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FROM COMMISSIONERS TO COMMUNITY BUILDERS:
FOUR WAYS IN WHICH THE DIGITAL AGE HAS CHANGED THE WORK OF MAGAZINE EDITORS

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Abstract

Editors as managers, commissioners, rewriters, and proofreaders are key figures in setting the direction and tone of a magazine. In her paper 'From commissioners to community builders – four ways in which the digital age has changed the work of magazine editors', Kati Toivanen, managing editor of Trendi magazine in Finland, examines how the role of an editor has been shaped anew by the profound changes taking place in journalism at large.

The paper classifies four emerging editorial roles that manifest different areas of change: the commercial editor, the digital editor, the community editor, and the (in)visible editor. Through examination of these roles, Toivanen explores topical questions, such as what happens to editorial integrity when native advertising and other commercial tasks gain more ground in editorial departments? How have the digital shift and the need for speed changed the editing process and goals of editing? How can the editor enhance audience participation?

Toivanen argues that the variety of tasks and roles has broadened enormously but the core remains the same: editors are the ones who ensure quality and manage the recognizable voice of the magazine. The more competition and platforms, the more important the role of the editor is.

Toivanen concludes the paper with guidelines on the most topical issues for editors to get right in order to make a magazine thrive: 1) build a community, 2) be clear about sponsored content, and 3) edit for shareability.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction
    - Mapping magazines
    - Editors – key figures, yet invisible
    - The area and questions of the paper

2. The Commercial editor
    - Native advertising
    - E-commerce: editors doing journalism or selling goods?
    - Editors giving lectures – dealing with brand extensions
    - Blurring the lines: editorial clashes with PR
    - Things to be taken into account

3. The Digital editor
    - Less time for editing, new workflows
    - New skills required
    - Editors and the rise of mobile
    - Editing for shareability
    - Mastering the metrics
    - Editors and platform development
    - Things to be taken into account

4. The Community editor
    - What is a community editor? The main tasks and skills required
    - Measuring success
    - New spaces for community building
    - Open journalism: editors and user-generated content
    - From gatekeepers to verifiers
    - Know when to drop it
    - Things to be taken into account

5. The (In)visible editor
    - The shift towards the personal and the case of anonymous journalists
    - Branded journalists, branded editors
    - Editors as faces of the magazine
    - Editors delivering the voice of the magazine
    - Things to be taken into account

6. Conclusions

Bibliography

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1. Introduction

"…[S]ix years ago, the list of what I did today would have been utterly and completely different. In those days, I was editing a magazine, and everything I did was about the magazine. And today, almost nothing that I do has to do with editing a magazine."

Ruth Reichl, editor-in-chief of Gourmet magazine, 2009 (The Art of Making Magazines, 2012)

This is a busy time to be an editor. The emergence of the commercial Internet and Web 2.0, a form of web that emphasizes usability, user-generated content and social networking, has altered the way in which journalism is created, distributed and consumed. Media convergence – which Jenkins (2006) defines as the "flow of content across multiple media platforms"– has also changed the journalism profession for good.

In their research, Witschge and Nygren (2009) distinguish areas of change in the daily work, routines and norms of journalists working in newsrooms in Britain and Sweden. These changes, roughly, include 1) technology-related changes, such as working multi-platform and using several types of software on a daily basis; 2) constant deadlines, and an increase in both the pace and amount of stories published; 3) changes in the way stories are being built, including new, platform-specific ways of storytelling, and an increased proportion of stories produced in the newsroom instead of going into the field; 4) a new, more interactive relationship with the audience; and 5) a wider knowledge of the ways in which business and journalism are bound together.

Moreover, as a study by Anderson et al (2012) notes, there is no standardized career path for journalists any more. Fewer and fewer people work in long-term positions for one employer, and the differences between journalists have increased. People working in journalism have been divided into a so-called core staff, who are employed full-time and give the publication its profile, and temporally-employed journalists and freelancers (Witschge and Nygren 2009).

Research on journalism practices heavily focuses on the news media, whereas magazines have been the subject of little research (Holmes and Nice, 2012). However, most of the changes that affect the news media and journalists working for news outlets are clearly visible in magazines, too. Furthermore, what takes place in the work of reporters and writers generally concerns editors, as well. This paper focuses on the changing work of the editors of consumer magazines.

Mapping magazines

So, what is the situation with regard to magazines? In terms of economic disruption, one could say that things look almost as bleak for magazines worldwide as they do for newspapers. Overall, print circulations – both paid subscriptions and newsstand sales – have been declining for many years in a row, and digital editions, even though growing in sales, do not compensate for this loss. In fact, digital sales of magazines could be described as staggeringly low: worldwide, digital sales account only for 4 per cent of total consumer magazine circulation revenue (PWC Global entertainment and media outlook 2014–2018). However, the total readership of magazines is growing, at least partly due to the new, multi-platform-oriented ways of measuring audiences (see e.g. Magazine Media 360° for the US).

Another cause for concern is the declining revenues for print advertising. In order to compensate for these losses, developing new, efficient ways of digital advertising has become crucial for media companies. At the time of writing, one of the hottest topics in the magazine industry is native advertising – ads that closely imitate the content, tone and visual style of the media outlet. The tones are both enthusiastic and worried: will the lines between journalism and advertising become too blurred? Is editorial integrity at stake?

The convergence culture enables new forms of participation and collaboration, and the first decades of the 21st century have seen the amount of journalism and journalism-like content produced by others than those working in the media soar. With free and easy-to-use online platforms, the media have lost their monopoly over gatekeeping and publishing information. Widely-used phrases like "everybody can be their own publisher" and "every company is a media company" underline the fact that the media are now less and less needed as middle men in delivering information. This has placed magazines in a new competition for readers and blurred the lines between journalism, entertainment, and PR content (Lloyd and Toogood, 2014). Furthermore, the cycle of launching new magazines and killing off those that do not do well is a fast one (Töyry, 2009). Many magazines that used to have a print edition now exist online only.

However, certain issues benefit magazines in the digital age. Magazines are good at focusing on the audience and their needs. This is partly due to their specific kind of readership that differs from that of newspapers. Traditionally, newspapers target a general audience and deliver information that "is crucial to making informed decisions," as "reading news is driven by an innate need to be in the know and to know about things that might impact a way of life" (Hermida, 2014). As Abrahamson (2007) states, in addition to practising a necessary, quotidian type of journalism, most newspapers have had a relatively clear, geographically-delimited

audience base. By contrast, magazines are usually consumed more for pleasure and enlightenment. They do not have a self-evident set of audiences but must attract individual subscribers by addressing them very accurately. Due to this need for tailoring, the editorial staff of magazines must know their readers well and, based on that knowledge, create journalistic content that both gives the audience what they want and also surprises them.

Owing to their ability accurately to define and target audiences, magazines have a unique possibility to build up communities of like-minded people around their brands. In addition, for consumer magazines, that cover a quite narrow and specific set of topics, it is fairly natural to extend their brand beyond a media outlet. Applications, books, events, trips etc. around a topic about which the audience feels passionate constitute a fast-growing proportion of magazines' revenues.

Editors – key figures, yet invisible

This paper examines the changing role of the magazine editor. I am interested in how the drastic changes in technology and publishing platforms, audience participation and commercial pressure are affecting the everyday-work of editors both now and in the foreseeable future. The fundamental role of the editor makes these issues a window onto the whole essence of creating magazines. The paper understands the term 'editor' widely, and will focus on any editorial role which was traditionally linked with gatekeeping, commissioning and rewriting.

The editor serves the writer, the publisher, and, most importantly, the reader, at the same time. Editors are the ones generating ideas with writers, selecting the content, commissioning and rewriting stories, checking facts and proofreading, defining the style and the tone of a magazine, managing the staff, making strategic decisions, guiding and encouraging the writer – to name but a few of their core tasks. The role of the editor is so essential that, in magazines with only a small staff, these few employed staff are editors: you can buy a story from a freelance writer, but it is more difficult to outsource the task of editing to someone without a thorough knowledge of the magazine's brand and a certain issue.

Editing is about not only giving a piece the final touch but also making it the best possible story for a particular magazine and audience. Tina Brown (2012), former editor-in-chief of Tatler, Vanity Fair and the Daily Beast, describes the importance of editors: "You have to make a choice. And it's all about the editor's choosing, all about the sensibility, the eye, the sense of what's important, and the sense of priority." Especially among magazines in the US, the editing culture is vivid, and there is a strong tradition of writers and editors working in pairs.

Editing requires time. The process of rewriting, fact-checking and proofreading calls for communication between the writer and the editor, and takes its own time, regardless of the length of the story. The work of the editor is also invisible to the audience. Editing is good when the reader does not have to think about it. It makes reading a magazine a pleasant experience, and all the possible struggle for the stories remains hidden from the audience. Moreover, editors have been invisible as individuals. With no byline in the stories, hardly anyone in the audience knows who edited which piece.

The area and questions of the paper

In this paper, I am going to map the key trends in journalism, and look into them in the context of magazines, and more specifically, how they are manifested in magazine editors' everyday work. The case studies in this paper include four different editorial roles in consumer magazines, which I find to be typical for the digital age. I have labelled them: 1) the commercial editor, 2) the digital editor, 3) the community editor and 4) the (in)visible editor. Due to the nature of media convergence, these roles somewhat overlap. However, they each manifest a profound area of change in journalism: 1) editorial and commercial coming closer together, 2) working on multiple, highly measurable digital platforms with new deadlines and workflows, 3) the importance of building up communities, and 4) the shift towards the personal and the need for journalists to be on show.

The questions that this paper examines include:

- What kind of tasks do these new roles include, and what skills and attitudes do they call for from editors?
- What happens to editorial integrity, when native advertising and tasks around commercial factors gain more ground in editorial departments?
- How has the digital shift and need for speed changed the editing process and targets of editing?
- How can the editor enhance audience participation?
- In this time of individual-focused social media, is it possible for editors to remain anonymous?

I will examine these questions by conducting interviews with practising magazine editors, quotes published elsewhere, and research and articles written on the topic. I am aware that the topic of the paper is wide. However, by touching upon various, equally essential aspects of the editing profession, I believe that it is possible to draw a larger picture of the changes taking place across the whole magazine industry. The approach of the paper is qualitative, because the nature of the changes is complex and manifold, and therefore better covered by interviews than

quantitative methods.

I have limited the research to consumer magazines, and the paper only features western magazines, as the general trends in the consumer magazine business in most western countries are parallel. The interviewees include editors from different magazine genres, with a variety of positioning, audiences, cross-platform presences and topics covered. The changes and new tasks that editors face vary depending on a magazine, and for example community building and dealing with commercial content may include different things for a women's magazine and a news magazine. However, all of these new editorial roles are somehow present in most magazines, and the paper gives examples from magazines with solid practice and specialization in the topic at hand. The areas of change covered in the paper are different from each other too, as some of them include quite specific issues in editors' everyday work practices, and some are bigger questions relating to the whole media industry. Therefore, the chapters have different approaches: alongside highlighting the most relevant changes around the topic, some chapters describe how editors deal with the new tasks in their daily job, while others more aim to raise questions.

The interviewees for this paper include Kati Kelola, who talks about the editors of a Finnish travel magazine, Mondo, working around brand extensions, and about editorial and PR clashing in the world of lifestyle magazines. Lowen Liu from Slate and Heather Landy from Quartz – both digital-native outlets – share their views on how the shift to digital has affected the editing profession. Päivi Lehtomurto from the Finnish teenage girls' magazine, Demi, known for its vivid online community, talks about the tasks surrounding community building and, finally, Tom Standage shares his views on editorial anonymity at the weekly news magazine, the Economist.

I have chosen the topic out of personal interest: I currently work as a managing editor for a monthly lifestyle magazine with an online community, and am keen to research how the profession is evolving. To conclude my paper, I will include guidelines on the most crucial points for editors and magazines to get right currently, in order to deliver a successful title.

Overall, my proposition is that, because of the massive changes that the media industry is undergoing, in the future, the role of the editor is more crucial than ever.

2. The Commercial Editor

The web has made it possible for anyone to tell stories and publish them easily, cost-effectively and without gatekeepers. In recent years, this has led not only to the emergence of new, digi-native media outlets, but brands and bloggers offering content for free on the web, too. For the legacy media, the outcome of these new players emerging in the field, formerly dominated by journalists, is twofold: there is more competition both for paying audience and advertising revenue. The situation desperately calls for new business models.

The media, however, has been slow in developing successful ways of obtaining revenue from the digital. This is partly due to the traditions and structure of the industry: as Lloyd and Toogood (2014) note, because of the high fixed costs associated with printing equipment and the need to protect the print, which – despite the steady decline in circulation – remains in demand, journalism has not been on the frontline of the digital revolution. For example for newspapers, globally, 93 per cent of the revenue still comes from print (World Press Trends, 2015).

In terms of business, placing editorial content on free-of-charge websites and therefore letting the audience get used to not having to pay for digital content, has turned out to be a short-sighted decision for publishing houses. As far as magazines are concerned, many argue that publishers continue to fail to adopt solid digital strategies, or "even to accept a standard definition of what a digital magazine is" (Bazilian, 2013). Indeed, digital subscriptions have not – at least yet – taken off for magazines: in the summer of 2014, over 40 per cent of consumer magazines in the UK had a digital edition, but even the biggest-selling titles reported just a few thousand sales (ABCs cited by Sweney, 2014). A weekly glossy Grazia, for example, sold 151,000 print copies but only 4,000 digital subscriptions (Preston, 2014).

