While *Google* made \$ 20,8 billions in advertising revenue, the entire U.S. newspaper and magazine industry could show a half-year result of \$ 19,2 billion. As the German statisticians point out the figures for *Google* are from their global operations, while the U.S. newspapers and magazines mainly get their income from operations in the U.S. markets only. Nevertheless, the figures illustrate the quick changes and the future challenges for the print media. While the ad revenues for U.S. magazines have been relatively stable since 2004, the newspapers' income from advertising has fallen more than two times (Richter 2012), and just in 3 years the decline has been 43% (Tang et al. 2012: 108). The ad revenues for *Google* in Sweden were in 2010 estimated to be higher than the two leading national dailies in Sweden; *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* (Sundin 2011: 6).

The internet and new technologies have accelerated the change in conditions for news productions; the threshold and barriers to enter the news market have switched from high to low (Densing 2007: 22) as it takes little time to set up a website, call it a newspaper, publish news and reach a group of readers and buyers globally. Initially costs are relatively low, it is not significantly regulated and its content and form may be produced in various places worldwide. It is in sharp contrast to starting up a traditional print newspaper with a sophisticated system of centralised news production, quite expensive printing and distribution of paper copies. Monopolies have mostly gone, freedom is overwhelming, quality control is questioned and competition is fierce. The internet and new technologies are a driving force for information overload that both influences the media business and the role of journalism.

Although some categories of newspaper advertising are still showing quite good results (Picard 2008: 705), there are widening worries among newspaper and magazine professionals about how they may tackle the new situation. To a certain extent newspapers and magazines have managed to slow down the income loss by introducing online versions of their content themselves and using popular social media platforms, but only partly succeeded in making people pay for what they read online, as there is a vast selection of news for free on the online market. Blogging about products which bloggers, who easily may claim they are journalists, have received money or other compensation to

promote is just one example of new internet-based advertising channels to which advertising money continues to slip away from newspapers and magazines. Faced with dynamic technological changes, forecasts of little growth potential and future decline for printed publications (Picard 2008: 76), newspapers and magazines are psychologically squeezed into a corner and often willing to do almost anything to keep their advertisers to avoid bankruptcy.

#### **1.3.4. New Mercantile Ownerships**

Some scholars believe the shift in ownership patterns has been an accelerating force in the move towards more commercialisation in the media industry. As many families have sold their newspapers to more 'publicly owned' corporations, Bagdikian argues that families often considered profit to be merely one of several motives for operating a newspaper business, while for the new mercantile owners maximum value and profit for the shareholder is the number one priority (Bagdikian 1997). As more money could be earned not so much through more readers but from more advertisers, the new owner of the newspapers increasingly took into consideration the possible reaction of advertisers to the content of the newspapers. This fear of losing current advertisers and a strategy of attracting more advertisers resulted in the above-mentioned homogenisation trend. The shift has not resulted in more readers, on the contrary, newspapers have experienced a decrease in the number of readers, yet the income from advertising has grown (Bogart 1989, Bagdikian 1997). Without ignoring the effects of the shift away from family run newspapers, there seems to be too little research done to fully confirm the link between less family owned press and more focus on profit-making. Certainly many press families were concerned about profit-making as well as quality, and many probably had other agendas and motives for running a newspaper, including promoting their own and the viewpoints of a political party or group. In the United States and Europe newspaper circulation numbers seem to have fallen in line with the rise of internet and the news sources provided online (Cao & Li 2004, Dimmick et al 2004: 19).

#### **1.3.5. Advertisers' Increasing Influence and Dictates**

Advertisers understanding their importance for journalists' monthly salary can end in a situation where advertisers decide on what the journalists should write about and how they should write. As newspapers and other media historically became increasingly dependent on advertising incomes, the legendary wall between the editorial department and the advertising department became crucial in regulating the potential pressure on the editorial line from advertisers and other external forces.

Since media started to define their key target audience, it being the political elite, the middle class, the working class, business people, fishermen, music lovers or skiers, the journalists have indirectly or directly been encouraged to make reports that the key audience likes. Logics would tell when a media becomes popular, it will increase its audience, which will increase interest and income from advertisers, which again could make the media earn more and pay the journalists higher salaries. As long as the wall between the editorial and advertising department has functioned, the above-described market logic has been acceptable for most actors. It becomes problematic if advertisers try to micro-manage the work of journalists.

In what ways can advertisers exercise pressure on the editorial department? The economic model of a media company is that news attracts audiences that advertisers would like to reach. Consequently, advertisers buy space or time from media that has the best audience for their products (Shoemaker and Reese 1996: 191), or as Helgesen claims, the audience with greatest influence on people's shopping (Helgesen 2004: 116–125). In case the media makes a negative report on a product of the advertiser, the advertiser might withdraw advertising from this media for a period or permanently (Craig 2004: 238; Soley & Craig 1992; Soley 1997; Williams 1992: 167). In a survey among real estate news staff in the United States in 1990, more than 80 % of the editors responded that advertisers had threatened to withdraw ads, while more than one-third of those answered that they knew the advertisers had actually pulled ads in reaction to coverage they did not like (Williams 1992: 167). Even if the editors and journalists in such cases decide not to give in to pressure, some might be hesitant to produce critical material on an advertiser at another time in order not to do something that could hamper the media's and their own income basis as Kessler has shown this in his study on women's magazines, which applied self-censorship and avoided producing articles about the health risks of smoking in order not to irritate both smoking advertisers and advertisers possibly linked to a tobacco company (Kessler 1989). Coyle has claimed that advertiser support for certain articles can make any publisher go weak at the knees (Coyle 1998: 38). There are cases where enterprises might stop working with an advertising agency if the agency also produces advertising for competing interests (Bagdikian 1989: 819–820). A newspaper or another media company might be just as vulnerable as an advertising agency.

Such dictates from the advertisers is a reflection of the increasing dependency on revenues from the advertising industry and a continuation of the market-driven journalism trend. Bagdikian believes that advertising produces sameness on the national television since advertisers want TV which "offends or bores as few viewers as possible", which could imply that the programmes are made non-controversial, light and non-political to create the right 'buying mood' (Bagdikian 1997:132–133). This homogenisation trend in terms of content applies to other media as well. Picard argues that the primary content of newspapers is commercialised news and features made to appeal to broad audiences, to be cost effective, to be entertaining and to keep readers who

interest the advertisers. Stories that are costly, may create financial risks or may offend somebody are ignored and replaced by more acceptable, 'safe' and entertaining articles to please a larger number of readers. The range of opinions and ideas has diminished (Picard 2004: 61). Similarly to Bücher, who in 1926 stressed that the basic task of journalism is to provide news which is necessary to allow publishers to sell advertising (Bücher 1926), Hamilton describes news as a commodity or a product, not a mirror image of reality. He lists 'five economic Ws' driving news decisions; that is, five questions from the media to the market that decide what information becomes news: a) who cares about a particular piece of information; b) what are they willing to pay to find it, or what are others willing to pay to reach them; c) where can media outlets or advertisers reach these people; d) when is it profitable to provide the information and e) why is it profitable? (Hamilton 2004: 7). While Picard seems to perceive homogenisation as rather negative, Rolland argues that the market-driven journalism has positive consequences for the news offered as it no longer offers news only to a minority, an elite, but to a broader audience (Rolland 2009). The shift towards a market-driven journalism could also, in many countries, imply that journalists might become more objective regarding politics, but less objective regarding business issues, since they have to remember not to be too critical towards permanent advertisers and their interest. This shift from political party dependence to commercial dependence could be so if political parties, politicians and the ruling political elite are not important advertisers or have strong and decisive influence upon the business community.

### **1.3.6. More PR Officers and Less Journalists**

While journalists over the past decades have been facing dramatic job cuts (Reilly 2009, Sundin 2011: 13, Örnebring 2011a: 13, Örnebring 2011b: 6), the number of public relations officers, in short, a professional responsible for a favourable public image of a company, organisation or individual, has increased. While in 1960 there was less than 1 public relations agent for every working journalist in the United States, by 1990 the ratio was 2:1 and by 2012 there were 4 PR people for every working journalist. Furthermore, the number of PR officers seems to be still growing (McChesney & Nichols 2011). Even though the corresponding figures in Europe seem to be absent, the tendency is the same and a new wave of former journalists now work as PR officers for various companies, organisations and public institutions. In this cross-over of fewer journalists and more PR officers, journalism is vulnerable. As there is less time for producing original news (McChesney 2012: 684), the temptation experienced by many journalists to accept and use pre-packaged news produced by PR officers working for business companies, governmental offices and other organisations outside the media companies instead of producing their own news is quite real. Studies from around the world show that 40–75 % of the content in independent media use PR sources or is otherwise in a significant way



influenced by PR (Macnamara 2014: 741). A study showed that in 2006 about half of the content in leading UK media was in some way shaped by PR (Lewis et al. 2008).

Even though the work of many PR officers can be highly ethical in terms of codes of conduct, in producing and presenting information, a PR officer must remember that he or she is working in the interests of his or her paying client. This reflects the fundamental difference between a PR officer and a journalist, as a journalist in theory should be free from such obligations and limitations since a journalist's task is to present information in the interest of the public. Despite the fact that numerous studies show that journalists have a negative perception of PR (DeLorme & Fedler 2003; Sallot & Johnson 2006; White & Shaw 2005; Wilson & Supa 2013) and PR at times is portrayed as "a cancer that is eating away at the heart of modern journalism" (Currah 2009: 62), journalists at large continue to use PR; from press releases to PR officers as trusted sources, often in a way that is not transparent to the public. As a result, news is increasingly unfiltered public relations generated in a hidden way by companies and public authorities (McChesney 2013: 183).

### **1.3.7. The Dismantling of the Fundamental Wall**

For many years, the fundamental and thick steel wall between the editorial and advertising department was meant to function like a buffer zone as relates to possible attempts from advertisers to influence the editorial staff. In this latest wave of commercialisation an increasingly number of newspapers and other media seem to reduce this wall to a soft and transparent curtain or tear it down completely and start co-operating. Benson, Coyle and Craig have described how major U.S. newspapers including the *Los Angeles Times*, towards the very end of the 20th century introduced regular and formalised discussions between staff members from both departments on how to increase advertising and readership or introduced marketing committees with representatives from all departments in the newspaper. In the United States in 1998, more than half of the newspapers taking part in a survey reported to have marketing committees that included editorial members. Among the tasks these committees had, were to "develop ad-driven special sections", and "target demographic groups for coverage" (Benson 2001). Harro-Loit and Saks have in their research on the blurring process in the Estonian media market in 2003 identified regular meetings and contacts between members of the advertising and editorial department in Estonian dailies and weeklies (Harro-Loit & Saks 2006: 319). As mentioned above, a few years earlier staff from the advertising department might have been physically attacked if they had dared to step inside the editorial department (Benson 2001, Coyle 1998: 37, Craig 2004: 239).

Business consideration intermingles with news and editorial activities more and more. Picard argues that such new developments both lower the social value of newspaper content and distract newspaper staff from journalism to

activities primarily related to the business interests of the press. As a consequence, commercial ideology increasingly prevails over public service ideology, and the journalistic quality suffers (Picard 2004). In many cases one may speak about market or advertiser censorship and written and unwritten rules that keep journalists from reporting openly and freely about issues linked to advertisers. The dismantling of the fundamental wall between the editorial and advertising department is linked to a 'verbal de-regulation' or the blurring of the definition of various perceptions. In the contemporary media world once supposedly clear terms like journalism, advertising, entertainment, politics, economy, fiction, reality and others are combined and mixed. This conceptual blurring or verbal deregulation could also be considered an integrated part of the wider notion of commercialisation. The absence of clear terms seems to speed up and promote further commercialisation.

A concrete example of the new co-operation between the advertising and the editorial department is co-branding: a partnership between two or more companies to brand and market their businesses together. Scholars have questioned how news magazines that run co-branding with some of their key advertisers will be able to report more or less objectively on matters involving an advertiser. For example, if there is a partnership between a news magazine and a cruise line, featuring even pages in the magazines with a ship's officer holding up a jersey and logo of the magazine, how actively will the news magazine report on possible diseases on board the cruise line if that would happen (Coyle 1998: 40–41). Despite much talk and writing about the commercialisation of the mass media, according to McManus, consumers may still believe that the selection of news is based on the importance of the issue and not on the interests of the advertisers (McManus 1994).

## **1.4. Squeezed Journalism**

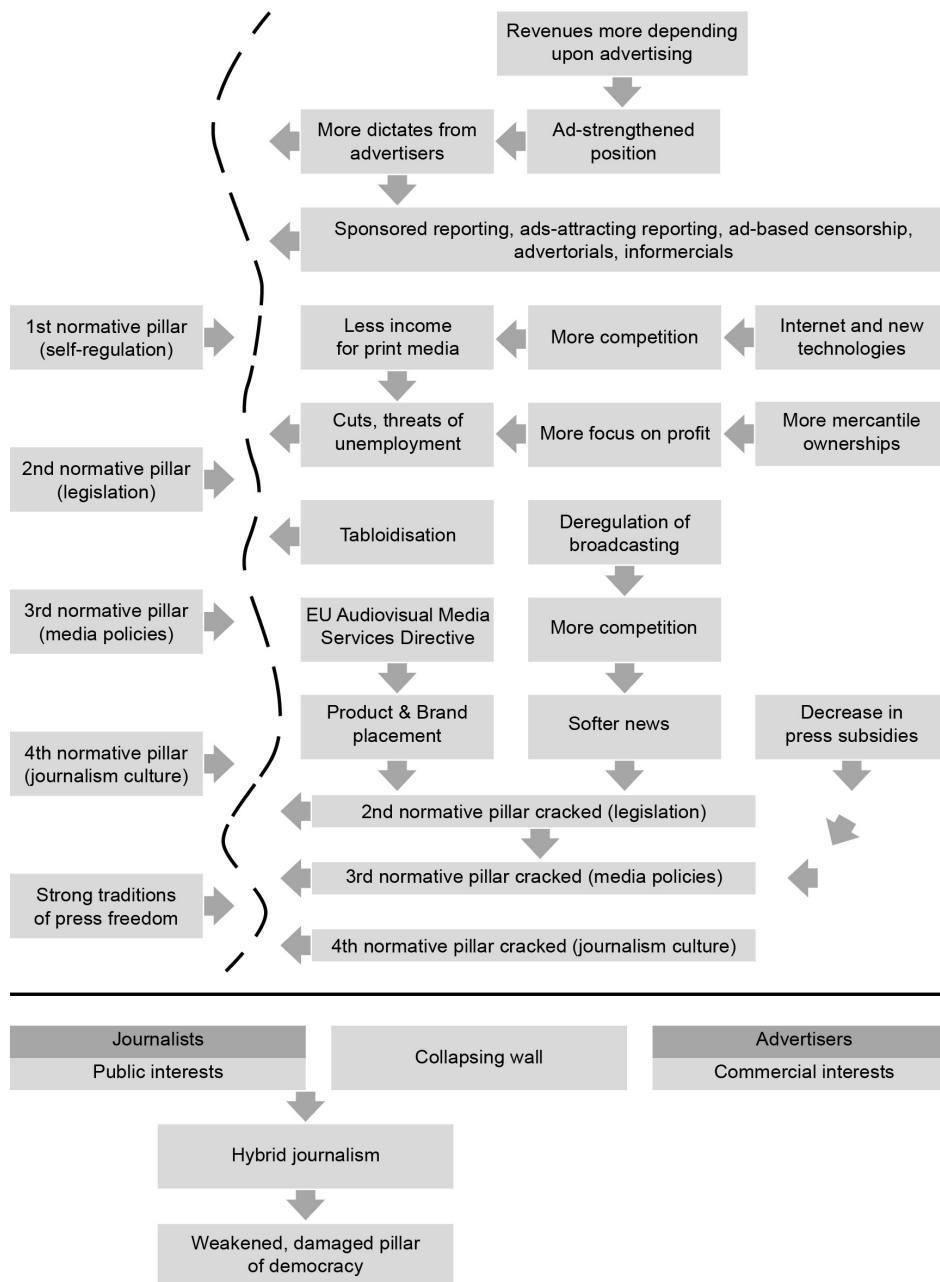
The increased competition among media companies caused primarily by deregulation, in particular of broadcasting, as well as the introduction of the internet and new technologies, has led to a decline in circulation and advertising revenues for numerous newspapers and magazines. One of the responses to rising financial difficulties is to cut operating costs (Mensing 2007: 22) including cutting the number of news professionals. In 2008, a total of 15 500 newspaper jobs were eliminated in the U.S. media (Reilly 2009), half of them were working in the news room. In the United States, in just 3 years, newsroom staff has shrunk by 25 % (Tang et al. 2012: 108). Even though the situation in Europe is quite diverse, the global recession in 2008–2009 resulted in serious lay-offs and salary cuts for the editorial staff members in newspapers in many European countries (Sundin 2011: 13, Örnebring 2011a: 13, Örnebring 2011b: 6). Even though the cuts sometimes also include producing a reduced number of pages for a publication, overall far fewer journalists have to try to cover more than earlier (McChesney 2012: 685).

These job and salary cuts, as well as the crisis atmosphere have given many employees in newspapers and magazines anxiety about threats about additional cuts. This, together with the strengthened position of advertisers, the rapid increase in the number of PR officers, the dismantling of the fundamental wall, the media owners increasingly not protecting journalistic values and media legislation at times being contradictory to ethical codes and professional standards has led to what many see as a crisis in journalism and a threat to journalistic autonomy. In 2007, the European Federation of Journalists, the largest organisation of journalists in Europe, launched a campaign called “Stand up for Journalism and the Core Values of Democracy in Europe” stressing that the professional crisis is seen in the consequences of cuts in editorial budgets that have compromised editorial standards, and eliminated the amount of time and research needed by journalists to do their work. At the same time, editorial departments have become dominated by commercial imperatives that have blurred the distinction between journalism and marketing. Rampant commercialism is ripping the heart out of the mission of journalism. The crisis in European journalism has reached a critical point. No-one can turn a blind eye to the urgent need to fight for decent jobs and to defend quality journalism” (EFJ 2007).

A weakened editorial staff lacking journalists with a deeper knowledge and competence in certain areas can be used as an argument for advertisers to fund an article explaining more comprehensively and precisely complicated matters. Previous misquotations, misunderstanding, frustration with superficial journalists and lack of trust might explain why some advertisers prefer to place somewhat educational and scientific advertorials (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 386; Prounis & DeSantis 2004: 157) to get the key message across and explain certain issues whether it is about a new medicine, health problems, financing opportunities or new construction materials.

Altschull may touch the heart of the problem when stating that “once a business ceases to make profit, it must very likely either bend the moral codes or fail to survive” (Altschull 1995: 364). Squeezed up in a corner under the threat of bankruptcy, even a newspaper or magazine earlier known for having strict rules regarding journalism and advertising, might be pushed into a state where it is willing to not only give in to advertising pressure, but also to proposals on sponsored reports, special niche sections and supplements, advertorials as well as to censor prepared reports; all examples of what I have chosen to call ‘hybrid journalism’ (see chapter 4).

## Squeezed journalism

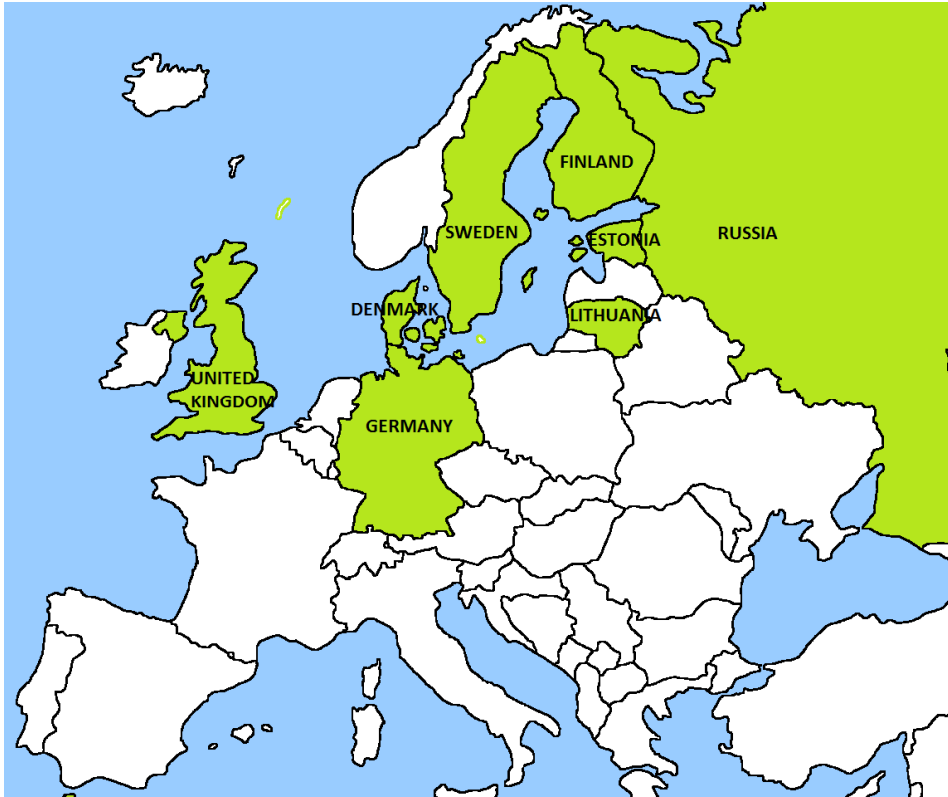


**Figure II. Squeezed Journalism**

Figure II explains how cracks in the norms created to serve the interests of the public and safeguard journalistic autonomy over the past three decades have moved the once fundamental wall between the editorial and advertising departments within a media organisation to a state of collapse. Internet and new technologies have triggered, accelerated and been a driving force in commercialisation and the information overload. As a result, journalism has been put in a very critical, vulnerable and squeezed position, which again is likely to explain an increased hybridisation between journalism and advertising and a weakened democracy. In some cases, this process is possibly slowed down by strong traditions of press freedom and journalistic autonomy.

## 2. CONTEXTUAL COUNTRY BACKGROUND

This chapter contains background information, which I argue is essential and important and may to a certain extent explain possible, current differences between the eight countries which are the focus of this study in terms of journalistic autonomy and what I have defined as ‘hybrid journalism’ (see chapter 4).



**Figure III.** Countries of Focus for this Study (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom)  
The countries are marked in green colour.

### 2.1. The Development of Press Freedom

Contemporary differences in media behaviour with regard to journalistic autonomy and the separation of journalism and advertising, may possibly partly be explained through different historical courses in the development of press freedom and journalistic culture (Ghinea & Avādanī 2011, Helles et al. 2011,

Kuutti et al. 2011, Školkey et al 2011, van Besien 2011, Reich & Hanitzsch 2013: 150, Harro-Loit 2014). In their past and recent media history, the eight countries in the northern part of Europe in focus for this study (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom), all share a lot of similarities, and are also divided by a series of differences.

Some of the countries in focus for this study (Denmark, Finland, Sweden) have been among the earliest to introduce advanced and functioning press freedom acts, while other countries have throughout history only been able to enjoy relative press freedom for a few years.

It was as a reaction to a new *Licensing Act*, adopted in Britain in 1662, not only requiring rigid pre-publication licencing procedures, but also opening for the arrest and imprisonment of authors, printers and publishers of offensive publications, that “the phrase ‘liberty of the press’ burst into the English language in the mid-1600s” (Burrowes 2011: 41). What happened in Britain played a central role in terms of the struggle for freedom of the press, but even after 1694, when the parliament refused to renew the *Licensing Act*, the law was replaced by a new order moving from pre-publication to post-publication censorship and a new stamp duty on publications. As the constituents for reforms demobilized, the state introduced new restrictions. (Burrowes 2011: 42, 53). However, a new step forward was taken in 1763 when “British courts barred the government from bringing illegal warrants against journalists and granted the press permission to publish reports on parliamentary proceedings” (Burrowes 2011: 51).

Due mainly to the activities of the priest and parliamentarian Anders Chydenius, Sweden, including Finland, adopted the world’s first *Freedom of the Press Act* in 1766 completely abolishing political censorship as well as guaranteeing freedom of access to public documents (Bagerstam 1994: 7, Manninen 2010: 18, 45). For comparison, a *Freedom of Information Act* took effect in law in the United Kingdom from as late as the beginning of 2005 (Manninen 2010). For Chydenius the crucial and main objective of the new law was to give birth to “the competition of the pens”, thus defending the seeking of truth through statements of different standpoints, through “the exchange of writings” (Manninen 2010: 44). The Swedish King Gustav III was soon under attack by the nobility for a freedom referred to as the indecency and immorality freedom, but the king responded in 1774 that “the use of the freedom of the press was greater than the harm any misuse could bring”. A king, he said “through the freedom of press will get to know the truth that people eagerly and often successfully had tried to hide from him” (Holm 1885: 3). However, the freedom of the press was not supposed to include matters of religion (Varenius 1931), and soon other minor restrictions were also introduced (Manninen 2010: 52–53).

Denmark, including Norway and the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein under the German-born prime minister Johann Friedrich Struensee abolished all censorship of the press, including censorship on religious matters, and

introduced, according to Laursen, for the first time in the world, unlimited freedom of the press in 1770 (Laursen 2002). Yet, when faced with a wave of critical articles about himself, the prime minister corrected the decision the following year, introducing a demand to publish the name of the publisher or author on the first page of the publication. Following the prime minister's arrest and execution, censorship was for a period re-established in 1773 (Laursen 1998).

At the same time there were movements towards freedom of the press in England, Holland, Prussia and the Habsburg Empire, but it could not, according to Holm, be compared with the degree of freedom of the press in the Nordic countries (Holm 1885:3). In Prussia, during the 18th century, those writing for newspapers seem to have accepted without much protest, the directives from the ruler. King Friedrich II of Prussia, after coming to power in 1740, demanded unconditional loyalty from the press. Moreover, he himself wrote a series of reports published in the Prussian press (Altschull 1995). After a short period of less press control in the mid-19th century (Altschull 1975, Pöttker and Starck 2003: 57), it was followed by the re-establishment of a more authoritarian rule under Otto von Bismarck. It was only by the time that the 20th century dawned, that the German press had reached a level of freedom of the press comparable to other nations in Europe. This period lasted until January 1933, when Adolf Hitler came to power. His first act was to dismantle and crush the free German press (Altschull 1975). In the western part of Germany freedom of the press was gradually restored in the years after 1945. The restrictions on criticising the allied forces came to an end (Grieves 2008: 43). Yet, in the eastern part of the country freedom of the press was suppressed by state control from 1949 to 1989 (Pöttker and Starck 2003: 48).

When Sweden lost Finland to Russia in 1809, Finland became a Grand Duchy with extensive autonomy, but the press was subject to Russian censorship regulations until 1917 when Finland became an independent state (Kuutti et al. 2010: 6). The freedom of the press was again suppressed with the coming of World War II and what followed afterwards. In post-war Finland, the fear of a possible Soviet occupation gave birth to self-censorship in terms of topics related to the Soviet Union (Lilius 1975, Salminen 1998: 240, Kuutti et al. 2010: 6). However, the self-censorship also included the policies of the Finnish president and government towards the Eastern neighbour, the coverage of other socialist countries, and even of Finland's own hard-line Communists (Salminen 1998: 242). According to Salminen "distortion of the truth, embellishment, and silence were seen as being entirely appropriate in the interests of the state, the newspaper, and even the individual journalist" (Salminen 1998: 242). News about the southern neighbour Estonia was very much silenced. The sharp, reprimanding letters and warning phone calls from Finland's president to the Finnish press (Salminen 1998: 243–244, 247) may also be interpreted as a form of informal, though not institutionalised state censorship. Self-censorship was at its strongest in the 1970-ies, but continued until the collapse of the USSR in 1991 (Salminen 1998: 240, 243), even though a section that was added to the



Finnish penal code in 1948 which prohibited publications of articles that “defame foreign countries or endanger external relations” was abolished only in 1995 (Kuutti et al. 2010: 6).

When what today make up Estonia and Northern Latvia, including Riga, was transferred from Sweden to the Russian empire in 1721, it thus became subject to Russian censorship practice. As an example, from 1873 to 1904 more than 550 circulars were issued describing problems that should be avoided in the press (Lauk et al. 1993: 70). Following the Manifesto of October 17, 1905 issued by the Russian Czar, by taking the law into their own hands Estonian newspapers enjoyed a censorship-free period until December the same year. Yet the *Russian Press Law of 1905*, in force until the 1917 February Revolution, merely substituted pre-publication censorship with post-publication censorship where issues had to be submitted for censorship simultaneously with publication (Lauk et al. 1993: 102). It was only in 1920 that freedom of the press began to embrace Estonia. Even though newspapers hostile to the existence of the country experienced stern measures taken by the state, Estonian media could enjoy relative overall freedom of the press until 1933 (Lauk & Kaalep 1993: 119–125). In neighbouring Latvia, a relatively high degree of press freedom lasted from 1920 until 1934 (Brikše 1993: 142–149).

It has been claimed that Lithuania, in union with Poland in 1539 had already adopted a royal decree guaranteeing freedom of the press (Zamoyski 1987), but little is known about how this influenced the working conditions of the press in the centuries to come. In 1919, independent Lithuania adopted a press law stipulating a relatively high degree of press freedom, yet reality showed that there was no functioning freedom of the press in Lithuania in the inter-war period. Political censorship was widespread (Vaišnys & Krivickiene 1993: 155–161).

Russia got its first newspaper in 1702 called *Vedomosti* and the Czar Peter the Great was supposedly both the initiator and the editor of the newspaper (Pasti 2007). As in the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union firmly controlled the press and censorship was widely applied. In the Soviet period even foreign correspondents had to show their texts for a pre-censorship procedure. At times they had to wait for several days for their text to be processed and censored at an office in Moscow. Until 1961, when probably due to the increasing number of foreign correspondents and thus accompanying languages, the system became too complicated to handle. The tipping point for the system’s termination allegedly being the shortage of competent censors in the Finnish language (Elphick 2004). Pre-publication censorship for all Soviet media was accompanied by a list of top secret issues. Not only was it not allowed to report about catastrophes and natural disasters (Erzikova 2008), but as Lauristin and Vihalemm point out it was also illegal to report about the routes of migrant birds “in case the enemy should maliciously infect the birds with pest or cholera” on their way to the Soviet Union (Lauristin & Vihalemm 1993a: 186). Writing about taboo topics or applying an improper tone could during the Stalin period result in being sent to Siberia (Lauristin & Vihalemm 1993a: 187).

Despite the 'glasnost' period in the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1980s, the censorship institution *Glavlit* still existed in the second half of 1991 (Dewhirst 2002: 23).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, a relatively high degree of press freedom emerged in the Baltic countries and Russia around 1991, but in the case of Russia, from 1993 censorship and attacks on free press became common, and from 2002 and onwards, according to Freedom House's rating the freedom of the press in Russia has been rated as non-free (Freedom House 2012). It may be claimed that the type of relative freedom of the press experienced in parts of Europe over the past century, Russia experienced for some months in 1917 and between 1991 and 1993. Throughout the 1990s and later there were, according to Simonov, six types of censorship in the Russian media (Simonov 1996); administrative censorship, economic censorship, censorship based on criminal actions or threats, editorial policy censorship, editorial taste censorship and self-censorship. Administrative censorship may include selective use of the ruling elite's administrative resources to harass and bully certain media through, for example, inspections and fines related to taxation, working conditions as well as limitations on printing and distribution (Dewhirst 2002: 29, Richter 2008: 310) while economic censorship may be an extension of administrative censorship as the ruling elite decides not to place announcements and advertisements in certain media and lets potential advertisers understand that they might lose contracts and influence if they advertise in this particular media (Dewhirst 2002: 29). Administrative censorship may also include seemingly 'friendly pressure' from the political elite to, for example drop publication of an article (Richter 2008: 310). Simons and Strovsky argue that the so-called 'war on terrorism' has provided the Russian authorities with ample excuses to curtail reporting (Simons & Strovsky 2006: 189).

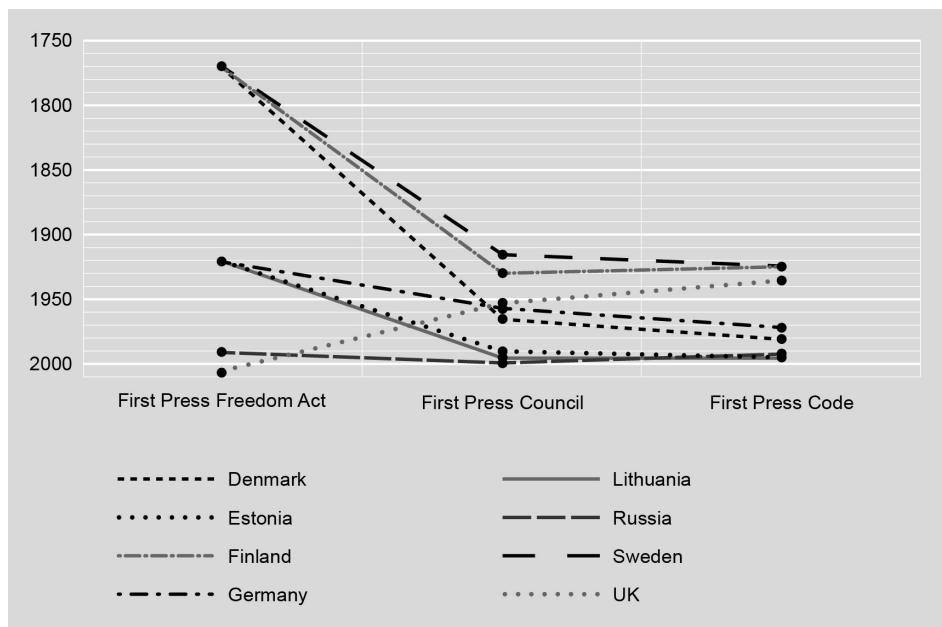
## **2.2. The Development of Self-regulation**

Sweden was a pioneer with regard to self-regulation in the media. Already in 1900, the first written code of ethics for journalists in Europe, and possibly in the world, was drafted, but not formally adopted in Sweden. In Europe a charter was adopted by the national journalist association in France in 1918. Five years later, in 1923, the Swedish press club accepted a set of ethical guidelines and thus became the first adopted press code in the northern part of Europe (Evers 2000: 263), one year before a press code was adopted in neighbouring Finland (Laitila 1995: 530). The British National Union of Journalists accepted a code of conduct in 1936 (NUJ 2016). Through the second part of the 20th century codes of ethics for journalists in most European countries became common (Christians 2000:27–28). Germany got a nationwide press code in 1973, Denmark in 1981 while Russia, Lithuania and Estonia, all countries after the

collapse of the Soviet Union, in 1994, 1996 and 1997 respectively. (Mažylė 2014: 38, Bykov et al. 2015: 56–57, Estonian Press Council 2016).

In terms of focusing on the ‘wall’ between journalism and advertising, Sweden again was a pioneer. Already in 1976 extensive codes on editorial advertising were adopted; following the 2006 edition of the codes, a separate chapter on editorial advertising was included (EthicNet 2012).

When comparing the eight countries in focus in this study with regard to the press councils and press ombudsmen, which are supposed to evaluate cases where the codes are possibly not followed, we see substantial differences. In 1916, the first press council in Europe to evaluate the conduct of the press was established in Sweden (Christians 2000:26, Nordenstreng: 2000: 83). According to Nordenstreng, it was established under public interest pressure (Nordenstreng 2000:84). Today press or media councils exist in all the eight countries in focus of this study<sup>4</sup>. However, in, for example, the countries that joined the EU in 2004, like Estonia and Lithuania, “the mechanisms or the bodies that would watch over the implementation of ethical codes are clawless or missing” and codes are largely ignored by the journalists (Lauk 2009: 72–73).



**Figure IV.** The Year of Introduction of the First Press Freedom Act, First Press Council and First Press Code for the Countries in Focus

<sup>4</sup> Yet, they were established at very different times; Sweden (1916), Finland (1927), United Kingdom (1953), Germany (1956), Denmark (1964), Estonia (1991), Lithuania (1996) and Russia (1998) (Nordenstreng 2000: 83)

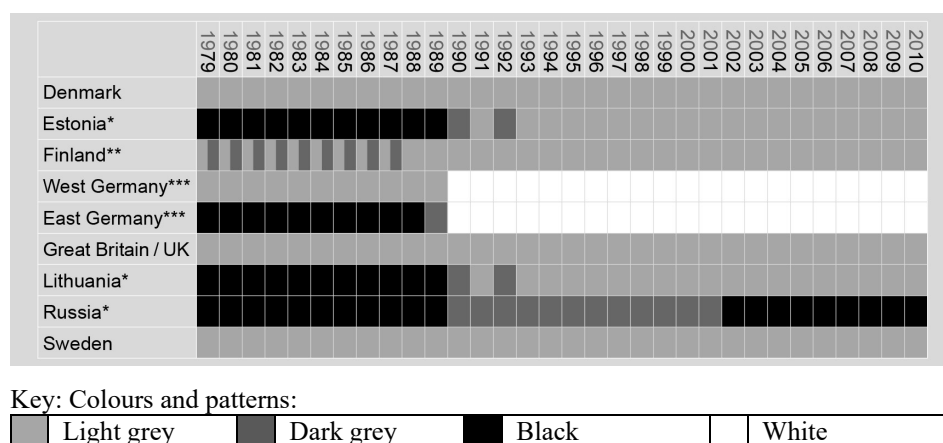
A key element in the operations of the press councils are the sanctions and their implementation. Disagreement on publishing the decisions of the councils has in more than one country led to the temporary standstill of a council. In addition to the demand that the decisions shall be published in the news media that has violated the ethical principles, Sweden has since the beginning of the 1970-ies practised light monetary sanctions (von Krogh & Nord 2010: 193).

### **2.3. The Degree of Press Freedom in Recent Years**

I have so far deliberately tried to avoid formulations that in an oversimplified way could indicate that freedom of the press is an absolute value that dawned or came to a country in a specific year. Instead, I have tried to present snapshots of key developments in history of the countries studied that can give an important contribution to the understanding of the development of the degree of the freedom of the press. Just like article 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations in 1948 on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, laws on press freedom may be purely declarative and do not guarantee freedom of the press in a country if a series of selective legal, political and economic measures are applied to limit this freedom. Moreover, understanding that there are degrees of press freedom and that absolute freedom of the press may conflict with other interests like state security and protection of an individual's right(s) (e.g. to privacy), it should still, by choosing a more pragmatic approach, be possible to categorise countries in terms of the extent they fulfil important press freedom criteria. Then, instead of using terms like full freedom of the press, we might apply formulations that there is relatively high, medium or low degree of press freedom in a country. The organisation Freedom House has for a number of years classified countries world-wide as free, partly free or non-free in terms of freedom of the press.

Although Benson claims that Freedom House and other media institutions rate the degree of freedom of the press system based on political rather than economic criteria (Benson 1995), the annual ratings on the degree of freedom of the press performed by Freedom House are based on an examination of the legal, political and economic environment for the media in each country according to Freedom House itself (Freedom House 2012). According to Freedom House, the legal environment includes both "the laws and regulations that could influence media content and the government's inclination to use these laws and legal institutions to restrict the media's ability to operate" (Freedom House 2012). The positive impact of legal and constitutional guarantees for freedom of expression is examined as well as "the potentially negative aspects of security legislation, the penal code, and other criminal statutes; penalties for libel and defamation; the existence of and ability to use freedom of information legislation; the independence of the judiciary and of official media regulatory bodies; registration requirements for both media outlets and journalists; and the

ability of journalists' groups to operate freely" (Freedom House 2012). Likewise, in terms of the political environment, Freedom House evaluates the degree of political control over the news media content. The editorial independence of both state-owned and privately owned media is examined, access to information and sources; official censorship and self-censorship; the vibrancy of the media and the diversity of news available within each country; the ability of both foreign and local journalists to cover the news freely and without harassment; as well as the possible intimidation of journalists by the state or other actors, including arbitrary detention and imprisonment, violent assaults and other threats. (Freedom House 2012). The final category examined is the economic environment for the media including the structure, transparency and concentration of media ownership; the costs of establishing, production and distribution of media; the possible selective withholding of advertising or subsidies by the state or other actors; the impact of corruption and bribery on content; and the extent to which the economic situation in a country impacts the development and sustainability of the media. (Freedom House 2012).



**Figure V.** Rating of Press Freedom in Selected Countries in Europe from 1979–2010

Source: Freedom House

Explanation of the colour scheme: light grey = press rated as Free, dark grey = press rated as Partly Free, black = press rated as Not Free, white = No available data

\* until 1991 part of the USSR

\*\* until 1987 rating was split between print media and broadcasting rating. Finland was rated Free in terms of print media and Partly Free in terms of broadcasting for the period 1979–1987.

\*\*\* until 1990 Germany was split into west and east, there is no data available on the – reunited Germany from 1991 onwards

A summary of the findings from Freedom House for the period 1979–2010 (see Figure V above), shows that after 1992 the countries included in this research with the exception of Russia have enjoyed a high degree of press freedom. It should be noted, however, that for Germany no data is available starting from 1990.

*The World Press Freedom Index 2011–2012* produced by the organisation Reporters Without Borders echoes the results offered by Freedom House. The index reflects the degree of freedom that journalists, news media and netizens enjoy in each country, and the efforts made by the authorities to respect and ensure respect for this freedom (Reporters without borders 2012a). Among the countries in focus in this study Finland was ranked as the country with the highest degree of press freedom, closely followed by Estonia, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, UK and Lithuania while Russia was ranked as the country with the lowest degree of press freedom and in a completely different division compared to the other seven countries. On a scale where -10 is given to the country with the highest degree of press freedom and +142 given to the country with the lowest degree of press freedom, Finland got -10, Estonia -9, Denmark -5,67, Sweden -5,6, Germany -3, United Kingdom +2, Lithuania +4 and Russia +66 (Reporters without borders 2012b).

## **2.4. The Content of the Press Codes**

When comparing the content of the nationwide codes of ethics we find substantial differences. In the most individualistic part of the scale, the British, Finnish and Russian code focus on how a journalist acts or should act, the Lithuanian code describes the work of both the journalists and managers of editorial boards (referred to also as public information organisers), the Estonian code makes it quite clear which norms address a journalist, which norms an editor and which norms are meant for the media as such. The Danish and Swedish codes address in a more general way both the journalist and the news media, while the German code seemingly favours more a collectivistic responsibility approach and rounds up the scale by mainly defining how the press as such should operate, and only in some cases says how a journalist should behave (EthicNet 2012).

Briefly comparing the length of the nation-wide codes from the eight countries in this study, five of the codes represent the average by including between 960 and 1240 words. Compared to these, the British code with its 248 words is extremely short, while the Lithuanian and German codes with 3663 and 4642 words respectively are very long. The length of the German code is partly explained by the fact that the basic principles are described in more detail in the second part of the code (EthicNet 2012).

If the updated 2012 edition of the nation-wide codes of the eight countries in focus in this study are compared, various words are selected to describe what

sort of information and news a journalist should provide: “truthful information” (Finland and Lithuania), “correct” (Denmark and Lithuania), “prompt and as far as possible verified” (Denmark), “accurate and objective” (Sweden), “true” (Estonia and Lithuania) “fair and comprehensive” (Estonia) while the UK code states that the journalist “strives to ensure that information disseminated is honestly conveyed, accurate and fair” (Ethicnet 2012). As seen above, only one of the codes from the 8 selected European countries has kept the word “objective” in formulating this key norm and principle.

The Swedish and Estonian codes say “not to accept an assignment, invitation, gift, a free trip or any other benefit – and do not make contracts or other engagements that could bring into question your status as a free and independent journalist” (Sweden) or “cause a conflict of interests” (Estonia). The Lithuanian code adds that “the journalist must notify the public on any received [external] support”, while the Russian code states in more detail that “a journalist considers malevolent distortion of facts, slander, the obtaining of payment for the dissemination of false news or hiding truthful information under any conditions as a grave professional misdemeanour. On the whole, a journalist should not take, either directly or indirectly, any kind of compensation or reward from third persons for publishing any kind of material or opinion” (EthicNet 2012).

By 2012 the codes from seven of the eight countries in focus in this study address concrete provisions on the separation of advertising and editorial content. (EthicNet 2012). The code may address the material or the product produced by a journalist as well as the conduct, and situations where a journalist appears. For example, the Finnish, Estonian and Danish codes focus on materials or texts: “advertising and editorial content should be clearly separated” (Finland), “advertisements and promotional materials shall be clearly differentiated from editorial content” (Estonia), “there should be a clear dividing line between advertising and editorial text. Text and pictures occasioned by direct or indirect mercantile interests should be presented only if a clear journalistic criterion calls for publication” (Denmark), while the UK code could relate to a journalist’s conduct more generally: “...does not by way of statement, voice or appearance endorse by advertisement any commercial product or service”. Similarly the Russian code addresses not only materials, but activities: “The combination of journalistic and advertising activity is ethically unthinkable” (EthicNet 2012)

The German code stresses non-influence: “The responsibility of the press towards the general public requires that editorial publications are not influenced by the private or business interests of third parties or the personal economic interests of journalists. Publishers and editors must reject any attempts of this nature and make a clear distinction between editorial and commercial content.” In this context both the German and the Finnish codes address hidden or surreptitious advertising: “Hidden advertising must be avoided” (Finland), “Editorial stories that refer to companies, their products, services or events must not overstep the boundary of surreptitious advertising. This risk is especially great

if a story goes beyond justified public interest or the reader's interest in information or is paid for by a third part or is rewarded by advantages with a monetary value. The credibility of the press as a source of information demands particular care when handling PR material" (Germany). In this respect, the Estonian code gives detailed guidelines on how journalists should act when making consumer-oriented reports: "In the case of consumer-oriented journalistic content, the audience must be informed how the selection of the products was made and how the products were tested" (Estonia).

Even though the codes from all eight countries except the UK directly highlight the separation of advertising and editorial content, the Swedish code stands out as more than ¼ of the code is dedicated to rules against editorial advertising (EthicNet 2012). This topic has a separate chapter in the code, stressing how essential this issue is for the Swedish journalistic community. The current version of the Swedish code was adopted in 2006, but rules on 'editorial advertising' were introduced already in 1976 (Journalistförbundet 2012). In order to protect the reliability and integrity of the media and to ensure that editorial content and advertising cannot be mistaken for one another, the Swedish code includes a 9-point check-list for situations where journalists are advised to be especially careful and critical:

- when third parties offer ideas and make proposals including some kind of favour in return;
- when offered free or heavily subsidized trips or benefits;
- when asked for promises for publicity beforehand;
- when products or services are presented as consumer information. Show clearly how the choice of the products/services has been made and how the products/services have been compared or tested and that the editorial staff are the testers. Aim at many-sidedness with this kind of presentations so that there is no unfair promotion;
- when third parties, for example PR companies, lobbyists, scholars, companies, officials or organizations, provide information and communication. This especially concerns areas where the law limits advertising, for example pharmaceuticals, tobacco, alcohol and advertising aimed at children;
- with publicity concerning the products or other arrangements of companies, organizations or official spheres of authority, so that there is no unfair promotion;
- with publicity of selling your own goods, services or other arrangements;
- when an arrangement is carried out together with a third party, one must tell when it is relevant, with whom the co-operation happened and the conditions for the co-operation;
- when products or trademarks are exposed with an appearance of product placement (EthicNet 2012)



## 2.5. Press Councils and Press Ombudsmen

When comparing the press councils and press ombudsmen we see some differences. The press councils work on a national level and deal with complaints about journalistic ethics in all media in the country (Denmark, Lithuania) or predominantly only in print media (Estonia, Germany, Sweden, United Kingdom) (Koene 2009: 7–8). In some cases complaints on Radio and TV programmes are dealt with in a separate council as is the case in Sweden, or are not dealt with by a national council as in the case of Estonia. Two of the countries; Denmark and Lithuania, have media councils established by laws passed by the Parliament (Nordenstreng 2000: 82).

Denmark, Sweden and Lithuania have established a system with a press ombudsman to deal with complaints. If the press ombudsman cannot negotiate a compromise decision, the case is taken to the press council (Harro-Loit & Balčytienė 2005: 35, Helles et al. 2011: 28). The press ombudsman appears, as in the case of Denmark, to have contributed to keeping the state at a distance with regard to control of media content (Helles et al. 2011: 28). There is a culture for having not only a national press council and press ombudsmen, but also in-house press councils and press ombudsmen. For example, the Danish newspaper *Politiken* has its own press ombudsman.

Lithuania has been successful in adopting media laws and setting up media institutions, including self-regulation systems, much in line with the Swedish system. Yet, Harro-Loit and Balčytienė argue that the system is ineffective. Audience reaction to violations of journalistic ethics is apathetic and most Lithuanians do not see any problems in the media (Harro-Loit & Balčytienė 2005: 37).

Estonia is in a special situation as it has two national press councils following a conflict that culminated in 2001 and 2002 paralysing the original council for five months with some members leaving the council and setting up a new one. Harro-Loit and Balčytienė point to publishers' sensitivity to criticism as an important reason for conflict as in several cases they had refused to publish the council's adjudications, in other cases they had changed the text of the adjudication (Harro-Loit & Balčytienė 2005: 36). As Lauk puts it: "while the media take the right to criticise everything and everybody, they remain opaque and inaccessible to criticism themselves, and any question of responsible use of this right is carefully avoided" (Lauk 2009: 74).

Press council conflicts arising from some newspapers' unwillingness to publish the council's decision have emerged in other European countries as well. The West-German press council came to a standstill from 1981 to 1985 when the president of one of the council's sponsoring organisations, the Federal Association of German Newspaper Publishers (BDZV), refused to publish a reprimand issued by the press council in his newspaper *Cologne Express*. In protest, two journalists' organisations of the press council terminated their work. Only four years later the members of the council reached a compromise and the press council could continue its operations. The compromise included

publication of reprimands, reforms of the statutes and the procedures for complaints as well as setting up a sponsoring association of the press council to make it less dependent upon the four sponsoring organisations and their conflicts (Pöttker and Starck 2003: 49).

Yet, even after the compromise was reached, the German press council did not always require the publication of reprimands. This could be due to concern that the publication would “exacerbate the original defense”, yet the cautiousness could also be linked to the strong influence of the four sponsoring organisations, a possible attempt to avoid another public conflict (Pöttker and Starck 2003: 52,54).

As mentioned earlier, also the UK Press Complaints Commission emerged due to governmental threats in 1990 to replace the press council with a press commission with statutory powers (Frost 2004: 102). Making an overview of the first ten years of its operations, Frost seems to agree with those critics accusing the commission of being a mechanism to reject the vast majority of complaints received, in particular those that deal with discrimination. At the same time, the commission’s work seems to have fostered more responsible culture in terms of reporting on children and been very focused on cases involving privacy and celebrities (Frost 2004: 104–114). Despite its ambition to involve more senior journalists, the UK Press complaints commission is “the least industry-orientated of any European equivalent” as 10 out of 17 members represent the public (Gore & Horgan 2010: 524).

The Russian press council was established in 1998, reviewed already in 2005 and called the Public collegium for press complaints (In Russian: Общественная коллегия по жалобам на прессу). Alongside the national press council, Russia has several regional press councils in cities like Rostov-na-Donu, Nizhnij Novgorod, Krasnodar, Orel and Petrozavodsk (Mamontova 2007). The current website of the national Russian press council is ambitious and publishes comprehensive material on each of the cases including background material, videos from the council’s meetings, letters and declarations from the involved parties, video material or other material showing the source of the conflict as well as the full-text decision made by the council (Public collegium 2012).

All in all, all eight countries in focus in this study, despite various difficulties, formally have press councils in place. Another issue is the quality of their work and to which extent they deal with tricky issues like the mixing of advertising and journalism. Few cases might reach the press councils as complaint cases are expected to be initiated by the audience, for whom violations of the principle of not mixing advertising and journalism is not always clear due to the disguised nature of advertorials and other hybrid formats. The original Estonian Press Council has historically only twice dealt with the issue of mixing journalism and advertising (Harro-Loit 2016). The second Estonian press council established by the Estonian Newspaper Association has, since its inception in 2002, never dealt with any cases involving the mixing of advertising and journalism (Prööm 2016). The Lithuanian Press Council called the

Ethics Commission has between 2001 and 2015 dealt with a total of nine cases of mixing of journalism and advertising, yet cases of mixing of journalism and political advertising are separately discussed by the Central Electoral Commission (Žukienė 2016).

However, it is not only the newer EU countries like Estonia and Lithuania where the press councils have been rather passive in dealing with the mixing of journalism and advertising. Since its start in 2005, the Russian Press Council until June 2016 has not made any decisions involving mixing of advertising and journalism (Lukashova 2016). The British Press Council called The Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) for the newspaper and magazine industry in the UK, which replaced the UK Press Complaints' Commission in 2014, does not deal with cases involving the mixing of journalism and advertising and has consequently never made any decisions on this matter (Julian 2016). Between 2000 and 2008 the Danish press council only once made a decision to criticise a paper for mixing of editorial content and advertising, when a branch paper representing local shops in 2003 was criticised for publishing an article that looked like an editorial article, but appeared to be a paid ad (Pressenævnet 2003). From 2009 there has been an increase in the cases discussed involving possible mixing of advertising and editorial content, but no negative decisions have been made (Pressenævnet 2016).

The situation is different in Finland and Germany. From 2000 to 2015 the Finnish Press Council (in Finnish: Julkisen sanan neuvosto) and the German Press council (in German: Deutscher Presserat), processed 128 and 913 cases respectively on cases of complaints dealing with the separation of advertising and editorial content. In both countries there has been a gradual increase of the number of complaints. In Finland from 2 complaints in 2000 the cases peaked in year 2013 with 21 cases (Vänttinen 2016), while in Germany from 13 complaints in 2000, the numbers steadily increased until 2011 when as many as 95 complaints were dealt with (Eick 2016). In Germany some complaints have led to the sharpest sanction applied by the German press council; a reprimand.

In another country with proud press traditions, the Editorial Advertising Committee (In Swedish: Textreklamkommittén) was closed down in 2005 when the Swedish Media Publishers' Association (In Swedish: Svenska Tidningsutgivareföreningen) decided to withdraw their financing (Estmer 2005). Even though the committee was run in co-operation with among others, the Union of Journalists, the decisions of the committee were increasingly ignored (Eriksson 2004, Jönsson 2004). The publishers' association argued that the committee lacked legitimacy and that discussions on editorial advertising could best be carried out by the newspapers' editorial staff (Estmer 2005, Lindqvist 2004). Others considered the opposition against the Editorial Advertising Committee more as a softening stand towards commercial pressures and a victory for the advertising sector as a new generation, not characterized by a professional, automatic 'no'-reaction to mixing of advertising and journalism was about to take over the editorial boards (Fors 2005, Petersson et al 2005: 99–100). The

Swedish Press Council does not deal with cases of complaints on the separation of advertising and editorial content (Sigvardsson 2016).

## 2.6. Constitutions, Press Laws and Regulations

The Swedish constitution consists of four constitutional laws where two of them are linked to the press: *Freedom of the Press Act* and the *Freedom of Expression Act*, both comprehensive acts with fourteen and eleven chapters respectively (Sveriges Riksdag 2012). In such a way, it differs from the constitutions in the other countries.

Sweden incorporated basically the same rules on product placement as in the EU directive of 2007 in its new Radio and TV law in 2010 adding that alcohol products are prohibited in terms of product placement (Sveriges Riksdag 2012). Some of the countries in Europe have a law concerning the press or the news media, some do not. Of the countries in focus in this research, Finland, Lithuania, Russia and Sweden have such laws, in Germany press laws are adopted on the regional level, while Denmark, Estonia and the UK do not have a general press or media law (European Journalism Centre 2012) even though Denmark adopted a Media Liability Act in 1991 (Helles et al. 2011: 9).

Seven of the eight have a separate act on broadcasting while Russia plans to introduce a new law on public service broadcasting (Presidential Council 2012). Some of the laws on radio and TV are quite new, like the Swedish law, which was adopted in 2010 following the new policies introduced in the European Union's *Audiovisual Media Services Directive*.

With the introduction of the internet and online versions of media content, borders between national legislations and regulations have been weakened as seen, for example, in a court case against the Danish newspaper *Ekstra Bladet*. In 2006, the paper published critical information on the rise of the Icelandic Kaupthing Bank (In Icelandic: Kaupþing banki) claiming that the bank might have overstretched its financial capabilities. When the bank's complaint to the Danish Press Council was rejected, the bank decided to sue the newspaper in the United Kingdom as the newspaper was available online outside Denmark and damages in libel cases would be much higher in the United Kingdom than in Denmark. Fearing very high legal costs in the UK, the Danish *Ekstra Bladet* decided to print an apology and pay substantial damages to Kaupþing banki (Školikaym & Sánchez 2012: 116). A couple of years later, the Kaupþing banki, due to its huge debts, was part of the Icelandic banking collapse that triggered the country's financial crisis. The bank's bosses later received the heaviest sentences for financial fraud in Iceland's history (BBC 2013). The case illustrates new threats to journalistic autonomy and press freedom caused by the internet and certain nations' less favourable legislation towards journalists and the press.

## 2.7. National Media Policies

The conflict zone where commercial pressure meets public interest is reflected in national media policy issues like broadcasting deregulation and press subsidies. In the second half of the 20th century, Finland was more of an exception in Europe as it was one of the first countries to start commercial TV broadcasting already in 1957 (Nieminen 2009: 234). Nevertheless, also in Finland the public service broadcaster dominated the market. In a series of European countries, broadcasting from abroad pushed for deregulation of broadcasting legislation. When the first non-public Swedish channel; *TV3* started to broadcast to a Swedish audience in 1987, this happened from London. Only in 1991, the commercial channel *TV4* in line with Swedish legislation could begin to broadcast to a Swedish audience in Sweden, two years later private radio stations were allowed to broadcast on a local level (Strömback 2007: 53).

In Finland, deregulation of broadcasting and the emergence of a series of commercial channels was followed by a scheme where the commercial companies had to pay an annual public service levy to support the national public service broadcasting company *YLE* as a compensation for its public service content. It was *YLE*'s obligation to spend money on broadcasting religious, children's programmes and more. The intensified protests and lobby measures from the commercial companies against this levy, that made up 20 % of *YLE*'s budget, resulted in the levy being dropped in 2007, which later turned out to be a heavy blow for the public service broadcaster (Nieminen 2009: 236). Possibly inspired by this success, the commercial channels have stepped up their lobbying and campaigns against *YLE*'s online and entertainment activities, that are areas where *YLE* could challenge the commercial channels (Nieminen 2009: 239). Estonia followed a similar model when the public service channel *ETV* stopped advertising sales from 1 January 1998, in return receiving a part of the advertising revenues from the three commercial, private TV channels. However, this sum was substantially smaller than the public service broadcaster had earned through advertising in 1997 (Shein 2002: 151) and eventually failed because the commercial operators defaulted on payment (Harro-Loit & Loit 2011: 16). The continued existence of public service broadcasters in the countries in focus of this study might be considered as an attempt to soften the commercialisation wave and protect public interests.

Russia's deregulation was followed by a contra-regulation. New and private broadcasting channels appeared in the period around the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Later, the new private owners were squeezed out of the market and in the beginning of the 21st century replaced by almost full governmental broadcasting control, echoing the former soviet broadcasting media monopoly, or what Zassoursky labels the "monopolisation of control over television, the node of the national information space" (Zassoursky 2004: 33). In some cases the state pressured and co-acted with commercial interests to avoid diversity in the public interest.

While, for example, in Estonia the national media policy is concentrated mainly around the public service broadcasting (Smilov & Avāđani 2012: 63), many other countries in focus in this study have, through policies, intervened heavily in other issues, like the newspaper business.

When about 40 newspapers ceased to exist in Sweden in the 1950s and 1960s mainly due to increased competition and the introduction of radio and TV (Hadenius & Weibull 2003), the parliament's response was to introduce a press subsidy system in the late 1960s (Ots 2009: 379). Finland adopted a similar system in 1971 (Picard & Grönlund 2003: 110). Different from the widespread practice in European countries to subsidise the press by reducing VAT (Leroch & Wellbrock 2011: 284), the Swedish and Finnish subsidies went much further and have largely been used to promote diversity by supporting the smallest out of two newspapers in a city (Ots 2009: 376). However, while in 1999 there were 15 Swedish papers getting support as the second and smallest newspapers in a city, five years later 8 of these had been taken over by their competitors (Ots 2009: 381–382). In a situation where the total circulation of daily newspapers in Sweden has declined systematically since 1989 (Presstödsnämnden 2011: 33), it seems to be getting increasingly difficult to keep the original objective of pluralism, diversity, competition and choice for the audience by subsidising newspapers only. Critics stress that the media situation has radically changed since the 1960 when dailies were the only local and regional media available as public radio and TV at that time had its focus on national news. There were no local or commercial TV and radio stations, no free papers and no internet. Critics suggest keeping a focus on diversity, but not by supporting solely newspapers (Ots 2009: 388).

In addition to the direct press subsidies, newspapers in Sweden and Finland enjoy a series of other benefits offered by the state as a part of the national media policy. Newspapers in Sweden pay a reduced VAT of 6 per cent instead of the regular 25 per cent and receive financial support for distribution of the papers (Weibull et al. 2014). Finnish newspapers are exempted from VAT and receive substantial state subsidies for newspaper delivery (Nieminen 2009: 243–244).

In Denmark the print media receives public distribution support, is exempted from the 25 per cent VAT and, the journalists can make unsolicited calls to consumers. Public funding is available for newspapers in the Danish-German border region, there are funds for establishing new newspapers as well as reorganisation or restructuring of newspapers having financial or other difficulties (Helles et al. 2011: 28) As in the other Nordic countries there are plans to revise the support system; introducing a more platform-independent model for allocation of public support (Helles et al. 2011: 28).

Germany and the United Kingdom have no direct press subsidies, but have general reduced VAT for single copy sales and subscriptions (Kleis Nielsen & Linnebank 2011:8). Similarly Russia has a law exempting the products and activities of the mass media, including transportation costs on publications, from VAT and corporate tax. There is no customs fee on imported paper and

equipment for mass media use, and editorial staff in the press, news agencies, radio and TV can use mail, telegraph and phone services at discounted tariffs as intended for the so-called 'budget organisations'; that is, units supported financially through the public budget. Advertising publications and erotic publications are not given the above-mentioned tax exemptions and financial relief (Zakon segodnja 2014).

Lithuania only subsidises cultural and educational media via the Fund for the support of the press, radio and television, which was established in 1996 (Nugaraite 2014). In line with what seems to be the general trend in the Baltic and Central European countries, where the state does not actively intervene to protect the media market, but leaves the media exposed mainly to the market pressures, Estonia also does not have an active support policy for print publications except for some limited subsidies to cultural and children's publications (Harro-Loit et al. 2012: 138; Smilov & Avādani 2012: 64).

## **2.8. Journalism Culture**

Von Krogh and Nord's study on Swedish editor-in-chiefs reveals that even though the editors are quite open towards involving the public in the evaluation of their work, they do prefer internal discussion fora where the public is excluded, that is, where the media representatives may discuss journalistic matters more candidly. The accountability systems most dismissed by the editors are those which are based on initiatives outside the media organisation, that is, initiatives which are harder to control and which impose a higher risk of severe external media criticism. Swedish editors are positive to readers' panels, where it is possible to control the questions and to the established system with discussions in the press council. They are rather positive towards readers' comments, which they consider as the most effective way of media criticism, and which it is possible to control to some degree as the editors themselves can usually decide what to publish and not to publish. The editors' control dimension goes hand in hand with their public relations dimension (von Krogh & Nord 2010: 200–202).

In a comparative cross-national research project based on interviews between 2007 and 2009 with around 1800 journalists in 18 countries worldwide, including two of the countries in focus for this study; Germany and Russia, Hanitzsch and his research team found that in terms of institutional roles Russian journalists were among the least vigilant and critical journalists. While German journalists belonged to the group of journalists characterised by a culture of non-involvement, detachment and monitoring the government, the Russian journalists were on the contrary among those that were most willing to convey a positive image of political and business leadership showing a relatively weak power distance. At the same time, the journalistic role to motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion was ranked low in

Russia, while it was ranked quite high in Germany (Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 281–282).

In terms of epistemologies, the researchers found that both German and Russian journalists were negative to the idea of news being influenced by beliefs and convictions. For German journalists objective, impartial, factual and credible reporting was quite important, while journalists in Russia paid more attention to providing political direction for their audiences. In terms of respect to the separation of facts and opinion, journalists in Russia were among those journalists having the most and journalists in Germany the least favorable attitude towards providing analysis themselves. Journalists in Germany were among those that found it especially important not to publish material that could not be verified, while journalists in Russia on the contrary were among those seeming to be most willing to publish unverified information (Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 283–284). When studying the ethical ideologies in the journalism culture, Russian together with Chinese journalists turned out to be most open to situational ethical practices, while there was little support for this idea that journalists should be allowed to set their own individual ethical standards in western countries like Germany. Russian journalists, as opposed to German journalists, accepted more readily that in order to achieve a greater public good, questionable methods of reporting having harmful consequences might be used. Moreover, the Russian journalists were more skeptical towards universal ethical principles that their German colleagues (Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 285).

