The Future of the New Media Economy

*Exploring **the entanglement of advertising and journalism** professionals via the phenomenon of native advertising*

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between journalism and advertising from the individual professional's perspective. In-depth qualitative interviews with a total of eleven individuals currently working in Sweden or Denmark as either journalists or advertising, marketing and public relations professionals have been conducted, in which native advertisements have been shown and discussed. This has been done in order to explore the entangling identities of advertising and journalism professionals within the state of the new media industry.

Native advertising is the digital development of advertising techniques, like the advertorial, that have been used in traditional print newspapers for many years. Native advertising is used by almost all brand and company types, however this thesis will be directing its attention to native advertisements being published on traditional news publishers' online websites. What makes native advertising so pertinent is found in its name: native. The advertisement is written and designed to have the look and feel of an editorial article typically found on that particular news publisher's website.

There is the tendency in existing literature on native advertising to focus on the audience, or the readers. Studies are therefore focusing on how the readers feel when reading such articles in their news, as well as studying how well disclosure practices are being perceived by audience members. However, this study will be focusing on the producers behind it - on the professionals' own thoughts and reactions towards this relatively new advertising strategy, as well as how they view themselves within the political economy of new media.

Following a thematic content analysis that departs from the theory of discursive psychology, and drawing upon the analytical tool of the interpretative repertoire, the results from this study suggest that both professional groups' identities are becoming more fluid as a result of media and technology, that native advertising is viewed as only one facet of the threat to journalism, and finally, that the intense amount of competition felt on both sides is the driving force behind this entanglement of practices. And the latter is what appears to be the direction that the political economy of new media is already moving towards.

Keywords: Marketization of Journalism, Native Advertising, Political Economy of Media, Democracy, Professional Identity, Interpretative Repertoires

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1. Introduction

"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them." - Thomas Jefferson (1787)

There are many who have read or heard this quote before from the principal author of the Declaration of Independence and later elected third President of the newly founded United States of America (Online Library of Liberty, 2018). And what makes it resonate with one's self is the clear statement of the absolute need for journalism to exist in a democratic society, as well as each and every citizen being able to read and understand their news. This romantic idea of the freedom of the press still is regularly being portrayed in novels and films, but, as all things do, journalism has progressed and changed throughout time.

In modern times, the introduction of the Internet made the state of journalism change drastically. And 'while many […] enthuse about this new world of information is having an immensely positive impact on everything from personal development to the character of our civilization, other voices, […] argue that it is undermining our capacity to think, read, and remember' (Dahlgren, 2013: 34). And this is not the only concern being presented. In combination with the Internet, market dynamics have revised themselves as well, and 'as economistic values seep into and put price tags on just about all areas of human life, derailing the foundations for democratic political discussion', one must stop and think about the future (Dahlgren, 2013: 12). There now exists 'an ongoing struggle for a balanced relationship between individual and collective, between people-as-consumers and people-as-citizens, between freedom and responsibility' (Sousa, Murdoch & Wasko, 2011: 291).

1.1 The New Media Landscape

The effects of the emergence and continuous development of the Web 2.0 can be seen in all aspects of life - socially, culturally, politically and economically. And arguably one such consequence is one of the most evident: advertising and marketing methods. In the past, compa-

nies predominately would have had advertisements displayed on billboards, in magazines and catalogs, seen on television and heard on the radio. While these mediums are still in use today, the Internet has allowed for the development and explosion of new methods of advertising, which can be distributed to a much larger group than ever possible before. In conjunction with these new online methods of advertising, there exists an increasing use of 'paid attempts to influence audiences for commercial benefit using communications that project a non-commercial character (Balasubramanian: 1994 quoted in Nebenzahl & Jaffe, 1998:805-806). Native advertising is one such strategy.

1.2 What is Native Advertising?

While most of the population is familiar with banner and pop-up ads suddenly appearing on the webpage of a given website, native ads are much more problematic to figure out. Native advertising, similarly known as content marketing or branded content, is material online that 'looks like a news story, feature article, product review, entertainment, [or an] other kind of "editorial" content but a brand marketer may have written the piece or paid for the placement' (Mudge & Shaheen, 2017:9). Native advertising is not entirely new but it has undergone a digital transformation, take for example advertorials in newspapers, infomercials, and product or brand placement in television series and movies (Balasubramanian, 1994). What makes native advertising unique is its dominance throughout the Internet since the 2010s, whether it is concerning digital media companies like Buzzfeed who have built their entire business model on sponsored content or being featured on all social media platforms at one point or another (Manalo, 2014). And what's more, native ads are regularly appearing as full length features on trusted newspaper websites, for example *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *The Atlantic* in the United States.

Regarding the use of native advertisements in traditional online news sources, many would thus argue that this use of a "disguise" raises the 'ethical question as to whether consumer autonomy is lessened by the fact that vital information (about the fact of paid sponsorship) is being withheld' (Nebenzahl & Jaffe, 1998: 806). More specifically, readers (or the in case of a native advert - potential consumers) 'may be led to believe the veracity of messages when

they are communicated by a media source that is taken to be independent of a commercial sponsor' as the brand or product is embedded in the content and as a result are not always aware of this persuasion (Nebenzahl & Jaffe, 1998: 808; Nelson, 2008: 113).

1.1.2 Native Advertising in Modern Times

The use of native advertising has grown substantially in recent times, and is projected to only grow more in the upcoming years. This is reflected in a joint study from the Native Advertising Institute and International News Media Association which conducted 156 interviews with news media executives in 48 countries, which reported in 2015, that only 30% of these companies were selling no native advertising solutions at all but that number is expected to shrink to just 6% this year (ICC 2015). The method of labeling a native advertisement with either "featured content", "sponsored content", "suggested post" or " promoted content" are several of the common disclosure techniques used by many news media publishers. However, the same study found that '7% of the news media publishers do not label native advertising at all' as well as in the magazine industry, where '11% of respondents in a survey published earlier this year said they do not label native advertising at all' (2016: 6). The numbers seem small, but what needs to be clarified is that these numbers simply recognize the amount of publishers not disclosing anything. With this growth of native ads, many countries have proposed legislation in order to protect consumers from being easily deceived. The guidelines presented by the ICC, or International Chamber of Commerce, act as the groundwork for industry self-regulation in regards to native advertising (ICC, 2015). But what about the newspapers that disclose at the very minimum? Or make their disclosure statement less visible by making the text smaller or using a less legible color? Even though something *technically* has been marked, it does not necessarily mean that a reader is aware of the content being promotional.

1.2 Justification

This type of in-depth research into a new phenomena of the entanglement of advertising and journalism by the way of professional insight, will provide a basis of understanding and guidance of the developments of media and its repercussions moving forward. As a society, we 'need to [be able to] foster an understanding of pressures towards the commodification of

new media and its consequences for the way in which power is distributed through the material conditions of the capitalist system' (Mansell, 2004: 102). In order to achieve this, there needs to be 'a revitalization of a political economy of new media, an agenda that would also highlight issues of citizenship and democracy, governance and globalization' (Mansell, 2004: 102). The results will contribute to the understanding of the need for this revitalization as the knowledge of continuously developing trends in journalism, advertising, and trust in the democratic establishment that is the press will be examined via the professional lens. Potentially, the data and conclusions made in this dissertation will uncover an understanding of how brand marketers and the like are using the strategy of native advertising to meet the ultimate goal of turning audiences into customers, in addition to both professional groups' thoughts on using native ads as a means of economic gains. Furthermore, it is highly important for society as a whole to not only be aware of this relatively new and continuously reinventing method of advertising and promotion, but to also be able to distinguish the advertisement from the article. The design of this dissertation with its professional interviews, will be a useful addition to the existing audience studies conducted on the practice of native advertising (Howe & Teufel, 2014; Cole II & Greer, 2013; Wojdynski, 2016a).

1.2.1 Research Questions

This dissertation will be concerning the continually growing entanglement of journalism and advertisement. By asking 'How do publishers (i.e. journalists vs. advertisers) consider the continuous rise of the native advertising practice?', I want to discover how native advertising is perceived in regards to democracy and civic participation, as 'the [traditional] role of journalism extends beyond the basic goals of providing correct and relevant information: it must also touch us, inspire us, and nourish our daily democratic horizons' (Dahlgren, 2010, pg. 4).

The research questions are:

RQ1: How can we understand professionals' reactions and considerations generated by native advertisements?

RQ2: How much value can be placed on strategies like native advertising are a threat to journalism?

RQ3: How can the professionals' considerations of the phenomenon of native advertising be representational of the future political economy of new media?

1.3 Delimitations

The study is delimited to a Scandinavian context. Meaning that all professionals that partook in this dissertation are currently working in either Sweden or Denmark. The native advertisement in question (i.e. the elicitation), the sponsoring company and the publisher used in the interviews are all either Swedish, Danish, or American, based on the respective individual's native language and/or country of profession.

The use and practice of native advertising is increasing rapidly and currently encompasses a wide variation of advertising formats. In order to conceptualize the scope of this study, the native ads utilized are delimited to sponsored full-length articles on traditional online news sites. All of the articles had been published within a time span of five years, as well being ranked in the top ten most read publishers of either the United States, Sweden or Denmark.

While the study is conducted on professionals working in Scandinavia, native advertising practices, as well as the regulations that apply to them (as the examples provided in Section 1.1.2), are similar across geographical locations. Thus, the results in this dissertation can be assumed to be comparable in a more global setting.

1.4 Dissertation Outline

The problematization, purpose and aim of this study will be considered using qualitative professional interviews with the experimental element of a native advertisement as elicitation. The relationship between professional identity construction, thoughts on the media economy in relation to advertising and journalism, and perceived attitudes on the content and practice

of native ads are examined. This dissertation follows a thematic content analysis that departs from the theory of discursive psychology, drawing upon the analytical tool of the *interpretative repertoire*. This paper comprises of five chapters: (1) Introduction, (2) Literature Review and Theory, (3) Methodological Design, (4) Analysis and Findings, and (5) Discussion. The main findings are discussed in relation to the overall aim and managerial implications, as well as suggestions for future research being presented.

2. The Evolution of New Media and its Professionals

In order to gain a better understanding of how this topic is being approached, this chapter provides the reader with a summary of literature on the critical political economy of the new media and concepts of importance for this study. It mainly draws upon the notions of the marketization of journalism, civic participation in connection with the entity of journalism, and professional identity construction. The chapter begins with a short overview of the political economy and its evolution with the introduction of continuously developing new media. The chapter then moves to mapping out what is known thus far about the two professional groups concerned in this study's identity construction and ends with an explanation of the theory being used in analyzing the empirical data gathered for this study, as well as positioning this dissertation within existing literature concerning similar themes or issues.

2.1 The Political Media Economy

The political economy has been a major perspective in communication research starting in the 1940s, and continues to grow amongst researchers and scholars around the world today (Cao and Zhao quoted in Mosco, 2007). Research on the political economy has started to shift from its original focus of the examination of 'how power operates in older media to a variety of approaches in media, especially the Internet' but continues to analyze the similarities and continuations between old and new media, of course incorporating how the dominant players are using both to be profitable (Mosco: 2009, 9-10). Professor of sociology and communication,Vincent Mosco, provides an excellent definition of what the political economy is by stating it is the study of the social relations, particularly power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resource, including commu-

nication resources. This definition draws attention to how the communications business operates, as well as encouraging us to think about 'what it means to be a producer, distributor, or consumer, and to appreciate the growing ambiguity about what constitutes these categories' (2009: 2).

Latching on to the previous concern with the meaning behind producers, distributors and consumers, from *The Handbook of Political Economy of Communication*, comes the impactful statement that 'the communications industries play a central double role in modern societies, as industries in their own right and the major site of the representations and arenas of debate through which the overall system is imagined and argued over' (Wasko, Murdock & Sousa, 2011: 2). Thus, the political economy of communication is the 'pivotal linking mechanism that simultaneously engineers consumption to match production' (Farone, 2011: 189). And the political economy of communication is, and will continue to be, a central aspect of understanding the relationship between culture, communications, and democracy (Wasko Murdock & Sousa, 2011: 2) in this current state of the volatile media industry.

What do I mean by volatile? As capitalism and marketization are more global than ever before, there should be no surprise to see an ever increasing tension between private interest and public good (Wasko, Murdock & Sousa, 2011: 3). This increase of marketization directly coincides with the spread of the Internet, as well as new 'strategies for incorporating popular creativity into revenue generation' (Wasko, Murdock & Sousa, 2011: 4). With the entry rate of new dot coms exponentially growing, the need for the political economy of *new* communication, or *new media* arises. The political economy of new media is a synthesis of past and current contributions to the political economy of media and communications 'concerned with symbolic form, meaning and action as it is with structures of power and institutions', in addition to 'the consequences for consumers and citizens' (Mansell, 2004: 98-99). With this concept of the political economy of new media in mind, it is easy to see that advertisements, sponsored content and public relations 'has become ever more entwined with political communication, thereby further blurring the distinctions between journalism and non-journalism', and for many scholars, 'this ongoing marketization presents one of the largest threats to the

persistence of journalism as an institution of cultural and civic production' (Dahlgren, 2010: 6 & Rosenkranz, 2016: 54).