For magazines, revenues from print advertising started to decline shortly after the recession struck in 2008 (Matsa, 2013), 2009 being the lowest point (Matsa et al, 2012). For example, in the US, total ad revenue for consumer magazines fell by 15.8 per cent in just one year (Bazilian, 2013). In order to compensate for the significant loss in print – and given the fact that traditional display advertising is not doing well on the web – developing new, efficient ways of digital advertising has become the most crucial task for media companies. The recent news is not entirely grim. According to a PwC report, globally, total magazine revenue will resume 0.2 per cent growth in 2015, as the increase in digital advertising will outweigh the falling print revenues (PwC global entertainment and media outlook 2014–2018).

Nevertheless, magazines enjoy several advantages in finding new revenue sources. Covering quite limited topics their readers feel passionate about, it has traditionally been quite straightforward for magazines to sell advertising space to companies interested in that particular audience (Töyry, 2009). For the same reason, it now comes quite naturally for magazines to extend their brand beyond a print or a digital issue and sell additional products or services around the topic of the magazine. In addition, a large group of consumer magazines, such as those covering entertainment and lifestyle, has more space to experiment with advertorial content than, for example, newspapers or news magazines have, as their readers tend to be more permissive when it comes to advertorial content. Many readers of fashion magazines, for example, consider advertisements as an integral part of the magazine's content.

However, the recent need to adapt to a new media environment and to discover new sources of revenue has placed magazine editors in a new situation. Studies show that the power of economic motives in the media is growing, and that the cross-border cooperation between journalists and the business departments of media companies has also increased (Witschge and Nygren 2009). The blurred line between editorial and commercial factors has both brought about new tasks and raised ethical questions amongst editors.

This chapter will discuss four recently-emerging areas of editorial and commercial overlap in the work of magazine editors, especially for editors working for magazines with a less strict church and state division between the two. These areas are native advertising, e-commerce, brand extensions and the increase in PR-driven content. Kati Kelola, editor-in-chief of Mondo travel magazine in Finland, gives her insights on the latter two areas.

Native advertising

"I think one of the big challenges right now is that everyone wants content. I'm of the belief that content is the new "c-word"… Retailers are saying: "I need to be able to go off and sell this pair of shorts and then tell my readers about the five great beaches where they should go and wear these shorts." We're kind of running out of gas in that department. We have to ask: "Are you doing a travel story? Or are you trying to sell me shorts?" It's remarkable how many retail sites and retailers want to be in this editorial space…"

Tyler Brûlé, editor of Monocle (Morris, 2011)

What Tyler Brûlé's Monocle – a magazine brand focused on lifestyle, current affairs and business, and well-known for its wide advertorial content – has been

successfully doing in print developed into one of the biggest trends in online advertising in the 2010s. Publishers now have high hopes for native advertising to save them from declining ad revenues. However, for journalists, the topic is highly controversial. I find it quite revealing that, even though some editors touched upon the topic in their seminar talks at the Reuters Institute during the academic year 2014–2015, and I talked about the topic with a few editors off the record, no one wanted to be quoted as editors producing both editorial content and native advertising. That is why this chapter does not include quotes from the interviews I myself conducted.

Native advertising is designed to look as much as possible like editorial content. Its visual, typographical and literary style comes close to that of the media outlet in which the piece appears (Lloyd and Toogood, 2014). 'Sponsored content' or 'content marketing' – as native advertising is also known – has been common in blogs for many years now. Among the first ones to publish native ads in media outlets were digi-natives, such as BuzzFeed and Quartz, for both of which native ads are the only form of advertising. Yet, in 2014, even traditional newspapers started to publish native advertising, and it for example appeared on the websites of the New York Times, Guardian and Wall Street Journal (Benton, 2014).

Several studies show that native advertising is effective. It gets more views than banner ads, and draws higher click rates, particularly on mobile devices (Hoelzel, 2014). Readers are also more likely to share a native ad than a banner ad (IPG Media Lab and Sharethrough, 2013). In addition, sponsored content can rival editorial: a narrative native ad in the New York Times in 2014 for the Netflix show Orange Is the New Black made the top 10 most-viewed articles on the site when published (Moses, 2014). Native advertising currently accounts for a small percentage of the overall marketing budgets, but is increasing quickly. From 2013 to 2014, native ad budgets rose by 50 per cent in the US (Statista, 2015), and at the same time, Huffington Post's native advertising revenue grew by almost 350 per cent year on year (Sluis, 2014). A US survey found that 20 per cent of publishers ran native ads in 2014, but 25 per cent more plan to do so over the next year (Editor & Publisher, 2014).

For journalists, native advertising is an especially controversial topic because it comes so close to editorial both in form and tone. Many see this as clashing with the journalists' code of conduct, which states that a clear demarcation must be kept between advertising and editorial content (see e.g. Julkisen sanan neuvosto, 2014). Sponsored content is controversial for the audience, too. A study (RISJ, 2015) finds that readers may feel deceived if they later find out that the content they consumed was an advertisement (in the UK, 33% have felt disappointed by a native ad, the figure in the US being 43%). At the same time, readers find that there are some areas of content that should be free from native advertising. This mainly includes

so-called hard news such as home, world and financial news, and politics, whereas in other media landscapes readers are much more open to sponsored content.

That is why it is essential for media outlets to get it right: done well, native advertising could be a game changer for the media in reversing declining ad revenues. Done badly, this might alienate readers by decreasing their trust in the media as well as damaging the editorial integrity and reputation of the outlet – as well as that of the whole industry. The most notorious example of native advertising was a piece by the Church of Scientology published in the Atlantic in 2013. The magazine failed to evaluate what kind of content is appropriate for an Atlantic native ad or to check the content in advance. As a result, they published a piece which not only was not clearly enough marked as an ad but that also uncritically praised scientology. In addition, the editors handled the outrage of their audience poorly. The episode led to the Atlantic – and many other outlets, too – creating guidelines for native advertising (see e.g. Moses, 2013).

At the moment, the biggest controversies around the topic in publishing houses concern how pieces are labeled, and who produces native ads. The increase in native advertising means that more and more media companies are launching their own teams to produce sponsored content for their advertisers. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, if media companies do not provide their clients with the service, the brands will do it themselves. Secondly, it is in the interest of clients that native ads match the quality and style of editorial content. That is why, over recent years, many publishing houses have built teams delivering commercial content that consist of journalists – editors, designers and producers. In a Journalism.co.uk podcast (discussed in Marshall, 2013), the then editor-in-chief of Huffington Post UK, Carla Buzasi, for example, states that, at Huffington Post, there is an advertisement team that consists of people who "have editorial backgrounds" and therefore "know how to create compelling content". With layoffs among journalists but native advertising growing, more editors will probably make a shift to the commercial sphere. For example, BuzzFeed's native advertising team now has 70 people, up from 40 in over a year (Wegert, 2015 and Wilpers, 2014.)

For magazine editors, publishing houses launching native teams can mean both new job opportunities and new kinds of pressure. Editors are wanted in these jobs because they have skills related to storytelling and creating engaging stories for a particular media environment. At the same time, the job calls for new skills that used to be required from those working in marketing: audience insight, targeting and knowledge of editorial space.

The worst case scenario, however, is that, in native advertising, the line between editorial tasks and advertising is blurred. Journalists' unions and associations have

specific ethical guidelines for dealing with advertising, and some have updated their code of conduct due to the massive increase in native advertising. For example, the guidelines of the American Society of Magazine Editors outline that "…the participation of editorial staff in the creation of advertising is a conflict of interest and should be avoided. Editorial contributors should not participate in the creation of advertising if their work would appear to be an endorsement by the magazine of the advertised product" (ASME statement on native advertising, 2013.) Lines, however, are constantly crossed. In February 2015, the magazine publishing house Condé Nast launched a "branded content studio" with editors from the company's magazines directly producing native ads (Perlberg, 2015). The goal is to make native ads blend in with magazines' editorial content.

In companies and magazines where the editors write ads, there is usually a lot of talk about the importance of maintaining editorial integrity. However, at least to me, it is never quite clear what the concept of integrity here includes. For example Hattie Brett, editor of the UK lifestyle magazine, the Debrief, told Digiday: "[Journalists] need to begin to feel a bit more comfortable with this and figure out where their boundaries lie. I'm a controversial editor for saying that I don't mind working on native deals, but my reasoning for that is that, as long as you maintain your editorial integrity, actually it can be a good thing. I'd prefer to be involved in [a deal] from the beginning to help shape it" (Smith, 2014).

In the future, with native advertising increasing, there is going to be more pressure for editors to participate in producing ads. Especially in small publishing houses and magazines without separate native ad teams, there is no guarantee that editors, as experts in the tone and style of the magazine, will not be asked to conduct native ads alongside their editorial work. On a smaller scale, at many magazines, this is already a common practice with sponsored posts on magazines' social media accounts. But what if the editor covers the same topics and companies in his or her editorial work? In cases like this, there will be a clear conflict of interest. The situation is even more complicated, if editors are left on their own to make decisions about accepting or rejecting participation.

E-commerce: editors doing journalism or selling goods?

"Q: In five years, will every magazine be a retailer? Will consumers look at a magazine that's not shoppable and think it's broken?

A: I think so. I think the magazines with pages laden with products absolutely need to be shoppable. One hundred percent. Otherwise, you're just not delivering a service. It would be like going to [the grocery app] Ocado and having a look and then having to go to the supermarket…"

Lucy Yeomans, editor-in-chief of Porter magazine (Kansara, 2013)

In 2000, Natalie Massenet, former fashion editor of Women's Wear Daily and Tatler, launched Net-a-Porter, an online sales portal for designer clothes. What was new was the approach: with its edited content, Net-a-Porter is a hybrid between an e-commerce store and a digital magazine. At the beginning of 2014, Net-a-Porter launched a bi-monthly print magazine, Porter, which, a year later, is distributed in 60 countries and has a circulation of 152,000 (Saner, 2015). A Porter reader can download a free app, scan the pages of the issue, and buy almost every item of fashion and cosmetics featured in the magazine. While doing that s/he might come to ask: is Porter a fashion magazine or a net-a-porter catalogue? The answer is: something in between – a magalog – and maybe this something is the future of commercially viable fashion magazines.

There is nothing new in editors giving readers as easy access as possible to buying the products featured in the issue. Including brand names and prices in a fashion, beauty or decoration piece is done both in order to please the brands – the possible buyers of advertising space – and help the readers to purchase things they have seen, read about and liked. With the web revolutionising shopping – for example in the UK, 45 percent of consumers buy clothes online (NY Daily News, 2013) – integrating e-commerce into their core offering seems a natural next step and a revenue source worth trying for magazines.

In addition to creating revenue, e-commerce has other benefits, as well. Those publishing companies who possess data about their readers' online behavior have a great competitive advantage: the more companies know about their customers' preferences, the more accurate they can be when selling subscriptions, and planning and marketing new products – the customer info from Net-a-Porter.com having been one of the key elements in constructing Porter magazine (Duffin, 2015); so it is no wonder that more and more magazines are getting into e-commerce. Some do it with affiliate with links to retailers' online shops, while others have set up an online store of their own in order to capitalize on the sales of the products they feature. But, at magazines where the editorial content is shoppable, what is the key task of editors: making sure that the stories in the magazine inform, inspire and entertain the readers – or selling products to them?

Just as with editors producing native advertising, there is a lot of talk about editorial independence when magazine publishers describe the process of choosing what to feature in stories that include affiliate links. "We would never sell anything we weren't writing about or weren't into. At the end of the day, what makes us unique is our point-of view, our credibility," Nizzi Karai Renaud, VP of commerce at Refinery29, told Mashable (Indvik, 2012).

When it comes to editorial integrity, choosing what to feature in a story is heavily influenced if the editor wears two hats: one as a journalist and one as a person who works out how to monetize the content. This can lead to editors becoming dependent on the brands featured in the magazine's online shop, and may also lead to one-sided journalism due to a tendency to cover things that are estimated to sell well instead of choosing the editorially most interesting pieces.

Maintaining editorial independence, however, is more than just ethically important. As Ken Miller puts it (2011), it is also a practical selling tool: "That's because, for readers, an important part of a traditional magazine's appeal is the promise of honest, uncompromised opinions." Still, there is a concern that, with magazines involved in e-commerce, the line between what is editorial and what is a store might be unclear to readers.

But what if the reader is very well aware of the fact that a magazine is selling him/her products? Porter's Lucy Yeomans suggests that issues around editorial integrity may sometimes be more problematic for editors than for readers. "Somebody asked me something in an interview the other day regarding 'church and state, content and commerce.' Wind back not that many years ago and church and state was advertising and editorial. It was: 'They must never meet; they must never ever have anything to do with each other.' And what I've really learnt… is that your audience doesn't see it the way you see it. If it's fantastic content and it's really well put together and it's got a point of view, they're excited and they don't see it that way. For me, it's about great storytelling. I do think to stand back and have that editorial integrity and beautiful curation is really important, but I also think we have to… be in her [the reader's] head and think about what she's getting" (The New Potato, 2015).

With the web profoundly changing both the way people shop and consume media, the concept of reading a magazine is changing, too. This will inevitably affect the role of the editor, at least in magazines where instant shopability is a feature appreciated by (at least the majority of) the readers. In these cases, in order to both maintain the trust of the reader and serve them by making it as easy as possible to purchase the items featured in the magazine, editors have to balance between the selling potential of the content and editorial independency. It has been said that, in the digital age, in journalism, transparency is the new objectivity (Gaber, 2011). In my opinion, for the increasing amount of editors working around e-commerce, transparency may for example mean being clear about any commercial affiliations that affect the editorial choices, and clearly and uniformly labelling e-commerce pieces.