In his conclusions Hanitzsch and his team ended up with three clusters of countries in terms of their identified journalistic culture. One group represented what was broadly described as ‘western journalism culture’ and included Germany together with Australia, Austria, Spain, Switzerland and the United States, another group was named ‘peripheral western’ and included Brazil, Bulgaria, Israel, Mexico and Romania where the journalistic culture was quite similar to the ‘western journalistic culture’. Russia belonged to the third group together with Chile, China, Egypt, Indonesia, Turkey and Uganda, a group of developing countries and transitional democracies or non-democratic countries. (Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 287–288).

Hanitzsch and his team’s findings on the Russian journalism culture are in accordance with both Sosnovskaja’s and Pasti’s findings based on interviews with Russian journalists from the St. Peterburg area from 1997–1999 and 1998–2002 respectively. Pasti draws the conclusion that the generation of journalists that entered the media in the 1990-ies perceives journalism rather as PR, as it is equivalent to working for the interests of influential groups and persons in politics and business. Sosnovskaja also concluded that many journalists of the younger generation wanted to be market-oriented, work in PR and commercial journalism where the borders between editorial news and advertising have disappeared (Sosnovskaja 2000). However, also those that started their journalistic practice during the Soviet period perform as propagandists of power during elections and other important events (Pasti 2007: 116). The journalists make their journalistic decisions based on the editorial line which is built on the



interests of the founders, sponsors and advertising. Additionally they practice extensive self-censorship due to the fear of court, criminals and dismissal (Pasti 2007: 116). Pasti stressed the heritage link between the soviet state and new private business in the sense that the new private business leaders buying media companies in Russia in the 1990-ies did not differ in their mentality from the state; they viewed the media simply as a tool in their struggle for power and for support of the government (Pasti 2007: 118). In this respect, the new political PR function of the Russian media is an extension of the Soviet propaganda in a more fashionable way (Pasti 2007: 122).

Hanitzsch and his team's conclusion on the weak power distance among Russian journalists, is further supported by Pasti's description of the two main functions of present Russian journalism; that is, the political function, generally referred to as 'Polit.PR', which means fashionable and well-paid work in the interest of the government, and the entertainment function; also this in the interest of the government to provide relaxation for the masses and to divert them from vital issues (Pasti 2007: 130). Journalists critical towards this type of journalism largely remain passive and only a very few, rather marginal media have kept an analytical function to discuss the issues in a critical way (Pasti 2007: 122, 130).

Sweden was not included in Hanitzsch and his team's countries, but their results might be carefully compared to the results of the surveys carried out by the University of Gothenburg since 1989 on Swedish journalists. As Asp writes, the surveys reveal stability in terms of the journalists' ideals. As commercial interests increase in the media companies, journalists seem to accept more commercial values. At the same time they perceive it as increasingly important to behave as watchdogs of the power institutions in the society and less concerned about taking a neutral stand on events they report on (Asp 2007a).

The support journalists may find in strong trade unions can have an influence on journalistic culture. In countries with strong trade unions and advanced journalism education, such as Denmark, Finland, Germany and Sweden, media experts argue that journalistic autonomy and integrity are better protected (Harro-Loit et al. 2012: 152). When strong trade unions stand up for the interests of the journalists, secure their salaries and jobs through favourable collective agreements and compensations in cases where journalists lose their jobs, journalists feel more secure and independent in their daily work. In Estonia, where the trade union in general is not strong enough to negotiate with media owners to protect the jobs and salaries of the journalists, only the public service broadcaster's journalists have been able achieve a collective job agreement, leaving other journalists to rely almost solely on themselves (Harro-Loit et al. 2012: 151–152). According to Lauk, the journalists' organisations in Lithuania compete instead of co-operating with each other, while in Estonia the journalists' union has still not been able to overcome the image of a Soviet-type trade union (Lauk 2009: 176).

But economic hardship, financial crisis and strive for profit can shake job security in all countries, also in a country like Finland, known for their strong

unions. Media experts report the situation has recently led to recruitment of less professional journalists and in 2010 more than half of the journalists feared loosing their jobs (Kuutti et al. 2011: 32).

In Denmark an increasing number of members from public relation's businesses has joined the Union of Journalists, just as more and more journalists have been employed in PR departments and strategic communication units. According to media experts such a development can have a negative influence on the independent behaviour of journalists (Helles et al 2011: 52)

Above are some differences in the journalism culture that have been identified among the countries in focus for this study. At the same time it's important to stress that there are various journalistic cultures within a country. Just as the United Kingdom historically has had three different journalistic cultures, one in the quality newspapers, another one in the tabloid press and a third one in broadcasting (Hallin and Mancini 2004), in Estonia groups of journalists have very different understandings of the journalists' professional autonomy issue (Harro-Loit & Loit 2011: 38). In his reseach, Hanitzsch has observed indications of variations in journalism culture by country; journalism cultures within various media organisations within one country may also differ strongly. Journalism culture may also be linked to the channels and types of media as well as it may differ from department to department within one media organisation, as for example, departments working with so-called 'soft news' as opposed to 'hard news' (Harro-Loit and Loit 2011: 34).

## **2.9. Journalism Education and Training**

In the western part of Germany the first journalism graduate school was started in Munich in 1949 (DJS 2012) and in the eastern part in 1954 (Fröhlich & Holtz-Bacha 2009: 138). In Sweden the Union of Journalists started discussion about journalism education in 1907, but after many years with shorter courses it became institution-alised through a one-year course only in 1959 (Gardeström 2006, Nygren et al. 2010: 116) and in Denmark in 1962 (DMJX 2012). In the United Kingdom journalism education was firmly introduced at the universities even later, in 1970 (Bromley 2009: 55). Until the late 1970s the British union of journalists were opposed to first degrees in journalism (Hanna & Sanders 2007: 405). Not only in Britain, but elsewhere in particular the western part of Europe, the understanding of journalism as a 'free profession' lived very strong.

In Russia the development of journalism education took a different path after the Russian revolution in 1917. Already in the following years, journalism studies became an integrated part of the educational system, in the 1930s journalism departments of philological faculties appeared at the universities (Nygren et al. 2010). Journalism and journalists became a possible propaganda tool and were substantially more under state control than in the western part of Europe.

Likewise, the incorporation of the Baltic states in the Soviet Union implied a new development in journalism education in Lithuania and Estonia as well. In Lithuania journalism specialisation at the university department of Lithuanian literature began in 1949 (Lauristin & Vihalemm 1993b: 193), yet were stopped some years later as communist party leaders feared loosing control of the minds of the university students. The political elite supported the idea of training journalists in party schools (Lauristin & Vihalemm 1993c: 219). In Estonia journalism was offered at the department of Estonian philology in 1954 (Lauristin & Vihalemm 1993b: 193–194).

Various loopholes in the Soviet system were used to introduce more freedom and diversity. Realising the considerable discrepancies in views on the press between the young and mature Marx and Lenin, at the University of Tartu in Estonia works by the young Marx were used as a base. As the young Marx had condemned censorship, considered the free press as an independent power separated from the leaders as well as a forum for intellectual, public debates where various groups could freely express themselves, lecturers at Tartu in the best style used to stress “what Marx said” when teaching to the students of journalism (Lauristin & Vihalemm 1993: 219–220).

It is not just the basic in-house and university-level education that is important for the professionalisation of journalism. Further education for journalists are important cells to possibly adjust or consolidate ideals and norms in the journalist community. In the Nordic countries since 1958 joint Nordic courses have been organised on an institutionalised level (Hovden et al. 2009: 150) and might be one reason why the journalism culture in, for example, Finland, Sweden and Denmark overall is often regarded as similar. Since 1991 journalists from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and parts of Russia have also, to a certain extent, taken part in these Nordic journalism courses.

According to the findings in the European research project Mediadem, which compare the factors that promote or prevent the development of policies supporting free and independent media in 14 European countries (including 5 of the 8 countries in focus for this study), Denmark, Finland, Germany, and to some extent also Estonia, report an advanced level of special journalism education, which according to the hypothesis provided, should make journalists better able to maintain the accountability and autonomy of the profession (Harro-Loit et al. 2012: 153). The United Kingdom represents another model as an estimated 80 per cent of the journalists have a university degree, but not necessarily in journalism (Craufurd Smith & Stolte 2011: 39).

## **2.10. Commercialisation**

While the commercialisation of the news media in Western Europe and North America increased gradually during the second half of the 20th century, the situation was different in the countries under the control of the Soviet Union. During the 1970s and 1980s Estonia, Lithuania and Russia were part of the

Soviet Union, which also heavily influenced the eastern part of Germany. Media was supported by the state, but not with the objective of ensuring diversity and pluralism in views and voices. The new wave of commercialisation fully hit Estonia, Lithuania, Russia and the eastern part of Germany only after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Following the new freedom with temporary sky-rocketing circulation figures the Baltic media experienced from 1987 (Balčytienė 2002: 108; Lauristin & Vihalemm 2002: 26), an intensive period of privatisation, market adaptation and commercialisation embraced the media markets not only in the Baltic countries, but also in the eastern part of Germany as well as Russia around and after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. As state subsidies were perishing and advertising becoming the main income for the media also in Estonia, “the content was adapted more to market principles than to social and cultural values” (Lauristin & Vihalemm 2002: 30–31). With the harsh economic times following the Soviet collapse, commercial realities in media became particularly merciless. From 1990 to 1995 circulation of national dailies in Estonia dropped more than 3,5 times, for cultural publications 19 times (Lauristin & Vihalemm 2002: 32).

While advertising pressure is sometimes suspected of causing self-censorship, more in terms of reporting on issues related to commercial advertisers, the detachment from the party press in the western part of Europe and from state control in the post-communist part of Europe, should not cause less critical reporting on politics and politicians unless they are crucial advertisers. As Lauristin and Vihalemm argue, the new commercialism in a paradoxical way supported way the watch-dog position of the Estonian media. Constantly scrutinizing the actions of the political elite brought several leading prime ministers and other leading politicians out of office in the 1990s and helped turn Estonia into one of the least corrupt post-communist countries (Lauristin & Vihalemm 2002: 51). In Lithuania public polls have showed that the media, together with the church, have been enjoying the highest public confidence among all institutions, either because of its watch-dog function or the public’s failure to be critical (Balčytienė 2002: 119).

In Russia, the media privatisation process in the 1990s often ended in enterprises and banks taking over newspapers frequently with the aim of using them as tools for political pressure (Pasti 2005: 75). If a media investor needed to be on a good footing, for example, with the local government in Moscow, the local authorities could not be criticised by the journalists in this media company (Pasti 2005: 77). The leaders of the local governments in Moscow and many Russian provinces had, at the beginning of the 21st century, come to a position to completely control not only the city press, but also some nation-wide publications (Zassoursky 2004: 213). Pasti argues that entering the 21st century, many journalists in Russia are not paid over longer periods at all, but during pre-election time journalists by writing commissioned articles for politicians may earn enough for a year ahead (Pasti 2005: 71).

### 3. PRINT JOURNALISM

The focus of this research is on print editions, and not online editions of newspapers and magazines; partly due to the fact that the study on newspapers and magazines in eight countries in Europe took place before the online versions gained its present popularity.

Print media is usually divided into three groups; books, magazines and newspapers. Magazines have traditionally been placed in the middle, with similarities to both books and to newspapers. While the writers of books in general have not been evaluated by journalistic standards and criteria, both magazines and newspapers have been considered as journalistic products and subject to evaluation based on journalistic codes of ethics. At the same time and for various reasons, there seem to exist expectations and opinions that magazines would possibly not observe the same high journalistic standards as newspapers. According to Harro-Loit and Loit, commercial pressure on content in a country like Estonia seems to be most evident in the magazine sector and the newspapers' 'soft news' or B-sections (Harro-Loit and Loit 2011: 34).

The variety of magazines is immense, so are the numbers. Perhaps due to this, they are less easy to study and have been studied less than newspapers, radio and TV (Holmes 2007: 511). In 2007 there were about 9 000 magazines in the United Kingdom compared to 10 national and 1302 local and regional newspapers. In Germany and Finland the number of magazines were 5 783 and 2 497 (Holmes 2007: 511). There are various ways of categorising magazines. Some scholars have grouped them depending on their intention to provide the reader with material that either a) entertains or helps them escape reality, b) informs and provides news and c) provides and advocates opinions (Black: 1998: 103), while others like Baran have divided them into three types: a) trade, professional and business magazines, b) industrial, company and sponsored magazines and c) consumer magazines (Baran 2002: 181–182). Often magazines may be difficult to group as they offer materials that both intend to entertain, inform and persuade or criss-cross the dividing borders offered by Baran. What is essential though, is that the broad spectrum of magazines can embrace anything from an in-flight magazine, a comic, a magazine for farmers, a scholarly journal on education, a scientific journal on physics, a magazine for members of a fishing association, a free in-house magazine for employees in a bank to women's magazines, customer magazines focused on food produced by a food producer, news magazines, computer magazines and youth magazines to mention a few. The proportion of journalistic reporting in each type of magazine may vary greatly, just to mention the difference between a comic, a periodical carrying accounts of research and a news magazine as examples.

As the magazines themselves, the type of publishers of the magazines may vary greatly from associations, corporations, religious communities, interest groups and other groups to governments, universities and publishing houses. Sometimes even newspapers publish magazines, both as independent journals or as an integrated part of their newspaper product.

### 3.1. Similarities and Differences Between Magazines and Newspapers

Magazines are published regularly. Most magazines are published weekly, semi-monthly or monthly, yet some magazines are published more frequently than once per week or less frequently than once per month. Newspapers are also published regularly, but in general they tend to be daily or several times per week. This implies that newspaper staff as a rule have to be more operational as they usually have a shorter production time for preparing their reports.

Common to newspapers and magazines are their sales channels, they are usually sold through subscription or on a retail basis. While earlier they were sold in various shops, now both newspaper and magazine articles are sold online as well. Moreover, some magazines and newspapers are not sold, but distributed free of charge.

While both magazines and newspapers overall have kept their paper editions, it has become common for both types of publication to have a non-paper, online version, as well. In most cases the newspapers and magazines have both a paper and an online version, sometimes with slight differences. It is still more the exception than the rule that magazines and newspapers have closed down their paper version and continued with an online version only.

While both newspapers and magazines historically have experienced a development from a somewhat elitist and narrow readership to a broad audience, after the introduction of television with advertising opportunities, magazines in particular mostly left the broad and general audiences and went into specialisation (Baran 2002: 179, Black 1998: 98–99). While newspapers, apart from mainly business newspapers, for the most part kept a broad and general audience on a local, regional and sometimes national level, the magazines started on a national level to target and appeal to the interests of some specific segments of the society and “base its content on the needs, desires, hope and fears” of each targeted group (Holmes 2007: 514). During recent years magazines have expanded their audience in an international direction, sometimes with a series of various language editions and some adaptation content-wise to each national market (Holmes 2007: 515–516). Such national and international audiences are less common with newspapers. Scholars have acknowledged the impact both magazines and newspapers have had on national reforms, while there is less study of what global impact the internationalisation of major magazines have had on various societies. A magazine like *Cosmopolitan* has 64 editions worldwide including a more than 100 000-circulation edition in the world’s largest Islamic nation; Indonesia (Carr 2002, Holmes 2007, *Cosmopolitan* 2012).

Both newspapers and magazines usually have their own staff of writers, but some argue that magazines have based their reports quite heavily on outside writers, that is, writers not working permanently for the publication. Yet, the number of reports produced by free-lance writers has become quite substantial in newspapers, too. Little comparative research has been done to identify differences in journalism education among staff in magazines versus newspapers.

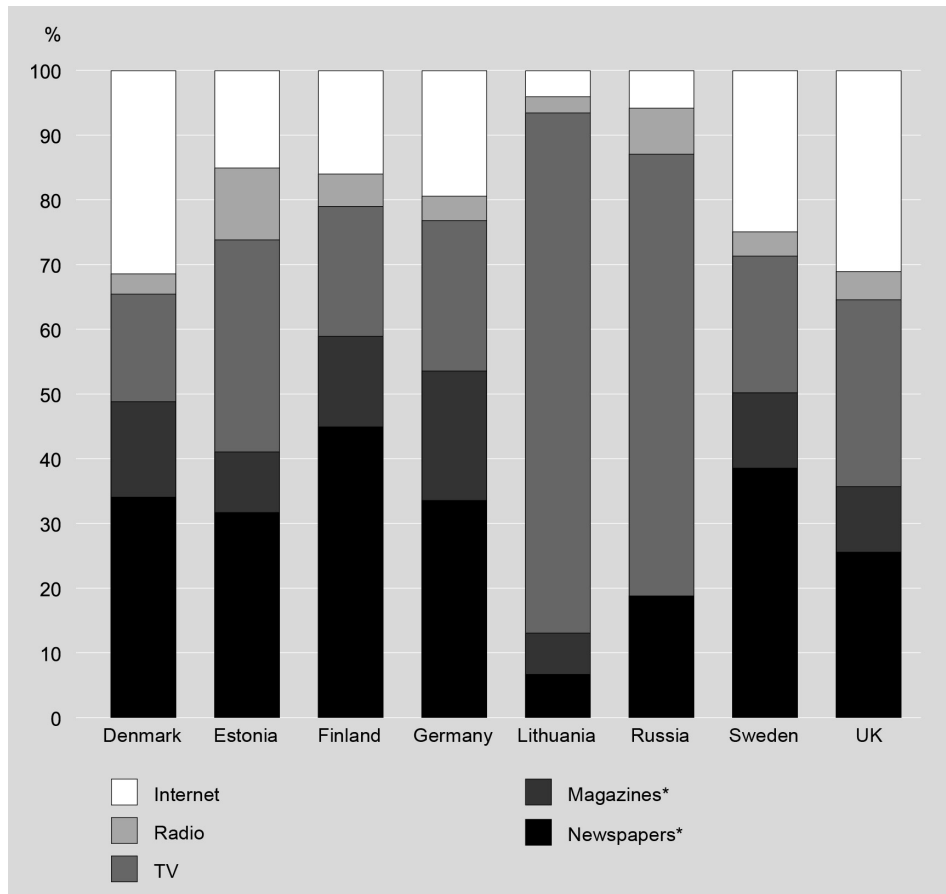
Traditionally magazines are known for using thicker quality paper and bolder graphics than newspapers. Magazines have historically put more emphasis on photo journalism; colour photos became common in magazines much earlier than in newspapers. Some magazines are quite consistent in having a cover girl or boy on their front page. Yet, many of these characteristics have lately been copied by newspapers, in particular in their supplements and weekend editions, which sometimes is openly called a weekend magazine.

Both magazines and newspapers sometimes have very high circulation figures, in some cases newspapers or magazines on a regular basis are printed in millions of copies. To cover their costs, unlike most books, both magazines and newspapers with some few exceptions are dependant on advertising. The percentage of income coming from advertising compared to the sale of the publication to readers have been increasing for both magazines and newspapers (Craig 2004: 235, Harrie 2009: 135, Manduchi & Picard 2009: 211, Mensing 2007: 23, Owen 1975: 79, Picard 2008: 704. Tang et al. 2012: 108, WAN-IFRA 2010).

According to data from the World Association of Newspapers newspapers in the European countries in focus for this study in 2010 received about 1/3 of the advertising money spent on print media, TV, radio and internet, while magazines on average received slightly more than 1/10. As seen from Figure VI, two of the countries; Lithuania and Russia substantially differed from the others as only 14 % and 20 % respectively were spent on advertising in newspapers and magazines together. In these two countries it seems like newspapers and magazines are more squeezed and pressured by television as advertising spent on television here was more than 2/3, while in none of the other countries was it more than 1/3 (WAN-IFRA 2010). In the case of Russia, the figures from the World Association of Newspapers do not split the advertising expenditure on print media between newspapers and magazines, but other data from the Russian Association of Communication Agencies and the daily *Kommersant* show that in 2012 more than 2/3 of the advertising spent on print media was spent on magazines and less than 1/3 on newspapers (Kommersant 2012); the opposite proportions being the case in most of the other countries.

In magazines it is becoming increasingly common that some advertisers demand, and the magazines accept, that editorial content is previewed by advertisers (Baran 2002: 193), but also in the more softer sections of national dailies, journalists in Estonia have been asked to forward their articles to advertisers so that they can decide whether the article is attractive enough for them to buy advertising space in the newspaper (Harro-Loit & Loit 2011: 34). Some advertisers might withdraw their ads if the magazine or the section where the ad is supposed to be placed contains editorial content that the advertiser finds offensive or improper. There are examples of advertisers that go even further and ask magazines to inform them in advance if they intend to publish materials that the advertisers will not approve like for example “any or all editorial content that encompasses sexual, political, social issues or any editorial that might be construed as provocative or offensive”, additionally asking the magazines to submit “a written summary outlining major themes and articles

appearing in upcoming issues” (Baran 2002: 193). In his example Baran refers to a major car industry advertiser, whose written requirements supposedly were accepted in writing by all publications contacted. Other studies have confirmed that advertiser pressure on magazines is strong, that it is common for magazines to receive threats about withdrawal of ads from advertisers, and that many advertisers do withdraw ads if they are displeased with editorial content (Hays et al. 1991: 175). Advertisers’ pressure goes hand in hand with the increase of advertorials, and a series of scholars have suggested that advertorials are most common in magazines (Prounis 2004; Kim et al. 2001: 265).



**Figure VI.** Percentage Proportions of Advertising Expenditure per Medium, Year 2010  
 \* In the case of Russia advertising expenditure for the print media (newspapers and magazines) is counted together, in this figure the percentage is shown under the newspaper category.  
 Source: World Press Trends 2010



From such practice of advertisers' influence, the distance is less than short to loss of editorial and journalistic integrity, self-censorship and censorship as well as to a controlled and un-free press. The result might often be a magazine free from critical and investigative journalism avoiding difficult and provocative topics and full of soft and kind articles acceptable to the vast majority of readers. If the editorial staff in many magazines is willing to accept such demands from advertisers, the situation in sponsored magazines or controlled-circulation magazines like the in-flight magazines and hotel magazines which are targeted to specific audiences and based on advertising is likely to face similar or stronger editorial limitations.

This leads us to the core of journalism and the question about key differences in the journalistic products produced in magazines and newspapers. The first magazines that were produced in Great Britain in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century published more entertainment and opinion pieces than news (Black et al. 1998: 94) and the perception that magazines produce less news than newspapers seems to be alive still. This is also linked to the question about the definition of news. More and more scholars divide news into hard news and soft news even though these two notions are not always clearly defined. If we apply the definition of hard and soft news offered by Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr and Legnante that "the more a news item is politically relevant, the more it reports in a thematic way, focuses on the societal consequences of events, is impersonal and unemotional in its style, the more it can be regarded as hard news. The more a news item is not politically relevant, the more it reports in an episodic way, focuses on individual consequences of events, is personal and emotional in style, the more it can be regarded as soft news" (Reinemann et al 2012: 233). We might conclude that magazines as possibly the most personalised medium, the medium that people most often turn to when they want to enjoy their favourite interests, are more filled with soft news than newspapers. The trend that many magazines treat their customers just as much as shoppers as readers (Holmes 2007: 517) and try to offer 'service journalism' including 'informative' and 'how to do it' articles (Jeffers 1990: 47–50) may further strengthen this view. At the same time scholars have stressed that also newspapers are cutting down on hard news and increasing the proportion of soft and feature news. In British newspapers the percentage of feature news has increased from 10 percent in 1750 to 70 % in some newspapers at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Gans 2004, Niblock 2008: 46). According to Brett and Holmes newspapers have gone through a dramatic transformation abandoning to a certain degree their hard news rationale, at the same time adopting the characteristics of magazines (Brett and Holmes 2008: 190).

The perception that magazines at least historically have been filled with more soft news than newspapers, have possibly led many to expect newspapers to have a stronger democratic role than magazines, even though the societal and possible democratic impact of larger international magazines published in non-democratic countries should not be underestimated. Independent of their democratic role, magazine journalists have never been exempted from following

journalistic codes of ethics. Magazine journalists, just as newspaper journalists are expected to do their best to report the truth and follow other professional principles of journalism. Failing to report about serious problems with car brakes due to external pressure is an example illustrating the serious consequences people are faced with if a car magazine does not follow common journalistic principles.

### 3.2. Niche Magazines

Niche magazines, often also referred to as special-interest magazines, specialty magazines or specialised magazines are publications usually focusing on a specific topic addressing a specific audience opposed to mass or general-interest magazine reporting on a broad variety of topics addressing the public in general. Niche magazines are publications that may focus on topics like stamp collections, cars, health, knitting, architecture, old furniture, travel or information technology. The circulation figures of niche publications are in general smaller than for general-interest, mass magazines, but the loyalty of their readers are considered to be higher (Farber & Daniel 2012). When television was introduced it addressed a broad audience and offered programmes on a series of topics, thus in particular if offering advertising possibilities, it became a tough competitor for the mass or general-interest magazines. This resulted, as mentioned above, in a decrease in general magazines addressing broad audiences and a growth in more specialised magazines addressing more specific and smaller audiences (Compaine 1980: 98; Black 1998: 98–99; Baran 2002: 179; Abrahamson 2007: 669).

Also, in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when internet increasingly began to make times more difficult for the print media, those magazines reported to show growth figures or to inspire hopes were often specialised magazines (Case 2002; Lakoff & Ide 2005: 37; Neumeyer 2010: 10). Some authors mention that, for example, more general-interest women's magazines experienced an identity crisis as the buyers found it increasingly difficult to distinguish them from one another (Case 2002). The new increase in niche magazines can also be seen as a result of new technologies that make it possible to print and deliver smaller magazines at a reasonable cost (Case 2002; Chunawalla 2010b: 142).

Even though the circulation numbers for niche magazines might be more modest than for mass magazines, they satisfy the information needs of a particular segment and are thus also very valuable for advertisers. A camera advertisement in a general-interest magazine might, for example, interest 2 % of the readers of its circulation, but a niche magazine focusing on photography might attract 100 % audience interest (Chunawalla 2010a: 62).

Such logic helps explain why newspapers have followed the niche trend by introducing a series of specialised, thematic niche supplements. Steensen reports that in Sweden one newspaper has as many as 11 weekly niche-oriented supplements (Steensen 2011: 58). In such a way newspapers might try to

neutralise one of the advertising advantages that magazines possess as it is known that advertising in magazines has in general a much longer life than newspaper advertising; people tend to keep their magazines and thus they may live for a week, two weeks, a month or even longer. As soft news proportionally grows in newspapers, the differences between newspapers and magazines are being blurred and erased.

## 4. HYBRID JOURNALISM

Hybridisation most often refer to the process of blending varieties. The process of hybridisation results in a hybrid. Hybridisation is used to describe processes in a series of areas from the crossing of animals and plants of different species to the making of words with parts deriving from different languages. In some cases the result, the hybrid, is clearly identified and recognised as a hybrid, while in other cases, due to an elapse of time, the hybrid is usually no longer identified or recognised as a hybrid, but a specimen or distinguished feature of its own. While it, for example, is common to recognise a mule as a hybrid of a horse and a donkey as further reproductions of two mules are very problematic and rare due to the differences in chromosomes, plants like ‘peppermint’ and ‘grapefruit’, which are hybrids between in the first case spearmint and water mint and in the second case pomelo and a sweet orange are today usually not referred to as hybrid plants, but perceived as separate species resulting from a natural evolution process. Plant hybrids are more fertile and reproductive than animal hybrids. It is somewhat difficult to determine whether hybrid processes after some time will continue to be identified and perceived as hybrid processes or more permanent appearances and norms. So it is also for the various hybridisations currently taking place within journalism and mass media; some blending processes might be continuously condemned from an ethical point of view while others accepted as a natural stage in a modernisation process. On the following pages two types of hybridisations will be touched upon; hybridisation of discourses and genres as well as hybridisation of journalistic practices and editorial norms.

### 4.1. Hybridisation of Discourses and Genres

For various types of hybridisations within mass media we speak about the blending of two or more types of features or concepts that for a long time have been considered to have very clear meanings. Conceptual definitions are being dissolved and combined with each other into new constellations (SOU 2000: 85–86). For this research the hybridisation between the various discourses and genres of public communication as well as the hybridisation of genres and discourses within journalism are essential in light of the growing blurring of the lines between news, entertainment and advertising in terms of media content (Hanson & Maxcy 1999: 151).

The terms ‘discourse’ and ‘genre’ are interconnected; a discourse can be found and expressed within various genres just as a genre may house samples of a multitude of discourses. The terms may be regarded as somewhat slippery and difficult to keep apart (Fairclough 1995: 212) and various scholars use the terms in different ways. Kress argues that a text is socially determined in two ways; first it is a part of a returning social activity, that is, it belongs to a genre and secondly it treats a topic from a certain fundamental perspective, that is, it

belongs to a discourse (Kress 1987). Some scholars like Ledin arrange the terms hierarchically and put discourse above genre (Ledin 2001: 33). Fairclough refers to discourse “as language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view” (Fairclough 1995: 56). For example, the social practice of reporting news or writing biography books will have different outcomes in informational and promotional discourses. A genre on the other hand is defined by Fairclough as “a use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice” (Fairclough 1995: 56). In our case we may then speak about a ‘news story genre’ and a ‘biography book genre’. Steensen argues that the discourse reflects the perspective from which the communication is directed, while genres assigns a recognisable form of social practice to these perspectives (Steensen 2010: 150).

To understand discourse, it is important to see what lies behind communication. Does the communication possibly in some ways embed some of the attitudes, perceptions or values of the speaker or writer? What is the purpose or intention behind the communication? Van Dijk mentions the strategy behind the communication as a key approach to understand the discourse of a text (Van Dijk 1997), to understand how it is produced and perceived by the audience. In such a way, the discourse of a text may reflect that the communicator is strongly religious, has a certain political attachment, is paid to write positively or negatively or reflect that his or her main intention is just to inform other people about an event in a way as objective and neutral as possible.

News stories and advertising are traditionally two different type of genres. They are constructed in different ways according to certain generic rules. For example, news stories with an informational communicative purpose usually have a structure including some or all of the components: a) abstract including the headline and lead, b) attribution including the by-line of the reporter(s) or the name of the news agency and c) the story divided into episodes or events with the most important information coming first. In each event or episode in the story there might be attribution, actors, action, setting, follow-up, commentary as well as background (Kong 2006: 776). An advertisement on the other hand having promotion as its communicative purpose as a rule consists of some or all of the following structural components in terms of rhetorical moves: a) headlines, b) targeting the markets, c) justifying the product or service by establishing a niche, d) detailing the product or service, e) establishing credentials, f) endorsement or testimonials, g) offering incentives, h) using pressure tactics, i) soliciting a response and j) signature line and logo (Bhatia 2004: 214). In an ideal situation, these characteristics based on the ‘social construction rules’ are supposed to help both the producers and the consumers of the texts to understand each other. The producer of the news story knows that he or she has to follow certain news story rules to be properly understood by the listener, viewer or reader while the producer of an advertisement follows other rules to be understood. The consumers apply a set of rules or ways to decode, interpret and understand a news story and a different set of rules or ways to decode, interpret and understand an advertisement.

News stories are a genre characterised by an informational discourse, the intention of the journalists is traditionally to inform in a way as objective and neutral as possible. Advertising, on the other hand, is a genre characterised by a promotional discourse, the communicator has the intention, the strategy to promote something or somebody by describing and evaluating it in a positive way (Bhatia 1993). The promotional discourse used in the advertising genre is thus sometimes referred to as the promotional advertising discourse or simply the advertising discourse. However, we might find the promotional or advertising discourse not only 'at home' in the 'advertising genre', but also outside this genre. People sometimes say that they recognise 'advertising language' in related genres like book reviews and job applications, and even sometimes in a non-related genre as a news report. Bhatia identifies this as an example where the advertising genre has invaded the territorial integrity of the journalistic news reporting genre (Bhatia 2004: 220), or expressed differently as an example where the advertising genre has colonised the genre of news reporting by integrating promotional elements in it to increase the audience's consumption desire (Kong 2006: 772). Or, in other words, a mixing or hybridisation of the advertising and news reporting genres has occurred, a new hybrid partly promotional genre has been generated (Fairclough: 1993: 141).

Let us first have a look at hybridisation within journalism, then hybridisation between journalism and advertising.

## **4.2. Hybridisation of Discourses and Genres Within Journalism**

In an informational genre like news reporting, positive and negative aspects are supposed to be equally likely to be mentioned (Maat 2007: 62). This might be more or less true in what is commonly referred to as hard news reporting, yet journalism embraces various genres, some in which the attitude towards positive evaluations is different (Maat 2007: 65). Despite much research on what is often referred to as 'hard news' as well as 'soft news', there seems to be no consensus on what the terms actually stand for (Reinemann et al. 2012: 221).

When in the beginning of the 1970s Tuckman introduced the terms 'hard' and 'soft' news to academic circles, she stated that hard news has a higher news value and thus has to be immediately published while soft news does not require immediate publication since it has little or no substantive informational value as it often focuses on, for example, gossip and human interest stories (Tuckman 1972). Some scholars put various emphases on such dimensions as topics, focus or style in defining hard and soft news. De Swert argues that news about finances and economy as well as domestic and foreign politics are hard news while topics like sports, crime, scandals, celebrities and services are considered to be soft news seemingly assuming that some topics are more relevant to the society than others; that some topics have more value as information and others more value as entertainment (De Swert 2007). Other authors reason that the focus and

not the topic of the story is decisive in defining hard news as the same topic may be treated from various perspectives (Patterson 2000). Another key indicator for hard news is that the style is as detached, objective and serious as possible opposed to a more personality-centered, practical, incident-based and typically more sensational style for soft news (Patterson 2000: 4).

Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr and Legnante have in their attempt to make a comprehensive definition, as previously mentioned, concluded that “the more a news item is politically relevant, the more it reports in a thematic way, focuses on the societal consequences of events, is impersonal and unemotional in its style, the more it can be regarded as hard news. The more a news item is not politically relevant, the more it reports in an episodic way, focuses on individual consequences of events, is personal and emotional in style, the more it can be regarded as soft news” (Reinemann et al 2012: 233). Even though this definition might be criticised for putting too much emphasis on the political dimension, it stresses not the absolute hardness or softness, but the degree of hard or soft news and may be used as a reference point when evaluating possible hybrid development within journalism.

In a related way scholars like Schudson and Dahlgren have made a distinction between information and story-telling (Schudson 1978, Dahlgren 1992), while Ekström has added a third category; attractions when analysing journalism (Ekström 2000: 466). Within the concept of news Ekström includes both news, reports of events, documentaries and debates on matters of significance, relevance and interests, thus coming very close to the above-mentioned definition of hard news offered by Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr and Legnante, while story-telling and attractions would in many cases fall under the category of soft news, in particular Ekström’s concept of attractions as it commonly would include shocking and sensational information and shows that would often report about deviations from perceived normality.

As news understood as hard news historically has been perceived to be purely informational, it has as such not included entertainment. As Ekström argues there has traditionally been a sharp distinction in analyses of media and journalism between information and entertainment, even though he questions why information cannot be entertaining or entertainment informative (Ekström 2000: 466). Yet the distinction between information and entertainment should not be ignored. According to Luhmann the most important internal structure of mass media is the differentiation of the mass media into three genres: a) news and current affairs, b) advertising and c) entertainment (Luhmann 2000:24). Research done in Sweden and the United Kingdom on various television programmes, showed that news was the genre considered both to be most informative and be most important; that is, having the greatest public value (Hill et al. 2007: 30–37), and other research has shown that the more entertaining a factual programme is, the less important it appears to viewers (Hill 2005).

It is nothing new that newspapers, magazines, radio and television include reports that are not defined as ‘hard news’, but the example given above that the share of softer feature news in British dailies according to Gans and Niblock has

increased from 10 % in 1750 to 70 % in some newspapers in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Gans 2004, Niblock 2008: 46) is a striking indicator of softer features more and more being adopted within areas and genres of journalism previously dominated by hard news reporting. This sneaking ‘softening’ discourse is a hybridisation trend within contemporary journalism, which has led to new hybrids like ‘infotainment’ and ‘tabloidisation’ accompanied by a considerable growth of certain journalistic genres like lifestyle journalism, service journalism, fashion journalism, feature journalism to mention a few.

#### **4.2.1. Infotainment**

Infotainment is a merger of the two words ‘information’ and ‘entertainment’. Sometimes used to describe a development trend in media as such (Deuze 2005b: 880), it is predominately used in relation to television programmes, and defined as programmes in which elements of information and entertainment are mixed (Brants & Neijens 1998: 149, Deuze 2005b: 880) in order to attract as wide an audience as possible (Stuart & Zelizer 2010: 58). Gordon and Kittros write about infotainment as something the opposite of mainstream media (Gordon & Kittros 1999: 223) while Thussu compares global infotainment with “the opium of the people” and defines it as the globalisation of U.S.-style, ratings-driven television journalism, where soft news is masking what he refers to as the hard realities of neo-liberal imperialism; hence infotainment is one of the instruments in what he considers U.S. imperialism (Thussu 2007: 149–155; Vicente-Mariño 1999: 94).

Scholars have different opinions about what infotainment actually implies. Franklin offers a rather pessimistic view when he argues that “entertainment has superseded the provision of information, human interest has supplanted the public interest; measured judgement has succumbed to sensationalism; the trivial has triumphed over the weighty; the intimate relationship of celebrities from soap operas, the world of sport or the royal family are judged more ‘newsworthy’ than the reporting of significant issues and events of international consequence. Traditional news values have been undermined by new values; ‘infotainment’ is rampant” (Franklin 1997: 4). Infotainment is seen as a central feature in the softening of news. The degree of soft news in a programme or media may be reflected by the extent the intention is to entertain or to inform. Putting it differently the entertainment discourse or informational discourse seen in the infotainment genre may vary. Infotainment programmes span widely from serious current affairs programmes with some dashes of entertainment added to programmes dominated by scandals and sensations.

It has been claimed that television programme-making has always involved a high degree of blurring of generic boundaries (Turner 2001: 3–4, Kilborn 2005: 109) as it is nothing new that politicians take part in entertainment programmes on TV. Merrill argues that there have been hybrids of news and entertainment since the early days of journalism as journalists have always



wanted to catch the attention of the public and make the public enjoy the experience of getting the news (Merrill 1999: 237). According to Gripsrud 'infotainment' can be considered simply as a new term for an older development of quality popular journalism like, for example, family-oriented variety shows (Gripsrud 2000: 290–292).

The rise of infotainment is often explained commercially. Altschull writes that sales people know all too well that the public likes news that is entertaining and refrains from consuming such that isn't (Altschull 1995: 124). Infotainment is profitable, the infotainment programmes attract and hold audiences at a reasonable cost (Reuss 1999: 231–233), thus infotainment and the growth of soft news at the expense of hard news is seen as one of the key responses to audience decline and the challenge from the new media, as a result the generic hybridisation process in television has reached a new height (Cushion 2012, Kilborn 2005: 109). Kilborn argues that the new and very competitive television market in the United Kingdom and many European countries, earlier dominated by a public service broadcaster, has from the 1990s led to a situation where a factual programme has to provide evidence that it can entertain just as much as it can inform or instruct to have the slightest chance of being included in any part of the prime-time schedule, this paving the way for an explosion in the number of easily digestible infotainment productions (Kilborn 2005: 110). A decline in the serious documentaries has gone hand in hand with a rise in factual hybrids mixed with narrative techniques and modes of address from popular drama including soap operas as well as elements from game shows and talk shows (Kilborn 2005: 111).

Infotainment embraces a series of hybrid subgenres like 'docu-soap' which have lost most or all of the documentary essence as they are staged as soap-operas (Kilborn 2005: 111), 'dramadoc' or 'docudrama' television theatre intending to tell the documented story of a historical event (Altschull 1995: 122), 'reality show' based on reporting on participants dropped and often competing in a seemingly challenging environment for a longer period of time, 'crime-shows' entirely focusing on making reconstructions and reporting on crimes in an dramatic, entertaining way, 'talk shows' offering an entertaining frame for a programme with a host, guests and audience focusing on discussions and interviews on private and public issues, 'soft news programmes' with news presented in a more emotional, personalised, simplified way with focus on sensations, crime, sport and scandals. News hosts may try to be funny, apply facial and hands gestures thus showing their own or the newsmakers' attitudes and sympathies towards the issues being reported on. As noted by Vicente-Mariño, infotainment not only blurs the lines dividing information and entertainment, but also information and opinion (Vicente-Mariño 1999: 94). On some TV channels it might be hard to identify programmes where some entertaining aspects do not creep into the programme production.

Seen from a political point of view, infotainment can be viewed as a trend where politics in the media is depoliticised as more emphasis is put on how politicians appear. On appearing on soft news shows, politicians accrue more

votes than on traditional news, in particular candidate-oriented compared to party-oriented votes (Taniguchi 2011: 67). Politics is presented more as a game as there is little time devoted to policy substance, politics is also subject to personalisation and the media increasingly reports negatively about politicians, events and decisions (Blumler 1992: 106; Blumler & Gurevitch 1995: 213). Yet research in various European countries does not give full support for such a scenario, news programmes are still central in the prime-time broadcasting hours (Brants 1998: 329), at the same time the changes in the news programmes should not be forgotten. Vicente-Mariño argues that it is now hard to find audio-visual spaces focused on pure information as pure news requires an effort that TV viewers do not want to undertake and that journalists cannot afford to produce (Vicente-Mariño 1999: 94).

#### **4.2.2. Tabloidisation**

Like infotainment, tabloidisation is another example of the blurring or hybridisation process within journalism mixing news and information on the one hand and entertainment on the other. Tabloidisation is a term derived from the terms tabloid press and tabloid journalism that emerged in the United States and Britain a little more than one hundred years ago (Esser 1999: 294; Picard 1998). Just as a tablet is a form of medicine that is effectful and easy to swallow in almost any place, a tabloid paper was the name given to small-format newspapers easy to read on public transport in London in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Fang 1997: 103). Like its American counterparts, British tabloid papers focused on scandals, crimes, celebrities and gossip (Picard 1998). Even though the tabloid press was heavily criticised for lowering the standards of journalism and public discourse by focusing on sensations and scandals and for its strategy to over-simplify, personalise, be emotional and sometimes spread lies, in a new, clear and understandable way it brought to attention a number of problems facing the urban working class, certain issues somewhat ignored by the so-called mainstream quality press (Sparks 2000: 24–28; Örnebring & Jönsson 2004: 283, 287). Yet, Skjervheim argues that a key difference between tabloid journalism and classical journalism is the mutual trust between the public and the journalist that exists in classical journalism. The public ideally trusts that the journalist does his or her best to include the relevant information in a professional way and that he or she does not attempt to fool the public as the journalist considers it as his or her obligation to present true and relevant information. In tabloid journalism, on the other hand, the public is supposed to be influenced and learn the information as quickly and efficiently as possible, consequently the mutual trust is broken (Skjervheim 1992: 39–43).

The term tabloidisation was first introduced in the beginning of the 1990s (Esser 1999: 292) and it still elicits substantial disagreement as to what precisely constitutes the tabloidisation process of a given media (Esser 1999: 294). It is sometimes used to describe the perceived tendency for all journalism to

become more like tabloid journalism (Franklin 1997), a spill-over of tabloid news values from the popular to the quality press or, as Esser puts it, a 'contamination' of the so-called serious media by adopting the 'tabloid agenda' (Esser 1999: 293). In such a way, the definition addresses the developments in mass media over the past twenty years, but other scholars use the term tabloidisation as an overall term to illustrate the historical and contemporary development of tabloid journalism.

Often tabloidisation is a term used to describe a process in the print media similar to the infotainment trend in broadcast media (Deuze 2005: 880) where it is not possible to draw a meaningful distinction between 'information' and 'entertainment' (Hallin 1992; van Zoonen 1998). Esser adds to this both the change in presentational form as stories get shorter and the number of pictures and illustrations get more as well as the change in the mode of addressing the readers, focusing on more 'street talks' (Esser 1999: 293). Kurtz also adds to the definition of tabloidisation an overall decrease in journalistic standards (Kurtz 1993: 143–147). Even though in some countries tabloidisation refers to development in the print media only, in other countries it embraces a wider range to include development in television and other media as well (Esser 1999: 292). Sometimes the term even breaks out of the media world and is used to describe a trend in society in general (Esser 1999: 293, Debrix 2003: 159).

To explain the reasons for the tabloidisation trend, scholars sometimes repeat what led to the the first tabloid newspapers more than one hundred years ago; it is a result of the commercialisation of the media, in particular from advertisers's pressure to reach larger audiences (Wiener 1988, Picard 1998).

The frontier between the tabloid and broadsheet press began to disappear in the 1980s (Sampson 1996), even in Britain where the contrast between the tabloids and quality papers was the biggest in Europe (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 25). Research by Golding and McLachlan on UK quality newspapers showed that in the 1990s there was an increase in the amount of entertainment and human-interest stories, a decrease in international news, and the political news stories in their length and number had become more similar when comparing quality and tabloid dailies (Golding & McLachlan 1998). There was less reporting on parliament issues, less positive articles about politics and more reporting on political scandals in the quality dailies (Straw 1993, Franklin 1996). Compared to, for example Germany, Britain experienced not only a much stronger tabloidisation of the quality press, but also much fiercer competition between the quality press and the tabloid papers (Esser 1999: 312). Circulation figures in the UK in the 1990s showed that the quality press had stolen readers from the tabloid press, possibly as they had introduced more sensations and scandals as an efficient strategy to improve sales and fight the tabloids (Black et al. 1998: 101, Sparks 1998, Bromley 1998). British quality press also redefined their stand on privacy issues, and began to report more on politicians's private matters and sex affairs, possibly as a critical response to politicians' strategy to promote their happy family image (Sampson 1996: 44). Even in Germany, where the tabloid press historically did not develop so massively

and distinctively as in the UK, news stories on political issues in the quality press became substantially more sensational in the 1990s (Kepplinger 1998). In other words, the quality press representing a more traditional informational discourse, is to various degrees being influenced by the more populist and entertaining tabloid discourse found in tabloid journalism, this creating a hybrid tabloidised genre where information and entertainment is blurred.

#### **4.2.3. Softening Genres: Service Journalism, Consumer Journalism, Lifestyle Journalism and Feature Journalism as Examples**

The hybridisation especially between the informational and entertainment discourse can be observed in a series of journalism genres which have gained increased popularity in recent years. However, the promotional discourse has also got an increasingly stronger presence in some of these journalistic genres. For some genres the close connection to commercial interests reduces other potentially positive dimensions of this type of journalism (Fürsich 2012: 12).

Service journalism, consumer journalism and lifestyle journalism are overlapping each other; the boundaries between them are not only somewhat blurred (Nørgaard Kristensen & From 2012: 26), in some cases they do not exist. Depending on the focal point, some scholars categorise, for example, travel journalism as lifestyle journalism (Hanusch 2010: 76; Fürsich 2012: 12), others as consumer journalism (Nørgaard Kristensen & From 2012: 26).

Service journalism addresses the public more as clients, customers, users of various rights and private persons than citizens, while consumer journalism addresses the public as consumers (Eide 1992: 6–8), reporting on current issues affecting consumers (Hannis 2007: 13). In such a way, consumer journalism is a more narrow concept than service journalism, of which it is a part. In service journalism journalists provide the public with information, advices and help about the problems of everyday life (Eide & Knight 1999: 525) often giving assistance to customers who have encountered difficulties in dealing with public authorities or private companies like bureaucracy or poor service. Service journalism also tends to provide advice on anything from the purchase of a flat or car and the use of a computer via tricky sex and health issues to smart moves to improve one's personal economy; often advice is provided in an entertaining and light way with impressive illustrations and photos. Just like consumer journalism, service journalism can involve a series of testing of products and services.

Consumer journalism according to Liebermann in the 1960s and 1970s came to mean regular hard-hitting pieces that uncovered businesses involved in fraudulent and deceptive practices. Journalists both raised their voice and activated their pens to criticise regulatory public agencies for doing a poor job in protecting consumers, they pushed for new laws to bring to an end powerful economic forces' abusive practices against individual consumers (Liebermann

1994: 35). The fight was tough and the watch-dog journalist's approach was hard, sometimes it ended in businesses forced to pull back their new products due to faults and shortages uncovered by fearless journalists. At that time publishers did not have much enthusiasm for honest consumer reporting as it used to collide with the interests of the advertisers who wanted to make more optimistic claims for their products (Liebermann 1994: 34–35).

In recent years consumer journalism seems to have become softer; journalists tend to turn away from the hard fights with big businesses and advertisers towards more coverage of 'safer' topics like personal finance that as Liebermann argues doesn't pinch the holy trinity of media advertisers – car dealers, supermarkets, and real estate brokers (Liebermann 1994: 35). Still, cars and other products are withdrawn in full or part, due to defects discovered or made very public by journalistic reports, but compared to earlier such report might be less in percentage of reports in general and drown in the ocean of advertiser-friendly consumer reports. Not only has the content changed, stories on consumer topics are more often assigned to general-assignment reporters who cannot be expected to have the expertise and to be as knowledgeable as specialised journalists (Liebermann 1994: 37–38).

The testing carried out by consumer journalists quite often raises concerns about possible hidden advertising. The critical approach is frequently gone, and testing reports are filled with overwhelmingly positive words and tempting photos more typical for the promotional discourse found in advertising. In countries where tobacco and alcohol advertising is forbidden by law, consumer testing reports are one of the channels information about wine can reach the consumers. In the online versions of journalistic consumer reports it has become quite common to include links to the websites of the products, where the public can then read more about the products in a way the producers themselves can control. Even though such connections between journalism and businesses to some might seem questionable, this is not only what the advertisers like; it is also appreciated largely by consumers as consumer journalism has taken a twist from news you can use, to, in a much more literal sense news the user wants to know, now (Usher 2012: 107).

Lifestyle journalism is defined by Hanusch as providing audiences as consumers with factual information and advice, often in entertaining ways, about goods and services that they can use in their daily lives (Hanusch 2012a: 2). The definition is almost identical to the definition of service journalism and consumer journalism. In lifestyle journalism the focus is less on the journalists trying to assist the public in tackling possible everyday problems, but more on ideas to enjoy the everyday more, thus focusing on topics like leisure activities, travel, fashion, nightlife, entertainment, music, art, design, lifestyle, food, home, gardening and human interest (Stuart & Zelizer 2010: 68, Hanusch 2012b: 668–669). Just like consumer and service journalism it is described as 'news you can use'. It gives priority to practical information as well as assessments of current trends in consumption. It has been argued that the news media has become dependent upon lifestyle journalism because of its close synergies with

advertising. It is very seldom that companies covered in lifestyle journalism are subject to critical or investigative reporting (Stuart & Zelizer 2010: 69). Lifestyle journalism started to flourish in the 1950s when newspapers in many countries introduced special lifestyle sections (Hanusch 2012a: 2), supported by technological development that made it easier to print larger newspapers (Cole 2005).

Depending on the focus, travel journalism may serve as an example of all of the three genres described above, even though it most frequently would be seen as an example of lifestyle journalism or consumer journalism. Hanusch argues that travel journalism is neither as independent or neutral as a news report, nor can it be classified as purely commercial (Hanusch 2010:69). Such an apriori perception is likely to be based on experience, yet travel journalism in principle could be just as hard as any other form of news. For example, for consumers travelling by air, airline security is quite important, but travel reports testing and putting a comprehensive, scrutinizing, critical look at security issues among airlines are rare to find in today's travel journalism. The passiveness of travel journalists to scrutinize the products and services, on which they report can be explained by various factors. As Hanusch argues, news media has cut back on international news, while newspapers' travel sections grow, well supported by advertising from the travel industry (Hanusch 2010: 69). A second factor is the fact that travelling and making reports from faraway regions costs quite a lot and according to Hanusch few, if any newspapers are able to pay for all international travel needed to fill a weekly 40-page travel supplement. Consequently such trips as a rule are fully or partly sponsored by various actors in the travel industry (Hanusch 2010: 73). Since saying goodbye to popular travel sections with high advertising income and low production costs is not something most dailies want, then a non-critical attitude and report is often the price to pay. This reality can help understand why Austin claims that travel publications exist to celebrate travel, not necessarily to overly criticise it (Austin 1999), Waade concludes that travel shows on Danish television are hybrids between journalistic documentary, entertaining lifestyle series, and purely commercials (Waade 2009) and Hanusch states that travel journalism is in the intersection between information and entertainment, journalism and advertising (Hanusch 2010:68).

Feature journalism is a journalistic genre dominated by discourses of fiction, intimacy and adventure. Unlike the classical news journalism, feature journalism is often narrative, filled with subjective descriptions, personal and emotional as well as accompanied by visually attractive illustrations and photos (Steensen 2009:13–14). As Harrington wrote in 1912, the "feature story is one in which the news element is made subordinate" (Harrington 1912: 294). Feature journalism partly overlaps lifestyle journalism, but with its primary focus on style and not topic, it goes wider and also includes human interest stories, reportages, celebrity profiles and more (Steensen 2011: 49).

Feature journalism is nothing new, but what has changed is its rapid growth and expansion into the former territories of hard news. A current newspaper trend to cover 'hard' news stories using feature-style techniques has accelerated (Brett & Holmes 2008: 190; Niblock 2008: 46; Steensen 2011: 59). This

featurisation or hybridisation between softer feature journalism and hard news is often explained by commercial factors. Since feature journalism may be used to produce all kinds of stories off the news beat, it fits excellently with all the rapidly increasing newspaper supplements created to keep old and target new audiences that can attract more advertising revenues. Steensen argues that without feature journalism, it would be unthinkable to produce these supplements (Steensen 2011: 57)

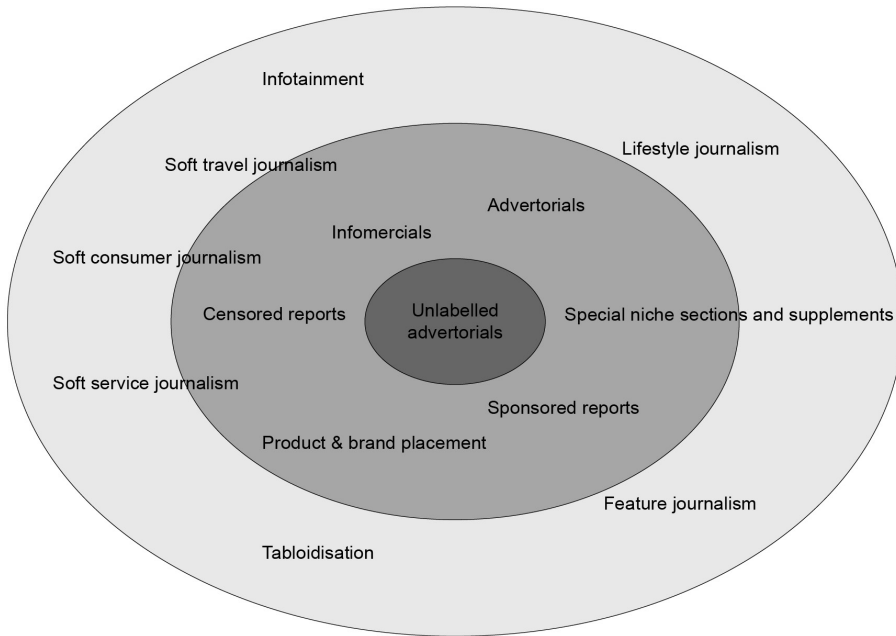
### **4.3. Hybrids of Journalism and Advertising**

Journalism, public relations and advertising are three of several discourses and genres of public communication (Balčytienė & Harro-Loit 2010: 195). Advertising is an example of a promotional discourse, which elaborating on Erjavec definition, could be defined as the process of the construction of texts, sounds and images, depicting the subject in question in a favourable light to influence the audience for commercial, political or other reasons (Erjavec 2004: 558). In recent years, scholars have identified a growing number of cases where journalism has adopted features characteristic for promotional discourse advertising. This has led to hybrids like product and brand placement in journalistic reports, sponsored reports, advertising-attracting reporting, advertising-based editorial censorship, infomercials and advertorials, on which I will elaborate on the following pages.

While hybridisation of discourses and genres within journalism might be considered a softer or lighter form of hybrid journalism, hybridisation between journalism and advertising might be considered a harder form of hybrid journalism as it more clearly violates the principles of professional journalism and press codes of ethics. At the same time the borders between such lighter and harder hybrid journalism are not always so clear, as seen in the figure VII.

If we speak about hybrid journalism as hybridisation between journalism and advertising we can divide the hybridisation into process and result. The process is what goes on inside media organisations, which describes the actions that take place before a result, being the article or the programme seen by the media consumer, as illustrated in the Figure VIII.

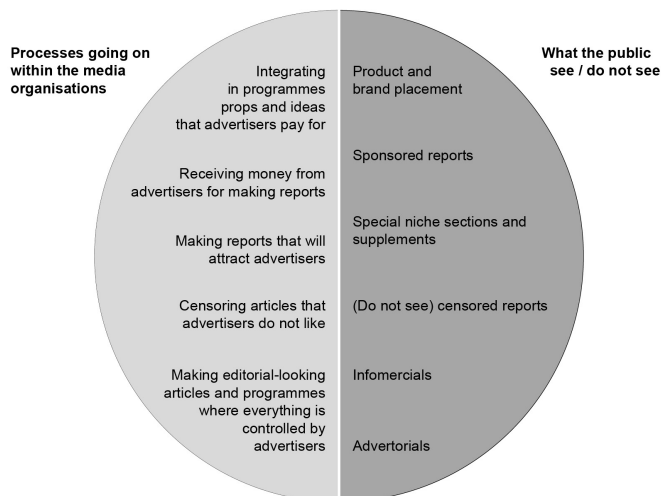
## Softer and harder hybrid journalism



**Figure VII.** Softer and Harder Hybrid Journalism

Examples of softer hybrid journalism are placed in the light grey area, examples of harder hybrid journalism are placed in the grey area, and examples of core hybrid journalism are placed in the dark grey area.

## Hybrid journalism



**Figure VIII.** Hybrid Journalism



### 4.3.1. Product and Brand Placement

Product and brand placement is the paid audio- and/or visual inclusion of products and brands in media programmes (Karrh 1998: 33) predominantly in TV programmes and movies or as defined by the 2007 EU directive: “any form of audiovisual commercial communication consisting of the inclusion of or reference to a product, a service or the trade mark thereof so that it is featured within a programme, in return for payment or for similar consideration” (Steininger & Woelke 2008: 457, European Commission 2012). An early example of product and brand placement can be traced back to one of the U.S. most popular TV shows *I Love Lucy* broadcast in the 1950s even though product placement was observed in Hollywood films already in the 1930s (Lipman 1991). *I Love Lucy* was sponsored by the cigarette giant Philip Morris; the TV show started with a tobacco cartoon, the main actors were seen smoking Philip Morris cigarettes in the show and the same actors appeared in the tobacco company’s commercials. Product and brand placement became less popular in the late 1950s (Taylor 1991), but re-emerged with popularity as advertisers were looking for new ways of promoting their products in the mid 1980s (Lubell 1990).

Advertisers paying key characters to smoke certain cigarettes in movies has been popular (Weis and Burke 1986: 63–64), but it is only one example of product and brand placement. If earlier, the costs of a movie or TV programme were often paid by a public budget giving producers, actors or journalists a free hand to concentrate on the artistic and journalistic values, the tendency of commercialisation in some cases now brings production towards partly or fully being sponsored by brand and product placement. We might consider a case where actors or television hosts might have to drink only a certain tea, drive a certain car avoiding using competing car brands, wear certain glasses, comment positively on a certain type of TV or computer, recommending a new drill when a competing drill does not work at all, let alone ask another actor or TV host where she or he bought such nice pillows. It goes without saying that it takes time and energy for an artistic producer to integrate all such commercial messages. The above-mentioned example might seem to be very extreme, but Karrh reports that back in the mid 1990s an episode of 22 minutes of the very popular U.S. television show *Seinfeld* included seven instances of real brand-name products. In some cases the show’s writers had to change dialogues to accommodate necessary references to brands (Darlin 1995; Karrh 1998: 31).

Von Rimscha distinguishes between two main forms of product and brand placements; that he calls ‘props placement’ and ‘creative placement’. The first form refers to placing brand products in the background, while the second form integrates brand product in the plot of the editorial content (Von Rimscha et al. 2007: 7–8). While the first form is more passive and would include studio decorations with sponsor’s logos and names or news anchors using clothing sponsored by a clothing shop or company, the second form is much more active as commercial messages are integrated in the texts and activities that the journalists or actors carry out in the TV programme. A certain car brand could be in

the background or the plot of the programme could integrate the TV hosts driving and commenting positively on various features of the promoted car. Giving away sponsored gifts as a part of a quiz programme may be considered both a passive and active product and brand placement depending upon how actively the TV hosts show and speak about the sponsored gift.

Product and brand placement creates hybrids of not only artistic products like movies and shows and advertising, but also a wider scope of journalism from more softer entertainment journalism to harder news journalism on the one hand and advertising on the other hand, where the journalism discourse is characterised by texts, speeches and actions with the intention to inform, also sometimes in an entertaining way, while the advertising discourse is characterised by texts, speeches and actions with the intention to promote.

The combination of product and brand placement with commercials and advertising is common (White 2006) and sometimes the product and brand placement is a bonus offered to advertisers who through their regular advertising heavily support a TV programme financially. Such deals, referred to as 'programme tie-ins' may be as Lipman mentions as simple as having a Coke vending machine exposed regularly within a TV programme in return for a promise from Coca-Cola Corporation to advertise heavily on this programme (Lipman 1988).

#### **4.3.2. Sponsored Reports**

Sponsored reports are often a result of the editorial staff or the media as such not having enough financial resources to determine their agenda and produce their reports without the external funding of a sponsoring advertiser or when an sponsor decides to establish and sponsor a media product himself like a magazine. A TV channel not having enough resources to fill their programme schedule with the reports that they produce themselves or want to buy themselves according to journalistic quality criteria from others; that is, not fully able to determine their own agenda, may be willing to show a TV programme offered for money or for free from an external force like a non-governmental institution, a public institution or a company on a topic that the external force wants to promote. In the U.S. advertising agencies began producing TV programmes to be offered to TV channels in the beginning of the 1990s (Foltz 1990). Sponsored reports also include cases where journalists are given awards or sponsored by advertisers to report on, for example, an event, an idea, an organisation, an individual, a product or a service. The sponsor might not openly define that he pays for a certain journalistic report, but he clearly paves the way for a report, or more, on topics favourable to the sponsor. For many journalists it might be tempting to accept a generous invitation to travel for free to a destination when all costs are covered by the sponsor, and often media cannot afford to send their journalists at full costs to make reports from other countries (Hanusch 2010: 73). Likewise, the pharmaceutical industry is not the

only industry that has a tradition of inviting both industry professionals and journalists to conferences and events to stimulate reports on topics of interest to the sponsor (Sweet 2001: 1258). Sweet mentions a case when a series of stories about impotency suddenly appeared in the Australian media with headlines such as “impotence rate set to skyrocket”. It later turned out that the pharmaceutical company Pfizer had sponsored the journalists that produced the articles to take part in a conference on impotence in Paris (Sweet 2001: 1258). Just as with product and brand placement, this form of hybridisation between journalism and advertising sneaks a portion of promotional advertising discourse into the traditional informational discourse of journalism texts.

Sponsors setting up journalism awards in their field of operations is another tactic to stimulate reporting on issues of interest to the sponsor. Again it does not directly imply buying editorial space, but it might make it emotionally difficult for some award-winning journalists and media to write critical articles, possibly questioning information from professionals in the company which sponsored the award (Sweet 2001: 1258).

A sponsored magazine is commissioned by a corporation, institution or any other organisation and is produced by the editors according to the wishes of the client (Geerardyn & Fauconnier 2000: 337). Many sponsored magazines are free and sometimes carry the name of the sponsor (Geerardyn & Fauconnier 2000: 337). Yet, as it in many ways looks like any other magazine, many people might find it difficult to understand its sponsored nature. Ingersoll reported about a case where a sponsor had masked one of its promotional publications as a medical journal (Ingersoll 1991). As the sponsor disguised as a publisher has launched the magazine to promote itself or certain ideas, product or services, it is likely that its content will include a mixture of journalistic and advertising discourse. A sponsored website that appears to be neutral and informative is another way how sponsors disguised as advertisers can control the content of a site (Bunn 1997), add entertaining and informative stories, sometimes possibly seasoned with some positive remarks about the sponsor’s products or services, add links and banners promoting the sponsor’s products and services and efficiently keep the site clean from competitors’ advertising.