2.1.1 Technology: the Threat of Journalism?

Historically, journalism has played a key role in democracies around the globe, by helping the citizenry stay informed on matters of public performance and maintaining a system of informed governance (Pavlik, 2011: 99). And in conjunction with Pavlik's description of the purpose of the press, the journalism that is based on these traditional liberal ideas about democracy and citizenship concocts the vision of reports on real events, with a journalist re-laying the story independently from external players. This concept of autonomy is being threatened by the reorganization of news production as a result of market principles, as well as a journalist's seemingly double dependency on economics and politics (Rosenkranz, 2016: 55).

Most newspapers have been watching their circulation turn into a continuously negative slop-ing line since the mid 1960s, when the television entered the households of the average fami-ly, and with it, televised news in Westernized societies (Davies, 2006 quoted in Pavlik, 2011: 96). With the rise of new media such as broadband, wireless Internet, and increasingly so-phisticated mobile technology, it leaves one thinking how the future of the political media economy in this digital age will pan out? Unfortunately, 'the delicate balance between public responsibility and private profit has been steadily tipping in favor of the latter' (Dahlgren, 2010: 5).

This explosion of technology has provided consumers with a constant source to news and en-tertainment, and with it - advertisements. More than 2/3 of all domestic news revenue comes from advertising, roughly coming out to the insane amount of $43 million for U.S. news pa-pers from 2014 report (Pew Research Center, 2014). And in Sweden, the daily newspaper ad-vertising revenue in the past year was 1,149 million kronor for city newspapers and 2,378 million kronor for local newspapers (Statistia, 2018). This is a clear indication that news and its distribution is falling more and more into the hands of business people, who have little to

none experience or exposure to the traditions and ethics of journalism, or being the "the watchdog" of communities (Dahlgren, 2010: 6). Just take a look at the current situation in Italy, where Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's family have control of the country's top three national TV channels as well as maintaining a close watch on the "public service" national broadcaster as head of the government (Pavli, 2010). A worst case scenario of course, but one could draw the connections between Berlusconi's partisan control of the media to the same potentiality of an advertising agency to a specific news outlet.

But this is because, and isn't unfamiliar to most, 'high quality journalism is no longer a guaranteed formula for financial solvency' (Dahlgren, 2004: 11). Clearly this is a monumental issue, as just in the United States alone, more than 50 million Americans obtain news from the Web daily (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2006) and about 1/4 of all Americans claim that the Internet is their main source of news (Pew Research Center, 2005). And of course, this has not gone unnoticed elsewhere. Advertisers and marketers have 'fled newspapers and other traditional media to place their advertising in more efficient new media' (Pavlik, 2011: 96).

Advertising appearing in conjunction with journalistic work is nothing new, and neither is the ethical concern the practice raises as 'from the days of the penny presses, when publishers began to understand the robust profit that could be earned through advertising, scholars have often argued that commercial interests can have both direct and indirect effects on journalism' (Bagdikian, 2004; Baldasty, 1992; McManus, 1994 quoted in Schauster, Ferrucci & Neill: 2016, 1410), but 'this influence is the antithesis of what the press needs to produce: journalism that fosters democracy' (Christians et al., 2009 quoted in Schauster, Ferrucci & Neill, 2016: 1410). As covered in the introduction of this dissertation, native advertisements have come about as a result of news going digital, and it too manifests these same concerns. Where it differs, again, is its ability to look like content produced by journalists - and sometimes it even is. Many argue that it is this aspect of the strategy which is so threatening to journalism's credibility, while the specific advertisement in turn is using the credibility of journalism in order to be a highly effective promotion. But as native advertising 'generates revenue not only for the publisher but also for the agency and advertiser', it puts journalists and publish-

ers between a rock and a hard place and here is where the lines between the two entities, journalism and advertising, begin to blur (Schauster, Ferrucci & Neill, 2016: 1416). But is this blurring only portrayed in the content produced and published in online news publications or it is manifested in the professionals themselves?

2.2 Professional Identities within the Era of New Media

The study of media production, and in turn media producers or professionals, can be seen starting in the 1930s with the analysis of propaganda and continuously spreading throughout the years to mass media texts, media commodities entering into daily life and many more (Mayer, Banks & Caldwell, 2009: 2). Production studies focus of gathering data on the complexities of routines and rituals, technologies, and the economic and political factors that shapes professional roles, and then use these findings in order to formulate social theory (Mayer, Banks & Caldwell, 2009: 4). Following this aspect of media production studies, and before delving into the professional roles of journalists and advertisers within the political economy of new media, is it important for the reader to have a general definition of professional identity which can be defined as 'one's professional self-concept based on attributes, beliefs, values, motives and experiences' (Ibarra, 1999; Schein, 1978 quoted in Slay & Smith, 2011: 85). An individual's personal identity is heavily influenced from a multitude of factors, but the highlight for this study is the factor of career success, as 'this association is especially important for contemporary careers that are characterized by shifting boundaries in occupational, organizational, national and global arrangements' (Slay & Smith, 2011: 86). Furthermore, 'role identity research emphasizes the need that individuals have to establish a relatively stable and positive sense of self-definition (Erez & Early, 1993 quoted in Thurlow, 2009).

As stated in Section 2.1.1, lines between journalism and media are being blurred, particularly when it comes to advertising and sponsored content. And this blurring is a result of modernity - '[m]odernity [that] displaces, disturbs, deconstructs and redeploys; that is its nature, and any social structure with a nature like that must produce a fragmenting environment for personal life', meaning the construction of the self, an identity (Frosh, 1991: 191). Which stirs up the questions: What does it mean to be a journalist? Why have we as a society come to trust them

so? How are they different from marketers, advertisers and PR professionals? How and in what ways have the professional identities of journalists evolved? The next two sections provide insights into self-concept based professional identities for the two groups concerned in this dissertation.

2.2.1 Who is a journalist nowadays?

Beginning with the work of Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman via the method of survey, which consisted of telephone calls approximately 50 minutes in duration of a 1,313 person national sample of all kinds of journalists - radio, daily and weekly papers, broadcasters, etc. - comes a thorough report on journalists' sociological portrait (1976). Keep in mind, this study was conducted over forty years ago, with the state of journalism and media industry being quite different from now. However, what is interesting for this dissertation, is Johnstone *et al* found that journalism tends to lose a fair amount of young talent quite early, as well as journalists being just as fond of high salaries as any other profession and really strive for the name of a highly regarded news organization to reflect their name and work (Roscho, 1977: 424). Shortly after, an updated version of the same study was produced by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986), with similar insights into the "best and brightest" journalists leaving the field due to low pay or receiving a position with more job autonomy. Furthermore, this direct quote from Johnstone *et al* comes as almost a premonition of the situation of today: "The news media will have to face the issue [i.e. computers] head on if they hope to retain their more lively and potentially more promising young talent" (quoted in Roscho, 1977: 424-25). Technology was even seen as a threat in the late 1970s.

The culture of this newly digital and capitalist era is the driving force behind the restricting of journalistic work, with scenarios such as the increase in outsourcing and freelancing, as well as the ongoing debate of *who*? Exactly who can be considered a journalist in modern times, as almost anyone with a mobile phone that has a camera and data can "report" on live events (Dahlgren, 2004: 8)? It's a widely accepted viewpoint that journalism, and journalists, play an important role in 'forming the concepts, images and belief systems used to interpret the world' (Sousa & Fidalgo, 2011: 238). Returning back to this turbulent state of the political

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media economy of new media, a report from the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2004) concluded that 'the increasing availability of news and information from both legitimate and illegitimate sources "makes the demand for the journalists as referee, watchdog, and inter-preter all the greater"' (Cassidy, 2007: 145). Looking at journalists as the watchdog, or the gate keepers, for societies has 'been labeled an effective conceptual approach to studying on-line journalism' (Cassidy, 2006: 6) And many researchers find understanding the individual level of a professional journalist is highly important as their unique personal and political characteristics are viewed as a great influencer of media content (Cassidy, 2006: 7). As for example, from a case study of three newspapers' online personnel, evidence was found that online journalists view their gatekeeping roles as evolving with the introduction of the Inter-net (Singer, 1998). This evolution is seen in another case study concerning travel journalists in the U.S., by analyzing the shift in boundaries of ethics and journalistic practice (Rosenkranz, 2016). It is clear that we should start paying close attention to how journalists are acting on the friction that has developed as a result of technology with entrepreneurial opportunities exponentially on the rise.

2.2.2 Advertisers, Marketers, and PR: the creative businessmen

The world of advertising has always been a tricky one to navigate from all angles. Even aca-demics have difficulties with the practice because, in order to have success in their careers, students must be taught to produce advertising in the way that the market conditions of the present day demands (Farone, 2011: 204). From the conclusion of a qualitative interview study conducted by Schauster, Ferrucci and Neill, it was argued that it could be the 'ethical responsibility of advertising and public relations executives to achieve advertising effectives, i.e., persuade audiences, on behalf of their clients' expenditures' (2016: 1421). These charac-teristics are a clear reflection of the explosion of marketing as consequence of the develop-ment of new media and technology, as discussed in the previous Section 2.1., as well as per-haps what is the main division between the two careers' that both are in the business of pro-ducing content for the public or consumer.

An ethnographic study from Mats Alvesson which focuses on the discourses of identities and impressions within a Swedish advertising agency, provides excellent discernments into the "habitus" of the advertising professional (1994). In this study, Alvesson discovered that 'identity work was crucial for the ability to 'sell' one's own profession' (1994: 552). This is a direct causation of the fact that advertising work is constantly dealing with novel ideas, meaning that skills, previous experience, and even education, don't matter as much. Which additionally means that the identity one constructs for themselves as an advertiser is much more delicate than say a profession where one's development and experience is the manner in which to improve or climb the ladder, for example a lawyer, where there are more formal prestigious positions (Alvesson, 1994: 543). Thus, 'a commercially oriented artist seems the ideal…[guaranteeing] the right mixture of creativity and ability to subordinate oneself to a goal-orientated business' (Alvesson, 1994: 547). This concept of the lack of a clear and distinct definition of what it takes to be an advertiser is also present in a socially and psychologically approached study conducted on PR practitioners in Canada, as well as the respondents being mostly concerned with the image of their organization or client they were representing rather than their own image or the image of the PR profession (Thurlow, 2009). It seems that individuals within these fields tend to have a much fluid professional identity development.

2.3 Theoretical Toolbox

In conjunction with a thematic analysis, I will make use of the discursive theoretical perspective developed by Jonathon Potter and Margaret Wetherell (1987; 1992) to elaborate on the interviewees' construction of their professional identity within this volatile state of the current political media economy in order to dissect their thoughts on the macro theories discussed regarding the marketization of journalism.

2.3.1 Discourse and social psychology

Discourse and social psychology, or discursive psychology, has its beginnings based in the late 1980's, with the publication of Jonathon Potter and Margaret Wetherell's book *Discourse and Social Psychology* in 1987. What makes discourse and social psychology so multifaceted is that it 'recognizes the influence of the late Wittgenstein and poststructuralism, as well as of

social studies of science, conversation analysis, and ethnomethodology… [even though later] work shows a declining influence of poststructuralist notions while the ties with conversation analysis have been strengthened' (Molder, 2015: 2). Although interviews and discourse analysis can be quite time consuming for the researcher, 'discursive psychology work can identify clear and regular patterns, which can sometimes be in conflict with claims based on experimental work" (Potter, 2012: 443). Within discursive psychology, the focus of the study is 'of the variations in language use [of] the ways that speakers and writers construct their accounts and structure them to appear factual (the epistemological orientation of discourse), and the ways that they use accounts to serve rhetorical functions (the action orientation of discourse)' (McKenzie, 2003: 2)

2.3.2 Interpretative Repertoires

Developed by social psychologists in response to the understanding that action results from processes operating within the heads of individuals, the *interpretive repertoire* is used as an analytical tool in certain forms of discourse analysis, and is defined as 'a culturally familiar and habitual line of argument comprised of recognizable themes, common places and tropes (doxa)' (Wetherell, 1998: 400). In more simple terms, it is the common sense way in which we approach and make sense of our social world; what sort of metaphors, terms, and ways of discussing different aspects of society and culture we use. Recent studies citing these works and using the interpretative repertoire include 'disciplines as diverse as management, forestry, addiction studies, women's health, and human-computer interaction' (McKenzie, 2003: 3). An example of such is a study focusing on the targeting of children with online advertising, where Carolina Martinez makes use of the interpretative repertoire tool to focus on the subject positions that the advertising producers used and denied throughout the interview process, and what types of interpretative repertoires that they portrayed to legitimize their work (2017: 104). Through the use of the "critical repertoire" and the "strategist repertoire" that the advertising professionals drew upon, Martinez was able to conclude that these producers construct their identity by drawing lines between themselves and practices they didn't want to be associated with (2017: 107).