Editors giving lectures – dealing with brand extensions

"In the mid-1990s," Shaver and Shaver (2008) write, "U.S. media companies faced the need to develop a strategic response to the impact of digital technologies on the competitive structure of media industries that had historically been relatively protected technological content silos, economic barriers to entry and, often, regulatory barriers." Companies then started to think about their magazines as brands, "leveraging the reputation of the firms' existing products with digital brand extensions".

Since the 90s, the pace of launching new products or services under the name of a well-known parent brand has quickened. Brand extensions are an increasingly important revenue source for magazines, and, in addition to that, they are relevant for deepening the magazine-reader relationship and promoting the brand. "Our business can no longer be defined strictly as publishing, but takes the form of brand management. We want to bring the experience of the publishing brands to end users in new forms in order to strengthen the brands and their relevance," Jonathan Newhouse, chair and chief executive of Condé Nast International stated in an interview with the Business of Fashion (Suleman, 2013). According to Newhouse, the company's brand extensions, excluding print and online publications, were set to contribute approximately 10 per cent of the Company's total revenues in 2013.

Condé Nast International has been one of the most eager publishing houses to extend its well-known magazine brands into non-publishing business. It has, for example, launched cafés, bars and nightclubs under the names of Vogue and GQ. In 2013, the first students started their studies at the Condé Nast College of Fashion and Design in London, where two courses are named after the fashion bible, Vogue (Suleman, 2013). In 2014, Condé Nast's health and wellness title, Self, launched a line of frozen meals (Bazilian, 2014), whereas Time Inc.'s Southern Living magazine revealed a plan to extend its brand into neighbourhood planning. Earlier, the magazine had launched home goods, house plans and a hotel collection (Bazilian, 2014).

Monocle, for their part, started off as a print magazine in 2007. The magazine brand has since grown to include a 24-hour online radio station, cafes in London and Tokyo, and retail shops in six cities around the world. What combines the brand extensions is the vibe of the magazine and belonging to a tribe. "You're in this like-minded environment, but it's not exclusive," editor Tyler Brûlé describes the cafes in an interview with NiemanLab (Lichterman, 2015). Brand extensions do come quite naturally to magazines. Magazines bring together people who deeply care about the topic the magazine covers, and it is therefore relevantly easy to extend the idea beyond the core product, such as a print or an online magazine.

Over recent years, events have turned out to be one of the most successful additional revenue sources for magazines. In addition to bringing in money, events help to deepen the connections with audiences and sponsors, and raise a magazine's status among its niche. They may attract advertisers that circumvent the print or online media. They can also be used as a means of rewarding subscribers, and are harder to disrupt than other revenue sources (Señor et al, 2015). The number of magazines staging live events and festivals has surged within a few years. For example, Atlantic Media puts on more than 200 events a year, accounting for 20 per cent of the company's revenues (Señor et al, 2015). "…It is a good business, and it definitely has better margins, when done right, than the regular equation of journalism and writing," says Ned Desmond, chief operating officer of a technology website, TechCrunch (Kaufman, 2013).

When brand extensions have something to do with journalism and other core areas of editors' expertise, it means new tasks for editors, as it is often the idea that, for the sake of profitability, the current team is handling the brand extensions as well. Alongside more traditional-sounding brand extensions, such as managing a magazine's social media platforms, editing books and calendars published by the magazine etc., more and more editors now have a role in live events. Many magazines for example organize Q&A sessions powered by their expert editors. In their running event, Runner's World's editors answer audience questions on training, and Elle's fashion editors share their expertise on jeans at an event dedicated to denim, to name but a few (Vilchez, 2014).

It is also common that editors give talks and training on topics that they are experts in, or conduct interviews on stage. This is also the case when the Finnish Mondo travel magazine takes part in a big annual travel expo. "Our editors conduct interviews with the writers of travel guides we publish," says Kati Kelola, editor-in-chief of Mondo, in a Skype interview. The reason for making editors presenters is twofold: "They know the magazine brand thoroughly, so they know exactly what to bring up in an interview, and have all the answers if someone in the audience has questions about the magazine. It is also good that people can come and meet and greet the staff and get to know the people behind the stories," Kelola suggests.

She argues that working around brand extensions is going to have an increasing role in editors' jobs in the future, as magazine's aim to offer their readers more than just a monthly or a weekly issue. "[In our publishing house] Image [a current affair and lifestyle magazine well-known for long-form articles and tight editing] holds writing courses, and their editors give lectures on editing," Kelola says. Other speakers are often well-known journalists and authors. "There is a huge brand value in being able to say that these people are the best editors around," Kelola argues.

Working around topics outside editing and publishing can offer editors both a welcome change from their everyday job and a bigger workload. Problems may arise if publishing companies start to concentrate on brand extensions at the expense of journalism, and if there is pressure on editors to spend more time on brand extensions than doing their core job. A live event that is based on a magazine's core offering – instead of being only conducted for marketing purposes – can be considered editorial content on stage. The editors' involvement requires performance skills as well as an ability to widen the concept of editorials and make it work live.

Regardless of all the new tasks that brand extensions have brought about, Mondo's Kati Kelola does not think that high-end skills in training people, giving talks or looking good on television are imperative for all editorial staff. They may be crucial assets for editors-in-chief, whose job increasingly includes being a spokesperson and a front figure for the brand. "I would still hire an editor who is brilliant at editing rather than at performing," Kelola says.

Blurring the lines: editorial clashes with PR

The legacy media nowadays face competition for audiences from companies, bloggers and celebrities, telling their message without the media in the middle. It is increasingly common for companies to provide their own digital media channels, and even to launch print magazines in order to drive sales, promote the brand and increase engagement with the audience (see e.g. Porter and Pineapple, a print magazine provided by Airbnb, a website about renting out and finding lodgings while traveling). Circumventing the media often involves appointing internal communications teams, and in fact, in order to do better at storytelling, alongside PR and marketing personnel, more and more companies are hiring journalists to create content for their channels (Lloyd and Toogood, 2014). In fact, an increasing amount of journalists are shifting from journalism to PR and brand marketing.

The younger audience is relatively unattached to particular media brands nowadays, and therefore does not care so much if the stories they consume are created by a legacy media organization or someone else whom they find interesting and influential. However, the legacy media still have some value for brands and companies. For many, pieces written by professional journalists and published by established media brands carry weight that those by their rivals do not possess, "in part through the force of tradition and habit, in part because [well-known media outlets] place accuracy as one of their benefits to subscribers" (Lloyd and Toogood, 2014).

That is why PR companies try to influence the media, and the line between journalism and PR is becoming increasingly blurred. As Lloyd and Toogood put it: "A PR-inspired story, or feature, or broadcast news item or program, was and usually still is worth more than an advertisement. Going direct from corporation to consumer cuts out the middle-hack, and thus is more nakedly self-interested. This is why PR companies now spend much of their time getting other third-party endorsers…to recommend or at least mention their client". In terms of effect, according to some estimates, the value of editorial is even four times that of advertising (Haid, in Jackson and Shaw, 2006, discussed in Bradford, 2015).

In the sphere of magazines, especially those covering lifestyle, fashion, beauty, celebrities, cars and technology, editors are used to regularly dealing with PR personnel. The topics that consumer magazines cover, and the custom of recommending products and services to readers, makes lifestyle magazines especially attractive to PR companies. This works another way as well: PR companies are the ones providing, for example, fashion journalists with sample clothes to shoot, interviews and information on trends, so without them it would be hard for fashion editors to do their job (Bradford, 2015).

The fact that some genres of journalism are more PR-driven than others does not mean that for example hard news is free from the influence of PR companies. As Lloyd and Toogood (2014) note, PR personnel feed news journalists with stories and narratives, and are often successful in doing so. However, glossy magazines' manner of approach differentiates them from for example most news outlets: when featuring products, most magazine editors argue that they only highlight great items and trends, and do not waste space on products that are of no value to their readers (see e.g. Bradford, 2015). In this "recommendation journalism," there is not much space for critical voices, and the approach therefore places lifestyle magazines in a controversial area: editorial content might come close to an endorsement or unpaid advertisement.

Social media has expanded the grey area in the co-operation between the media and PR companies. For editors, their magazine having a presence on several social networks also means having to create content on all of them every day. This increasing need for editors to fill the content gaps gives PR companies more opportunities to feed their stories to magazines. Furthermore, with yet un-established policies for labeling the different types of content, editors have to make decisions on how to cover brands on social media one by one. For example Instagram is a platform based on beautifully filtered photos and little text. Many consumer magazines use it to show their followers what is happening behind the scenes of the magazine, which often also includes editors going to showrooms, product launches and trips organized by PR companies.

In lifestyle magazines' Instagram feeds, it is commonplace to see posts of clothes, make-up and appealing-looking breakfasts with little more information than a photo, short text and some hashtags: *"Getting ready for summer. Thank you @cliniqueuk #GirlsOnTheBeautyDesk #SummerBeauty #GlamourBeauty #BeautyEdit"* (On Glamour magazine's Instagram feed with a photo of beauty products by Clinique, April 2015). *"Stairway to heaven… Why not experience the Maldives from a treehouse? Only at beautiful @amilafushi #chicesttreehouseforever #outofthisworld"* (A sunny travel photo in Porter magazine's feed, April 2015). Editorially, the purpose of this kind of post is somewhat unclear. Are editors posting them to recommend a product they have tested and in which they know the readers are interested? Are they about giving free visibility to a product that a PR company is showcasing and that looks good in a photo? Do they post it as a thank you to a PR company for organising a nice event? What does it make the post: editorial content or an unpaid advertisement? If it is a paid ad, it certainly is not labeled as one, as it should be.

Kati Kelola, editor-in-chief of the travel magazine Mondo, says that Mondo's editors have a "reader-first guideline" for posting on businesses or brands on social media platforms that has been discussed among the editorial staff: "If we as a brand can honestly say that something we know our readers will find interesting is of good value, we post about it. It does not matter if we have paid for the service ourselves or if someone offered it for us. Of course it is free visibility for a product, but for us the main question is: does it serve the reader? It is about giving valuable recommendations, that being one of the travel magazine brand's aspirations".

For editors, things are becoming more blurred because there are now other people covering the same issues as journalists but who do not, at least for the time being, have ethical guidelines to follow. Many bloggers for example make deals to write about a product but do not label the post as a paid advertisement. This has led to the increasing need for editors to explain the concept of editorial integrity to companies. Over recent years, in Kati Kelola's experience, the line between blogging and journalism has become blurred, and companies might expect the same things from magazines that many bloggers are doing online. Companies for example may offer a travel magazine free trips and services if they can dictate how and on which platforms they will be featured. "When we refuse, there might be bewilderment, because with bloggers it is possible to make those agreements," Kelola says. "For an editor, it is for example quite easy to spot a travel blogger who often makes deals with hotels s/he is staying in, because s/he is singing their praises on Instagram. Whereas for us, as a magazine brand, it is crucial to paint a truthful picture of the destinations we cover. If our editors did the same thing that bloggers are doing, we would soon lose our credibility".

Kelola states that Mondo sometimes attends trips organized and/or funded by others than the magazine itself. They go on trips that are at least partly funded by official tourist boards, which might also help in arranging access to attractions that the editors have chosen to cover on the spot. On occasion, if it would be a hard to reach a destination otherwise, they go on trips organised by a private travel company. In both cases, Kelola argues, the organizer has to agree to the magazine's preconditions: "We never promise positive coverage or to feature something the editors have not chosen themselves. We decide the length and the angle of the story, and never mention just one company in the article," Kelola says.

Things to be taken into account

1. Editors need to embrace a new attitude towards the commercial
Editors now have a new set of tasks that might have little to do with the traditional editing job – or even journalism, given that speeches and training, hosting events, and editing e-commerce pieces require not only new skills but a new attitude, as well as a willingness to perceive both editorial work and the essence of a magazine brand anew. In the magazine publishing business, thinking and working in departmental silos no longer work, and the ability to think about the commercial side as well as marketing of the brand is increasingly crucial for editors, especially if they work for magazines with less strict church and state division.

2. Set guidelines and communicate it to the audience
Witschge and Nygren (2009) state that "organizations representing the profession and ethical values of a profession only cover a limited part of the new media landscape," and "a growing part of media activities does not fall under traditional journalistic practices." This is also an opportunity for the legacy media to stand out from their non-journalist rivals.
As more content becomes PR-driven and the amount of sponsored content increases, editors have an important role in creating guidelines for the changing situation. This requires open and active discussion among the editorial teams where the everyday practices are developed. How should one tackle the attempts to influence the work of editors and make sure that editorial judgment is used, when dealing with PR-driven and advertorial content? How should one label sponsored content? For different magazines, this might mean different things, as audiences relate to advertorial content differently. However, in competition with bloggers and brands, setting clear policies and transparently communicating them to the audience emphasizes the most important asset that magazines possess: the trust of the audience that derives from editorial integrity.

3. The Digital Editor

Media consumption is increasingly shifting to the web. According to a 2015 report, time spent reading print newspapers fell by over 25 per cent from 2010 to 2014, globally. From 2010 to 2017, the same report suggests that the average number of minutes per day spent reading print magazines will fall by 29 percent worldwide. On the positive side, although print readership is declining, media consumption on mobile devices and desktops is increasing drastically. Therefore, media outlets have never been read by more people than now (ZenithOptimedia, discussed in Sweney, 2015). New digi-native media outlets are growing in terms of both number and prestige. More and more journalists work for digital-only outlets – and even those who still have a print edition to create work across various platforms. The shift has had a profound impact on how stories are built, published and distributed, and which topics are covered.