#### **4.3.3. Advertising-attracting Reporting**

In times when the media is squeezed in a nervous fight to survive on the market, the traditional concept of writing and making programmes for the public; the reader, viewer and listener tend increasingly to become of secondary importance. In hunting for advertising incomes, some media adjust their editorial reporting primarily towards attracting advertisers. The increasing popularity of newspapers developing various thematic niche sections, magazines and other supplements must be seen in this light. For example, one of the largest Scandinavian newspapers, the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* developed 11 weekly niche-oriented supplements (Steensen 2011: 58). Shaver and Lewis found that

with the exception of business, sport and entertainment supplements, the primary reason for launching new supplements is to attract additional advertising revenue (Shaver & Lewis 1997: 26–27). Sections and supplements that might be interesting for the reader, but will attract little advertising money have little chance of being materialised compared to supplements that are interesting to both existing and new readers and likely to attract heavy advertising like fashion, lifestyle, home design, gardening, cars and travel. Many newspapers understand that not developing such thematic niche section and supplements, the potential advertising money would be drifting away to other niche publications or other ways of advertising (Shaver & Lewis 1997: 16). It is then the question to what extent journalists might apply some self-censorship and try to avoid topics in their reports that could drive away potential advertisers; to what extent they angle and write their reports in a rather positive manner due to the attracted advertisers, thus gliding on a slippery slope from a journalistic informational discourse in the direction of a slightly more promotional discourse characteristic of the advertising industry.

#### **4.3.4. Advertising-based Editorial Censorship**

Advertising-based editorial censorship can be defined as a practice where the editorial staff agrees not to publish information of interest to the public due to pressure in the form of payment or extortion from an advertiser. Erjavec found that this type of censorship usually occurs in two ways; the advertisers by threatening not to advertise pays or forces the media not to cover certain topics, alternatively not to publish certain items of information, or the advertiser again by threatening not to advertise demands the deletion of what they consider unsuitable information from a journalistic text which has been written without any prior involvement of the advertiser (Erjavec 2004: 561). As in this case, the publishing of supposedly negative information of interest to the public, would be in line with the journalistic informational discourse, the opposite, to withhold negative information of interest to the public would be more characteristic for advertisers, as promotional texts usually are believed to include positive and neutral, but not negative information about the advertiser himself.

#### **4.3.5. Infomercials**

Belch and Belch have defined an infomercial as a very long television commercial that is designed to provide consumers with detailed information about a product or service and that lasts from several minutes to an hour (Belch & Belch 2003), yet legislation in some countries considers it an infomercial already after 1 minute (Von Rimscha et al 2007: 13). In its name it is a mixture of ‘information’ and ‘commercials’, and this blurring nature with elements from informative journalism and commercial advertising is characteristic for this

hybrid product. To television viewers an infomercial may appear as a regular programme rather than a commercial (Dix & Phau 2008: 3), thus Kunkel has defined it as a thinly disguised programme-like commercial (Kunkel 1990). If an infomercial is not continuously labelled as advertising as some countries do require (Von Rimscha et al 2007: 13), this may indeed be true, in particular for those viewers surfing and zapping through different television channels.

Infomercials are sometimes named 'Programme-Length Commercial' (PLC) (Balasubramanian 1994: 31), however this name, different from infomercials might not so well embrace, for example, short sitcoms or two minute long entertainment clips that refer directly to a product at the very end (Von Rimscha et al. 2007: 12).

Through interviewing senior executives in the advertising industry in Switzerland, von Rimscha found that the aim of infomercials is for the audience to misconceive them as editorial content, which is actually also the case (Von Rimscha et al. 2007: 12–13). Despite valuable income from infomercials there are cases when TV channels have discontinued the practice of infomercials as they could damage the credibility of regular programmes (Dunn 2003: 148).

In 1990 Jaffe estimated that about 85 % of all local U.S. television stations accepted infomercials (Jaffe 1990); no figures seem to be available about the expansion of infomercials in national, regional and local television stations in Europe. In many ways the audio-visual infomercials correspond to the printed advertorials, even though advertorials are sometimes also used to describe audio-visual hybrid products (Von Rimscha et al. 2007: 12).

#### **4.3.6. Advertorials**

As advertorials are one of the main focuses of this work, this form of hybridisation between journalism and advertising will be dealt with in more detail. The word advertorial is a combination of the two words; 'advertising' and 'editorial', and just as the name implies the practice is a hybrid between an editorial or journalistic report and a piece of commercial advertising. More precisely it has been defined as "blocks of paid-for commercial messages featuring an object or objects (such as products, services, organizations, individuals, ideas, issues, etc.) that simulate the editorial content of a publication in terms of design/structure, visual/verbal content, and/or context in which it appears" (Cameron et al 1996: 722) or expressed more compactly "advertising disguised as editorial material" (Bounds 1999, Gupta 2003: 195). Advertorials might be both political and commercial as they might promote just as well a politician and a political message or a commercial product or service. Advertorials in their style look like regular news articles, but have the purpose of ads as they are usually controlled and paid for by advertisers (Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 65). Sometimes they appear in separate advertising supplements, sometimes they appear in the middle of regular journalistic content. Many studies on advertorials (Cameron 1994; Dahlén & Edenius 2007; Eckman & Lindlof 2003;

van Reijmersdal et al. 2005) have been based on the premise that the advertorials are labelled as such (Poler Kovačič et al. 2010), but in many cases the advertorials are not labelled (Cameron et al. 1996: 772). Based on Sandler and Secunda's definitions that editorial materials are "news stories and feature articles in newspapers and magazines" and advertising refers to "sponsored promotional messages carried in mass media to reach selected audiences" (Sandler and Secunda 1993:73) advertorials can be defined as a type of advertising. Where advertorials are regulated it is recommended or required to label them as 'advertising' or 'advertisement'; (Cameron & Curtin 1995: 178, Cameron et al. 1996: 726); seemingly nowhere are advertorials defined as not being advertising.

A newspaper's or magazine's thematic sections or subsidiary publications are by some authors (Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 66) included in the concept of advertorials. Even though the thematic sections and subsidiary publications primarily are advertising-driven, that is, they are launched to attract more advertising revenue (Shaver & Lewis 1997: 26) to the newspaper or magazine, the articles in these sections are not necessarily advertorials. They might very well be regular editorial articles on a certain theme for a larger or smaller niche audience. For this reason in this work these thematic special sections and subsidiary publications are not per se defined as advertorials.

### **Origin of Advertorials**

Blurring between journalistic reporting and advertising is nothing new. As Blanchard argues, "the press is rife with stories about how printers filled their newspapers with information they were paid to insert" (Blanchard 1998: 380), and one of the reasons for the first codes of ethics in journalism were reactions to advertorials in US newspapers already before 1910 (Hill 1922: 181–182). Sandler and Secunda have concluded that blurring between advertising and editorial content appeared during the early years of commercial radio in the United States as programme sponsorship was launched. In the late 1940s such practices moved into television as sponsors both produced and owned certain programmes (Sandler and Secunda, 1993). Advertorials experienced a renaissance when it became popular with both advertisers, newspapers and magazines in the 1980s (Bogart 1995, Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 66, Stout et al. 1989: 962). During the second half of the 1980s the annual revenues from advertorials in U.S. print media doubled and in 1991 reached an estimated US\$ 229 million, making up approximately 10 % of the total advertising revenues (Cameron et al. 1996: 722, Donaton 1992: 16). Some U.S. newspapers moved the production of certain sections like the car and real estate section from the editorial to the advertising department (Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 66). Most of the literature examples from the 1980s are from the United States. Even though advertorials might be considered a litmus test of the preservation of traditional journalism, the phenomenon has received very limited study in Europe, and only very recently has an interest emerged among scholars to start looking into this topic.

### **Advertorials – Appearance and Labelling**

Advertorials may be short texts, but usually they include longer texts than standard advertising (Van Reijmersdal 2005: 41). The practice of The American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME) to refer to advertorials as advertising sections (ASME 2012) may have led some people to believe that advertorial texts are the same as or always will be found in advertising sections, but that is not the case. In reality advertorials may be located anywhere in a newspaper or magazine. Cameron found that advertorials are most frequently about fashion, sports, health/fitness, electronics, and food (Cameron et al. 1996: 726), yet it should be noted that his study was limited to a few U.S. magazines. In reality, advertorials can focus on any topic; portray a politician, explain health risks, describe a travel destination or a new car.

A central issue in terms of advertorials is to what extent they are labelled. Questions like the size, location and frequency of the labelling have an impact on the reader's possibility to understand the commercial aspect of the article, likewise layout and design may serve as indirect labelling. There is limited research on the degree of labelling of advertorials in print publications in Europe. In a study to what extent U.S. magazines follow the guidelines set by the American Society of Magazine editors (ASME) Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim found that nearly 1/3 of all the identified advertorials were not marked as advertising, of those marked most advertorials were marked on the top of the page, but did not include the recommended label on each page, while 2/3 of the advertorial labels were smaller than the typesize used in editorials or the advertorial itself (Cameron et al. 1996: 726–727). Other studies have confirmed that the practice of using a very small typesize to label advertorials makes the labelling inconspicuous and ineffective (Cameron & Curtin 1995: 182, Cameron & Ju-Pak 2000: 73) as the readers do not later recall the commercial source of the information (Cameron and Curtis 1995: 184). Even though labelled advertorials compared to unlabelled advertorials are less likely to be mistaken as editorial texts, Kim, Pasadeos and Barban emphasise that “label identification is a necessary condition, but not a sufficient one, for preventing confusion” (Kim et al 2001: 277). In general when reading an advertorial readers are not aware that they are faced with an advertisement for an idea, product or service (Kim 1995). There are no examples of guidelines for advertorials with minimum size requirements for the labels similar to the system of health risk labelling on cigarette packages.

Layout and design may serve as additional ‘labels’ or signals to the media literate readers if advertorials avoid newsy headlines, use distinctly different typefaces, colour schemes and other layout and design elements different from those found in editorial articles. The use of logos and clear information about the sponsor of the article may further help the reader understand the existence of a sponsored message. Yet research shows that print publication only partly follow such advice and guidelines from the professional organisations (Cameron 1996: 728–729). They know that the sponsors of the advertorials are not likely to be pushing for more labelling and signals as the advertorials are

thought to become more persuasive the more the intent of the persuasive article is not known (Cameron 1994: 188). The practice of placing advertorials together with advertising and no editorial content in separate inserts or supplements with clear labelling, distinctly different layout, design as well as paper quality is possibly most efficient in terms of the reader understanding the existence of a sponsored message, yet not the most efficient from an advertiser's point of view.

### **Advertorials – Reasons for Their Development**

The reasons for the development of advertorials are complex, yet mainly commercially driven, triggered by technological development. As such they echo the reasons for squeezed journalism as mentioned in chapter 2.4. Through media's increasing dependency on advertising, the advertisers have strengthened their bargaining positions, even more so as technological developments have accelerated crisis and cutbacks in traditional print journalism. Stronger advertisers armed with more public relations officers have pressured weakened print media with fewer journalists often without the internal support of their advertising department and publishers towards the collapse of walls of journalistic principles and integrity in order to get access to formerly almost 'holy' journalistic territory resulting in more efficient advertising due to more attention and increased credibility to the commercial messages. Let us look more in detail at some of these factors; (1) advertisers' strengthened position, (2) technological developments, (3) weakened journalism and (4) more efficient advertising.

### **Advertorials When Advertisers Are Stronger and Journalists Weaker**

As mentioned previously, the proportion of income for newspapers and magazines coming from advertising sales compared to selling copies of the publication to readers has in general increased steadily over the past three decades. Some authors claim that on average between 60 and 90 % of the total newspaper revenue in the United States is generated by advertising (Manduchi & Picard 2009: 211, Mensing 2007: 23, Tang et al. 2012: 108) and that the situation is similar in many European countries (Picard 2008: 704). Except for the crisis year of 2009, German newspapers on average have for many years received more than half of their income from advertising (WAN-IFRA 2010). Also in the Nordic countries like Denmark, Finland and Sweden advertising currently accounts for about 55–60 per cent of the newspapers sales revenue (Harrie 2009: 135).

As printed newspapers and magazines now rely first and foremost on advertising to cover their costs, the position of advertisers has in many cases become so strong and influential that by threatening or simply reminding the publication about their power of placing or withdrawing ads they may partly dictate the operations of a newspaper or magazine in terms of agenda settings, focusing and report selection (Baran 2002: 193, Hays et al. 1991: 175). Understanding their strong position, the advertisers may also demand an ad package



including advertorials in order to place a series of ads in a newspaper or magazine or they may threaten to withdraw advertising if advertorials as such are not accepted (Lipman 1991a, Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 384).

Advertisers' practice of offering journalists and others working in the print media various benefits in the form of gifts, discounts, free travel, payment of invoices as well as testing of new and exciting products (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 385) may often strengthen ties and feeling of thankfulness and dependency; a condition in which advertisers are often in a stronger position to achieve their ultimate advertising objectives.

Advertisers mainly represented by the business community have increasingly employed public relations officers and other communication specialists, many of whom with previous experience as journalists and excellent knowledge on how to prepare press releases, articles, radio and video tapes that are ready to be used by journalists. McChesney argues that often video news releases and PR-produced news are run as if they were legitimate journalism on local television news programmes (McChesney 2012: 684). Former journalists also know how to prepare advertorials; to write articles in a manner and with quotes fitting to the style of the current newspaper or magazine, so that the readers will perceive the articles as if they were made by the newspaper or magazine's own journalists.

The relative acceptance of product placement in the 2007 *EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive* as a continuation of a wave of commercialisation, liberalisation and de-regulations often motivated by global competitiveness and emphasis on business logics, may be seen as a contributing factor in blurring and changing the borders between journalism and advertising and thus strengthening the advertisers' position in terms of moving into placing their messages in editorial zones. First the advertisers might find understanding and form informal alliances with the advertising departments, alternatively the publisher and owner of the print media. Having some kind of understanding and support from these players within a print media, the advertisers have strengthened their positions even more.

A weakened editorial staff lacking journalists with a deeper knowledge and competence in certain areas can be used as an argument for advertisers to fund an article explaining complicated matters more comprehensively and precisely. Previous misquotations, misunderstanding, frustration with superficial journalists and lack of trust might explain why some advertisers prefer to place somewhat educational and scientific advertorials (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 386; Prounis & DeSantis 2004: 157) to get the key message across and explain certain issues whether it is about a new medicine, health problems, financing opportunities or new construction materials.

Traditionally the editorial and advertising departments within a newspaper or magazine have been strictly separated, yet knowing their publication's policy on editorial and advertising issues, they have usually been speaking with one voice in public and defending their common stand on these matters. The advertising department has thus often served as a buffer towards which the

editorial department could direct any advertising request. This has changed. The editorial departments currently often don't have the support of the advertising department and publisher on the issue of advertorials, thus even more weakening the position of the journalists. Poler Kovačič and Erjavec have in their recent research on the production process of unlabelled advertorials in the Slovenian press observed that journalists argue that pressure from their own advertising department to help improve the financial situation and save the newspaper have made them produce unlabelled advertorials. The advertising departments on their side refer to the demands from the owners (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 387–389). Eckman and Lindlof describes a case study from a newspaper where the only opposition against a next to complete visual merger between editorials and advertorials came from some news editors. Both the publisher and advertising department representatives were disappointed by these objections (Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 70–74). Having little or no support within the organisation of the print publication can be decisive for journalists as they have to defend their stand against disguised advertising not only externally towards advertisers, both also internally towards their colleagues in the advertising department and not to forget their owner. As a publication in the long run must have one stand on this in public, a compromise, if found, seems likely to move in the direction of paving the way for more advertorials (Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 74).

In a situation where many colleagues are laid off, it is natural for the remaining journalists to make a little mental journey and imagine that they might be the new victims of cutbacks. Faced with the alternative of no job, many journalists might think that they have to give in to pressure to accept disguised forms of advertising if they want to keep if not a good, then at least a regular salary. They are very well aware of the fact that newspapers and magazines are overwhelmingly dependent upon the incomes from the sale of advertising to survive financially (Harrie 2009: 135; Manduchi & Picard 2009: 211; Mensing 2007: 23; Picard 2008: 704; Tang et al. 2012: 108).

It is nothing new that journalists often thus accept that their publication makes concessions to their advertisers using advertorials as a bargaining chip for making existing advertisers buy more regular ads and for attracting new advertisers (Bounds 1999, Dix & Phau 2008). In the same way, the motivation for newspapers developing new themed sections is mainly to attract new advertisers (Bogart 1995).

Yet, in accepting this, the weakened journalists weaken the journalistic principles even more or as Lipman puts it: “throw basic journalistic rules out the window, crashing through the wall that is supposed to separate advertising from editorial coverage” (Lipman 1991). Advertorials are against the ideals that have guided news professionalism since the 1950s (Eckman and Lindlof 2003: 76) as the separation of advertising from editorial content has been considered one of the cornerstones of professional journalism and one of the key points in ethical codes for journalists. The fact that advertisers with the passive or active support of the publisher now seem to increasingly influence the editorial content is

additionally a set-back for the journalistic autonomy embedded in the principles of professional journalism.

The practice of journalists receiving benefits in the form of gifts, discounts, invoices paid or testing attractive products not for purely journalistic reasons sometimes goes hand in hand with the acceptance of advertorials (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 385) and further weakens the perception of journalistic integrity. A scholar like McChesney believes journalism is in freefall collapse in the United States, and, to varying degrees, elsewhere (McChesney 2012: 682). He has difficulties in seeing how journalism has the “institutional muscle to stand up to governments and corporate power” (McChesney 2012: 682) while journalism is treated like any other business, and no longer like a public good like culture and education. He argues that countries like, for example, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, among the top press subsidisers per capita in the world and with considerably higher press subsidies than the United States, are considered the most democratic countries in the world according to the British magazine *The Economist's* Democracy Index (McChesney 2012: 689–690).

Whether collapsing or not, the type of traditional journalism that for a century through codes and standards has been portrayed as an ideal for journalistic operations is vigorously being challenged and weakened, and this helps us understand the recent expansion of advertorials.

### **Advertorials as More Efficient Advertising**

An advertiser would, as a rule, aim at making advertising that catches people's attention and make them believe that what is offered is the right thing to choose, be it buying a commercial product, voting for a political candidate or begin a more healthy life style.

Advertisers know that TV viewers switch channels during the commercial breaks and that print publication readers often flip through pages of advertising (Eckman and Lindlof 2003: 66). A company, organisation or institution working with an advertising agency and public relation people understand that they have to be innovative and search for new ways to reach the customers, to try to prevent and reverse ad avoiding behaviour among people (Von Rimscha 2007: 4). Working with the media they face a dilemma. If they try to present a new idea or product to a journalist, they might get some editorial coverage that people will pay attention to and trust. At the same time, they will have no control of what the journalist reports. If they try to present a new idea or product through an ad, they might risk that people will not pay so much attention to it, not fully trust the content as editorial content receives more attention and is better remembered than advertising (Cameron 1994: Elliott 1984, Simon 1986) and commercial advertising materials produces less trust and has a lower persuasive effect than editorial content (Friestad & Wright 1994, Kim et al. 2001; Obermiller and Spangenberg 1998). However, they know that in the last case they can fully control the content. From such a point of view a search for a efficient solution including the advantages of both approaches is natural.

Dahlen and Edenius argue that people have got so used to advertising that they have constructed mental shortcuts to deal with it (Dahlen and Edenius 2007: 34) as people's minds activate what Friedstad & Wright name as an 'advertising schema' (Friedstad and Wright 1994), a mental warning system sending signals to the brain about being sceptical and alert to persuasion when something that is perceived as advertising appears. When this mental defence mechanism is activated, people are not only more alert and create more counter-arguments, they also pay less attention to it and have more difficulty remembering it later (Coodstein 1993; James & Kover 1992). How to prevent activation of the 'advertising schema', how to achieve attention and recall, trust and ability to persuade when presenting a commercial message, how to consolidate the advantages from editorials and advertising materials or what Balasubramanian calls the desirable 'benefit-mix' where "the sponsor retains control over the message while the audience perceives the message as credible" (Balasubramanian 1994: 29)? An efficient answer to this for many is the advertorial.

Dahlen and Edenius stress the effectiveness of an advertorial due to shortage of contrast to the surroundings. Readers and viewers are used to contrasts; what is not an editorial article is a print ad and what is not a TV programme is a commercial. Advertorials, just like infomercial, cannot be contrasted to the surrounding media, they are intended to discretely integrate and blend in with the medium's overall content, thus little or no 'alarm bells' are activated (Dahlen & Edenius 2007: 35; Eckman & Lindlof 2003: 66). The authority of a medium seems to be transferred to the advertised message, thus the medium is perceived as a sender or co-sender of the advertised message: the higher the authority of the medium, the more credible is the perception of the message (van Reijmersdal et al. 2005: 50).

According to Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim, if an advertorial appears "reasonable, unbiased, with little vested interest, using a newsy, non-persuasive headline and covering a credible product", then the veridicality of the advertorial will be high, regardless of whether there is no or late notification of the source (Cameron et al. 1996: 724). Also Kim, Pasadeos and Barban conclude that labelling an advertorial may not be very effective in alerting readers to "the true nature of the message" as the readers have been fooled by the advertorial format itself (Kim et al. 2001: 265).

When an advertorial is written in more or less exactly in the same way as an editorial article it is very difficult for an average reader to understand that this is not an editorial article, even if there is a tiny advertorial label somewhere on the page. Compared to seeing a regular ad, the average readers will pay more attention and better remember an advertorial, not feel that they are being persuaded and treat it as credible as they believe the source of information comes from journalists (Wu & Wasike 2006: 14). All this combined with the fact that the content is completely under the control of the advertiser, makes an advertorial a very efficient form of advertising.

### **Advertorials and Audience Perception**

Based on their research in the Netherlands Van Reijmersdal, Neijens and Smit argue that readers in general are positive towards mixtures of advertising and editorial content compared to conventional advertisements. The readers found the mixed content more amusing, informative and less irritating than conventional advertisements (Van Reijmersdal et al. 2005: 48). In their Dutch research only 12% of all respondents considered advertorials to be misleading while three quarters of the respondents answered that it was acceptable to mention brands in advertorials (Van Reijmersdal et al 2005: 50). The authors claim that the concern about the disguised nature of mixtures expressed by a series of other researchers is not supported by their findings; on the contrary the authors state that they provided evidence that mixing advertising and editorial content evokes more positive audience responses than regular advertising and that editors should understand that mixtures are no threat, but seem to add value rather than cause damage to a magazine (Van Reijmersdal et al 2005: 50).

However, it is of importance to remember that this research concerns five Dutch magazines all owned by the Finnish Sanoma publishing company, which has a policy of labelling all advertorials as advertising. Even though readers do not notice labels in each individual case, the respondents' answers might have been different if they were faced with magazines filled with unlabelled advertorials or hidden advertising; that is, if they were confronted with the fact that some articles in the magazines that they had read were not made by regular journalists with the intention to inform, but produced by advertisers possibly in co-operation with journalists with the intention to promote and pursue. As Jacobsen and Mazur argue "fooling the reader is what advertorials are all about" (Jacobsen & Mazur 1995: 66). Several researchers stress that advertorials confuse readers to believe that these stories are editorial content (Cameron & Haley 1992: 54, Kim et al. 2001: 266). The future will possibly produce more research on audience reaction to unlabelled advertorials.

Scholars have found that labelled advertorials are perceived more positively when they are placed in magazines having more authority; they receive more attention if they are placed in magazines more known for informational content than entertaining content giving the readers a feeling of relaxation and escaping from everyday life (Reijmersdal et al. 2005: 44, 50).

### **Advertorials in Laws and Regulations**

In the chapter on the norms for journalistic conduct through legal regulations I focused on journalistic autonomy and those laws and regulations that focus on the mixing of journalism and advertising. Advertorials as such are a new and rare term in European legislation. Although activities describing the essence of advertorials have been regulated earlier, it was only in 2005 that EU's *Unfair Commercial Practices Directive* for the first time introduced the term 'advertorial'. The first annex of the new directive was aimed at regulating unfair commercial practices in business targeting consumers, and listed a series of unfair commercial practices. "Using editorial content in the media to promote a

product where a trader has paid for the promotion without making that clear in the content or by images or sounds clearly identifiable by the consumer (advertorial)” is listed as one of the misleading commercial practices (EU 2005). As all EU member states have to implement the directives in their laws unless it is already included, one should presume that non-labelled advertorials have become illegal in all EU member states. But that is not the case. The new directive regulates commercial products only: that is, products where a trader has paid for its promotion. This leaves out a whole series of cases where advertorials are used to promote individuals like a politician or a businessman; organisations like a public institution or a political party; ideas or issues of importance in politics and business, at least as long as this is not interpreted as being part of a commercial product.

From another point of view it might seem that the EU directive gives a green light to accepting the practice of advertorials as long as they are labelled. Yet putting the term ‘advertorial’ in brackets after the sentence “using editorial content in the media to promote a product where a trader has paid for the promotion without making that clear in the content or by images or sounds clearly identifiable by the consumer” could also be interpreted that this explanatory sentence is the European Union’s definition of advertorials, thus defining advertorials as such as an example of misleading commercial practice. If the EU directive considers equal advertorials and the above-mentioned sentence, then EU bans all advertorials of a commercial nature whether they are slightly labelled as advertising or not. That would possibly be in the spirit and in accordance with journalistic codes of ethics stressing the dividing line between editorial texts and all kinds of advertising, yet it would be a very radical move in light of the development of commercialisation and focus on competitiveness that paved the way for the *EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive* allowing product placement in films and television programmes. By not defining advertorial alongside other terms in the introductory part of the directive, at the same time putting the word in brackets after an explanatory sentence, the directive leaves room for interpretation whether the EU includes and bans also labelled advertorials in the term advertorial. Potential court cases establishing a practice of interpretation of the directive might bring clearness to this matter. By the end of 2016 no court case in any of the EU countries has supposedly tested this issue.

Germany listed advertorials as an misleading commercial practice in their *Act against Unfair Competition* in 2004, (Bundesministerium 2010), already before it was finally adopted by the EU as a directive. Denmark implemented the EU directive in its legislation by *Act 1547* in 2006 (Folketingets Oplysning 2012), Estonia into its *Consumer Protection Act* (Riigi Teataja 2011), Lithuania into its *Law on Prohibition of Unfair Business-to-Consumer Commercial Practices* in 2007 (Seimas 2007) and the United Kingdom into the *Consumer Protection from Unfair Trading Regulations* in 2008 (National Archives 2008) with identical or more or less identical formulations on advertorials. Sweden referred to the list of unfair commercial practices in the first annex of the EU directive and gave this law form in the new Marketing Act in 2008 without integrating

clear formulations on advertorials in the text of the new law itself (Riksdagen 2008). According to information on the implementation on the EU's *Unfair Commercial Practices Directive* available at the website of the European Commission (European Commission 2013a), Finland has by 01.01.2013 only partly implemented the list of unfair commercial practices in the first annex of the EU directive omitting the implementation of formulations on advertorials in article 11 on the so-called 'black list' (European Commission 2013b).

The directive with its corresponding implementation in the national EU legislation is not the only legal act that regulates advertorials in the countries of this study. Section 4 in Denmark's *Marketing Practices Act* reads that "an advertisement shall be framed in such a way that it will be clearly understood to be an advertisement irrespective of its form and irrespective of the medium in which it is couched" (Forbrugerombudsmanden 2012b). In its explanation about this section the Danish Consumer Ombudsman states that "the new section primarily evolves around advertising disguised as editorial copy in papers and magazines. Laudatory media coverage of a new car model resulting from a secret agreement between the journalist and the car producer rather than independent research constitutes a clear-cut example of covert advertising. The word 'advertisement' should appear in close connection with the article so that readers are not left in doubt as to the article's content" (Forbrugerombudsmanden 2012a). Even though the word 'advertorial' is not mentioned as such, the formulation "advertising disguised as editorial copy in papers and magazines" fully covers the description of the word 'advertorial' (Bounds 1999, Gupta 2003: 195). Also Estonia, Lithuania, Russia and Sweden (Riigi Teataja 2012; Seimas 2011; State Duma 2006, Riksdagen 2008) have included in their advertising or marketing laws formulations that advertising or marketing must be readily distinguished from other information, made clearly and presented so that it is recognised or identified as advertising or marketing. The Lithuanian law specifically states that the ad must be labelled with the words 'advertisement' if consumers may not recognise it as advertising (Seimas 2011) while the Russian law requires labelling as 'advertising' or 'as advertising' [на правах рекламы] (State Duma 2006). Finland does not have a separate advertising law, but has a law on the exercise of freedom of expression in mass media. Here, however, there is no reference to advertorials, advertising or any division between editorial and advertising materials (Finlex 2003). Out of fear that a law can lead to too much control and interference by the state, the United Kingdom is one of the countries in Europe which do not have a press law. Similarly, instead of a law on advertising, there are advertising codes supervised by The Advertising Standards Authority; an independent regulator of advertising across all media. The UK's *Code of Non-broadcast Advertising, Sales Promotion and Direct Marketing* (CAP Code) deals with advertorials in article 2.4. that states that "marketers and publishers must make clear that advertorials are marketing communications; for example, by heading them 'advertisement feature'" (CAP 2010).

### **Advertorials in Ethical Codes**

Even though in the ethical codes there is much focus on journalistic autonomy and the need to separate journalism from advertising, the word ‘advertorial’ is mentioned very rarely. With the exception of the British code, all codes of ethics for journalists in the countries of focus in this study stress that advertising must be clearly divided from editorial content, yet direct reference to advertorials are rare (EthicNet 2012).

As mentioned earlier in chapter 3.4. the Swedish code has substantially more focus on advertorials than the other codes as ¼ of the code; a separate chapter, is dedicated to *rules against editorial advertising* (EthicNet 2012). This chapter includes a 9-point check-list for situations where mainly advertisers and commercial interests might try to influence the editorial content and blur it with non-editorial content.

Some codes use strong words to condemn journalists who mix journalism and advertising. The Russian code says that “the combination of journalistic and advertising activity is ethically unthinkable” and that “a journalist considers it unworthy to utilize his reputation, his authority as well as his professional rights and opportunities to disseminate information of a promotional or commercial nature” (EthicNet 2012). The Lithuanian code strongly bans unlabelled advertorials by stressing that “it shall be forbidden to publish commercials under the guise of impartial information or otherwise conceal commercials”, but applies rules for labelled advertorials when stating that “the freedom of information is incompatible with buying information for money or other consideration unless this information is clearly published as commercials and/or advertising” (EthicNet 2012).

Several codes emphasise the need not to accept assignments from anyone outside the editorial staff. The German code argues that the responsibility for the press towards the general public requires that editorial publications are not influenced by the private or business interest of third parties. The Lithuanian and Swedish codes point out that journalists shall not accept gifts or free trips that could question their status as free and independent journalists. Moreover, the Estonian code stresses that journalists should not accept bribes or other inducements which could cause a conflict of interests and compromise their credibility (EthicNet 2012).

The Finnish and German codes specifically mention hidden or surreptitious advertising, which in print media is quite equal to unlabelled advertorials. While the Finnish code states that “hidden advertising must be avoided” (EthicNet 2012), the German code says that “editorial stories that refer to companies, their products, services or events must not overstep the boundary to surreptitious advertising. This risk is especially great if a story goes beyond justified public interest or the reader’s interest in information or is paid for by a third part or is rewarded by advantages with a monetary value” (EthicNet 2012).

The German code most in-depth deals with supplement and special publications stressing that “special editorial publications are subject to the same editorial responsibility as all other editorial content” and that special advertising



publications with paid publications “must be so designed that the reader can recognise advertising as such”. Estonia’s code raises the issue of consumer-oriented journalistic content and makes it clear that “the audience must be informed how the selection of the products was made and how the products were tested” (EthicNet 2012).

Overall, the journalistic codes of ethics, yet choosing different words and formulations, seem to condemn any blurring of editorial and advertising activities. As mentioned the only exception is the British code that neither discusses the division between advertising and editorial content nor says anything clearly about advertorials.

Production, appearance, funding and motivation characteristics	Type of articles / products				
	Traditional journalism	Advertising-attracting reporting	Sponsored reports	Advertorials	Advertising
Articles produced by journalists or advertising department / advertiser	Light grey	Light grey	Dark grey	Dark grey	Dark grey
			Light grey	Light grey	Dark grey
Look like editorial article or advertising	Light grey	Light grey	Light grey	Light grey	Dark grey
Financed by the publication or an advertiser	Light grey	Light grey	Dark grey	Dark grey	Dark grey
Motivated by journalistic considerations or intention to attract advertisers or advertiser’s intention to increase popularity of a product, service or idea	Light grey	Light grey	Dark grey	Dark grey	Dark grey

**Key: Colours and patterns:**

Light grey	Grey	Dark Grey
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**Figure IX.** Production, Appearance, Funding and Motivation of Various Types of Articles and Products

Explanation of the colour scheme: Light grey = Articles produced by journalists/look like editorial articles/financed by the publication/motivated by journalistic considerations, Grey = Articles motivated by the intention to attract advertisers, Dark grey = Articles produced by the advertising department or advertiser/look like advertising/financed by an advertiser/motivated by the intention to increase popularity of a product, service or idea.

Without going into details about codes of ethics adopted by professional organisations uniting public relations officers or advertisers, it is worth mentioning that the International Chamber of Commerce's code on advertising and marketing communication practice states that "when an advertisement appears in a medium which contains news or editorial matter, it should be so presented that it will be readily recognized as an advertisement and the identity of the advertiser should be apparent" (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec 2010: 380; ICC: 2011).

In the *Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists* adopted by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ 2016), recommended by the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ 2016), and used by some of the member organisations in Europe to serve as guidelines for their members instead of a national code of ethics (APJ Albania 2016), there are no paragraphs about advertorials or the separation between advertising and journalism.

#### **4.4. Hybridisation of Journalistic Norms and Practices**

Violations of journalistic norms and practices are usually understood as situations where journalists break the ethical standards and norms for journalists and editorial operations. Hybridisation of journalistic norms and practices means that various norms and practices are blurred and new hybrid norms and practices are born. In such a way hybridisation might be seen as a continuation and a transformation of a process that at least in its beginnings was considered a violation. Hybridisation might occur blurring two or more norms, blurring two or more practices or hybridisation might take place when a practice is mixed with a norm.

The norms and practices created or strengthened as a result of EU's *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* adopted in 2007 are examples of such a hybridisation. At first it seems obvious that the directive's intention to allow product placement in films and television programmes was not only contradictory to the EU directive adopted in 1989 which prohibited product placement stating that advertising should be clearly distinguishable as such (Goldberg, Prosser and Verhulst 1998: 31), but also to various European codes of ethics for journalists, which usually stress that editorial content should be separated from advertising. The Finnish and Lithuanian codes additionally state that hidden advertising and concealed commercials must be avoided. Moreover, the Swedish code states that journalists are advised to be especially careful and critical when products or trademarks are exposed with an appearance of product placement (EthicNet 2012).

To make it even more complicated, the EU's *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* has been implemented differently in various European countries. In Germany the rules for product placement differ between public service and commercial broadcasters as the public service broadcasters may only broadcast shows featuring product placement if it has not been produced or commissioned

by the public service broadcaster itself. The commercial stations in Germany have no such restrictions. The United Kingdom does not allow product placement of infant formulas, gambling, food or drinks high in fat, salt and sugar as well as alcohol. Denmark has not allowed product placement (Morris 2011: 22).

In this case, norms in legislation are in conflict with a previous norm in legislation, with current legislative norms as well as current norms in ethical codes. When several norms are in conflict with each other, and a decision is not made to clearly define which norm is decisive or in power, a harmonisation or blurring of the norms is likely to happen as the norms are sending out conflicting signals. In a European context the approach to product placement is an issue where normative blurring or hybridisation has taken place and a hybrid norm has been created. In this hybrid norm, product placement is both accepted and not accepted. A hybrid norm is likely to be reflected in journalistic practice, just as two conflicting laws on speeding, one allowing free speeding on roads where children seldom go and the second not allowing speeds higher than ninety kilometer per hour, are likely to be understood differently by various car drivers. Some journalists consider product placement to be completely unacceptable, some embrace it generously alongside the added growth to the size of their wallets, while some journalists, subject to an increasing pressure from advertisers and owners, are ready to allow product placement in certain cases – a hybrid journalistic practice reflecting the new hybrid norms in legislation.

When principles set up to separate editorial content from advertising are taken out of, or not included in, journalistic codes of ethics, it might indicate a silent hybridisation. Such an absence of a norm on a particular issue might pave the way for a new journalistic practice where blurring of advertising and editorial content is accepted. As mentioned earlier, the code of conduct for journalists and the editors' code of practice in the United Kingdom are different from many codes elsewhere in Europe as they do not address issues related to the separation of advertising and editorial content (EthicNet 2012). As both codes were reviewed with a new text in 2007, it is very possible that the codes as norms reflect a new reality in journalistic practice; that is, that advertorials and other practices mixing advertising and journalism are becoming more widespread and accepted in the country. If so, then a journalistic practice has temporarily silenced or killed an editorial norm, possibly paving the way on a later stage for a new hybrid norm accepting some blurring of advertising and editorial content.

In some of the countries in focus in this research, like in Lithuania and Sweden there are ethical codes that stress that journalists shall not accept free trips and other benefits that could hamper their professional independence. At the same time in some countries like Denmark and Finland there are no words about free trips in the ethical codes (EthicNet 2012). At the same time Hanusch found that among Australian travel journalists less than 5 % responded that they believe they should reject free travel offers, the majority thinks it is fine to accept free travel (Hanusch 2012: 679–680). Shortage of available research

makes it impossible to claim that such figures could be prevailant also in many European countries. Nevertheless, the fact that in many codes the issue of free trips is not mentioned is reason to believe that a hybridisation process is underway preparing the ground for a new hybrid norm that in certain cases accepts the presence of free trips and other freebies and benefits when journalists make their reports. The rather widespread practice of adding a small label or sentence in the end of a travel article informing about the sponsors of the trip can be considered a hybrid norm.

## **5. DATA AND METHODS**

### **5.1. Introduction**

The empirical data for this comparative research were collected using a) an e-mail-based survey and b) textual analysis. The survey was chosen as the researcher considered this to be an efficient method to receive data which would best reflect the real situation in media organisations in terms of the mixing of journalism and advertising. The textual analysis, which was applied in studying one type of magazine, served to check the results from the survey method. As the two different methods led to very similar results, this strengthened both the validity and the reliability of the research.

A methodological limitation of the survey method was that it, as a rule, reflected the views and attitudes of the media organisations as such and not those of the individual journalists. Moreover, the survey was not repeated, and can thus give limited knowledge about the developments of the hybridisation process in the publications studied. Integrating additional methods, like in-depth interviews with media employees and observational field studies in a selection of the publications studied, could have increased the depth of analyses and given more knowledge, but this would have been a very costly process.

### **5.2. Comparative Research**

As stressed by Hasebrink, Livingstone and Haddon, without a comparative perspective, national studies risk two fallacies – that of assuming one's own country is unique when it is actually not, and that of assuming one's own country is like others when it is not (Hasebrink et al. 2008: 5). Comparative analyses, as Hallin and Mancini point out, make it possible to notice things we did not and therefore had not conceptualized, and they also forces us to clarify the scope and applicability of the concepts we do employ (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 3). The comparative aspect of this research is thus, essential. Country-based the research has been narrowed to include eight countries in the northern part of Europe. I chose the European continent for my study; it is my home continent and has been subject to relatively little comparative research as regards advertorials and the hybridisation between journalism and advertising. My choice of countries were based on several factors. For several years I worked for a Nordic institution in the Baltic countries; so as such I know the Scandinavian and Baltic countries well. To observe distance and avoid possible conflicts of interests, I decided to exclude the country where I am born (Norway) and the country where I live (Latvia). To make the scope of Northern European countries wider, I decided to include the three countries where I know the key language spoken (Germany, Russia, United Kingdom). Consequently I ended up with eight countries; Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. As the countries represent both the

western, central and eastern part of Northern Europe, and population-wise comprise the overwhelming majority of the northern part of Europe, the author considers that these countries give a representative reflection of the situation as regards the hybridisation of journalism and advertising in the northern part of Europe. While the country is the unit of analysis for inter-country comparisons, there are two major units of analysis for intra-country comparisons; a) print media of which I compare the scores of two types; newspapers and magazines and b) print media companies, of which I compare the scores of five types; architecture and construction magazines, car magazines, health and medical magazines, conference tourism (MICE) magazines) and newspapers. Thus, within journalism the focus is for the most part on the organisational level, and not on the individual level.

### **5.3. Data Selection and Collection**

An e-mail based survey was used to collect key data to help answer the research questions. The survey was narrowed to embrace regular newspapers as well as four different categories of niche magazines. The magazines were selected from a) the car industry sector, b) the architecture and construction sector, c) the conference tourism (MICE) sector and d) the health and medical sector, thus providing a wide span in focus among the chosen magazines.

In the time span from 1 February 2006–16 December 2007 the survey was sent to newspapers and magazines (n=2513). In order to include as many newspapers and magazines of the chosen categories as possible, the author used various sources to compile lists of newspapers and magazines. In the case of magazines, the main sources of information were the websites of the publishers' associations and associations of specialized press. In the case of newspapers the main source of information were the websites of the newspapers associations. Additionally information was collected from subscription agencies, media books, media monitoring companies, some essential trade fairs, the European Journalism Centre and libraries. More information on this is provided in the sections on car magazines, architecture and construction magazines, conference tourism (MICE) magazines, health and medical magazines and newspapers on the following pages.

By 28 December 2007 a total of 390 responses representing 846 newspapers and magazines were received. Some responses represented more than one newspaper or magazine, that is, some answers were from a centralised office having the advertising responsibility for a series of the newspapers and magazines contacted. Thus the response rate was 33,7 % if we consider how many publications the answers covered compared to those contacted, but 15,5 % if we count the actual number of responses. 128 of the newspapers and magazines were removed from the list as the responses were either incomplete or simply imparted general information. The remaining 718 newspapers and magazines were given national codes prior to analysis.

The author is aware that the response rate of 33,7 % by some might be considered as low. However, as the e-mail based survey was sent to all newspapers and all the four categories of niche magazines which the researcher by various methods had managed to identify in the eight countries, the sample was very representative. Moreover, the number of responses were the highest from the countries with the highest numbers of identified publications (like Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom), and overall the responses country-based corresponded well to the compiled list of identified publications. Circulation-wise the responses represented a wide span of publications; both large, medium and small publications were well represented including the main newspapers and niche magazines in the northern part of Europe. Overall the author argues that the responses are representative.

**Table II.** Data Collection

	Sent	Resp.	Resp. rate	Excl.	Analysed
Car magazines	158	82	51,9 %	9	73
Architecture magazines	317	89	28,1 %	20	69
Health and medical magazines	790	387	49,0 %	54	333
MICE (conference) magazines	43	33	76,7 %	6	27
Newspapers	1205	255	21,2 %	39	216
Magazines and newspapers in total	2513	846	33,7 %	128	718

The number of magazines and newspapers to which the e-mail survey was sent, the number of magazines and newspapers which responded, the response rate in %, the number of magazines and newspapers which were removed, and the number of magazines and newspapers that remained to be analysed.

When possible, the survey was addressed to the person responsible for sales and advertising issues for the selected newspapers and magazines. At large, answers were also received from these people. However, in some cases, answers were received from a managing director or an editor-in-chief giving indications that there were often no strict border lines between the advertising and the editorial department and that sometimes the advertising and editorial functions were merged and shared by those working for the magazines.

Circulation figures for the magazines varied greatly between 500 copies as the lowest and 13 million monthly copies as the highest. To get an idea of the average magazine circulation figures, the average circulation for the architecture and construction magazines that gave their circulation figures was 31 321 copies, for the health and medical magazines it was 15 904 copies. Most magazines were published monthly or weekly. Circulation figures of the newspapers that responded varied from 1 669 copies as the lowest to 916 299 and 951 000 copies at the highest. The average circulation for the 140 newspapers that gave their circulation figures was 84 594 copies. Most newspapers were published

five or six times a week, while some only once per week. More information on the circulation figures may be found in the sections on car magazines, architecture and construction magazines, conference tourism (MICE) magazines, health and medical magazines and newspapers as well as in Appendix II below.

### **5.3.1. Research Challenge and Ethical Considerations**

For any researcher it is an important task and challenge to receive data that as best as possible can reflect reality. The data collection method used in order to get the key data was based on a standard seller-buyer relationship. The survey in form of e-mail letters to newspapers and magazines asking for information were composed and distributed in co-operation with a convention bureau; a public-private partnership structure promoting conferences, meetings and seminars in a certain city or country. A convention bureau is in general interested in advertising in the newspapers and magazines in order to get more publicity about the city or country they want to promote. By placing each newspaper and magazine in a situation of selling to a potential client it was more realistic to receive answers reflecting the current state of the newspaper and magazine business. The author justifies the e-mail-based survey method through a third party on the grounds that a formal approach from a researcher would most probably have generated either no response, or a heavily biased PR response. Hence the author decided that on the assumption that harm should not be caused to the newspapers and magazines; a third party, at that time interested in marketing possibilities in newspapers and magazines, was involved. While balancing various ethical considerations the author decided to use codes and not the names of the newspapers and magazines when referring to scores, information and quotes from a specific newspaper or magazine<sup>5</sup>. The potential harm was also minimised as more than nine years have passed since the convention bureau collected the data.

## **5.4. The Survey**

The survey method was chosen as the key method as the author considers this method could serve to get the most reliable results. However, as seen later, it was partly used in combination with another method.

The initial questions of the survey were typical of those from a regular advertiser about the basic figures and data about the publication including advertising and advertorial prices. These questions had the intention of making the answering part treat the e-mail as a regular e-mail from any potential customer. The results from these answers were otherwise not intended to be of major use in the research. These initial questions wrapped in the group of

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<sup>5</sup> A list of all the magazines and newspapers that responded to the e-mail survey can be found in Appendix II.



questions of key interest for the research on a) the publishing and possible labelling of advertorials, b) the effect of advertising on journalistic/editorial articles and c) the contact and communication between the advertising and editorial department. The e-mail letters/survey ended with some more general questions about the publication. The survey was sent in English to media in all countries. To the Russian media a Russian language translation was sent as well. An exact overview of the questions can be found in Appendix I.

The survey was shaped like a structured written interview including 21 mostly open-ended questions making more elaborate answers possible, but included also more close-end-like questions requiring just a 'yes' or 'no' answers. At the same time many of these more close-end-like questions could also be answered with a longer, more elaborate answer. For example, some newspapers and magazines answered the following question: "Is there some communication between your advertising department and your journalistic/editorial department?" with a short 'yes' or 'no', but most answers included more information and reflections about the communication level between the two departments. In such a way, these questions often produced just as lengthy answers as the more standard open-ended questions like, for example: "If you have guidelines or restrictions for advertorials, please inform". The more close-end-like questions did not discourage the respondents to answer in a more elaborate and lengthy way, and could thus be considered closer to open-ended questions. The questions were mostly very specific and concrete. The questions aimed at being as neutral as possible by not revealing a positive or negative attitude towards advertorials and other key issues, thus not influencing the respondents to answer in a specific way.

The survey did not include definitions of advertorials and other terms used as such terms were considered to be known by the media professionals working for magazines and newspapers. Additionally, both a short definition of an advertorial like "advertising disguised as editorial material" (Bounds 1999, Gupta 2003: 195) or a longer definition like "blocks of paid-for commercial messages featuring an object or objects (such as products, services, organizations, individuals, ideas, issues, etc.) that simulate the editorial content of a publication in terms of design/structure, visual/verbal content, and/or context in which it appears" (Cameron et al 1996: 722) would have fallen out of the direct and business-like style of the e-mail and could have questioned the impression that the e-mail was sent from a person neutral to advertorials and other issues, thus influencing and possibly limiting honest answers from the respondents.

From the answers it was clear that the media organisations knew the meaning of the word 'advertorial'. Only two magazines responded with an e-mail asking whether an advertorial was the same as a press release or an article?

One of the key reasons of choosing to use the survey method was that in other data collection methods like, for example, field observations or in-depth interviews with a researcher, it could be a great danger that the media organisation would try to hide some practices or would feel pressured to give 'official answers' or answers that the representative of the media organisation

would believe the researcher would like (Østbye et al. 1997: 36, 102), and as such the validity would have been weakened. While in an interview with a media researcher or speaking to the general public a representative of a media organisation could want to give the impression that the media organisation sticks to their professional standards and ethical codes, the situation is likely to be different in talking business to a potential advertiser. If in reality the media organisation has a policy of accepting advertorials and wants to earn money, there is logically little reason to believe that the representative of the media organisation would deny this in communicating with a potential advertiser. Similarly, if the media organisation has a policy of accepting unlabelled advertorials, it is logical to ask why the representative should not give an honest answer and deny this if an advertiser asked about it. To the public and a media researcher he or she might feel uncomfortable and could possibly deny it, but to a company which wants to buy the advertorial services, it would be logical that he or she would confirm it since the media organisation is interested in selling ads as the revenues of media organisations very much depend upon advertising. At the same time, if the media organisation has a firm policy of not accepting labelled or unlabelled advertorials, this standpoint would then also most likely be communicated to the potential advertiser. As such this is an argument in favour of the validity of the chosen survey method, as it measures what it aims to measure.

When analysing the responses I focused on examining whether the media organisations in their answers confirmed, rejected, were unclear or failed to answer a) whether they accept advertorials, b) whether they accept unlabelled advertorials, c) whether advertising could lead to more editorial content about the advertiser, d) whether advertising could imply a guarantee for no critical or negative information about the advertiser and e) whether there was communication between the editorial and advertising department in the media organisation. I grouped this quantitative data in a systematical way. At the same time I looked for answers that could say something more about their reasons for confirming, rejecting, avoiding or being unclear about the above-mentioned topics. Many media organisation gave quite elaborate and lengthy answers which gave valuable insight into the practices and thinking inside the media organisations. This qualitative data was systematically processed and grouped.

## **5.5. Data Analysis**

The e-mail survey produced both qualitative and quantitative data. To compare the quantitative data, the variables of key interest were operationalised as seen on the next page.

To compare the newspapers and magazines, an overall score indicating the level of blurring between journalism and advertising in each newspaper or magazine was produced based on a summary of the operationalised value of the five variables: a) acceptance of advertorials, b) labelling of advertorials, c) link

between advertising and more editorial content, d) link between advertising and no critical or negative editorial content and e) possible communication between the advertising and editorial departments. An overall score was only given if the operationalised value of at least three variables were identified. The overall score thus became the average score of the three, four or five operationalised variables. The overall score the author has chosen to call the hybridisation index. The higher the score, that is, the closer the overall score is to 2, the higher is the hybridisation between advertising and journalism, and the lower the score; that is, the closer the overall score is to 0, the lower is the hybridisation between advertising and journalism in a given publication.

For example, if a publication answers that it publishes advertorials, it receives 2 points as regards the first variable. If the publication answers that it labels the advertorials, it receives 0 points as regards the second variable. If the publications give an unclear answer both to the question whether advertising in the publication will lead to more editorial content and to the question whether advertising will guarantee no critical information about the advertiser in the editorial part of the publication, it gets 1 point as regards the third variable and 1 point as regards the fourth variable. And if the publication responds that there is a lot of communication between the editorial and advertising departments, it receives 2 points from the fifth variable. All in all this publication gets 6 points which in order to get the average score should be divided by 5. The overall score or the Hybridisation index for this publication will thus be 1,2.

The hybridisation index was used to compare the various categories of magazines and newspapers, to compare all magazines with all newspapers, and to compare the countries in focus. The qualitative and quantitative data produced were furthermore compared to the available country-specific data on differences in self-regulation, media legislation, media policies as well as journalistic culture and environment dealt with in the previous chapters.

Variable name	Operationalisation	Range
Advertorials – publishing	0 = the publication does not publish advertorials, 1 = unclear answer; unclear if the publication publishes advertorials, 2 = the publication publishes advertorials. No answer is not operationalised and not counted in the calculations.	0–2
Advertorials – labelling	0 = the advertorials is labelled as advertising or advertorial, 1 = unclear answer, it is unclear whether the advertorial is labelled as advertising or advertorial or not, 2 = the advertorial is not labelled as advertising or advertorial. No answer is not operationalised and not counted in the calculations.	0–2

Variable name	Operationalisation	Range
Advertising – more journalism	0 = advertising does not lead to more editorial information about the advertiser, 1 = unclear answer, it is unclear whether advertising leads to more editorial information about the advertiser, 2 = advertising leads to more editorial information about the advertiser. No answer is not operationalised and not counted in the calculations.	0–2
Advertising – no critical information	0 = advertising does not guarantee that there will be no critical information about the advertiser in the editorial part of the publication, 1 = unclear answer, unclear whether advertising will guarantee no critical information about the advertiser in the editorial part of the publication, 2 = advertising guarantees that there will be no critical information about the advertiser in the editorial part of the publication. No answer is not operationalised and not counted in the calculations.	0–2
Communication between the advertising and editorial department	0 = there is no communication between the advertising and the editorial department in the publication, 1 = unclear answer, not clear whether there are some communication between the advertising and the editorial department in the publication, 2 = there is communication between the advertising and the editorial department in the publication. No answer is not operationalised and not counted in the calculations.	0–2

## 5.6. Textual Analysis

Textual analysis served as a check-method in studying one of the magazine categories (the MICE magazines). Partly it can be considered as a methodological pilot study as I developed the so-called Favourable Word Index (FWI). The results from the textual analysis were compared with the results from the survey. The results showed a high degree of correspondence, which is an indication that the answers in the survey overall were reliable.

The formula for calculating the FWI of a text I defined as the percentage of positively loaded words minus negatively loaded words in a text:

$$\text{FWI} = \frac{(\text{number of positively-loaded words}) - (\text{number of negatively-loaded words})}{(\text{number of words})} \times 100$$

**Table III.** The Favourable Word Index: Percentages and Values

Negative FWI Percentage	Positive FWI Percentage	Value Positive/Negative
	+8,0– +100	Extremely positive
	+6,0– +7,9	Very positive
	+4,0– +5,9	Positive
	+2,0– +3,9	Slightly positive
-1,9–0	0– +1,9	Neutral
-2,0– -3,9		Slightly negative
-4,0– -5,9		Negative
-6,0– -7,9		Very negative
-8,0– -100		Extremely negative

If all words in a text are positive the FWI of this text will be +100. If all words in a text are negative the FWI of this text will be -100. The author argues that a text is neutral if the FWI is between -1,9 and +1,9, slightly positive between +2,0 and +3,9, positive between +4,0 and +5,9, very positive between +6,0 and +7,9 and extremely positive above +8,0. A text is slightly negative if the FWI is from -2,0 to -3,9, negative between -4,0 and -5,9, very negative between -6,0 and -7,9 and extremely negative below -8,0

It should be noted that in the cases where it is not possible to evaluate a word as clearly positive or negative, it is evaluated as neutral. The experience is that the majority of words in a sentence will be treated as neutral. The author used the FWI carefully as the evaluation of each word has a subjective element. For example, in the sentence: “The hotel has a wonderful restaurant”, the author by examining each word individually argues that there are zero negative words, one positive word and five words which should be classified as neutral, yet others might weigh and value the words differently. The 73 articles (editorials, news, travel reports) selected from 9 of the MICE magazines were thus analysed both by the author as well as partly by two travel and communication professionals. The FWI results by these independent experts did not deviate substantially from the results produced by the author; overall by 0,36 and 0,15 accordingly. The average FWI score was used in the analysis. In the empirical part some text samples from the text analysis will be presented.

Several aspects demand a cautious use of the FWI. Some authors might deliberately use slightly more positive than negative words in order to create trust among readers, thus making the overall interpretation of key messages in the text positive. Similarly other authors might overload the text with positive words to create distrust among the readers, and in this way the interpretation of the key messages could become more negative than positive. Moreover, the method does not measure the difference between very positive or very negative words on the one hand and slightly positive or slightly negative words on the other. Having said this, the author argues that in most cases the FWI can identify valuable differences among texts. However, these differences should be tested using other methods, as well.

## 6. EMPIRICAL PART – FIVE CASES

The empirical part includes five cases; the study on a) car magazines, b) architecture and construction magazines, c) health and medical magazines, d) MICE (conference tourism) magazines and e) newspapers. When studying the findings of the research, the author searched in particular for indicators that would identify the three types of magazines characterised by a) traditional journalistic text production practice, b) hybrid advertising-driven journalistic text production practice or c) a mixture of these two text production practices. Chapter 7 will focus on the comparative empirical findings which give answer to the research questions.

### 6.1. Car Magazines

#### **Car Magazines: Data Selection and Collection**

The car magazines contacted in this research were mainly selected from the websites of the associations of specialised press in each of the countries involved as well as subscription agencies, media books and media monitoring companies. In Denmark the car magazines contacted were based on the list by the The Association of the Danish Specialised Press (Dansk Fagpresse 2007), in Estonia the list of car magazines were compiled from the book *Meediasüsteem ja meediasutus Eestis 1965–2004* (Vihalemm 2004), the Finnish magazines were compiled from information on the website of the Finnish Periodical Publishers' Association (FPPA), the German car magazines were found on the Media data base for the German-speaking specialised press (German: Mediadatenbank der deutschen Fachzeitschriften) under the website of the German Business Media (Deutsche Fachpresse 2007), a list of Lithuanian car magazines were made from the information provided by the media monitoring company UAB Mediaskopas (Mediaskopas 2007), the Russian car magazines contacted were based on information mainly from the MK-Periodica (Russian: МК Периодика) subscription agency's website (MK Periodica 2007), Swedish car magazines were found mainly through the information by the Swedish Magazine Publishers Association; SMPA (Sveriges Tidsskrifter 2007), while the British car magazines were contacted based on information mainly from the Periodical Publishers Association (PPA 2007). Moreover, in the case of Denmark, Germany, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom this information was supplemented by data from the web resource *AllYouCanRead.com* (AllYouCanRead 2007). In the period from 6–10 July 2007, e-mail letters were sent to a total of 158 car magazines.

#### **Car Magazines: Response Rate**

By 7 August 2007, 60 responses representing 82 magazines were received. Some responses represented more than one car magazine; that is, some answers were from a centralised office having the advertising responsibility for a series of the car magazines contacted. Thus the response rate was 51,9 % if we con-

sider how many publications the answers covered compared to those contacted, but 38 % if we count the actual number of responses. 9 of these magazines were removed from the sample as the responses included a media kit or a link to the website of the car magazine only. The remaining 73 magazines were given national codes prior to analysis: CAR-DEN001–005 (Denmark); CAR-EST001–002 (Estonia); CAR-FIN001–004 (Finland); CAR-GBR001–014 (Great Britain); CAR-GER001–029 (Germany); CAR-RUS001–008 (Russia); CAR-SWE001–011 (Sweden).

Monthly circulation figures of the magazines that responded varied from around 5000–6000 to more than 13 million monthly copies. Several of the leading German, Danish, Swedish, Russian and British car magazines had monthly circulations of more than 100 000.

### **Car Magazines: Publishing of Advertorials**

More than half of the car magazines (43 out of 73) confirmed that they ran ‘advertorials’. Slightly more than one fourth (19 out of 73) of the magazines answered that they did not run advertorials, while 11 out of 73 magazines gave unclear or no answer to the questions whether they accept advertorials. Some car magazines gave their motivation for not doing advertorials: “We do not do advertorials, as it is not considered professional in Sweden (i.e. when you pay to get editorial space)” (CAR-SWE002), “Advertorials however are not listed, as we do not favour them. We try to avoid mixing editorial news with commercial advertising” (CAR-GER013), “We do not do ‘advertorials’, which I define as a combination of an advertisement and an editorial article” (CAR-DEN004–005).

Those car magazines accepting advertorials did not mention their motivation for doing so, but one magazine expressed its attitude towards the issue like this: “Yes, of course, we do advertorials, especially full-pages or double-pages” (CAR-GER011).

Those car magazines accepting advertorials as a rule answered that the price for a page of advertorial is the same as for a page of advertising. However, 12 of the 73 car magazines, of which 8 were British car magazines, responded that an additional fee is charged for a page of an advertorial compared to a page of regular advertising. The British magazines informed that they charge a flat extra fee of £500 per page (CAR-GBR007) or from 10–25 % more for an advertorial to cover ‘composition’ (CAR-GBR006), to “cover the cost of a journalist and designer to work on the ad” (CAR-GBR007), to “take account of added media value and additional work involved i.e. design, layout and amendments” (CAR-GBR009–010), to cover “design and repro costs” (CAR-GBR011). The three German car magazines that charged more for advertorials than for regular advertising explained that “if our editorial board is asked to participate in creating the advertorial, there is an additional charge of 1,000 € per page” (CAR-GER016–017) and “if you need editorial help” (CAR-GER018) they would charge more. The Danish car magazine did not explain why the price was higher simply informed that “we add 25% to the prizes you can see in the media info” (CAR-DEN003). Only one car magazine answered that advertorials are

less expensive than regular advertising. “The price for a whole page is 2.700,-. (advertising: 4.273,-)” (CAR-GER029).

One car magazine from Russia wrote that there are two kinds of advertorials in their magazine. The first kind is paid advertorials, “your information goes as advertising. You prepare the material, we bring minor alterations to approach it to editorial style” (CAR-RUS008). The second kind of advertorials is based on a long-term co-operation. In this case the car magazine will support an advertiser, “i.e. at presence of an information occasion we give free-of-charge reviews (headings of news, Secular news, Shop, etc.)” (CAR-RUS008).

43 of the 73 car magazines, the same number that accepted advertorials, replied that the client may write the advertorial himself. “You have 100% influence on the content” (CAR-GER016–017). Only 6 car magazines gave an unclear answer, some suggested that they preferred their own journalists to make the advertorial. “Usually we prefer materials written by our journalists who know the concept and the style of the magazine etc. But we can discuss it” (CAR-RUS002–005).

### **Car Magazines: Labelling of Advertorials**

As an ‘advertorial’ is in fact a form of advertising, the author wanted to find out whether car magazines mark their advertorials as such, or as advertising. Of the 54 car magazines that either confirmed that they accepted advertorials or did not answer or not answer clearly whether they accepted advertorials, half or 27 magazines answered that they label the advertorials as advertising or advertorials. In Germany, some car magazines (CAR-GER016/017) pointed out, “it is illegal to mark the information as advertorials in Germany, it must be marked as advertising [Anzeige].” Yet, many other magazines replied that they mark the text as advertorials.

Some magazines gave answers indicating that they thought that the marking was important for the reader, other magazines, on the contrary, tried to downplay the marking itself. The comments “Any advertorial we carry will be marked as an advertisement feature so that our readers know it is not regular editorial” (CAR-GBR010) and “It is clearly marked, which part of magazine is editorial content and which is advertising” (CAR-EST001) indicate that these magazines want the reader to know what is advertising and what is not advertising, while the comments “All advertorials must include the word ‘advertisement’ in small text at the top of the advertorial” (CAR-GBR001) and “Regarding to the law in Denmark we have to write on each page that it is advertising. (small letters in top of page)” (CAR-DEN003) reveal a different attitude. These answers show that the car magazines do intend to stick to the law, but want the advertising client to understand that maybe the readers would not understand that this would be paid material as the letters “warning” the reader about this are small. These magazines see the marking more from an advertiser’s perspective than from a reader’s perspective.

5 of the 43 car magazines that accepted advertorials replied that they do not mark the advertorials as advertorials or advertising. One magazine answered



that “Advertorials are designed to resemble editorial as much as possible. We are happy to design the page for you to fit in as close as possible to [our magazine's] fonts and editorial values” (CAR-GBR005). Others replied that “if an advertorial material is within our magazines’ concept and we know for sure that it will be interesting for our readers it can be published as a journalist’s material” (CAR-RUS002–005).

7 of the 43 car magazines gave an unclear answer and 15 car magazines did not answer the questions whether advertorials were marked as advertorials or advertising that is paid for. One magazine replied that “the PR-specials are marked as PR-specials (often lettered with ‘PR-special’). We have to do that because of judicial reasons.” (CAR-GER020), while the following answer didn’t make it clear whether the magazine will mark the advertorial: “The advertorials that look like regular editorial stuff have to be marked corresponding to advertising regulations. Certainly there are some guidelines and specifications that identify the advertorial as journalistic work of our magazine, but they are informal and – by all means – variable” (CAR-GER011).

### **Car Magazines: Advertising and Publishing of More Journalistic Content**

In the 73 responses to the question asking whether advertising by a destination would make the car magazine more willing to publish more journalistic and editorial content on this destination, slightly more than half, that is, 38 answered ‘no’, 18 answered ‘yes’, 12 gave an unclear answer and 5 did not answer.

The majority rejected the question by answering that advertising and editorial issues are separate; that editorial activities are independent from advertising issue. “The ad sales department and the editors of each magazine are working independently. Advertising has no influence on publishing of an article and vice versa” (CAR-GER004–009), “There is no connection between editorial and advertising” (CAR-GBR006), “Our editor is completely independent and he is always looking for news and insights that are interesting for our readers. There is no interrelation between advertising volume and edited material” (CAR-GER010), “Editorial material is handed independent from advertising” (CAR-GER012), “Not really to be honest with you. Our journalists reserve the right to write about what they think is the most interesting for our readers” (CAR-SWE003), “We will always separate the ads and journalistic stuff. They are not connected” (CAR-FIN001), “As long as the editorial material is relevant for our readers, we publish anything that we find interesting. This has no formal connection to the advertising” (CAR-SWE011), “There is no connection between advertising and editorial. The editorial board is independent. They decide what will be written.” (CAR-GER016), “Editorial coverage is not dependent on you advertising; if you have a story that is of interest to our editors, it will be taken on its own merits” (CAR-GBR011), “If you have information, editorial material, which is interesting for our readers, we publish it. Independently of any advertising” (CAR-GER024–026), “If you book ads in our magazine it has no influence on the way, we write about your city, if we write about your city, because our editorship is independent” (CAR-GER029),

“Our company can’t effect the editorial material of the publications” (CAR-FIN002–003), “...the publishing policy in our magazine is that advertising and journalism are two independent things” (CAR-FIN004).