Interviews are the perfect method of gathering data for this kind of research, as the data collected can be used to 'reveal the interpretive practices through which participants come to construct versions of their social world', or in this paper - the state of the media economy in relation to the respondents' professional identities and relative fields of work (Potter & Mulkay, 1985: 248). As illustrated from an earlier study done on scientists' interview talk carried out by Jonathon Potter and Michael Mulkay in which it was concluded that respondents would adopt either an empiricist notion or a contingent perspective on theory choice within the scientific field, the theory of the interpretative repertoire can 'show the way in which an understanding of the variability in accounting can be used as a resource for analysis' (1985: 259).

The same strategy from both the studies done on scientists and on advertisers exemplified above will be used in this dissertation concerning the way marketers, advertisers and public relations professionals versus journalists position themselves within the current media economy based on the reflections their discourse provides the researcher.

2.4 Research Gap

It was my attempt in this chapter to position this study within the existing literature on the concepts of the political economy and the political economy of new media, journalism's evolution with the introduction of this new media, as well as the emergence of new advertising strategies. In relation to the analytical tools being put to use in the analysis of the study, insight was provided on professional identity studies previously performed on the professionals in the two fields of concern for this dissertation.

In comparison to journalists, there has been much less focus on marketers and advertising professionals within production study research, in addition to most advertising studies placing the concentration on the outcome and effect on consumers (example studies referenced in Section 1.1). This dissertation differs as it is not a media audience or specifically a native advertising study, but focuses on the producers involved and will be drawing its empirical data from interviews conducted with two professional groups.

3. Methodological Design

Before digging into the method and methodological approach, I find it an appropriate time to position myself within this research.

I am 24 years old and have grown up during this explosion of new media, where everything is available on the Internet. I would say that I am used to and actually *expect* to see advertisements every time I am online, no matter which website or platform I am using. Also, admittedly, I very rarely read the news from an actual publication that I can touch and hold in my hands. I usually receive the current events of the day from online content.

Furthermore, I am a student with nearly six years of education within the field of media and communications, having studied film, writing for digital media, media management, and have also dabbled in advertising studies. In addition to my previous and current studies, I also work as a content marketing manager for a small company in Copenhagen. Obviously this creates quite a contradiction for my own professional identity and this must be acknowledged. I have not created or produced any content that would be considered a native advertisement, but considering the field of work I am in, it could only be a matter of time that something of the sort would be required of me. And how would I feel or consider this - particularly after this research?

As a person, I understand and revere the importance of the press for an engaged and informed citizenship within a democratic society. As a professional, I can appreciate advertisements that are well-structured, creative and relay a great message, such as women empowerment or environmental sustainability, all the while promoting a brand or product. But, perhaps because of my educational background, I feel a slight skepticism for any type of advertisement's true aim and its affects. Particularly when it comes to native advertisements found on traditional news outlets.

The media economy I see evolving around me is diverse and multifaceted, with journalism and advertisement intwining and mixing more than ever before, and with it, the actual practices and identities of the professionals involved.

Acknowledging my standpoint in this section is important as I agree that true objectivity is a misapprehension (Jalakas, 2016:23 & Davies and Spencer, 2012:2). And of course, not acknowledging these internal battles would be hiding facts about the main analytical tool in this dissertation - me, the researcher - as 'I am the interpretative subject and as such my influence will be pervasive' (Jalakas, 2016: 23 & Bruhn Jensen, 2012:266).

3.1 Choosing in-depth professional interviews as a method

After making the argument that the media economy is in a stage of evolution with this combining of journalistic and advertising practices, I realized that if I wish to understand each professional groups' reactions and thoughts generated by the phenomena of native advertisements being published on traditional news websites, the most logical step was to talk to them. Conducting qualitative interviews sheds light on the point of view of individuals, and can also be useful in order to generate a starting point to comprehend and understand a large variety of viewpoints (Maxwell, 2012 quoted in Bazeley, 2013: 6). As stated in the introduction section of this dissertation, this study is delimited to a Scandinavian context, and 'while analysis is locally focused initially, the capacity to [generalize] in some form or another is usually wanted from a qualitative study, so that it has significance beyond the novel value of simply telling a story or representing points of view' (Bazeley, 2013: 4). By generalization here, I mean the ability to apply the results of this study to similar cultures and societies, i.e. the Westernized world, where these sort of technologies are widespread in use not only by professionals, but also by everyday citizens. Additionally, I would like to acknowledge the fact that although we cannot make qualitative data generalizations, we are able to make theoretical and analytical generalizations which are more often than not applicable throughout the world.

Professional or "elite interviewing", is a common method used to explore the practices and values of social and organizational elites (Bruun, 2015: 131). Is it important to draw attention to this part of the methodological design of this thesis, as there is quite a distinction between the genres of qualitative interviews that are *audience* and *elite* (Bruun, 2015: 131-132). Within media production studies, elites are those that are 'professional media content producers with a direct access to the public sphere' (Bruun, 2015: 133). Elite interviews are not simply a method to explore and to understand the individual characters of certain professionals and their day-to-day lives, but allows for insight to be gathered on the production of media under the framework of the influence of social forces, such as technology, economy, and culture, and these elites, or professionals, and can provide the specific knowledge that is needed for an analysis (Bruun, 2015: 134-135).

The interviews were semi-structured, as I had several topics of keen interest that I would've liked to cover during the conversation, therefore 'attempts were made to ensure that [topics of research importance] were covered in every interview, but in a way that allowed respondents to talk freely and at length and that [made] it possible for these topics to occur naturally' (Potter & Mulkay, 1985: 248)[1].

I piloted both interview guides and the pilots are included in my data. The pilot interviews were done in person, as well as included an elicitation of a native advertisement. Piloting can provide the researcher with early warning signs of whether aspects of your method need to be revised, and in my case the pilot interviews went extremely smoothly and only slight adjustments were made to the interview guides, i.e. asking one question before another, afterwards. Because the adjustments were so minor, the decision was made to include the pilots in the data set (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001).

3.1.2 Combining the interview with elicitation

Native advertisements are quite complex media - incorporating text, visuals, and occasionally even sounds. For this reason, I chose to incorporate the technique of elicitation in the profes-

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[1] The two interview guides can be viewed in Appendix B.

sional interviews as the similar technique of *photo elicitation* is a commonly used method in qualitative studies and 'has [continued to gain] followers among sociologists and anthropologists and has been used across a range of academic subfields such as sociology of childhood, youth studies, and education' (Meo, 2010: 150). The use of elicitation via native advertisements is justified as the study of this particular type of publication is a prime example of the intermixing of traditional journalism and advertising practices. And images, or in this case native advertisements, help with engaging the participants in the conversation, keeping the interaction between the researcher and informant working smoothly, as well as allowing for an expansion off the semi-structured interviewed guide to provide the researcher with further directions to explore (Meo, 2010: 152).

In order to provide a "starting point" if you will for the interviews, each interviewee was shown on the researcher's laptop screen during the meeting a native ad written in their respective mother tongue, i.e. English, Swedish, or Danish[2]. As I am a native English speaker, I required the assistance of someone who could read, write and speak these languages to help find examples of native advertisements to provide each interviewee[3]. Once having a translation of the text, I felt comfortable being able to discuss its contents with the interviewee. The reason for providing an example in each interviewee's native language was important as the interview itself was conducted in English, which is perhaps a language they don't feel as comfortable discussing topics that require quite in-depth thought and answers. By providing an example in their own language, it was my hope and belief that it would put the interviewee more at ease and ensure that they had a more concrete understanding of exactly what I meant regarding native ads when I am asked questions in relation to those topics.

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[2] The following native advertisements were used in the interviews: "Via an Island of Hope, a New Home" (New York Times), "Packa paketet som ett proffs" (Dagens Nyheter), "Women Inmates: Why the Male Model Doesn't Work" (New York Times), " Lägre priser ska få in fler på Göteborgs bostadsmarknad" (Göteborgs-Posten), and Millionær på et par timer: Dansker scorede kassen (BT). All are described in detail in Section 3.3.

[3] The interpreter was born in Oslo, Norway, therefore a native speaker of Norwegian and has lived in both Sweden and Denmark for his studies and work.

3.2 Recruiting professionals in the respective fields

Whenever one sets out to interview experts, one must be prepared for there to exist problems with access. As mentioned at the start of this methodological design chapter, with this mix of student and professional identity that I possess as a researcher, it was important to be transparent as it is quite easy for 'trust [to] be based on the informant's knowledge of the researcher's previous research, media performances, and personal merits and communication skills' (Frandsen, 2007: 47 quoted in Bruun, 2016: 140).

Additionally, I found it necessary from an ethical standpoint to provide each professional that agreed to be interviewed a consent form prior to the meeting[4] as 'the issue of consent is central in the ethical review of research involving human participants' ("Participant consent", 2011).

Overall, the interview sampling came to be via a mixture of purposive and snowballing sampling - purposive because I was specifically looking to interview professionals in either advertising, marketing, and/or public relations, or journalism. The recruitment process began by word of mouth, essentially speaking to friends and colleagues about my research and several agreed, even volunteered to be interviewed. Other recruitment strategies included asking these same colleagues and acquaintances to "spread the word" around their professional spheres. I also contacted professionals of both groups I had come across whilst searching and found to have interesting profiles via email. And of course, I also used the snowballing technique of asking interviewees after our meeting if there was someone else that they could refer me to, as the snowballing technique can not only help the researcher gain greater access to the most exclusive informants, but also be used in relation to informants with a so-called "celebrity status" within the respective professional spheres (Bruun, 2016: 141).

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[4] See Appendix A for the consent form that was provided to all 11 professionals before conducting the interview.

3.2.1 Sample

Provided below is an overview of the professionals from Group 1 (advertising, marketing, public relations) and Group 2 (journalists) that were interviewed for this study. All professionals interviewed currently work within the fields of relevance for this dissertation in the Scandinavian region. The reasoning behind this was because of my choice to conduct the interview physically face-to-face, instead of over the phone, as well as the additional use of elicitation - which could be a bit difficult to carry out via screens.

All interviews were individual, save one, where the contact person invited a colleague of his to join in the conversation. I was not aware of there being another respondent joining until upon arrival to their offices, and therefore one of the planned elicitations was not shown. However, I do not feel as though this jeopardized my data in any way as the two respondents still covered all areas of research importance, and were showing their own examples of native advertisements in the newspaper that they work for. This is described in more detail under the planned elicitation's description in Section 3.3.2.

Sample Groups:

Table 1.1 - Sample for Group 1 Professionals - Marketing, Advertising and Public Relations professionals

	Gender/Age	Education	Working in (country)	Title	Company Description
Professional #1 (Pilot)	Female, 25-30	Masters	Denmark	Junior Growth Marketer	Start-up studio, est. 2012
Professional #2	Male, 25-30	Bachelors	Sweden	Co-founder	Digital Marketing Agency, est. 2017
Professional #3	Female, 25-30	Bachelors	Sweden	Communications Specialist	Multinational furniture retailer, est. 1943

	Gender/Age	Education	Working in (country)	Title	Company Description
Professional #4	Male, 45-50	Bachelors	Sweden	Creative Director & Copywriter	Strategic Communications Agency, est. 2002
Professional #5	Female 25-30	Masters	Denmark	Corporate Digital Manager	Manufacturing Company, est. 1941

Table 1.2 - Sample for Group 2 Professionals - Journalists

	Gender, Age	Education	Working in (country)	Title	Company Description
Professional #1 (Pilot)	Male, 20-25	Masters	Denmark	Editorial Intern	Monthly printed newspaper, est. 1997
Professional #2	Male, 40-45	Bachelors (equivalent)	Denmark	Managing Editor A	Weekly newspaper, est. 2014
Professional #3	Female, 25-30	Bachelors (equivalent)	Sweden	Editor and Responsible Publisher	Student newspaper (higher-education), est. 1920
Professional #4/#5	1). Male, 45-50 2). Male, 40-45	1). Double Masters 2). Bachelors	Denmark	1). Managing Editor B 2). Executive Creative Director/ Journalist	Tabloid newspaper, est. 1904
Professional #6	Male, 55-60	Bachelors	Sweden	Writer	Daily newspaper, est. 1870

Although some researchers may say that [offering] confidentiality and anonymity in order to gain access to these expert informants will jeopardize the research, I respectfully disagree

(Brunn, 2016: 143). In the two tables above, each interviewee has a solid description of the main components that create their professional identity and which are of importance to this study, which includes: age, gender, education, which country they are currently working in, their title within the company, and a description of the company itself; i.e. the functions of the company and the year the company was founded. Granting anonymity to the informants was included in the consent form, which I found to be useful in making the interviewee much more comfortable and willing to open up about the sometimes personal and professionally sensitive topics being discussed, as is exemplified in this direct quote from Managing Editor A:

"Right, okay…well now I really understand the need for me to be anonymous….obviously this an area where we break the rules…"

3.3 Description of the elicitations

To give the reader an understanding of what type of native advertisement was being discussed during the interviews, all five are described below. The descriptions are divided into the native ads for Group 1 Professionals (Advertisers, Marketers, PR) and the native ads for Group 2 Professionals (Journalists). For consistency reasons, I thought it best to have the elicitations be the same within each group depending on the professional's native language. The sampling of the native advertisements was decided based upon the popularity of the newspaper within Sweden, Denmark or the United States[5]. As stated in the introduction, each native ad chosen had been published within a timeframe of five years. Other than this timeframe, the native ads where then chosen based off my own personal interest in the way it was constructed and written, as well as ensuring that the product and/or company being promoted in the native ads were all different.