This chapter looks into how the ways of working in a highly technical, measurable digital environment affect the job of magazine editors. The issues featured in this chapter are the ones that have most to do with the editing job as magazines used to know it: the editor working with the writer and shaping up stories. At the time of writing, mobile is becoming the dominant platform for digital media consumption, and the role of social sharing as a driver of traffic is increasing. What kind of new skills and ways of thinking does the situation call for from editors? Another key question that this chapter examines is whether in the digital world, with constant deadlines, there is time for editing in the careful form the magazine industry used to know?

For insights, I interviewed the editors of two digital native magazines: Lowen Liu is managing editor at Slate, a well-established US-based current affairs and culture magazine known for its opinion pieces. Heather Landy is global news editor at Quartz, a three-year-old digital outlet for global businesspeople, built primarily for mobile phones and tablets. Tom Stangage from the weekly news magazine the Economist also comments on the changes that digital has brought about to a magazine with a print presence.

Less time for editing, new workflows

The shift to digital has had a profound effect on the way in which journalists go about their work. Convergence has blurred the boundaries between different media, and the editorial staff of a magazine no longer concentrates on written stories but also produces video and audio. In addition, whereas print editors used to close an issue once a week or month, in digital, the deadlines are constant. There

is often more than one platform and, according to a study, journalists produce three times as much copy as was the case twenty years ago (Lewis et al, 2008). Deputy editor of the Economist, a news magazine with both a print and digital presence, Tom Standage gives an example by stating that, in addition to the stories that appear in the weekly issue, editors at the Economist now also edit online-only-articles, short pieces for the daily edition, as well as publish several times every day on the magazine's social media accounts.

In general, in digital outlets, there are fewer editing professionals doing the job as it used to be. Due to technology that enables autonomous and instant publishing, individual journalists now have control over more stages of the publishing process and are less dependent on other professional groups, such as editors (Witschge and Nygren, 2009). Thus, in the digital age, the sub-editor is a dying breed. The amount of journalists with the title copy editor or sub-editor has decreased drastically: according to a survey by the American Society of News Editors, nearly a third of the sub-editors who were working for American daily newspapers in 2007 were no longer employed in those positions by 2013 (Discussed in Alzner, 2013). I do not have the numbers for magazines, but the trend at least in digital publishing is similar.

The argument for reducing the number of sub-editors usually is designing digital-first editorial teams that are set up for digital workflow and quick publishing, which requires shifting more staff from processing content to producing it (see e.g. Buttry, 2012). In practice, this means that there is usually one less layer of editing, and the sub-editors' tasks, such as fact-checking, ensuring clarity and accuracy, raising possible legal questions, and checking grammar and spelling, are often shared by the reporter and the editor commissioning and revising the piece. This is the case at Quartz: "We don't have a copy editing desk, so it's me and other news editors that do copy editing as part of the tasks. For the most part, it is just one editor who looks at the story. There aren't too many cooks, so we try to have the discussion in the front-end, and once the draft is ready, there is usually just one editor who goes through all the different things that the editor is responsible for," Heather Landy states.

The need to produce more content and the pressure to publish quickly undoubtedly decrease the time available for editing. However, the editors whom I interviewed highlight that accountability, accuracy, trustworthiness, and top-quality writing are the key issues that set the content produced by professional media outlets apart from that of others on the web. Editing is the key issue in making magazines to stand out.

”In the digital age, there is as much room for editing as an organization deems important to its mission. The capacity for instant publishing has, most importantly,

changed the way we think of deadlines, but Slate still relies on and prides itself on strong editing. With the exception of some news-related posts, everything we publish is edited, and everything is copy-edited. The editor still reviews, works with the writer on, and has the final say on most content before it goes live," Lowen Liu argues.

Heather Landy agrees. "If you want to be a respectable news outlet, whether you are digital-native or run a print edition…you have to have a layer [of editing] somewhere." At Quartz, everything apart from live blogs is edited before being published. "We have experimented with something like live blogging or live charting… Somebody has to write it and push the button because of the nature of live blogging, but even then there is usually somebody standing behind them and reading [the story] before it hits the web. I think it is possible to produce quality content without an editor breathing down your neck, [but] I think there's an important management element to the job [of the editor], and credible newsrooms are always going to need that."

In general, in the digital age, the editorial process and workflows are being shaped anew. In addition to the fewer editing layers, the emergence of new forms of storytelling for magazines, such as video, podcasts and data visualisation, makes the editing process more frontloaded. With less control over the content after filming or recording it, the framing, angles and questions must be carefully planned and discussed with the reporter in advance. In addition, there is a whole digital flow of the story for the editor to build up. This includes for example making decisions over when and how to publish the piece on different social networks, and how to promote reader engagement.

For magazines with a weekly or monthly edition, too, editorial processes have and will change even more. As the Economist's Tom Standage suggests, distinctions between editing for print and digital, as well as editing on a weekly and a daily publishing cycle, will soon dissolve. He argues that instead of two editing silos, at the Economist, there will be one stream of digital output, which is also put together as a weekly product. The order of publishing pieces on different platforms will undergo a change. "We will publish more pieces online during the week that later appear in print," Standage says. Until recently, with magazines trying to protect the readership of print, the cycle has been the other way round.

Even though magazines now provide their readers with much more content to consume than they used to with only a weekly edition, compiled editions – whether in print or digital – may have an even higher value than before. "One of the selling propositions at the Economist is that we distill the week into a packet you can actually finish. You can never finish the Internet; you never get the feeling of having caught up."

New skills required

In the digital age, journalists have to get rid of their medium-centric identity and be able both to take more responsibility for the different stages of the publishing process, and also have the skills for multi-platform publishing. These skills include for example photographing, creating videos and podcasts, blogging, tweeting, analysing data, and even coding (Anderson et al, 2012). Editors working in the digital environment generally must possess more or less the same tech-related skills as reporters: "Time saved by the automatic organization and editing of pieces…dramatically reduces the need for editors to oversee every part of the process. Newsrooms can no longer afford senior staff who do not produce content." Anderson et al (2012) talk about newsrooms, but the editors of digital magazines tend to multitask, too. Both Slate and Quartz have editors who, in addition to selecting, commissioning and editing, deliver content as well. However, Liu does not see the change as a very dramatic one.

"It's true that Slate editors wear many hats. Editors assign and also occasionally write – but this is true at print magazines as well. While we encourage writing magazine-wide, we do have specialized teams for video, photo, social media, coding interactives, and so on. What I would say is that, with the technological advances, the basic skill set for a journalist working online has expanded industry-wide – long-form writers may find themselves blogging, a piece may be arted with their iPhone photos, and we expect most of our staff to be familiar with our publishing software. It's also hard not to know a little HTML these days," Slate's Lowen Liu suggests.

The pace of technological evolution is fast and, for journalists, there will constantly be new skills to master. In the near future, many magazine editors' work will increasingly include tech-related strategic thinking and tasks that aim to reach the reader better and offer them more personalized content. With more stories consumed on mobiles, the tasks and skills may include for example attaching metadata to articles and thus adding new value to the story. Metadata about locations, other people, services and actions related to the story then enable the setting up and sending of alerts and personalized push notifications to readers close to the so-called impact zone of the story (Bergman, 2014, discussed in Señor et al, 2015.)

Editors and the rise of mobiles

One of the biggest ongoing shifts in the consumption of journalism at the moment is the rise of mobiles. In autumn 2014, the number of unique mobile users passed 3.6

billion, which is 50 per cent of the world's population. Globally, mobile devices' share of web traffic is increasing quickly, with over one third of all web pages served coming from mobiles (We Are Social, 2015). The shift from desktop to mobile use is even greater for media sites than on the internet in general. In 2014, the top newspaper and magazine publishers in the UK reported that over half of their digital audience view the content on mobile and tablet devices (Smith, 2014). The same applies outside the UK too (2014 MPA Magazine Media 360° Brand Audience Report, cited in Innovation 2015). Due to the shift, media outlets can reach the audience basically anytime and anywhere.

A mobile is not only a device but a mindset for consuming media. The exact figures vary but, according to a recent survey (Tecmark, 2014), an average UK user picks up their smartphone over 200 times a day, spends 3 hours and 16 minutes in total on their phone, and spends less than 10 seconds per visit. The use is highly abrupt, as people are multitasking with their phones. Owing to this, people have different needs and expectations regarding the content they consume on mobiles compared to that consumed on other devices. Therefore, the shift to mobile sets new requirements for editorials.

However, there are contrary views related to what those requirements include. Some, like media consultant Alan D. Mutter (2014), agree that "…mobile publishing is the antithesis of traditional journalism, which favours deliberation and depth over the speed and sass characterising the top mobile sites." Furthermore, it is not only about the length and shape of stories but about the attitude of the audience toward obtaining information. When on a mobile, people expect "that any desired information or service is available, on any appropriate device, in context, at your moment of need" (Bernoff, 2013). Many general guidelines for mobile content highlight issues such as covering trending topics, making headlines short and tangible, and using visual elements that help the reader to comprehend the story easily.

Many editors, however, tend to emphasize the importance of knowing your reader and being loyal to the concept and tone of your magazine, even when editing for mobile consumption. For different outlets, this means different things. "In terms of content, I have two thoughts: one is that Slate has always leaned toward mid-length articles because we were started as an opinion and analysis magazine, that there's just a certain sweet spot in length to perform those goals. Two, I wouldn't say yet that the rise of mobiles will mean the rise of short-form – reading long-form can be pleasurable on a small device, and Slate tries to take advantage of this by continuing to prize and put resources into long-form," Lowen Liu suggests.

Whereas at Quartz, metrics have shown that it is the very short and very long stories that work well on mobiles and get good user engagement, thus editors

mainly commission pieces of either under 500 words or more than 1200 or 1500 words. “600-900 words is where user engagement really bottoms down, because you have wasted the readers’ time with something that probably could have been said in 500 words, or you haven’t given them enough. Our readers on mobiles appreciate a 3,000-word story, and we get high reader engagement with long feature pieces. We do not want to be somewhere in the middle,” Heather Landy says.

From editors, the rise of mobile calls for scheduling publishing times anew. For example for Quartz, following the smartphone flow means promoting stories on social media and sending a daily email newsletter in the morning, that being the peak time for most of Quartz’s readership. However, with a global audience, Landy suggests that there are different aspects that editors have to take into account when planning schedules: “Our editors at Quartz India just asked me how we want to handle the scheduling of posts in different regions of the world on our Facebook page. There has to be certain amount of spacing out between posts, [and it would not work] if everybody posted when their audience first picks up their phone in the morning but in India people more consume news in the afternoon. They were curious to know if that causes a problem.”

Editing for shareability

With the massive amount of content competing for the audience’s attention online, reaching readers becomes increasingly important and challenging for media outlets. Social media has quite quickly overtaken search engines as the number one driver of traffic to websites. In December 2014, according to Shareaholic Social Media Traffic Report (Wong, 2015), the top eight social networks drove one third of overall traffic to websites, and the share of Facebook alone was nearly 25 per cent of this. Meanwhile, the significance of the homepage and search engines has decreased. At the end of 2014, search engines drove 29 per cent of all traffic to websites, almost 30 per cent less than three years earlier. For media outlets and magazines, social traffic is even more crucial than for other websites. For Cosmopolitan US, for example, social media makes up 30-35 per cent of the traffic (Llewellyn, 2015), yet, with BuzzFeed, a media outlet known for shareable content, social drives over 75 per cent of all the traffic of the site (Ciobanu, 2015).

People share stories on social media for many reasons. Sharing is, according to Alfred Hermida, professor and researcher on digital journalism and social media, a trade that benefits both sides: the person providing valuable information by sharing stories on social networks receives a profile and recognition, while the audience gains knowledge and understanding. Sharing can be used as a means of shaping how other people see us. It also helps people to maintain and nourish their

relationships with other people with similar interests, or to debate with those with whom they disagree. Moreover, by sharing, people show they support for a certain cause. Studies show that emotions heavily drive sharing. Hermida lists anger, disgust and happiness as the feelings that most strongly evoke it. It is also worth noting that, on news websites, there is usually some overlap between the most read and the most shared stories, but they are not entirely the same (Hermida, 2014).

The call for shareability has a profound effect on journalism. More than 75 per cent of the US journalists interviewed for a research project (2015 Edelman Media Forecast) feel that they need to think about how to deliver shareable stories. For them, this means for example using more video and images, brevity, localization, more use of the human voice and reporting on trending topics. However, there is no universal pattern for a shareable story that works for all audiences and, according to my interviewees, it seems that few make editorial decisions merely based on the shareability potential of the story. In general, editors are constantly testing what works for their readers.

At Quartz, social sharing is one of the key issues to be taken into account when the editor and the writer talk about the piece, both before writing and during the process. "There is a discussion, even sometimes before the reporting process actually kicks off, when we talk about the framing. It can mean everything from the headline and the words that are chosen to the approach, and the headline or the angle you are taking in the story itself. If there is something inherently shareable in this story that maybe says it is very fixed or approachable for social media, we want a headline and a framing that communicates that to the reader and encourages them to share the piece," Heather Landy states. "Sometimes we decide that this is a really straight story, and an SEO-driven [Search Engine Optimation] headline is the right framing or the right approach."

The editorial team at Quartz regularly learns about the best practices for shareability but, so far, nothing has been written down. "Every week of the month, our team leaders talk to the staff at large and walk us through what's happening in the social space right now. It changes over time, so last summer, when I got here, everybody wanted headlines with the curiosity gap, but that became very old very quickly. So our editors try to identify those kinds of trends," Landy says.