Two magazines mentioned editorial integrity as the main motivation. “For over 50 years [our media company’s] policy has been to keep advertising and editorial as separate issues. We do this in order to maintain the integrity of our editorial product which is the reason why we are so successful and are market leaders in all areas we cover” (CAR-GBR009/010).

Those car magazines that responded that advertising would make them publish more journalistic content about the advertiser often gave commercial reasons for this. “I am happy to liaise with editorial on your behalf to try and get some features/stories in support of any commercial plans” (CAR-GBR005). “We feel happy to look at editorial when an advertiser places adverts with us.” (CAR-GBR002–003) “In case of an advertising order our editorial office will contact you to discuss further details concerning reports about [your city] or/and [the countries in the region]” (CAR-GER027).

Sometimes car magazines also linked more journalistic content to a long-term advertising co-operation. “If we are talking about long-term co-operation we can include in our advertising programme some guaranteed PR support” (CAR-RUS002–005). “Since we are advertisement financed, and only advertisement financed, it goes without saying that we are more likely to write about customers with whom we have a solid advertising co-operation, i.e. an advertisement contract for a year. This also allows us to plan articles with the customer, who normally knows when he is expecting to have news of interest to our readers” (CAR-DEN004–005). “Co-operation provides free-of-charge accommodation of the information in co-ordination with the edition of the magazine” (CAR-RUS007).

One car magazine seemed surprised by the question whether advertising would implicate more journalistic content. “Yes of course it would :-)” (CAR-DEN001–002). Another magazine gave short, but quite clear answer. “Probably yes” (CAR-EST001).

Some car magazines gave a rather affirmative answer that they would offer more journalistic content in case of advertising, even though they did not at once want to admit this. “Basically it makes no difference from which source press material comes. We are an independent magazine and work autonomous. But – in fact, if we have to decide, we prefer the material from organisations that co-operate with us. We think it’s the same in every branch” (CAR-GER011). “We are always open for dialogue and we normally have very good relationships with our customers, but we can’t promise to write about your town, especially because we are not a traveling or tourist magazine. But if we can work some angles out, our/your journalists comes to [your city], making a test on car, look at the fashion, or making a where to go eat and dance in [your city] it’s possible” (CAR-DEN003).

Another answer was rather unclear and did not give any promises on advertising, yet, hinting that it maybe was not impossible. “We usually split between advertisements and journalism, but you can be sure that we have a close communication between the two departments. ;-))” (CAR-GER018).

### **Car Magazines: Advertising and Critical News**

Asked whether advertising would imply no critical material on the destination, only 11 of the 73 car magazines confirmed that this would be the case, 27 magazines responded 'no', 20 gave an unclear answer and 15 car magazines did not answer the question. Consequently, near half the magazines gave an unclear or no answer. The following answers are examples of some of the many unclear answers: "If you advertise with us, we are very willing to co-operate journalistically. This does not mean we won't publish any negative comments. We are very proud of our editorial independence" (CAR-GER001-003). "[Our media company's] editorial and advertising teams are distinct parts of the mag and we pride ourselves on editorial integrity (i.e. an ad is no guarantee of favourable editorial). However, the whole premise of the magazine is very positive and celebratory of the pursuit of motor-homing so you would expect any travel feature to be as such" (CAR-GBR005). "It is unlikely [our magazine] would write a critical article on [your city], even if you don't advertise" (CAR-GBR008). "Again I can't give promises, but off course we always try to please our business partners" (CAR-DEN003). "I can't remember any time we would have written anything bad about [your city] and I can't think of any reason why we should do that, so I don't think you should worry about it" (CAR-EST002). One car magazine simply answered that "we never publish negative editorial on any companies, advertisers or not" (CAR-GBR006).

Other car magazines were clearer that advertising would not be the instrument that would guarantee non-critical articles. "In case of advertising we cannot guarantee that our editors wouldn't publish critical or negatives articles of an advertising client" (CAR-GER012). "If you book ads in our magazine it has no influence on the way, we write about your city, if we write about your city, because our editorship is independent" (CAR-GER029). "The ad sales department and the editors of each magazine are working independently. Advertising has no influence on publishing of an article and vice versa" (CAR-GER008-009). "I can't guarantee this as editorial is completely independent from financial interference" (CAR-GBR009-010).

Some car magazines gave a rather clear answer that advertising would imply a soft and non-critical line in journalism towards the advertisers. "Naturally we won't do anything to damage the partners we work together with although we report objectively" (CAR-GER011). "[Our magazine] does not write negatively about cities, so it is very unlikely that they would do that" (CAN-DEN001-002).

Other car magazines were more decisive in their confirmation that advertising would guarantee no critical news. "We don't like publishing critical or negative articles. It is not good for the advertisers or readers" (CAR-GBR002). "Honestly [your city] is a lovely place so we can easily guarantee there won't be any negative materials" (CAN-RUS002-005).

Even though there were exceptions, it is important to notice that the so-called firewall between advertising and journalism seems to remain in roughly close to half of the car magazines, about the same amount of car magazines

were in a grey or unclear zone, while a minor part of the car magazines seems to have torn down the so-called fire-wall. Thus more car magazines followed a traditional journalistic text production practice – where advertising does not influence the work of the journalists – than a hybrid ad-journalism text production practice where advertisers are treated like protectable clients not only by the advertising section of a magazine, but also by the editorial section.

### **Car Magazines: Communication Between the Advertising and Editorial Departments**

31 out of 73 car magazines confirmed that there is some communication between their advertising department and their journalistic/editorial department, 20 car magazines answered that there was no communication, 3 gave an unclear answer while 19 car magazines did not answer the question. The question on this type of communication was posed in order to possibly get an insight into the degree of journalistic autonomy in the magazines. No communication would generally indicate a high degree of journalistic autonomy, however communication between people working for a small car magazine is hard to avoid and does not necessarily confirm a low degree of journalistic autonomy.

In general the car magazines answering ‘yes’ may be categorised in three groups, those that answered ‘yes’ and then gave an explanatory sentence usually starting with “but, however and although” stating that the existence of communication did not imply influence on editorial independence, those car magazines that simply confirmed that there was close communication and those car magazines that explained that close communication also implied influence from advertising on the editorial content.

The car magazines in the first group after having confirmed that there is communication then went on to answer that “...however the advertising department cannot decide what the editorial department should or should not write about” (CAR-SWE002), “...but the ads have no influence on the articles” (CAR-GER024–026), “...but the publishing policy in our magazine is that advertising and journalism are two independent things” (CAR-FIN004), “...but again [our publication] always maintains editorial independence” (CAR-GBR011), “... although I would not like to say editors what they should or should not write” (CAR-EST002).

Some answers in this group were more equivocal: “we usually split between advertisements and journalism, but you can be sure that we have a close communication between the two departments. ;-))” (CAR-GER018), “Of course there is permanently communication between our editors and us and we will attend your promotional activities with editorials, but advertisements and editorials are independent from each other” (CAR-GER014), “Of course there is a communication between the advertising and editorial department. In general we have critical articles on special topics which concerns the supplier industry, but not on single persons or cities” (CAR-GER022).

In the second group answering ‘yes’, one car magazines stressed that there is “very close communication between advertising and journalists” (CAR-DEN001–

002), two car magazines started their answer by stating that “of course” there is ‘communication’ (CAR-RUS001) and ‘collaboration’ (CAR-GER011).

In the third group answering ‘yes’ the car magazines did not hide that the ‘yes’ implied editorial articles when somebody paid for advertising: “Co-operation provides free-of-charge accommodation of the information in coordination with the edition of the magazine” (CAR-RUS007), “In case of an advertising order our editorial office will contact you to discuss further details concerning reports about [your city] or/ and the [region]” (CAR-GER027).

Some answers were unclear: “Our editorial staff and advertising team speak with each other, but I can’t guarantee an article” (CAR-GER015), “We can never guarantee an editorial. This is a decision by the editor and publisher. We don’t like publishing critical or negative articles. It is not good for the advertisers or readers. Yes we have a close relationship with both the advertising department and editor” (CAR-GBR002/003).

For the car magazines that answered ‘No’, the answers were predominantly very clear and several magazines felt a need to explain their reason(s) for having no communication between the advertising and editorial departments very often using the words ‘independent’, but also words like ‘no interrelation’, ‘separate’, ‘authoritative’, ‘uninfluenced / no influence’, ‘trust’ and ‘proud’ to stress the point:

“There is not communication in this way since we are proud that our editorial content is independent and authoritative, and therefore uninfluenced by commercial considerations. This means our readers trust the magazine to provide independent recommendations” (CAR-GBR007), “The ad sales department and the editors of each magazine are working independently. Advertising has no influence on publishing of an article and vice versa” (CAR-GER004–009), “Our editor is completely independent and he is always looking for news and insights that are interesting for our readers. There is no interrelation between advertising volume and edited material” (CAR-GER010), “We will always separate the ads and journalistic stuff. They are not connected” (CAR-FIN001), “There is no communication between our advertising and journalistic department. So it doesn’t influence” (CAR-GER028), “If you book ads in our magazine it has no influence on the way, we wrote about your city, if we wrote about your city. Because our editorship is independent” (CAR-GER029), “Our editorial department is independent from the advertising department” (CAR-GBR008), “The Editorial department will consider material sent to them whether the client advertises or not” (CAR-GBR012–013), “There is no connection between advertising and editorial. The editorial board is independent” (CAR-GER016–017), “I can’t guarantee this as editorial is completely independent from financial interference. I can however say that our editorial department would never maliciously write negative or damaging articles. All editorial that appears in the magazine is based on fact” (CAR-GBR009–010). ”

**Figure X.** Overview of Answers Given by Car Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe on the Status of the Division Between Advertising and Journalism (N=73)

Publication	Does advertorials	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	-	Overall
CAR-DEN001							1,20*
CAR-DEN002							1,20*
CAR-DEN003							1,25
CAR-DEN004							1,20*
CAR-DEN005							1,20*
CAR-EST001							1,00
CAR-EST002							1,20
CAR-FIN001							0,00*
CAR-FIN002							0,20
CAR-FIN003							0,20
CAR-FIN004							0,80
CAR-GBR001							0,60
CAR-GBR002							1,60
CAR-GBR003							1,60
CAR-GBR004							1,20
CAR-GBR005							1,60
CAR-GBR006							0,75
CAR-GBR007							0,40
CAR-GBR008							0,60
CAR-GBR009							0,40
CAR-GBR010							0,40
CAR-GBR011							0,80
CAR-GBR012							0,40
CAR-GBR013							0,40
CAR-GBR014							-
CAR-GER001							0,80*
CAR-GER002							0,80*
CAR-GER003							0,80*
CAR-GER004							0,50
CAR-GER005							0,50
CAR-GER006							0,50
CAR-GER007							0,50
CAR-GER008							0,50
CAR-GER009							0,50
CAR-GER010							0,00*
CAR-GER011							1,80
CAR-GER012							0,40*
CAR-GER013							-
CAR-GER014							0,60*
CAR-GER015							1,00*
CAR-GER016							0,60
CAR-GER017							0,60
CAR-GER018							1,20
CAR-GER019							-

Publication	Does advertorials	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	-	Overall
CAR-GER020							0,67
CAR-GER021							-
CAR-GER022							1,00
CAR-GER023							1,20
CAR-GER024							1,00
CAR-GER025							1,00
CAR-GER026							1,00
CAR-GER027							-
CAR-GER028							0,40
CAR-GER029							0,40
CAR-RUS001							1,50
CAR-RUS002							2,00
CAR-RUS003							2,00
CAR-RUS004							2,00
CAR-RUS005							2,00
CAR-RUS006							1,00
CAR-RUS007							-
CAR-RUS008							1,80
CAR-SWE001							-
CAR-SWE002							0,40*
CAR-SWE003							0,00*
CAR-SWE004							0,00*
CAR-SWE005							-
CAR-SWE006							-
CAR-SWE007							-
CAR-SWE008							-
CAR-SWE009							-
CAR-SWE010							-
CAR-SWE011							0,00*

Key: Colours and patterns:

	Light grey		Dark grey		Black		White
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Explanations to the colours used in figure X:

Does advertorials: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Advertorials marked: Yes = light grey, No = black, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

More journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

No critical journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Communication between ads department and journalistic/editorial department: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Overall: Group A: light grey, Group B: dark grey, Group C: black, Group X = white

The overall score called the hybridisation index is based on a summary of the fields. There must be at least three fields filled out to get an overall score. To find the average score, light grey is equivalent to 0, dark grey to 1 and black to 2, white fields are not included in the calculation. If the overall average score is 0,5 or 1,5 an evaluation of the answers is made to classify the overall average score as 0 (light grey), 1 (dark grey) or 2 (black). In this respect, for example, answering that there is communication between the advertising and the editorial department is seen as less important to take into account compared to an answer stating that advertising means more editorial content.

\* If the magazine has answered that they don't do advertorials and then consequently don't answer the question whether the advertorials are marked, this counts as a light grey field when making the summary to get the average score.

### **Car Magazines: Overview of Findings**

In Figure X the car magazines are as in the text above listed with coded names as the author argues that it is more important to see an overall picture of the situation than to focus on each magazine, which could also be interpreted as an intention to praise or punish individual magazines.

The summary of the answers reflected in Figure X allows us to divide the car magazines into 4 different groups.

#### *Group A (22 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is or seem to be a strong, or rather strong, division between advertising and journalism in these car magazines (CAR-FIN001, CAR-FIN002, CAR-FIN003, CAR-GBR007, CAR-GBR009, CAR-GBR010, CAR-GBR013, CAR-GER004, CAR-GER005, CAR-GER006, CAR-GER007, CAR-GER008, CAR-GER009, CAR-GER010, CAR-GER012, CAR-GER028, CAR-GER029, CAR-SWE002, CAR-SWE003, CAR-SWE004, CAR-SWE011). The author argues that these car magazines seem to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group B (28 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is a certain, although rather weak, division between advertising and journalism in these car magazines (CAR-DEN001, CAR-DEN002, CAR-DEN003, CAR-DEN004, CAR-DEN005, CAR-EST001, CAR-EST002, CAR-FIN004, CAR-GBR001, CAR-GBR004, CAR-GBR006, CAR-GBR008, CAR-GBR011, CAR-GER001, CAR-GER002, CAR-GER003, CAR-GER014, CAR-GER015, CAR-GER016, CAR-GER017, CAR-GER018, CAR-GER020, CAR-GER22, CAR-GER23, CAR-GER24, CAR-GER025, CAR-GER26, CAR-RUS006). The author argues that in the work of these car magazines we identify certain characteristics of traditional journalistic text production practice and certain characteristics of the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice.



#### *Group C (10 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is no, or very little, division between advertising and journalism in these car magazines. (CAR-GBR002, CAR-GBR003, CAR-GBR005, CAR-GER011, CAR-RUS001, CAR-RUS002, CAR-RUS003, CAR-RUS004, CAR-RUS005, CAR-RUS008). The author argues that these car magazines seem to work in line with the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group X (13 magazines)*

Absence of answers gives no indications about the status of the division between advertising and journalism in these car magazines (CAR-GBR014, CAR-GER013, CAR-GER019, CAR-GER021, CAR-GER027, CAR-RUS007, CAR-SWE001, CAR-SWE005, CAR-SWE006, CAR-SWE007, CAR-SWE008, CAR-SWE009, CAR-SWE010). Therefore, it is not possible to draw conclusions regarding the text production practice of these car magazines.

### **Car Magazines: Conclusions**

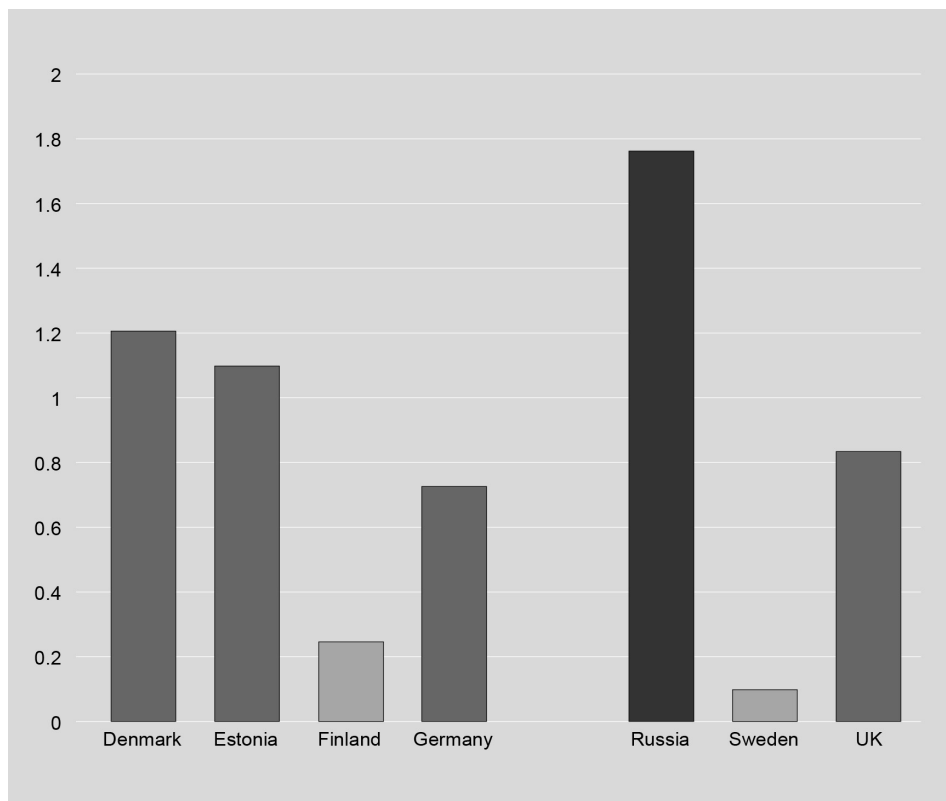
The analysis of the production process gives indications that journalism and advertising are overwhelmingly kept separate in the almost a third of the car magazines (22 of 73). The author found that almost 1/7 of the car magazines (10 of 73) fully represent the hybrid text production practice that we have chosen to call the ad-driven journalistic text production practice. In their operations, more than 1/3 of the car magazines (28 of 73) partly represent the hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice and partly the traditional journalistic text production practice.

As for those countries represented in this study, we see differences in policies among magazines from the same country. For example, among the 29 German magazines, 10 magazines seem to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice, 1 in line with the ad-driven journalistic text production practice and 14 seem to be in the grey area between the two while 4 magazines gave too little answers to make any conclusions. The 14 British magazines that gave extensive answers are either characterised by traditional journalistic text production practice (5), ad-driven journalistic text production practice (3) or are in the grey area between the two (5), while 1 magazine did not give enough answers to make any conclusions.

However, for some countries there seem to be a clearer tendency as to which group the represented magazines belong. For example, 3 of the 4 Finnish car magazines represent the traditional journalistic text production practice. On the other side, 6 of the 8 Russian magazines represent the ad-driven journalistic text production practice. All (5) Danish and both (2) Estonian magazines partly represent the hybrid ad-driven and partly the traditional journalistic text production practice. As for the Swedish magazines, the majority (7 of 11) did not provide sufficient answers to draw any conclusions. The Swedish magazines that did provide more comprehensive answers all ended in the group representing the traditional journalistic text production practice.

The existence of ad-driven journalistic text production process seems to be widespread over most of Northern Europe with the exception of Finland and possibly Sweden.

If the answers from each car magazine are compiled and the results shown country-based, the content of the figure below appears. The figure shows that on average car magazines from two countries; Finland and Sweden can be considered to follow the traditional journalism norms while car magazines from Russia can be considered to follow ad-driven journalism. The car magazines from Denmark, Estonia, Germany and UK follow a mixture of these two directions. There were no responses from car magazines from Lithuania that could be analysed.



**Figure XI.** The Hybridisation Index of the Car Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe by Country (N=73)

The values in the figure show the hybridisation index and vary between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

## 6.2. Architecture and Construction Magazines

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Data Selection and Collection**

The architecture and construction magazines were selected mainly from the information provided by the associations of specialised press in the countries concerned, as well as subscription agencies, media books, media monitoring companies and some essential architecture and construction trade fairs. In the case of Denmark, the magazine information was selected from Dansk Fagpresse; later in English called The Association of the Danish Specialised Press (Dansk Fagpresse 2007), in Estonia the list of architecture and construction magazines were compiled from the book *Meediasüsteem ja meediakasutus Eestis 1965–2004* (Vihalemm 2004), in the case of Finland, the magazine information was selected from the website of the Finnish Periodical Publishers Association. In the case of Germany, magazine information was selected from three sources: the so-called the Media data base for the German-speaking specialised press under the website of the German Business Media (Deutsche Fachpresse 2007), the Association of the German Magazine Publishers (Verband Deutscher Zeitschriftenverleger 2007) as well as information from BAU – the world's leading trade fair for architecture, materials, systems (BAU 2007). Lithuanian architecture and construction magazines were compiled from the information provided by the media monitoring company UAB Mediaskopas (Mediaskopas 2007), the Russian architecture and construction magazines contacted were based on information mainly from the MK-Periodica (Russian: МК Периодика) subscription agency's website (MK Periodica 2007) as well as from the website of the tradefair Stroytekh Moscow (Stroytekh 2007) while the information on magazines in Sweden and the United Kingdom was received from the professional magazine publishers associations; Swedish Magazine Publishers Association and PPA Business and Professional. In the period from 10–12 July 2007, email letters were sent to a total of 317 architecture and construction magazines.

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Response Rate**

By 13 August 2007, 74 answers representing 89 magazines were received. Some responses represented more than one architecture and construction publication, that is, some answers were from a centralised structure serving as the advertising department for a group of architecture and construction magazines that were contacted. Thus the response rate was 28,1 % if we consider how many publications the answers covered compared to those contacted, but 23,3 % if we count the actual number of responses.

20 of these magazines were removed from the sample as the responses included a media kit or a link to the website of the architecture and construction magazine only. The remaining 69 magazines were given national codes prior to analysis: CON-DEN001–003 (Denmark); CON-EST001–003 (Estonia); CON-FIN001–003 (Finland); CON-GBR001–007 (Great Britain); CON-GER001–

043 (Germany); CON-LIT001–003 (Lithuania), CON-RUS001–002 (Russia); CON-SWE001–005 (Sweden).

Circulation figures of the magazines that responded varied from 2 000 copies as the lowest to 471 126 copies at the highest. The average circulation for the 61 magazines that gave their circulation figures was 31 321 copies.

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Publishing of Advertorials**

About two thirds of the construction and architecture magazines (46 out of 69) confirmed that they ran ‘advertorials’. Less than 1/6 (11 out of 69) of the magazines answered that they did not run advertorials, while 10 out of 69 magazines gave unclear answers and 2 gave no answers to the questions about whether they accept advertorials.

The magazines that accepted advertorials usually did not give their motivation for this behaviour, while those that rejected advertorials sometimes explained why. As a British magazine wrote: “Advertorials are not recommended in quality architecture magazines, as the audience does not respond well to it: regular advertisements, with creative layout, generate a better response. Advertorials look too heavily ‘commercial’ and are very unsuccessful with an audience such as architects and designers, who respond better to visuals and simple text” (CON-GBR003).

Sometimes German magazines gave more unclear answers stating that they do not accept advertorials, yet they were willing to write free articles if the client would advertise: “No advertorials. We are happy to support your ads with our editorial content, so please send material to our editorial staff” (CON-GER009), “We don’t do advertorials, but if you plan to place an advert, it is possible to print a journalistic text, if you can provide this to us. There are no restrictions to that as long it is interesting for the German readership. This would be presented as regular journalistic content. At the end of the editorial material, there will be an internet-link shown to the company related to the text. The text can be sent in by e-mail” (CON-GER038).

One Swedish magazine seemed not to understand what advertorials meant: “Is advertorials the same as press release?” (CON-SWE007).

Half of those construction and architecture magazines accepting advertorials answered that the price for a page of advertorial is the same as for a page of advertising. One magazine confirmed that this advertorial price would include setting and assistance with content (CON-GBR004), while other magazines noted that prices would be higher if they would not get complete material for printing (CON-GER006) or as a magazine answered: “1 page multicolour is 12.350,- € – when you will deliver us the complete printing material in the German language. If we have to handle something like writing, creating or translating the advertorial, then the price will be higher. In this case, we will need a special calculation” (CON-GER014). 18 of the 69 magazines did not give a clear answer whether the price was higher or lower for an advertorial compared to regular advertising, 2 magazines noted that price had to be negotiated individually (CON-GBR005 and CON-GER023), while 3 magazines

answered that advertorials cost less than regular advertising. The advertorial in one magazine would cost 60 % of a regular ad (CON-EST003), about 70 % of a regular ad or 875 EUR compared to 1245 EUR (CON-RUS002) or 90 % of a regular ad, that is, a 1 page advertorial would without VAT cost 8300 EUR and not 9225 EUR as for 1 page of advertising (CON-FIN003).

Of the 46 construction and architecture magazines that accepted advertorials, 30 confirmed that it is possible for the client to write the advertorial himself, 1 magazine responded that this is not possible, 6 magazines gave an unclear answer and 9 magazines gave no answer. Some construction and architecture magazine motivated their policy by stressing that the client pay for the advertorial just like for an ad: “Yes, it is possible for you to write the advertorial by yourselves (because we handle it like a paid ad) and we can check and evaluate the material before printing.” (CON-GER006), “You are paying for the page. Therefore, you have every influence on the content” (CON-GER033), “You are paying for the advertorial, so you have ownership of the content” (CON-GBR006), “We recognise an advertorials as an ad. The advertiser delivers ‘ready to print’ material” (CON-SWE001). The one magazine that answered that the client cannot write the advertorial reasoned that “We work together with an experienced journalist who writes the advertorials for our clients. All they have to do is to deliver headwords, photos or illustrations” (CON-GER043).

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Labelling of Advertorials**

As an ‘advertorial’ as in fact a form of advertising, the author wanted to find out whether the construction and architecture magazines mark their advertorials as such, or as advertising.

Of the 58 construction and architecture magazines that either confirmed, gave an unclear or no answer to the question whether they accepted advertorials, 25 magazines confirmed that they label the advertorials as advertising or advertorials. Among those 25 magazines that commented on the reason for marking the advertorials, two slightly different groups can be observed; those that mainly stressed that this is according to the law and the marking will make the readers see what is advertising and what is not, and those that do admit that the material is marked, but choose wordings to communicate that that they do try somewhat to make the readers perceive the material more as editorial than advertising material.

In the first group we find answers like: “If marked as an ad, the information should follow Swedish marketing law, e.g. the advertiser should be recognised” (CON-SWE001), “Text advertisements which, due to their design, are not recognisable as such shall be clearly labelled as advertisements” (CON-GER017), “Each and every ad/advertorial is clearly recognizable in our journal. We either earmark them ‘advertisement’ or ‘promotion’. This is in accordance with the German Press Codex that demands we strictly separate editorial information from ads/PR” (CON-GER043).

In the second group we find responses like: “Advertorials are marked as Advertising Feature but will be based closely on the style of our normal editorial. Small changes such as the font would be changed as [our journal] has the editorial stance of remaining as neutral and uncompromised as possible” (CON-GBR004), “We mark them ‘advertisement feature’. We would undertake to lay them out in a format that reflects the editorial style, but we make it clear that it is paid for and not written by us” (CON-GBR006), “Advertorials are placed in the parts of the magazine with regular editorial material but have a mark ‘advertising’ (CON-RUS002).

10 construction and architecture magazines responded openly that they do not mark the advertorials, 10 magazines gave an unclear answer and 13 did not answer at all. Of those magazines that confirmed that they do not mark the advertorials, some simply stated that advertorials are presented as regular editorial or journalistic content (CON-LIT003 and CON-GER034), while other magazines gave a longer explanation for their behaviour. “Concerning advertorials (PR articles), we haven’t marked them yet, but they are published in the last pages after the regular articles. Although in the future we are planning to mark them as ‘PR’ in the header” (CON-LIT001), “Of course we publish reports on new products or buildings (technically oriented) in our magazines. For such advertorials, as you call them, we have reserved the first part of our journals called ‘products & objects’. This information is represented as regular journalistic/editorial material. You can send us such kind of information, and we could place them nearby your advertisements or at other places as you prefer. The size should be no longer than 5000 letters, plus 1–2 photographs” (CON-GER013). “Advertorials are not specially marked. They are presented as regular editorial material and are published in the given editorial scheme” (CON-GER042), “Not marked, but it should be signed by the author (not by our editor). Also, we have the right to refuse the text (or edit it), if it’s not attractive to our target group” (CON-EST003).

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Advertising and Publishing of More Journalistic Content**

Responding to the question whether advertising by a destination would make the construction and architecture magazine more willing to publish more journalistic and editorial content on this destination, out of the 69 magazines, 23 answered ‘no’ and 22 answered ‘yes’. 13 magazines gave unclear answers, while 11 magazines avoided answering the question. Consequently, it seems like the magazines are quite equally split on this question.

The magazines that rejected the idea that advertising could imply more journalistic content stressed the independence of the editorial department: “We don’t let anyone but our own editorial staff influence the editorial parts of the magazine. If you were to advertise in the magazine it might affect the journalists working here, just like it would affect any reader of the magazine, but there is no connection between what the journalist writes about and what the advertisers wish them to write about. Nobody but the journalists working here,

or invited freelancers write in the magazine. The marketing division does not affect the writers” (CON-SWE002), “There is no connection whatsoever between advertising and the additional stuff – the decision about the articles will not be made by how many ads you have, if any, in [our magazine]” (CON-DEN001), “We don’t publish editorials dependent on advertisements, you can send us editorial information without booking an advertisement” (CON-GER036).

One of the magazines almost apologized for having such a strict policy: “Unfortunately our Editorial team cannot be swayed! They write based on stories that they feel are of interest to our readers. Pictures and an interesting angle will help to influence the team” (CON-GBR004).

Another magazine argued that “if we want our readers to take our magazine seriously we will not publish editorial material because it is paid by ads. If we think the material is interesting for our readers and for our market we will publish the material” (CON-GER011), while a Finnish magazine made a statement that seemed a little naïve when comparing all the answers: “As you know, all over the world, journalists don’t take any orders from any businessman, I can’t tell them, what they have to write” (CON-FIN003).

Some of the magazines that admitted that advertising would imply more journalistic content did not express this openly in their opening statement, but towards the end of the answers it became more clear that the reality meant more journalism if more advertising. In some cases it even seemed like the persons responding were going through an inner discussion while answering: “At this point I should like to state, that we are an independent newspaper in spite of the fact, that we live on adverts. So your advertising in our newspaper generally speaking cannot influence our editors. Yet, one can at the same time not conceal the fact, that in case of advertising the inclination to publish material from a good customer will not decrease ...” (CON-GER023), “Normally we offer editorial co-operation for all our advertising clients. Press releases are not dependent on an advertisement. We try to keep the best quality-independent from marketing. But actually there is a preference for our advertisement clients, yes” (CON-GER025), “As much as we would like to declare ourselves totally independent, in real life it is not wise to bite the hand that feeds you” (CON-EST001/002), “Of course, our publishing house lives from advertising sales. But we have the turnovers only because our special magazines find enough readers and that fact satisfies the industry. I say it so: If the editorial staff get two comparable reports and, besides, one of them is a report of an advertising customer, then the editors will decide on the second alternative” (CON-GER029–032), “Editorial is not directly linked to advertising, but obviously we aim to support the companies that support us” (CON-GBR005).

Other magazines without hesitation confirmed the link between advertising and journalism: “In the case you would advertise in our magazine we would make editorial support but we have to know the content before” (CON-GER015–016), “As we depend on advertising, clients with adverts will be preferred as far as the publication of articles is concerned” (CON-GER026),

“Clients who make advertising in our journals normally get a place to publish their journalistic content. The place you’ll get depends on our editor and the place we have in each issue” (CON-GER037).

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Advertising and Critical News**

When asked whether advertising would imply no critical material on the destination, 24 out of 69 construction and architecture magazines responded ‘no’, that is, advertising would not guarantee the absence of possible critical news about the advertiser. 16 magazines, however, confirmed that advertising would mean that the magazine would not write anything critical about the advertiser. 9 magazines gave an unclear answer, while as many as 20 magazines did not answer the question.

One magazine linked this issue to the issue of ‘press freedom’: “There’s no guarantee because ‘press freedom’ is given by law” (CON-GER039), another magazine admitted some contacts between the advertising and editorial department, but rejected any thoughts about no critical news if advertising. “Our editorial team write independently and have no favouritism. We are very close to the editorial team and can speak to them about what they could write about, and also, in the unlikely event, alert us if they were to write a ‘negative’ story” (CON-GBR004). One Swedish magazine simply answered: “No such guarantees are given” (CON-SWE001) probably knowing that this could scare away a potential advertiser.

Those magazines that confirmed that there will be no critical news about a client if he pays for advertising, tried somewhat to soften the impact of their answer but creating the seemingly innocent impression that their magazine did not usually write critically about anybody. “There are no negative articles in our magazine. It’s all about new construction/building machines, and techniques etc.” (CON-GER038), “We never print critical articles. Our magazine is more about landscape, house or apartment interior. We would be more interested in it. We would love to publish some interiors [from your city] in our magazine. We could publish official gratitude for the information to your office in the end of the article” (CON-LIT003), “It is very unlikely that we would publish something very critical or negative on your city” (CON-GER026).

A couple of magazines from Russia and Estonia tried to create the impression that critical news can hardly be objective. “Our point of view – to print objective materials rather than critical or negative” (CON-RUS002), “We refuse negative material because we can’t control how real the negative facts are” (CON-EST003).

One German magazine stated that their editors work independently, but in the end admitted that the editors’ articles are checked by the advertising department. “Advertising department and editors of course communicate with each other. It is important for our editors to write independently, but of course we do everything possible not to annoy our advertising customers. Please trust that our editors know which customers advertise in our magazine. Advertising certainly makes it very likely for them not to publish any negative information



in their articles. Finally, our advertising department reads and evaluates each of our editors' articles before the magazine is printed" (CON-GER042).

### **Architecture and Construction Magazines: Communication Between Advertising and Editorial Department**

28 out of 69 architecture and construction magazines confirmed that there is some communication between their advertising department and their editorial department, 8 architecture and construction magazines answered that there was no communication, 2 gave an unclear answer while 31 magazines did not answer the question.

Among those magazines that admitted communication between the advertising and the editorial department used various words to characterise the communication. "Our editorial and advertising staff communicate intensively" (CON-GER026), "There is excellent communication between our editorial and advertising team" (CON-GBR006), "... we have great communication between the advertising department and the editorial department" (CON-DEN001), "We communicate closely between our advertising department and our journalistic/editorial department" (CON-FIN002).

Some magazines stressed the physical closeness or the little size of the staff to partly explain the communication. "Our advertising department is in the same building as the journalists are, so we always try to help each other" (CON-LIT002), "We have good communication between the advertising and the editorial department, because we are a small team" (CON-GER037). "As our advertising and editorial departments are in the same office, You can send press releases or just give any questions for me and I can easily transfer it to the right person (editor, director, journalist etc.)" (CON-LIT001).

Some magazines described the communication between the two departments as something that could benefit an advertiser. "... please send us some of your material and we will comment it to the head of editorial department, because we are providing an advertisement service for the editorial department" (CON-GER005), "Editorial and sales department work very closely, to ensure that there is coherence between the editorial, and the type of advertisements we include in the magazine: readers rely on [our magazine's] content adverts, so the quality control is high (CON-GBR003), "We are very close to the editorial team and can speak to them about what they could write about, and also, in the unlikely event, alert us if they were to write a 'negative' story" (CON-GBR004).

Yet, a couple of German construction and architecture magazines stressed that despite the fact that the people working for the advertising and editorial do communicate, that communication would not influence on the journalistic content of the magazines: "There is vivid communication between our departments, but with no relevance as far as [our magazine's content] is concerned" (CON-GER043), "Of course there is some sort of communication between our advertising department (that is run by me) and the editorial department. Nevertheless I have to stress the point, that both departments are in no way closer connected" (CON-GER023).

The construction and architectural magazines that denied that there was any communication between the advertising and editorial department used the need for independence and distance to explain this practice. “Our Editorial and Advertising teams work completely independent of each other and therefore there is no collusion in terms of our commercial and editorial practises” (CON-GBR002), “There is a thick wall between advertising and editorial in [our magazine]”(CON-DEN002).

Even though no communication should indicate a high degree of journalistic independence in the magazine, it is necessary to understand that for a small magazine it could in some cases be quite natural and not necessarily imply a violation of journalistic integrity if people working for the same company had some or a lot of contact. The answers given are interesting and in many cases give valuable information about the journalistic culture in the magazine, however categorical conclusions based on the answers on this topic are not to be recommended.

**Figure XII.** Overview of Answers Given by Architecture and Construction Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe on the Status of the Division Between Advertising and Journalism (N=69)

Publication	Does advertorials	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	-	Overall
CON-DEN001							0.80
CON-DEN002							0,25*
CON-DEN003							0,25*
CON-EST001							1,50
CON-EST002							1,50
CON-EST003							2,00
CON-FIN001							-
CON-FIN002							1,80
CON-FIN003							0,67
CON-GBR001							1,00
CON-GBR002							0,40
CON-GBR003							0,50*
CON-GBR004							0,80
CON-GBR005							2,00
CON-GBR006							1,20
CON-GBR007							1,33
CON-GER001							0,50
CON-GER002							-
CON-GER003							1,75
CON-GER004							-

Publication	Does advertorials	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	-	Overall
CON-GER005							1,33
CON-GER006							0,40
CON-GER007							0,60
CON-GER008							0,60
CON-GER009							1,67
CON-GER010							0,50
CON-GER011							0,60*
CON-GER012							-
CON-GER013							-
CON-GER014							0,50
CON-GER015							-
CON-GER016							-
CON-GER017							1,00
CON-GER018							1,20
CON-GER019							-
CON-GER020							-
CON-GER021							0,50
CON-GER022							1,50
CON-GER023							1,75
CON-GER024							0,50*
CON-GER025							1,50
CON-GER026							1,80
CON-GER027							1,00
CON-GER028							0,50
CON-GER029							1,20
CON-GER030							1,20
CON-GER031							1,20
CON-GER032							1,20
CON-GER033							1,60
CON-GER034							2,00
CON-GER035							0,00*
CON-GER036							0,25*
CON-GER037							1,60
CON-GER038							1,80
CON-GER039							1,00
CON-GER040							-
CON-GER041							0,50
CON-GER042							1,80

Publication	Does advertorials	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	-	Overall
CON-GER043							0,80
CON-LIT001							1,00
CON-LIT002							1,50
CON-LIT003							1,75
CON-RUS001							1,50
CON-RUS002							1,60
CON-SWE001							0,75
CON-SWE002							0,00*
CON-SWE003							-
CON-SWE004							0,00*
CON-SWE005							0,00*

Key: Colours and patterns:

	Light grey		Dark grey		Black		White
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Explanations to the colours used in figure XII:

Does advertorials: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Advertorials marked: Yes = light grey, No = black, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

More journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

No critical journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Communication between ads department and journalistic/editorial department: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Overall: Group A: light grey, Group B: dark grey, Group C: black, Group X = white

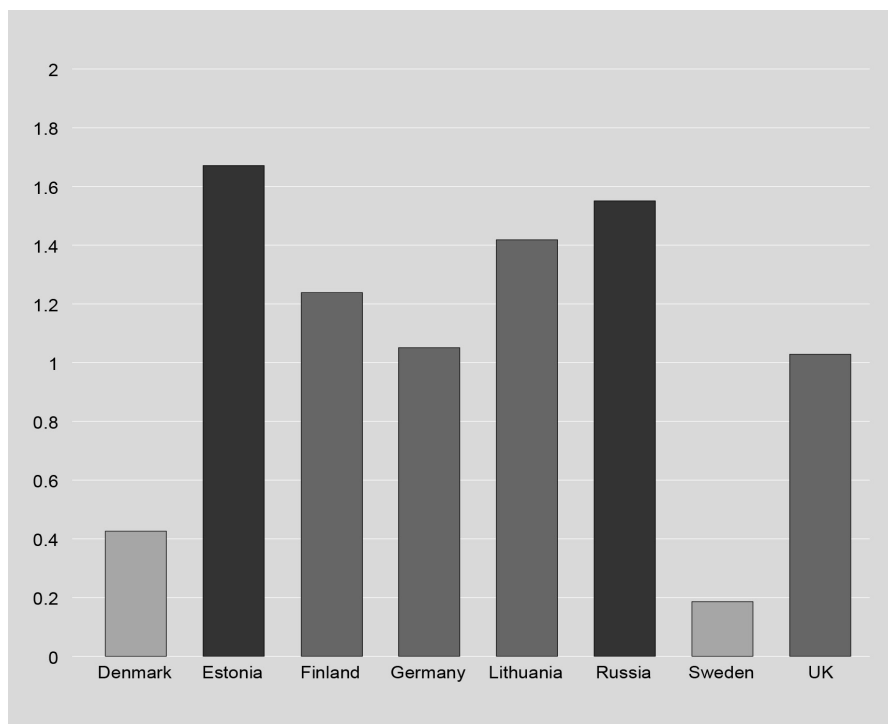
The overall score called the hybridisation index is based on a summary of the fields. There must be at least three fields filled out to get an overall score. To find the average score, light grey is equivalent to 0, dark grey to 1 and black to 2, white fields are not included in the calculation. If the overall average score is 0,5 or 1,5 an evaluation of the answers is made to classify the overall average score as 0 (light grey), 1 (dark grey) or 2 (black). In this respect, for example, answering that there is communication between the advertising and the editorial department is seen as less important to take into account compared to an answer stating that advertising means more editorial content.

\* If the magazine has answered that they don't do advertorials and then consequently don't answer the question whether the advertorials are marked, this counts as a light grey field when making the summary to get the average score.

### Architecture and Construction Magazines: Conclusions

The analysis of the production process gives indications that journalism and advertising are overwhelmingly kept separate in about one fourth of the construction and architecture magazines (17 of 69). A slightly higher number (20 of 69) of the construction and architecture magazines fully represent the hybrid text production practice that we have chosen to call ad-driven text production process. In their operations, almost a third of the construction and architecture magazines (21 of 69) partly represent the hybrid ad-driven text production practice and partly the traditional journalistic text production process.

As for those countries represented in this study, we see differences in policies among magazines from the same country. For example, among the 43 German magazines, 10 magazines seem to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice, 11 in line with the ad-driven journalistic text production practice and 13 in the grey area between the two while 9 magazines gave too few answers to make any conclusions. The 7 British magazines that gave extensive answers are either characterised by traditional journalistic text production practice (2), ad-driven journalistic text production practice (1) or are in the grey area between the two (4).



**Figure XIII.** The Hybridisation Index of the Architecture and Construction Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe, by Country (N=69)

The values in the figure varies between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

However, for some countries there seems to be a clearer tendency as to which group the represented magazines belong. For example, 3 of the 5 Swedish construction and architecture magazines represent the traditional journalistic text production practice. On the other side, all 3 Estonian, 2 of 3 Lithuanian and both Russian construction and architecture magazines represent the ad-driven journalistic text production practice.

For this type of niche magazines the existence of ad-driven journalistic text production process seems to be widespread in most of the countries in the northern part of Europe except for Denmark and Sweden.

If we compile the answers from each architecture and construction magazine and show the results country-based, we get the content of the Figure XIII. The figure shows that on average architecture and construction magazines from two countries; Denmark and Sweden can be considered to follow the traditional journalism norms while architecture and construction magazines from Estonia and Russia can be considered to follow hybrid, ad-driven journalism. The architecture and construction magazines from Finland, Germany, Lithuania and the United Kingdom follow a mixture of these two directions.

### **6.3. Health and Medical Magazines**

#### **Health and Medical Magazines: Data Selection and Collection**

The health and medical magazines were selected mainly from the associations of specialised press in the countries concerned as well as subscription agencies, media books and a media monitoring company. In the case of Denmark the magazine information was selected from The Association of the Danish Specialised Press (Dansk Fagpresse 2007), in Estonia the list of health and medical magazines were compiled from the book *Meediasüsteem ja meediakasutus Eestis 1965–2004* (Vihalemm 2004), from Finland the magazines were selected from information provided by the Finnish Periodical Publishers Association, in Finnish: *Aikakauslehtien Liito* (Aikakauslehted 2007). The German health and medical magazines were selected from two sources: the so-called the Media data base for the German-speaking specialised press, in German: *Mediadatenbank für Deutschsprachige Fachpresse*, under the website of the German Business Media (Deutsche Fachpresse 2007) and the Association of the German Magazine Publishers (Verband Deutscher Zeitschriftenverleger 2007). Lithuanian health and medical magazines were gathered from the information provided by the media monitoring company UAB Mediaskopas (Mediaskopas 2007), the Russian medical and health magazines contacted were based on information mainly from the MK-Periodica, in Russian: *МК Периодика*, subscription agency's website (МК Periodica 2007) as well as from the Guild of Press Publishers (in Russian: *Гильдия издателей периодической печати*) (Guild of Press Publishers 2007). The information on magazines in Sweden was received from the Swedish Magazine Publishers Association (Sveriges Tidsskrifter) and in the United

Kingdom from the professional magazine publishers association PPA Business and Professional as well as from the media web resource Media UK (Media UK 2007). In the period from 22 August–14 December 2007, e-mail letters were sent to a total of 790 health and medical magazines.

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Response Rate**

By 15 January 2008, 109 answers representing 387 magazines were received. Some responses represented more than one health and medical publication, that is, some answers were from a centralised structure serving as the advertising department for a group of health and medical magazines that were contacted. Thus the response rate was 49,0 % if we consider how many publications the answers covered compared to those contacted, but 13,8 % if we count the actual number of responses.

54 of these magazines were removed from the sample as the responses included a media kit or a link to the website of the health and medical magazine only. The remaining 333 magazines were given national codes prior to analysis: MED-DEN001–011 (Denmark); MED-EST001–005 (Estonia); MED-FIN001–008 (Finland); MED-GBR001–041 (Great Britain); MED-GER001–195 (Germany); MED-LIT001–008 (Lithuania), MED-RUS001–056 (Russia); MED-SWE001–009 (Sweden).

Circulation figures of the magazines that responded varied from 500 copies as the lowest to 400 000 copies as the highest. The average circulation for the 155 magazines that gave their circulation figures was 15 904 copies.

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Publishing of Advertorials**

About 54 % of the health and medical magazines (179 out of 333) confirmed that they ran ‘advertorials’. 40 % (133 out of 333) of the magazines answered that they did not run advertorials, while 6 % (20 out of 333 magazines) gave unclear answer and 1 magazine did not understand what an advertorial was.

The magazines that accepted advertorials less frequently gave their motivation for doing so compared to those magazines that rejected advertorials. One magazine seemed to be very surprised that it was possible to question at all the presence of advertorials. “Yes, of course we do advertising articles (advertorials)”<sup>6</sup> (MED-RUS002). Another magazine wrote that “Advertorials are exactly the same thing as the normal advertisements” (MED-FIN008).

Sometimes those magazines that did not publish advertorials felt it was necessary to apologize for this policy: “We can not do an advertorial. I am sorry but it is against our policy” (MED-SWE003), “Unfortunately, we do not have advertorials” (MED-DEN003–006).

One magazine listed press ethical reasons as the motivation for not accepting advertorials: “No, due to press ethical grounds we don’t take advertorials from our clients” (MED-SWE002), while one magazine did not understand the question: “What do you mean with ‘advertorials’? Is it an article?” (MED-LIT006).

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<sup>6</sup> In Russian: Да, конечно, мы делаем рекламные статьи

40 % or 71 out of 179 of those health and medical magazines accepting advertorials responded that the price for a page of advertorial is the same as for a page of advertising. 54 % or 97 out of the 179 magazines did not give any clear information about the price of an advertorial compared to a regular ad. 4 out of these 179 magazines, that is 2 %, answered that in the case of advertorials the price would be higher than for regular ads. For two of these journals the advertorial price would be 20 % higher (MED-GBR041 and MED-GBR039) while for another two the advertorial price would be 5 % higher compared to the price of a regular ad (MED-GBR132 and MED-FIN007).

3 magazines, on the contrary, answered that the price for an advertorial would be lower than the price for a regular ad. The price difference for these magazines varied greatly, from 30 % of the regular ad price (MED-EST004) via 50 % of the regular ad price (MED-GER156) to about 64 %, that is 3900 EUR for a 1 page advertorial compared to 6140 EUR for a regular ad (MED-GER133). One magazine responded that the price would only be given on an individual basis, while 3 magazines claimed that the price would be part of a bonus system where ads would result in a free advertorials.

Of those 200 health and medical magazine that either accepted advertorials or gave an unclear or no answer about this question, 43 % or 86 magazines confirmed that it is possible for the client to write the advertorial himself, 6 % or 11 magazines responded that this is not possible, 21 % or 42 magazines gave an unclear answer and 30 % or 61 magazines gave no answer.

Most magazines answered that the client could write the advertorial and that a journalist or an editor in the magazine would have a look and make corrections if necessary. Several magazines confirmed that the client would have the final say and full control of the content. “You are paying for the page. Therefore, you have every influence on the content” (MED-GER151–152).

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Labelling of Advertorials**

As an ‘advertorial’ can be considered to be a form of advertising, the author wanted to clarify whether the health and medical magazines mark their advertorials as such, or as advertising. Of those 200 health and medical magazine that either accepted advertorials or gave an unclear answer about this question, more than half of the magazines, 52 % or 104 magazines confirmed that they label the advertorials as advertising or advertorials, 13,5 % or 27 magazines confirmed that they do not mark the advertorials as advertising or advertorials, 23 % or 46 magazines gave unclear an answer, while 11,5 % or 23 magazines gave no answer.

Of those magazines that marked the advertorials as advertising or advertorials some magazines stressed that they are very clearly marked, look different from editorial content and that they are treated as advertising. “Any advertorial matter will be clearly labelled as ‘Advertisement’” (MED-GBR001–002), “Advertorials are marked as advertisement” (MED-EST001), “Advertorials are marked as advertorials. They are treated exactly in the same way as the normal advertisements. They are placed in text context. The editor-in-chief is respon-



sible for the suitability of the advertorial” (MED-FIN008), “We have restrictions for advertorial. They are marked as advertorials and differ in their appearance from the regular journalistic content” (MED-GER141–142), “All advertorials are marked ‘Advertorial Feature’ and must not be in a similar font and layout to the standard [magazine’s] editorial” (MED-GBR034–035), “It must have guidelines and it must look like an advert and it also has to be paid for as an advert” (MED-SWE007).

Some magazines referred to the law when giving their motivation for doing so: “In accordance with the Law about Advertising of the Russian Federation all advertorials and advertising modules are published with the mark ‘advertising’”<sup>7</sup> (MED-RUS015), “It is German law that advertorials have to be marked clearly as ‘Anzeige’ (Advertising)” (MED-GER163–166). However, one magazine referred to the law requirement, at the same time stressed how small this advertising signal would be, possibly hinting that just a few readers would notice: “We have to mark them by law. It’s done with the word ‘Anzeige’ (German for advertisement) in 8-point font on top of the page” (MED-GER151–152).

Some magazines gave unclear answers. “Advertorials are marked as paid ads. The only exceptions are articles, which do not mention or refer to commercial products or services” (MED-FIN003), “Yes, if trade names and contact information is mentioned”<sup>8</sup> (MED-RUS002).

Some of the magazines that did not mark advertorials as advertising or advertorials marked the advertorial in some way, but with other words and figures that would probably not make all readers understand that they were reading a paid piece of advertising. One magazine responded that the advertorials were “Marked as Kindly Supported” (MED-GER159–160), another magazine wrote that “We mark all advertorials with a small symbol ‘capsule’” (MED-RUS056) while another magazine stated that: “Advertorials are marked with a special symbol in the right lower corner of the page”<sup>9</sup> (MED-RUS008). However, the magazine did not specify what sort of symbol or possible wording this would imply. Even less realistic it would be to expect that all readers would understand it was an advertorial and not a journalistic piece of information since in the very end of the article there would be some words about a company: “Articles coming from companies are marked in the way that we place the company details at the end of the article so that the reader is aware of the source the information is coming from” (MED-GER167), if it was placed under the wording: “out of science and investigation” (MED-GER195) or under “Info or News” (MED-RUS010).

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<sup>7</sup> In Russian: В соответствии с Законом о рекламе РФ все рекл.статьи и модули публикуются с пометкой ‘реклама’

<sup>8</sup> In Russian: Да, если есть упоминание торговых названий и координат связи (адрес, телефон и.т.п.)

<sup>9</sup> In Russian: Рекламные статьи обозначаются специальным символом в правом нижнем углу страницы

Some magazines openly answered that marking or not was something that could be agreed upon on an individual basis leaving little doubt that the client could avoid the information about advertising or advertorial if he so wanted: “It depends ....” (MED-EST004), “Advertorials we place with a remark about advertising or not – it depends how we agree”<sup>10</sup> (MED-RUS011–013), “There are no principle limitations on the placing of advertisements. The ad might be placed as a module (full-coloured advertising section) or as a informative article”<sup>11</sup> (MED-RUS014).

One magazine made it clear that the advertorials did not have to be marked “if they contained a market review or detached expert opinion and were presented as editorial material.” However, the magazine added that “in this case materials must not promote any product or services of the company” (MED-RUS056). Another magazine promised to present the advertorial as editorial material as long as “the articles must absolutely be accompanied by an ethical declaration and we will attach the model for this”<sup>12</sup> (MED-RUS001), while another magazine simply stated that: “Advertorials in our issues are not marked as advertising” (MED-LIT007–008).

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Advertising and Publishing of More Journalistic Content**

When asked whether the presence of advertising would make the health and medical magazines more willing to publish more journalistic and editorial content, an overwhelming majority, that is, 239 out of 333 magazines – 72 % – answered ‘no’, 28 magazines or 8 % of the magazines answered ‘yes’, 17 magazines or 5 % gave unclear answers while 49 magazines or 15 % did not answer the question.

The magazines that rejected the idea of linking advertising to more journalistic content often stressed that journalism and advertising are kept separate: “...advertising has no influence whatsoever on the content of our magazine” (MED-GER146), “Editorial and advertising is completely separate. The decision of reporting belongs to the chief editor” (MED-GER147), “We do not have any influence on the journalistic stuff in the magazines” (MED-DEN003–006), “Placing advertising has no bearing on what the editorial department will run and by placing an ad there is no agreement to run any. The two areas are looked at differently” (MED-GBR033), “We always ensure that advertising and editorial are kept separate to maintain the publications editorial integrity. As such, advertising in the journal is no guarantee that your editorial will be considered” (MED-GBR034–035), “we don’t mix ads with content”

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<sup>10</sup> In Russian: Рекламные статьи мы размещаем, с пометкой рекламы или без – как договоримся

<sup>11</sup> In Russian: Принципиальных ограничений по размещению рекламы нет. Реклама может быть размещена в виде модуля (полноцветный рекламный блок) или в виде информационной статьи

<sup>12</sup> In Russian: Статья должна быть обязательно сопровождена этическим заявлением, образец которого прилагаем

(MED-EST005), “...we choose our journalistic material regardless of advertisers” (MED-SWE005), “...there is no connection between advertising and journalistic material. No advertisement will guarantee an article” (MED-GER133), “There is no possibility to get our journalists to write about a special product or company, not even if you advertise in our paper” (MED-DEN001).

One magazine referred to guidelines for journalists to motivate their rejection: “We follow guidelines for journalists, so if you advertise in [our] magazine, it doesn’t have any impact on what kind of news or articles we publish” (MED-FIN004). Another magazine argued that the magazine may publish information even when there is no advertising: “no, if there are interesting facts, we will publish them not depending on your advertisement or article” (MED-GER195). Only once a magazine expressed a certain regret that the advertising department could not influence on the editorial department in this respect: “We in the ad. dept. have no sway over our editorial team I’m afraid – ads carried are not an indicator of likely acceptance of editorial” (MED-GBR036–037).

For those magazines that confirmed the link between advertising and more journalistic content, the main motivation for this was the desire to help and favour the magazine’s advertisers, in particular the regular customers. Often it was seen as a part of a wider offer, a bonus for the advertisers: “We, it goes without saying, help our advertisers with PR-support in our news sections”<sup>13</sup> (MED-RUS006), “For advertisers we offer: An interview with the leading specialists, scientific-medical articles, an overview of the materials of the company, press-releases, invitations to events, a report of the symposia held by the company, modul advertising”<sup>14</sup> (MED-RUS007), “In the case of placing advertising materials in the magazine, the editorial staff as a rule gives support to the advertiser. The format of the editorial support will depend upon the amount of advertising”<sup>15</sup> (MED-RUS010), “Because of having a lot of customer press we usually try to favour those who advertise in our magazine” (MED-GER141–142), “Regular customers of ours can publish press releases free of charge” (MED-GER143–145), “If you will advertise in our magazine and you have some additional information for our readers, we would be glad to print it” (MED-EST001), “In our magazine here is a column ‘News’. This is a section where materials are published on a non-commercial basis. All materials and the question of their selection [for publishing] are in the hands of the editorial staff. We receive in the journal much more press releases on various events on the pharmaceutical market than we are able to publish. The editorial staff always selects materials for News according to their views and edits them. From one

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<sup>13</sup> In Russian: Мы, разумеется, помогаем нашим рекламодателям с PR-поддержкой в наших новостных рубриках

<sup>14</sup> In Russian: Интервью с ведущими специалистами, Научно-медицинские статьи, Обзоры по материалам компании, Пресс-релизы, Приглашения на мероприятия, Отчет о проведенных симпозиумах компании, Модульная реклама

<sup>15</sup> In Russian: При размещении рекламного материала в журнале, редакция, как правило, оказывает поддержку рекламодателю. Формат редакционной поддержки зависит от объема размещаемой рекламы

side the editor-in-chief does not give any guarantee that the received material will appear in the edition. From another side, during the selection of materials for the News the editor-in-chief is ready to meet halfway those of our partners that have a successful commercial co-operation with our journal. To a certain degree this is a certain bonus for our active partners – a possibility to place PR-materials free of charge”<sup>16</sup> (MED-RUS015), “Regular customers of ours can publish press releases free of charge” (MED-GER149), “We have a special bonus programme for our clients. In case you would advertise in our newspaper we’ll give you an opportunity to publish news or editorial articles about health and medical events in [your country], market development in the newspaper and on our web-site” (MED-RUS056), “For our constant advertising customers we enable them to publish editorials (about 1/2 page) in the column ‘Industrienachrichten’. The reports may contain promotion” (MED-GER153–154).

A couple of magazines started their answer with a wording that gave the understanding that linking advertising to more journalistic content is a usual practice: “Of course, we are glad to support your possible advertising in form of editorial articles” (MED-GER150), “Sure it is easier to tell our readers about things we are familiar with” (MED-FIN006) while one magazine gave a rather ambiguous answer, even though it clearly opens the link between advertising and more journalistic content: “It may be possible”(MED-FIN003).

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Advertising and Critical News**

When asked whether the presence of advertising would guarantee that the health and medical magazines would not publish very critical or negative articles about the client, 100 out of 333 magazines – 30 % – answered ‘no’, 23 magazines or 7 % of the magazines answered ‘yes’, 107 magazines or 32 % gave unclear answers while 103 magazines or 31 % did not answer the question.

Those magazines that rejected any guarantees of no critical and no negative news argued with independent journalism: “Editorial content is entirely independent of Advertisers’ interests” (MED-GBR001–002), “We practice independent journalism without the say of advertisers, political parties or trade unions concerning the professional content of the newspaper” (MED-DEN001).

In another magazine the advertising department stressed that they cannot influence the editorial department: “Again, our editorial team is not led or

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<sup>16</sup> In Russian: В нашем журнале есть рубрика “Новости”. Это раздел, куда материалы публикуются на некоммерческой основе. Все материалы и вопрос их отбора находится в ведении редакции. Пресс-релизов о различных событиях на фармацевтическом рынке приходит в журнал значительно больше, чем мы можем опубликовать. Редакция всегда отбирает материал в Новости по своему усмотрению, редактирует его. С одной стороны, главный редактор не дает никаких гарантий, что поступивший материал пойдет в номер. С другой, при отборе материала в Новости главный редактор готова идти навстречу тем нашим партнерам, с которыми у журнала успешное коммерческое сотрудничество. В некотором смысле это некоторый бонус для наших активных партнеров – возможность размещения материалов бесплатно

guided by us in the advertising team – I can make no guarantee or assurances for what they decide to publish” (MED-GBR036–037) or openly let the advertiser understand that the journalist might criticise an advertiser: “That is not any guarantee. If there is some real reason to criticise we do criticise, but we are not a sensation magazine, we concentrate on facts.” (MED-FIN005).

The magazines that confirmed that they would not criticise or write negatively about an advertiser used various arguments for this policy. One magazine wrote that it was part of their ethical policy: “We have certain ethical norms, in accordance with which we are always loyal to our advertisers”<sup>17</sup> (MED-RUS011–013). Other magazines argued that it is not the task of the magazine to criticise or let it shine through that they consider it not very professional to publish negative information: “As an editor, I will look through all articles, advertorial and text and we won’t publish any critical and negative articles. Certainly our mission IS NOT to criticise anybody and anything. Our aim is to give readers as much as possible quality and variety of information. Therefore, we can assure that there won’t be any anti-adequacy articles about [your city] or [your country]” (MED-EST003), “I can guarantee you that we’ll never publish any doubtful, unchecked negative information about any company, person or country. We have a professional team and we appreciate the confidence of our readerships and partners. If we get any negative information about any person or company, first of all, we will try to get comments and official information from original sources” (MED-RUS056).

It varies to what extent the magazines were willing to give a guarantee, from probable to absolute: “Our editorial team would be unlikely to publish anything wholly negative or critical in regard to your city and its healthcare provision in issues where you would be advertising” (MED-GBR032), “What about very critical articles on your city (related to health/medicine) – we never published such kind of articles about your country! :)” (MED-LIT006), “You can be sure that we would not publish any article without your confirmation” (MED-LIT001–005), “Absolute guarantee”<sup>18</sup> (MED-RUS014).

An example of what was classified as an unclear answer is the following: “The idea is to find and publish solutions and good experience examples, not problems.” (MED-EST002). It was not possible to be sure whether this answer meant a guarantee not to publish critical or negative news or not.

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Communication Between Advertising and Editorial Department**

As much as 69 % (230 out of 333) health and medical magazines did not answer the question whether there is some communication between their advertising department and their journalistic/editorial department, 15 % (49 out of 333) health and medical magazines answered that there was no communication, 16 %

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<sup>17</sup> In Russian: У нас есть некие этические нормы, в соответствии с которыми мы всегда испытываем лояльность к нашим рекламодателям

<sup>18</sup> In Russian: Гарантия абсолютная

(52 out of 333) magazines responded that there is some communication, while 2 magazines gave an unclear answer.

Among those magazines that admitted communication between the advertising and the editorial department there was a striking difference in answers among those that honestly answered that the staff members from both departments now and then see each other, but that this does not influence the editorial content of the magazine: “There is communication between advertising and editorial department, but the editorial material that is published in the magazine is judged only by an editorial point of view” (MED-FIN001), and those that let it be understood that this communication meant that the advertising department had some or strong influence on what the journalists would write: “With the editorial department we interact maximally close”<sup>19</sup> (MED-RUS011–013), “Our communication between advertising department and editorial department is very good. We work side by side and make co-operation all the time” (MED-EST001), “The advertising dept would liaise with the editorial team at all times to try and ensure that this was the case” (MED-GBR032), “The advertising department works in close co-operation with the editorial department”<sup>20</sup> (MED-RUS015), “The communication is very good, so there is no problem” (MED-FIN003), “Our advertising department works very close with our main editorial office and publishes just neutral reporting” (MED-GER150), “Be sure, there is a very close affinity between advertising and editorial departments” (MED-RUS056).

Other magazines used words like ‘constant’ (MED-GBR038), ‘always’ (MED-GER152), ‘daily’ (MED-FIN007) to characterise the communication between the advertising and editorial departments.

Among the magazines that denied that there is any communication between the advertising and editorial departments, few explained why this was so, but one magazine answered that “We do not have an advertising department. [There] is a separate firm taking care of the advertisements for the magazine” (MED-FIN006).