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[5] In order to view the elicitations, all URLs can be found in Appendix C.

3.3.1 Elicitations used for Group 1 Professionals

<u>"Via an Island of Hope, a New Home" from *The New York Times:*</u>

A native advertisement sponsored which is by Airbnb, this elicitation was shown for two interviewees. With moving graphics, historical facts and photographs, sounds of seagulls and the ocean, also including pictures of modern participants in the promotion of Airbnb's "Night At" series, this interactive "experience" as they call it, takes the reader through a story of a family beginning arriving at Ellis Island via the immigration legacy of New York City and connects the narrative with present-day Airbnb hosts. There are disclosures methods visible in a thin, light blue line before the advertisement begins and at the very end of the ad with the statement: The news and editorial staffs of The New York Times had no role in this post's preparation, as well as the "paid post" appearing in the page's URL.

<u>"Packa paketet som ett proffs" from *Dagens Nyheter:*</u>

Translated into English as "A package packaged like a pro", this native advertisement is sponsored by Postnord Sweden.This elicitation was used for the other three professionals in Group 1. Not as elaborate or "flashy" as the Airbnb example, nevertheless the core strategy of a native advertisement is seen here. It begins with an embedded one minute video that provides the viewer with five tips on better packing, which sets up the narrative of what one should do in ensure that all packages are received in time and undamaged, and also ends with a comical list of outlandish items that had been sent in the post. There are slightly more disclosures in this native ad, with a yellow line above the headline stating it is an advertisement and the content from Postnord, as well stating the video is from Postnord in small print below it, before the body of the text begins there is another smaller subtitle that reads "Content from Postnord" and, finally, another yellow line at the end of the article stating that the article is content from Postnord and is not content from Dagens Nyheter.

3.3.2 Elicitations used for Group 2 Professionals

<u>"Women Inmates: Why the Male Model Doesn't Work" from *The New York Times:*</u>

A native advertisement sponsored by the entertainment company Netflix in order to promote it's original series *Orange is the New Black*, which follows the struggles of a woman who is trying to make her way through the correction system and adjusts to life behind bars. The ad follows suit production wise with the native advertisement from Airbnb also published in The New York Times, in terms of photographs, videos clips from the series, and infographics. However, this narrative concerns a less positive one of multiculturalism and welcoming, as it evolves around the rather grim issue of woman inmates in the United States. The disclosure techniques are the same as the other elicitation used from the New York Times previously described above.

<u>"Här säljs nybyggda lägenheter för halva priset" from *Göteborgs-Posten:*</u>

Translated into English as "Newly built apartments are sold for half the price", this native advertisement is sponsored by a real estate agency, Fastighetsbyrån. The ad starts with a gallery of photos of the new apartments and continues the promotion of the newly built apartments in the Gothenburg area by going into detail about the number of apartments being built, focusing particularly on the low price per squared feet compared to usual apartments close to big cities in Sweden. It further discusses the cost-effective building methods used to enable the low price. Similar to the disclosure practices in Dagens Nyheter, there is a small yellow line above the photo galley stating it is an advertisement, with a smaller text on the right side of this line stating that it is presented by this Swedish real estate agency. Scrolling down to the end of the article, these is also message displayed again, but without the yellow line.

<u>"Millionær på et par timer: Dansker scorede kassen" from *BT* :</u>

Translated into English as "Millionaire in a couple of hours: Dane scored the box (which is a Danish expression for winning the lottery)", this native ad is sponsored by an online casino company called Mr. Green. This is an example of the run of the mill sponsored content, a short article with a few images and one GIF. It tells the story of the "happy Dane", who started out with only 140 Danish kronor and now has a new life as a millionaire by winning big on three of Mr. Green's virtual gambling machines. It even contains a few quotes from the CEO of the company, talking about the awards the company has been awarded in its active study and development of an analytical tool which helps detect gambling addiction. There appears a small underlined black text stating "Advertisement" in the top left corner, as well as text in a light grey below the title image, again, saying "Advertisement" to the left and the company logo to the right. These two places are the only disclosure strategies appearing on this page.

As previously mentioned in Section 3.2.1, this elicitation was chosen and studied to be shown in Interview 4, with Professionals #4 and #5, but ultimately was not used. The reason for this occurrence was because of the spontaneous arrival of the additional interviewee (Creative Art Director J). When setting up the interview, I was only in contact with Managing Editor B and was given no warning that one of his colleagues, who works directly with all the native content produced at this Danish tabloid newspaper, would be joining us.

During the interview, Creative Art Director J proceeded to provided examples of native advertisements appearing in the newspaper on that specific day on his mobile phone, and even discussed the different formatting requirements necessary for the different viewing devices. Of course, I kept in mind the bias that comes with showing examples from the newspaper that he currently works for when reflecting on this occurrence. However, I did not feel the need to bring in a different native advertisement from another publisher during the interview as the interviewee was highly experienced in the production of native advertisements and I felt that bringing in an elicitation would disrupt the flow of the conversation. Even so, all of the themes that I wanted to discuss were covered and discussed thoroughly despite this variability in this particular interview.

3.4 Reflections

The ten interviews conducted have a median duration of 42 minutes and 40 seconds. The interviews lasted as long as it felt it needed to, until we felt that topics starting being covered for a second time. After conducting 10 interviews, I felt that I had gathered enough as I already could see patterns emerging and decided to move into the analysis phase. I listened to the audio files first, then typed up the transcriptions myself. The transcriptions derived from these interviews generated approximately 88 pages of text.

The majority of the interviews were conducted in the offices of the respondents' workplace, save three. For Group 2, Professional #6, we met at a café. For Group 1, Professional #5 and Group 2, Professional #2, I was invited to their homes. Each meeting space was decided upon by the respondent, as allowing each participant to speak in their own choice of setting diminishes the sometimes intrusive feeling of having someone interview you (Potter, 2012:445). When meeting in a respondents' workplace, I was always politely received, asked if I wanted a coffee and then was at times given a quick tour of the space. In certain interviews where I met the professional at their workspace, I felt at times that they were very conscious of the time. Of course, this can be understandable as I was requesting them to make space in their personal schedule for me to visit and discuss with them. But overall, each and every participant seemed genuinely interested in the topics I brought up and took their time in answering the questions. As an overall observation, the Group 2 professionals interviews, on average, tended to last longer than the Group 1 professionals.

As for personal reflections, I would like to comment on the difficulty of reaching Group 2 professionals, as more than twenty emails where sent out to journalists myself and only about half were answered, and from that half another half replied with something along the lines of "I am too busy" or "This is an area that I am unfamiliar with". Furthermore, a colleague of mine who works as a journalist also sent out information about my study and a request for volunteers to be interviewed amongst his relevant contacts, all of which were unanswered. It was a much smoother process when it came to collecting interviews for Group 1, as all five of the professionals I reached out to agreed right away. I find this aspect important to com-

ment on as it conjures me to ask the question: *Why*? Before starting this study, I had the initial thought that this situation would have been the opposite, that the advertisers, marketers and public relations professionals I was reaching out to would be more hesitant to discuss the matters I wanted to cover. Could the fact that journalists were more difficult to get on board be somewhat of an indicator to the current state of journalism in this political economy of new media?

4. Analyzing the Entanglement of Advertisers and Journalists

As stated earlier in this dissertation, the purpose for this study is to understand how the two professional groups that are most affected by the evolution of the political economy of new media, specifically the affects felt with the intertwinement of marketing and journalism. The aim of this part of the thesis is to give a voice to both of these groups, and to analyze their interpretations of the current and future state of affairs within the media industry. While discussing their academic and professional backgrounds and relating it to native advertising and other sponsored content strategies, the subjects were able to position themselves within the industry as professionals, but also as individuals that are a part of a democratic society.

As a reminder to the reader, all the qualitative data collected from the 10 interviews was thematically analyzed under the microscope of the interpretative repertoire concept stemming from Potter and Wetherell's discursive theoretical work. The analysis process began with the systematic formalized coding process of thematic coding, following the steps outlined by Carol Rivas in chapter three of the book *Coding and Analyzing Qualitative Data*, starting with open coding, organizing these codes into broader categories, and finally creating themes (2012). Some of the recurring themes were *identity*, *impressions*, *marketization of journalism*, *media economy*, *ethics* and, of course, *native advertisements*. It is from these recurring themes that I was able to identify the four interpretative repertoires of division, media, awareness, and justification that were being employed to discuss the future of the new media economy. Next, this chapter will give an explanation of the thematic content analysis that the ten transcriptions underwent and how the interpretative repertoires emerged.

4.1 Transcribing and thematic coding

When analyzing and coding qualitative data, specifically from semi-structured interviews and as well as following an interpretative repertoire study, the first goal is to divide the data into themes or patterns in order to make the process move along more smoothly, making the original data 'into something meaningful and easy to digest' (Rivas, 2012: 367 from Gant, 2015: 4, Wetherell & Potter in Antaki, 1988: 177). In order to truly begin drawing conclusions across the ten different professional interviews, the strategy of thematic coding was used. Because of previous readings done before the start of the research, there was a deductive approach in the fact that it was predicted that the data would revolve around the larger concepts of professional identity construction, the media economy, marketization of journalism, and trust within the press and media. The analysis of the data was inductively done as well, since there are many themes that could correlate with the previously mentioned larger concepts (Rivas, 2012: 368 from Gant, 2015: 4). A color code was used for each interview to represent the key words, or codes, appearing in the transcripts. As one can see in the example provided[6], there was a total of five colors used to highlight, along with underlining, circling or boxing codes that were being found in the interviewees' answers. After the color coding, and to further the analysis process, these codes were further investigated in order to create themes. These themes that materialized were used as umbrella titles to collect quotes alongside personal notes of the researcher in order to make further conclusions. This combination of open codes, themes and personal notes brought about the development of the interpretative repertoires described below:

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[6] See an example of the a coded transcript in Appendix D.

Interpretative Repertoires and Argumentation:

Table 2

Interpretative Repertoire	*1. Division repertoire (4.2)*	*2. Media Repertoire (4.3)*	*3. Awareness repertoire (4.4)*	*4. Justification repertoire (4.5)*
Themes:	"Us versus Them", Academics; professional identity construction	Evolvements, "Out of control", Social Media	Ethics, Trust and Democracy, Media Literacy	Marketization of journalism, native advertising, old vs. new media
Content:	Background on the respondent's academics, experience, and personal interests in relation to the opposite group.	Discussions of the current state of the political economy of the new media, and the future	Discussions of disclosure strategies, new advertising methods, the average reader's ability to decipher content's nature	Acknowledgements of cross overs between the two entities
Argumentation, strategies of fact construction	- Convincing details and narratives - Distancing oneself - Footing	- Categorization - Contrast - Convincing details and narratives	- Convincing details and narratives - Repetition - Metaphor - Distancing	- Convincing details and narratives - Categorization - Protecting oneself from a potential counter-argument - Tactical thinking

All of these repertoires deal with how the future of the political economy of new media is being viewed by the two professional groups concerned in this dissertation. In a discursive study, the researcher's goal is to extract from the participants' response versions of their actions, motives and interests, which in turn can be used to explain what is naturally occurring in their lives (Potter & Mulkay, 1985: 247-8). So in this case, the interpretive repertoires above will shed light on the question of how the professionals within these two groups individually and as institutions have, have already started or will evolve as the media industry progresses.

4.2 The Division Repertoire

This repertoire portrays that the professional self-concept (Ibarra, 1999) of journalists are very different in comparison to advertisers, marketers and public relations professionals. There is a perceived barrier that exists between the two. It builds the view that these two professional groups are shaped and molded, whether it is through academics or work experience, inherently differently.

The repertoire is built in the trope (Wetherell, 1998) of "us versus them", and was reflected in when making the simple statement of my main interest for this dissertation - the future of the political economy of new media. Take this excerpt for example, which was the very first utterance recorded in my interview with a Creative Art Director at a strategic communication agency:

"Well quality journalism at the moment is a disaster. The good guys are leaving the papers and they start to work for me. That's what's happening." (Group 1, Creative Art Director)

Or when prompted about trends they've been noticing within the media industry and asked to share to their personal thoughts and observations, as deployed in this quote from a Global Corporate Digital Manager:

"And this is coming from more as a user, I have noticed recently that serious newspapers online, to get clicks and revenue…they like really fall into these tacky or yellow sort of press? Like you're reading The Guardian…and they come with these articles and sometimes it's like "the Kardashians, blah blah" and you think Wow! Wasn't this supposed to be serious journalism?" (Group 1, Global Corporate Manager)

When using the division repertoire, these two Group 1 professionals are making it quite clear that they are not only aware of concerns revolving around journalism in modern times, but they are also removing themselves away from this issue of, as the Creative Art Director put it, the lack of quality journalism. Although advertisements and newspapers have been produced hand-in-hand since the beginnings (Bagdikian, 2004; Baldasty, 1992; McManus, 1994: quoted in Schauster, Ferrucci & Neill: 2016), these two professionals are explaining this current volatile state as being a "them" problem, which draws parallels to the idea of "otherness". Zygmunt Bauman writes that the notion of the Other is critical in the way that societies establish identity categories and argues that these identities are set up in dichotomies (1991: 8).