Lowen Liu argues that, at Slate, editors are aware that social media is the best way to gain new readers, but he suggests that the key factor in getting the best reach is to concentrate on the reader. "We try to frame our stories to be attractive for social media, but the sort of reader we have cultivated at Slate is still the one we primarily think of. For the sake of shareability, we do have length restrictions on headlines, and follow internal best practices on tone."

Moreover, when framing the story for social media, knowing the target audience is the key, as editors need to know the readers' motivation for sharing: To look more intelligent? In-the-know? Cool or funny? Promoting shareability on social networks also includes network-specific thinking. "Our social team does frame sharing differently depending on the network. The line we write for sharing on Facebook is often not the one we would use for Twitter, as they are different environments in which people share for different reasons," Lowen Liu suggests.

It is also important to make sharing as easy as possible. This requires tech-related knowledge, such as ensuring that the sharing buttons on the website are distinctive and, in terms of editorial work, hinting at how to share the story. The Los Angeles Times for example puts 1-3 pre-written tweets as suggestions at the top of every story (Benton, 2014). Editors can also give readers a powerful clue about how to share the piece by the framing and words they use when distributing the story on the magazine's social media account (Bright, 2015).

The increasing importance of social sharing as a driver of traffic not only affects the way in which stories are framed and built up but also diminishes the editors' role as gatekeepers. As Hermida (2014) notes: "Traditionally, the role of gatekeeper fell to professional journalists who decided what was worthy of being reported on and published and what should be dismissed and ignored. Now, more people than ever before are taking on the job of the editors, filtering and selecting what is important, interesting or diverting." In order to get stories shared, it helps if editors have a more specific knowledge of their readers. In their 2003 book, marketing experts Ed Keller and Jon Berry popularized the idea of the influentials, people who are engaged with their communities and are able to reach and influence other people (discussed in Hermida, 2014). For companies, these people are valuable as, if you can reach them with your message, they will spread it. For magazines with a very niche audience, the influentials may be easy to recognize. Even though it is impossible accurately to predict whose tweet gets widely shared, it is nowadays part of editors' expertise to tell who the potential influentials in the audience are and know the right way to reach out in order to try make them brand ambassadors.

Mastering the metrics

"If there is a science to BuzzFeed's content strategy, it is built on obsessive measurement. The data-science team uses machine learning to predict which stories might spread; the design team keeps iterating the user interface through A/B testing and analytics. Every item of content has its own dashboard that shows how it spreads from "seed views" on the site to the scalable "social views".

David Rowan, Wired (2014)

The tools that make it possible to measure and analyze online traffic have an enormous effect on journalism. The information on which story does well and which is doing poorly is now immediate, and editors have exact figures to help them to drive editorial decisions. Most media companies collect and report data, but the amount of analysis and taking of strategic editorial decisions based on metrics varies a lot. In some media outlets, such as BuzzFeed, information gathered from analytics and the real time measuring of views and shares play a key role when deciding how to build up a story.

It is nowadays crucial for magazines to have editors who master the metrics and are able to make strategic decisions based on analytics. Knowing exactly what to monitor may be tricky, as there is loads of information available on page views, unique visitors, time spent reading, comments, retweets, shares and so on. However, for editors, data are a valuable tool for learning about audience behaviour, building an audience and personalizing content (Señor et al, 2015). The key is to know one's goals and then, based on that, decide what numbers to monitor.

In the past, the meaning of data has often been overlooked by journalists who are keen to mystify the so-called gut feeling – instinctively knowing what will speak to their readers. However, utilizing metrics does not mean clickbaiting. It is still crucial for editors to remain truthful to the concept and tone of the magazine and know their audience beyond metrics in order to be able to offer them stories that they did not expect to read. This kind of content would not be commissioned if the importance of a story were measured by numbers only (Buzasi, 2014).

At Slate, editors use analytics for example to test different headlines and secure the best times to promote stories on social networks. ”Our headlines must be a) faithful to the content, b) possess Slate's "personality," and c) be attractive. So…we do pay close attention to how headlines do, and in some channels we have the ability to test two headlines at once. This testing is becoming standard for online outlets, and is something we want to do more. Our home page and social teams always take timing into consideration when promoting a piece, but choosing when to publish is still ultimately decided by human intelligence," Lowen Liu argues.

Metrics can serve as a valuable tool when deciding what topics to cover, as well. However, most editors emphasize that metrics should never be used as the only factor guiding commissioning. "Historical data and analytics of past performance is a useful tool, but cannot predict how the next piece will do, nor take into account other factors, like newsworthiness," Liu suggests. At Quartz, metrics help editors to recognize topics that are relevant to the reader. "We look at [metrics] fare amount

and are constantly monitoring traffic. We want to hit topics when they are doing well and move away…when the story has naturally run its course. Data are a factor, but there is an art to not letting that take over your life editorial judgement, and it is a really important part of the process."

On the other hand, analytics can give valuable information on reader behavior that is not visible when looking at lists of the most read and shared stories on a daily and weekly basis. At the Economist, by looking at the long-term metrics, editors have found a couple of topics that readers particularly like. The metrics suggest that they should increase their coverage on education and comparative, international stories on parenting (Standage, 2015).

The possibilities that data have brought about have also led magazines to introduce new editorial jobs. The Economist has had a head of editorial analytics since the beginning of 2015, a full-time post, that includes gathering and analysing metrics and reporting the figures to the whole editorial team weekly (Standage, 2015).

Editors and platform development

In their study, Anderson et al (2012) talk about the relationship between editorial content and user experience under media convergence, stating that "[a]n editorial idea no longer has the dominance it once had in a fixed product like a newspaper or news bulletin. Now the idea must also work according to a large number of variables, often with the input of others, and in a way that is technologically viable and responsive to audiences. The story format becomes less like a unit and more like a stream of activity." In digital, content cannot be separated from consuming it. That means that the user interfaces on magazine websites and applications must be clear, easy to use and appealing.

Soberman (2013) states that production managers who oversee the development of user-friendly services for media outlets are nowadays in the key role in journalism, as putting the reader first is the foundation for a strong media product. Moreover, making products as user-friendly as possible is imperative for gaining and keeping audience's loyalty, but it can also have more profound impacts on journalism. "The more people that interact with and read the news, the better the community will be" (Soberman, 2013).

And who better for the job than editors? In order to create webpages and applications that speak to the audience, editors – as experts in what kind of content their audience want to consume and how – must work alongside programmers and designers. From publishing houses, this requires a new kind of thinking and abandoning working in departmental silos (see e.g. Newman, 2010).

When involved in building up digital platforms, editors are the experts on issues such as the hierarchy of content, and the visual nuances of the magazine. They know editorial metrics and can, based on that, make decisions on for example how the reader should be helped to navigate the content and find interesting stories. They also have specific knowledge on the likes and behaviour of their readers. That helps them for instance to come up with special features for the platform. In order to take part in platform development work, Carla Buzasi (2014), former editor-in-chief for Huffington Post UK, suggests that an editor does not have to know how to code, but s/he must have at least a rough understanding in what is technically possible and what is not, and a vocabulary to talk about technical issues with developers and programmers.

Many magazines now have certain editors who take part in platform development work. Quite often, the person is the community or social media editor, but at the digi-native Quartz, they have taken this a step further. Heather Landy states that "people leading our platform development are also editors, which I think makes a huge difference." In fact, not making a distinction between editorial and platform leads to new job descriptions: in May 2015, Quartz hired their first 'platform editor and director of platform products,' who focuses on editorial strategy, product development, partnerships, and analytics (Horgan, 2015). In Heather Landy's opinion, editors' heavy involvement in technical development has been integral for the magazine. "It doesn't matter what the platform is if the content doesn't look well with it. And you can have great content, but if the platform doesn't show it off in the right way, that is kind of a waste, too."

Things to be taken into account

1. Concentrate on the relevant

The Internet is endless so, at a digital magazine, it is even more important to prioritize than in print. Here is a three-step checklist for the digital editor at the beginning of their work:

- With a lot of copy to deliver for different platforms, make sure you develop solid workflows and practices that enable you to do more with the content you are producing. Process and edit a story to fit different platforms and avoid double (or triple) work.
- Learn at least basic analytics. Combine your knowledge of readers' preferences with data that tells what topics and headlines are doing well

among your audience. Use metrics to tell when is the best time to publish stories and promote them on social networks.

- With fewer layers of editing than in print, make sure your digital editorial process is front-loaded, as there is no time for rewriting the whole piece before publishing. Even when in a hurry, pay attention to accuracy, good grammar and spelling, as they make professional content stand out on the web and are essential for maintaining the credibility of the magazine.

2. Forget about being medium-centric – be curious instead

The quick rise of the mobile as a dominant platform and social sharing as a major driver of traffic are good reminders for the industry that the pace of change regarding how people consume the media is fast. The ability to adapt, innovate and kill off products and practices quickly is crucial in order for magazines to succeed. Therefore, it is integral for magazines to recruit curious people, both editorially and digitally-oriented, who have their eyes open for the new. Most importantly, it is about the attitude of not clinging to a medium-centric view of editorial work but not drawing a distinction between the editorial and the platform.

4. The Community Editor

To describe the changes that media convergence have brought about, the New York University scholar Jay Rosen coined the phrase "The People Formerly Known as the Audience" (discussed in Anderson et al, 2012), emphasizing the new-found role of the audience as producers and distributors of content, not just consumers of media. At the same time, there is another trend at large going on in journalism: the decline of circulation, with fewer readers paying for content. Due to these changes, the media have had to define their relationship with the audience anew, and a) find new ways to make the audience interested in and committed enough to the magazine to pay for the content it provides, and b) develop practices that enable dynamic reader participation.

The answer: a community. Henry Jenkins (2006) talks about affective economics, which includes pursuing emotional, long-term reader commitment in order to turn the audience into a community. A loyal reader with a sense of belonging to and ownership of a media outlet is more likely than a random visitor to pay for the content, possibly take part in creating it, and spread the word about the media brand. Due to their conventionally good ability to define and target audiences accurately around a certain topic, along with the new digital and social platforms now enabling two-way communication with the readers, magazines have a unique possibility to build up communities of like-minded people around their brands. Competence in creating and speaking to committed communities will become even more valuable in the future, as the fragmentization of media audiences continues, and we witness the move towards even more niche-oriented, special-interest media (Abrahamson, 2009).

This chapter examines the work of the most recent title on magazine mastheads: the community editor – a person in charge of nourishing reader engagement and participation. The main questions in the chapter include: what new tasks have emerged, and what skills are the most elementary for editors working around communities? Moreover, how do editors invite readers to take part in open journalism and thus become the creators of content? It is worth noting that the terms 'reader', 'audience', 'user' and 'visitor' are used interchangeably, as the line is somewhat blurred.

Tasks and practices around building up and nourishing a community are examined

through the Finnish teenage girls' magazine Demi. This magazine has a highly popular, discussion board-based website, Demi.fi, which was launched in 1998 and is a go-to place for girls aged 12–19 to have peer discussions online, on every possible topic. Due to the website, Demi enjoys a big early lead in building up a community around a magazine as well as working with user-generated content. Managing editor Päivi Lehtomurto gives her insights.

What is a community editor? The main tasks and skills required

The work of a community editor typically entails engaging with and growing the social audience of the magazine, and creating opportunities for reader participation. His/her duties vary depending on the needs of the community and the publication but, in many magazines, the community editor coordinates the daily production and distribution of content on the magazine's social media accounts, and leads conversations with readers, whether it means answering their questions, pursuing participatory journalism, or more informal chatting. "We pursue the readers' sense of belonging to a community for example by giving them an opportunity to have their say on the content of the magazine, asking their views and answering their questions on multiple platforms," Päivi Lehtomurto states in an interview (2014). Part of the job is to be aware of readers' activity on the magazine's website and social media (Zak, 2012; Job advertisements, 2015). Many community editors also train and articulate best practices in engaging with the audience or distributing stories on social media across the editorial staff.

In order to reach the readers and offer them content in a relevant form, a community editor must have a wide understanding of how the audience consumes content on different platforms and devices. This varies across magazines and audiences. "Our editors must have the skills and mindset similar to those of digi-natives when it comes to using smart phones and apps, because apps are such a huge part of teenagers' everyday life," Päivi Lehtomurto says. In addition to being mobile-savvy, she suggests that making and distributing video is the most important new skill for editors working around communities – video being estimated to account for 69 percent of global consumer web traffic by 2017 (Cisco Visual Networking Index in Innovations in Magazine Media 2014 World Report).

In addition to tech-related skills, one of the most crucial abilities is to know about readers' online-behavior and sense changes in it. The community editor must master the nuances of communicating, which for example include knowing what tone and words to use on different networks in order to speak to the audience as accurately as possible. Lehtomurto states that the editor must also ensure that there are different ways of engaging available for people who want to participate on different levels – from reading, listening and watching to sharing, liking, commenting, and creating content.

It is also important to know when is the right moment to get involved in emerging social networks, what to exclude, and what strategy to apply on the platforms chosen. For example Demi's Instagram account was set up in autumn 2013, but a strategy for the platform was established only in the following spring. Due to Instagram's sudden popularity among teenage girls, the platform quickly became the most important social network for the magazine, after its website. "For two years, it has been predicted that teenagers will leave Facebook, but they are still there – so Demi is there as well. At the moment, the biggest thing for teen girls is Instagram but it is impossible to say what will be next," Lehtomurto states. Quite recently, Demi has added Snapchat and WhasApp to its regular offering.