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<sup>19</sup> In Russian: С редакцией мы взаимодействуем максимально близко

<sup>20</sup> In Russian: Рекламный отдел работает в тесном сотрудничестве с редакцией

**Figure XIV.** Overview of Answers Given by Health and Medical Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe on the Status of the Division Between Advertising and Journalism (N=333)

Publication	Does advertorial?	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Overall
MED-DEN001						0,00*
MED-DEN002						0,00*
MED-DEN003–006						0,40*
MED-DEN007–011						0,00*
MED-EST001						1,60
MED-EST002						1,40
MED-EST003						1,75
MED-EST004						2,00
MED-EST005						0,50
MED-FIN001						0,40*
MED-FIN002						0,00*
MED-FIN003						1,75
MED-FIN004						0,00*
MED-FIN005						1,20
MED-FIN006						0,50*
MED-FIN007						1,25
MED-FIN008						0,50
MED-GBR001–002						0,50
MED-GBR003–031						0,50
MED-GBR032						1,40
MED-GBR033						0,50
MED-GBR034–035						0,50
MED-GBR036–037						0,50
MED-GBR038						1,20
MED-GBR039						-
MED-GBR040						-
MED-GBR041						1,20
MED-GER001–101						0,25*
MED-GER102–108						-
MED-GER109						0,00*
MED-GER110–132						0,80
MED-GER133						0,80
MED-GER134						0,00*
MED-GER135						-
MED-GER136–138						-
MED-GER139						0,20
MED-GER140						0,00*
MED-GER141–142						1,00
MED-GER143–145						1,33
MED-GER146						0,00*
MED-GER147						0,25
MED-GER148						0,00*
MED-GER149						1,33
MED-GER150						1,20*
MED-GER151–152						1,20
MED-GER153–154						1,67
MED-GER155						-
MED-GER156						-
MED-GER157–158						-
MED-GER159–160						-

Publication	Does advertorial?	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Overall
MED-DEN001						0,00*
MED-DEN002						0,00*
MED-DEN003-006						0,40*
MED-DEN007-011						0,00*
MED-EST001						1,60
MED-EST002						1,40
MED-EST003						1,75
MED-EST004						2,00
MED-EST005						0,50
MED-GER161-162						-
MED-GER163-166						0,75
MED-GER167						1,67
MED-GER168-182						-
MED-GER183						0,75
MED-GER184-185						-
MED-GER186						-
MED-GER187-192						0,67
MED-GER193						-
MED-GER194						-
MED-GER195						1,40
MED-LIT001-005						1,67
MED-LIT006						2,00
MED-LIT007-008						2,00
MED-RUS001						1,33
MED-RUS002						-
MED-RUS003-005						-
MED-RUS006						1,80
MED-RUS007						2,00
MED-RUS008						2,00
MED-RUS009						1,00
MED-RUS010						2,00
MED-RUS011-013						2,00
MED-RUS014						1,80
MED-RUS015						1,60
MED-RUS016-047						0,75
MED-RUS048-055						0,75
MED-RUS056						2,00
MED-SWE001						-
MED-SWE002						0,50*
MED-SWE003						-
MED-SWE004						1,33
MED-SWE005						0,00*
MED-SWE006						-
MED-SWE007						0,25
MED-SWE008						0,00*
MED-SWE009						0,00*

Key: Colours and patterns:

Light grey	Dark grey	Black	White
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Explanations to the colours used in figure XIV:

Does advertorials: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white



Advertorials marked: Yes = light grey, No = black, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

More journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

No critical journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Communication between ads department and journalistic/editorial department: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Overall: Group A: light grey, Group B: dark grey, Group C: black, Group X = white

The overall score called the hybridisation index is based on a summary of the fields. There must be at least three fields filled out to get an overall score. To find the average score, light grey is equivalent to 0, dark grey to 1 and black to 2, white fields are not included in the calculation. If the overall average score is 0,5 or 1,5 an evaluation of the answers is made to classify the overall average score as 0 (light grey), 1 (dark grey) or 2 (black). In this respect, for example, answering that there is communication between the advertising and the editorial department is seen as less important to take into account compared to an answer stating that advertising means more editorial content.

\* If the magazine has answered that they don't do advertorials and then consequently don't answer the question whether the advertorials are marked, this counts as a light grey field when making the summary to get the average score.

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Overview of Answers**

In Figure XIV the architecture and construction magazines are as in the text above listed with coded names as the author argues that it is more important to see an overall picture of the situation than to focus on each magazine, which could also be interpreted as an intention to praise or punish individual magazines.

The summary of the answers reflected in Figure XIV allows us to divide the health and medical magazines into 4 different groups.

#### *Group A (165 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is or seem to be a strong, or rather strong, division between advertising and journalism in these health and medical magazines: (MED-DEN001, MED-DEN002, MED-DEN003–006, MED-DEN007–011, MED-EST005, MED-FIN001, MED-FIN002, MED-FIN004, MED-FIN008, MED-GBR001–002, MED-GBR003–031, MED-GBR033, MED-GBR034–035, MED-GBR036–037, MED-GER001–101, MED-GER109, MED-GER134, MED-GER139, MED-GER140, MED-GER146, MED-GER147, MED-GER148, MED-SWE002, MED-SWE005, MED-SWE007, MED-SWE008, MED-SWE009). The author argues that these health and medical magazines seem to work in line with the traditional journalism text production practice.

#### *Group B (94 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is a certain, although rather weak, division between advertising and journalism in these health and medical magazines: (MED-EST002, MED-FIN005, MED-FIN006, MED-FIN007, MED-GBR032, MED-GBR038, MED-GBR041, MED-GER110–132, MED-GER133, MED-GER141–142, MED-GER143–145, MED-GER149, MED-GER151–152, MED-GER163–166, MED-GER183, MED-GER187–192, MED-GER195, MED-RUS001, MED-RUS009, MED-RUS016–047, MED-RUS048–055, MED-SWE004). The author argues that in the work of these health and medical magazines we identify certain characteristics of traditional journalistic text production practice and certain characteristics of the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group C (26 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is no, or very little, division between advertising and journalism in these health and medical magazines: (MED-EST001, MED-EST003, MED-EST004, MED-FIN003, MED-GER150, MED-GER153–154, MED-GER167, MED-LIT001–005, MED-LIT006, MED-LIT007–008, MED-RUS006, MED-RUS007, MED-RUS008, MED-RUS010, MED-RUS011–013, MED-RUS014, MED-RUS015, MED-RUS056). The author argues that these health and medical magazines seem to work in line with the hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group X (48 magazines)*

Absence of sufficient answers gives no indications about the status of the division between advertising and journalism in these health and medical magazines: (MED-GBR039, MED-GBR040, MED-GER102–108, MED-GER135, MED-GER136–138, MED-GER155, MED-GER156, MED-GER157–158, MED-GER159–160, MED-GER161–162, MED-GER168–182, MED-GER184, MED-GER185–186, MED-GER193, MED-GER194, MED-RUS002, MED-RUS003–005, MED-SWE001, MED-SWE003, MED-SWE006). Therefore, it is not possible to draw conclusions regarding the text production practice of these health and medical magazines.

### **Health and Medical Magazines: Conclusions**

The summary of the answers gives indications that journalism and advertising are overwhelmingly kept separate in almost half (50 %) of the health and medical magazines (165 out of 333). Only 26 magazines out of 333 or slightly less than 8 % of the health and medical magazines fully represent the hybrid text production practice that we have chosen to call the ad-driven text production practice, where there seems to be no or almost no borders between advertising and journalism. Almost a third – 28 % of the health and medical magazines (94 of 333) represents a mix of the two directions, this group partly represents the hybrid ad-driven text production practice and partly the traditional journalistic text production practice. However, for 48 of the

magazines (14 %) we did not receive sufficient answers to make any clear conclusions as to according to which direction the magazine worked.

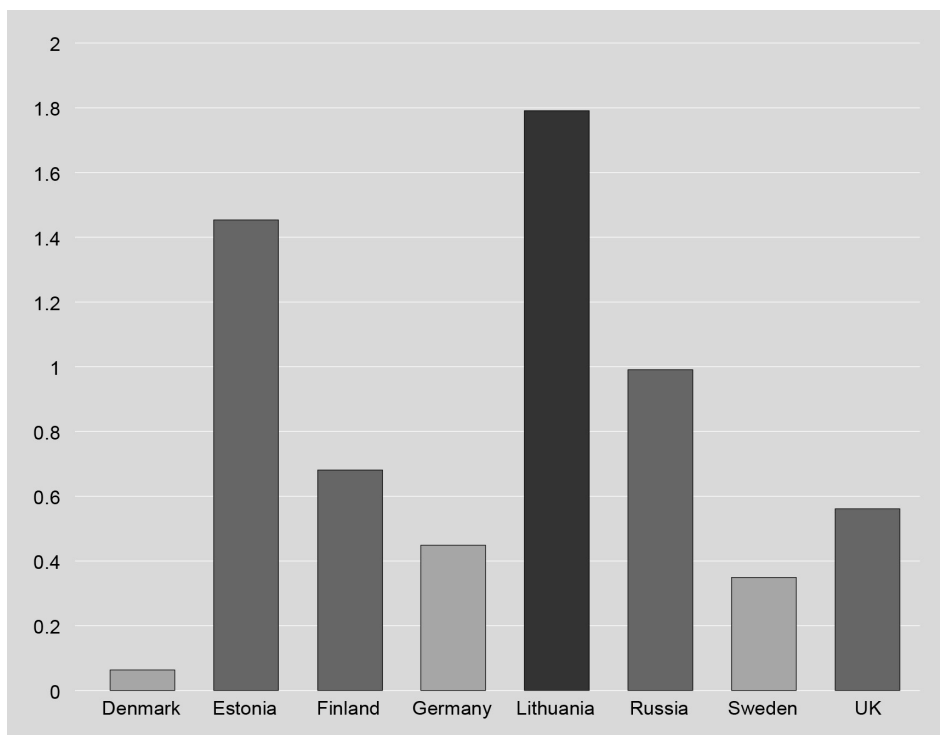
As for those countries represented in the research of the health and medical magazines, we see distinct differences in policies among magazines from the same country, especially for some of the countries like Germany, Russia, Finland and Estonia.

For example, among the 195 German magazines studied, 108 magazines seem to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice, 4 in line with the ad-driven journalistic text production practice and 44 seem to be in the grey area between the two while 39 magazines gave too little answers to make any conclusions. The 56 Russian magazines are either characterised by ad-driven journalistic text production practice (10), operate in the grey area between the two (42), while 4 magazines did not give sufficient answers, and no magazines followed the traditional journalistic text production practice. As concerns the magazines from Finland, 4 followed the traditional journalistic text production practice, 1 the hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice, while 1 magazine was a mix of the two directions. In the case of Estonia, 1 followed the traditional journalistic text production practice, 3 the ad-driven journalistic text production practice while 3 magazines represented a mix of the two.

For some countries, however, there seem to be a clearer tendency as to which group the represented magazines belong. All 11 magazines from Denmark gave answers indicating that they follow the traditional journalistic text production practice, all but one of the Swedish magazines that gave sufficient responses followed the same traditional journalistic text production practice and so also did 36 out of 41 British health and medical magazines represented in the study. On the other side, all Lithuanian health and medical magazines represented the ad-driven journalistic text production practice.

The existence of ad-driven journalistic text production practice or traces of it seems to be widespread over in most of the countries represented in the study with the exception of Denmark and partly Sweden.

If we compile the answers from each health and medical magazine and show the results country-based, we get the content of the figure XV. The figure shows that on average health and medical magazines from three countries; Denmark, Germany and Sweden can be considered to follow the traditional journalism norms while health and medical magazines from Lithuania can be considered to follow ad-driven journalism. The health and medical magazines from Estonia, Finland, UK and Russia follow a mixture of these two directions.



**Figure XV.** The Hybridisation Index of the Health and Medical Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe, by Country (N=333)

The values in the figure show the hybridisation index and vary between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

## 6.4. Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines

### Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Data Selection and Collection

The conference tourism or MICE (MICE: short for meeting, incentives, conferences and events) magazines selected for this research were chosen at random from among the magazines available at The Global Meetings and Incentive Exhibition (EIBTM) in Barcelona in 2005. The EIBTM exhibition is, together with the IMEX trade fair in Frankfurt, considered to be the two main exhibitions or trade fairs for the MICE industry. Most of the leading MICE magazines from Europe and other continents take part in these exhibitions. The selection of these magazines was supplemented with some well-known MICE magazines in northern Europe. The selection can be considered representative of the leading MICE magazines worldwide, and particularly of the situation in Europe.

The MICE industry is often considered to be one of the most lucrative niches of tourism; a conference delegate spends around three times as much as an ordinary tourist per day (Key Note 1997). In the UK, Conference delegates

from overseas spend 147 GBP per day compared to non-conference visitors' expenditure of 58.90 (Rodgers 2003). Foreign delegates in Finland spend 195 EUR per day (Lindberg 2006), while the average total expenditure per delegate per association meeting on a global scale in 2004 was 437 USD (ICCA 2005). These figures explain why destinations around the globe seek to attract MICE business. In the period from 1–15 February 2006, email letters were sent to a total of 43 MICE magazines.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Response Rate**

By 1 March 2006, 23 responses representing 33 magazines were received. Some responses represented more than one MICE publication, that is, some answers were from a structure dealing with advertising for several MICE magazines that were contacted. Thus the response rate was 76,7 % if we consider how many publications the answers covered compared to those contacted, but 53,5 % if we count the actual number of responses.

Six of these magazines were removed from the sample as their responses were either incomplete or simply imparted general information. The remaining 27 magazines were given codes prior to analysis: MIC-BEL001–009 (Belgium); MIC-GBR001–003 (United Kingdom); MIC-GER001–004 (Germany); MIC-ITA001 (Italy); MIC-NED001–002 (The Netherlands); MIC-RSA001–002 (Republic of South Africa); MIC-RUS001 (Russia); MIC-SPA001 (Spain); MIC-SUI001–002 (Switzerland); MIC-SWE001 (Sweden) and MIC-USA001 (United States). Leading UK and German MICE magazines have circulations of around 20 000.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Publishing of Advertorials**

All but one of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines confirmed that they ran 'advertorials'. The only MICE magazine that did not confirm that they used advertorials, answered that "advertorials are currently under review in the magazine and are being discussed, so we may be able to take them in the near future" (MIC-GBR003). This showed that it was just a question of time before advertorial practice fully embraces the MICE magazine sector.

Twenty-three of the MICE magazines answered that the customers themselves may write the advertorials, 3 gave an unclear answer and 1 rejected this option. Though the MICE magazines in general confirm that the convention bureau may create the advertorial, some suggest some involvement from their journalists' side: "Yes, you can write advertorials yourself or you can ask our journalist to interview you. All advertorials must be approved by the client." (MIC-BEL003) "It will be edited down by our editor if required" (MIC-GBR003).

These answers reflect the fact that there is little distance between the client and the journalist, who are seen in a way like colleagues who will help when there is a need to 'check' and 'edit' material. We argue that this perspective, of being a member of one team, is a mode of co-operation and partnership between advertisers and journalists and is thus one of the characteristics of hybrid advertising-driven journalism (ad-journalism) and its text production practice.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Labelling of Advertorials**

As 'advertorial' is in essence a euphemism for advertising, it was crucial for the author to find out whether conference tourism (MICE) magazines mark their advertorials as such, or as advertising. Of the 26 magazines that confirmed that they did advertorials, 11 confirmed that they identified advertorials, 8 gave an unclear answer, 5 answered that they did not mark them and 2 of the magazines did not answer this question.

Of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines that marked advertorials as advertising, some simply confirmed this in a laconic manner, while another added that "they have to be marked in Germany, but we use very small notes to mark it" (MIC-GER003). The implication of the answer is that the reader might not notice that this is marked and hence not notice that this is advertising. By suggesting this, this particular MICE magazine representative hints that this is also the desire of the magazine, implying that he sees the situation from the advertiser's and not the readers' perspective.

Just as this comment reveals that these ads were not marked willingly and out of an understanding that readers should know what is what, this attitude was also seen in the answers from those MICE magazines that did not give a clear answer. "There are no hard restrictions. In consultation with our editor-in-chief we can make it more editorial" (MIC-NED001). "You will be allocated a journalist and they will do it all for you and it will be in the style of the rest of the magazine. You will have full editorial control" (MIC-GBR001).

The MICE magazines that did not mark advertorials gave insight into the text production process of the magazine. "No, advertorials are not marked as paid for; they are presented as regular journalistic/editorial content. We do not have specific guidelines, however we may advise as we know our readership market very well and know its specific needs and customs but the client always has the last word" (MIC-BEL001). "It is up to you. For advertorials we need logo, contacts, subjects, pictures" (MIC-RUS001). "Advertorials are not marked; they are presented as regular journalistic/ editorial material. The only restriction is that the contact details are put at the end of the magazine on the "contacts page" (all Italian magazines respect this rule)" (CON-ITA001).

These answers revealed that buyers of advertorials are treated as buyers of advertising by MICE magazines ("the client always has the last word", "we need logo, contacts, subjects, pictures"), which at the same time want their readers to perceive and decode advertorials as editorial material ("they are presented as regular journalistic/editorial material"). In fact, the answer from the magazine with the coded name MIC-ITA001 states that there is a method for the observant reader to find out if this is an ad. He has to look at the "contacts page to see whether the contact details of the company described in an article in the magazine is there". If so, the reader can draw the conclusion that the article is paid for. However, to claim that this is a clear and transparent way of informing readers of what is editorial and journalistic content, and what is advertising, would be an exaggeration.

## **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Advertising and More Journalistic Content**

In the 27 responses to the question asking whether advertising by a destination would make the MICE magazine more willing to publish more journalistic and editorial content on this destination, only 1 answered 'No'; 14 answered 'Yes' and 12 gave an unclear answer.

The only MICE magazine that clearly confirmed a distinct division between advertising and journalism answered 'No' to this question, added to the answer: "but when destinations present new information of interest to our audience our editor in chief will evaluate and publish at her own judgement" (MIC-SWE001). The author would argue that this answer is in line with the journalistic norm that there is a 'firewall' between the editorial and the advertising department of a media company. Consequently, this answer reflects the traditional journalistic text production practice. The answers from the other MICE magazines reflected smaller and greater deviations from this text production practice.

Many of the MICE magazines that answered 'Yes' elaborated on their reasons in their answers. "In case you advertise, we will publish more about the destination, as we always treat new clients very well and our policy has been to build up long-term collaborations" (MIC-BEL009). "Yes, we do consider our clients as partners; therefore we make sure that we pay attention to journalistic/editorial material to be published as well" (MIC-BEL002). "All advertisers gain free editorial to complement their adverts and an extract of the editorial is published on the internet website" (MIC-RSA002).

Textual focus on 'client' and 'partners' as well as more interest in the fate and business of those companies that advertise than those that do not would be in line with hybrid advertising-driven journalistic text production practice. Indeed, the MICE magazines do have advertising departments, which have their own clients. What is essential, is that the answers given by people dealing with advertising issues, reflect the fact that these people have broken down the wall into the area where journalists and editors operate, or the other way around, and that the answers reflect a coordinated response from people who deal with advertising issues and journalistic issues. In this way, text production practice characteristic of the advertising department is automatically overtaken by the editorial and journalistic department, as well.

The usage of the 'we' grammatical form is additional confirmation that the answers are to be seen as answers from the MICE magazine as a whole and not only the advertising department: "If you book an ad (1 or ½ page), we will write something about your destination" (MIC-SUI001). "The simple thing is that we have to prefer our advertising clients and no magazine or journal could survive without them. It is a little thank you to prefer them (of course for further orders)" (MIC-GER003).

Some answers tend to give the impression that MICE magazines perceive the question as rather naive, giving the impression that they think everybody knows that advertising will generate more journalistic content, and that tradi-

tional journalistic text production practice has long since vanished: “Yes!!! It helps a lot ☺” (MIC-SUI002), “Of course” (MIC-ITA001).

The answers categorised as unclear send very mixed signals. They suggest that there is a policy reflecting the traditional journalistic text production practice, but that there might be flexibility and exceptions to this text production practice: “Advertisements are not linked to editorial. However, should the relationship be there, we would invest in a full size destination report (min 4 pages); you would also be able to send us your press releases for publication” (MIC-BEL004). “Our editorial staff is always very pleased to receive your press material. We recommend sending us NEWS on the destination, the centres, hotels etc.” (MIC-GER004). In the last case there seems to be a firm policy, but the MICE magazine representative does not seem ready to openly say that there is no link in fear of losing a potential client. The implication of many of these answers is that the MICE magazines seemingly admit that they don’t fully stick to their announced policies.

One answer, categorised as unclear because of its contradictory nature, was, “We look at all material or places on an un-biased case by case basis, so there might be an opportunity for you to have coverage regardless of advertising commitment” (MIC-GBR003). This suggests that there is a stronger possibility of getting coverage if advertising is also placed with the magazine.

In a similar way, the magazines were asked whether they would print press release information from a destination only in cases where the destination also advertises. 4 answered ‘Yes’, 12 ‘No’ and 11 gave an unclear answer.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Advertising and Critical News**

Asked whether a destination’s advertising in the magazine would guarantee, or make it more likely that the magazine wouldn’t publish very critical and/or negative articles on this destination, at least 14 magazines could not give a clear answer, 7 responded ‘Yes’, 5 ‘No’ and 1 chose not to answer the question.

These answers reinforced the impression that there might be a need to adopt a new journalistic text production practice for MICE magazines; that is, the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice described above, in which one of the characteristics is the acceptance that one can pay in order to avoid critical and negative articles from journalists. This is clearly apparent, and is also implied in the responses categorised as unclear: “What is the use or sense of demoting a destination? We would rather not talk about it then” (MIC-BEL003). “The magazine is impartial but it is virtually unheard of that we would be highly critical of the destination” (MIC-GBR001).

The possibility to pay the media to avoid critical and negative articles is naturally even more clearly seen in the ‘Yes’ answers: “It guarantees that we won’t publish critical nor negative articles on your destination” (MIC-ITA001). “We won’t write negatively or over critically about a customer who is advertising” (MIC-NED001).

The notion that it would “be unheard of” to criticise a destination is not in line with the understanding that journalists should be the watchdogs of society.



However, it is in line with the role of those who produce advertising for a client. What would certainly be “unheard of” would be to see an advert that criticised the product it was advertising. Again, we get confirmation that the traditional journalistic text production practice is not relevant for a large number of the MICE magazines.

The minority of 5 ‘No’ answers replied in accordance with traditional journalistic text production practice, saying that it is not possible to pay to avoid critical and negative articles: “I am not allowed to make any promises on editorial support with the clients and would like to recommend to contact our editors directly.” (MIC-GER004) “No. ... However, special editorial content may create a favourable environment for certain advertisers, and of course, we will express that to our advertisers” (MIC-SWE001).

This last comment reveals a certain degree of communication between the editorial department and the advertising department, but as the communication goes from the editorial to the advertising department and not the other way around, it does not directly create any pressure or influence on the editorial department to produce articles in line with the priorities of the advertising department. The decision making on the subjects and content of journalistic articles is supposedly solely in the hands of the editorial department, although having said this the transparent communication to advertisers that the editorial department plans to focus on travel or a certain destination in a forthcoming issue may not necessarily be in contradiction with traditional journalistic text production practice and professional journalistic norms.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Communication Between Advertising and Editorial department**

12 of the MICE magazines confirmed that there is some communication between their advertising department and their journalistic/editorial department, 8 did not have this type of communication and 7 did not answer the question. The question on this type of communication was posed in order to get a possible understanding of the degree of journalistic autonomy in the magazines. Overall, the authors would argue that the less communication then the higher degree of journalistic autonomy. However, particularly in a small magazine, communication between people working for a business unit like a magazine, is hard to avoid and does not necessarily confirm a low degree of journalistic autonomy.

Words like ‘tight’, ‘perfect’, ‘close’ and ‘constant’ were frequently used to characterise the communication among those who confirmed that such communication took place: “Yes, there is a tight communication between our departments” (MIC-BEL001), “We do have perfect communication between our advertising department and our journalistic department” (MIC-SUI001), “There is close communication and constant co-operation between our advertising and our editorial departments” (MIC-ITA001), “The editorial and advertising departments work well together and there is constant communication. We do everything in our power to ensure that our clients are looked after” (MIC-GBR003).

**Figure XVI.** Overview of Answers Given by Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines on the Status of the Division Between Advertising and Journalism (N=27)

Publication	Does advertorial?	Advertorials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Overall
MIC-BEL001						1,80
MIC-BEL002						1,80
MIC-BEL003						1,00
MIC-BEL004						1,00
MIC-BEL005						1,00
MIC-BEL006						1,00
MIC-BEL007						1,25
MIC-BEL008						1,25
MIC-BEL009						1,25
MIC-GBR001						1,25
MIC-GBR002						0,60
MIC-GBR003						0,60*
MIC-GER001						1,20
MIC-GER002						1,80
MIC-GER003						1,40
MIC-GER004						0,75
MIC-ITA001						2,00
MIC- NED001						1,80
MIC-NED002						1,20
MIC-RSA001						1,60
MIC-RSA002						-
MIC-RUS001						2,00
MIC-SPA001						1,40
MIC-SUI001						1,60
MIC-SUI002						1,80
MIC-SWE001						0,40
MIC-USA001						0,60

Key: Colours and patterns:

	Light grey		Dark grey		Black		White
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Explanations to the colours used in figure XVI:

Does advertorials: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Advertorials marked: Yes = light grey, No = black, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

More journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

No critical journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Communication between ads department and journalistic/editorial department: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Overall: Group A: light grey, Group B: dark grey, Group C: black, Group X = white

The overall score called the hybridisation index is based on a summary of the fields. There must be at least three fields filled out to get an overall score. To find the average score, light grey is equivalent to 0, dark grey to 1 and black to 2, white fields are not

included in the calculation. If the overall average score is 0,5 or 1,5 an evaluation of the answers is made to classify the overall average score as 0 (light grey), 1 (dark grey) or 2 (black). In this respect, for example, answering that there is communication between the advertising and the editorial department is seen as less important to take into account compared to an answer stating that advertising means more editorial content.

\* If the magazine has answered that they don't do advertorials and then consequently don't answer the question whether the advertorials are marked, this counts as a light grey field when making the summary to get the average score.

On the contrary, those who denied such communication used words like 'independently', 'separate', 'no communication' and 'no influence' to picture the situation: "It is the policy of our house that advertising sales and editorial staff work independently from each other" (MIC-GER004), "Again the sales department has no influence on the editorial department" (MIC-BEL003), "The commercial and editorial departments operate completely separately to maintain editorial integrity" (MIC-GBR002), "Editorial and advertising staff are separate" (MIC-SWE001).

In the answers quoted above the author finds for the first time the phrase 'editorial integrity', which expresses a key feature of journalistic text production practice. It is the only time that this word is mentioned in the answers from the MICE magazines.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Overview of Answers**

In Figure XVI the conference tourism (MICE) magazines are as in the text above listed with coded names as the author argues that it is more important to see an overall picture of the situation than to focus on each magazine, which could also be interpreted as an intention to praise or punish individual magazines. The summary of the answers reflected in Figure XVI allows us to divide the MICE magazines into 3 different groups.

#### *Group A (1 magazine)*

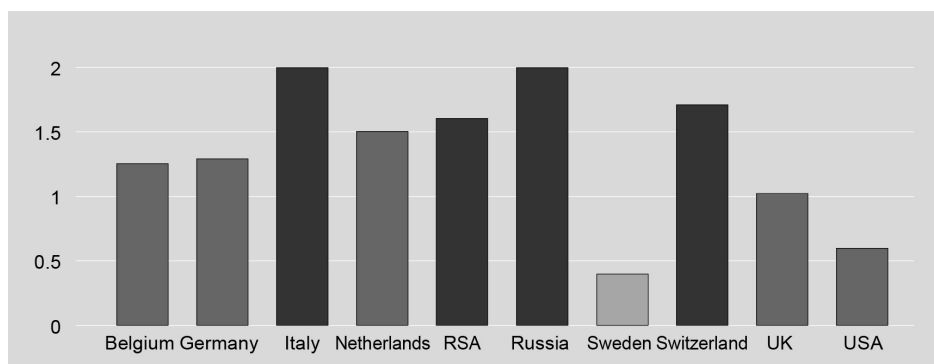
Answers indicate that there is or seems to be a strong, or rather strong, division between advertising and journalism. (MIC-SWE001). The author argues that this conference tourism (MICE) magazine seems to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group B (14 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is a certain, although rather weak, division between advertising and journalism in these MICE magazines. (MIC-BEL003), (MIC-BEL004), (MIC-BEL005), (MIC-GBR001), (MIC-GBR002), (MIC-GBR003), (MIC-GER-001), (MIC-GER003), (MIC-GER004), (MIC-NED002), (MIC-RSA001), (MIC-SPA001), (MIC-USA001). The author argues that in the work of these conference tourism (MICE) magazine certain characteristics of traditional journalism text production practice and certain characteristics of the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice are identified.

### *Group C (11 magazines)*

Answers indicate that there is no, or very little, division between advertising and journalism in these MICE magazines. (MIC-BEL001), (MIC-BEL002), (MIC-BEL007), (MIC-BEL008), (MIC-BEL009), (MIC-GER002), (MIC-ITA001), (MIC-NED001), (MIC-RUS001), (MIC-SUI002), (MIC-SUI001). The author argues that these conference tourism (MICE) magazines seem to work in line with the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice.



**Figure XVII.** The Hybridisation Index of the Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines, by Country (N=27)

The values in the figure show the hybridisation index and vary between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

### **Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Tested with Textual Analysis and FWI**

The empirical data from the answers give insight and stand on their own. However, the author decided to investigate whether there was correspondence between the practices in the text production practice, as reflected in the answers above, and the discourses in the texts produced and printed in the conference tourism (MICE) magazines.

The author chose to study texts from 9 of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines; 1 from Group A, 5 from Group B and 3 from Group C.

In Figure XVIII, we see that for 8 of the 9 MICE magazines the Favourable Word Index (FWI) (see explanation of FWI in Chapter 5.4.) for the editorials is either neutral or slightly positive, which might show that a journalist simply is impressed by something and wants to convey this to the reader. In the one case where the FWI for the editorial was positive, the same argument might be valid. However, the author would argue that the higher the FWI, the higher are the possibilities that there are non-journalistic considerations influencing the text. One such non-journalistic consideration could be external pressure from the advertisers.

The FWI for the short news and the feature reports in the 9 MICE magazines has a wider spread of results than for the editorials, with the greatest differences being seen in the feature reports, where the highest average FWI recorded in one magazines was +17,9 (MIC-GER002). For a feature report in another magazine (MIC-GER003) it should be noted that there is a note on the bottom of the page with very small letters that this is an ad. As the article is written with the same typeface as the journalistic content and it is therefore very hard for the reader to notice that this is an advert, the author included this article in the analysis. As quoted previously, this magazine answered that advertorials, “have to be marked in Germany, but we use very small notes to mark it”. As there are reasons to consider this report as a journalistic article and not an advert, the author argues that this practice might be interpreted as an attempt to mislead the readers.

Publication	Editorial	News	Reports	Overall
MIC-USA005	+3,4	+4,9	+6,6	+5,0
MIC-GER001	+3,3	+3,1	+2,3	+2,9
MIC-GER004	- 0,7	+6,1	+1,8	+2,4
MIC-GER002	-0,6	+7,0	+17,9	+8,1
MIC-SWE001	+3,8	+1,7	+3,0	+2,8
MIC-GBR001	+2,1	+4,9	+4,7	+3,9
MIC-GER003	+1,6	+9,3	+12,9*	+7,9
MIC-RUS001	+2,2	+9,4	+7,4	+6,3
MIC-SUI002	+4,4	+8,6	+7,2	+6,7
Average	+2,2	+6,1	+7,1	+5,1

Key: Colours and patterns:

<i>Slightly positive</i> +2.0 to +3.9	<i>Positive</i> + 4.0 to +5.9	<i>Extremely positive</i> >+8.0
<i>Neutral</i> +1.9 to -1.9	<i>Negative</i> -5.9 to -4.0	<i>Very positive</i> +6.0 to +7.9
<i>Slightly negative</i> -3.9 to -2.0		<i>Very negative</i> -7.9 to -6.0
		<i>Extremely negative</i> <-8.0

**Figure XVIII.** The Favourable Word Index (FWI) in 9 Selected MICE magazines  
In each magazine the FWI is measured in one editorial, a selection of short news items and one or several feature reports.

\* Labelled as ad at the bottom of the page with very small letters. Article written with the same typeface as other journalistic content.

As seen in the figure above, the feature reports produce larger differences in FWI than editorials and news. One feature report from each of the nine magazine were thus studied more carefully and distinct differences were observed in terms of topics, perspective, implications and pre-suppositions, choice of sources, lexis and generic structures.

The general topic for all of the feature reports is travel and travel to a certain destination. However, more narrowly, there are distinct differences between the topics. The highest topics of a news report are typically expressed in the headline and in the lead of the report (Van Dijk 1993: 113). The current case confirms this, the topics being confirmed and further developed in the rest of the report. Most of the topics as the key semantic message are promotional, but three magazines have included some more informational elements in the key topics:

Travel to India in the winter is wonderful (MIC-RUS001)  
Bern is a dynamic and suitable destination for MICE (MIC-SUI001)  
Finland has much to offer as a MICE destination (MIC-GBR001)  
Poland has surprisingly much to offer as a MICE destination (MIC-GER001)  
Austria is a great MICE destination (MIC-GER002)  
Tallinn is a fascinating, new MICE destination (MIC-GER003)  
A Swede has created a new MICE product in Jordan (MIC-SWE001)  
Despite problems, Russia develops fast as a MICE destination (MIC-USA005)  
A German develops the MICE market in Russia (MIC-GER004)

The topics in MIC-SWE001, MIC-USA005 and MIC-GER004 are different as they focus more on the experience of an individual in a foreign country (MIC-SWE001, MIC-GER004) as well as they not only praise, but also warn and to a certain degree also write critically about the destination (MIC-USA005). These magazines are not as promotional as the others; the topics reflect a mixture of promotion and information.

In terms of perspective, one should ask whether the author, for example, has a critical and distanced perspective on what he writes about, or is he on the contrary defending what he writes about as he was one of them that he describes. I argue that the author's distance is linked to the degree of ad-journalism discourse; the less the distance, the stronger the ad-journalism discourse, and the further the distance, the stronger the traditional journalism discourse is prevailing in the text of the author. In some MICE magazines the perspective of the journalist has almost merged with the perspective of those that he is supposed to write about: "The service-minded team at Salzburg Congress guarantees a perfect organisation and a smooth operation and supports comprehensively in the planning"<sup>21</sup> (MIC-GER002). Had the journalist observed some distance, he could have written: "claim to guarantee", "supposedly guarantee", "is by many said to support", "allegedly perfect" and he could have put the word 'perfect' in quotation marks to signal that this is not his opinion. And having a more distant perspective, the journalist would most likely be more careful with using the superlatives. Other places in this feature report the journalist writes that congress venues and regions of Austria 'offer' a series of excellent features. He thus chooses a very active verbal form that often

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<sup>21</sup> In German: Das serviceorientierte Team von Salzburg Congress garantiert perfekte Organisation und einen reibungslosen Ablauf und unterstützt umfassend bei der Planung.

is used by advertisers like hotels, congress centres, cities, regions and signals a perspective of an insider. As the journalist uses only positive and no negative words in his feature report, it is possible to conclude that he does not criticise, but support what he describes.

The perspective varies among the MICE magazines. From the following sentence it is hard to find whether the journalist is critical or supportive towards what he writes about: "The question just now is simply whether the grand official opening in March can take place due to the unrest after the Danish satirical drawings"<sup>22</sup> (MIC-SWE001). The use of the deictic word 'themselves' in the "The Russians themselves do not yet perceive the need for events and promotions" (MIC-GER004) signals a more than distant perspective than, for example, "We Russian ourselves". The same critical and possibly somewhat haughty perspective is recognised in the sentence: "In Russia the concept of marketing with emotions is only just being discovered" (MIC-GER004).

The above-quoted sentences: "The Russians themselves do not yet perceive the need for events and promotions" and "In Russia the concept of marketing with emotions is only just being discovered" (MIC-GER004) contains examples of implications as they express a hint that (the level of professionalism within) the MICE industry is not on a very high level in Russia or said even more harshly: "the Russian MICE industry is quite backward and underdeveloped". In a similar way the sentence: "The question just now is simply whether the grand official opening in March can take place due to the unrest after the Danish satirical drawings" (MIC-SWE001) implies that "travellers should think twice before travelling to the region" which is a serious stamp on a destination that is trying to develop. Including such an implication makes it unlikely that the journalist is under or gives in to pressure and influence from the advertisers from this destination.

The use of by-lines as well as sources that reflect an issue from various sides may create authority and reliability. In journalism by-lines giving the name and frequently also the position of the author are common. Of the nine feature reports, by-lines were not used in one case (MIC-GER002). However, among those that printed the by-lines, no magazine identified the position of the author and three magazines (MIC-GER004, MIC-GER002, MIC-GER001) only listed the initials (two or three letters) in the end of the report. Next to the by-lines in the end of the report, one MICE magazine (MIC-RUS001) published recognition of thankfulness to one company that had helped organise the trip: "The editorial department express its gratitude to the company 'Deo' (www.deotrans.ru) for an excellently organised trip and informational help".<sup>23</sup>

Two or more sources that comment on an issue from various perspectives and possibly with various viewpoints are often found in a journalistic article. In

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<sup>22</sup> In Swedish: Frågan just nu är bara om den stora officiella premiären i mars kan genomföras på grund av oroligheterna efter de danska satirteckningarna.

<sup>23</sup> In Russian: Редакция ... благодарит компанию «Део» (www.deotrans.ru) за прекрасно организованную поездку и информационную помощь.

most cases journalists fully name the sources except for cases where this could be subject to a risk for the source. In the nine feature reports, one is without any sources (MIC-GER003), five reports refer to one source while the remaining three reports have five or more sources. However, the number of sources is in this case not necessarily an indicator of an article where various viewpoints on a matter are reflected. The reports with a larger number of sources are merely letting these sources give some information about the hotels or venues that they work for, and this information is bound to be positive and one-sided. Partial exceptions are the report in the magazine MIC-USA005 where the hotel representatives interviewed do have some critical comments about the destination where they work and the report in the magazine MIC-SWE001 where the portrayed MICE company representative expresses his worries about the situation at the destination. In none of the nine reports the journalist lets more independent sources like consumers and users of the venues comment on the issues that the more dependent sources praise. In the case where next to the by-lines the editorial department expressed its gratitude to one company, the managing director of the same company is the only source named in the report (MIC-RUS001).

In terms of lexis, some feature reports are characterized by repetition of words that in the context are very favourable. For example, in the feature report done by the magazine MIC-GER002, the words ‘great and greatest’ as well as ‘modern and most modern’ are repeated ten times, ‘high and highest’ are repeated seven times, while ‘ideal’ and ‘perfect’ are repeated three times. The following sentence is characteristic for those sentences with a very high FWI. “Salzburg Congress offers with its convincing, modern architecture in the middle of one of the most beautiful cities in the world, a unique setting for any kind of events”<sup>24</sup> (MIC-GER002). According to the FWI measured, the only three reports not dominated by favourable words were MIC-SWE001, MIC-GER001 and MIC-GER004.

A standard journalistic text consists of a headline, a lead and a body text. All the nine feature reports have headlines, but two of the reports are split up by having new and large headlines almost on every page: “Salzburg Congress: The most modern space, surrounded by world-class cultural heritage”<sup>25</sup>, “Banquets for up to 4000 guests possible”<sup>26</sup>, “Vienna City Hall: Hypermodern Show-Stage”<sup>27</sup> (MIC-GER002). These quoted headlines contain a one-sided, positive evaluation of a venue or a destination and they could have been used in an advertising campaign as well. None of the headlines in the feature reports in the 9 MICE magazines send a negative message, they are either positive “Bern –

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<sup>24</sup> In German: Salzburg Congress bietet mit seiner überzeugenden, modernen Architektur inmitten einer der schönsten Städte der Welt, einen einzigartigen Rahmen für Veranstaltungen jeder Art.

<sup>25</sup> In German: Salzburg Congress: Modernste Räume, umgeben vom Weltkultur-Erbe

<sup>26</sup> In German: Bankette für bis zu 4.000 Gästen möglich

<sup>27</sup> In German: Wiener Stadthalle: Hypermoderne Show-Bühne



Full of Dynamics and Self-confidence”<sup>28</sup> (MIC-SUI002), “Ambitious MICE destination with moving past”<sup>29</sup> (MIC-GER003) or neutral: “Surprise effect” (MIC-GER001), “True North” (MIC-GBR001). The advertising-like headlines are in the MICE magazines with the highest FWI scores.

The lead, the introductory text following the headline, contains letters that are frequently slightly larger and thicker than the body text. In some of the leads in the studied feature reports it is possible to recognize characteristics of language often used in advertising: “A little more than a seven hour flight in a comfortable Boeing – and you are in a tropical heaven”<sup>30</sup> (MIC-RUS001), “Albert Einstein, the Paul Klee centre and das Stade de Suisse. They are symbols of the boom, dynamics and self-confidence that the federal capital presents itself with today.”<sup>31</sup> (MIC-SUI002). The pronoun ‘you’, used by the journalist in the sentence “you are in heaven” to address and communicate closely with the reader, is frequently used in advertising, but rare in traditional journalism. The use of the formulation ‘presents itself’ leads the thoughts to company presentations, advertising and public relations. Positive formulations like ‘boom’, ‘dynamics and self-confidence’ and ‘comfortable Boeing’ are sending a very positive message to the readers. In general, the advertising-like leads are in those MICE magazines that have the highest FWI scores.

The structure of the reports is built up in different ways. The feature report in the magazine MIC-GER002 starts with a very flattering overview of the industry and service sector in Austria as such, without using a single negative word, sentence or thought. Then the different parts of Austria are presented in smaller articles. The articles are overloaded with superlatives and empty of any negative words or thoughts. The feature article is surrounded by advertising from Austria and the cities described.

This textual analysis of the feature reports shows that the lower the FWI, the more frequent the reports a) have both informational and promotional topics, b) have a rather critical and distanced perspective, c) have texts containing negative implications, d) have by-lines in the texts, e) have critical sources quoted f) have texts not dominated by favourable words, g) have headlines sending a neutral or slightly positive message, h) have headlines once used only in an article and i) do not address readers as ‘you’; all features characterical for a more traditional journalistic text production practice.

At the same time, the textual analysis shows that the higher the FWI, the more frequent the feature reports a) have promotional topics, b) have a critical or distanced perspective, c) do not have texts with negative implications, d) do not have or only partly use by-lines, e) have no or non-critical sources, f) have

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<sup>28</sup> In German: Bern Voller Dynamik und Selbstvertrauen

<sup>29</sup> In German: Aufstrebende MICE-Destination mit bewegter Vergangenheit

<sup>30</sup> In Russian: Чуть более семи часов полета на комфортабельном «Боинге» – и вы в тропическом раю

<sup>31</sup> In German: Albert Einstein, das Zentrum Paul Klee und das Stade de Suisse. Sie sind Sinnbild des neuen Schwung der Dynamik und des Selbstvertrauens, mit welchen sich die Bundeshauptstadt heute präsentiert

texts dominated by favourable words, g) have headlines sending a positive message, h) have a series of positive headlines used in one article, i) address readers as ‘you’.

The next step was to compare the results from Figure XVIII with Figure XVI, that is, compare the answers given by 9 of the MICE magazines on the status of the division between advertising and journalism, with the overall FWI for the same 9 magazines.

As we can see from the colour and pattern scheme there seems to be quite a strong correspondence between the answers given and the FWI. For 5 of the 9 magazines the colour and pattern schemes coincide completely (light grey matches light grey, dark grey matches dark grey or black matches black), for 4 of the 9 magazines the colour and pattern schemes coincide partly (light grey and dark grey, dark grey and light grey or black and dark grey). In none of the cases do we see a total contrast of colour and pattern schemes (light grey and black or black and dark grey).

Publication	FWI	FWI	Answers	Answers
MIC-USA005	+5,0		-	
MIC-GER001	+2,9		-	
MIC-GER004	+2,4		-	
MIC-GER002	+8,1		-	
MIC-SWE001	+2,8		-	
MIC-GBR001	+3,9		-	
MIC-GER003	+7,9		-	
MIC-RUS001	+6,3		-	
MIC-SUI002	+6,7		-	

**Figure XIX.** The Correspondence Between the Division of Journalism and Advertising and the FWI in 9 MICE Magazines. Results from Figure XVIII Compared to the Results from Figure XVI

### Conference Tourism (MICE) Magazines: Conclusions

The analysis of the production process gives strong indications that journalism and advertising are not kept separate in the majority of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines. These indications were not disproved by the FWI analysis of nine of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines. There is a very strong correspondence between the production process (findings based on the answers from the conference tourism (MICE) magazines to a potential advertiser) and the texts produced by each conference tourism (MICE) magazine (findings based on FWI and textual analysis).

The study reveals that only a minority of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines (1 of 27) represent the traditional journalistic text production

practice in the way they operate. Slightly more than 1/3 of the conference tourism (MICE magazines) (11 out of 27) fully represent the hybrid text production practice that we have chosen to call the ad-driven journalistic text production practice. Around half of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines (14 out of 27) represent partly the hybrid ad-driven text production practice and partly the traditional journalistic text production practice. For 1 MICE magazine insufficient answers were received to make any clear conclusions as to which practice the magazine worked.

As for those countries that have 2 or more magazines represented in this study, differences in policies and text production practices among magazines from the same country are observed. For example, among the 4 German magazines, one magazine seems to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice, one in line with the ad-driven journalistic text production practice and two seem to be in the grey area between the two. The 9 Belgian magazines that gave extensive answers are either characterised by ad-driven journalistic text production practice or are in the grey area between the two, while the 3 British magazines are either operating in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice or are in the grey area.

It can be noted that a magazine which publishes one edition in the UK and another in Russia seems to have different policies internally; with the former seemingly following the traditional journalistic text production practice and the latter seemingly following the ad-driven journalistic text production practice. Shortage of data from a large enough number of magazines makes it impossible to claim that there are distinct geographical and regional variations in policy and text production practice within Europe, either from an east-west or a north-south perspective. The existence of ad-driven journalistic text production practice seems to be widespread in most parts of Europe.

## **6.5. Newspapers**

### **Newspapers: Data Selection and Collection**

The newspapers were selected mainly from the associations of newspaper associations in each country. In the case of Denmark, newspaper information was selected from the Danish Newspaper Publishers' Association (Danske Dagblades Forening 2007), in Estonia from the Estonian Newspapers Association (Eesti Ajalehtede Liit 2007), in Finland from the Finnish Newspaper Association (Sanomalehtien Liitto 2007), in Germany from the Federation of German Newspaper Publishers (Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger 2007). In the case of Lithuania information was collected from four sources: European Journalism Centre (European Journalism Centre 2007), the media web resources *AllYouCanRead.com* (AllYouCanRead 2007), *OnlineNewspapers.com* (OnlineNewspapers 2007) and Wikipedia, "List of newspapers in Lithuania" (Wikipedia 2007). In Russia the information on Russian newspapers was collected from the media site Media Atlas; in Russian Медиа Атлас (Media

Atlas 2007), while the Swedish newspapers were collected from a list of newspapers in Sweden offered by the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga Biblioteket – Sveriges Nationalbibliotek 2007) and the British newspapers from the data base of the publishers' association, the Newspaper Society (Newspaper Society 2007). Both local, regional and national including business newspapers were selected. In some cases various media web resources and the European Journalism Centre were used to make the list of newspapers from all mentioned countries more complete as well (European Journalism Centre 2007). In the period from 8 August–16 December 2007, email letters were sent to a total of (n=1205) newspapers in 8 countries in the northern part of Europe.

### **Newspapers: Response Rate**

By 28 December 2007, 124 answers representing 255 newspapers. Some responses represented more than one newspaper as some answers were received from a structure responsible for advertising in a series of newspapers that were contacted. Consequently, the response rate was 21,2 if we consider how many publications the answers covered compared to those contacted, but 10,3 % if we count the actual number of responses.

39 of these newspapers were removed from the sample as the responses included a media kit or a link to the website of the newspaper only. The remaining 216 newspapers from 7 European countries were given national codes prior to analysis: NEWSP-DEN001–011 (Denmark); NEWSP-EST001–009 (Estonia); NEWSP-FIN001–005 (Finland); NEWSP-GBR001–103 (Great Britain); NEWSP-GER001–035 (Germany); NEWSP-RUS001–024 (Russia); NEWSP-SWE001–029 (Sweden).

Circulation figures of the newspapers that responded varied from 1 669 copies as the lowest to 951 000 copies as the highest. Some newspapers possibly had higher circulation numbers, but listed their readership numbers only. The average circulation for the 140 newspapers that gave their circulation figures was 84 594 copies. Most newspapers were published five or six times a week, while some only once per week. Newspapers that were published less frequently than once per week were not included in the study.

### **Newspapers: Publishing of Advertorials**

In total 88 % of the newspapers (191 out of 216) confirmed that they ran 'advertorials'. 7 % (16 out of 216) of the newspapers answered that they did not run advertorials, while 3 % (6 out of 216 newspapers) gave unclear answers and 3 newspapers did not answer the question.

Among the few newspapers that did not accept advertorials, some wrote simply that "No we don't accept those kinds of ads" (NEWSP-SWE003), and "We do not do advertorials and it is not common in Sweden" (NEWSP-SWE028). This last comment is confirmed by the fact that about ¾ of the newspapers that rejected advertorials were from Sweden.

Two of the newspapers that accepted advertorials seemed to very surprised that it was possible to question the existence in the newspapers of such a

practice: “We of course do offer advertorials” (NEWSP-GER009–010), “Of course we do publish advertorials” (NEWSP-GER014). Another newspaper that accepted advertorial wrote that they often call them ‘business profiles’: “With regard to ‘advertorial’ features, I have attached our media sheet for advertorial features, also known as ‘business profiles’” (NEWSP-GER042).

47 % or 89 of those 191 newspapers accepting advertorials responded that the price for a page of an advertorial would be the same as for a regular ad. No newspapers responded that the price would be higher, but 14 % or 27 out of 191 newspapers answered that the price would be lower for advertorials compared to regular advertising. 52 % or 100 out of 191 newspapers did not give an answer that made clear the difference in price between advertorials and advertising. Those newspapers that responded that advertorials would be less expensive than regular advertising, answered that advertorials would cost 11 % less (NEWSP-SWE001), 15 % less (NEWSP-EST002–005), 30 % (NEWSP-GBR024), (NEWSP-GBR037), (NEWSP-GBR071–086), (NEWSP-RUS008) or about 45 % less (NEWSP-GBR068), (NEWSP-GBR096–097). The highest reported price for 1 page of advertorial was 64 570 EUR (NEWSP-GER029).

Of those 200 newspapers that did not openly confirm that they do not accept advertorials, 78 % or 156 newspapers confirmed that it is possible for the client to write the advertorial himself, 3 % or 5 newspapers responded that this is not possible, 3 % or 5 newspapers gave an unclear answer and 17 % or 34 newspapers gave no answer. Most newspapers answered that the client could write the advertorial and that a journalist or an editor in the newspaper would have a look and make corrections if necessary. Several newspapers stressed that the client would have the final say and full control of the content: “You will have a lot of influence on the content of the advertorial article – we will only check that the size is correct and that there is no obscene or offending writing, before publishing it” (NEWSP-SWE017–021), “If it is paid for, you may have whatever text you want, but should of course follow Finnish laws and regulations” (NEWSP-FIN003), “You can write it or if you wish we can do it for you. You would have total influence on the article and all we would do is check over it and ensure that it meets our approval” (NEWSP-GBR024), “Of course, your authors may write the articles, and we will then check the material before publishing and, if necessary, make corrections (naturally after having agreed this with you) ;– this is a more comfortable solution”<sup>32</sup> (NEWSP-RUS017). Some newspapers agreed that the client could produce the advertorial himself, but recommended to work with the newspaper’s writers to make it more credible for the newspaper’s readers: “You can write it yourself but we advise our writers to work with you as they best know the style and layout that will engage our readers – if it is written by our journalists in a tone that is

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<sup>32</sup> In Russian: Конечно, статьи могут писать Ваши авторы, а мы тогда будем проверять материал перед публикацией и, если надо, вносить коррективы (естественно, согласовав с Вами); – это более удобный вариант

instantly recognisable by our readers the article will have more credibility” (NEWSP-GBR098).

### **Newspapers: Labelling of Advertorials**

As ‘advertorial’ usually is considered a form of advertising, the author wanted to find out whether the advertorials were marked as advertorials or as advertising by the newspaper. Of those 200 newspapers that openly did not confirm that they do not accept advertorials, almost two-thirds – 59,5 % or 119 newspapers confirmed that they label the advertorials as advertising or advertorials, 12 % or 24 newspapers confirmed that they do not mark the advertorials as advertising or advertorials, 4 % or 8 newspapers gave unclear answer, while 24,5 % or 49 newspapers gave no answer.

Of those newspapers that marked the advertorials as advertising or advertorials some stressed that they were rather strict about this labelling: “All advertorials must be marked on both front and back page clearly showing that it is an advertorial that is paid for” (NEWSP-SWE001), “Advertorials have to be clearly marked and must be easily distinguished from journalistic content and possibly also seen and approved in beforehand by our editor-in-chief. We are quite strict about these and do not have them much” (NEWSP-FIN002).

Several newspapers also stressed rules and regulations that apply to advertorials to distinguish them from regular journalistic content: “The advertorial must always have at least a 2 pt frame. There is always a note below the advertorial: ‘Advertorial’” (*Kommertstekst*’ in Estonian). In the layout you cannot use the same font, column width, number of columns or other layout details as in the articles of [our newspaper]” (NEWSP-EST006–007), “Along with classic advertising executions, [the newspaper] also offers the option of publishing advertorials, with an ‘editorial-like’ appearance. The execution is printed on [the newspaper’s] paper but differs in layout and is also marked with the word ADVERTISEMENT. The advertorial is supplied print-ready by the client. [The newspaper] reserves the right to publish the advertorial. An advertorial must incorporate a number of features that distinguish it visually from original editorial copy: It must differ in column width from the main product, serif fonts must not be used, characteristic features such as mastheads or graphics must be clearly distinguishable from the main paper, editorial advertising must include the word Advertisement as a header in at least 8 pt. This special design has a number of advantages in terms of advertising effect. The advertisements are seen as being part of the newspaper in that they are printed on the same paper and are similar in layout to the editorial pages – an important precondition for the image transfer, they offer interested readers a high utility value by virtue of their detailed description and they provide an opportunity, given the variable editorial structure, to design striking advertising spreads or formats” (NEWSP-GER013), “Advertorials are published as advertising with the note ‘Advertising’ or ‘Special Publication’ and must in fonts and column separation be distinguished from the editorial part of the news-

paper”<sup>33</sup> (NEWSP-GER027). A newspaper also mentioned that it had to observe the law: “...which are clearly labelled as such, since this is mandatory according to German law” (NEWSP-GER009–010).

However, some newspapers that marked the advertorials as advertising or advertorials on the contrary stressed in their answers issues that would make it hard for the reader to recognise that this was a piece of advertising by stating that the articles look like regular journalistic reports or that the labelling is very small: “They look like regular but there is mark on top of it that its paid” (NEWSP-EST001), “All advertorials carry a small marking ‘Advertisement Feature’” (NEWSP-GBR037), “All advertorials are marked up ‘Advertising Announcement’ above...not too big though!” (NEWSP-GBR058–067).

Some of the newspapers claimed that they labelled the advertorials. However this was done merely through a little sign, and not clearly with the words advertising or advertorials. Consequently this was not considered by the author as a proper labelling of the text as advertising or advertorial: “All advertorials we mark with the sign®”<sup>34</sup> (NEWSP-RUS002), “They are being marked with the sign ®”<sup>35</sup> (NEWSP-RUS013), “All advertorials we mark with the sign ® in the end of the text”<sup>36</sup> (NEWSP-RUS022), “Placing of advertorials is possible when there is a preliminary agreement with the editor-in-chief of the publication and the lawyer, with a special sign ‘r’ in the end of the text, which means that the materials has been published on a commercial ground”<sup>37</sup> (NEWSP-RUS023), “We mark it with a special sign”<sup>38</sup> (NEWSP-RUS011). One newspaper did not mark the advertorial, but applied a different spelling system: “We will publish articles written in a little bit different spelling system from that of all other articles. We shall do it according to the price of commercial article without any notice ‘Commercial article’ or something like that” (NEWSP-EST002–005).

Yet, several newspapers openly stated that if the client so desires, the advertorials can be printed just as a regular journalistic article, without any sign or hints to the reader of the newspaper that this material is paid for: “What concerns advertorials, then we have experience in different marking of similar attachments in various of our publications including also without marking it as ‘advertising’”<sup>39</sup> (NEWSP-GER030–032)<sup>40</sup>, “There is no limitations regarding

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<sup>33</sup> In German: Advertorials werden als Werbung mit dem Hinweistext “Anzeige” oder “Sonderveröffentlichung” veröffentlicht und müssen sich in Schriftart und Spaltenaufteilung von dem redaktionellen Teil der Zeitung abheben.

<sup>34</sup> In Russian: Все рекламные материалы мы отмечаем значком ®

<sup>35</sup> In Russian: Отмечаются знаком ®

<sup>36</sup> In Russian: Все рекламные статьи помечаются у нас знаком ® в конце текста

<sup>37</sup> In Russian: Размещение статейных материалов (advertorials) возможно по предварительному согласованию с Главным редактором издания и юристом, со специальным значком “r” в конце текста, который обозначает выход материала на коммерческой основе

<sup>38</sup> In Russian: Отмечаем специальным знаком

<sup>39</sup> In Russian: Что касается advertorials, то мы имеем опыт различной маркировки подобных приложений в разных наших изданиях, в том числе и без указания на “рекламу”

<sup>40</sup> Answer from this German newspaper was received in Russian.

placing of advertorials. The information may be presented as journalistic content if those ordering the advertorial wants so”<sup>41</sup> (NEWSP-RUS012), “Articles that have been ordered, where the contact phone numbers, address, the name of the organisation and logo are shown go with the remark ‘in the rights of advertising’. General journalistic content where the specific addressee is not pointed to as well as news content can be printed as editorial content”<sup>42</sup> (NEWSP-RUS018), “Advertorials, as a rule, we do not mark. There are no limitations regarding advertorials, they can be printed in any way.”<sup>43</sup> (NEWSP-RUS021).

One newspapers started out their response by writing that they mark advertorials, but then switched to stating that everything is negotiable and ending the answer by letting the client understand that the advertorial could also possibly not be labelled as advertising by the newspaper: “Of course in advertorials we put the word ‘advertising’, but everything is negotiable, and we can present it as journalistic content, but naturally if there is not very clear focus that this is clear advertising. Such moments we will agree with our editor-in-chief and of course with you. The basic rule of our newspaper is respect. We respect our current and future clients, thus information or advertising should not include something negative in relations to other organisations, cities, people and convictions”<sup>44</sup> (NEWSP-RUS017).

### **Newspapers: Advertising and Publishing of More Journalistic Content**

When the newspapers were asked whether advertising from the client would make them more willing to publish more journalistic and editorial content about that client, almost half of the newspapers, that is, 95 out of 216 newspapers – 44 % – answered ‘no’, 60 newspapers or 28 % of the newspapers answered ‘yes’, 14 newspapers or 6 % gave unclear answers while 47 newspapers or 22 % did not answer the question.

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<sup>41</sup> In Russian: Ограничений на размещение рекламных материалов нет. Информация может быть представлена как журналистский материал по желанию заказчика

<sup>42</sup> In Russian: Статьи заказного характера, где указаны номера контактных телефонов, адрес, название организации, логотип идут с пометкой «на правах рекламы». Журналистские материалы общего характера, без конкретного указания адресата, новостные материалы могут печататься как редакционные материалы

<sup>43</sup> In Russian: Рекламные статьи мы, как правило, не отмечаем. Ограничений насчет рекламных статей нет, их можно публиковать в любом виде

<sup>44</sup> In Russian: Конечно, в рекламных статьях мы ставим слово "реклама", но всё обговариваемо, и мы можем представить их в виде материалов журналистов, но, естественно, если нет ярко выраженных указаний на то, что это явная реклама. Такие моменты мы согласовываем с нашим главным редактором и, конечно же, с Вами. Основное правило нашей газеты – уважение. Мы уважаем наших нынешних и будущих клиентов, поэтому информация или реклама не должна содержать какого-либо негатива по отношению к другим организациям, городам, людям, убеждениям



Among those newspapers that rejected the link between advertising and more journalistic content, various reasons for this policy were given. Some newspapers simply explained this by stating that there is no connection between the advertising and editorial departments or the advertising department has no influence on the editorial department: “There is no connection between marketing department and the journalists” (NEWSP-SWE001), “No, We have no connection with the editorial staff in such matters” (NEWSP-SWE004), “We have no co-operation with the journalist. That means that we can’t guarantee that they will write about special items” (NEWSP-SWE024–025), “You can always send your material together with your advert. We will send it to our editors and they will decide, whether to publish it or not. We, as the advertising department, have no influence on that” (NEWSP-GER003), “No, advertising is not influenced by editorial and vice-versa” (NEWSP-GER008), “There is absolutely no influence on the editorial department from the advertising department” (NEWSP-GER015), “There is absolutely no influence on the editorial department from the advertising department” (NEWSP-GER034), “There are not that kind of communication between advertising department and journalistic/editorial department, so that means that also no connection of publishing articles and advertising” (NEWSP-EST009), “There exists no connection between advertising and journalistic publications through our editors.”<sup>45</sup> (NEWSP-GER027).

Other newspapers stressed the independence of the editorial office and the newspaper as such: “Our editorial office is independent in its decision to publish articles and also in the way they do it. It does not depend on advertisement.” (NEWSP-GER005), “No, we have an independent editorial staff and it is up to them to decide what is written in the newspaper and not” (NEWSP-SWE028), “We hope to have your understanding, that advertising department and editorial department of [the newspaper] work completely independent – we are of course happy to inform the editorial department about your press releases but cannot guarantee that these will be published afterwards” (NEWSP-GER028), “As we are an independent newspaper the ad sales department and the editorial department are strictly separated. I am sorry, but your advertise will not have any influence to what is published” (NEWSP-GER013).

Other newspapers emphasised the importance of not mixing ads and journalism: “I am sorry but we don’t mix that kind of matters between our advertisement department and journalistic department” (NEWSP-SWE022), “No, advertising and articles are two separate things” (NEWSP-DEN003).

A Swedish newspaper also used the word ‘integrity’ to explain their policy. “As you may know, [the newspaper] is an independent and liberal newspaper. The commercial departments are separated from the editorial department whereas the editorial dept very much appreciate their integrity and objective point of view. Hence, the departments work independently of each other”

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<sup>45</sup> In German: Es besteht kein Zusammenhang zwischen Anzeigenschaltungen und journalistischen Veröffentlichungen durch unsere Redakteure

(NEWSP-SWE026). For other newspapers the understanding of ‘credibility’ and ‘freedom’ played a major role when explaining their stance: “The editorial reports of our publications are based on high journalistic quality and are appreciated as such by our readers. This gives us an almost unique credibility on the market. Therefore, choosing our titles as carriers for your advertising message cannot influence the editorial freedom or the quality of the reports. You are more than welcome to send us information material any time and we shall be pleased to pass it on to the editorial department. Our colleagues will independently decide though, whether the materials can be of interest for our readers” (NEWSP-GER009–010), “We can never offer free editorial on the back of paid for space – our name is [...] – we would lose all credibility if clients were able to influence/buy our editorial space – we have to let our journalists exercise complete freedom” (NEWSP-GBR098). The business aspect, that is, doing business based on mixing advertising and journalism was unacceptable by a Swedish newspaper: “We don’t do business under such conditions” (NEWSP-SWE027).

Among those newspapers that accepted or were open for a link between advertising and more journalistic content the arguments in favour of such a policy also varied. It became clear that for some newspapers this linking was just a normal and accepted way of doing regular newspaper business, like a business deal if you give us ads we give you publications: “We can promise a publication when we get an advertisement” (NEWSP-GER022), “So in case of a paid advertising we will publish some more material of your city” (NEWSP-GER025), “Yes if you were to advertise with us it would have an influence with our editorial team” (NEWSP-GBR096–097), “In case you will decide to put advertising in our newspaper, we will be ready to publish journalistic/editorial content about your city”<sup>46</sup> (NEWSP-RUS002), “We have very good relationships with our clients and ones who support our paper are absolutely given priority when it comes to news stories” (NEWSP-GBR043–055).