And it is through these dichotomies, that the two professional groups are creating a distance between themselves and the Other. They are indirectly saying who they are by saying who they are not or what they don't do. The division repertoire is deployed in Group 2 professionals as well, take this excerpt from Managing Editor A:

"I think you get to a point really where you have to say that PR has encroached on journalistic revenue to an extreme. I envision a future where it is basically all social media and PR companies...So newspapers like ours will go out of business because PR came along and stole all of our revenue. They say 'Why advertise with the newspapers, when you can just pay us and we get our stuff into the newspapers for free!'...So what happens? We go out of business, [companies] continue using these PR companies and they just push their vomiting - Wheeee content! - on social media and we will sort of dumb down together. Because there will be nobody out there producing the right content, which I think that people really still want." (Group 2, Managing Editor A)

The themes contained in these personal narratives and observations revolve around the marketization of journalism, a decrease of purposeful content to encourage a participative democracy, as well as the lack of economy for news publishers. Despite being explicit in their professional self-concepts, these professionals are not divided in their concerns. The use of the division repertoire draws connections to the concept of boundary work in social sciences as a manner of representation and identity construction, as the informants are creating symbolic boundaries through discourse, as seen in Thomas F. Gieryn's metaphor of boundary work, and his 'analysis of the rhetorical strategies employed for such boundary work, [which also lends itself] easily to other analyses where professional or social groups draw boundaries to differentiate themselves from others' (Gieryn, 1983; Riesch, 2010: 452).

When requesting a background on the respondent in order to gather an idea on their interests and on the amount and nature of their experiences, as well as when prompted about why they decided to go into their current career field, I was also able to extract patterns of similarities across the two professional groups despite this division repertoire being used. As seen in the two sample tables (Table 1 and Table 1.2) provided in the previous chapter, all interviewees have completed a secondary higher education, or something equivalent. Not the most revealing characteristic when interviewing working professionals some may say, but only on the surface. Of the ten professionals, six studied until receiving a master's degree, while five received a bachelor's degree. From a purely identity construction standpoint, one's professional

identity is greatly influenced by their interactions, learning procedures and experiences before entering the field, which here is attending university. It was observed that there existed crossovers between the subjects chosen to study between the two groups of professionals, take for instance these two professionals when asked how their studies are related to their present roles:

"Well I suppose it's because of…in my study of history and political science I always had an interest in media - how it works, how it runs, how it operates." (Group 1, Junior Growth Marketer)

"And my bachelor's degree was in political science and international politics. So it wasn't related to journalism." (Group 2, Editorial Intern)

What is interesting here is the entry point, if you will, of both of these professionals' academic years. The entry point is an important aspect to highlight as it can be the cause of an individual seeing things differently or act as a time adjustment. Both interviewees began with high interests in global subjects, which then deviated into two different paths when it came to their careers. And it's not because of the general stereotype of marketers and PR consultants, or as one professional put it, *"the person with the [briefcase] and a cool suit, makes a lot of money and is kinda a pretentious douchebag"* (Group 1, Co-founder) or that journalists care more about social issues or politics, as an individual discredits for herself when describing her first full time position at a PR firm:

"It was a great place to work! [We] focused on social change, so very ethically lead, I guess. It focused on charities and NGOs, so the type of companies that we would normally [work with were] like children's literacy or cycling, and mental health". (Group 1, Junior Growth Marketer)

The difference was in the exit point - what these two individuals chose to do with their academic experience. Another similarity amongst the self-concept professional identity constructions was the theme of the willingness to continue learning, exploration and creativity. When the discussion of what it means to the respondent to be either a journalist or marketer, advertiser or public relations professional, in addition to why they were initially drawn to their career choice, all respondents touched upon the desire to always be learning, as seen in the journalists' excerpts below:

"(on his academic background and why he admires journalism) That's the great thing about being a journalist…there is no knowledge wasted because everything that you have learned, you can make use of it." (Group 2, Writer)

"(on why she admires journalism)…all the opportunities to learn and meet so many different people." (Group 2, Editor & Responsible Publisher)

And this excerpt from a Group 1 interviewee:

"I think think there are different values…depending on what you do…But for me, if you look at digital marketing, it's all about being on your toes. You have to be the kind of person that is always interested in learning new stuff. [Because] it's so dynamic, the business itself, like Google changes their algorithm 350x a year….And that kinda bugs me (laughs) but at the same time, I think it's really cool that they keep changing stuff…[You've got to be] hungry for more." (Group 1, Co-founder)

What *does* differ significantly within this theme is the reasoning behind this continuous need to educate oneself. For Group 2, there exists the need and the want to always be learning about the world to make it understandable and reduce the complexities for the rest of us, for society. Relating back to Schauster, Ferrucci and Neill (2016), amongst the Group 1 professionals the desire for further education within the relevant field directly correlates to the media industry and the necessity to stay current and up to date on the latest changes to be successful and beat out less evolved competitors. This characteristics is also in line with Alvesson's concept of the commercially orientated artist which he found advertisers to possess (1994). The division repertoire is being deployed throughout the interviews collected for this study, but despite that there were still similarities identified as depicted in the experts above. The main issue, both academically and educationally - albeit a rather significant one - is the ends mean.

Drawing from Stephen Frosh and his discussion of the modern self, 'it is terms such as contradictions, fluidity, multiplicity which come most readily to mind when conceptualizing the contemporary experience of modernity' as the modern world 'is marked by dazzling speed of change and tumultuous technological, personal and political upheavals' (1991: 6-7). And this modern identity crisis, as he coins it, is represented via the division repertoire found in this dissertation. We can see that despite this spoken and self-concept of 'us versus them', it also shows that Group 1 and Group 2 Professionals are not so incredibly different in reality. And

although historically advertising, marketing and public relations professionals may have been observed to possess more fluid professional identities (Thurlow, 2009), in this high world of modernity, as Anthony Giddens also contests, all identities are constantly in this process of finding oneself, and this process is 'one of active intervention and transformation' (1991: 13). It's worth reflecting on whether if journalists who chose not to make adjustments as fluidly in regards to technology when compared to marketers, advertisers or public relation professionals, because of the notion of journalism's traditional watch dog role, is causing internal battles for these professionals (Cassidy, 2007)? The analysis of the next repertoire provides more insight on this question.

4.3 The Media Repertoire

While the repertoire of division emphasizes the professional identity aspect that is of interest in this dissertation, the media repertoire concerns the two groups' examination of the political economy of communication and media in reference to themselves and their career fields. This typically was done by referring to social media and the "out of control-ness" of media in regards to the speed that technology production moves at and the implications that these evolvements have for society. It was through the deployment of this media repertoire that I was able to discern the different strategies and tactics used by both professional groups in order to handle and make sense out of the complexities and chaos that is media. I am here referring to Michele de Certeau's definitions of strategy (or strategical thinking), which is a way of operating in the world that departs from a particular place of power, and of tactics (or tactical thinking), which operates on the basis of opportunity (1984). When one thinks of the institution of the press and journalism, one would think of strategy, as strategy is a function of a place; the place here being the foundation of journalism (Buchanan, 2000: 87). Journalism has something to loose - it's official recognition and therefore credibility within society. However, tactics are are symptom of postmodernity as 'tactics reflect changes in work practices they can also be taken to be symptomatic of deeper changes in the mode of production itself' (Buchanan, 2000: 90). And tactical moves tend to take advantage of what is going on the situation at hand, as well as potentially moving across someone else's land or space. Clearly, native advertising can fit into this tactical way of thinking and the professionals us-

ing it can as also been seen as tactical thinkers. What is noteworthy here is that amongst the respondents, several of the perceived strategical thinkers (i.e. Group 2 - Journalists) were trying to make sense of the turbulent state of the media industry via tactics, despite risking their credibility that comes with their established place as a journalist. When moving forward in this section, it is important to keep in mind this discussion of strategy versus tactics.

The media repertoire was used among all the respondents quite heavily when asked how a newspaper or an advertising agency stays relevant and successful today, and in turn, their thoughts on the current relationship between journalism and advertising. As previously discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation, many saw technology as the main threat to traditional journalism. Take a moment to consider these quotes from Group 2 professionals which illustrate this very concern:

"…what do you without media? Like the media is always going to be there - you can't just get rid of it. But then papers struggle to survive." (Group 2, Editorial Intern)

"…I think we were up to 250 people in the editorial staff up to about 10 years ago. Google came and then suddenly the market disappeared, and our income! So we really had, and need, to adapt." (Group 2, Writer)

"It's hard. There is so much competition, and not only with other newspapers and so on. But also with…well, bloggers!…And also since the introduction of journalism on the web, people have been - well readers - have been used to getting journalism for free. And I think that is a big problem." (Group 2, Editor & Responsible Publisher)

For these three journalists, the introduction of the web and new media and all that comes with it has opened a multitude of doors filled with new competition, which comes as a result of almost anyone having the ability to create content. And all of this content is fighting for the most crucial commodity of attention. Long gone are the days when newspaper publishers were competing only against the one or two other local papers, they now have to compete for readers' attention, for an example, as one respondent highlighted, independent bloggers (Hobbs, 2010: 15). Adding to this is the fact that it's no longer just traditional media that are in the arena either, *all* organizations are recognizing the need to produce quality content to attract an audience for marketing purposes. The necessity to fight for reading and/or attention time amongst millions of competitors is highlighted in this excerpt:

"...one thing is that the other newspaper on the other side of the street could be our competitor, but when you talk about content marketing all the brands are competitors! Look at what Red Bull is doing! They're doing their own websites, where I can see and read content about anything. I click on the link and I read good content which entertains me. And I have these 2 minutes…time is a factor. Time and who provides me with the content which I can read in that short period of time…My point is that now the competitor frame is much more different, now than ever." (Group 2, Managing Editor B)

And of course this highly intensified pressure to reach out and receive that click is felt across the respondents. Here is where we see the use of tactical thinking - the recognition of this need to adapt and reinvent new methods is stressed throughout the interviews from both professional groups. They are acknowledging the need to reposition oneself within this new media landscape, within this dominant culture of constant connectivity (van Dijk, 2013). And the categorization of social media being the key catalyst for this change was highly significant.

Before delving into the topic of social media, an aspect which I find to be very relevant to include in this dissertation is the event of the Cambridge Analytica Scandal that was occurring during the time of these interviews. As a quick backdrop, Cambridge Analytica is a British consulting firm which uses data for the electoral process. Labeled "The Cambridge Analytica Files", the scandal broke after it was reported that Facebook had exposed data on approximately 87 million individuals to researchers at this company that at the time were working for the Donald J. Trump presidential campaign. The data was collected via an app that appeared to be a simple quiz (Chang, 2018). Clearly, not only was this a monumental issue for the privacy of individuals on the Internet, but it also connects with the absolute turbulence of the media industry that is represented in this repertoire. Furthermore, several respondents brought this event up without any referencing or prompting. According to a report from Pew Research Center from August 2017, about 2/3 of Americans claimed that they get at least some of their news from social media, while 2 out of 10 saying they do quite often. Because of its large user base, Facebook passes by far other social media sites with 45% of American adults getting ["news"] on Facebook (Shearer & Gottfried, 2017). Following these statistics, it's easy to see why the theme of social media, and Facebook in particular, appeared

so often when the media repertoire was being deployed during the interviews. Many stated that they thought it was quite harmful when it came to citizens reading and sharing articles that they had found on Facebook:

"And then people tend to get their news from their feeds on Facebook…which is controlled by an algorithm. So that's a disaster too. Everybody is just getting their own opinion reinforced. So people tend to become more and more…[idiotic]." (Group 1, Creative Art Director)

"Overall, the Internet needs a lot of regulation, it's very out of control. And I think right now people are very focused on the Facebook scandal, the Cambridge Analytica thing…And not so much about that they're reading…But before there is a scandal, nobody thinks about it. And overall, yeah, before even worrying about native ads, it worries me that a lot of people are reading things and not checking the source and sharing it,[and] commenting. (from after she had read the comments) *You can really tell, people just went for the headline."* (Group 1, Global Corporate Digital Manager)

(discussing the kind of materials that are posted on the newspaper's Facebook page)*"And we treat Facebook as the comic that it is. It should not ever be a serious place for news. We know that it's potentially dangerous - social media being used in these horrible ways!"* (Group 2, Managing Editor A)

This concern for social media crossed over a few times to Instagram, which was purchased by Facebook back in 2004, as many celebrities post sponsored ads with the only disclaimer being the usage of the hashtags #ad or #sponsored. But when discussing the importance of having an informed and aware democratic society, respondents from both groups were still for the majority of the time placing the blame on Facebook, as if almost looking for a scapegoat. A reaction somewhat expected from Group 1 professionals, what about the established press? If one was to follow de Certeau's s definition of strategy, then this "place" of journalism should be more concerned with fighting to keep its esteemed place within society - not easily shifting the blame to social media. This use of a scapegoat is more of a tactical move.