Owing to the amount of social platforms constantly increasing, the job of the community editor requires juggling a lot of balls at once, and is often more fragmented than that of many other editing professionals (Zak, 2012). At Demi, there is no community editor employed but the tasks of engaging with the community are shared with the staff, everyone being in charge of the social media accounts and publishing stories on the magazine website for one day per week. This is because, according to Lehtomurto, it is necessary for everyone on the staff to spend time with the readers online on a regular basis. Failing to do so, they would soon become out of touch with the world of the young audience, and that would show in the magazine in the form of stories that do not accurately speak to the readers. Lehtomurto estimates that on a 'social media day,' the member of staff in charge publishes something approximately ten times on the different platforms and might spend up to 50 per cent of the day on social platforms. The system makes it possible for the editors to concentrate on writing and editing for the monthly issue for most of the week, that being the magazine brand's main product. However, community-related tasks such as posting and talking with the readers on social platforms and pursuing reader participation in stories occupies about one fifth of Lehtomurto's total weekly worktime.

As Holmes and Nice (2012) state, few media companies have matched the expansion of content and the new tasks that a social network presence has brought about for editorial departments in terms of recruiting extra staff. However, the need for a magazine to be approachable and available for readers on social networks does not stop when the office closes. Päivi Lehtomurto states that the need to be in touch with the community on various platforms has not affected the official working hours at Demi. For the time being, the editorial staff of the magazine, except for the website moderators, does not work in the evenings or at weekends. "But I think our staff, like probably any journalist, is always on duty. So when something relevant for our readers happens outside office hours, one of us will post it on social media and talk about it with the community even if it is not work time or anyone's responsibility," Lehtomurto says.

Measuring success

The work of the community editor differs from that of other editors in terms of measurability. In journalism, defining quality is never straightforward. However, due to all of the metrics available, measuring success in digital reader engagement is easier. At the moment, finding the best metrics for evaluating success in the work of the community editor is work in progress. There is a reasonably uniform understanding in the industry that page views and clicks are not the right way to measure audience engagement. Instead, dwell time, the amount of comments, likes and shares, and the percentage of returning users for all viewers on the website are widely used (Thiruvengadam, 2013). Nevertheless, the numbers do not necessarily reveal much about the quality and depth of the reader engagement. As Thurén (2013) finds, even if users quite actively comment on a magazine's Facebook account, the audience may find the engagement on the platform superficial, and may not for example feel that they have a real opportunity to take part or get closer to the editorial staff.

Monetizing engagement is even trickier. According to studies, visiting a magazine website or a discussion forum strengthens user intention to read the print issue of the magazine in the future (Ellonen et al 2008). However, for example in the case of co-creation, the most time-consuming practice of participatory journalism, there is no research on the long-term effects, including co-creation's economic value for a magazine (Aitamurto, 2013). Even within magazines that take community building very seriously, the editorial staff do not necessarily have numeral targets for it. "The ultimate goal for community building is the number of visitors on the website and subscriptions increasing," Päivi Lehtomurto says. "However, we do not talk about community building and circulation in the same sentence that much among the editorial staff." How magazines evaluate the economic value of a community editor's work remains to be seen.

New spaces for community building

The key to community building is a space in which to communicate with the audience. In addition to having a presence on the social networks where their readers are already active, many magazines nowadays provide an own online platform for their audience to engage with the magazine and each other, and create content (Holmes and Nice, 2012). These platforms may be anything from

discussion forums to blog portals and online magazines with tools for commenting on and writing posts.

Magazines' online platforms can be defined as 'owned media' or 'participatory media' (Solis, 2010): owned in a sense that the magazine controls and owns both the channel and the content produced on it, and participatory in a sense that members of the community can collaborate and engage both with each other and the editorial staff. Some, like analyst Brian Solis, see people engaging with brands on social platforms mostly as a positive phenomenon: "Participatory media equalizes the balance of power, providing a dedicated platform that gives voice to the consumer and a channel for their ideas." However, these platforms also face criticism for the use of free labor. Alice E. Maverick (2013) states that "the value of the site is created and extracted through the participation, in the form of user data, viewings and advertisements, or click-throughs, and the free labour of the audience financially benefits the owners of the platform."

Nevertheless, people who participate in creating content on these public yet privately-owned and commercial platforms usually benefit from it somehow. The prize may for example be self-satisfaction, reputation, prestige or increased social status within the community (Maverick, 2013). Some use public online spaces for self-branding and promoting their work, and may gain from the publicity that the platform provides them as much as the magazine benefits from their input (Hudson and Temple, 2010).

The main platform for Demi's online community is Demi.fi, a website based on reader discussions. The platform is an important tool for marketing the magazine as well as for monetizing the online content. However, according to Lehtomurto, it is highly valuable for girls themselves, too. "On Demi.fi, girls have peer discussions that they cannot have anywhere else," she states. In addition, users have a strong sense of community that is for example manifested by the usernames used (e.g. "Demu"). "They have a sense of ownership of the website. They for example very eagerly correct the editors if they think we are doing or saying something wrong there," Lehtomurto says. For Demi's staff, Demi.fi is first and foremost a forum for readers. Even though the editorial team is almost constantly present on the website, they stay in the background, and a great majority of the website's content consists of reader discussions, not editorial.

Open journalism: editors and user-generated content

With the technology and social platforms on the web, the audience now has access to both the production tools and publishing platforms that used to be in the hands of the media. The emergence of citizen journalists and members of the public

publishing content similar to that of journalists has led the industry to ask who is a journalist and the redefining of the journalism profession (Rottwilm, 2014). Participatory culture is gaining more ground in journalism, as well, and media outlets have started to practice open journalism such as crowdsourcing, user-generated content and co-creation (Aitamurto, 2013). As Aitamurto states, in turning readers ("The People Formerly Known as the Audience") into co-producers, open journalism changes the traditional paradigm of journalism where "we write, you read."

To create and maintain reader loyalty, it is crucial for magazines to speak to the reader and become the reader's friend (Aitamurto, 2013). A strong reader–magazine relationship has always been the core competency in the magazine industry, and magazines are increasingly using reader participation as a tool to pursue it. Participating reshapes the role of the reader and makes it more active. It can also make the reader more engaged with the magazine, as taking part builds a sense of ownership among the audience. Moreover, inviting the audience to create content is a way to customize products in order better to meet the readers' needs (Aitamurto, 2013) – an increasingly important asset in the time of the rise of niche-oriented, special-interest media (Abrahamson, 2009).

When it comes to practicing open journalism, it seems that the more automatic the process has been made, the easier it is for an editor to involve readers in the stories. At Demi, participatory journalism has been practiced for over fifteen years now, and the process is quite straightforward. It mostly includes user-generated content (UGC), and not for example crowdsourcing or co-creation, a process of creating stories in close discussion with readers. Lehtomurto suggests that, at Demi, readers are explicitly contributing to 50 per cent of the content in the monthly issue. In every issue, there are regular UGC elements, such as columns with readers' love stories, awkward confessions and screw-ups. Q&As with readers' questions include topics like health and relationships, and there is also a regular article involving a reader being photographed and interviewed on her relationship with her body. For these pages, readers send in their stories and questions via forms provided on the webpage of the magazine.

According to managing editor Päivi Lehtomurto, whenever a story is commissioned and the editor and the writer talk about the angle, structure and tone of the story, they also discuss whether some kind of engagement on the part of the community would improve that story. Usually, this means readers' comments or photos that the writer aggregates on the magazine's social platforms such as Facebook, Instagram or Twitter, or on the clearly marked 'take part' section of the magazine's website, Demi.fi. Journalists also start discussions on the magazine's website, asking readers to give their opinions. On more delicate matters, the readers can share their views privately by filling in a form online and sending it to the editorial

staff. Lehtomurto argues that the large amount of contacts the staff gets through these forms proves that, when the members of the community feel close enough to the magazine, they are willing to share things they perhaps would be unable to talk about elsewhere. Lehtomurto sees this as a clear competitive advantage for a magazine.

Even without explicit reader participation in stories, the community also helps editors to find new topics and define the right tone or angle for a story. It is common that an editorial process starts by someone at the staff spotting an interesting discussion that girls are having on Demi.fi. "And we often go to Demi.fi to check what tone and actual words the girls are using when talking about an issue we are writing about," Lehtomurto says.

Open journalism practices can serve as a bridge between the online community and the print magazine (Aitamurto, 2013). This is one of the reasons why Demi asks the audience to take part. In fact, the three pages of UGC columns constitute the most popular content of the monthly magazine. The other reason for asking the readers to take part is, according to Lehtomurto, to make them feel that the editors are listening to them. She also states that Demi's readers are not only keen to see their contribution in the magazine but also expect the editorial staff to be interested in their opinions and give them an opportunity to take part. "The situation might be different at magazines with an older audience, but for our readers it is self-evident that communication is two-way."

When writing about co-creation, Tanja Aitamurto (2013) states that, for editors, it provides a way to learn about the readers' needs and wishes. It also means that their construct of the imaginary ideal reader of the magazine moves closer to the real reader. Päivi Lehtomurto notes that Demi's staff regularly read conversation threads on the magazine website and other social platforms in order to keep up with the interests and thoughts of the readers. Also, the users give a lot of feedback via email, and the editors get metrics on the audience's online behavior. "You might have this image about the reader in your head… but then there are always surprises when you get metrics and read their feedback," Lehtomurto notes.

From gatekeepers to verifiers

Participatory journalism and platforms that enable readers to become the creators of content puts the magazine editor in a new position. As Joanna Geary, a former community editor for the Guardian, notes (O'Donovan, 2014): "Now everyone out there is a creator of content, and our job is more as managers of an overabundance of content." This means that the role of the editor also becomes one of a curator: overseeing a vast selection of content and guiding the audience to the most

relevant and interesting stories, created not only by journalists but also by other users. Curating, a trendy and much-argued term in journalism in the early 2010s, comes close to editing and includes elements such as filtering, optimizing, personalizing and classifying content.

The fact that the audience produces content changes editors' position as gatekeepers, too. Now, editors are not the only ones setting the agenda by deciding what is worth publishing (Salcito, 2011, discussed in Hermida, 2014). User participation has also made editors moderators who oversee that content posted by users follows the community guidelines and does not break the law. Demi's editors for example monitor comments on the magazine's social media accounts but, with a highly active discussion forum with strict guidelines on appropriate behaviour, the magazine also has extra moderators.

User participation in content creation brings many benefits for magazines. In addition to pursuing the reader-magazine relationship, both magazines and news outlets utilize material produced by the audience also because this helps to cover issues quickly, offers eyewitness coverage of events that the editorial staff were not there to cover, and helps to bring readers' voices into the stories. However, curating, editing and distributing content created by people who neither are nor consider themselves to be journalists is a different task from working with professionals. The Guardian journalist Nick Davies talks about the dilemma of non-professionally produced content (Saarikoski, 2012): "Unlike professional journalists, most bloggers and tweeters have no training, no skills, no code of conduct, no accountability, and for those reasons – with rare exceptions – they are a source of gross misinformation."

From editors, UGC therefore calls for extra attention to be paid to verification and fact-checking, both being among the core tasks of the traditional editing profession. In a time when trust in the media is declining (Edelman Trust Barometer, 2015) and the amount of content published soaring, maintaining credibility and accountability serves as a clear competitive advantage and a way of separating magazines form their non-journalist rivals. It is more crucial than ever that every piece published under a magazine's name undergoes an editorial process of collecting and ordering facts, weighing up arguments, making judgements, verifying content, and pursuing objectivity, trustworthiness and truth (Hudson and Temple, 2010).

Quartz's Heather Landy (2015) names verifying aggregated information as the most crucial emerging task for editors in the digital age. "It is really having your radar up all the time. Now, you always have to ask: is this information picked by us or is this info picked by…another media outlet or some web cast. There are so many different avenues for getting the information, and you don't want to trip up on that.

I think aggregation, when you use it correctly, is a perfectly legitimate tool for journalism, but it has to be monitored really closely. There are a lot of pitfalls, and reporters need to stay out of them. For that, they need a really solid editor."

In addition, working around content produced by the readers instead of other journalists, the editor should ask ethically-motivated questions such as what is the morally sustainable way of re-using content produced by a person who is not commissioned to create content but does it voluntarily, for her own reasons? What motivates a person whose input for the platform is crucial, yet who is not an employee? Craig Silverman (2014) points out that, by asking the audience to share, journalists must do the same: "In putting out a call for participation, you take on responsibilities: to use the information provided as you said you would, to accurately credit those who participate, to secure all necessary permissions, and to be responsive and communicative during the process."

Know when to drop it

Even though community building and reader participation are trendy topics in the magazine industry, it is worth noting that not everyone in the audience wants to take part or even feel like a member of a magazine community. There is also a possibility that open journalism practices alienate those who are not participating in the process (Aitamurto, 2013). The same goes for all the community building. It is part of an editor's expertise to decide when participatory journalism is useful and when it is not. To remain relevant and reliable, it is important for a magazine to find a balance between producing professional editorial content and giving readers a chance to have their say. For example, at Demi, there are certain topics that rarely include reader participation in the monthly magazine. The most editor-driven topics are fashion and beauty. "That is because on these topics our readers seek clear answers and inspiration and want experts to tell them what to do, not their peers giving opinions," Lehtomurto says.

However, for some magazines, such community building processes as open journalism and asking readers' opinions on social media is not even an option. At the Economist, the editors' tasks do not include crowdsourcing, co-creation, working around user-generated content or chatting with readers on social media. Due to the positioning of the magazine, reader participation would be against the promise the magazine makes to its audience. "On the one end of the spectrum, you have journalists who happily admit they are ignorant and ask the readers to tell them what is going on. The promise we give to our readers is that we are not ignorant...That does come across as arrogant sometimes, I am willing to admit, but that is what our readers are paying us for. They're paying us to have the answers…The authorial voice [of the magazine] cannot express self-doubt," Tom

Standage, deputy editor of the Economist states in an interview (2015). However, this does not mean that the Economist does not want to enhance their readers' sense of commitment. The key is to know your audience and act accordingly.