As a continuation of this argument, some newspapers also stressed the amount of advertising. “Yes, what sort of co-operation is possible, here everything will depend on the amount of advertising that you will put in the newspaper. And also your readiness to co-operate with the journalists.”<sup>47</sup> (NEWSP-RUS006), “We need to talk specifically, concretely: what will you put, how many times, how frequently, accordingly, in the case of good amounts there can additionally be articles about your city”<sup>48</sup> (NEWSP-RUS018), “Depending on

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<sup>46</sup> In Russian: В случае, если Вы решили разместить рекламу в нашей газете, мы будем готовы опубликовать журналистические/редакционные материалы о Вашем городе

<sup>47</sup> In Russian: Да, какой вариант сотрудничества возможен, здесь все будет зависеть от объема рекламы, который Вы размещаете в газете. А так же Вашу готовность сотрудничать с журналистами в процессе написания материала

<sup>48</sup> In Russian: Нужно разговаривать предметно, конкретно: что будете размещать, сколько раз, как часто, соответственно, при хороших объемах дополнительно могут идти статьи о Вашем городе

how much of revenue /frequency of advertising, we would be willing to look into any free publicity as long as it is relevant to our readership, although final say always rests with our editor” (NEWSP-GBR101–102). Some Russian newspapers used the term ‘bonus’ when explaining this business relationship. “Well, just as some kind of Bonus” (NEWSP-RUS001), “When concluding a contract on advertising co-operation, we are ready in the quality of a bonus to give informational support.”<sup>49</sup> (NEWSP-RUS023). Some newspapers added that they would think of some sort of ‘editorial project’: “In order to publish journalistic content about [your city] we can think of together with you some sort of editorial project, in the framework of which it will be understandable for the reader the connection between our cities”<sup>50</sup> (NEWSP-RUS003 and NEWSP-RUS024). Another newspaper stressed the importance of the quality of materials in order to offer articles: “We are ready to publish materials about your city. For us the quality of the materials are important.”<sup>51</sup> (NEWSP-RUS010).

A German newspaper admitted that only in one part of the newspaper the advertising department would have the influence on the editorial content: “Only through Travel Special, where there is influence on the editorial content” (NEWSP-GER020–021). Other newspapers mentioned that some sort of information they would be willing to print if the client did some advertising: “According to our chief editor [...] (e-mail [...]), [the newspaper] would be interested in overviewing festivals, entertainment and culture events in [your city] and [your neighbouring city] once a month” (NEWSP-EST006–007), “We can always add extra editorial within many of our features within reason” (NEWSP-GBR069–070).

Some newspapers used words as ‘of course’ and ‘naturally’ to underline their willingness to publish more journalistic information if the client wants to advertise: “Yes, of course” (NEWSP-EST002–005), “Naturally, we can publish both advertising blocks, and accompanying to them various materials, among them also about your city”<sup>52</sup> (NEWSP-RUS012).

One newspaper did not openly confirm that they would publish more information if advertising from the client, but hinted that out of ‘curiosity’ they might do so: “Of course will this make us a bit more curious about the [your] city – and there is definitely not impossible that we will write some own articles about the city” (NEWSP-SWE017–021).

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<sup>49</sup> In Russian: При заключении контракта на рекламное сотрудничество, мы готовы в качестве бонуса, предоставлять информационную поддержку

<sup>50</sup> In Russian: Для того, чтобы публиковать журналистские материалы о [вашем городе] мы можем придумать совместно с вами некий редакционный проект, в рамках которого читателю будет понятна связь между нашими городами

<sup>51</sup> In Russian: Мы готовы публиковать материалы о Вашем городе. Для нас важно качество материалов

<sup>52</sup> In Russian: Естественно, мы можем публиковать как рекламные блоки, так и сопровождающие их различные материалы, в том числе и о вашем городе.

Among the responses that were classified as unclear, two newspapers used the word 'maybe' in their answers. "Maybe, it depends about material" (NEWSP-EST001), "Maybe, but no guarantee" (NEWSP-GER012). Another newspaper started the response by giving an official response, then went on with formulations that could be interpreted as undermining the official response: "My official answer is no, but of course the more information we have on your city, the more likely is that our journalists will find it interesting to write about" (NEWSP-SWE006-009).

### **Newspapers: Advertising and Critical News**

Responding to the question whether buying advertising would guarantee that the newspapers would not publish very critical or negative articles about the client, 89 out of 216 newspapers – 41 % – answered 'no', 37 newspapers or 17 % of the newspapers answered 'yes', 6 newspapers or 3 % gave unclear answers while 84 newspapers or 39 % did not answer the question.

Those newspapers that were not willing to give any guarantees of no critical and no negative news gave various reasons for doing so. Some newspapers explained their policy by reliability and independency: "I'm sorry, but I can't influence either positive, negative articles or publishing more articles about [your city]. There is no doubt that I can't afford or guarantee that. We have 'reliable' principle and that makes from us an independent newspaper" (NEWSP-EST009), "The editorial staff is independent and to remain plausible, we cannot exclude critical reporting" (NEWSP-GER017-019).

Other newspapers argued with relevance and rights of the readers: "Advertising or not, we will publish critical and/or negative articles if we find them relevant for our readers" (NEWSP-DEN002), "We cannot impact on the journalistic freedom of our writers – readers have a right to know what commentary they want to share good or bad" (NEWSP-GBR098).

One newspaper pointed to the integrity and freedom of the editorial staff: "Whilst we communicate we need to protect the editorial integrity of our editorial and need to be free to write about anything we feel is of value to our readership. We would however liaise with editorial and hopefully try and influence them but really they have this freedom" (NEWSP-GBR024).

Several newspapers stressed that the advertising and editorial department work separately and don't mix advertising and journalism: "Journalists write what they see and hear and the advertising department sells advertisements, we would not guarantee anything" (NEWSP-FIN003), "No, our advertising and editorial departments are strictly separated" (NEWSP-GER008), "Our advertising and editorial department are separate so we cannot guarantee they won't publish critical or negative articles about your city. If you would like more editorial material you would have to speak to the editorial department" (NEWSP-GBR056-057), "We separate our advertising department from our journalistic department, so we don't mix those two things" (NEWSP-DEN001).

A series of newspapers argued that the advertising department simply had no control and influence on the articles: "... we have no influence on the articles

here from our advertising department” (NEWSP-DEN003), “Will have no influence whatsoever” (NEWSP-GBR068), “We have no control over editorial content within the newspaper” (NEWSP-GBR058–067), “I’m afraid we cannot stop what the editorial team write only ask them to do certain feature etc.” (NEWSP-GBR096–097).

Some newspapers found it necessary to apologize that they could not give any guarantees: “Unfortunately we cannot guarantee that nothing negative or critical is published on [your city] even though you decide to advertise in our paper” (NEWSP-FIN002), “I’m sorry, we can’t give you this guarantee” (NEWSP-GER011), “Unfortunately we are unable to guarantee any negative or positive comments on your city regardless of whether you advertise with us” (NEWSP-GBR040), “I’m sorry, we can’t give you this guarantee” (NEWSP-GER033).

Instead of apologizing, one newspaper tried in its answer to argue with the beneficial aspects of critics: “We assume that any critics in the given case will be constructive as the authors are interested in improving the life in the city”<sup>53</sup> (NEWSP-RUS005), while another newspaper tried to reason that critical comments are unavoidable: “There is communication between the advertising department and the journalists, but from critical articles nobody is secured. (As a rule it does not happen)”<sup>54</sup> (NEWSP-RUS011).

Many of the newspapers that responded that they would guarantee that there would be no critical or negative article about a client if he will advertise in the newspaper, listed good relations with the clients and thus income for the newspaper as the main reason for such a policy: “Our advertising customers are our largest income, we are very careful about these to keep up and develop our good relations” (NEWSP-SWE016), “With our permanent client group we are very much friends and negative materials we DO NOT publish”<sup>55</sup> (NEWSP-RUS007), “Once more I will repeat – we respect our clients and do not publish negative information about anybody”<sup>56</sup> (NEWSP-RUS017). Some newspapers did not so openly mention the income issue, but used other words like “not in our interest” to make it clear that most probably the money issue was the most decisive: “With regards to printing negative information this would not really be in our interest to do so, should you be advertising with us” (NEWSP-GBR043–055), “Actually I am not entitled to affect the journalists in what they should write about or not. But of course we try not to criticise things that our advertisers represents. I have never heard something negative about [your city]

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<sup>53</sup> In Russian: Мы так же исходим из того, что любая критика в данном случае будет конструктивной в силу заинтересованности самих авторов улучшить жизнь города

<sup>54</sup> In Russian: Коммуникации между рекламным отделом и журналистами существуют, но от критических статей никто не застрахован. (Как правило, такого не происходит)

<sup>55</sup> In Russian: Со своей постоянной клиентурой мы очень дружим и негативных материалов о них НЕ публикуем

<sup>56</sup> In Russian: Снова повторяюсь – мы уважаем наших клиентов и не публикуем негативной информации о ком-либо

here at our office, so I am pretty sure that it won't be any articles like that in our newspaper!" (NEWSP-SWE017–021).

Some newspapers stated that it would be without the competence of the journalist to criticise anything linked to this client since it was so far away from the location of the newspaper: "I think that negative materials we will hardly publish, partly because our journalists write critical materials about what is going on here in [our home city], but what is going on in [your city], that is in a way outside their competence"<sup>57</sup> (NEWSP-RUS003 and NEWSP-RUS024)

Two newspapers argued that journalism ethics and the internal policy explained their stand of not criticising an advertisign client: "If we will establish partner relations, we will under no circumstances publish critical articles about [your] wonderful city. The journalistic ethics will not allow us to do so"<sup>58</sup> (NEWSP-RUS012), "Publishing articles, which criticise your city is not possible! This is against our internal policy"<sup>59</sup> (NEWSP-RUS014).

One British newspaper mentioned the close relationship between editorial and advertising to explain their policy: "Yes we have a close relationship between editorial and advertising, we tend not to print detrimental information within our papers" (NEWSP-GBR069–070).

Newspapers were somewhat different in their formulations to make a guarantee, one stating it is 'likely' another more absolute. "We can make it likely not to publish critical materials" (NEWSP-RUS001), "Yes, that will be a guarantee"<sup>60</sup> (NEWSP-RUS021).

Very few newspaper gave unclear answers to the question whether advertising would mean a guarantee that there would not be critical or negative articles about the advertiser. However, one newspaper responded with a question that could be interpreted in various ways: "Regarding the probability of critical articles about [your city]? Try to answer an analogical question to you about [our city]. Our newspaper is an official governmental printing organ of Russia at the level of the region"<sup>61</sup> (NEWSP-RUS009) while another newspaper stated that it could not give a general answer, it would be decided in each

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<sup>57</sup> In Russian: Я думаю, что отрицательные материалы мы вряд ли будем публиковать, отчасти потому, что наши журналисты пишут критические материалы о том, что происходит здесь, в [нашем городе], а что происходит в [вашем городе] – это как бы вне сферы их компетенции

<sup>58</sup> In Russian: Если у нас устанавливаются партнёрские отношения, мы ни в коем случае не будем публиковать критические статьи о [Вашем] прекрасном городе. Нам этого не позволит журналистская этика

<sup>59</sup> In Russian: Публикации статей, критикующих Ваш город невозможны! Это противоречит нашей внутренней политике

<sup>60</sup> In Russian: Да, это будет гарантией.

<sup>61</sup> In Russian: Относительно вероятности критических статей о [Вашем городе]? Попытайтесь ответить на аналогичный вопрос к Вам относительно [нашего города]. Наша газета официальный правительственный на уровне региона печатный орган России

different case. “The decision is made on each specific order, we are ready to look through any information”<sup>62</sup> (NEWSP-RUS010).

### **Newspapers: Communication Between Advertising and Editorial Department**

More than half of the newspapers, that is, 53 % or 114 out of 216 newspapers did not answer the question whether there is some communication between their advertising department and their journalistic/editorial department, 12 % (25 out of 216) newspapers responded that there was no communication, 35 % (75 out of 216) newspapers replied that there is some communication, while 2 newspapers gave an unclear answer.

The responses from the those newspapers that admitted that there is communication between the journalists and the editorial department on one side and the advertising department on the other side, may be divided into two parts; those that confirmed communication, but stressed that this has no effect on the work of the journalists and those that did not confirm that communication could have an impact on the work of the journalists.

The first group stressed that the journalists remained to write freely whatever they wanted about an advertiser despite the contact and communication between the two departments: “Of course we have communication between our departments, however an advert will not hinder us from writing interesting news about the advertiser“ (NEWSP-SWE011), “There is communication between our advertising department and journalistic/editorial department, but we have no influence on the articles here from our advertising department” (NEWSP-DEN003), “As said before we function separately from editorial staff and there certainly is communication but we cannot give restrictions what they can write about” (NEWSP-FIN002), “There is no chance for the Advertisement section to take influence on the content of our articles, though the Editor and sales department talk to each other about the customers matters” (NEWSP-GER001–002), “We have communication between our advertising department and journalistic/editorial department BUT our journalistic/editorial department never writes anything on behalf of the advertising department or anybody else” (NEWSP-SWE029), “We discuss issues between departments – however we have to be seen as unbiased and present current affairs in a fair & balanced manner to readers” (NEWSP-GBR031–033), “Of course, we communicate with editorial, but we do not influence on each other” (NEWSP-RUS001).

The second group used words like ‘of course’, ‘good’, ‘close’, ‘direct’, ‘full’ ‘together’ to characterise the communication between the editorial department and the advertorial department and does not rush to deny that such communication could have an impact on the editorial content of the newspaper, on the contrary the answers hint that such an impact might very well exist: “The advertising department is of course in constant communication with the

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<sup>62</sup> In Russian: Решение принимается по каждому конкретному заказу, любую информацию готовы рассмотреть

editorial staff" (NEWSP-GER014), "Not really, we have good communications, the advertising department which meets a lot of people and clients report questionings from the clients to the journalists and then when they decide if or what they write. Let's say that if they are informed, the chances of course increase that anything will be written" (NEWSP-SWE016), "We have very good communication between the two departments" (NEWSP-EST002-005), "Our journalistic department and our advertising department work together" (NEWSP-GER022), "Our advertising and editorial departments do work together and communicate between themselves anything of relevance" (NEWSP-GBR001-004), "Our advertising and editorial department work closely, I have spoken with the editor about you and should you decide to do a full page with us we would be delighted to follow it up with something else about your city – we will in some way find a link!" (NEWSP-GBR043-055), "Yes we have a close relationship between editorial and advertising" (NEWSP-GBR069-070), "There exists of course communication between the advertising department and journalists"<sup>63</sup> (NEWSP-RUS004), "Our advertising and editorial departments do work together and communicate between themselves anything of relevance" (NEWSP-GBR005-006 and NEWSP-GBR086-095), "Between the advertising department and the journalism department there exists a direct connection, the work is in constant contact"<sup>64</sup> (NEWSP-RUS014), "In our editorial department the advertising section and the journalists work sufficiently united, the editorial policy of the newspaper is decided by the editor-in-chief"<sup>65</sup> (NEWSP-RUS018), "Between the advertising department and the editorial department of the newspaper there exists the very closest connection. When the managers agree with a company about writing advertorials, they pass on all necessary data to the journalists. We work within the framework of one company, which besides the newspaper also publish leaflets, booklets, brochures and calendars"<sup>66</sup> (NEWSP-RUS012).

As seen some newspapers have a very strong co-operation between the journalists and the advertising department. As one newspaper mentioned their journalists also work for the advertisers: "The connection between the advertising department and the journalists is the very most direct one since they do paid work for us in terms of giving our customers advertising-informational

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<sup>63</sup> In Russian: Коммуникация между отделом рекламы и журналистами конечно существует

<sup>64</sup> In Russian: Между рекламным отделом и отделом журналистики существует прямая связь, работа в постоянном контакте

<sup>65</sup> In Russian: В нашей редакции отдел рекламы и журналисты работают достаточно сплоченно, редакционную политику газеты определяет главный редактор

<sup>66</sup> In Russian: Между рекламным отделом и редакцией газеты существует самая тесная связь. Когда менеджеры договариваются с какой-либо фирмой о написании рекламной статьи, все необходимые данные они передают журналистам. Мы работаем в рамках одного предприятия, которое кроме газеты выпускает листовки, буклеты, проспекты, календари



services”<sup>67</sup> (NEWSP-RUS007). Some Russian newspapers also gave answers that let it be understood that the people working with advertising and the people working with journalism worked fully together in one team, in some cases the two department had merged: “Our advertising department is a part of our editorial staff and it is subordinate to the editor”<sup>68</sup> (NEWSP-RUS021), “The advertising and editorial department in [our newspaper] work together – we have one newspaper and joint tasks to develop it positively”<sup>69</sup> (NEWSP-RUS005), “We are one organisation – the advertising-informational department” [of our newspaper]”<sup>70</sup> (NEWSP-RUS017), “The advertising department works in full contact with the entire journalist staff. And there is one who fully controls and governs the interactions between the journalists, the advertising department as well as their work with the advertisers – that is, the editor-in-chief”<sup>71</sup> (NEWSP-RUS009).

One newspaper mentioned a reason for the communication between the two departments that was not mentioned by any other newspaper, that is to avoid that fragments of advertising could fall into the texts of the journalists: “There exists a very close communication between the advertising department and the editorial staff, this is necessary in order to avoid that fragments of advertising accidentally would fall into texts of journalists. We permanently read through all columns of the newspaper before we send it to the printing house”<sup>72</sup> (NEWSP-RUS006).

Among those 12 % of the newspapers that responded that there is no communication between the advertising and editorial departments, one newspapers argued that they are an independent newspaper: “As we are an independent newspaper the ad sales department and the editorial department are strictly separated. I am sorry, but your advertisement will not have any influence to what is published” (NEWSP-GER013). However, most newspapers answered that there is no communication between the two departments, but did not go into explaining the reasons for this: “Our advertising department is separated

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<sup>67</sup> In Russian: Связь рекламного отдела с журналистами самая прямая, т.к. они выполняют для нас платную работу по рекламно-информационному обслуживанию наших Заказчиков

<sup>68</sup> In Russian: Наш рекламный отдел находится в штате нашей редакции и подчиняется редактору

<sup>69</sup> In Russian: Рекламный отдел и редакционный отдел в [нашей газете] работают вместе – у нас одна газета и одни задачи ее благополучного развития

<sup>70</sup> In Russian: Мы единая организация – рекламно-информационный отдел [нашей газеты]

<sup>71</sup> In Russian: Отдел рекламы работает в полном контакте совсем составом журналистов. И есть полностью владеющий и управляющий как во взаимодействии журналистов с отделом рекламы, так и их работой с рекламодателями – главный редактор газеты

<sup>72</sup> In Russian: Между рекламным отделом и редакцией существует очень тесная коммуникация, это необходимо для того что бы избежать случайных попаданий рекламных фрагментов в тексты журналистов. Мы постоянно вычитывает все полосы газеты перед отправкой их в типографию

from our journalistic department. We (advertising dep.) don't have any influence on the editorial department" (NEWSP-SWE006–009), "We have no co-operation with the journalist" (NEWSP-SWE024–025), "There are not that kind of communication between advertising department and journalistic/ editorial department, so that means there is also no connection of publishing articles and advertising" (NEWSP-EST008).

**Figure XX.** Overview of Answers Given by Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe on the Status of the Division Between Advertising and Journalism (N=216)

Publication	Does advertorial?	Adver- torials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Over- all
NEWSP-DEN001						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN002						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN003						0,75
NEWSP-DEN004–011						-
NEWSP-EST001						0,75
NEWSP-EST002–005						2,00
NEWSP-EST006–007						1,50
NEWSP-EST008						-
NEWSP-EST009						0,40
NEWSP-FIN001						-
NEWSP-FIN002						0,80
NEWSP-FIN003						0,50
NEWSP-FIN004						0,60
NEWSP-FIN005						0,33
NEWSP-GER001–002						0,80
NEWSP-GER003						0,67
NEWSP-GER004						-
NEWSP-GER005						0,50
NEWSP-GER006						0,40
NEWSP-GER007						-
NEWSP-GER008						0,40
NEWSP-GER009–010						0,50
NEWSP-GER011						1,00
NEWSP-GER012						0,60
NEWSP-GER013						0,40
NEWSP-GER014						1,00
NEWSP-GER015						0,40
NEWSP-GER016–019						1,40
NEWSP-GER020–021						1,50
NEWSP-GER022						2,00
NEWSP-GER023						0,67
NEWSP-GER024						1,50
NEWSP-GER025						1,50

Publication	Does advertorial?	Adver- torials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Overall
NEWSP-DEN001						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN002						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN003						0,75
NEWSP-DEN004-011						-
NEWSP-EST001						0,75
NEWSP-EST002-005						2,00
NEWSP-EST006-007						1,50
NEWSP-EST008						-
NEWSP-EST009						0,40
NEWSP-GER026						-
NEWSP-GER027						0,80
NEWSP-GER028						0,80
NEWSP-GER029						0,40
NEWSP-GER030-032						-
NEWSP-GER033						1,00
NEWSP-GER034						0,40
NEWSP-GER035						1,50
NEWSP-GBR001-004						1,20
NEWSP-GBR005-006						0,80
NEWSP-GBR007-022						0,67
NEWSP-GBR023						1,50
NEWSP-GBR024						0,80
NEWSP-GBR025-028						2,00
NEWSP-GBR029-030						1,50
NEWSP-GBR031-033						0,80
NEWSP-GBR034-036						-
NEWSP-GBR037						-
NEWSP-GBR038-039						-
NEWSP-GBR040						0,75
NEWSP-GBR041						-
NEWSP-GBR042						0,80
NEWSP-GBR043-055						2,00
NEWSP-GBR056-057						0,60
NEWSP-GBR058-067						0,50
NEWSP-GBR068						0,50
NEWSP-GBR069-070						1,80
NEWSP-GBR071-086						-
NEWSP-GBR087-095						0,80
NEWSP-GBR096-097						1,00
NEWSP-GBR098						0,50
NEWSP-GBR099-100						-
NEWSP-GBR101-102						-
NEWSP-GBR103						-
NEWSP-RUS001						1,60

Publication	Does advertorial?	Adver- torials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Overall
NEWSP-DEN001						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN002						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN003						0,75
NEWSP-DEN004-011						-
NEWSP-EST001						0,75
NEWSP-EST002-005						2,00
NEWSP-EST006-007						1,50
NEWSP-EST008						-
NEWSP-EST009						0,40
NEWSP-RUS002						2,00
NEWSP-RUS003						1,75
NEWSP-RUS004						1,00
NEWSP-RUS005						1,50
NEWSP-RUS006						1,40
NEWSP-RUS007						2,00
NEWSP-RUS008						-
NEWSP-RUS009						1,40
NEWSP-RUS010						1,25
NEWSP-RUS011						1,20
NEWSP-RUS012						2,00
NEWSP-RUS013						2,00
NEWSP-RUS014						1,50
NEWSP-RUS015						-
NEWSP-RUS016						-
NEWSP-RUS017						2,00
NEWSP-RUS018						1,80
NEWSP-RUS019						-
NEWSP-RUS020						-
NEWSP-RUS021						1,80
NEWSP-RUS022						1,50
NEWSP-RUS023						1,60
NEWSP-RUS024						1,75
NEWSP-SWE001						0,40
NEWSP-SWE002						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE003						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE004						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE005						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE006-009						0,25*
NEWSP-SWE010						0,40
NEWSP-SWE011						0,80
NEWSP-SWE012						-
NEWSP-SWE013-015						-
NEWSP-SWE016						1,20
NEWSP-SWE017-021						1,50

Publication	Does advertorial?	Adver- torials marked	More journalism if ads	No critical articles if ads	Communication between the departments	Overall
NEWSP-DEN001						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN002						0,00*
NEWSP-DEN003						0,75
NEWSP-DEN004-011						-
NEWSP-EST001						0,75
NEWSP-EST002-005						2,00
NEWSP-EST006-007						1,50
NEWSP-EST008						-
NEWSP-EST009						0,40
NEWSP-SWE022						0,80
NEWSP-SWE023						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE024-025						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE026						0,40
NEWSP-SWE027						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE028						0,00*
NEWSP-SWE029						0,67

Key: Colours and patterns:

	Light grey		Dark grey		Black		White
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Explanations to the colours used in Figure XX:

Does advertorials: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Advertorials marked: Yes = light grey, No = black, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

More journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

No critical journalism if ads: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Communication between the advertising department and journalistic/editorial department: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white

Overall: Group A: light grey, Group B: dark grey, Group C: black, Group X = white

The overall score called the hybridisation index is based on a summary of the fields. There must be at least three fields filled out to get an overall score. To find the average score, light grey is equivalent to 0, dark grey to 1 and black to 2, white fields are not included in the calculation. If the overall average score is 0,5 or 1,5 an evaluation of the answers is made to classify the overall average score as 0 (light grey), 1 (dark grey) or 2 (black). In this respect, for example, answering that there is communication between the advertising and the editorial department is seen as less important to take into account compared to an answer stating that advertising means more editorial content.

\* If the magazine has answered that they don't do advertorials and then consequently don't answer the question whether the advertorials are marked, this counts as a light grey field when making the summary to get the average score.

### **Newspapers: Overview of Answers**

In Figure XX the newspapers are as in the text above listed with coded names as the author argues that it is more important to see an overall picture of the situation than to focus on each newspaper, which could also be interpreted as an intention to praise or punish individual newspapers.

The summary of the answers reflected in Figure XX allows us to divide the newspapers into 4 different groups.

#### *Group A (42 newspapers)*

Answers indicate that there is or seem to be a strong, or rather strong, division between advertising and journalism in these newspapers: (NEWSP-DEN001, NEWSP-DEN002, NEWSP-EST009, NEWSP-FIN003, NEWSP-FIN005, NEWSP-GER005, NEWSP-GER006, NEWSP-GER008, NEWSP-GER009–010, NEWSP-GER013, NEWSP-GER015, NEWSP-GER029, NEWSP-GER034, NEWSP-GBR058–067, NEWSP-GBR068, NEWSP-GBR098, NEWSP-SWE001, NEWSP-SWE002, NEWSP-SWE003, NEWSP-SWE004, NEWSP-SWE005, NEWSP-SWE006–009, NEWSP-SWE010, NEWSP-SWE023, NEWSP-SWE024–025, NEWSP-SWE026, NEWSP-SWE027, NEWSP-SWE028). The author argues that these newspapers seem to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group B (68 newspapers)*

Answers indicate that there is a certain, although rather weak, division between advertising and journalism in these newspapers: (NEWSP-DEN003, NEWSP-EST001, NEWSP-FIN002, NEWSP-FIN004, NEWSP-GER001–002, NEWSP-GER003, NEWSP-GER011, NEWSP-GER012, NEWSP-GER014, NEWSP-GER016–019, NEWSP-GER023, NEWSP-GER027, NEWSP-GER028, NEWSP-GER033, NEWSP-GBR001–004, NEWSP-GBR005–006, NEWSP-GBR007–022, NEWSP-GBR024, NEWSP-GBR031–033, NEWSP-GBR040, NEWSP-GBR042, NEWSP-GBR056–057, NEWSP-GBR087–095, NEWSP-GBR096–097, NEWSP-RUS004, NEWSP-RUS006, NEWSP-RUS009, NEWSP-RUS010, NEWSP-RUS011, NEWSP-SWE011, NEWSP-SWE016, NEWSP-SWE022, NEWSP-SWE029). The author argues that in the work of these newspapers we identify certain characteristics of traditional journalistic text production practice and certain characteristics of the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice.

#### *Group C (53 newspapers)*

Answers indicate that there is no, or very little, division between advertising and journalism in these newspapers: (NEWSP-EST002–005, NEWSP-EST006–007, NEWSP-GER020–021, NEWSP-GER022, NEWSP-GER024, NEWSP-GER025, NEWSP-GER035, NEWSP-GBR023, NEWSP-GBR025–028, NEWSP-GBR029–030, NEWSP-GBR043–055, NEWSP-GBR069–070, NEWSP-RUS001, NEWSP-RUS002, NEWSP-RUS003, NEWSP-RUS005, NEWSP-RUS007, NEWSP-RUS012, NEWSP-RUS013, NEWSP-RUS014,

NEWSP-RUS017, NEWSP-RUS018, NEWSP-RUS021, NEWSP-RUS022, NEWSP-RUS023, NEWSP-RUS024, NEWSP-SWE017-021) The author argues that these newspapers seem to work in line with the hybrid ad-journalistic text production practice.

*Group X (53 newspapers)*

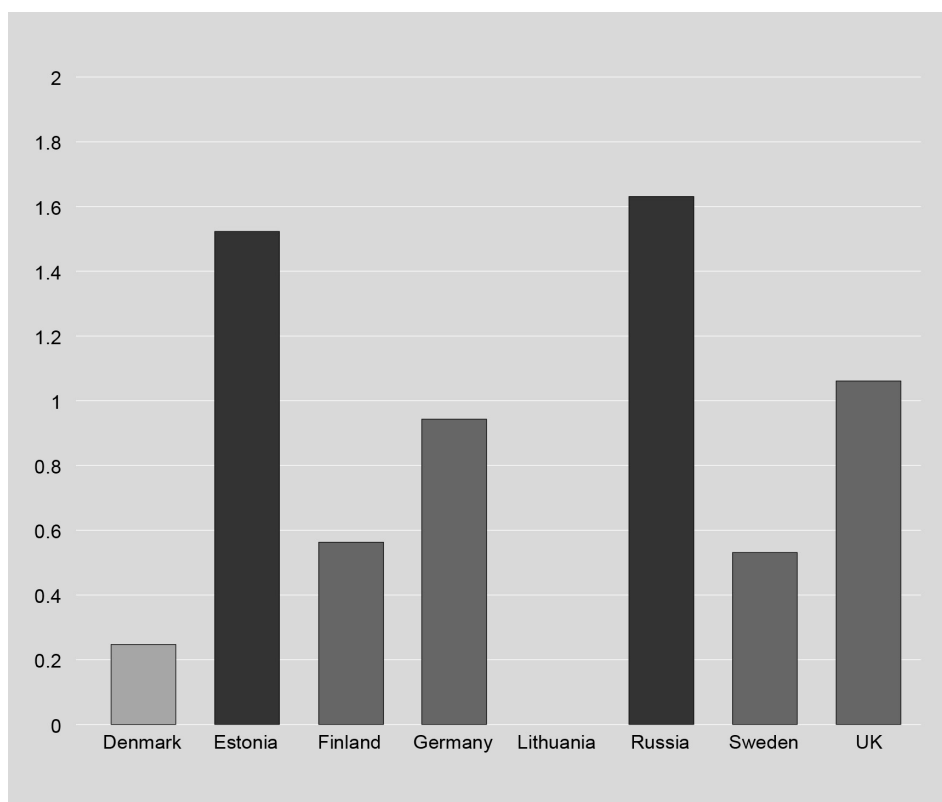
Absence of sufficient answers gives no indications about the status of the division between advertising and journalism in these newspapers: (NEWSP-DEN004–011, NEWSP-EST008, NEWSP-FIN001, NEWSP-GER004, NEWSP-GER007, NEWSP-GER026, NEWSP-GER030–032, NEWSP-GBR034–036, NEWSP-GBR037, NEWSP-GBR038–039, NEWSP-GBR041, NEWSP-GBR071–086, NEWSP-GBR099–100, NEWSP-GBR101–102, NEWSP-GBR103, NEWSP-RUS008, NEWSP-RUS015, NEWSP-RUS016, NEWSP-RUS019, NEWSP-RUS020, NEWSP-SWE012, NEWSP-SWE013–015). Therefore, we cannot draw conclusions regarding the text production practices of these newspapers.

**Newspapers: Conclusions**

From the collected answers we may conclude that almost 20 % (42 out of 216) newspapers have a practice where journalism and advertising are mostly kept separate. However, a higher portion, that is, ¼ or 25 % of the newspapers (53 out of 216) fully represent the hybrid text production practice that we call the ad-driven text production practice, where there seems to be no or almost no borders between advertising and journalism. Almost a third – 31 % of the newspapers (68 of 216) seem to mix the two directions, this group thus partly represents the hybrid ad-driven text production practice and partly the traditional journalistic text production process. For 53 of the newspapers (25 %) insufficient answers were received to make any clear conclusions whether these newspapers worked according to the traditional journalistic text production practice, the ad-driven journalistic text production practice or a mixture of both.

For some countries we see distinct differences in the journalism culture within newspapers from the same country. This in particular goes for Estonia, the United Kingdom and Germany. For example, among the 9 Estonian newspapers studied, 1 newspaper seems to work in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice, 6 in line with the ad-driven journalistic text production practice and 1 newspaper seems to be in the mixed zone area between the two while 1 newspaper gave too little answers to make any conclusions. The 103 British newspapers studied are either characterised by the traditional journalistic text production practice (12 newspapers), in the mixed zone between the two (41), the ad-driven journalistic text production practice (22), while 28 newspapers did not give sufficient answers. Among the German newspapers, 9 followed the traditional journalistic text production process, 6 the hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice, 14 magazine was a mix of the two directions and 6 newspapers did not give sufficient answers to draw any conclusions.

In some countries, however, the answers received from the newspapers were more similar to each other. All the Danish and Finnish newspapers, which gave sufficient answers, were either characterized by the traditional journalistic text production practice or a mixture between the traditional journalistic text practice and the ad-driven journalistic text production practice. Of all the Russian newspapers that gave sufficient answers to be placed in a category, 15 out of 20 newspapers followed the ad-driven journalistic text production practice while 16 of the 24 Swedish newspapers that gave sufficient answers followed the traditional journalistic text production practice. However, as we can see there were some exceptions to these tendencies. Lithuanian newspapers did not respond to the questions and could thus not be analysed.



**Figure XXI.** Hybridisation Index of the Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe, by Country (N=216)

The values in the figure show the hybridisation index and vary between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.



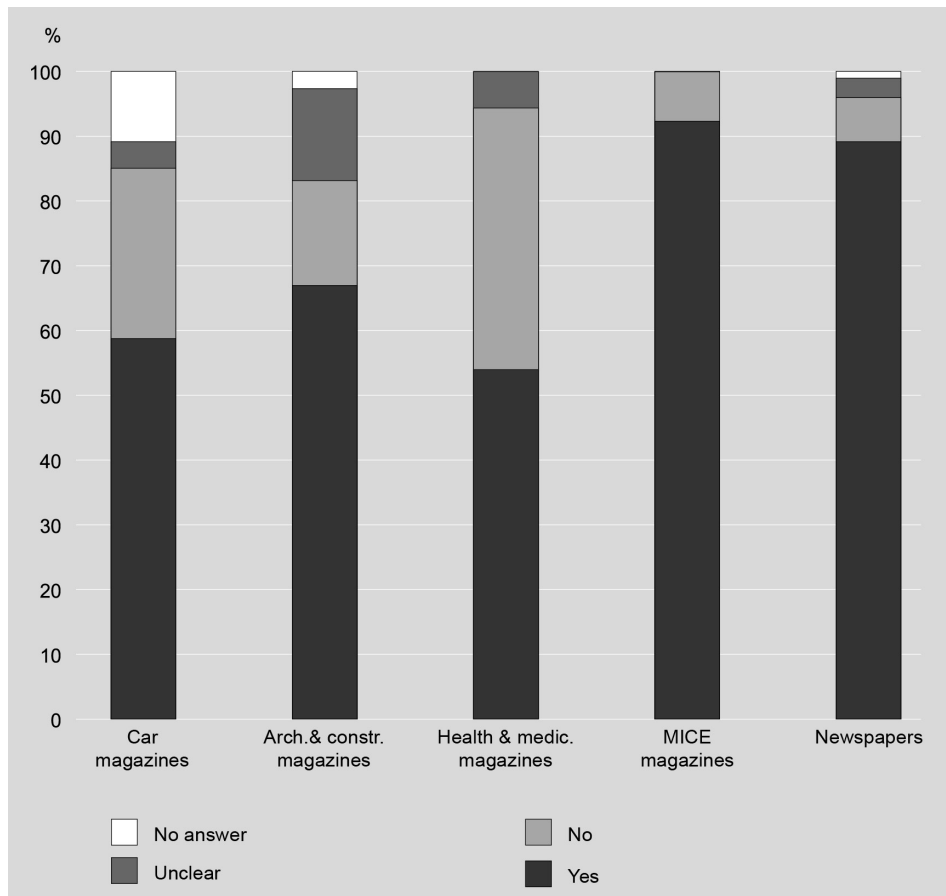
The ad-driven journalistic text production practice or traces of it seems to be existing in the majority of the countries represented in the study. The exceptions are to a certain degree Denmark and Sweden.

If we compile the answers from each newspaper and show the results country-based, we get the content of the figure XXI. The figure shows that an average newspaper from Denmark can be considered to follow the traditional journalism norms while newspapers from Estonia and Russia can be considered to follow ad-driven journalism. The newspapers from Finland, Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden follow a mixture of these two directions.

## 7. EMPIRICAL PART. COMPARATIVE FINDINGS

This chapter gives answers to the research questions as they were formulated in the Introduction part.

### 7.1. The Degree of Acceptance for Publishing Advertorials in Magazines and Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe



**Figure XXII.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers to the Question Whether They Accept Advertorials or Not (N=718)

Explanations to the colours used:

Does advertorials: Yes = dark grey, No = light grey, Unclear answer = grey, No answer = white

The author's first research question was to find out how widespread is the acceptance of publishing advertorials in magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe. The results from the survey showed that in all the niche magazine categories as well as the newspapers, a majority of the publications accepts advertorials; advertising disguised as advertising. However, if we compare the answers given by the various magazines and newspapers to the question whether they accept advertorials or not, we can as seen in Figure XXII see quite substantial variations between the magazine categories and the newspapers.

While 88,4 % of all newspapers accept advertorials, and the portion of conference tourism (MICE) magazines doing so is even higher, a much lower part of the health and medical magazines accept advertorials, that is, 53,8 %. Consequently, the health and medical magazines are the most negative towards accepting advertorials, and 39,9 % of these magazines stated that they reject advertorials, thus behaving in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice. Only 7,4 % of all the newspapers responded that they do not accept advertorials.

If we want to compare magazines from the same eight countries in the northern part of Europe and thus take away the conference tourism (MICE) magazines, which included magazines from more countries, we see that on average 56,4 % or 268 out of all the 475 magazines accepted advertorials, while 34,3 % did not accept advertorials. The portion of magazines giving an unclear answer or no answer at all was little, 6,9 % and 2,3 % respectively.

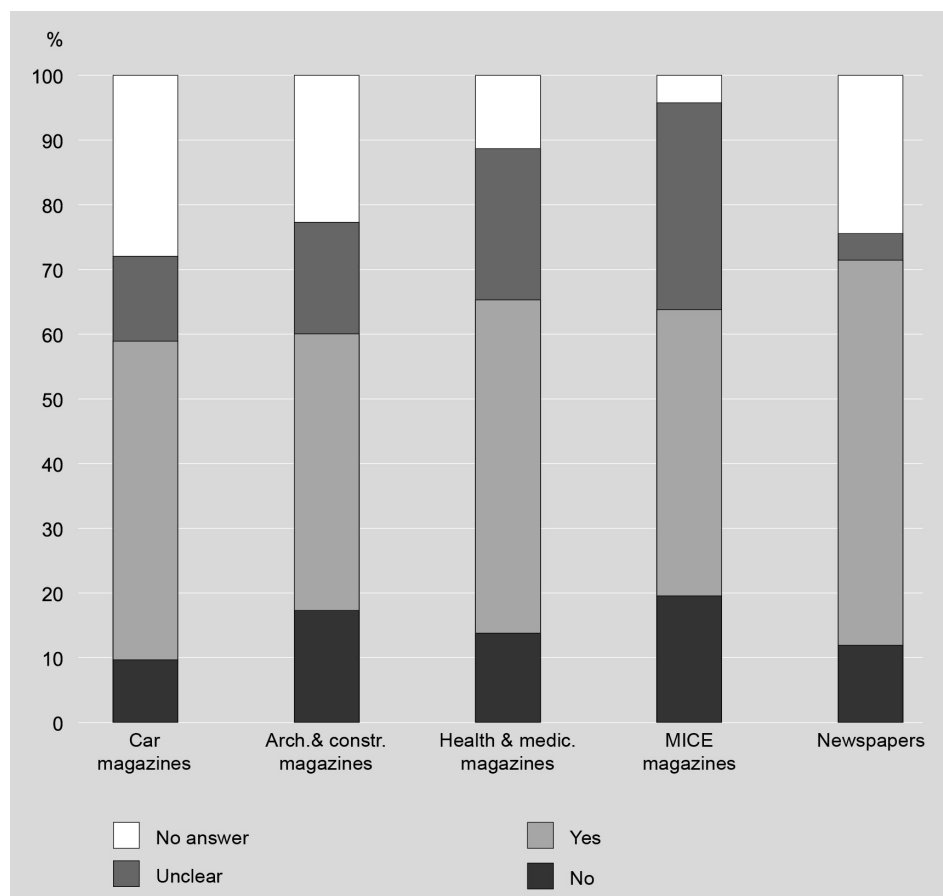
If we put together the results from all the car magazines, the architecture and construction magazines, the health and medical magazines and the newspapers in all the 8 countries in the northern part of Europe, we see that 66,4 % or 459 out of 691 publications accepted advertorials, 25,9 % or 179 out of 691 publications did not accept advertorials, while 5,6 % and 2 % of the publications gave unclear or no answers.

We may thus conclude that advertorials by 2006/2007 have become widespread in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe as two thirds of all publications accept this form of disguised advertising and thus behave according to a hybrid, ad-driven journalistic text production practice. Still, however, there is a substantial minority, that is, one fourth of the publications that behave according to the traditional journalistic text production practice and do not accept disguised advertising.

## **7.2. The Degree of Labelling of Advertorials in Newspapers and Magazines in the Northern Part of Europe**

As the acceptance of advertorials as disguised advertising in newspapers and magazines already can be considered a sneaky and slippery form of blurring between journalism and advertising, unlabelled advertorials can be seen as a litmus test for a newspaper or magazine in terms of a testing whether there is a

complete blurring of journalism and advertising, what we also may call an example of core hybrid journalism, where media is willing to fully give in to pressure and manipulate with its audience by publishing hidden promotional information. In this research it was essential to find an answer to the second research question: to what extent advertorials are labelled as advertorials or advertising that is paid for in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe.



**Figure XXIII.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers on the Question Whether They Label Advertorials or Not (N=538)

Explanations to the colours used in Figure XXIII:

Mark advertorials: No = dark grey, Yes = light grey, Unclear answer = grey, No answer = white

As we can see from Figure XXIII when it comes to labelling the advertorials there are seemingly less differences in answers between the various categories of magazines and the newspapers compared to the the figure showing the portion of magazines and newspapers accepting advertorials as such. It should be stressed that the figure shows the responses given by those publications which answered that they accept advertorials or gave an unclear or no answer to this question. Measured in percentages, between 9 and 20 % answered that they do not mark the advertorials, while an overwhelming majority of both the magazines and the newspapers do so. Most active in labelling the advertorials are the newspapers (59,5 %), followed by the health and medical magazines (52,2 %) and the car magazines (50 %). A little bit less than half – 43,1 % of the architecture and construction magazines, while the conference tourism (MICE) magazines least actively mark the advertorials: 11 out of 26 do so. Unclear answers as well as no answers may sometimes be interpreted as an unwillingness to admit that advertorials are marked, yet, in other cases the reason may be the contrary.

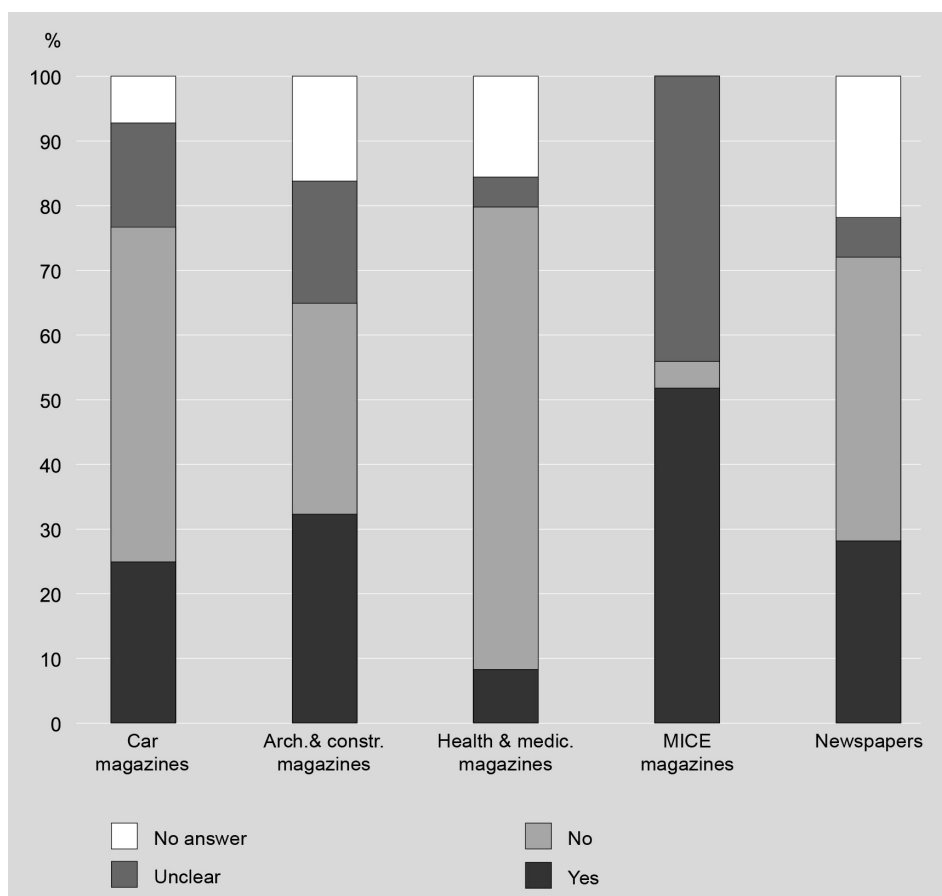
So, we can come to the conclusion that while two-thirds of all magazines and newspapers seem to apply a moderate degree of blurring journalism and advertising by accepting advertorials as such, on average 12,9 % or 66 out of those 512 newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe that did not reject advertorials practice a complete blurring of journalism and advertising in their operations. If we compare the numbers of those publications not labelling advertorials to the total number of publications, also including those that rejected advertorials, we see that slightly less than one tenth: 9,6 % or 66 out of 691 publications in the northern part of Europe have seemingly erased all borders between journalism and advertising. Yet, as the figures from those publications giving unclear or no answers are not included, the proportion of such publications might be somewhat higher.

### **7.3. The Degree of Influence from Advertising on more Journalism as well as on Non-publishing of Negative or Critical Content**

The third research questions raised the issue of – to what extent does the presence of advertising make a newspaper or magazine in the northern part of Europe more willing to publish neutral or positive editorial content or not to publish very critical and/or negative content about an advertiser.

With the exception of the conference tourism (MICE) magazines which included data from countries also outside Northern Europe, the magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe willing to publish more editorial content on an advertiser due to his advertising were not in a majority. While 27,8 % of the newspapers responded that they were willing to publish more editorial content because of advertising, only 8,4 % of the health and medical magazines were willing to do so. For the car magazines and the architecture and

construction magazines the figures were more as for the newspapers, 24,7 % and 31,9 % accordingly. On average 18,5 % or 128 out of 691 magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe were willing to follow such hybrid ad-driven journalistic behaviour.



**Figure XXIV.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers on the Question Whether Advertising by a Client Would Imply More Journalistic Content on the Client (N=718)

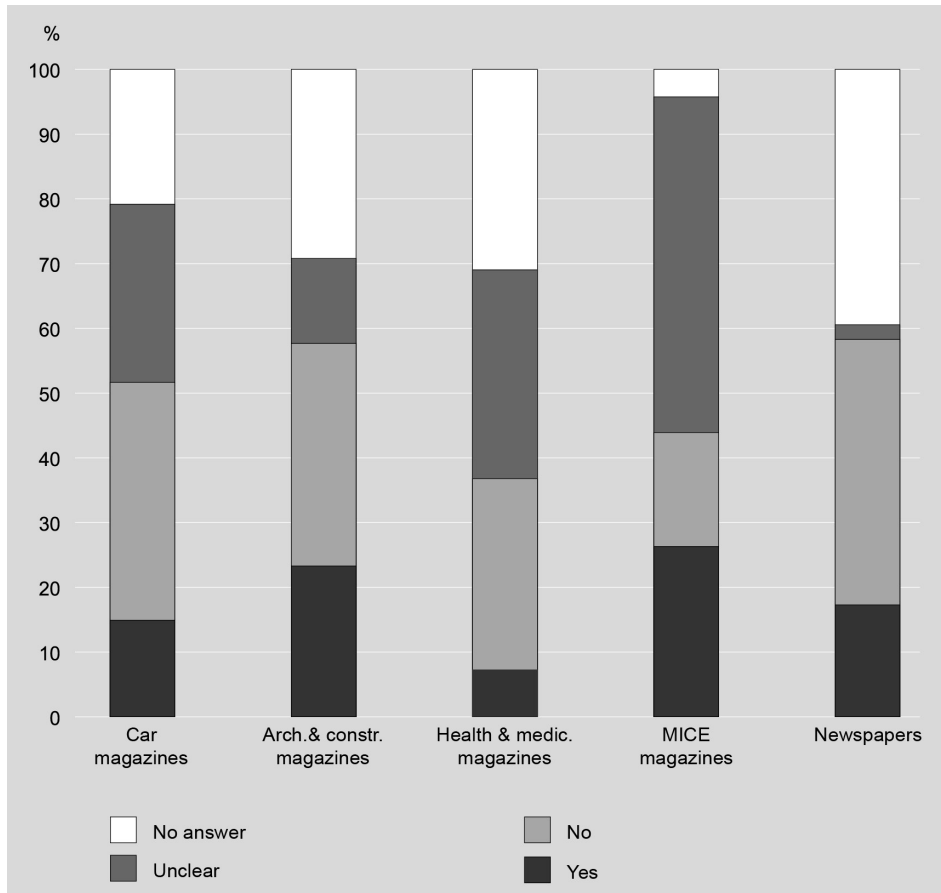
Explanations to the colours used in Figure XXIV:

More editorial content: Yes = dark grey, No = light grey, Unclear answer = grey, N/A = white

On the contrary, the responses from the majority of the newspapers and magazines were in line with traditional journalism as on average 57,2 % of the newspapers and car, architecture and construction as well as health and medical magazines responded negatively to the question whether advertising would imply more editorial information about the advertiser. Nevertheless, there were substantial variations between the categories as can be seen in Figure XXIV. While a total of 71,7 % of all of the health and medical magazines rejected such links between advertising and editorial content, 44 % of the newspapers did so, and 52,1 % and 33,3 % of the car magazines and architecture and construction magazines respectively. The figures from the conference tourism (MICE) magazines, which included magazines from countries outside Northern Europe, were quite different as only 1 of 27 magazines rejected the link, while more than half; 14 out of 27 responded that advertising would lead to more editorial content.

The results from the second question whether advertising by a client would guarantee no critical or negative editorial content on the client gave similar results. The magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe willing to give such a guarantee were not in a majority. While 17,1 % of the newspapers responded that they were willing to guarantee that no critical or negative materials would be published by the journalists if the client would advertise with the publication, only 6,9 % of the health and medical magazines would be willing to give such a guarantee. For the other magazine categories the figure was slightly higher; 15,1 % for car magazines, 23,2 % for architecture and construction and 25,9 % for conference tourism (MICE) magazines. On average 12,6 % or 87 out of 691 magazines and newspapers were willing to follow such a hybrid ad-driven journalistic behaviour.

A higher portion of the responses from the newspapers and magazines corresponded to traditional journalism as 34,7 % of all the newspapers and car, architecture and construction as well as health and medical magazines responded negatively to the question whether advertising would guarantee that the publication would publish no critical or negative material about the advertiser. However, as can be seen in Figure XXV more than half of the magazines and newspapers, that is, 52,7 % or 364 out of 691 publications avoided the question by answering 'no' or giving an unclear answer.



**Figure XXV.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers on the Question Whether Advertising by a Client Would Imply No Critical or Negative Journalistic Content on the Client (N=718)

Explanations to the colours used:

No critical/negative materials: Yes = dark grey, No = light grey, Unclear answer = grey, No answer = white

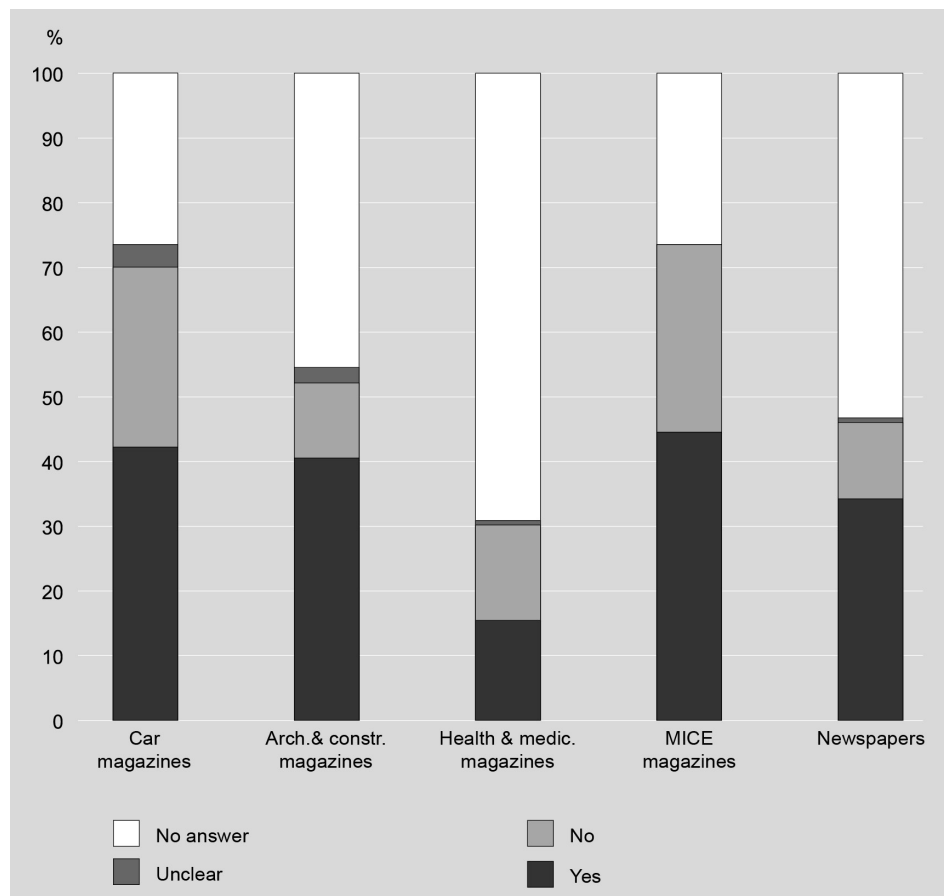
#### 7.4. The Extent of the Existence of the Wall Between the Advertising and Editorial Department

The fourth research question was aimed at clarifying the degree of communication between the editorial and advertising departments in the newspapers and magazines, which could give a picture how distinct the wall is between the two departments in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe.

Research has shown that the legendary wall has become marginal. Not counting the conference tourism (MICE) magazines since they included not only countries in the northern part of Europe; only 14,8 % of the newspapers



and magazines responded that there is no communication between the editorial and advertising department. In newspapers there were only 11,6 % that responded that there is no communication, the same percentage as in architecture and construction magazines. No communication in health and medical magazines were down to 14,7 %, while the figures for the car magazines were up to 27.4 %. For the conference tourism (MICE) magazines almost one third or 8 out of 27 confirmed no communication between the two departments.



**Figure XXVI.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers on the Question Whether There Is Communication Between the Editorial and the Advertising Department (N=718)

Explanations to the colours used:

Mark advertorials: Yes = dark grey, No = light grey, Unclear answer = grey, No answer = white

These figures, however, did not imply that the majority of newspapers and magazines confirmed communication between the two departments. In total 26,9 % or 186 out of 691 newspapers and magazines responded that there was communication between the editorial and the advertising department not counting the conference tourism (MICE) magazines where almost half, that is, 12 of 27 magazines confirmed the existence of such communication. Only 15,6 % or 52 of the 333 health and medical magazines confirmed inter-departmental communication, while the figures for the architecture and construction magazines and the car magazines were 40,6 % and 42,5 %. Results from the newspapers showed that 34,7 % of the respondents confirmed communication between the two departments. In such a way, the average figures for both newspapers and the various categories of magazines showed that more publications confirmed than rejected the existence of communication between the editorial and the advertising department. At the same time, a total of 57 % or 394 out of 691 publications did not answer this question as can be seen from Figure XXVI.

Even though a thick wall between the two departments avoiding any communication for long has been considered a holy chapter in traditional journalism, some human contacts, in particular between staff working for very small media, can pragmatically be understood as natural and in some cases almost unavoidable. Thus, the existence of some communication can according to the author not be interpreted as a sign of complete hybridisation between journalism and advertising, as, for example, the absence of labelling advertorials, but rather a moderate form for hybridisation, yet undoubtedly glidingly paving the way for more hybrid ad-driven journalism.

## **7.5. The Degree of an Understanding of Dilemmas and Loyalties Among Media Employees**

As mentioned above, the number one principle in the codes of ethics for journalists in Europe is to provide true, fair and accurate information (EthicNet 2012) to the audience or media users, be they readers, listeners or watchers. This principle of traditional journalistic text production practice implies a loyalty to the readers, listeners and watchers; accordingly newspapers and magazines in this study would be expected to be loyal in their reporting to their readers. The responses received in this research from the newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe reveal that this loyalty is in conflict with other loyalties that the publications have.

Loyalty to readers only could be formulated as reflecting a traditional journalistic text production practice characterized by not accepting advertorials, not offering more editorial content due to advertising, not offering any guarantees of no negative or critical editorial content due to advertising and having no communication between the advertising and editorial departments. Loyalty to advertisers would reflect a strong hybrid ad-driven journalistic text pro-

duction practice characterized by accepting and not labelling advertorials, offering more editorial content and guarantees against critical or negative editorial content due to advertising as well as communication between the advertising and editorial departments while a mixture of loyalties to both readers and advertisers would reflect a moderate hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice characterised by accepting advertorials, but labelling them or having some communication between the advertising and editorial departments, without allowing the advertising department to dictate the conditions for journalistic work, at the same time admitting conversations that are aimed at finding an imagined good solution for both advertisers and readers. The degree to which a publication has put loyalty to advertisers ahead of loyalty to the readers thus reflects the hybridisation level of a publication. Consequently the figures that this study has produced show to what extent those employed in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe are loyal to advertisers or readers and give indications to what extent they understand possible dilemmas when making decisions on advertorials and other issues where the interests of advertisers come into conflict with the interests of the readers.

In figures we have noted that 66,4 % or 459 out of 691 publications accept advertorials, while 9,6 % or 66 out of 691 publications in the northern part of Europe accept advertorials without labelling them, thus about a tenth of the publications are fully loyal to their advertisers, while a little more than half of the publications reveal double loyalties to advertisers and readers. Those 25,9 % or 179 out of 691 publications which do not accept advertorials on the other hand confirm a loyalty to the readers.

Some responses as regards labelling of advertorials show a loyalty to the law, and at the same time indicating a loyalty to the advertisers as the small format of labelling is stressed: "All advertorials must include the word 'advertisement' in small text at the top of the advertorial" (CAR-GBR001), "Regarding to the law in Denmark we have to write on each page that it is advertising (small letters in top of page)." (CAR-DEN003), "the PR-specials are marked as PR-specials (often lettered with 'PR-special'). We have to do that because of judicial reasons" (CAR-GER020), "they have to be marked in Germany, but we use very small notes to mark it" (MIC-GER003), "All advertorials carry a small marking 'Advertisement Feature'" (NEWSP-GBR037), "All advertorials are marked up 'Advertising Announcement' above...not too big though!" (NEWSP-GBR058-067).

Other responses on labelling show a more clear-cut loyalty to advertisers: "We place a remark on advertorials about advertising or not – it depends how we agree" (MED-RUS011-013), "There are no limitations regarding the placing of advertorials. The information may be presented as journalistic content if those ordering the advertorial want it so" (NEWSP-RUS012). Such answers indicate that the media employees do not see any dilemmas when making decisions on advertorials.

Although accepting advertorials would be considered to not to be fully loyal to the readers, the following response, nevertheless, shows that the publication practices a higher degree of loyalty to the reader than the responses above: “Any advertorial we carry will be marked as an advertisement feature so that our readers know it is not regular editorial” (CAR-GBR010).

Analysing the responses as regards the link between advertising and more editorial content some reflect a loyalty to the reader and the traditional journalistic principles: “For over 50 years [our media company’s] policy has been to keep advertising and editorial as separate issues. We do this in order to maintain the integrity of our editorial product which is the reason why we are so successful and are market leaders in all areas we cover” (CAR-GBR009–010), “if we want our readers to take our magazine seriously we will not publish editorial content because it is paid by ads. If we think the material is interesting for our readers and for our market we will publish the material” (CON-GER011), “Unfortunately our Editorial team cannot be swayed! They write based on stories that they feel are of interest to our readers. Pictures and an interesting angle will help to influence the team” (CON-GBR004), “We can never offer free editorial on the back of paid for space – our name is [...] – we would lose all credibility if clients were able to influence/buy our editorial space – we have to let our journalists exercise complete freedom” (NEWSP-GBR098), “Editorial and advertising is completely separate. The decision of reporting belongs to the chief editor” (MED-GER147), “We practice independent journalism without the say of advertisers, political parties or trade unions concerning the professional content of the newspaper” (MED-DEN001), “We cannot impact on the journalistic freedom of our writers – readers have a right to know what commentary they want to share good or bad” (NEWSP-GBR098).

Other responses as regards the link between advertising and more editorial content reflect a quite different attitude and a loyalty to advertisers: “In case of an advertising order our editorial office will contact you to discuss further details concerning reports about [your city] or/and [the countries in the region]” (CAR-GER027), “In the case you would advertise in our magazine we would make editorial support but we have to know the content before” (CON-GER015–016), “As we depend on advertising, clients with adverts will be preferred as far as the publication of articles is concerned” (CON-GER026), “We, it goes without saying, help our advertisers with PR-support in our news sections” (MED-RUS006), “Of course, we are glad to support your possible advertising in form of editorial articles” (MED-GER150), “Our advertising customers are our largest income, we are very careful about these to keep up and develop our good relations” (NEWSP-SWE016), “With our permanent client group we are very much friends and negative materials we DO NOT publish” (NEWSP-RUS007), “Once more I will repeat – we respect our clients and do not publish negative information about anybody” (NEWSP-RUS017), “We can promise a publication when we get an advertisement” (NEWSP-GER022), “We have very good relationships with our clients and ones who

support our paper are absolutely given priority when it comes to news stories” (NEWSP-GBR043–055).

Some newspapers used words as ‘of course’ and ‘naturally’ to underline their willingness to publish more journalistic information if the client wants to advertise and thus giving indications that the media employees did not feel any dilemmas when showing their loyalty to the advertisers: “Yes of course it would :-)” (CAR-DEN001/002), “Yes, of course” (NEWSP-EST002–005).

Many answers showed a mixture or balancing of loyalties, resulting in a moderate state of blurring, wanting to satisfy both readers and advertisers, which sometimes may seem to be quite illusory: “Naturally we won’t do anything to damage the partners we work together with although we report objectively” (CAR-GER011).

Several responses that began with declaring loyalty to readers in the end drifted towards more loyalty to advertisers: “We usually split between advertisements and journalism, but you can be sure that we have a close communication between the two departments. ;-))” (CAR-GER018), “At this point I should like to state, that we are an independent newspaper in spite of the fact that we live on adverts. So your advertising in our newspaper generally speaking cannot influence our editors. Yet, one can at the same time not conceal the fact, that in case of advertising the inclination to publish material from a good customer will not decrease ...” (CON-GER023), “Normally we offer editorial co-operation for all our advertising clients. Press releases are not dependent from advertisement. We try to keep the best quality-independent from marketing. But actually there is a preference for our advertisement clients, yes” (CON-GER025), “As much as we would like to declare ourselves totally independent, in real life it is not wise to bite the hand that feeds you” (CON-EST001–002), “Of course, our publishing house lives from advertising sales. But we have the turnovers only because our special magazines find enough readers and that fact satisfies the industry. I say it so: If the editorial staff get two comparable reports and, besides, one of them is a report of an advertising customer, then the editors will decide on the second alternative” (CON-GER029–032), “Editorial is not directly linked to advertising, but obviously we aim to support the companies that support us” (CON-GBR005).

Similar advertiser-friendly loyalties were revealed in the responses focusing on the issue whether there would be no critical or negative editorial content on an advertiser in a publication: “We have certain ethical norms, in accordance with which we are always loyal to our advertisers” (MED-RUS011–013), “You can be sure that we would not publish any article without your confirmation” (MED-LIT001–005), “Absolute guarantee” (MED-RUS014), “If we will establish partner relations, we will under no circumstances publish critical articles about [your] wonderful city. The journalistic ethics will not allow us to do so” (NEWSP-RUS012), “The advertising department and editors of course communicate with each other. It is important for our editors to write independently, but of course we do everything possible not to annoy our advertising customers. Please trust that our editors know which customers advertise in our magazine.