Moving on, the repetition of this concern for people not being aware of what they are reading, sharing, and commenting on brings us to the discussion of media literacy, which in this day and age, literacy meaning 'the ability to share meaning though symbol systems in order to fully participate in society' (Hobbs, 2010: 16). Many people claim to be, and are, media literate. But, *to an extent*. Even digital natives have the same level of media literacy from the

time that they were a teenager in regards to being able to understand popular songs, movies, and websites. However, the understanding of the economics of the mass media industry is the part of most individuals' media literacy that is severely lacking (Potter, 2013: XV). This is the aspect that was visible in many respondents answers when using the media repertoire. This lack of awareness, and at times even apathy, from readers is significant not only for the individual, but for society. This is highlighted in a report from the Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, which calls for the need of more educational focus on digital and media literacy (Hobbs, 2010). It continues by defining digital and media literacy as 'a constellation of life skills that are necessary for full participation in [this] media-saturated, information-rich society' (Hobbs, 2010: vii). Now returning to journalism's role of providing citizens with important and correct information, the concern of readers' media and digital literacies is understandably alarming (Dahlgren, 2010: 4). And it's depicted in this quote from a Group 1 participant:

(when discussing the site of publication, i.e. Dagens Nyheter) *"It's a little sneaky to always have these new ways of advertising…and you kinda have to seek that information yourself, and I don't know how many people actually do that…I think people need to be a little more […] conscious of what they're doing, where they're reading…It's your own personal responsibility, people are used to being spoon fed their news. And DN is such a big paper, a lot of people will believe in what they are writing."* (Group 1, Communications Specialists)

It's clear here that, in combination with the division repertoire, professionals from both groups draw on the media repertoire in order to portray this very justified concern with the out-of-control trends that they are seeing within the media industry, especially with social media, which is no longer viewed as neutral or free-floating zones (Dahlgren, 2016). However, as this dissertation is using the resources of the interpretative repertoire, the emergence of 'contrasting versions of actions and events are constructed out of constructing repertoires', and the thoughts expressed in this section do not always coincide with the next repertoire discussed (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

4.4 The Awareness Repertoire

This repertoire builds onto the previous media repertoire, as the respondents then start turning to how their own actions and day-to-day activities play out in the mediated sphere of the political economy. While not always explicitly discussed, native advertisements or similar strategic promotional content are viewed by professionals in both groups as something *tricky,* which coincides with Peter Dahlgren's argument for the necessity of a vigilant and independent press, as content as such can create the '[feeling of estrangement from] - and often a growing cynicism towards - governments and the political process' (2013: 10). Take this example from one participant when we were discussing her greatest learning curves in her earlier years in the industry working at a PR agency:

"...what was eye opening?...I think what really struck me initially, and you get used to it,...part of my job was to compile lists of journalists for certain things....you just sort of endlessly hammer them with stories, trying to essentially sell a story to them. And that's something I think people aren't really aware of. That journalists don't go around endlessly hunting for stories. They have hundreds of them in their inbox and they sort of pick and choose." (Group 1, Junior Growth Marketer)

I would like to draw attention to several aspects of this excerpt as she deploys the division and media repertoires here, in addition to the one of awareness. The division repertoire is seen in her claim that journalists don't go "endlessly hunting" around for stories, making herself the content, or story, provider. The media repertoire is positioned when she describes that her being the story provider was a shock to her when she first started that job. However, the awareness repertoire comes into play when she makes the statement "…you get used to it…", which here comes across as not a disapproval of that situation but instead carries the connotation of something that needs to be gradually approved. She herself is completely aware of PR's encroachment into journalistic outlets, but she simply sees it as her job. And while public relations does differ from the practice of native advertising in certain ways, the process is still a factor of journalistic-marketing entanglement.

A similar narrative is seen in the excerpt below when a Writer was asked about how he feels about native advertisements and he speaks about how this creates an internal battle for him:

"Basically, of course I don't like it because I think journalism, if there is anything that could be called objectivity or something, like that, it's very well worth defending. It's important in a democratic society - to be able to say we are not paid by anyone. [But] of course we are! So this discussion isn't easy. It isn't easy....even today, we get mails and telephones calls from annoyed readers [who] say that they are upset about something they read. And we have to say that it isn't our text, it's an ad." (Group 2, Writer)

We can see the awareness repertoire in his repetition of "It isn't easy", signifying that he knows that the blurring of the two types of content are problematic for journalism and what it traditionally stands for. And the fact that readers are calling the publisher - he continues to make the statement that this is a daily occurrence - the respondent is clearly aware of the confusing effect that readers receive when coming across such material when navigating the online news site.

Another Group 2 respondent deploys the awareness repertoire when he discusses this interesting tactic for writing sponsored content:

"And Dave Smith, he doesn't exist. He is the name that I use when I write advertorials or write stuff about boring shit. Which is…obviously, I take my name rather seriously. Dave Smith, he gets some good lines, but he is my sort of advertorial moniker basically." (Group 2, Managing Editor A)

It was in this interview that an explicit statement of concealment surfaced, in addition to the interviewee's feeling of being ashamed and not proud of his work. This participant uses a pseudonym as a form of distancing when writing the standard, run-of-the-mill advertorial in his newspapers. The fact that he does not wish to have his name associated with anything of the sort demonstrates this journalist's awareness of the negativity that comes with disguised promotional content appearing in newspapers. The importance of a name being connected to a journalist is repeated in the double interview at a Danish tabloid newspaper:

"There is a guy on native (department) that would like to do features in the editorial department. And we tried to get up a deal that won't harm him…we haven't yet decided on what sort of building bridge he can walk on from native to editorial." (Group 2, Creative Art Director J)

"It's about our integrity. Because if someone should ask at one point - what about this guy? I saw his byline on a native advertisement last week. And now he is on editorial?" (Group 2, Managing Editor B)

These excerpts are concerning a part of the interview when these two colleagues were discussing a journalist who initially started with writing native ads for the newspapers moving into editorial and working on as they call it "hard news". The use of the word *integrity* shows that these two professionals are aware that an overlap between advertising and editorial content within the material itself, as well as the individual that writes and creates it, can raise ethical questions and concerns. The metaphor of a bridge between these two contents is highly representational of the area of exploration for this dissertation - the future of the the new economy. Is this metaphorical bridge, this connecting entity, is this how journalism and marketing will operate from now on? From professionals in the double interview of this study, the answer is most definitely yes:

*"We have seen a lot of crossovers in the past 25 years, but I think that native might be one of the **spot on** crossovers that works….[and as] long as you keep it within editorial control, it works….And actually last year, one of the native articles was in the top ten most read that year* (for the news publication)*."* (Group 2, Creative Art Director J)

"…I agree will [CAD J] that at some point, still full transparency, the native guys and girls… the reporters that doing native journalism will be sitting as close to the other….Now we have 2 floors apart…maybe there will be a new department that will mix things up." (Group 2, Managing Editor B)

These quotes are also representational of native advertising practices becoming foundational in the everyday workings of these news publishers; it has moved from being a method to advertise and produce revenue, to an actual entity or space within the company. And I find this shift to be similar within the professional makeup of the individuals at the two news publishers, as I was told my the respondents, they all studied and trained as journalists writing the native advertisements - an actual embodiment of the entanglement. And ironically enough, the professionals themselves are aware of this shift.

4.5 The Justification Repertoire

The justification repertoire presents the marketization of journalism as an aspect that is inexorable and as a necessary evolvement for the survival of traditional publishing companies in the future of the political economy of new media by drawing on personal narratives and

prompted by the elicitation of the native advertisements. While the feeling that accompanies the justification repertoire differs between the two groups, both groups deploy this repertoire as a way to explain why this entanglement is happening. Not surprisingly, one of the feelings that is felt from Group 2 professionals is one of defeat:

"The dependency on advertising is sad. Because you are dependent on a product, like companies [are] giving you money to advertise their product and that's how journalism survives?" (Editorial Intern)

(when asked about what she would do if approached by a company that wants to pay for a large native advertisement in the online newspaper) *"I guess the conflict would be…me, in the role as a journalist versus, well someone who wants the paper to survive. But as a journalist, this (referring to the elicitation) is just appalling I think."* (Group 2, Editor & Responsible Publisher)

While others carried more of a matter-of-fact tone:

"And if you would have asked me and my colleagues say ten years ago, we would've have said this is terrible, we don't want any of this (Interviewer: And now?) And now…there's money! We wouldn't be here if we didn't do anything to get these." (Group 2, Writer)

(on the topic of native advertisements' potential of creating conflict within a publishing company) *"Yeah but you also have to take into consideration that for the main part of our employees, who are journalists, native is still kinda a bitch. I mean, they look at it like: why? Why are you guys moving in on our territories? But it's improving. They kinda acknowledge the fact that actually we make pretty good money telling these stories, and that money can help all of us! It might help us finance the next young gun on the the third floor* (editorial department). *If you kinda lift up the whole perspective, it's good for all.* (Group 2, Creative Art Director/Journalist)

The common thread here is that all journalists acknowledge the current state of traditional news strategies being at a steady decline, and although some are not 100% on board with the introduction of native articles in their newspapers, they see and realize the monetary benefits. Which does leaves one thinking: what's a newspaper to do? When combined with the insights provided through the deployment of the media repertoire alongside the repertoire at hand, the process of more journalistically written promotional content appears to be perceived as a somewhat necessary evolvement for journalism. While academics may be continuously raising concerns for the effects of commercialization appearing in newspapers (Schauster, Ferrucci & Neill: 2016, 1410), in this data set it appears as though the journalists are not putting

up as much of a fight as one would initially think, despite the traditional journalistic values (Dahlgren: 2010 & Pavlik: 2011).

The justification repertoire is also used when the attention is placed on the actual content, or the narrative that is presented in native advertisements, such as asking if it should be considered fake news during the interviewing process. This aspect of the justification repertoire is visible across the professional groups. It is also here that we can see the awareness and justification repertoires being deployed simultaneously on occasion. Many respondents commented on the narratives presented in the elicitation as being "safe" or "uncontroversial", which initially appeared to make them seem less suspicious or critical of the native advertisement. But later on during the interviews, perhaps because their minds had had the chance to mull the native ad over in its entirety, the potential harm of the strategy was brought back into the conversation. The harmfulness of the native advertisement, according to almost all respondents, was directly connected to what was being presented in the article. Take this excerpt from a Co-founder of a digital marketing company:

"It's a cool advertising concept. But also, I guess it can be kinda of dangerous....[and] I do think that the risk is that you have to have like a filter. 'Cause what's the next thing? Like would Dagens Nyheter allow Sverigedemokraterna to write a native ad?...I guess there's a really hard line of [defining] what's okay and what's not. Postnord is....it works, surely but if it leads to Sverigedemokraterna getting space, I don't know how I would feel about it." (Group 2, Co-founder)

The same concern is raised by a Writer for a large newspaper in southern Sweden:

"Right, we've had this discussion...with ordinary ads as well. Should we take this ad or not?...if it's about vinegar or chocolate, it's not controversial, it's okay. But if you take some for example in my subject, let's say science. If they try to put out something, an ad that says that new research shows that sugar isn't dangerous. It's good for your health. I would say, we can't have this." (Group 2, Writer)

Both are highlighting the need for regulations when it comes to the actual content, in terms of fact checking, taking the time to considered the outcome of the native ad on the publishers' readers, and figuring where to draw the line. And in regards to the excerpt concerning the appearance of an native ad from Sverigedemokraterna, which is a personal opinion of this particular individual as there are citizens within Sweden that are in agreement with this political

party, one respondent provides his own explanation of why certain sponsored content is okay to appear in his newspaper. He takes the justification repertoire is taken a step further by explaining that the advertisements in his publication are in the interest of the reading population, and therefore not problematic:

(in reference to the elicitation)"*…there is a great difference between this (points to Women Inmates New York Times native ad) and something that we would have never written about."* (Group 2, Managing Editor A)

The advertorial he showed me during the interview concerns an play being performed in Copenhagen, and because of the language being used in the play performance it seems it would be appealing for the readership of this particular newspaper. The justification repertoire here follows suit of the main reasoning of providing finances to the publisher but Managing Editor A believes it to be something positive as what they have written not only brings in money, but also is beneficial to its readers. However, this aspect of the content being of use and following the usual stories being presented in a news publication is a key component of what makes native advertisements so tricky and problematic (Nebenzahl & Jaffe, 1998; Mudge & Shaheen, 2017). It appears as though Managing Editor A is tactically choosing to find the positive side of native advertisements being published in the newspaper he works for (de Certeau, 1984).