Not making editorial decisions based only on what is known to be widely accepted among the community is also a part of community editor's expertise. Sometimes this means that the things the editors do may also have an alienating effect on some readers' commitment, and that in the age of social media the editors must be ready to deal with these issues in public. When Demi for example posted a photo celebrating the approval of a bill allowing same-sex marriage in Finland on Instagram and Facebook, alongside the anticipated positive feedback, they got a lot of negative comments and lost a lot of likers on both networks. "Because our target group (all Finnish girls aged between 12 and 19) is so versatile, it is impossible to please everybody. And we would not even want to. We want Demi to be influential, and that is why we take a stand even if we know it is going to provoke controversy and lead to alienating some readers," Päivi Lehtomurto says.

Things to be taken into account

1. Do not leave community building tasks to just one editor

Nowadays, turning a random visitor into a regular reader is such a relevant task for a magazine that there is hardly any point in leaving engaging with the community to just one editor. With everyone regularly being in charge of publishing on social networks, having conversations with the readers and seeing what they are commenting on, sharing and liking, it is possible for everyone on the editorial staff to find topics for stories, and get to know the readers better. This helps with targeting the audience more accurately and, based on that, making a better magazine.

2. A Community is not a shortcut

In participatory journalism and engaging with the community, there are no shortcuts. As managing editor Päivi Lehtomurto states, merely setting up a Facebook account does not equal community. Instead, there has to be communication – which may include asking questions, giving answers, calling to take part and including readers' output in the magazine. Nourishing a community takes up a lot of an editor's time, and monetizing user engagement is challenging. Therefore, it is wise to choose one's battles. Instead of trying to be everything on every possible platform, first identify your readers' needs and habits, then define

the core offering of the magazine, chose the platforms that best manifest that, and concentrate on active communication with the audience on them.

5. The (In)visible Editor

For decades, editors and the whole editing profession were invisible to readers. Hardly anyone outside a magazine office apart from other journalists knew (or cared, for that matter) whom the people behind selecting, commissioning, briefing and rewriting the pieces appearing in their favorite magazines were. The age of social media has changed this. Now, there is a new requirement for editors, too, to be on show and give a personal face and voice to the magazine for which they work.

This chapter looks into the very topical question of the personal in the work of magazine editors. It studies how the general shift toward the individual – both in culture at large and in journalism – and the increasing need for personal branding affect the role of the editor. The key questions are: is it possible, or sensible for that matter, for an editor to remain anonymous in the age of social media? Or, on the contrary, could editorial anonymity serve as much as a competitive advantage for a magazine? The chapter argues that editors, visible or invisible to the readers, are in the key position of guarding the voice of the magazine – an increasingly important task in the digital era. On the topic, I interviewed Tom Standage, deputy editor of the Economist, known for its editorial anonymity. Demi's Päivi Lehtomurto also gives her insights.

The shift toward the personal and the case of anonymous journalists

Many studies state that, in journalism, the transition in recent years has been toward the individual and away from institutions. The Internet and social media have escalated this development. The shift toward the era of the personal was identified as one of the major trends in the industry by the Project for Excellence in Journalism's State of the Media Report for 2009. The report finds that "through search, email, blogs, social media and more, consumers are gravitating to the work of individual writers and voices, and away somewhat from institutional brand." This has increased the demand for individual journalists to be on show.

However, celebrating the individual and bringing personal voices to all types of journalism is not a new phenomenon. The rise of the personal – including first-person stories, confessional columnists becoming celebrities, byline photos, and little conversational-toned pieces of text that give away some personal information about the contributors of the issue – came along long before social media. The amount of the personal in journalism started to grow with commentary, especially columns by named individuals, that expanded in newspapers in the 1960s, and the New Journalism of the 1960s and 1970s putting an increasing emphasis on the experiences of the journalist instead of persuading the reader that the piece that he

or she is reading is entirely objective reporting. As Rosalind Coward (2013) notes, an even bigger shift toward the personal was the cultural trend at-large, escalating in the 1980s, of a steadily growing preoccupation with subjectivity, identity and emotional life. It brought about dealing with personal stories, experiences and reactions in journalism, books and on television. The personal truly soared at the beginning of the 21st century, with blogging and reality TV, that are based on real-life stories told in an intimate, confiding tone (Coward, 2013).

In fact, if we go even further back in time, the history of emphasizing the role of the individual in journalism started some 150 years ago. In the US, the first signed articles emerged in newspapers in the mid-1800s and became more common in the 1890s due to the growing status of journalists. Credits – the bylines – were used to note that the piece was an opinion, written by someone famous or exceptionally talented, or in order to hold the writer accountable for the piece (Shafer, 2012). It took until the professionalization period of journalism in the 1920s and 1930s for crediting the writer to find a standard form (Garber, 2011), and even longer to became a regular practice, which occurred in the 1970s and 1980s.

Nevertheless, not all media embrace the personal. Among magazines that utilize the personal voices, faces and brands of their journalists, there is another extremity: titles that do not give even a byline for writers, but heavily rely on the institutional reputation and voice of the magazine. The most well-known is the weekly news magazine the Economist, which has published its articles anonymously since it was founded in 1843. With a combined circulation of weekly print and digital editions at around 224,000 in the UK, the Economist is the number one news magazine in Britain (Smith, 2015), and the global circulation of the magazine is roughly 1.6 million. The magazine has a niche positioning as an analytical read for a global, business-oriented crowd, and its promise to the reader is to filter the most important news of the week, save their time, tell them what to think about the news, and to do this all in a finishable form (Standage, 2015).

At the dawn of the magazine, anonymity and the first-person plural were used to cover the fact that all of the articles in the magazine were written by one person, the founding editor, James Wilson. Later, this anonymity started to serve just the opposite function: enabling "many writers to speak with a collective voice". The main reason for anonymity "is a belief that what is written is more important than who writes it" (The Economist explains itself, 2013). In a telephone interview with the deputy editor of the Economist, Tom Standage states that the most important task for a member of the magazine's editorial team is to ensure that every piece imposes the collective voice of the magazine: "It should sound like all the articles came from the same person," Standage says. According to Standage, the no-byline policy serves this purpose well. Not only does it enable every article to evoke the authority of the Economist, it also makes it easier to deliver information in a clear,

efficient form that is visible from the structure and means of expression in most of the pieces in the magazine. “If we want to write about a complex situation…we can just assert that there is a big controversy around a topic…We can assume things because of the authority we have collectively…It is part of our style that we want to deliver information very quickly to people who are in a hurry, and the editorial voice allows us to cut to the chase and get on with the interesting stuff more quickly without the stuff you would otherwise need to establish your authority.”

Standage agrees that the byline ban has downsides, too: “It makes impossible for us to hire some journalists or well-known columnists, as they are reluctant to give up their byline.” The magazine’s policy is also being regularly criticized for using anonymity to trying to create an illusion of delivering the truth rather than opinions. Journalist Jack Shafer (2012) for example argues that ”The Economist’s derives half of its editorial authority from the magazine's byline ban, which leaves readers thinking the copy was delivered from Mt. Olympus.” A byline would, according to him, make it easier to read papers critically and hold writers accountable – and help good journalists to get better jobs.

Branded journalists, branded editors

There have been famous journalist personalities since the days of Mark Twain in the late 19th century (Saarikoski, 2012), but never before have modern-day journalists had so many possibilities to express their views, communicate with their audience and promote their work beyond the pages of the media outlet for which they work. In fact, building a personal brand has become increasingly important, if not inevitable, for journalists.

During a time of mass layoffs in the media industry – the amount of full-time-reporters working for US newspapers fell from about 26,000 to roughly 17,000 between 2003 and 2013, and the number of magazine jobs in the US decreased by 26 percent in the past decade, down by 35,000 journalists (Keen, 2015; Ellis, 2014) – building yourself a name as a go-to person about a certain topic and building a community of followers on social media may be a determinant in securing a job or launching and maintaining a career as a freelance journalist (Hermida, 2009). As teacher of online journalism Mindy McAdams (2009) notes, a personal brand rests in part on authority and in part on name recognition, so becoming a brand journalist requires visibility and active participation in discussions in the field of journalists’ expertise. Brand-building may for example consist of blogging, tweeting and commenting on other’s actions around a certain topic, and promoting one’s work by sharing information and links to stories that one has written.

For the media they work for, brand journalists have value in widening the outlet's appeal and attracting a new audience (Saarikoski, 2012). However, for publishing houses, the situation is not black and white, as quite a few social media-savvy journalists have made themselves such a solid brand that this overshadows that of their medium. There have for example been arguments over journalists having built a large following on Twitter while working for a certain media company – and taking those followers with them when they move to a new employer (see e.g. Laura Kuenssberg moving from the BBC to ITV; Bradshaw, 2011).

Editors – people working around planning, commissioning and rewriting in magazines – have traditionally avoided becoming individual brands. In magazines, editors play a crucial role in creating stories – a far more profound one than in newspapers. They work on the piece with the writer all the way from generating ideas to briefing, finding the focus, rewriting, fact-checking and proofreading the article. Still, their work is invisible to the readers, and the industry policy is that editors are rarely named or credited but remain anonymous. It is the well-established writers and editors-in-chief who have traditionally been in the spotlight.

There are a few exceptions. In 2011, the New York Times Magazine made a move toward making editors more visible in the eyes of the readers by giving them a co-byline with the then-editor, Hugo Lindgren, stating: "We decided to credit editors because they live and breathe the stories they work on, and I felt that some kind of recognition was due…What makes our editors so good is they know how to do a light line editing, when that's all that's required, and they know how to wrestle something to the ground, when that's what's required…"(Reddit Q&A, 2012). At the time of writing, the recently-renewed magazine credits editors on the masthead but not in the byline of the stories. In giving the editor a co-byline, the New York Times Magazine stood quite alone. The magazine's move, according to journalist Jack Shafer (2011), "reflect[ed] the growing fetishization of credit-making and -taking in our culture," and can be seen as a vanity project of editors wanting finally to get their share of the glory that is usually reserved for writers. On the other hand, it can be considered as an effort to increase transparency and accountability in magazine journalism, in which the editor plays an essential role: like writers, every editor, too, has a voice, style and a take on journalism all of their own (Garber, 2011), and that has an effect on every story they edit. At the very least, giving the editor a byline is in line with the zeitgeist of the social media age that focuses heavily on individuals and the personal.

Even though the age of the individual has not largely affected the way in which magazine editors are credited for their conventional job, the stories they work on with the writer, social media have nevertheless changed the game for editing personnel and multiplied the ways in which they can make themselves heard and

seen. Social networks have provided not only writers but editors, too with a tool to promote their work by "adding on a digital byline" (Standage, 2015). Editors can now tweet on the pieces they have been working on, and build themselves a name as experts by actively participating in discussions on topics around their professional interests.

In order to promote their career, becoming a widely-known brand is hardly as crucial for editors as it is for writers. They, unlike writers, do not attract readers with their byline. Nevertheless, actively taking part in discussions and showing their expertise on social media is likely to be a good career move for the future for an editor, too. Tom Standage states that it is wise for any journalist to have a presence on Twitter, but only if that presence is genuine. "I am an author, as well and I tend to tweet about the same sort of stuff my books are about. So it is not a cynical ploy by me to perpetuate a brand image – it is because I am interested in the subject anyway and that is why I write books about it. My online presence is genuinely a reflection of what I am interested in…I think [there is] a problem when people are forced to do things they don't want to do. There is nothing worse than a person who is forced to tweet…but their heart is not in it."

Editors as faces of the magazine

The era of the personal not only means that editors are able to build their own brands on social media. Several studies show that, when it comes to social media and sharing, there is great value in the individual author (see e.g. Sutcliffe, 2014). Instead of appearing as an impersonal institution, many magazine brands utilize their journalists' faces and voices to make the stories more personal, and gain more attention from readers. This means that even those among the editorial staff who used to be invisible are becoming familiar to readers across social media networks.

In order to pursue the reader-magazine relationship, in many magazines, the editors' tasks now include providing glimpses on social media into their "everyday work." An example from Instagram (in April, 2015): a woman in the photo wears sunglasses and holds a plastic card with a text *"Access to all areas."* The text beneath says *"Ready for one of our favorite shows @Chloe #AccessAllAreas for our Beauty Director @alexsteinherr."* This is an editor of Glamour magazine doing her job: going to a fashion show and giving an instant, personal report to Glamour's 130,000 followers on the magazine's official Instagram account.

For magazines, the emergence of online platforms has made it possible to engage with the audience in new ways. Due to the nature of social media being based on two-way communication rather than top-down monologues, and favoring individuals over institutions, the work of journalists has widened to producing

interactive content on social media platforms with a highly personal approach. This includes editors, too, and has made their role as experts in their special areas more visible to the readers than before. Depending on the nature of the magazine, new tasks might for example include a beauty editor holding a make-up-tip-chat with the readers; a sub-editor answering readers' language-related questions on Twitter; and a community editor writing about his or her personal experiences on the topic at hand when encouraging the readers to share their views. The point is to gain reader engagement – an impersonal magazine institution having a conversation with the audience would not fit the conventions of communication on social networks very well.