Advertising certainly makes it very likely for them not to publish any negative information in their articles. Finally, our advertising department reads and evaluates each of our editors' articles before the magazine is printed" (CON-GER042). Only in this last response from a German magazines there seem to be some sort of modest understanding of a dilemma.

There were also some responses showing loyalty to the readers: "In case of advertising we cannot guarantee that our editors wouldn't publish critical or negatives articles of an advertising client" (CAR-GER012), "No such guarantees are given" (CON-SWE001).

The same loyalty to the readers was noted in some of the responses on possible communication between the advertising and editorial departments. "There is not communication in this way since we are proud that our editorial content is independent and authoritative, and therefore un-influenced by commercial considerations. This means our readers trust the magazine to provide independent recommendations" (CAR-GBR007), "Our editor is completely independent and he is always looking for news and insights that are interesting for our readers. There is no inter-relation between advertising volume and edited material" (CAR-GER010), "The commercial and editorial departments operate completely separately to maintain editorial integrity" (MIC-GBR002).

A response from a British magazine revealing loyalty to the advertisers does not give any indications of a possible understanding of a dilemma when loyalty to advertisers is put ahead of loyalty to readers: "The editorial and advertising departments work well together and there is constant communication. We do everything in our power to ensure that our clients are looked after" (MIC-GBR003).

## **7.6. The Possible Difference Between Magazines and Newspapers in Terms of Hybridisation of Journalism and Advertising**

The idea that advertorials are much more characteristic and widespread in niche magazines than in regular newspapers falls to the ground when analysing the results in this study. On the contrary, the existence of advertorials are more widespread in regular newspapers than in magazines overall. As seen in Figure XXII it is only the conference tourism (MICE) magazines which have a slightly larger portion of the magazines (9 out of 10) accepting advertorials than the regular newspapers, where this practice is accepted by 88,4 %. For the other three magazine categories the portion accepting advertorials is noticeably smaller, varying between two-thirds to slightly more than half of the journals with the health and medical magazines having the lowest result as 53,8 % of the medical magazines accept advertorials.

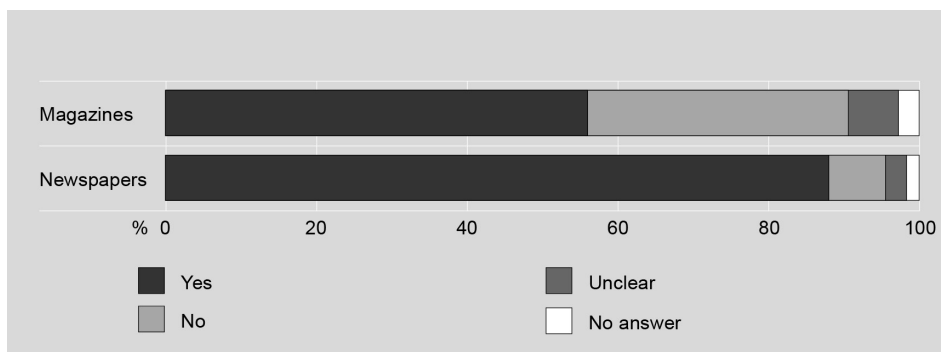
The health and medical magazines also have the highest score among all magazines categories and newspapers in terms of giving a negative answer to

the question whether they accept advertorials. 39,9 % of the health and medical magazines answered that they do not accept advertorials while only 7,4 % of the newspapers gave the same answers – lower than any of the magazine categories except for the conference tourism (MICE) magazines.

What may explain the rather significant difference in answers, especially between the newspapers and conference tourism (MICE) magazines on one side and the car magazines, health and medical magazines as well as the architecture and construction magazines on the other side? The three magazine categories where accepting advertorials was significantly lower, included answers from the same 8 countries in the northern part of Europe, while the answers from the conference tourism (MICE) magazines included answers from some of these countries as well as other countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, the Republic of South Africa and the United States. One possibility is that advertorials are even more common in these above-mentioned countries than the 8 countries in the northern part of Europe taking part in the research for the other magazine categories, and thus the presence of these additional countries have increased the portion of magazines accepting advertorials. Moreover, it should be noted that for the conference tourism (MICE) magazines the number of magazines that responded were the lowest of any category, in total responses from 27 conference tourism (MICE) magazines were studied while, for example, in relation to health and medical magazines the author could compare answers from 333 magazines.

If we look at the magazines in general on one side and compare them to the newspapers on the other side, we see that 58,6 % of all the magazines (294 out of 502) accepted advertorials compared to 88,4 % of all the newspapers (191 out of 216) accepting advertorials. If we take away the conference tourism (MICE) magazines, so that we can compare magazines and newspapers from the same 8 countries in the northern part of Europe, there would be 56,4 % or 268 out of 475 magazines accepting advertorials compared to 88,4 % or 191 out of 216 newspapers, as seen in Figure XXVII. The portion of niche magazines accepting advertorials is significantly lower than the portion of newspapers accepting advertorials.

If we look at the car, architecture & construction as well as health & medical magazines in general on one side and compare them to the newspapers on the other side, we see that 50 % of all the magazines (156 out of 312) not rejecting advertorials mark them compared to 59,5 % of all the newspapers not rejecting advertorials. Consequently, despite the fact that newspapers seem to be much more willing to accept advertorials than niche magazines, the newspapers accepting advertorials seem to be slightly more concerned about labelling the advertorials than the magazines accepting advertorials.



**Figure XXVII.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines Overall and Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe to the Question Whether They Accept Advertorials or Not (N=691)

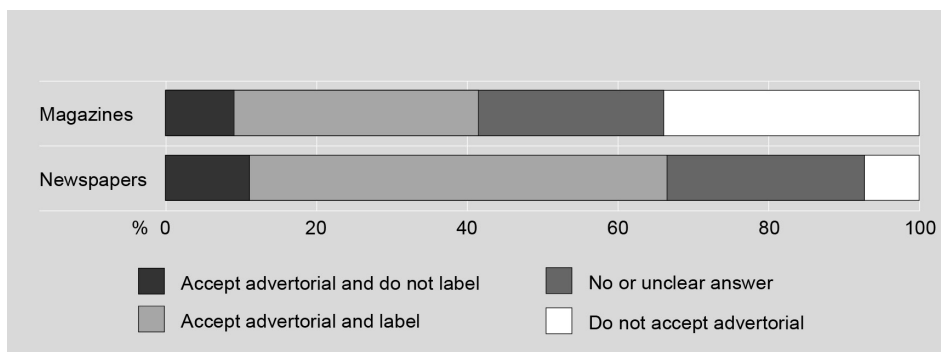
Explanations to the colours used:

Does advertorials: Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white.

We may draw the conclusion that while 56,4 % of all magazines except for the conference tourism (MICE) magazines and 88,4 % of all newspapers seem to apply a moderate degree of blurring journalism and advertising by accepting advertorials as such, 13,5 % or 42 out of those 312 magazines and 12 % or 24 out of those 200 newspapers that did not reject advertorials practice a complete blurring of journalism and advertising in their operations. If we compare the number of those publications not labelling advertorials to the total number of publications, also including those that rejected advertorials, we see that 8,8 % or 42 out of 475 magazines and 11,1 % or 24 out of 216 newspapers have seemingly erased all borders between journalism and advertising. It should however be noted that as the figures from those magazines and newspapers giving unclear or no answers are not included, the proportion of such magazines and newspapers might be somewhat higher. Anyway, we can see that by percentage slightly more newspapers than niche magazines are examples of what seems to be a total blurring of journalism and advertising.

As can be seen from Figure XXVIII, the main difference between the magazines and newspapers are not the percentage of publications that accept and do not label advertorials or the percentage of publications that give no or unclear answer, but rather the higher number of newspapers compared to magazines that accept and label advertorials (55,1 % versus 32,8 %) and the higher number of magazines compared to newspapers that do not accept advertorials as such (34,3 % versus 7,4 %).





**Figure XXVIII.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines Overall and Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe to the Question Whether They Accept and Label Advertorials or Not (N=691)

Explanations to the colours used:

Does advertorials: Accept advertorials and do not label them = black, Accept advertorials, but label them = light grey, Unclear or no answer = dark grey, Do not accept advertorials = white.

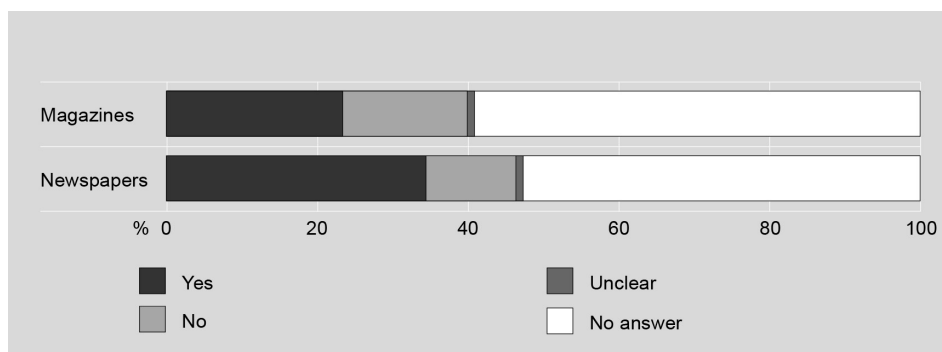
The third research questions raising the issue to what extent does the presence of advertising make a newspaper or magazine in the northern part of Europe more willing to publish neutral or positive editorial content or not to publish very critical and/or negative content about an advertiser, gave mixed answers whether magazines practice a more hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice than newspapers.

While 27,8 % of the newspapers responded that they were willing to publish more editorial content because of advertising, only an average of 14,3 % of the car, architecture and construction as well as the health and medical magazines did so. Still, a higher proportion of both newspapers and magazines rejected such a link. 63,2 % of the three groups of magazines responded that advertising would not lead to more editorial content, while 44 % of the magazines gave the same answer. If this answer gave indications that the newspapers practice a more hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice than the magazines, the second question whether advertising would guarantee no critical or negative journalistic content on the advertiser showed a partly different result.

Even though 17,1 % of the newspapers were willing to give such a guarantee, compared to 10,5 % of the magazines, the percentage of the newspapers which actively responded that they would not give such a guarantee were 41,2 % compared to 31,8 % among the car, architecture & construction and the health & medical magazines. Both for the newspapers and the magazines a very high proportion were made up of unclear and no answers: 41,7 % and 57,7 % respectively.

The research produced results that may be interpreted as confirmation that the legendary wall between the editorial and advertising department has become

even more marginal among newspapers than magazines. While 16,7 % of the car magazines, architecture and construction magazines as well as the health and medical magazines responded that there is no communication between the two above-mentioned departments, only 11,6 % of the newspapers did the same. Moreover, while 34,7 % of the newspapers confirmed that there was communication between the editorial and advertising departments, only 23,4 % of the magazines responded the same. Despite the fact that as much as 52,8 % of the newspapers and 58,9 % of the magazines did not answer this question, there is still ground to claim that the wall seems to be weaker between newspapers than magazines and thus confirming the tendency that the hybrid ad-driven journalism has got a stronger grip in the newspaper business than in the magazine business in the northern part of Europe.



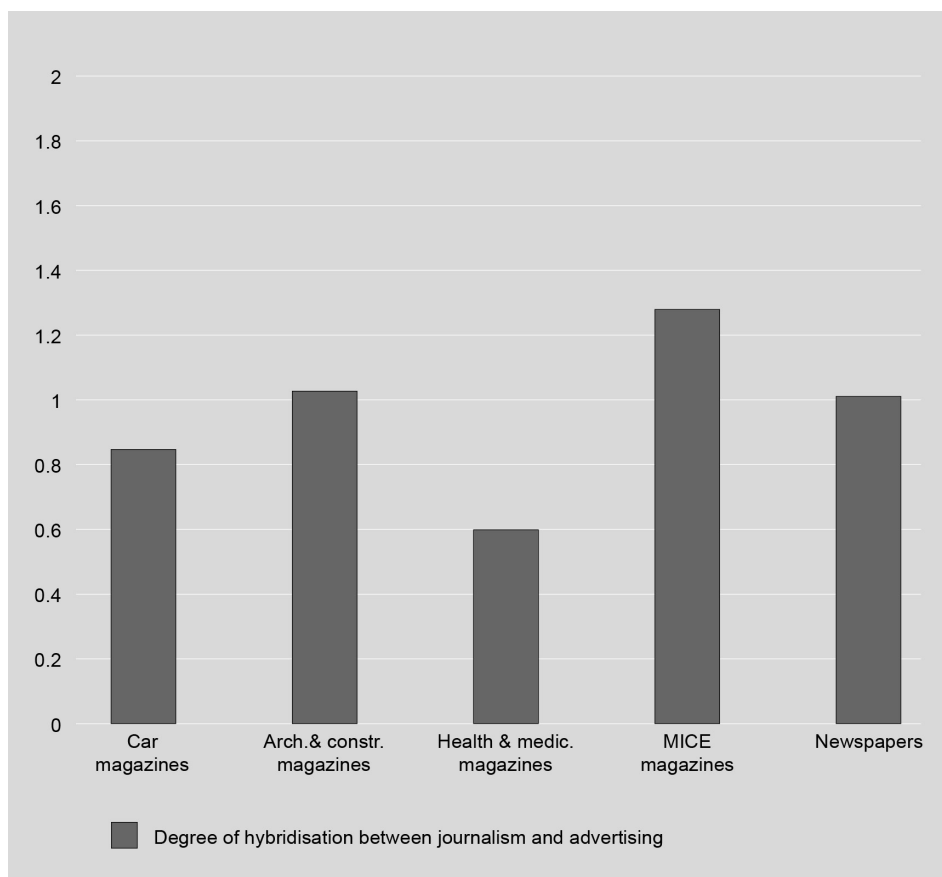
**Figure XXIX.** Overview of Answers Given by Magazines Overall and Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe to the Question Whether There Is Communication Between the Editorial and Advertising Department (N=691)

Explanations to the colours used:

Yes = black, No = light grey, Unclear answer = dark grey, No answer = white.

If we look at the overall scores for the newspapers and magazines where each newspaper and magazine received an overall score or hybridisation index between 0 and 2 based on the answers on acceptance of advertorials, labelling of advertorials, link between advertising and more editorial content, link between advertising and no critical or negative editorial content and possible communication between the advertising and editorial departments, we again may draw the conclusion that the degree of hybridisation between advertising and journalism is higher in newspapers than magazines in the northern part of Europe. The overall score showed that the higher the score; that is, the closer to 2, the higher the hybridisation between advertising and journalism and the lower the score; that is, the closer to 0, the lower the hybridisation between advertising and journalism in the given publication.

The findings show that the highest overall score was seen among the conference tourism (MICE) magazines and the architecture and construction magazines as well as the newspapers, where the average scores were 1,28, 1,03 and 1,01 – that is, the average score were above 1 indicating that on average, these publications were closer to following a strong hybrid ad-driven text production practice than a traditional journalistic text production practice. However, for the architecture and construction magazines and the newspapers, the scores were very close to 1, consequently their performance was a rather equal mixture of strong hybrid ad-driven journalism and traditional journalism.

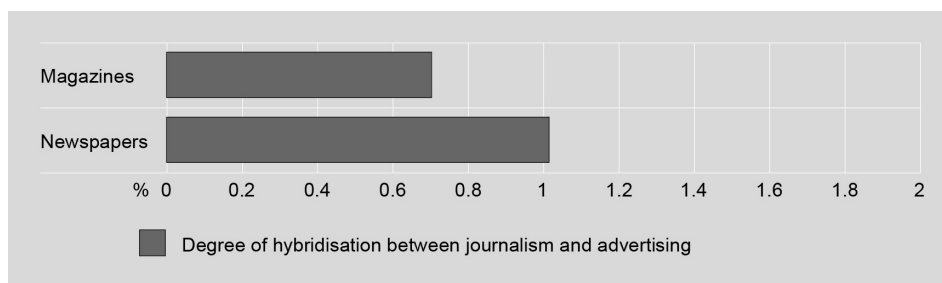


**Figure XXX.** The Degree of Hybrid Ad-driven Journalism in Magazines (by groups) and Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe (N=718)  
The values in the figure varies between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

The car magazines, as well as the health and magazine magazines on average had a score of 0,85 and 0,60, thus their operations, still a mixture of the hybrid ad-driven journalism and the traditional journalism, were still closer to the traditional journalistic text production practice, in particular with regard to the health and medical magazines. The findings are shown in Figure XXX.

If we compare the overall average scores of three groups of magazines (car magazines; architecture and construction magazines as well as health and medical magazines) with the average scores of the newspapers, we see that the degree of hybridisation between advertising and journalism is higher among newspapers than among magazines in the northern part of Europe. While the newspapers as mentioned above receive an average score of 1,01, the three magazines groups end up with an overall average score of 0,70 as seen in Figure XXXI below. This difference is distinct and indicates a clear difference in the degree of hybridisation between advertising and journalism among magazines on one side and newspapers on the other side. Even though the scores for both types of publications on average show a blurring of hybrid ad-driven journalism and traditional journalism, the magazines are less hybrid and overall closer to a traditional journalistic text production practice than are newspapers in the northern part of Europe.

The average overall score for both newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe is 0,79. As a score between 0 and 0,5 would indicate operations in accordance to traditional journalistic text production practice, a score between 1,5 and 2 would indicate operations in line with a strong or complete hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice and a score between 0,5 and 1,5 would indicate operations reflecting a mixture of the two text production practices or in line with a moderate form of hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice, we can draw the conclusions that publications in the northern part of Europe on average operate in line with a moderate hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice, where newspapers are more hybrid than magazines.



**Figure XXXI.** The Degree of Hybrid Ad-driven Journalism in Magazines and Newspapers in the Northern Part of Europe (N=691). The values in the figure varies between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

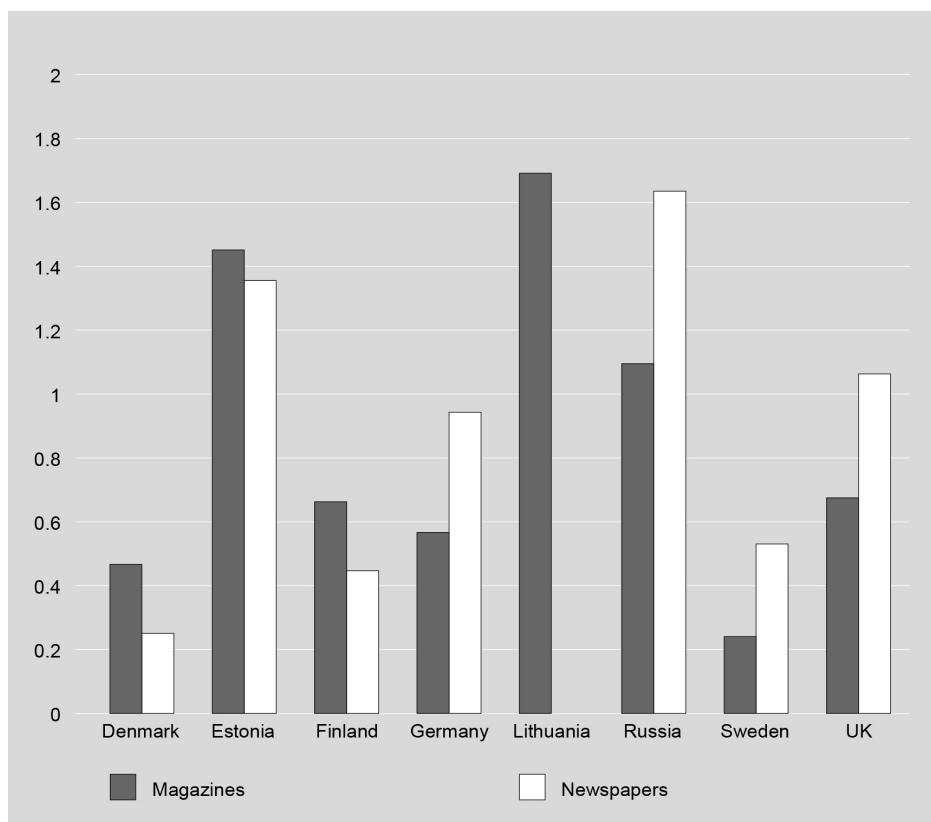
## **7.7. Potential Country-wise Differences in Terms of Hybridisation of Journalism and Advertising**

As the Figures X–XXI have shown, there are distinct country-based differences in the northern part of Europe regarding advertorial-related issues as well as the hybridisation of journalism and advertising in general. If the results from the survey on the car magazines, the architecture and construction magazines, the health and medical magazines as well as the newspapers in the eight countries in the northern part of Europe are put together, we can deduct the average hybridisation index score for both the magazine category and the newspaper category in each of the countries. As mentioned above, the hybridisation index is 0 if the publications follow a traditional journalistic text production practice by not accepting advertorials, by not letting advertising imply any more journalistic reporting on the advertisers, not letting advertising result in no negative or critical journalistic reporting on the advertiser and by confirming that there is no communication between the editorial and advertising departments. The hybridisation is 2 if the publications follow a hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice by accepting advertorials, not labelling advertorials, letting advertising result in more journalistic reporting on the advertisers, letting advertising result in no negative or critical journalistic reporting on the advertisers and by confirming that there is communication between the editorial and the advertising departments. The hybridisation index will be closer to 0 the more the publications give answers in line with the traditional journalistic text production practice and closer to 2 the more the publications give answers in line with the hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice.

In Figure XXXII we can see that the hybridisation index is the lowest for Swedish magazines: 0,24 and the highest for Lithuanian magazines: 1,69. The lowest hybridisation index among newspapers belongs to the Danish newspapers: 0,25, while the highest hybridisation index is found among Russian newspapers: 1,63. Both the Estonian magazines and newspapers are much closer to 2 than to 0 with scores of 1,45 and 1,35 respectively. The hybridisation index for UK newspapers is 1,06, but otherwise the index scores for Finnish and German newspapers and magazines as well as and UK magazines are below 1, even though these are not as low as for the Danish and Swedish magazines and newspapers.

If we merge the results from magazines (car, architecture and construction as well as health and medical) and newspapers we get one national hybridisation index for each of the eight northern European countries taking part in the survey as seen in Figure XXXIII. For Denmark and Sweden it is more in accordance to the traditional journalistic text production practice with scores of 0,44 and 0,42 respectively while the score for Lithuanian publications; 1,69 is more in line with the full hybrid, ad-driven journalistic text production practice. For the other countries, the scores show a mixture of the traditional journalistic text production practice and the hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production

practice: Estonia (1,40), Finland (0,61), Germany (0,61), Russia (1,22) and the United Kingdom (0,89). However, these scores also reflect substantial differences as some (Estonia, Russia) are quite close to a hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice while others (Finland, Germany) are not far from following a more traditional journalistic text production practice. The United Kingdom more distinctly follow a mixture of the traditional and hybrid-ad driven journalistic text production practice.

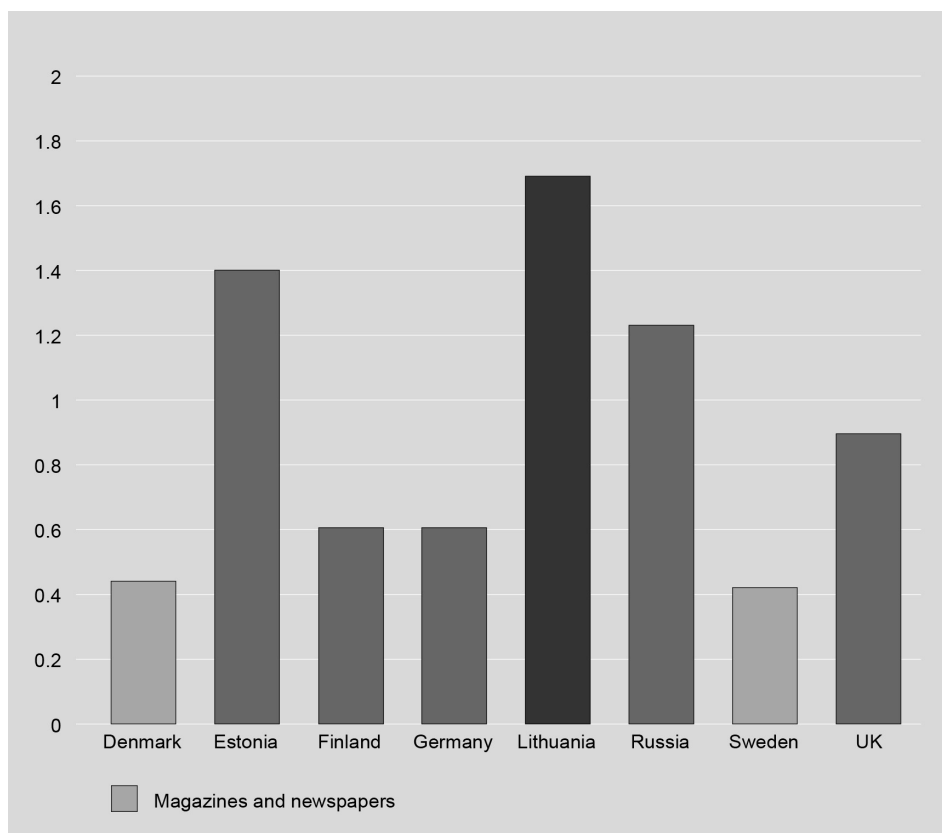


**Figure XXXII.** The Hybridisation Index for the Magazine and Newspaper Category Separately in the Northern Part of Europe (N=691)

The values in the figure varies between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

As mentioned above, the situation where magazines and newspapers report that they both accept advertorials and do not label them as advertorials or advertising reflects a situation where we can speak about not only a moderate, but a complete hybridisation of advertising and journalism. Thus, an overview where we can see how magazines and newspapers treat advertorials; a) if they

accept them and do not label them, b) accept them and label them or c) do not accept them – can also give us an insight into the degree of complete hybridisation between advertising and journalism in magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe.

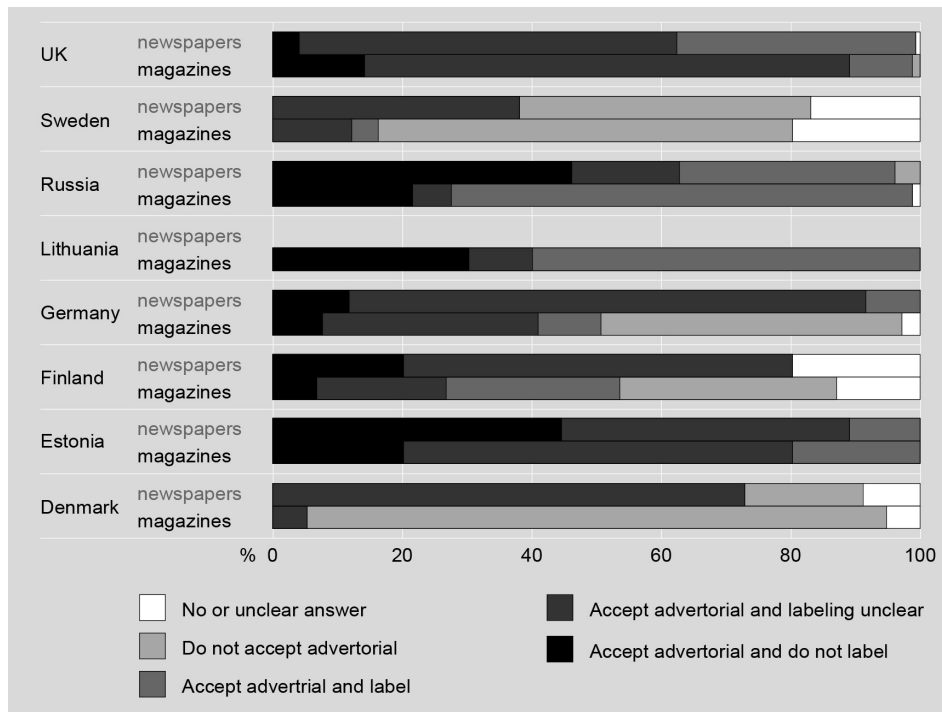


**Figure XXXIII.** The Hybridisation Index for Magazine and Newspaper Publications Jointly in the Northern Part of Europe (N=691).

The values in the figure varies between 0 and 2, where values close to 0 reflect traditional journalism, and values close to 2 reflect ad-driven journalism.

Figure XXXIV gives an overview of the proportions of magazines and newspapers in each of the eight countries that accept advertorials and do not label them, accept them and label them or do not accept them. It also shows the proportions of magazines and newspapers that accept advertorials, and where it is unclear, whether they label them as well as the proportion of unclear and no answers received.

As we can see from the Figure XXXIV the most complete hybridisation level could be found in Estonian and Russian newspapers where close to half of the newspapers accepted and did not label advertorials, thus reflecting a complete level of hybridisation of journalism and advertising. The only two countries in this study where the complete level of hybridisation of journalism and advertising was absent, were Denmark and Sweden.



**Figure XXXIV.** Country-based Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers on the Question Whether They Label Advertorials or Not (N=691).

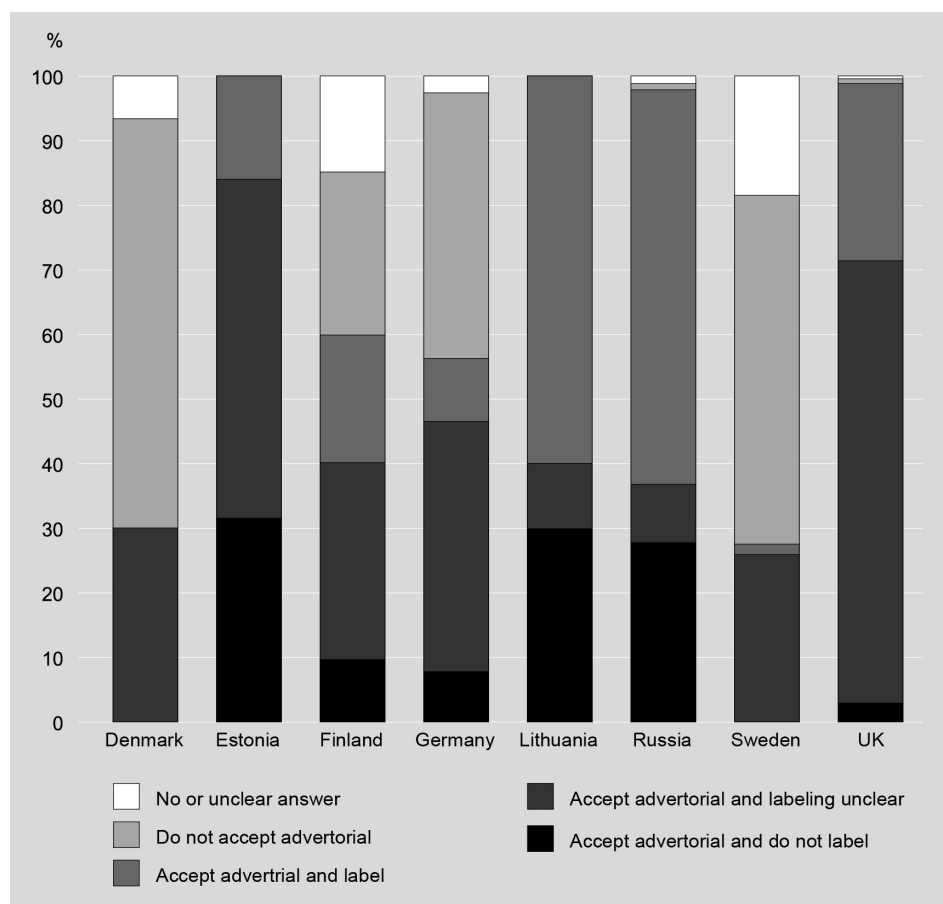
Explanations to the colours used in Figure XXXIV:

Labelling of advertorials: Accept advertorial and do not label them = black, Accept advertorial and unclear if they are labelled = dark grey, Accept advertorial and label them = grey, Do not accept advertorials = light grey, Unclear or no answer = white

If we merge the findings from all magazines and newspapers in each of the eight countries, we get the results overall by country shown in Figure XXXV. Again, we see that Denmark and Sweden have the largest proportion of publications not accepting advertorials at all. 19 out of 30 Danish publications reject advertorials, while 29 out of 54 Swedish publications reject them. The German and Finnish publications have also a substantial portion not accepting advertorials; 124 out of 302 and 5 out of 20. For the other countries, very few publications reject advertorials.



With regard to the proportion of publications accepting and not labelling advertorials, three countries; Estonia, Lithuania and Russia have, as seen in Figure XXXV, around 1/3 of the publications falling into this category which is defined as a complete form of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. Finland and Germany have a tenth or less of their publications belonging to this complete hybridisation form.



**Figure XXXV.** Country-based Overview of Answers Given by Magazines and Newspapers Jointly on the Question Whether They Label Advertorials or Not (N=691). Explanations to the colours used in Figure XXXV:

Labelling of advertorials: Accept advertorial and do not label them = black, Accept advertorial and unclear if they are labelled = dark grey, Accept advertorial and label them = grey, Do not accept advertorials = light grey, Unclear or no answer = white

The United Kingdom is different from the other countries as it is characterised by almost no publications rejecting advertorials and at the same time almost no publications accepting advertorials not labelling it. Almost all British publications accept and label their advertorials or accept advertorials and give unclear or no answers to the question whether they label them. The United Kingdom is in this respect the classic example of a country dominated by a moderate hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice.

Putting together the findings from Figure XXXIII and XXXIV, we may roughly group the studied countries into four subgroups: a) Denmark and Sweden dominated by traditional journalistic text production practice, b) Finland and Germany dominated by a moderate level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism where still the publications are a little closer to traditional journalism than to hybrid ad-driven journalism, c) The United Kingdom dominated by a moderate level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism where traditional journalism and a complete hybrid ad-driven journalism is quite rare and d) Estonia, Lithuania and Russia dominated by a moderate level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism, where the traditional journalistic text production practice is almost non-existent and a substantial portion of publications apply a complete hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice.

May we see any striking patterns or links between these findings and known historical, institutional, educational, normative or other factors dealt in the opening subchapters? The author considers it too ambitious in this study to attempt to prove and explain the differences in hybridisation between advertising and journalism through these factors, at the same time it is valuable to analyse links that could be indications of possible explanations for the found differences.

If we briefly review the historical development of press freedom dealt with in subchapter 2.1. we see that Sweden including Finland adapted the world's first Freedom of the Press Act in 1766 completely abolishing political censorship as well as guaranteeing freedom of access to public documents (Bagerstam 1994: 7, Manninen 2010: 18, 45) while Denmark including Norway and the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein went a step further and abolished all censorship of the press, including censorship on religious matters, and introduced, according to Laursen, for the first time in the world unlimited freedom of the press in 1770 (Laursen 2002). In such a way, we see that the two countries in our study to have the lowest hybridisation indexes; Sweden (0,42) and Denmark (0,44) were also the countries, not only in the northern part of Europe, but also in the world to introduce press freedom acts. Finland introduced such an act at the same time as Sweden, but unlike Sweden and Denmark the Finnish media experienced a form of informal, though not institutionalised state censorship with sharp, reprimanding letters and warning phone calls from Finland's presidents (Salminen 1998: 243–244, 247) in the period after World War II until 1991 with self-censorship being at its strongest in the 1970-ies (Salminen 1998: 240, 243). Despite the fact that a Freedom of Information Act took effect in law form in

the United Kingdom as late as the beginning of 2005 (Manninen 2010), a high degree of press freedom in the United Kingdom existed in the country a long time before that. Consequently, the last countries in our study to be freed from heavy state censorship in the media were the eastern part of Germany as well as Estonia, Lithuania and partly Russia along with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. As Russia, Estonia and Lithuania are the countries in our study with the highest hybridisation indexes; 1,22, 1,40 and 1,69 respectively, we can see a link between the legal introduction of press freedom including abolishment of state censorship in the media on one side and the degree of hybridisation between advertising and journalism on the other side. Without explaining hybridisation, we may carefully note that the longer a country in the northern part of Europe has enjoyed press freedom and absence of state censorship in the media, then the lower is seemingly the current hybridisation between advertising and journalism in newspapers and magazines.

If we look at Figure V that showed the ratings according to Freedom House on press freedom from 1979–2010, we see that there are three countries, in which during this 22-year long period the press has been continuously rated as free: Denmark, Sweden and the United Kingdom (Freedom House 2012). Denmark and Sweden are also, according to our findings, the two countries with the lowest level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. Finland, which over this 22-year period was rated partly free and free due to the soft state censorship introduced not to challenge the eastern Soviet neighbour, and Germany, which until its reunification was split in two where the press in the eastern part received ratings as non-free and the press in the western part as free (Freedom House 2012), have nevertheless, in our findings, a lower level of hybridisation than the United Kingdom. The press in the countries with the highest hybridisation indexes; Russia, Estonia and Lithuania were during this 22-year long period rated both as non-free, partly free and free by Freedom House, and they were the countries with the highest proportion of non-free press ratings (Freedom House 2012).

Consequently, we can see a rather strong link between the state of press freedom from 1979 to 2010 and the hybridisation level. Again – without explaining hybridisation and with the exception of the United Kingdom, we may carefully note that the more the press in the countries in the northern part of Europe is rated as free by Freedom House from 1979 to 2010, then the lower is the current hybridisation between advertising and journalism in newspapers and magazines.

While Sweden has a constitution with four constitutional laws where two of them are linked to the press: Freedom of the Press Act and the Freedom of Expression Act; both comprehensive acts with fourteen and eleven chapters respectively (Sveriges Riksdag 2012) and this constitutional focus on the press makes Sweden with the lowest level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism quite different from the other countries in our study, it is not possible to see any links between the existence of press laws and laws on radio and TV on the one hand and the hybridisation between advertising and journalism on

the other side as Finland, Lithuania, Russia and Sweden have press laws, in Germany press laws are adopted on the regional level, while Denmark, Estonia and the UK do not have a general press or media law (European Journalism Centre 2012), while all countries in our study except for Russia has a law on radio and TV (Presidential Council 2012). These differences in existence of legislation do not follow the differences in level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. Moreover, the existence of media-related EU directives, which do not apply to Russia, does not seem to be directly linked to the level of hybridisation.

If we look at the time for introduction of press codes of ethics the link to the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism is seemingly similar to the link between the introduction of press freedom acts and hybridisation. The Swedish press club adopted the first press code in the northern part of Europe in 1923 (Evers 2000: 263), Finland followed a year later (Laitila 1995: 530), in the United Kingdom a nationwide code was adopted in the late 1940-ies (Laitila 1995: 531), in Germany in 1973, in Denmark in 1981 and Estonia, Lithuania and Russia in the 1990-ies after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Laitila 1995: 531–532, EthicNet 2012). In such a way, we may conclude that there is a possible link between the time of adoption of a nationwide press code of ethics and the level of hybridisation; or expressed in other words: the longer a country in the northern part of Europe has had a nationwide press code of ethics, the lower is seemingly the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. The fact that Denmark adopted a nationwide code as late as in 1981 may suggest that other factors than the time of adoption of a national press code could be more decisive for the current level of hybridisation.

Could there be any link between the codes themselves and the level of hybridisation? There is no link between the length of the codes and the level of hybridisation; the shortest code is the British with 248 words and the longest ones are the Lithuanian and German codes with 3663 and 4642 words respectively. Content-wise is it difficult to see any link with the level of hybridisation. The Danish and Swedish codes address in a more general way than the other nations' codes the journalist and the news media (EthicNet 2012), but codes that are grouped as less general, more individualistic or collectivistic do not coincide with findings in terms of the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. The only content issue of importance seems to be the degree to which the codes deal with the topic of the separation of advertising and editorial content. The Swedish code stands out as more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the code is dedicated to rules against editorial advertising. The codes from all eight countries in focus in this study except the UK touch upon the separation of advertising and editorial content. This peculiarity of the British code could indicate that commercialisation including blurring of advertising and journalism is stronger in the United Kingdom compared to the other countries in this study and could thus possibly help us partly understand the quite high level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism in the United Kingdom compared to countries with the same high level of press freedom as the UK.

In terms of institutional structures, there seems to be some links between the traditions for a press or media council and the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. Sweden with the lowest level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism was the first of the eight countries to establish a press council in 1916, while Estonia (1991), Lithuania (1996) and Russia (1998) with the highest level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism were the last of the countries in our study to set up such structures. Finland, the United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark established press councils in 1927, 1953, 1956 and 1964 accordingly (Nordenstreng 2000: 83). Thus, without explaining hybridisation and with some minor exceptions, we may carefully note that it is likely that the longer a press council has existed in a country in the northern part of Europe, the lower is the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism in that country.

Different from the press council there does not seem to be any link between the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism and the rather new traditions of having a nationwide press ombudsman institution. Both Sweden and Lithuania – the two countries with the lowest and highest level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism have press ombudsmen, yet, such and other media institutions may have little impact if as Harro-Loit and Balčytienė argue, audience reactions to violations of journalistic ethics is apathetic and most Lithuanians do not see any problems in the media (Harro-Loit & Balčytienė 2005: 37).

For various reasons, there is seemingly no link between the historical establishment of educational institutions in the field of journalism and the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. Departments of journalism were set up at university level in Soviet Russia in the 1930s (Nygren et al. 2010) – as the first ones in the eight countries in focus in this study. As journalism and journalists became a possible propaganda tool and were substantially more under state control than in the western part of Europe, they were never supposed to stress the dividing line between facts and comments or the separation of journalism on one side and advertising and propaganda on the other side. Thus it is not surprising that there is no link between rich and long traditions of journalism education and a low level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. Turning it all around and defining propaganda as a form of advertising, one could state that there is a link between long traditions of university institutions in journalism teaching or not actively rejecting the blurring of journalism and propaganda as a form of advertising and a high level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism in contemporary media. The fact that journalism taught at the university level began in Soviet Lithuania in 1949, in the western part of Germany in 1949 (DJS 2012), in the eastern part of Germany (Fröhlich & Holtz-Bacha 2009: 138) and Soviet Estonia in 1954, in Sweden in 1959 (Gardeström 2006, Nygren et al. 2010: 116), Denmark in 1962 (DMJX 2012) and the United Kingdom in 1970 (Bromley 2009: 55) could partly strengthen the existence of such a link. Still, of greater importance would be to analyse any possible links between the current content and way of

teaching as regards the university programmes in journalism and other journalism schools in the countries involved and the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism, but this goes beyond the scope of this research.

Even though Swedish and Finnish press subsidies have been much more extensive than the VAT tax relief seen in other countries in the northern part of Europe in focus in this study (Leroch & Wellbrock 2011: 284), it is difficult to observe any direct links between a lower level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism and the press subsidies used to promote diversity by supporting the smallest out of two newspapers in a city (Ots 2009: 376). Even though at some time the subsidies possibly softened and slowed down the commercialisation process seen in all the countries in this study, the subsidised newspapers have nevertheless increasingly been taken over by their competitors (Ots 2009: 381–382). Moreover, as newspaper circulation numbers have dropped systematically since the end of the 1980s, it has been increasingly difficult to map any link between considerable press subsidies and a lower level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism.

## 8. DISCUSSION

The findings produce a series of insights with regard to newspapers and magazines in Northern Europe, of which the main ones are: a) there is a significant acceptance for the use of labelled advertorials; b) a less, but still considerable acceptance for unlabelled advertorials; c) the legendary wall is collapsing, but has not fully collapsed; d) hybrid journalism is becoming the norm and classical journalism marginalised; e) in terms of hybridisation, there is little differences between newspapers and magazines; f) yet the differences between countries are quite strong.

Previous research (Cameron 1994; Cameron et al. 1996; Dahlén & Edenius 2007; Eckman & Lindlof 2003; Poler Kovačič et al. 2010; van Reijmersdal et al. 2005) has confirmed the existence of advertorials in newspapers and magazines, without focusing on the extent of this practice. My findings indicate that roughly 7 out of 10 newspapers and magazines in Northern Europe accept labelled advertorials. Shortage of previous research makes it difficult to claim whether this is an increase in the acceptance of labelled advertorials compared to previous times. However, the answers perceiving the acceptance of advertorials as something self-evident or something likely soon to be introduced, indicate that the practice of accepting advertorials is not on the decrease. Data from the press councils in Denmark, Finland, Germany and Lithuania showing a clear increase in the number of complaints dealing with the separation of advertising and editorial content in the years after 2007 (Eick 2016, Pressenævnet 2016, Vääntinen 2016, Žukienė 2016) supports this assumption. The massive acceptance of this hybrid practice is, as suggested in the theoretical framework, an understandable outcome of the increased pressured position of journalism, in particular from commercial actors triggered by technological development over the past two to three decades. The logics of the theoretical framework would argue that we see an increase in the acceptance of advertorials in line with the increasing pressure on journalism and its autonomy.

At the same time the profound acceptance for advertorials is a paradox as EU's 2005 *Unfair Commercial Practices Directive*, later integrated in legislation of the member countries, has listed advertorials as an example of misleading commercial practice, which thus makes advertorials, at least of a commercial nature, illegal in all EU countries. The passiveness amongst those against this hybrid practice, be it media organisations, public institutions or the public itself, reflected in the lack of attempts to test the assumed unlawfulness of advertorials of a commercial nature before the law, may suggest either an overall acceptance or surrender in the face of a massive opponent, unclarity in directive and laws, or simply lack of public attention and understanding of the essence and extent of advertorial practice.

Including parts of the answers which could be interpreted both in favour and against labelling, my findings roughly correspond to research on magazines in the United States by Cameron, Ju-Pak and Kim who found that nearly a third of

all advertorials are not labelled as advertorials or advertising (Cameron et al. 1996: 726–727). Comparisons with previous research in Europe is not possible due to the absence of such studies. Even though the acceptance for unlabelled advertorials is far less than for labelled advertorials, it is still considerable. Counting all newspapers and magazines, both those rejecting and accepting advertorials, it could be fairly correct to estimate that between 1 and 2 out of 10 newspapers and magazines practice unlabelled advertorials, which could be considered to be the core of hybrid journalism, with no borders between advertising and journalism and apparently in evident conflict with professional codes.

Perhaps it's not so. Several national codes in Europe avoid discussing advertorials, and the *Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists*, adopted by the International Federation of Journalists and used as guidelines for members of the European Federation of Journalists, fails both to discuss advertorials and the separation between journalism and advertising as such. The *Declaration of Principles* was adopted in 1954, and amended in 1986 (IFJ 2016), but never have these issues been included. The lack of revision to include these issues raises questions of whether journalism is so squeezed that the world's largest organisation of journalists (IFJ 2016) has not seen much point in putting advertorials and the separation of journalism and advertising on a highlighted agenda. Even the *Ethical Journalism Initiative* launched by the International Federation of Journalists in 2008 only slightly touches upon the issue of separation between advertising and journalism in its key 196-page thick book. The word advertorial is mentioned once (White 2008).

In my theoretical framework I used the notion of a collapsing wall to illustrate and explain the current developments. This theory and link seem to be strengthened by my empirical findings. The dismantling of the 'fire-wall', intended to separate the editorial and advertising department in a media organisation, has also been identified in research on the U.S. media towards the end of the 20th century (Benson 2001, Coyle 1998: 37, Craig 2004: 239). According to my findings it would be correct to claim that the wall in newspapers and magazines in Northern Europe is collapsing, but has not fully collapsed as such.

Only 14,8 % of the publications gave clear answers confirming that there is no communication between the editorial and advertising department, corresponding to a strict preservation of the classical fire-wall between the two key departments within a media organisation. For most media employees this fire-wall has become outdated and somewhat archaic. It is also unpractical and unrealistic for those working for a smaller publication in a little town never to have any contact, unless handling of advertising affairs is delegated to a sales structure outside the newspaper or magazine. So even though the principle of no-communication has a function, we must look beyond this principle to check additional factors to find out whether the expected integrity of the editorial department with its journalists is observed. The responses reflecting that nearly 6 out of 10 publications were not willing to publish more editorial content just



because somebody decided to advertise, and more than 3 out of 10 publications refused to give a guarantee not to publish critical or negative materials about an advertiser are two such important factors, which are likely to convey more about the actual state of journalistic integrity and autonomy, of which the fire-wall is possibly just a mere symbol. Based on these answers, I would thus draw the conclusion that the fire-wall as a symbol of journalistic integrity and autonomy overall is collapsing, but has not fully collapsed in the majority of newspapers and magazines.

But was it actually so much better earlier? The existence of the so-called party press in most of Western Europe, where many of the largest newspapers were owned or had affiliations with various political parties, are seemingly obvious examples of compromising on journalistic integrity and autonomy. The same goes for the communist one-party press organs dominating newspapers in post-war Eastern Europe. In both cases, editorial content was to various degrees influenced by external, political forces. What is fundamentally different over the past couple of decades is that the challenge to journalistic autonomy is seemingly increasingly coming from commercial actors, and, with the exception of Russia, to a lesser degree from political actors. If journalists in the Soviet Union were to be considered as 'de facto state officials' (Pasti 2007: 130) and 'party servants' (Buzek 1964), it might be appropriate to name a considerable portion of journalists in Northern Europe today as 'commercial officials' or 'commercial servants'. The political pressure, which many journalists in Northern Europe succeeded in shrugging off a couple of decades ago, is now replaced by an intensified commercial pressure.

If hybrid journalism in various parts of Europe in the previous century was mostly politically driven, then hybrid journalism, which now seems to have become close to a norm and has made traditional or classical journalism marginalised, is to a large extent commercially or more specifically advertising-driven. Hybrid journalism as a new norm, I suggest, is most evidently seen in the overwhelming 88,4 % acceptance of advertorials among newspapers in Northern Europe. Journalism, I would argue, does not have to accept unlabelled advertorials to become hybrid; accepting labelled advertorials is sufficient as it is a mix of advertising and journalism. Accepting unlabelled advertorials simply makes hybrid journalism more complete and extreme. What we call traditional or classical journalism is still theoretically a norm according to most of the national codes of ethics, but in practice my findings suggest that hybrid journalism has already become a norm. A different question is whether journalism in practice also historically has been more hybrid than classical or traditional.

Even though many journalists on the individual level may still be very loyal to their readers and the public, my findings show that on the organisational level, the newspapers and magazines in their answers, overall only marginally show loyalty to the readers and the public. Accepting advertorials, whether labelled or unlabelled, I would argue, reflects a loyalty to the advertisers at the expense of the readers and the public. Yet there are undoubtedly other answers that point to a higher level of loyalty to the readers, in particular the refusal by 6

out of 10 print publications to publish more editorial content simply because somebody decides to put an advertisement. We may speculate whether such a seemingly relatively high loyalty to the readers and the public would have decreased in cases where the matter concerned an important advertiser often placing expensive ads in a newspaper or magazine.

The insight that the level of hybridisation is somewhat stronger in newspapers than magazines seemingly causes previous research by Prounis, Kim, Pasadeos and Barban claiming that advertorials are more characteristic and widespread in niche magazines than in regular newspapers (Prounis 2004; Kim et al. 2001: 265) to collapse. Similarly, the expectations and beliefs that magazines would possibly not observe the same high journalistic standards as newspapers, have according to my findings, fallen in a heap.

The average hybridisation index is higher among newspapers (1,01) than among magazines (0,70), and significantly more newspapers than magazines accept the use of advertorials (88,4 % versus 56,4 %), are more willing to publish more editorial content because of advertising (27,8 % versus 14,3 %), are more willing to guarantee to publish no critical and negative editorial content on advertisers (17,1 % versus 10,5 %) and confirmed communication between the editorial and advertising departments (34,7 % versus 23,4 %). However, of those publications that did accept advertorials, more newspapers than magazines labelled them (59,5 % versus 50,0 %).

Possibly perceptions of magazines having less hard news and thus less focus on ethical codes have coloured how scholars previously have seen the differences between magazines and newspapers. It could very well be true that magazines contain more soft news, but is that a sufficiently good argument for not observing journalistic professionalism and ethical codes? Should talk-shows on TV or consumer journalism in magazines be given more free rein to mix journalism and advertising, in particular if the viewers and readers are not informed? As long as the content in radio, TV, magazines and newspapers is called journalism and separate journalistic codes of ethics are not developed for each media channel, we should be able to expect that all journalists observe the codes in the same, strict way. Neither more nor less.

The research findings clearly point to strong differences between the studied countries in terms of hybridisation. The theoretical framework stressed that strong traditions of press freedom may be a factor that can delay or soften hybrid journalism in line with the theories of media scholars who have claimed that in countries with long traditions of strong press freedom journalists with an academic degree and longer work experience are more conscious and ready to resist and offer opposition to pressure attempting to restrict their autonomy than in countries with shorter and weaker traditions of press freedom (Ghinea & Avāđani 2011, Helles et al. 2011, Kuutti et al. 2011, Šolkay et al 2011, van Besien 2011, Reich & Hanitzsch 2013: 150). Defining propaganda as a form of advertising, there could possibly be a link between long traditions of university-level journalism teaching not actively rejecting the blurring of journalism and propaganda, and a high level of hybridisation between advertising and journa-

lism in contemporary media. These results seem to tally with the findings of Hanitzsch, Sosnovskaya and Pasti that many journalists in Russia who have a relatively weak power distance, perceive journalism as working as propagandists for those in power, or working in public relations, as it is equivalent to working for the interests of influential groups and persons in politics and business (Hanitzsch et al. 2011: 281–282, Pasti 2007: 116, Sosnovskaya 2000). Based on the research findings, it is logical to see a possible link between the current hybridisation level and the political past in the sense that the Soviet period with its shortage of press freedom, presence of censorship, acceptance for mixing propaganda and journalism, absence of well-functioning press councils and press codes for decades has left traces in the journalistic culture and autonomy in Russia, Lithuania and Estonia, and to some lesser extent in Finland and the eastern part of Germany. The longer the uninterrupted line of strong press freedom the more this is reflected in a lesser degree of current hybrid journalism. Possibly more focus within the press codes to fight editorial advertising as well as more use of media policy measures to soften and delay the wave of commercialisation can partly explain why the hybridisation is lower in Sweden and Denmark than in the United Kingdom.

The findings raise serious questions about what effects and consequences such a hybridisation or blurring will have on the future of journalism, the media industry, the advertisers, the audience as well as democracy. Even though researchers like Van Reijmersdal, Neijens and Smit have reported about rather positive audience reception of advertorials (Van Reijmersdal et al 2005: 50), there is concern that the advertorialisation might back-fire and make newspapers and magazines suffer the same trashbin destiny as much distributed advertising materials as audience might lose trust in print publications as such as they will not be able to distinguish articles financed by an advertisers from articles made by journalists on journalistic initiatives. The campaign launched by the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ) in 2007 called “Stand up for Journalism and the Core Values of Democracy in Europe” clearly points to the direct link between journalism and democracy, defining journalism as one of the key building materials in a democratic structure. If according to the EFJ the “rampant commercialism is ripping the heart out of the mission of journalism” (EFJ 2007), then it’s a legitimate question to ask whether democratic nations can continue to exist; that is, to preserve their democratic nature, if the merging process of advertising and journalism will continue to embrace and occupy new frontiers in the land of journalism. It seems that in most countries in Europe there is currently not so much a need for protection against public authorities, as there is a need for protection against commercial players. Consequently, codes, legislation and policies should reflect this change more, but this has not happened, at least not yet.

What are the possible future scenarios; of the way in which journalism and hybrid journalism may develop? I will outline three possible scenarios; a) a fast news scenario; b) a revitalising journalism scenario and c) an indecisive scenario.

The first scenario called 'the fast news scenario' sees an accelerated continuation of current commercialisation. Within this scenario, paragraphs about advertorials as well as the separation between advertising and journalism, if they still exist, disappear from the national codes of ethics in line with the *Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists* of the International Federation of Journalists, supported by the European Federation of Journalists. A wave of schisms takes place in the national press councils as minority groups want to keep the former codes, while the majority argues that the codes should reflect the more nebulous realities of the fast news industry. Various public support schemes for print publications are ended and public broadcasting is privatised supported by arguments in favour of free competition and against the waste of public money. Legislative acts equate the media business with any other business. Higher education in journalism gradually disappears, while shorter fast news profession programmes merging journalism, public relations and advertising become popular online. Within media organisations the former fire-wall becomes a historical anachronism; in most media organisations all employees work closely together and both fast news workers, sales people, owners and key advertisers meet on a regular basis to discuss what should be on the agenda, highlighted, censored, tuned down and subject to smear campaigns. These co-operation meetings make decisions on the pricing of shorter and longer interviews, the tariffs for first page coverage, coverage of new books, new cars and political statements as well as bonuses for excellent advertising-attracting reporting. It becomes common to conclude contracts on non-critical and non-negative coverage with advertisers; with larger advertisers these topics, together with regular coverage, are part of a larger advertising and support package. In authoritarian and pseudo-democratic states the company press enters into frequent private-public partnerships with the state. Opinion polls show that about 85 % are satisfied or very satisfied with the fast news industry. Respondents positively value that news are free, available in all new tech devices, short and easy to understand. A small minority of respondents does not trust the fast news industry, finds it hard to differentiate fast news from fake news and real news. Some intellectuals subscribe to marginal, high-cost, so-called quality newspapers and magazines or read new, alternative publications run by smaller interest groups and enthusiasts; often former journalists working on a voluntary basis. Quality publications and alternative media are often hacked, blocked, labelled as extreme and victims of compromising materials by state authorities in co-operation with the company media to create disgust among the general population towards the minority media. In elections voters as a rule vote for the candidates promoted by the company media.

The second scenario called 'the revitalising journalism and democracy scenario' attempts to reverse some of the developments that have been identified as particularly harmful to independent journalism and democracy. *The Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists* adopted by the International Federation of Journalists and supported by the European Federation of Journalists is revised and new paragraphs on the separation between journalism

and advertising and on advertorials and infomercials are included, soon reflected in national codes where it had disappeared or was never included. Based on recommendations from expert groups, EU and governments in several European countries acknowledge that the market does not regulate itself in the interest of the public and introduce a series of measures to save journalism and democracy responding to the election victories in some European countries of populist candidates keen on deconstructing democratic structures as soon as they take office. Independent journalism is identified by the expert group as one of the key instruments in revitalising and saving democracy. EU's *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* about product placement is reversed. A new EU *Media Directive* allows massive national funding for media organisations operating according to ethical codes observing a separation between journalism and advertising and applying a series of media accountability activities. Independent press councils are trusted to evaluate whether media companies are entitled to public funding. Media organisations operating under hybrid journalism methods are tolerated, but introduced to a new hybrid media tax. Requirements on warnings, previously known from health risk warnings on cigarette packages, with a standard text in capital letters to cover no less than 50 mm x 150 mm at the top of each page of advertorials are introduced. A series of additional media policies and financial incentives make it more attractive to operate according to traditional journalistic principles. Educational programmes focusing on critical thinking are strengthened and expanded making a larger part of the population more careful and sceptical consuming hybrid journalism and free news online.

The third scenario named 'the indecisive scenario' envisions a series of smaller steps both against and in favour of hybrid journalism. Codes of ethics in some countries get more focus on advertorials and infomercials, while in other countries paragraphs on the separation between journalism and advertising are considered outdated and deleted. EU and European countries create a series of working and expert groups to discuss the future of journalism and mass media, but few suggestions becomes law due to active lobbying from commercial actors. Educational programmes on critical thinking get more funding. Public attention to fake news and paid news makes more people disillusioned and sceptical to all news, as a result sales figures for paper publications continue to decrease ending in more job cuts and more squeezed journalism. Certain publications decide to stop the practice of advertorials as they believe it has a negative impact on the credibility on all articles while other publications open for unlabelled advertorials to save jobs. EU establishes a generous Media Fund to support investigative journalism and larger journalistic works on a projects basis, but it fails to solve the crisis in journalism.

## 9. CONCLUSION

The overall aim of this research has been to investigate whether journalism in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe is in the process of being merged with advertising, and if so, then to what extent has journalism been merged with advertising.

The research, is to my knowledge, the first comparative study of its kind on the degree of hybridisation between advertising and journalism in several countries in Europe. Such a comparative study has uncovered striking differences not only between the countries studied, but between magazines and newspapers as well.

First and foremost, the research has revealed that by the years 2006/2007 the blurring or hybridisation of journalism and advertising in newspapers and magazines in the northern part of Europe had become widespread as only about ¼ of all studied publications did not accept advertorials or disguised advertising, while 2/3 of all newspapers and magazines accepted advertorials or disguised advertising and showed other signals of journalism being moderately or completely merged with advertising.

Of those 66,4 % or 459 out of 691 publications in the northern part of Europe accepting advertorials or disguised advertising and thus behaving according to a moderate advertising-driven journalistic text production practice, a minority, 9,6 % or 66 out of 691 publications did not label the advertorials and thus performed according to a complete hybrid, advertising-driven journalistic text production practice where advertising and journalism have fully merged.

18,5 % or 128 out of 691 magazines and newspapers in the northern part of Europe were willing to publish more editorial content because of advertising, while 57,2 % rejected such a link. Similarly 12,6 % of the magazines and newspapers were willing to guarantee no critical or negative editorial content in case of advertising, while 34,7 % would not give such a guarantee. More than half of the publications avoided the question by giving an unclear or no answer. The research showed that the legendary wall between the advertising and editorial departments had become marginal as only 14,8 % of the newspapers and magazines responded that there is no communication between the editorial and advertising department, 26,9 % confirmed such communication and 57 % did not answer the question. The author argues that in particular in smaller publications, some communication is at times hard to avoid and the existence of communication may only be treated as a moderate form of hybridisation between advertising and journalism, yet undoubtedly paving the way for more hybrid ad-driven journalism.

Contrary to earlier research and general view, the study has disclosed that the level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism is stronger in newspapers than in niche magazines. According to the findings 56,4 % of all car, architecture and construction as well as health and medical magazines (268 out of 475) accepted advertorials compared to 88,4 % of all the newspapers

(191 out of 216) accepting advertorials. The portion of niche magazines accepting advertorials is significantly lower than the portion of newspapers accepting advertorials. If we compare the number of those publications not labelling advertorials to the total number of publications, also including those that rejected advertorials, we see that 8,8 % or 42 out of 475 magazines and 11,1 % or 24 out of 216 newspapers have seemingly erased all borders between journalism and advertising. Twice as many newspapers as magazines responded that they were willing to publish more editorial content because of advertising, similar results appeared when asked whether advertising would guarantee no critical or negative editorial content about an advertiser. The research produced results that may be interpreted as a confirmation that the legendary wall between the editorial and advertising department has become even more marginal among newspapers than magazines. While 16,7 % of the car magazines, architecture and construction magazines as well as the health and medical magazines responded that there is no communication between the two above-mentioned departments, only 11,6 % of the newspapers did the same. On a hybridisation index scale from 0–2 where 0 through a set of variables reflected a traditional journalistic text production practice and 2 a strong, hybrid advertising-driven journalistic text production practice, the newspapers received an average score of 1,01 and the magazines an average score of 0,70.

Country-wise the level of hybridisation is the weakest in Sweden and Denmark, the strongest in Lithuania, Estonia and Russia, while countries like Finland, Germany and the United Kingdom are characterised by newspapers and magazines with a moderate level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism. The diachronic perspective seems to be essential in understanding the current level of hybridisation as at least some historical developments including political, economical, institutional, normative and educational factors appear to have had an impact on the current situation. The research has confirmed a link between a lower level of hybridisation between advertising and journalism on the one hand and a longer period of press freedom, absence of censorship in the media, well-functioning nationwide press codes as well as early introduction of press freedom acts and press councils on the other hand.

On the same hybridisation index scale the differences between the eight countries in focus in this study clearly emerged. Sweden and Denmark with the scores 0,42 and 0,44 confirmed on average a traditional journalistic text production practice, while Lithuania with a score of 1,69 reflected a rather complete hybrid, advertising-driven journalistic text production practice. For the other countries, the scores showed a mixture of the traditional journalistic text production practice and the hybrid advertising-driven journalistic text production practice: Finland (0,61), Germany (0,61), United Kingdom (0,89), Russia (1,22) and Estonia (1,40). The most intense hybrid journalism could be found in Estonian and Russian newspapers where close to half of the newspapers accepted and did not label advertorials, thus reflecting a complete level of hybridisation of journalism and advertising. The United Kingdom was different from the other countries as it was characterised by almost no publi-

cations rejecting advertorials and at the same time almost no publications accepting advertorials not labelling it. Almost all British publications accepted and labelled their advertorials or accepted advertorials and gave unclear or no answers to the question whether they label them. The United Kingdom was in this respect the classic example of a country dominated by a moderate hybrid advertising-driven journalistic text production practice.

As the author argues that loyalty to readers reflects a traditional journalistic text production practice, loyalty to advertisers a strong hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice and a mixture of loyalties to both readers and advertisers reflect a moderate hybrid ad-driven journalistic text production practice, the findings in this research show that, for example, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the publications are loyal to their readers,  $\frac{1}{10}$  to their advertisers and a little more than half of the publications reveal double loyalties to their readers and advertisers as regards the issue of accepting and labelling advertorials.