Additionally, we can see boundaries springing up once more, but this time along the lines of the work of *boundary objects* from Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer (1989). Although seen as separate groups, the boundary object - here, the native advertisement - provides a common ground for the journalists and advertising professionals. While Gieryn's schema had the individual groups protecting themselves from the other, here the boundary object shows that these groups realize they must work together even though they possess different values, norms and aims (Riesch, 2010: 455; Star & Griesmer, 1989). I am aware that perhaps the manner of which journalists have agreed to work with advertisers and marketers might be a direct outcome of the feeling of defeat or "is it what it is", nevertheless this joint project of creating native advertisements is seen in newspapers allowing brands and companies to publish such works in the newspapers, as well as larger news publishers creating na-

tive advertising departments within the building (Group 2, Writer; Group 2, Managing Editor B & Creative Art Director J).

5. Conclusion

This thesis has been an attempt to shine light on professionals' thoughts and perceptions within the emerging and continuously changing political economy of new media and technology, where advertising and journalism practices are entangling more and more. The aim has been to illuminate how this entanglement is occurring not just in the creation of content, but in the identities of the professionals themselves, by asking journalists and marketing, advertising or public relations professionals how they make sense of the current state of the media industry utilizing the technique of elicitation of native advertisements. After interviewing eleven professionals some clear patterns have surfaced. In this final chapter the main results from the research will be presented, as well as concluding remarks in relation to my research questions.

5.1 How can we understand professionals' reactions and considerations generated by native advertisements?

There was a tendency in the interviews to discuss native advertisements as simply another monetary tool, for both advertisers and journalists. While journalists spoke about the ever presence of advertising in newspapers and magazines from the beginning rather openly, there existed a feeling of defeat when shifting to discuss the introduction of native ads appearing in online newspapers (as discussed in Section 4.5). In comparison, professionals from Group 1 found native advertisements to not only be an effective and creative way to promote brands or companies, some even appreciated the elicitations as they could recognize the standard of work that was put behind some that were shown (i.e. Junior Growth Marketer and Global Corporate Digital Manager on "Via an Island of Hope, a New Home"). The differentiating opinions in regards to natives ads is embodied in the self-concepts of the these two professional groups via the division repertoire, which is not surprising as identities within societies are evident in discourse through dichotomies, showing that this issue of advertising encroach-

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ing on journalistic territory is something to blame on the Other (Bauman, 1991). Both professional groups hold tight to the more traditional separation of journalism and advertising, marketing or public relations.

Still, it is evident that there exists identity characteristics crossovers, particularly when it came to the characteristic of needing to continuously explore and learn, between the two professional groups. Again, the difference was the end goal - providing accurate and an ample amount of information for journalists versus keeping up and knocking out competition for advertisers and marketers. Perhaps because the self of modern times is seen as something fluid and in a state of crisis, it appears as though journalistic professionals are still holding very dearly to the romantic ideals of freedom of the press and its duty to a democratic society, as stated by an Editor and Responsible Publisher from Group 2: "*…I have the same values of most reporters and journalists in Sweden. Since we follow [the Code of Ethics for the Press, Radio and Television]…I think most journalists take those really seriously, and well, so do I. I stick to that.*" This is interesting because despite this claim to stay true to one's ethics, disguised promotional content is appearing more and more in news publications. It appears that journalistic identities truly are in a state of crisis, not just the institution itself, while Group 1 professionals can continue to be fluid and tactical within this rapidly evolving political economy of new media.

5.2 How much value can be placed on strategies like native advertising are a threat to journalism?

Based off the extensive amount of existing audience studies, as well as the frequent academic journals and discussions revolving around native advertisements, and the conclusions of this paper, I would generalize that there exists an overwhelming awareness of the impact native advertising has for trust in the free press, as well as general democratic civic participation. This was apparent in the analysis of the awareness and media repertoires of this dissertation (Section 4.3 and 4.4). However, what was also made clear in the empirical data gathered for this study is that the native advertisement is just one facet of the threat to journalism. As such, the answer to this research question is not quite so black and white.

Journalism has been in a period of dramatic transformation for several years now, as it is experiencing 'pushes and pulls from several directions, deriving from changes in, among other things, financial circumstance, technologies, media landscapes, audience use patterns, [and including] notions of professionalism' (Dahlgren, 2013: 109). These pushes and pulls are seen in the Group 1 professionals' discourse in diverting blame to either journalism as an institution lowering its editorial standards as a whole, or with both professional groups placing blame on news being shared and commented on via social media. The latter unsurfaced the fear that surrounds the power of social media (i.e. the Cambridge Analytical Scandal). This same fear was seen less so when it came to native advertisements. As perceived from the professionals interviewed, native advertisements as a singular method or technique was not deemed generally as overly dangerous when it comes to threatening journalism as a whole. Native ads are seen as yet another evolution of advertising within the media industry, as stated by Creative Art Director J, "(speaking about his transition from investigative reporting to his current position) *That kinda gave me the inspiration that [...] there might be a need in the market, in the professional market of marketers at companies, a need for telling stories*". The concerns and outcries surrounding native advertisements revolving around the issues of media literacy and civic democratic participation are justified, however, it is the whole scope of the "out of control-ness" of the current state of media that worries both professional groups.

It is not my goal to vouch for or support these types of advertisements. It is important to stress that all are produced by revenue generating or brand marketing activities by well meaning companies. However, these findings suggest that if advertisements are produced by following effective disclosure techniques, are well fact checked and made clearly transparent to the reader, even though all journalists may not be onboard, the majority of them will recognize the potential revenue to be gained. Native advertising publications can provide news publishers the resources necessary to keep editorial journalistic up and running for the long run. In fact, some of the findings suggest that without this type of advertising traditional journalism would face an even steeper up hill climb against the forces of social media and technology.

5.3 How can professionals' considerations of the phenomenon of native advertising be representational of the future political economy of new media?

Bridging off the conclusions made when answering the two previous research questions, it is evident that the main focus for these professionals when asked to consider the future, despite their differences of professional identity construction, was the ability to stay competitive within the current media industry whether you work for a strategic communication agency or a local newspaper. The intense amount of competition that is felt on either side of this scope is the driving force behind this entanglement. It appears that not only is native advertising here to stay and continue to grow in use, the mixing and entwining of journalism and advertising will as well.

If these conclusions hold true, we then need to look long-term to see if this political economy of new media is really a win-win situation where both journalism and advertising walk away with advances made, or with one gaining more than the other? When holding true to traditional journalistic beliefs and roles, it is quite plain that the former comes out short. It also conjures the question if journalism will ever be able to return to these traditional ideals after the invention of the Internet and all that comes with it**?**

Returning to this jarring quote from Managing Editor A, "*Right, okay…well now I really understand the need for me to be anonymous….obviously this an area where we break the rules…*", this shows that we have crossed into grey zones, where journalism is allowing advertising and marketing to move in on their territory despite laws that are put in place as an attempt to regulate such practices. But as the modern self is fluid, perhaps more journalists' selves are becoming as well (de Certeau, 1984). Could it be because of the firm traditions journalism was built upon that their professional identities have just taken longer to adjust to this modern world in comparison to the always creative businessmen of advertisers, marketers and public relations but now are beginning to catch up (Alvesson, 1994; Thurlow, 2009)?

The hopeful prospect, according to a few of the professionals, is that there is a future where native advertising and/or sponsor content could work side-by-side with journalism. In fact, it seems to already be happening (refer to Section 4.5). This appears to be the development of the future of the political economy of new media.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Research

The online presence of advertisement appearing in online news publications raises questions for the future, particularly when both sides of the production are morphing into one. What kind of professional and societal changes can we expect? Will citizens completely backlash at the production of this type of mixed editorial and promotional style content? And if the answer is no, how will the producers of such content ensure that there isn't an overload of native ads appearing in news publications, saturating the information necessary for a participatory citizenship? Furthermore, as a question resulting from the professionals involved in this dissertation concerns with readership ambivalence and the competition for time, how will we ensure that the native advertisements aren't receiving more reading time than editorial pieces? Combine all of this with the fact that we spend an ever increasing amount of time in the digital world, looking into the perceptions of younger generations and not simply at the ability to discern a native ad from an actual article, but also looking at their thoughts on the media industry as a whole begs for research.

However, this area should be subject to more attention, from all different angels, and would benefit from a highly intensified focus on specifically the digitalization and marketization of journalism from the viewpoint of professional journalists of a much wider sample.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Alicia Gant from Lund University. I understand that this project is designed to gather information for Alicia Gant's masters dissertation for the course Masters Thesis MKVM13. I will be one of the 5-10 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation is voluntary and I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue my participation at any time without penalty. And if I choose to withdraw, no one on will be told.

2. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview, I have a right to decline to any answer any question or end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by a student from Lund University. The interview will last between 30-60 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. If I don't want to be recorded, I cannot participate in the study.

4. I understand that the interviewer will not identify me by any name in reports of using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

6. I have been given a copy of the consent form.

My Signature   Date

My Printed Name   Signature of the Interviewer

Appendix B: Interview guides

Questions for *Group 1 - Advertisers, Marketers and Public Relations* Professionals

1). Academic background/social construction

    -What did you study in university? Bachelors? Masters?

    -Why did you chose to study in this area?

        -If not explicitly marketing/PR/advertising: How it is related to your career?

    -Before starting your studies, what were some of your ideas or impression of people

        pursuing a career in this area?

        - Did any of these ideas or impressions change throughout your time at

            university?

2). Professional life/social construction + identity

    -Did you have an internship/student position during/in between your studies?

        -If yes: Did you find the working atmosphere very different/similar to your

        studies? In regards to the people? The organization's structure? The

        projects?

        What were a few of the educational highlights from this position?

        Positive? Negative?

    - What was your first position? What type of company? What sort of projects and/or

    tasks were your responsibility?

    -What defines an advertiser/marketer/PR consultant? Norms? Values?

        -What is important?

3). Media economy

    -What predictions do you have for the workings of the media economy?

        -In relation to nontraditional media, i.e. the Internet?

    - How does an advertising agency, etc. stay relevant and successful in the industry

today?

- What are some of the complexities of the media economy?

    - Any tensions?

4). Marketization of journalism (*in relation to native advertisements provided to interviewee*)

    -What about the practice of native advertising?

        -Is there an issue of transparency here? Does it matter? All about the client and promoting the product?

    -What is your personal opinion on this specific type of advertising or content marketing?

    -Do you think it effective?

    - What is the future for native advertising? Increase/decrease in production?

5). Relationship between advertising and journalism

    -Have you experienced tension between journalism and marketing regarding publications   such as natives ads?

        - Opinion on this?

    -There laws and regulations put in place to regulate this - should the law be "steering" advertising rights?

    -When working in advertising, should society be considered? How much thought is placed on a product's possible effect on society?

    -In your opinion, does there exist a need for more communication about marketing/ advertising ethics within the industry?

Any final thoughts?

Questions for *Group 2 - Journalist* Professionals

1). Academic background/social construction

-What did you study in university? Bachelors? Masters?

    -Why did you chose to study in this area?

        -If not explicitly journalism/news: How it is related to your career?

    -Before starting your studies, what were some of your ideas or impression of people

        pursuing a career in this area?

        - Did any of these ideas or impressions change throughout your time at

        university?

2). Professional life/social construction + identity

-Did you have an internship/student position during/in between your studies?

        -If yes: Did you find the working atmosphere very different/similar to your

        studies? In regards to the people? The organization's structure? The

        projects?

        -What were a few of the educational highlights from this position?

        Positive? Negative?

    - What was your first position? What type of company? What sort of projects and/or

    tasks were your responsibility?

    -What defines a journalist? Norms? Values?

    -What is important?

3). Media economy

-What predictions do you have for the workings of the media economy?

        -In relation to nontraditional media, i.e. the Internet?

    - How does a newspaper/news publication, etc. stay relevant and successful in the

        industry today?

    - What are some of the complexities of the media economy?

        - Any tensions? Between advertising and journalism?

4). Marketization of journalism (*in relation to native advertisements provided to interviewee*)

-What about the practice of native advertising?

 - Is there an issue of transparency here?

 - Do you considered this strictly a business/monetary issue?

  - Who at your newspaper handles these kinds of publication on your website?

  - What is your personal opinion on this specific type of advertising or content marketing?

  - Pretend it's not there? If you don't create it, easier to forget about it?

  - Any observations on how your readers feel about this? Do they make an opinions about the presence of native ads known?

5). Relationship between journalism and democracy

- Have you experienced tension between journalism and marketing regarding publications such as natives ads?

 - Opinion on this?

- There are laws and regulations put in place to regulate this - do you think there is enough? Needs to be more? Different types of regulations?

- As a journalist, do native ads create a concern for society?

 - Personal concerns with this?

- Does native advertising diminish the traditional sense of journalism?

 - Is this "fake news"?

 - But should journalism evolve with time?

 - Any thoughts on the effect the rise of native advertising can have on civic participation?

  - A diminished trust in the press?

Any final thoughts?