Editors widely acknowledge the power of individuals on social media – to the extent that not being able to utilize it may prove a problem. Päivi Lehtomurto, managing editor of Demi teenage girls' magazine, states: "We do realize the power of individual brands on social media, but unfortunately it does not work for us. It would be great for example to be able to post staff selfies on Instagram, because that is the way people use the platform…But the thing is we cannot use editors as the faces of the magazine the same way many women's magazines do, because our staff are 10-20 years older than our readers, so it would be hard for the readers to identify with us." However, when starting discussions with the readers on the magazine's website, the staff always uses their individual usernames, such as "Demi_Päivi" rather than the more official "Demi," as it makes the communication more personal.

Nevertheless, not every magazine uses their editors as the faces of the magazine in order to make their message more personal and approachable on social media. At the Economist, the anonymity of the editors and writers has been an outlining principle for the magazine since the beginning. Moreover, the field and approach of the magazine and the nature of the reader-magazine relationship do not necessarily call for as dynamic interaction with the audience as that of for example Demi. However, social networks have caused traditions to fray around the edges, and a hint of an individual touch has sneaked in: Tom Standage states that blog posts written by the staff now carry the writer's initials as, in blogs, journalists may use first-person narratives and express personal opinions, and identifying the writer makes it possible for the staff to argue with each other in comments. In addition, every month, roughly, the Economist arranges Q&A sessions and chats on Twitter, Facebook or Reddit, where expert editors lead reader discussions on current topics such as the Middle East and the situation in Ukraine (in winter 2015). On these occasions, the editors are not speaking anonymously and under the collective voice of the Economist, but as individuals. Still, the Economist's almost fully anonymous approach online differs from that of most magazines.

These days, utilizing the brand value of well-established individual journalists

is likely to attract extra clicks and audience for a magazine on the web. So, is the Economist taking a risk by not naming its editors? Unlikely. The Economist's brand is over 170 years old and has prestige in the areas in which it operates – probably much more than any individual editor has. Due to that, the magazine has been able to maintain its policy to remain 'institution first,' even in the age of the personal.

Furthermore, Päivi Lehtomurto – managing editor at a magazine that embraces the idea of being as friendly and easily approachable to their readers as possible – also states that Demi's readers identify and connect with the magazine brand more than the staff. "And I think that is a good thing, because the brand comes first. Writers and editors may change job, but the magazine brand stays."

Editors delivering the voice of the magazine

As Mart Ots (discussed in Saarikoski, 2012) notes, in a world with endless opportunities, people tend to stay with the brands they trust. In the digital age, magazines face fierce competition with regard to readers' time and attention. That is why building a solid brand is crucial for magazines in order to survive. Furthermore, with a presence on several platforms, along with introducing magazine websites that heavily rely on user-generated content instead of that strictly produced and gatekept by editors – such as in Demi's case – magazines more than ever need a strong core that keeps all of the manifestations of the brand together. The key: a recognizable, consistent voice.

The voice of the magazine not only includes the house tone but also the core values, and the angles and approaches the magazine takes on issues in stories. At the Economist, a recognizable, uniform voice is an underlying principle – so much so that deputy editor Tom Standage names imposing it the most important task for a member of the editorial team. Whereas most magazines welcome a certain amount of different voices from different personalities for an issue to be lively, at the Economist, editors ensure that every piece should sound like it came from the same person. Standage states that, even setting up a presence on social media, where the tone is usually more informal than in stories, has not meant that the institutional, uniform voice of the magazine has changed. In fact, he argues that the Economist's voice is quite well-suited for distributing stories. "Maybe [the voice of the magazine] is a little bit snarkier [on social media] mainly because of the brevity…but we have always had a sense of humor…and that sense of humor actually works quite well for social media."

Heavily concentrating on the voice can also have a profound effect on the way in which the editorial team goes about their work. Tom Standage suggests that speaking in a single voice makes the Economist "a collective effort". In his opinion,

at the Economist, the line between writers and editors is thinner than it usually is, as almost everyone among the staff of about 90 wears two hats: they write, edit and proofread articles. “It is not uncommon that several writers and editors contribute to one piece.”

Demi’s Päivi Lehtomurto, too, names the guarding of the brand on various platforms as an integral part of the editors’ job. Editors make sure that the house tone and appropriate topics and take on issues are uniform and in line with the brand. According to Lehtomurto, the voice comes very naturally for the permanent staff but must be highlighted for all newcomers. She states that, at Demi, the question of the house tone emerges most clearly when someone outside the editorial staff takes over the magazine’s official social media account – a regular procedure in lifestyle magazines nowadays. “For example, this spring a famous actor hosted Demi’s Instagram account for a while. On these occasions, we give the person very clear instructions [on the tone and proper content to post under the name of the magazine], and also make sure that the readers know who is posting and why.”

Editors have always been the ones who define the quality and voice of the magazine by working with the writer and giving stories their final shape. The Internet has not changed this – merely made the task more multifaceted. However, editors now increasingly work with freelancers, as there are fewer core staff employed by magazines than before (Holmes and Nice, 2012). This situation even more than before emphasizes the editor’s role in delivering the precise house tone. The core of magazine editors’ work remains the same: they are there to create and guard the element that makes the magazine recognizable to the readers and stand out from the rivals.

Things to be taken into account

1. Find a healthy balance between approachability and authority

In times when everybody is trying to get their own personal voice heard, anonymity and relying on an institution over individuals can be a distinctive factor for a magazine. Despite possible differences in the reader-magazine relationship and the positioning of the magazine, The Economist’s (almost) anonymous approach is something other consumer magazines could adopt on the web, at least to an extent. In a world filled with individuals with opinions, using a uniform voice of an institution may not alienate the audience but evoke clarity and authority. Sometimes, the promise to provide answers instead of being easily approachable might be exactly what people want, even from a magazine that wants to ”be the reader’s friend.”

2. The visibility of editors is not merely a perk for a magazine

Moreover, speaking as an institution highlights the meaning of the magazine brand instead of individuals among the editorial staff. That may turn out to be a wise move in the process of strengthening the brand – which is nowadays crucial for magazines’ survival. Besides, heavily relying on individual editors’ faces and voices has its risks: the followers may vanish if a well-liked editor changes job.

6. Conclusions

"Rethinking the magazine as a unified "storehouse" of value is a nice starting point for brainstorming new ways for magazines to create pleasure and value for their audiences across different media. In the hands of a strong magazine editor, myriad platforms just offer more ways of packing that storehouse with endless goodies."

Barbara Rowlands (The Guardian, 2013)

In this paper, I have classified and examined four editorial roles that, in my opinion, best manifest different aspects of the changes that magazine editors are undergoing in their daily work. These roles are the commercial editor, the digital editor, the community editor and the (in)visible editor. Due to the nature of media convergence that blurs the boundaries between platforms, formats of content, and departments in publishing houses, these roles heavily overlap each other. The areas of change are manifested differently in magazines with different positioning and readership, but, in general, all four are present in most magazines. Furthermore, some recent changes covered in this paper – such as issues around editorial integrity when it comes to commercial and PR-driven content, and the credibility and trustworthiness of everything a magazine publishes online – concern the whole media industry and all journalists, whereas some areas of change are very specific to magazine editors' everyday work.

Compared to the situation ten years ago for example, when magazine editing for most editors equaled commissioning, revising, fact checking and proofreading for print – as well as maybe occasionally publishing something on the web – the work is much more multifaceted. Now, magazine editors have to, for example:

Embrace a new attitude: To think of their magazine as a multi-platform brand instead of one print or digital entity; be able to break out of department silos and move across editorial, marketing, technical and commercial; invite readers to practice participatory journalism; and give up their invisibility.

Master new, tech-related skills including photography, making video and podcasts, blogging, tweeting, analysing data and being savvy in terms of how people use different devices and platforms.

Take extra care over accuracy, credibility and transparency due to increases in both aggregated and commercial-driven content.

After a close assessment of all of the discussions, interviews and reading I have

done on the topic, I find three areas of change that should be highlighted. Editors as managers, commissioners, rewriters, and therefore controllers of the brand voice are at the core of the whole magazine. Thus I suggest that these are the most crucial issues to emphasize in magazine editors' work at the moment in order to make the whole magazine thrive. The following can be considered as a checklist for those who already edit a successful multi-platform magazine, or a guideline for those who still have some way to go.

1. Build a community

- The editor's ability to add value to users is increasingly important. With the oversupply of free content, to turn a random visitor into a regular reader requires more than top-quality content. Community building works for magazines in two ways: giving the audience a possibility to comment on, share and talk about the content, participate in creating stories and engaging with other readers or the editorial staff on social platforms increases their engagement as well as creates a buzz around the magazine. For editors, engaging with the readers gives valuable information on their needs, and thus helps to target content more accurately, and thus stay relevant. The more the reader feels the brand speaks to them, the more likely they will be to subscribe to the magazine, attend events or in some other way pay for content.

- However, there are no shortcuts, as community building takes more than just setting up a Facebook account. The key: know your niche, and tailor the package accordingly. For a teenage girls' magazine, participatory journalism and editors asking and answering questions are a must; for a news magazine, community building might for example include supporting the readers' sense of being in the know and belonging to an exclusive club.

- Do not aim for small victories such as one-off stories that create traffic spikes – they only last for a while but do not create long-term value.

2. Be clear about sponsored content

- Being the most promising new ad revenue source for digital journalism, getting native advertising right may be the most crucial task for magazines in the near future. The situation urgently calls for uniform guidelines on how to label native advertising, and who produces it.

  With commercial and editorial coming closer together, editors are going to deal with more sponsored content in the foreseeable future. If editors do not take part in shaping practices and guidelines, someone else will decide for

them. For good recommendations, turn for example to ASME (2013). After establishing guidelines for transparency, explicitly communicate the practices to the audience, as reader trust that derives from editorial integrity is the greatest asset of magazines compared to their rivals online. The same goes for all new revenue sources and areas where editorial clashes with commercial with yet un-established editorial policies.

- It is also recommendable that the media's self-regulatory boards should take a clear stand on the issue, so that publishing houses, magazines and individual editors are not left to make decisions on their own.

3. Edit to reach the reader

With multiple platforms and constant deadlines, it is inevitable that magazines now have less time to devote to editing than used to be the case. Concentrate on the following:

- It is a beautiful thought that quality content matters. It does, but just as important is to know how to reach your reader. At the moment, social sharing is becoming the major driver for traffic for websites, so immediately after editing an accurate and well-written story that manifests the voice and values of your magazine, edit for shareability. Sadly enough, there is no uniform formula for creating a shareable story. Combine the brand values, your knowledge of the readers' preferences and online behavior, and carefully look at the metrics when finding the best possible headlines and framings in terms of shareability. Be prepared to change the emphasis – trends change quickly.

- With more platforms and less staff to produce stories, develop solid editorial processes that make it possible to do more with the content, i.e. processing a story for multiple platforms and uses. Discussions on what to do with the content should be held at the front-end of the commissioning process.

- Even in times of a steady daily publishing stream, do not underestimate the power of a weekly or monthly edition. As Tom Standage states, it still has high value: whether in print or online, instead of having to find all of the stories separately online, you are serving the reader by offering a finishable entity, carefully selected by editors. A print edition can bring prestige to a magazine brand, as well. On a smaller scale, try a daily newsletter that gives the essential picks of the day in an easily digestible form.

What next?

"It's not as though this is the first time the media have faced huge technological change…When you are around and this is happening, it's the biggest thing but [the internet] is just an invention after all…And history tells us that every time there is a new technology, people always say it's the end of the previous media, yet it has never been…We're simply far too adaptable and that's true of magazine journalists, perhaps more than any other print media, because they have always been so much braver creatively and have already made such great strides toward bringing the internet and the print media together"

Cole, 2009 (discussed in Holmes and Nice, 2012)

The pains of being a magazine editor mainly derive from Internet-driven economic pressure: ad revenues and circulations for print magazines have declined, and those from digital do not compensate for these losses. In addition, competition for the reader's time is tough. However, there are good prospects for magazines, as well. In the future, with media consumption habits changing, there is going to be an even bigger demand for well-written, thoroughly-edited content that is carefully targeted at a niche (Abrahamson, 2009). This is something that magazines are very good at – and that has always been at the core of the magazine editors' job.

In addition, print will survive, as ludentic reading (i.e. reading for pleasure) is increasing (Abrahamson, 2009), and even digital outlets and commercial brands are launching print issues for prestige. So by no means is the job of magazine editors changing totally and losing the traditional tasks of careful rewriting, proofreading and so on. In many ways, magazine editors already have all the possibilities to make their medium thrive: due to the nature of consumer magazines, editors have been thinking about the audience's needs, addressing these accurately and creating a sense of being a part of a community long before the digital age. Now, they only have to take the idea to several platforms: social networks, live events, and practices of participatory journalism, to name but a few. Magazine brands that are passionately cared about and trusted by their audience can survive and thrive.

Anderson et al (2012) state that one side effect of the ongoing automation in newsrooms is the declining value and utility of the role of editors. However, they note that "[v]isionaries at the top of organizations will still set the tone and editorial direction for brands, and perhaps each topic will have a specialist editor." I argue that this is true for magazines, as well. The variety of editors' tasks and roles has broadened, and the amount of conventional editing as most people know it – including commissioning, communicating with the reporter, revising and

proofreading – decreased. Nevertheless, the core remains: the editor is the one who ensures that every story is carefully targeted to the reader of just this particular magazine. S/he ensures the quality and manages the recognizable voice of everything published under the magazine brand, on whichever platform. It is more important than ever to have a guardian of the brand, and therefore editors are even more crucial to magazines than they used to be.

In the end, everything has changed – and nothing has changed.

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