Even though some years have passed since 2006 and 2007, when the research was carried out, the hybridisation between advertising and journalism persists and has not been falling. On the contrary, data from the press councils in Denmark, Finland, Germany and Lithuania show a clear increase in the number of complaints dealing with the separation of advertising and editorial content in the years after 2007 (Eick 2016, Pressenævnet 2016, Väättinen 2016, Žukienė 2016). This comparative research has thus not lost its importance, rather the opposite is the case.

### **Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research**

The study focuses on the organisational level and not the individual level, that is, we get direct and open answers from a sales person or a journalist representing the media organisation. Therefore, the answers in general represent the policy of the media organisation and not so much the opinion or attitude of the individual sales person or journalist, if this opinion or attitude differs from the policy of his or her media organisation.

The study is limited to one time period, it is not repeated five or ten years later and can thus not tell whether the hybridisation level has increased or decreased. There are certainly other factors that indicate that the hybridisation has not decreased, but this is not confirmed by my research.

The study does not primarily intend to show the reason the media organisation would use to explain or justify the high level of hybridisation between journalism and advertising. This could be a good follow up of my research, to interview representatives from the editorial and the advertising department as well as owners to explain why media organisations mix journalism with advertising. Moreover, more research on audience reaction to unlabelled advertorials is recommended as well as comparative research on the journalism education and its focus on hybrid journalism issues.



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## APPENDIXES

### Appendix I

The questions in the letters to the Conference tourism (MICE) magazines can be found below. The questions are similar to the questions sent to the other magazines and newspapers:

1. How many issues do you publish per year? What were your regular circulation and readership numbers in 2005? Did you publish any special issues in 2005? If you have an electronic version, maybe you have some figures on numbers of visitors? If you have a broader overview of this, please, inform.
2. What are the prices for a full-page ad, half-page ad and quarter-page ad in the various sections of your magazine, please also indicate the size of a page. If you already have an overview with prices as such, please, send that to us.
3. If you do advertorials on destinations, could you send us some more price information.
4. Are advertorials marked as advertorials or advertising that is paid for? Or are they presented as regular journalistic/editorial material? If you have guidelines or restrictions for advertorials, please inform.
5. Is it possible for destinations like us to write the advertorials ourselves with our authors (journalists, experts, public relations officers)? Would you then, before printing the report, simply check and evaluate the material? Or will somebody from your advertising department or your regular journalists do that? If so, can destinations like ours have any influence on the content of the advertorial article?
6. In case destinations like ours would advertise in your magazine, would that make you more willing to publish more journalistic/editorial material on our destination?
7. In case our destination would advertise in your magazine, would that guarantee or make it more likely that you won't publish very critical and/or negative articles on our destination? Is there some communication between your advertising department and your journalistic/editorial department?
8. Would you be interested in receiving press releases from our destination, or would you print information from us only in case our destination advertises?
9. Does your magazine offer some additional marketing possibilities that could be of interest to us (databases, workshops, famtrips, presstrips etc.)?
10. And the final question – does the content of your web version differ from the printed publication?

## Appendix II

A list of the magazines and newspapers that responded to the e-mail survey (n=846). From this list 128 publications were removed as the responses included a media kit or a link to the website of the newspaper only. In total 718 publications were analysed in the study.

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
ABIT	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	22941
AIT	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	21997
Allgemeine Bauzeitung	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	31000
Architectural Digest Russia	Russia	Arch/const.mag.	60000
Architectural Review	UK	Arch/const.mag.	19000
Architecture Today	UK	Arch/const.mag.	21152
Arkitekten	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	10200
Arkitekten	Denmark	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Arkitektur	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	7100
Arkitektur DK	Denmark	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Barrierefrei	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	13262
Bauingenieur	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	5000
bba Bau Beratung Architektur	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	20041
BD Baumaschinendienst	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	16000
Betoni	Finland	Arch/const.mag.	15500
BiBauMagazin	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	13780
BiUmweltBau	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	11920
BM Innenausbau Möbel Bauelemente	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	22005
Bpz Baupraxis Zeitung	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	20035
Bussysteme	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	10000
BWI-BetonWerk International	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Byggeri	Denmark	Arch/const.mag.	9343
Byggeteknik	Denmark	Arch/const.mag.	29643
Byggfakta	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	14200
BygTek	Denmark	Arch/const.mag.	22478
BygTek Mester & Svend	Denmark	Arch/const.mag.	25205
Centras	Lithuania	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Construction News	UK	Arch/const.mag.	23728
Contract Journal	UK	Arch/const.mag.	30307
Das Architekten-Magazin	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	8500
db deutsche bauzeitung	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	34905
Der Bauunternehmer	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Der Zimmermann	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	10576
Detail	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	31211
Deutsche Handwerks Blatt	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	235000
Deutsche Handwerks Zeitung	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	471126
Deutsches Architektenblatt	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	125000
Deutsches IngenieurBlatt	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	48200
Ehitaja	Estonia	Arch/const.mag.	3000

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Elektrowärme international (Ewi)	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	2333
Fassadentechnik	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	7000 / 14000 2 times
Fensa News	UK	Arch/const.mag.	9000
Gas	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	No data
GH	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	16000
Glas	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	6820
Glas	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Glas Fenster Fassade Metall	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	8000
Glas+Rahmen	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	7334
Glass&Glazing	UK	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Golv Till Tak	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	2400
Handwerk Magazin	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	80190
Highlight	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	No data
HK Holz- und Kunststoffverarbeitung	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	6669
Hoch & Tiefbau	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	11300
Hochbau	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	10000
Holz-Zentralblatt	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	16176
Hotel Objekte	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Hotel&Technik	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	28275
Husbyggaren	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	8800
Instandhaltung	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	13046
Interceram	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	5000
Kitchen & Bathrooms News	UK	Arch/const.mag.	20000
KK Die Kälte & Klimatechnik K&L Magazin "Die Gelbe"	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	2998
KKA Kalte, Klima Aktuell	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	4000
Korteriühist – meiekodu.ee	Estonia	Arch/const.mag.	6700
Mano Namai	Lithuania	Arch/const.mag.	12000
Maskinentreprenoren	Sweden	Arch/const.mag.	No data
MD Möbel Interior Design	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	11000
Mensch und Büro	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	16500
Mikado	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	10600
Mir i Dom City	Russia	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Mir i Dom Residence	Russia	Arch/const.mag.	No data
Mir i Dom St.Peterburg	Russia	Arch/const.mag.	10000
NordHandwerk	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	49000
Opus C	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	27300
Professional Electrician and Installer	UK	Arch/const.mag.	66905
Professional Builder	UK	Arch/const.mag.	125000
Rakennus Taito	Finland	Arch/const.mag.	12000
Rakennuslehti	Finland	Arch/const.mag.	30233
Stahlbau	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	3750
Statyba ir architektura	Lithuania	Arch/const.mag.	10000
Stein Keramik Sanitär	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	10083

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Steklo i Bizness	Russia	Arch/const.mag.	5000
Stroitelj	Estonia	Arch/const.mag.	2000
Sun & Wind Energy	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	20000
TGA Fachplaner	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	8155
Tiefbau	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	4000
VDBUM Informationen	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	22000
Win – Woodworking International	Germany	Arch/const.mag.	12000
4x4 Club Magazine	Russia	Arch/const.mag.	80000
5 Wheel	Russia	Car magazine	No data
ACE Lenkrad	Germany	Car magazine	No data (550000 readers)
ADAC Motorwelt	Germany	Car magazine	13852209
ADAC Reisemagazin	Germany	Car magazine	166264
ATZ-Automobiltechnische Zeitschrift	Germany	Car magazine	7900
ATZelektronik	Germany	Car magazine	9000
Auto Bild Eesti magazine	Estonia	Car magazine	14000
Auto Fachmann/Autokaufmann	Germany	Car magazine	100 000
Auto Izvestia	Russia	Car magazine	90000
Auto Reparatur Markt	Germany	Car magazine	18380
Auto Sport	UK	Car magazine	38495
Autobild Lietuva	Lithuania	Car magazine	20000
Autoflotte	Germany	Car magazine	31557
Autohaus	Germany	Car magazine	19860
Autoizvestia	Russia	Car magazine	90000
Autoleht	Estonia	Car magazine	13500
Automir	Russia	Car magazine	130000
Automobil	Sweden	Car magazine	30000
Automobil Industrie	Germany	Car magazine	15000
Automobil Produkton	Germany	Car magazine	16000
Automobil Wirtschaft	Germany	Car magazine	40000
Automobilwoche	Germany	Car magazine	40253
AutoRäderReifen – Gummibereifung	Germany	Car magazine	7957
AutoTechnology	Germany	Car magazine	20000
Autotuning	Germany	Car magazine	95700
Avtoperevochik	Russia	Car magazine	22500
Bil Magasinet	Denmark	Car magazine	41952
Bilsport	Sweden	Car magazine	52800
Bilsport Classic	Sweden	Car magazine	No data
Bilsport junior	Sweden	Car magazine	No data
Bus Aktuell	Germany	Car magazine	7500
Bus Blickpunkt	Germany	Car magazine	10000
Busfahrer	Germany	Car magazine	28000
Busmagazin	Germany	Car magazine	8000
Busplaner	Germany	Car magazine	6573

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Caravan	Finland	Car magazine	52812
Classic & Sports Car	UK	Car magazine	140000
Classic & Vintage Commercials	UK	Car magazine	18500
Classic Military Vehicle	UK	Car magazine	12500
Classic Motor	Sweden	Car magazine	45200
Commercial Motor	UK	Car magazine	20900
Commercial Vehicle Workshop	UK	Car magazine	10000 (NB! Readers)
Danmarks Transport-Tidende	Denmark	Car magazine	6000
European Automotive Design	UK	Car magazine	24000
Evo	Russia	Car magazine	48000
F1 Racing	UK	Car magazine	64897
Fernfahrer	Germany	Car magazine	107728
Fleet News	UK	Car magazine	19994
Forsage	Russia	Car magazine	107900
Gefahr/gut	Germany	Car magazine	6000
GTI	Finland	Car magazine	No data
Gute Fahrt	Germany	Car magazine	187032
kfz-betrieb	Germany	Car magazine	30000
Lager & Transport	Denmark	Car magazine	7668
Motor	Denmark	Car magazine	237000
Motor Classic	Denmark	Car magazine	15000
Motor Magazine	Sweden	Car magazine	No data
Motor Transport	UK	Car magazine	20681
Motormagasinet	Sweden	Car magazine	15700
Motormagasinet	Denmark	Car magazine	12859
Motorsport News	UK	Car magazine	24047
MTZ-Motortechnische Zeitschrift	Germany	Car magazine	7500
Nostalgia	Sweden	Car magazine	No data
Omnibusrevue	Germany	Car magazine	7500
Parts&Pieces	Germany	Car magazine	9000
Practical Motorhome	UK	Car magazine	16864
Promobil	Germany	Car magazine	85172
Resforum	Sweden	Car magazine	2400
Street Xtreme	Sweden	Car magazine	No data
Trans Inform	Denmark	Car magazine	5500
Transport Idag	Sweden	Car magazine	6300
Truck & Driver	UK	Car magazine	27989
Trucker	Germany	Car magazine	65000
Tuning	Germany	Car magazine	187032
Tuning Avtomobily	Russia	Car magazine	146200
Tuning Expert	Russia	Car magazine	63500
V8	Finland	Car magazine	No data
Vauhdin Maailma	Finland	Car magazine	31000
Vi bilägare	Sweden	Car magazine	150000

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
VKU Verkehrsunfall und Fahrzeugtechnik	Germany	Car magazine	1500–2900
What Car magazine	UK	Car magazine	No data
Xxx	Germany	Car magazine	No data
Acta Neuropathologia	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Adipositas	Germany	Health/med. mag.	21500
ADJ Education & Practice	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Aesthetische Zahnmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
AHZ Allgemeine Homopathische Zeitung,	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4300
AINS	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Aktuelle Dermatologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Aktuelle Neurologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Aktuelle Rheumatologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Aktuelle Traumatologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Aktuelle Urologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Allgemeine und Viszeralchirurgie up2date	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Ambulant operieren	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Annals of Hematology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Annals of the Rheumatic Diseases	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Apteekkarilehti	Finland	Health/med. mag.	2100
Arbeit und Gesundheit	Germany	Health/med. mag.	400000
Arbeitsmedizin Sozialmedizin Umweltmedizin (ASU)	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3274
Arbetsarskydd	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	19200
Archives of Dematological Research	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Archives of Disease in Childhood, Fetal and Neonatal, Edition (Archives of Disease in Childhood)	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Archives of Gynecology and Obstetrics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Archives of Orthopaedic and Trauma Surgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Arthritis & Rheuma	Germany	Health/med. mag.	8000
Arthroskopie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3100
ArzneimForsch/DrugRes	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2114
Arzt und Wirtschaft	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Ärzteblatt Baden-Württemberg (ÄBW)	Germany	Health/med. mag.	46750
Arzteblatt Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Germany	Health/med. mag.	9200
Arzteblatt Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	Health/med. mag.	18800
Ärztliche Psychotherapie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4900
Avunmaailma:	Finland	Health/med. mag.	100000
B&G Bewegungstherapie und Gesundheitssport paraplegiker,	GER	Health/med. mag.	No data



<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Balint Journal	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Berliner Arzte	Germany	Health/med. mag.	25500
Best Practice Onkologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	10000
BG Bewegungstherapie und Gesundheitssport	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Biologine Psichiatrija ir Psichofarmakologija	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	No data
BIOspektrum	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Bodylife	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Brain Structure and Function	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Breast Care,	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
British Journal of Ophthalmology	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
British Journal of Sports Medicine	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Bundesgesundheitsblatt – Gesundheitsforschung- Gesundheitsschutz	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Cancer Chemotherapy and Pharmacology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Cancer Immunology, Immunotherapy	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Cell and Tissue Research	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Child's Nervous System	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Chirurgische Allgemeine	Germany	Health/med. mag.	7200
Chirurgische Gastroenterologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Chromosoma	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Clinical Oral Investigations	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Clinical Research in Cardiology Supplements	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
CME	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Co Med	Germany	Health/med. mag.	13500
Community Care	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Dagens Medicin	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	19400
Dagens Medisin	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	22300
Das Gesundheitswesen	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Das Krankenhaus	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Dbio	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	8000
Der Anaesthetist	Germany	Health/med. mag.	8000
Der Augenspiegel	Germany	Health/med. mag.	6082
Der Chirurg	Germany	Health/med. mag.	6500
Der Diabetologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	8500
Der Gastroenterologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3000
Der Gynäkologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	5400
Der Hautarzt	GER	Health/med. mag.	2500
Der Internist	Germany	Health/med. mag.	37622
Der Kardiologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	7200
Der Nephrologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3000
Der Nervenarzt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	12200

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Der Onkologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3300
Der Ophthalmologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	5700
Der Orthopäde	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4100
Der Pathologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1100
Der Pneumologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2400
Der Radiologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3000
Der Schmerz	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4600
Der Unfallchirurg	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4250
Der Urologe	Germany	Health/med. mag.	7500
Deutsche Hebammen Zeitschrift	Germany	Health/med. mag.	9167
Deutsche Heilpraktiker Zeitschrift	Germany	Health/med. mag.	10000
Deutsche Zeitschrift für klinische Forschung	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Deutsche Zeitschrift für Onkologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	5000
Deutsches Ärzteblatt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Diabetologia	Germany	Health/med. mag.	6600
Dialogi	Finland	Health/med. mag.	28000
Die Hebamme	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4600
Die Internistische Welt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	10500
Die Kontaktlinse	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3209
Die Psychiatrie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2400
Die Rehabilitation	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
DNP Der Neurologe & Psychiater	Germany	Health/med. mag.	9450
DO Deutsche Zeitschrift für Osteopathie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Doctor Travel	Russia	Health/med. mag.	120000
Drug and Therapeutics Bulletin,	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Education in Heart	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Eesti Arst	Estonia	Health/med. mag.	3600
Emergency Medicine Journal	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Emergency Radiology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Endo-Praxis	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Endoscopy	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Erfahrungsheilkunde	Germany	Health/med. mag.	8500
Ergo-Med	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1500
Ergoterapeuten	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	2420
Ernährung & Medizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Ethik in der Medizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Archives of Oto-Rhino- Laryngology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Ageing	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Applied Physiology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Clinical Microbiology and Infectious Diseases	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
European Journal of Clinical Pharmacology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Nuclear Medicine and Molecular Imaging	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Pediatric Surgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Pediatrics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Journal of Plastic Surgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Radiology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4500
European Reviews of Aging and Physical Activity	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
European Spine Journal	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1100
Evidence-Based Medicine	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Evidence-Based Mental Health	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Evidence-Based Nursing	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Eye News	UK	Health/med. mag.	5000
Farmaci	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	No data
Farmacifacket	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	No data
Farmakonomen	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	6000
Farmakoterapija	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	No data
Farmvestnik	Russia	Health/med. mag.	18000
Forschende Komplementärmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Fortschritte der Neurologie – Psychiatrie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Forum der Psychoanalyse	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2350
Fysioterapi	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	12300
Gefäßchirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2150
Graefe's Archive for Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Gut	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Gut Tutorials	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Gydymo Menas	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	No data
Gynäkologische Endokrinologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1400
Gynecological Surgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Hämostaseologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3100
Handchirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Handicap-Nyt	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	No data
Healthy Magazine	UK	Health/med. mag.	220023
Heart	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Hessisches ärzteblatt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	32000
Hippokrates	Estonia	Health/med. mag.	1000
Hjertenyt	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	No data
HNO	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2000
Homopathic Links	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3000
Hospital Pharmacia	UK	Health/med. mag.	9633
Human Genetics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Hygiene & Medizin – Infektion Control and Healthcare	UK	Health/med. mag.	4000
Immunogenetics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Intensive Care Medicine			
Injury Prevention	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Intensiv	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Intensivmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Intensivmedizin und Notfallmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2600
International Archives of Occupational and Environmental Health	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
International Clinical Trials	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
International Journal of Colorectal Disease	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
International Journal of Computer Assisted Radiology and Surgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
International Journal of Legal Medicine	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
International Orthopaedics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
IOK	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2200
JDDG Journal der Deutschen Dermatologischen Gesellschaft	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Journal of Cancer Research and Clinical Oncology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Children's Orthopaedics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Clinical Pathology	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Comparative Physiology A	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Comparative Physiology B	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Medical Ethics	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Medical Genetics	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Molecular Medicine	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Neurology	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Journal of Public Health	Germany	Health/med. mag.	720
Kinder und Jugendmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	20905
Klinik & reha	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Klinische Monatsblätter der Augenheilkunde	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Klinische Neurophysiologi	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Knee Surgery, Sports Traumatology, Arthroscopy	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Kompakt Gastroenterologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Kompakt Pneumologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Kongress Zeit Neurologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Krankenhaus Zeitung	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Krankenhaushygiene	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Lab Times	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Laborjournal	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Lægeseekretær Nyt	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	12500
Läkartidningen	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	No data
Läkemedelsvärlden	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	No data
Langenbeck's Archives of Surgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Ledsageren	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	75612
Lietuvos Medicinos Kronika	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	8000
Magnetic Resonance Materials in Physics, Biology and Medicine	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Manuelle Medizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	11300
MedAbiente	Germany	Health/med. mag.	20000
Medical and Biological Engineering and Computing	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Medical Corps International	Germany	Health/med. mag.	15000
Medical Humanities	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Medical Microbiology and Immunology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Medicina ir dar kai kas visiems	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	27000
Medicina ir dar kai kas visiems plius	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	20000
Medicinsk Access	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	19500
Medicinsk Vetenskap	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	19000
Medizin, Diät & Information,	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Medizinische Genetik	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Medizinische Psychologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
MedR – Medizinrecht	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
MedWelt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	22500
Menedzer Zdravokhranenija	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Methods	Germany	Health/med. mag.	700
Mikrochirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
MIMB	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Minimally Invasive Neurosurgery	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Unfallchirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Monatsschrift Kinderheilkunde	Germany	Health/med. mag.	13500
MTA Dialog	Germany	Health/med. mag.	23653
Muisti	Finland	Health/med. mag.	13000
Mund-, Kiefer- und Gesichtschirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1800
Naturheilpraxis	Germany	Health/med. mag.	16500
Naunyn-Schmiedeberg's Archives of Pharmacology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Nervenheilkunde	Germany	Health/med. mag.	30000
Nervų ir Psichikos ligos	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	No data
Neurogenetics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Neuroradiology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Neurosurgery and Psychiatry	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Neurosurgical Review	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Niedersächsische ärzteblatt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	36500
Nikama	Finland	Health/med. mag.	10000
Niveltieto	Finland	Health/med. mag.	10000
Notfall & Rettungsmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Notfallmedizin up2date	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Nuklearmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2800
NyhedsInformation	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	No data
Occupational & Environmental Medicine	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
OM Zeitschrift für Orthomolekulare Medizin,	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
On Health & Beauty Salon	UK	Health/med. mag.	12410
Onkologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	5000
Ophthalmologische Nachrichten	Germany	Health/med. mag.	5300
Ortopädie Mitteilungen	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Ortopädie und Unfallchirurgie up2date	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Osteosynthesis and Trauma Care	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pediatric Nephrology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pediatric Radiology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pediatric Surgery International	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pflege heute	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pflegezeitschrift	Germany	Health/med. mag.	7000
Pharma	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pharmaceutical Journal	UK	Health/med. mag.	53932
Pharmaceutical Manufacturing and Packing Sourcer	UK	Health/med. mag.	10500
Pharmind® – Die Pharmazeutische Industrie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Phlebologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2550
PiD – Psychotherapie im Dialog	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Plastische Chirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1800
Plastische Chirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Pneumologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Postgraduate Medical Journal	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Practice Management	UK	Health/med. mag.	3000
Prävention und Gesundheitsförderung	Germany	Health/med. mag.	670
Psych	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Psychiatrie und Psychotherapie up2date	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Psychiatrische Praxis	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Psychodynamische Psychotherapie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1550
Psychologie Heute	Germany	Health/med. mag.	92000

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Psychologie in Erziehung und Unterricht	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Psychoneuro	Germany	Health/med. mag.	9200
Psychopharmacology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Psychosomatik	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Psychotherapeut	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2400
Psychotherapie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
pt Zeitschrift für Physiotherapeuten	Germany	Health/med. mag.	27811
PTT	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2450
Pulse	UK	Health/med. mag.	39500
Quality & Safety in Health Care	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Rechtsmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	720
Rheumatology International	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sairaala	Finland	Health/med. mag.	3000
Schleswig-Holsteinisches Ärzteblatt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	16000
Seminars in Immunopathology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sexually Transmitted Infections	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Signal	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sjukhusläkaren	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	19700
Skeletal Radiology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sleep and Breathing	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Smittskydd	Sweden	Health/med. mag.	5000
SN Global	UK	Health/med. mag.	7850
Socialrådgiveren	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sportschaden	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sportverletzung,	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Sprache, Stimme – Gehör	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Student BMJ	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Such	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Suchtmedizin	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1000
Super-lehti	Finland	Health/med. mag.	72000
Supportive Care in Cancer	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Surgeons' News	UK	Health/med. mag.	11000
Sveikas žmogus	Lithuania	Health/med. mag.	22750
Terra Medica nova	Russia	Health/med. mag.	10000
Tervis Pluss	Estonia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Terviseleht	Estonia	Health/med. mag.	4000
The Chinese-German Journal of Clinica Oncology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
The European Journal of Health Economics	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
The Health Service Journa	UK	Health/med. mag.	21105
The Practitioner	UK	Health/med. mag.	35300
Thorax	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Thrombosis and Haemostasis	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3230
Tidsskrift for Jordemødre	Denmark	Health/med. mag.	7700

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Tobacco Control	UK	Health/med. mag.	No data
Trainer	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Transfusion Medicine and Hemotherapy	Germany	Health/med. mag.	3000
Trauma und Berufskrankheit	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Tukiviesti	Finland	Health/med. mag.	No data
Urological Research	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Vanhustyö	Finland	Health/med. mag.	2700
Verhaltenstherapie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	4000
Vertikaal	Estonia	Health/med. mag.	2000
VHN	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Virchows Archiv	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Viszeralchirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Vratch i Informatsionnye Tehnologii	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Wehrmedizin und Wehrpharmazie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	8100
World Journal of Urology	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Zeitschrift für Herz-, Thorax- und Gefäßchirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	500
Zeitschrift für Orthopädie und Unfallchirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Zeitschrift für Rheumatologie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2150
Zentralblatt	Germany	Health/med. mag.	1500
Zentralblatt für Chirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
Zentralblatt für Neurochirurgie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
ZKH Zeitschrift für Klassische Homöopathie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	No data
ZKH Zeitschrift für Klassische Homöopathie	Germany	Health/med. mag.	2200
Анестезиология и реаниматология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Анналы хирургии	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Архив патологии	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Вестник новых медицинских технологий	Russia	Health/med. mag.	400
Вестник офтальмологии	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Вестник Российской академии медицинских наук	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Вестник травматологии и ортопедии им. Н.Н. Приорова	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Вопросы вирусологии	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Вопросы курортологии, физиотерапии и лечебной физической культуры	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Гематология и трансфузиология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Гигиена и санитария	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Грудная и сердечно-сосудистая хирургия	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Детская хирургия	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data



<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Здравоохранение Российской Федерации	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Иммунология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Клиническая лабораторная диагностика	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Клиническая медицина	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Красота и здоровье	Russia	Health/med. mag.	65000
Лабораторная диагностика	Russia	Health/med. mag.	5000
Лечащий Врач	Russia	Health/med. mag.	50000
Медико-социальная экспертиза и реабилитация	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Медицинская наука и практика	Russia	Health/med. mag.	5000
Медицинский Вестник	Russia	Health/med. mag.	15120
Медицинский Совет	Russia	Health/med. mag.	20000
Молекулярная генетика, микробиология и вирусология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Молекулярная медицина	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Наркология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	500
Неврологический журнал	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Нефрология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	600
Педиатрия для родителей	Russia	Health/med. mag.	25000
Проблемы социальной гигиены, здравоохранения и истории медицины	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Ремедиум	Russia	Health/med. mag.	10000
Российская педиатрическая офтальмология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Российские аптеки	Russia	Health/med. mag.	20000
Российский журнал кожных и венерических болезней	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Российский медицинский журнал	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Российский онкологический журнал	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Российский педиатрический журнал	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Российский стоматологический журнал	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Русские журналы	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Русский Медицинский Журнал	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Социология медицины и инфекционные болезни	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Терапевтический архив	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Урология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Фармацевтический вестник	Russia	Health/med. mag.	18000
Физиотерапия, бальнеология и реабилитация	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data
Эпидемиология	Russia	Health/med. mag.	No data

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Business Travel Magazine	Belgium	MICE magazine	9000
Business Travel News	United States	MICE magazine	54800
CIM	Germany	MICE magazine	20500
Conference & Meetings World	UK	MICE magazine	7500
Events	Germany	MICE magazine	22000
Expone	Spain	MICE magazine	7000
HeadQuarters/Meeting Trends Magazine	Belgium	MICE magazine	4000
ICJ	Germany	MICE magazine	17000
Incentive	United States	MICE magazine	40050
Incentives & Meetings International	United States	MICE magazine	20000 (NB! Readers)
Incentiveworld.com	South Africa	MICE magazine	3500
<i>Title not revealed*</i>	Sweden	MICE magazine	18000
M.I.C.	Switzerland	MICE magazine	16000
Meeting & Incentive Travel	UK	MICE magazine	16600
Meeting News	United States	MICE magazine	50100
<i>Title not revealed*</i>	Italy	MICE magazine	9000
MICE Travel	Netherlands	MICE magazine	30000
mice2 magazine	Belgium	MICE magazine	5000
MIMmagazine	Belgium	MICE magazine	4000
MPI European Membership Magazine	Belgium	MICE magazine	5000
Professional Events	Spain	MICE magazine	10000
Quality in Meetings Benelux	Belgium	MICE magazine	9800
Quality in Meetings Europe	Belgium	MICE magazine	18500
Successful Meetings	United States	MICE magazine	72500
Tagungswirtschaft	Germany	MICE magazine	20280
The Corporate Traveller	Belgium	MICE magazine	17000
The Southern Africa Conference, Exhibition & Events Guide	South Africa	MICE magazine	3500
Travel Magazine	Belgium	MICE magazine	7000
Travel Trade Gazette Worldwide	UK	MICE magazine	26000
Travel2	Belgium	MICE magazine	6000
Travelution	Netherlands	MICE magazine	5250
<i>Title not revealed*</i>	Russia	MICE magazine	5000
Xtrabusiness	Switzerland	MICE magazine	8000
Novaja Gazeta	Russia	Newspaper	525350
Abendzeitung München	Germany	Newspaper	137912
Abendzeitung Nürnberg	Germany	Newspaper	19369
Åbo Underrättelser	Finland	Newspaper	8000
Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	56071
Aldershot Mail	UK	Newspaper	10682
Aldershot News	UK	Newspaper	16492
Alfredon Echo	UK	Newspaper	13493
Alingsås Kuriren	Sweden	Newspaper	24100

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Argus	UK	Newspaper	33950
Argus Lite	UK	Newspaper	10000
Århus Stiftstidende	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Äripäev	Estonia	Newspaper	23000
Barnet & Potters Bar Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Barnet and Potters Bar Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Basildan, Billericay and Wickford Recorder	UK	Newspaper	No data
Bath News	UK	Newspaper	No data
Bath Observer	UK	Newspaper	No data
Beccles and Bungay Journal	UK	Newspaper	7117
Belfast Telegraph	UK	Newspaper	85916
Belper News	UK	Newspaper	4380
Bishop Stortford Citizen	UK	Newspaper	No data
Bishops Stortford Citizen	UK	Newspaper	No data
Blackburn, Darwen & Hyndburn Citizen	UK	Newspaper	58957
Blackpool & Fylde Citizen	UK	Newspaper	65252
Blekinge Läns Tidning	Sweden	Newspaper	36100
Bolsover Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	11468
Borehamwood Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Borehamwood Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Bournemouth Echo	UK	Newspaper	90023
Braintree and Witham Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Braintree and Witham Weekly News	UK	Newspaper	No data
Brentwood Weekly News	UK	Newspaper	No data
Brighton & Hove Leader	UK	Newspaper	68160
Bromsgrove Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	37365
Burnley & Pendle Citizen	UK	Newspaper	56058
Buxton Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	13544
Buxton Times	UK	Newspaper	5551
Cambridge Evening News	UK	Newspaper	29860
Castle Point, Rayleigh, Rochford Standard	UK	Newspaper	No data
Chelmsford Weekly News	UK	Newspaper	No data
Chester & District Standard	UK	Newspaper	53616
Chesterfield Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	55941
Chesterfield Express	UK	Newspaper	37920
Chingford Guardian	UK	Newspaper	No data
Chorley Citizen	UK	Newspaper	32921
Clackton and Frinton Gazette	UK	Newspaper	No data
Colchester Weekly News	UK	Newspaper	No data
Cotswold Journal	UK	Newspaper	No data
County Times and Express	UK	Newspaper	18333
Cumberland and Westmorland Herald	UK	Newspaper	No data
Dagbladet Holstebro	Denmark	Newspaper	No data

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Dagbladet Ringkøbing Skjern	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Dagbladet Struer	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Dagen	Sweden	Newspaper	18400
Dagens Nyheter	Sweden	Newspaper	347000
Daily Express	UK	Newspaper	No data
Daily Mirror	UK	Newspaper	No data
Dalabygden	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Denbighshire Free Press	UK	Newspaper	7118
Der Handelsblatt	Germany	Newspaper	180000
Der Patriot	Germany	Newspaper	30000
Der Tagesspiegel	Germany	Newspaper	150000
Derby Evening Telegraph	UK	Newspaper	54523
Derbyshire Times Newspaper	UK	Newspaper	42292
Dereham and Fakenham Times	UK	Newspaper	8589
Die Welt	Germany	Newspaper	363737
Die Zeit	Germany	Newspaper	480000
Diss Mercury	UK	Newspaper	15362
Doncaster Free Press	UK	Newspaper	35276
Dronfield Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	10294
Dunmow Broadcast	UK	Newspaper	No data
East London and West Essex Guardian Series,	UK	Newspaper	No data
Eastern Daily Press	UK	Newspaper	70588
Eastwood and Kimberly Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	4395
Eckington Leader	UK	Newspaper	21521
Edgware & Mill Hill Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Edinburgh Evening News	UK	Newspaper	60000
Eichsfelder Tageblatt in Duderstadt	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Ekstrabladet	Denmark	Newspaper	108478
Enfield Independent	UK	Newspaper	No data
Enfield Independent	UK	Newspaper	92538
Epping Guardian	UK	Newspaper	No data
ErhvervsBladet	Denmark	Newspaper	30000
Essex County Standard	UK	Newspaper	No data
Evening Leader Chester	UK	Newspaper	1669
Evening Chronicle	UK	Newspaper	80669
Evening Leader Flintshire	UK	Newspaper	8967
Evening Leader Wrexham	UK	Newspaper	13959
Evening Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Evesham Journal	UK	Newspaper	No data
Expressen	Sweden	Newspaper	335000
Financial Times Deutschland	Germany	Newspaper	103284
Flensburg Avis	Germany	Newspaper	7000
Flintshire Leader and Standard	UK	Newspaper	32928
Folkebladet Lemvig	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Folketidende Lolland Falster	Denmark	Newspaper	21933

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	951000
GainsboroughStandard	UK	Newspaper	4146
Gästriklands Tidning	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Gazeta	Russia	Newspaper	72600
Gazette & Herald	UK	Newspaper	13239
Gmünder Tagespost	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Göttinger Tageblatt	Germany	Newspaper	44675
Gt Yarmouth Mercury	UK	Newspaper	18821
Halstead Gazette	UK	Newspaper	No data
Haringey Independent	UK	Newspaper	No data
Haringey Independent	UK	Newspaper	28269
Harlow Citizen	UK	Newspaper	No data
Harwich and Manningtree Standard	UK	Newspaper	No data
Helsingborgs Dagblad	Sweden	Newspaper	85000
Helsingin Sanomat	Finland	Newspaper	No data
Hendon and Finchley Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Hendon Times	UK	Newspaper	No data
Hessische/Niedersächsische Allgemeine	Germany	Newspaper	No data
High Peak Courier	UK	Newspaper	22521
Hufvudstadsbladet	Finland	Newspaper	No data
Ilkeston Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	8931
Ilta Sanomat	Finland	Newspaper	186462
Jyllandsposten	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Kieler Nachrichten	Germany	Newspaper	101138
Kymen Sanomat	Finland	Newspaper	26700
Lääne Elu	Estonia	Newspaper	4500
Läns-Posten	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Länstidningen Södertälje	Sweden	Newspaper	16000
Leipziger Volkszeitung	Germany	Newspaper	660000
llesmere Port Standard	UK	Newspaper	33158
Lowestoft Journal	UK	Newspaper	19126
Maaseudun Tulevaisuus	Finland	Newspaper	85000
Maldon and Burnham Standard	UK	Newspaper	No data
Matlock Mercury	UK	Newspaper	8510
Mestnoe Vremja	Russia	Newspaper	17000
Metro Göteborg	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Metro NE	UK	Newspaper	52859
Metro Riks	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Metro Skåne	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Metro Stockholm	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Metro, Санкт-Петербург	Russia	Newspaper	400000
Moj Gorod Obninsk	Russia	Newspaper	32000
Nacka Värmdö Posten	Sweden	Newspaper	66800
Neue Rhein/Neue Ruhr Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Nizhegorodskie Novosti	Russia	Newspaper	10000

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Nordsee-Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	71624
Norrtelje Tidning	Sweden	Newspaper	15000
North Norfolk News	UK	Newspaper	8461
North Wales Chronicle	UK	Newspaper	36181
North Wales Pioneer	UK	Newspaper	34489
Norwich Evening News	UK	Newspaper	26942
Nürnberger Nachrichten/ Nürnberger Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	300000
Nya Lidköpings-Tidningen	Sweden	Newspaper	26000
Ölandsbladet	Sweden	Newspaper	9000
Örnsköldsviks Allehanda	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Östermalmsnytt	Sweden	Newspaper	42000
Östran	Sweden	Newspaper	18000
Oswestry and Border County Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	11550
Pärnu, Linnaleht	Estonia	Newspaper	17000
Pärnu Börs	Estonia	Newspaper	21000
Pärnu Postimees	Estonia	Newspaper	16000
Peak Times	UK	Newspaper	13474
Politiken	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Postimees	Estonia	Newspaper	65000
Preston & Leyland Citizen	UK	Newspaper	No data
Randers Amtstavis	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Rheinische Post	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Rheinischer Merkur	Germany	Newspaper	81000
Ripley & Heanor News	UK	Newspaper	11555
Saffron Walden Reporter	UK	Newspaper	No data
Schwäbische Post	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Scotland on Sunday	UK	Newspaper	72000
Seesener Beobachter	Germany	Newspaper	6600
Selby Star	UK	Newspaper	14815
Siegener Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	65335
Sigtunabygden	Sweden	Newspaper	25000
Södermalmsnytt	Sweden	Newspaper	67700
Sonntag Aktuell	Germany	Newspaper	916299
South Yorkshire Times	UK	Newspaper	6197
Southend Standard	UK	Newspaper	No data
Stuttgarter Nachrichten	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Stuttgarter Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	212870
Süddeutsche Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	444658
Sunday Express	UK	Newspaper	No data
Sunday Herald	UK	Newspaper	No data
Sunday Sun	UK	Newspaper	68960
Surgutskaja Tribuna	Russia	Newspaper	16000
Sydsvenskan	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Tallinn, Linnaleht (Estonian)	Estonia	Newspaper	40000

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Tallinn, Linnaleht (Russian)	Estonia	Newspaper	25000
Tartu, Linnaleht	Estonia	Newspaper	30000
The Bury Free Press	UK	Newspaper	34000
The Daily Gazette	UK	Newspaper	No data
The Deeme Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	23556
The East Anglian Daily Times	UK	Newspaper	35806
The Echo	UK	Newspaper	No data
The Epworth Bells and Crowle Advertiser	UK	Newspaper	3133
The Evening Star	UK	Newspaper	21352
The Goole Howden Courier	UK	Newspaper	21000
The Herald	UK	Newspaper	No data
The Independent	UK	Newspaper	240827
The Journal	UK	Newspaper	36856
The Journal	UK	Newspaper	32459
The Moscow Times	Russia	Newspaper	35000
The News	UK	Newspaper	14232
The Northern Echo	UK	Newspaper	No data
The Northern Farming Gazette	UK	Newspaper	8000
The Press	UK	Newspaper	33840
The Scotsman	UK	Newspaper	64000
Thetford & Brandon Times Swaffham and Watton Times	UK	Newspaper	25022
Thorne and District Gazette	UK	Newspaper	18000
Thurrock Gazette	UK	Newspaper	No data
Tidningen Ångermanland	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Upplands Nyheter	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Upsala Nya Tidning	Sweden	Newspaper	56600
Urban	Denmark	Newspaper	248095
Urban	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Vaihinger Kreiszeitung	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Vårt Kungsholmen	Sweden	Newspaper	38900
Västerås Tidning	Sweden	Newspaper	87000
Västmanlands Nyheter	Sweden	Newspaper	No data
Vechernyj Cheljabinsk	Russia	Newspaper	7001
Vi i Vasastaden	Sweden	Newspaper	37900
Viborg Stifts Folkeblad	Denmark	Newspaper	No data
Waldeckische Landeszeitung – Frankenberger Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	20191
Welt am Sonntag	Germany	Newspaper	561038
Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Westfalenpost	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Westfälische Rundschau	Germany	Newspaper	No data
Wirtschaftswoche	Germany	Newspaper	210000
Wrexham Leader	UK	Newspaper	40735

<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Publication type</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
Wymondham and Attleborough Mercury	UK	Newspaper	16381
York Star	UK	Newspaper	51495
Алтай	Russia	Newspaper	4000
Борисоглебский вестник	Russia	Newspaper	5000
Брянские будни	Russia	Newspaper	10000
Ветлужский край	Russia	Newspaper	6249
Волхонка	Russia	Newspaper	6283
Время новостей	Russia	Newspaper	51000
Вятский Край	Russia	Newspaper	10000
Городская газета для жителей Пскова	Russia	Newspaper	4000
Деловой Петербург	Russia	Newspaper	24000
Калининградская Правда	Russia	Newspaper	20000
Красное знамя	Russia	Newspaper	9000
Курьер Карелии	Russia	Newspaper	No data
Къ Спорту Брянск	Russia	Newspaper	5000
Къ Спорту Калуга	Russia	Newspaper	1500
Къ Спорту Мытищи	Russia	Newspaper	3000
Магнитогорский металл	Russia	Newspaper	80817
Мурманский вестник	Russia	Newspaper	9000
Новгородские ведомости	Russia	Newspaper	No data
Новгородские Ведомости	Russia	Newspaper	26000
Презент	Russia	Newspaper	200000
Российская газета Omsk	Russia	Newspaper	350000 in all, 3000 in Omsk district
Самарская неделя	Russia	Newspaper	10000
Сердало	Russia	Newspaper	3500
Удмуртская правда	Russia	Newspaper	10500
Экономика Сибири	Russia	Newspaper	30000

\* If a magazine or newspaper is the only magazine or newspaper analysed from a specific country, its title is not revealed in order to secure anonymity.



## SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### **Lagunev müür. Hübridiseeruv ajakirjandus. Kaheksas Euroopa riigis ilmuvate ajalehtede ja ajakirjade võrdlev uurimus**

Doktoritöö eesmärgiks on uurida reklaami ja ajakirjandusliku sisu sulandumist Põhja-Euroopa maade ajalehtedes ja nišiajakirjades. Keskseks küsimuseks on reklaamina märgistamata ja märgistatud turundustekst, nn *advertorials*. Nime- tatud termin märgib Euroopa Liidus eksitavat turunduspraktikat. Kui ajakirjan- duslikku teksti jälgendav turundusinfo on märgitud kui „makstud tekst”, on tege- mist tagasihoidliku ajakirjanduse ja turunduse diskursuste hübridiseerumisega; kui vastavat märget auditooriumi jaoks ei ole, on tegemist tugeva või täieliku diskursuste hübridiseerumisega.

Käesoleva uurimistöö üks põhijäreldusi on, et aastatel 2006/2007 oli Põhja- Euroopa regioonis nišiajakirjade ja ajalehtede osas hübridiseerumine laialdane, kuivõrd vaid veerand uuritud väljaannetest ei aktsepteerinud peidetud reklaame; samal ajal kolmveerand valimisse kuulunud väljaannetest olid nõus *advertorials*-tüüpi tekstide avaldamisega, nägemata probleeme ajakirjandusliku sisu ja reklaamisisu sulandumise osas.

Töö lähtub normatiivsetest ajakirjandusteooriatest, võttes arvesse ka meedia- majanduslikku lähenemist. Töö autori poolt konstrueeritud „normatiivsed sam- bad” peaksid tagama ajakirjanduse autonoomia ja avalikkuse huvi kaitse. Para- ku on kommertsialiseerimine viimasel kolmel aastakümnel hakanud lagundama kunagi nii põhimõttelist „müüri“ toimetuse ja meediaorganisatsioonide rek- laamiosakondade vahel. Internet ja kommunikatsioonitehnoloogia on kiirenda- nud informatsiooni ülekülluse kui ka kommertsialiseerimise protsesse. Nende protsesside tulemusena on ajakirjandus sattunud väga haavatavasse ja pingelisse olukorda, kus ajakirjanduse ja turundusliku sisu sulandumine toetab demokraa- tia nõrgenemist. Vastukaalu saab pakkuda tugev vaba ajakirjanduse traditsioon ning ajakirjanduslik autonoomia.

Kuivõrd käesolevas uurimistöös on võrreldud 8 riigi väljaandeid, on töös peatükk, mille eesmärgiks on anda taustinformatsioon, mis selgitab ajakirjan- dusliku autonoomia ja nn hübriidajakirjanduse kultuurilisi erinevusi.

Dissertatsiooni empiirilises osas esitatakse nii andmekogumise meetodid kui ka töö tulemused: e-kirjavahetuse abil perioodil 1. veebruar 2006 kuni 16. det- sember 2007 kogutud materjali analüüs. Kokku uuris autor 2513 auto-, arhi- tektuuri- ja ehitus-, tervise- ja meditsiini- ning konverentsi (MICE) ajakirja kohta Taanis, Eestis, Soomes, Saksamaal, Leedus, Venemaal, Rootsis ja Ühend- kuningriigis (UK). Küsitluse vastamise protsent oli 33,7.

Vastanutest 66,4% ehk 459 väljaannet 691st kasutas praktikat, kus kom- mertsteksti alati ei eristatud ja tegemist on seega tagasihoidliku diskursuste hübridiseerumisega.

Väike osa väljaannetest – 9,6% ehk 66 väljaannet 691st ei märgistanud reklaamtekste ja seega kasutasid täielikku ajakirjanduse ja reklaami diskursuste sulatamise praktikat; 18,5% ehk 128 väljaannet 691st Põhja-Euroopa riikide ajakirjadest ja ajalehtedest soovisid avaldada rohkem reklaamiga seotud toimetuse materjali, samal ajal kui 57,2 % keeldusid sellise seose loomisest.

Sarnaselt, 12,6% ajakirjadest ja ajalehtedest olid valmis loobuma kriitilise ja/või negatiivse sisuga materjalide avaldamisest vältimaks konflikti reklaamiandjaga, samal ajal kui 34,7 % väljaannetest seda garantiid ei andnud. Enam kui pooled väljaanded vältisid sellele küsimusele vastamist. Uurimus näitas, et legendaarne „müür“ ajakirjanduse ja reklaamiosakonna vahel oli muutunud marginaalseks, kuivõrd vaid 14,8% uuringule vastanud ajalehtedest ja ajakirjadest vastas, et toimetuse ja reklaamiosakonna vahel kommunikatsioon puudub; 26,9% kinnitasid sellise kommunikatsiooni olemasolu ja 57% ei vastanud küsimusele. Käeoleva uurimistöo autor väidab, et eriti väikeste väljaannete puhul mõningast kommunikatsiooni nende kahe poole vahel on võimatu vältida ja seetõttu kommunikatsiooni olemasolu iseenesest võib viidata vaid tagasihoidlikule diskursuste sulandumisele.

Erinevalt varasematest uuringutest näitab käesolev uuring, et hübriidiseerumise mastaapsus on suurem ajalehtedes kui nišiajakirjades. Tulemuste kohaselt 56,4% kõikidest auto-, arhitektuuri- ja ehitus-, tervise- ja meditsiini- ajakirjadest (191 216st) aktsepteerisid *advertorials*-tüüpi tekste, samal ajal kui ajalehtedes hübriidiseerumist aktsepteeris 88,4% uuringule vastanutest. Seega, proportsionaalselt oli segadiskursuse aktsepteerijaid nišiajakirjade hulgas vähem kui selliseid toimetusi ajalehtede seas. Ajalehti, mis vastasid, et nad on valmis avaldama reklaamiga seotud toimetuse teksti, oli kaks korda niipalju kui analoogiliselt vastanud ajakirju.

Kui 16,7% auto-, arhitektuuri- ja ehitus- ning meditsiini- ja terviseajakirjadest vastasid, et toimetuse ja reklaamiosakonna vahel puudub kommunikatsioon, siis puuduvat kommunikatsiooni märkis vaid 11,6% ajalehtedest. Seega hübriidiseerumise kujutletaval skaalal, kus 0 märgib traditsioonilist ajakirjandusliku ja autonoomse teksti publitseerimist ning 2 reklaami ja ajakirjandusliku sisu segunemist, said ajalehed punktisummaks 1,01; ajakirjad 0,70.

Riikide lõikes oli väikseim hübriidiseerumine Rootsis ja Taanis, tugevaim Leedus, Eestis ja Venemaal. Soome, Saksamaa ja UK positsioneerusid tagasihoidliku hübriidiseerumisega maade positsioonile.

Diakrooniline perspektiiv näib olevat peamine, mille kaudu saab mõista hübriidiseerumise astet, kuivõrd riigi poliitilised, majanduslikud, institutsionaalsed, normatiivsed ja haridusega seotud faktorid, eriti tsensuuri puudumine ja hästitoimiv eneseregulatsiooni süsteem näib vähendavat ka reklaami ja ajakirjandusliku sisu sulandumise kultuuri.

Eelmainitud hübriidiseerumise indeksi skaalal said Rootsi ja Taani 0,42 ning 0,44 punkti, samal ajal kui Leedu sai 1,69 punkti. Teiste riikide puhul näitas skaala pigem traditsioonilise ja hübriidiseerunud sisu avaldamise praktikate segu: Soome 0,61; UK 0,89; Venemaa 1,22 ja Eesti 1,4. Kõige intensiivsem hübriidajakirjanduse kultuur oli Eesti ja Vene ajalehtedes, kus ligi pooled

ajalehtedest aktsepteerisid märgistamata reklaamteksti. Ühendkuningriikide väljaanded erinesid teistest riikidest, kuna ühelt poolt peaaegu ükski väljaanne ei keeldunud *advertorials*'ide avaldamisest, sama ajal kõik väljaanded soovisid turunduslikku sisu vastavalt märgistada. Seega UK esindab tüüpilist tagasihoidliku ajakirjandusliku ja turundussisu hübriidiseerumiskultuuriga riiki.

Autori argument on, et traditsiooniline ajakirjandusliku sisu publitseerimine tähendab lojaalsust lugejaskonnale, samal ajal tugevalt hübriidiseerunud sisu avaldamine tähendab lojaalsust eeskätt reklaamiandjatele; tagasihoidliku hübriidiseerumiskultuuri puhul püüavad väljaanded olla lojaalsed nii lugejatele kui reklaamiandjatele. Selle uurimistöö tulemusena võib väita, et veerand väljaannetest olid lojaalsed lugejatele, üks kümnendik reklaamiandjatele ja veidi enam kui pooled püüdsid olla lojaalsed nii lugejatele kui ka reklaamiandjatele – mida näitab nende valmisolek avaldada vastavalt märgistatud „*advertorials*’e”.

Kuigi 2006/2007. aastast on möödas kümme aastat, ei ole hübriidiseerumise probleem vähenenud. Vastupidi, andmed Taani, Soome, Saksamaa ja Leedu pressinõukogudest näitavad, et kaasuste arv, kus probleemiks on turundussisu ja ajakirjandusliku sisu eristamatus, on tõusnud (Eick 2016, Pressenævnet 2016, Vänttinen 2016, Žukienė 2016). Seega on käesoleva võrdleva uurimistöö aktuaalsus pigem tõusnud.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

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### Education:

2006–present University: University of Tartu  
Ph.D. studies in Media & Communication  
2002 University of Oslo, Cand.mag. degree  
1989–1990 Stockholm University, Latvian Language, 1-year programme  
1989 University of Latvia, Rīga, Latvian Language, 3 month  
programme  
1987–1988 University of Oslo, Political Science Studies, 1-year  
programme  
1986–1987 Leningrad State University, Russian Language and  
Literature Studies, 10-month programme  
1986 University of Oslo, Russian Language Studies, 1/2-year  
programme  
1985 University of Oslo, Examen Philosophicum, General  
Linguistics and Phonetics, 1/2-year program  
1984–1985 School of The Defence Forces, Oslo, Russian Language  
Studies, 18-month programme

### Language skills:

Norwegian (native), English (C1), Latvian (C1), Russian (C1), German (C2),  
(Swedish (C2), Danish (C2), Icelandic (A2), Estonian (A2), French (A2), Svan  
(A2)

### Professional employment:

2010–present Grand Hotel Ushba, Svaneti, Partner  
2010–present MB2. Rīga, Partner  
2008–2012 TheMiceCream, Rīga, Partner and Co-director  
2006–2007 Inspiration Riga-Riga CVB, Director  
2006–2007 Inspiration Riga-Riga CVB, Director, Communications &  
Markets  
2003–2006 Inspiration Riga, Marketing Director  
1999–2003 Vidzeme University College, Vice-Rector, Development and  
Co-operation  
1999–2002 Danlat Group Latvija, Cēsis, Chairman of the Board  
1999 Agency Rīga 800, Member of the Board  
1997–1999 Vidzeme University College, Co-operation Director

1997–2001	Investa Baltic/Linstow Baltic, Rīga, Consultant
1997–1998	Diena, Rīga, Project Manager of the Regional Press Project
1995–1997	NRK/Norwegian Radio, Oslo, Reporter
1991–1997	Nordic Council of Ministers' Office in Rīga, Director
1991	University of Latvia, Rīga, Norwegian Language teacher
1990	University of Oslo, Latvian language teacher
1989–1990	NRK/Norwegian Radio, Oslo Free-lance reporter
1989–1990	Globetrotter, Oslo, Tour Manager
1986–1988	Star Tour, Oslo, Tour Manager
1978–1981	Østlandsposten, Larvik, Journalist

### **Major research areas:**

Hidden advertising, Journalism and Advertising, Consumer journalism, Russian media

### **Books and publications:**

#### *Media-related books:*

Bærug, Richard (ed.) (2005). *The Baltic Media World*. Rīga, Flēra. (ISBN: 9984-19-683-6)

#### *Media-related publications:*

Bærug, Jan Richard & Harro-Loit, Halliki (2012). Journalism Embracing Advertising as Traditional Journalism Discourse Becomes Marginal. *Journalism Practice*, 6 (2), 172–186.

Bærug, Richard & Valtenbergs, Visvaldis (2003.) Country Report: Latvia. In Trechsel, Alexander H.; Kies, Raphael; Mendez, Fernando & Schmitter, Philippe C. *Evaluation of the Use of New Technologies in Order to Facilitate Democracy in Europe: E-democratising the Parliaments and Parties of Europe*. Geneva: Scientific Technology Assessment Office, European Parliament.

Bærug, Richard et al. (2001). *Slēptas reklāmas monitorings Latvijas televīziju kanālos* (Monitoring of hidden advertising in television channels in Latvia). Rīga: SFL/Delna.

Bærug, Richard & Westerberg, Gunnar (1997). *Rokasgrāmata reģionālo laikrakstu žurnālistiem* (Handbook for journalists of regional newspapers). Rīga: Diena.

#### *Non-media-related books:*

Bærug, Richard & Margian, Sjakå (2016). *Det ukjente eventyrlandet i Europa. Svaneti rundt til fots og på ski*. Larvik: Forglemmegi/Forlagshuset i Vestfold. (ISBN: 978-82-93407-10-2)

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- Bærug, Richard (ed.) (2015). *ბოფშრე ნჰარ ლუმნუ ამბტჰრ / ბავშვების დანერგლი სვანური ამბები / Youth stories in Svan / Ungdomsfortel-linger på svansk*. Tbilisi: Sulakauri. (ISBN: 978-9941-23-535-1)
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- Bærug, Richard; Dannemark, Nils; Kačevska, Ilze et al. (2008). *Latviešu-norvēģu, norvēģu-latviešu vārdnīca, latvisk-norsk, norsk-latvisk ordbok* (Latvian-Norwegian, Norwegian-Latvian dictionary). Rīga: Zvaigzne. (ISBN: 978-9934-0-0291-5)
- Bærug, Richard & Kačevska, Ilze (2006). *Latviešu-norvēģu sarunvārdnīca / latvisk-norsk parlør* (Latvian – Norwegian Conversational Dictionary). Rīga: Norden. (ISBN: 9984-713-29-8)
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*Non-media-related publications:*

- Bærug, Richard (2014). The Nordic Council of Ministers' information offices. In Holst, Jan Erik (ed.) *Stork flying over pinewood*. Oslo: Kom forlag. (ISBN: 9788293191278)
- Bærug, Richard (2008). *TheMiceCream*. (Promotion brochure published in English, German, Spanish, Russian, Norwegian, Swedish and Lithuanian). Rīga: SIA TMC.
- Bærug, Richard (2006). *Riga and Riga Seaside Resort – Jūrmala & Courland and Liepāja – The Professional guide for incentive, corporate hospitality and event organizers*. Rīga: Inspiration Riga – Riga Convention Bureau and Jūrmala City Council Tourism Information Centre.
- Bærug, Richard (2005). *Meetings & Incentives in Riga & Latvia*. Rīga: Latvian Tourism Development Agency and Inspiration Riga.
- Bærug, Richard (2005) *Riga and Riga Seaside Resort – Jūrmala – The Professional guide for incentive, corporate hospitality and event organizers*. Rīga: Inspiration Riga, Riga Tourism Coordination & Information Centre and Jūrmala Tourism Information Centre.
- Bærug, Richard (2004). *Riga – The Professional guide for incentive, corporate hospitality and event organizers*. Rīga: Inspiration Riga.

- Bærug, Richard; Hinsberg, Ain & Ambrozaitis, Kestutis (2003). *Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper*. Tallinn/Rīga: UNESCO.
- Bærug, Richard (2003). *Latvia – Discover* (published in English, Czech, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish). Rīga: Latvian Tourism Development Agency.
- Bærug, Richard (2003). *Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola – ECTS guide 2003/2004*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard & Druva-Druvaskalne, Iveta (2002). *Vidzemes augstskola*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard (2002). *Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola – ECTS guide 2002/2003*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard (2001). *Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola – ECTS guide 2001/2002*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard & Druva-Druvaskalne, Iveta (2000). *Vidzemes augstskola*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard (2000). *Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola – ECTS guide 2000/2001*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard (1999). *Study in Latvia – Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard with Fafo Institute of Applied Social Science (1999). *Norway and the Baltic Countries – Looking towards the future* (published in English and Norwegian). Oslo: The Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Bærug, Richard with the Nordic Information offices in Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius and St. Petersburg (1997). *Samarbeid i Nord* (Co-operation in the North) (published in Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Norwegian and Russian). Riga: Nordic information Office.

### **Grants and Scholarship:**

- 1997      Scholarship granted by Swedish Institute to study the higher education system in Sweden, 2 weeks.
- 1990      Scholarship granted by the Georgian SSR, summer school in Georgian at the University of Tbilisi, 1 month.
- 1987      Scholarship granted by the Union of Writers of Latvian SSR, studies in Latvian language and literature, 3 months.
- 1986      Scholarship granted by the Soviet Union, studies in Russian language and literature at Leningrad State University, 9 months.
- 1986      Scholarship granted by the Hungarian state, summer course in Hungarian at the University of Debrecen, 1 month.

## ELULOOKIRJELDUS

Nimi: Jan Richard BÆRUG  
Sünniaeg- ja koht: 5. mai, 1964, Stavern, Norra  
Kodakondsus: Norra  
Telefon: (371) 2923 7524  
E-mail: richard.baerug@ut.ee

### Haridus:

2006– Tartu Ülikool, doktoriõpe meedia ja kommunikatsiooni alal  
2002 Oslo Ülikool, magistrikraad  
1989–1990 Stockholmi Ülikool, 1-aastane läti keele programm  
1989 Läti Ülikool, läti keel, 3-kuuline programm  
1987–1988 Oslo Ülikool, poliitikateadused, aastane programm  
1986–1987 Leningradi Riiklik Ülikool, vene keel ja kirjandus, 10-kuuline programm  
1986 Oslo Ülikool, vene keel, 6-kuuline programm  
1985 Oslo Ülikool, üldine keeleteadus, 6-kuuline programm  
1984–1985 Kaitsejõudude Kool, Oslo, vene keel, 18-kuuline programm

### Keelteoskus:

norra (emakeel), inglise keel (C1), läti keel (C1), vene keel (C1), saksa keel (C2), rootsi keel (C2), taani keel (C2), islandi keel (A2), eesti keel (A2), prantsuse keel (A2), svaani keel (A2)

### Töökohad ja ametid:

2010– Grand Hotel Ushba, Svaneti, osanik  
2010– MB 2. Riia, osanik  
2008–2012 TheMiceCream, Riia, osanik ja direktor  
2006–2007 Inspiration Riga-Riga CVB, direktor  
2006–2007 Inspiration Riga-Riga CVB, direktor, Communications & Markets  
2003–2006 Inspiration Riga, turundusdirektor  
1999–2003 Vidzeme Kõrgkool, Valmiera (Volmari), arendusprorektor  
1999–2002 Danlat Group Latvija, Cēsis (Võnnu), nõukogu esimees  
1999 Agency Rīga 800, nõukogu liige  
1997–1999 Vidzeme Kõrgkool, Valmiera (Volmari), kaasjuht  
1997–2001 Investa Baltic/Linstow Baltic, Riia, konsultant  
1997–1998 Diena, kohaliku ajakirjanduse projektijuht  
1995–1997 NRK/Norra Raadio, Oslo, reporter  
1991–1997 Põhjamaade Ministrite Nõukogu esindus Lätis, direktor  
1991 Läti Ülikool, norra keele õpetaja  
1990 Oslo Ülikool, läti keele õpetaja  
1989–1990 NRK/Norra Raadio, Oslo vabakutseline ajakirjanik



1989–1990	Globetrotter, Oslo, ekskursioonijuht
1986–1988	Star Tour, Oslo, ekskursioonijuht
1978–1981	Østlandsposten, Larvik, ajakirjanik

### **Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:**

varjatud reklaam, ajakirjandus ja reklaam, tarbimisajakirjandus, vene meedia

### **Raamatud ja publikatsioonid:**

*Meediaga seotud raamatud:*

Bærug, Richard (ed.) (2005). *The Baltic Media World*. Rīga, Flēra. (ISBN: 9984-19-683-6)

*Meediaga seotud publikatsioonid:*

Bærug, Jan Richard & Harro-Loit, Halliki (2012). Journalism embracing advertising as traditional journalism discourse becomes marginal. *Journalism Practice*, 6 (2), 172–186.

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Bærug, Richard & Westerberg, Gunnar (1997). *Rokasgrāmata reģionālo laikrakstu žurnālistiem* (Handbook for journalists of regional newspapers). Rīga: Diena.

*Meediaga mitte-seotud raamatud:*

Bærug, Richard & Margian, Sjakå (2016). *Det ukjente eventyrlandet i Europa. Svaneti rundt til fots og på ski*. Larvik: Forglemmegei/Forlagshuset i Vestfold. (ISBN: 978-82-93407-10-2)

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- Bærug, Richard; Dannemark, Nils; Kačevska, Ilze et al. (2008). *Latviešu-norvēģu, norvēģu-latviešu vārdnīca, latvisk-norsk, norsk-latvisk ordbok* (Latvian-Norwegian, Norwegian-Latvian dictionary). Rīga: Zvaigzne. (ISBN: 978-9934-0-0291-5)
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- Bærug, Richard; Kačevska, Ilze; Upesbrant, Kristian; Balode, Ineta; Itkonen, Mirja & Hirschfelde, Ada) (1999). *Latvian-Danish-Norwegian-Swedish-Finnish-Russian Conversational Dictionary*. Rīga: Norden. (ISBN: 9984-9383-0-1)
- Bærug, Richard; Dannemark, Nils & Kačevska, Ilze) (1998). *Latviešu-norvēģu, norvēģu-latviešu vārdnīca, latvisk-norsk, norsk-latvisk ordbok* (Latvian-Norwegian, Norwegian-Latvian dictionary). Rīga: Norden. (ISBN: 9984-9019-4-7)

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- Bærug, Richard (2005). *Meetings & Incentives in Riga & Latvia*. Rīga: Latvian Tourism Development Agency and Inspiration Riga.
- Bærug, Richard (2005) *Riga and Riga Seaside Resort – Jūrmala – The Professional guide for incentive, corporate hospitality and event organizers*. Rīga: Inspiration Riga, Riga Tourism Coordination & Information Centre and Jūrmala Tourism Information Centre.
- Bærug, Richard (2004). *Riga – The Professional guide for incentive, corporate hospitality and event organizers*. Rīga: Inspiration Riga.
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- Bærug, Richard (2000). *Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola – ECTS guide 2000/2001*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
- Bærug, Richard (1999). *Study in Latvia – Vidzeme University College / Vidzemes augstskola*. Valmiera: Vidzeme University College.
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- Bærug, Richard with the Nordic Information offices in Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius and St. Petersburg (1997). *Samarbeid i Nord* (Co-operation in the North) (published in Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Norwegian and Russian). Riga: Nordic information Office.

#### **Saadud grandid ja stipendiumid:**

- 1997 Rootsia Instituutdi grant, Rootsi kõrgharidussüsteemi uurimiseks Rootsis, 2 nädalat
- 1990 Gruusia riigi grant, Tbilisi Ülikooli suveülikoolis õppimiseks, 1 kuu
- 1987 Läti Kirjanike Liidu stipendium, 3 kuud
- 1986 Stipendium Nõukogude Liidult, õppimaks 9 kuus Leningradi Riiklikus Ülikoolis vene keelt ja kirjandust
- 1986 Ungari riigi stipendium, õppimaks 1 kuu Debreceni Ülikooli suvekursustel

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29. **Maria Murumaa-Mengel.** Managing Imagined Audiences Online: Audience Awareness as a Part of Social Media Literacies. Tartu, 2017, 184 p.