Appendix C: List of native advertisements URLs

"Via an Island of Hope, a New Home": https://paidpost.nytimes.com/airbnb/via-an-island-of-hope-a-new-home.html

"Packa paketet som ett proffs": https://www.dn.se/brandstudio/postnord/packa-paketet-som-ett-proffs/

"Women Inmates: Why the Male Model Doesn't Work": https://paidpost.nytimes.com/netflix/women-inmates-separate-but-not-equal.html

"Här säljs nybyggda lägenheter för halva priset": http://www.gp.se/h%C3%A4r-s%C3%A4ljs-nybyggda-l%C3%A4genheter-f%C3%B6r-halva-priset-1.5464476

"Millionær på et par timer: Dansker scorede kassen": https://www.bt.dk/annonce/millionaer-paa-et-par-timer-dansker-scorede-kassen

Appendix D: Example of color coded transcription

Transcription
Duration: 23 min, 51 secs

Interviewer: Could we start with an introduction? Say your name, the current title you have work, where you are working, and level of education.

Junior Growth Marketer: Yes! So my name is [*name omitted*], and I am currently working at [*company name omitted*] in Copenhagen. I am a Junior Growth Marketer. And, eh…what was the last question? Oh, education! I am currently studying for a masters degree. I have already done my high school education and bachelors as well.

I: Great, thank you. You said you are doing a masters - what did you study in your bachelors? And then what are you studying in your masters?

JGM: My bachelors was between 2009-2013, and I studied history and political science. And in my masters now I am studying media and communications.

I: Regarding your masters degree, why did you chose to study this area? Why not - you say you are working in marketing now - why did you not chose, specifically, marketing or PR or advertising?

JGM: Well I suppose it's because of…in my study of history and political science I always had an interest in media - how it works, how it runs, how it operates. And then after I graduated, I *did* work in marketing at first. And then I kinda did a side-step into public relations, um which was actually more directly working with media, like placing stories in the press. Which I found really really interesting. It's an industry where most people don't really, kinda see that much of. So [laughs], you really learn that the things that you see in the news media are put there by people, for a purpose. It just doesn't magical appear! It's pretty…directly manufactured and I found that quite interesting. And yeah! I always wanted to do a masters and decided to study media and communications.

I: Before doing your studies, before going into media and communication, and before your job at the PR agency, what were some of your ideas or impressions of people pursuing a career in marketing and/or advertising? What did you think about them?
JGM: It's almost hard to say because I think I would've…uh…your impression of the working world while in your university is um…it's quite different from when you do actually start working. If I was to say an overall impression of people that work in marketing or PR - I think first of all I would be like "What's that?" (laughs), but second of all it would be like, "oh, *slick,* you know, business people who know how to talk a good game". That would've been my impression.

I: Has your impression changed at all, now that you've been studying media and communications? Or, now that you're working as a junior marketer?

JGM: Um…no, yeah. I think it has changed! I think that you understand the need to have the impression of being sorta slick and talks a good game, etc, etc. But then there's also, when you're actually doing the work, you realize that people are actually just trying things out and don't know *exactly* what they're doing. That sounds bad! There is a much more kind of…experimental mindset, I think. People are not sort of "expert" as they have to make themselves appear to be, but that's fine.

I: So you had your bachelors and then you went into a full time job at the PR agency. Did you have an internship or student position during your bachelors?

JGM: Yeah, yeah I did actually! I interned at a PR agency for two summers. And um…that's kinda where I got a more professional interest in it, it was really interesting work.

I: How was it different from learning about - you were doing history and political science - I would assume that it was quite a different atmosphere?

JGM: I think in university you have the luxury of being "apart" from these things. You can sort of sit back and analyze, and look at power structures and come up with all these theories,

and so on. Which is useful…mostly interesting, and so on. But that's not actively participating or doing something - you when have to actually interact with something or interact with someone or people, it's two completely separate spheres. And you might…when you leave university I think that you think you know a lot of things about how things are going to play out in the workplace but then, you realize that you actually don't know how to do anything (laughs). And that is kinda what counts!

I: So what were some educational highlights from this internship position? What did you really learn? What was "eye-opening" about this PR world you were about to enter?

JGM: Yeah, *yeah*…what was eye opening? I guess uh…when I think about that position…I think what really struck me, I kinda mentioned with media, what's really in the media, what's placed there…what really struck me initially, and you get used to it, part of my job was to compile lists of journalists for certain things. And…you know, all the kinda records are kept very up to date and then, you know, you have these contact details and you just sort of endlessly hammer them with stories, trying to essentially sell a story to them. And that's something that I think um, people aren't really aware of. That journalists don't go around endlessly hunting for stories. They have like hundreds of them in their inbox and they sort of pick and choose. I think that's something that is not really appreciated maybe within the academic study of media. Of how the story actually gets placed into…

I: So you're saying that during your studies, that this has never been explicitly stated? That journalists are given these stories?

JGM: No, definitely no. You simply wouldn't know.

I: So you first full time position was at the PR agency?

JGM: Well, actually no. My first full time position was in business development, and then I moved to PR.

I: In the PR role, what sort of company was it? What sort of projects where you working on? What was your responsibility there?

JGM: I as an [account executive/PR consultant] within a PR agency called [*name omitted*]. It was great place to work! It was a PR agency that focused on social change, so very ethically lead, I guess. It focused on charities and NGOs, so the type of companies that we would normally do…so like children literary, or cycling and mental health. That kinda thing. And yeah, my responsibility was - you they are always quite varied - but it would be writing press release, talking about stories to journalists on the phone, coming up with these ideas, managing clients…which is always probably the trickiest bit (laughs). Yeah, dealing with different people's expectations, and then you know, these sort of conflicts…

I: And could you talk a bit about your position now? How is it similar to PR? How is different?

JGM: Yeah, so I think that there is a lot of crossover and similarities! So as a Junior Growth Marketer, what I am doing at the moment,…I am doing quite a lot of social media work for early stage start-ups. So that's where I find good content and wiring good copy, that's one thing. And then there is looking for channels of distribution, so you kinda have to use your skills of finding the right people for the your product. And I think that is pretty similar to PR - you have to find the right journalist who is going to be interested in your story. Essentially you're selling something. Yeah, really - it's not the same job, but a lot is the same.

I: In your opinion, what do you think defines an advertiser? A marketer? A PR consultant? What are the norms? The values? What's important to these people - in their careers?

JGM: I guess it's probably the ability to…convince someone else of the merit of whatever it is that you're selling. I think that's probably like, the really big thing. You know, whether it's on the phone or writing a rather convincing, eye-catching email, or anything of that matter. It's the ability to convince someone.

I: From your past and present experiences, what predictions to you have for the future of the media economy? Do you think it's going to stay with a lot of this "behind the scenes"?

JGM: I think it's just going to continue with being behind the scenes. I don't see any reason for people to "see" that kind of working. I think it's yeah…the media industry is under huge amount of pressure, from like a lot of different angles. And I think the thing that typically public relations gets that advertising doesn't is legitimacy, you know? Like uh, if you're mentioned in some sort of news article or video, or whatever…it's like a stamp of approval. And that's the kind of thing that you could almost say that advertising can't buy so…yeah.

I: Could you elaborate a bit more on that?

JGM: Yeah, I guess that people still see um…media as, or more traditional media - or any type of media for that matter! As, um as gatekeepers. And when they say something, because it's supposedly well thought out and researched, and fact checked (I: You are referring to more newspapers?) Yeah, yeah. But it's also nontraditional as well, it's wherever your preferences lie for your consumption. But you do sort of trust that this has been given you as something that has kinda been pre-approved almost.

I: So you think that this is way for PR, marketing or advertising companies to relevant? To keep doing this behind-the-scenes thing you have been talking about?

JGM: The legitimacy - yeah definitely. (~making sure they appear that way)

I: So now, you started to mention some of these complexities that the media industry now has to deal with from a lot of different angles. Could you elaborate a bit?

JGM: Well, one big thing is that is an explosion in actual media outlets that consumers have. They have a much bigger choice on what to consume. And the a lot of that is fed by advertising revenue. But then advertising revenue for news organizations are falling dramatically. *Dramatically*. Especially with the invention of Adblockers on computers. So, turn off your Adblockers! Ha ha. They're important unfortunately. They are really really important. (I: For the newspapers?) Yeah, for all media really. And the fact that journalism as well is becoming much precarious and poorly paid freelance role because traditional news organizations, well all news organizations in fact, can really afford to keep people on…permanent stuff.

I: I want to go now into this topic of the marketization of journalism. I'll show you this native ad - one that was in the NYTs. Go through it and take a look. Take as long as you need.

JGM: Hmmm it's very nicely designed. (silence while looking at ad) It's uh…interesting… paid post, AirBnB. To me, this says that someone has done their homework and is really tapping into what we want AirBnB's values to be and were can we sort of fit ourselves into this sort of…into this sort American story. Sorta appealing to better to angels, so to speak. It's good content. It's really good content. With the noises and the historical pictures. And the sort of mixed mediums and so on. And very human story.

I: Have you come across this (native advertising) a lot? Just as yourself reading the news?

JGM: Yeah, I would say so.

I: Have you created any yourself?

JGM: (chuckles) No, no. My skill set as it were would have relied on making it a more less obvious…

I: Less obvious? So you think ad I showed is very obvious that is in fact an ad?

JGM: Yes. A good one! But,..

I: Do you think is because you are familiar with on these things work?

JGM: Ah, maybe to an extent actually. Yeah, when I look at that thing I have, in a professional sense, a thought on all the steps that it would've taken to place that there. All the creative work that would've been done and all the people that you would've had to talk to. The original sources. A lot of work put int that…so yeah, maybe is coming from my own personal perspective.

I: Do think that just anyone coming and quickly scrolling through, you know, articles on the NYTs. And they click on this - you know, the title doesn't mention anything with AirBnB, right? Do you think that there is an issue of transparency here?

JGM: I think there would, yes. I think for most people…aren't passing through their news looking for an ad from AirBnB. They are skimming it.

I: Do you think matters? Do you think this is an important issue that we should worry about? Or you, as a marketer, is this something you are concerned with? This issue of transparency?

JGM: I don't think that we need to be worried about as *marketers*. I think it's a good thing for marketing. But on a larger scale, um…if you feel that media should be something other than a vehicle for promoting organizations or things, then you probably should be worried.

I: So what's your personal opinion on the native advertising strategy?

JGM: I think these two parts of me here. The professional part is saying "That's brilliant, that's really good. It's nice, it's engaged, it's human." It does have sort of values to it clearly. So on a professional level, I'm like "Wow, that's really good." On a personal level…yeah I think we have to question that a little bit more. Why is this happening? And I would have to say that it's happening because of falling advertising revenues. Newspapers kinda have to open themselves up to this now. To keep the lights on.

I: Do you think that this is the future of advertising? Not only for advertising agencies, but for newspapers?

JGM: Yeah they have to adapt to what's going on around them. And like I said, if they want to keep the lights on they're going to have compromise in that sense.

I: Do you have any thoughts on this relationship because journalism and advertising?

JGM: I guess that it's probably not a good relationship, ultimately. Clicks are King these days. But that doesn't necessarily meant that it's good for, might be good for advertising revenue, but you know, does make you right? Are you only using click-bait headlines? It effects the types of articles that you commission from freelance journalists, who need that job.

I: Some countries have regulations and laws put into place with this new explosion of native ads? Should the law of a country be steering the rights of advertisers can and can't do? Or should be up to the private company that is the newspaper that is buying this product?

JGM: I think that there should be some kinda regulation of it. I don't think marketers are very good a regulating themselves, because they're essentially only interested in the bottom line - which is fine! But you know, that's not the only thing that matters. It might be the only thing matters to the newspapers and say the advertisement at the time, but to everyone else like it does have a large accumulate effect. So for example, on Instagram if you have paid content post you have use **#ad** or **#sponsored.** But in other places you don't…which I think makes things tricky. I mean, how are they actually gonna enforce this on a global platform really? I don't anybody knows the answers to those questions actually. It's so new.

I: When working in PR or advertising, society be considered when you're making an ad?

JGM: Yeah I think certainly. It depends on what kinda of society you what to see, and hopefully you'll advertising or native content that reflects that.

I: How *much* thought is placed on the effect of an ad? Or is more focus placed on is this an effective ad? Will it sell the product?

JGM: Definitely. I think that's the sort 4th, 5th, 6th tier of consideration. But that's the way of it. I think it should be considered…it should be higher up there. In reality, that's what it is.

I: In your opinion, do you think there exists a need for more communication between marketing/advertising and journalism to discuss the ethics that both believe in? How do you compromise between these two quite different entities?

JGM: I think that is already a kinda awareness of those issues and there is a dialogue. But, I'm not sure how that can be sorta jumped up the agenda. I think it's important…I suppose it takes people who are agenda setters or influencers, leaders in that sense that will actually say we need to make this a priority.

I: Would you say that the ball is in the advertisers court, so to say?

JGM: Yeah probably. (I: They have the money.) Yes, precisely!

I: Any final thoughts?

JGM: It's going down this trajectory and no one is quite sure where it's going to stop. And nobody really has their hands on the controls, so we are just going to have to see what happens. It's hard to predict where it's going to end up.