

Cover to cover: The changing identity of the magazine journalist as the medium goes from print to digital

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Abstract

In the field of media studies, magazines and magazine journalism have not received the volume of attention that they deserve. However, this is slowly changing. The significance of studying magazine journalists and their changing role and identity has been underscored by a number of academics from the UK and America. This research study focuses on magazine journalists, particularly from India, in the light of technological advances particularly the Internet, social media, and handheld smart devices. The study aims to understand how these journalists cope with the demands of digitisation and how they feel their own identity has changed because of this.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five magazine journalists in India. A thematic analysis of the data thus gathered revealed that magazine journalists in India appear to also be struggling with the pressures of digitisation, much like magazine journalists from Western countries. Their sense of identity, which was traditionally forged by the journalism school they went to and then the publication they worked for, is now becoming more independent. They are engaging with readers – more accurately described as magazine users – on a more personal level via social media channels. From being gatekeepers of magazine content – such as access to celebrity and exclusive information – they have become co-creators and co-consumers of the culture that they together represent.

The results of this study contribute to widening the understanding of magazine journalism cultures in India around the world. Suggestions for further research and applications in pedagogy and practice are also included.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Introduction

This chapter provides a background of the issue that this study aims to address. It contains a preliminary review of the existing knowledge in the field of media studies, particularly about magazines. A description of the study itself – along with its scope, limitations, and contribution to the field of magazine studies – is also included.

Background

Magazines provide their readers with a sense of identity. Teenaged girls are influenced by the concepts of femininity, romance, and morality that they find in popular women's titles (Gonick, 1997). Young men's ideas of masculinity, sexuality, fashion, and their bodies are transformed by the articles and images they see in magazines (McNeil & Karaminas, 2009). Periodicals targeted at hobbies – be it cooking, sailing, making music, or any other pursuit – give their readers a sense of direction and of their place in the wider culture of their chosen hobby.

But what about the identities of the content creators of these magazines? How do magazine journalists forge their sense of self? How comfortable are they with change? How comfortable are they with the personal adaptations needed to keep up with the times? What are their motivations, and in this day and age, when most of the news, trends, and analyses take place on the Internet and through social media, how do they believe their role has changed?

These questions have already been raised by a number of experts in the field (Chacón & Miriam, 2010; Deuze, 2005, 2008). Tim Holmes in a special edition of *Journalism Studies* asked, "... why has the point of reading magazines to help the understanding of the way society and culture evolves and adapts, the way socio-cultural-economic changes are initiated and disseminated, been overlooked?" (Holmes, 2007, p. 511) Scholars such as David Abrahamson (2007), and Sammye Johnson, among others who have conducted research in the field of magazines have explored, studied, and debated the role of journalists in new media work. But Johnson has pointed out that, "research about the demographics, attitudes, beliefs, and professional practices of magazine professionals has been neglected" (S. Johnson, 2007, p. 525).

The neglect that Johnson describes is being slowly addressed. A number of studies about magazines and magazine workers have been published in the last few years

(Husni, 2013; Le Masurier, 2012, 2014; Losowsky, 2011; Navasky & Cornog, 2012; Scattergood, 2013). However, an extensive literature review could find none situated in India.

In terms of economic growth and the business of journalism, India is being viewed as an emerging, powerful market (Thussu, 2013). The purchasing power of the “300-million strong middle class” (Thussu, 2013, p. 157) in India, combined with growing literacy rates have bolstered this country’s journalism industry. With a circulation of about 4 million, *The Times Of India* is the most widely-read English language newspaper in the world (International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations, 2012b). The second most-widely read English paper is the British tabloid *The Sun* with a circulation of about 2.7 million (International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations, 2012b).

English-language magazines in India have comparatively smaller circulation figures – the most widely-read English magazine *India Today* has 1.5 million readers (BestMediaInfo Bureau, 2014) – however, they are no less influential. For instance, The Times Group, which publishes *The Times Of India*, also publishes Indian editions of international titles such as *Hello!*, *GoodFood*, and *Lonely Planet*. English-language print advertising revenue accounts for 46% of total print ad revenue (International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations, 2012a, p. 20). Magazine publishing in India is expected to grow at a rate of 6.5% for the next 5 years (International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations, 2010, p. 24) and experts in the field have highlighted emerging opportunities for media professionals and media studies in India (Fields, 2009; Parameswaran, 2010; Rao, 2009).

Researchers have observed “a glaring absence of historical research on media in India” (Parameswaran, 2010, p. 288) and most existing studies critique Indian news media for appropriating global corporate culture (Rao, 2009). However, there appears to be no research on what this culture is in the context of technological change, and how it affects media practitioners in India. This is the gap that this study aims to fill.

Research questions

RQ1: How are magazine journalists coping with the demands of digitisation, the Internet, and social media?

RQ2: In what way has the role of the magazine journalist changed in their own eyes?

Research outline

The first step towards answering the research questions was to conduct a **literature review**. This revealed that although similar studies have been conducted in a number of western countries like the UK and America, there are none situated in India. So I decided to define the research sample by identifying the community and location of the magazine journalists that would be studied.

I used my own experience as a magazine journalist in India and my existing professional network – these people, their interactions, and the social structures that are part of the research questions were easily available to me (Berg, 2009, p. 46) and I felt suitably equipped to conduct the study confidently. As a magazine journalist, I have been on the editorial teams of magazines such as *Reader's Digest India* and *GQ India* and I have experienced firsthand the increasing workload, tighter deadlines, and multiskilling required for performing well at work. Over the span of my eight-year career, I have seen some of my colleagues struggle with these changes while others have flourished. Our shared experiences and our reactions make me a part of the culture of magazine journalists in India. A symbolic interactionist perspective was used as the lens to observe the magazine journalists (Berg, 2009, pp. 9–10).

Scope and limitations of this study

This study contributes to the field of magazine studies, particularly from the point of view of the creators of the magazines. Previous research in the field of magazine studies is abundant but tends to be focused on the observation of the audience and the editors or publishers of magazines, and their use of the internet and social media (Gonick, 1997; Kafka, 2011; Morrish & Bradshaw, 2012; Ytre-Arne, 2011). These studies provide valuable insight into how **consumption** of magazine content is changing, but there is precious little insight into how **creation** of magazine content is changing. The magazine journalists – or the creators, so to speak – have not received much attention. Johnson has observed that there are too “few articles about magazine trends presented at journalism and mass communication conventions; even fewer are published in refereed journals” (2007, p. 526). This is in contrast to the number and kinds of magazines one sees on the newsstand (Holmes, 2007, p. 510). In the studies that are conducted, there appears to be “relatively little interest” in journalists’ response to changes in their working environment (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013, p. 4).

Researchers have established that the study of magazines is not only difficult but hard to justify as the medium changes so frequently (de Faria, 2002; Le Masurier, 2014; Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008; Scattergood, 2013). This study's findings, for instance, could be rendered obsolete within the next five years. However, instead of expecting the study to have longevity, it would be better to think of it as a record of events. This research would become one of many documents that belong to an era in which there have been groundbreaking inventions and discoveries. It would be a document of the interactions between people and technology.

Although this study is limited by the fact that five magazine journalists in one Indian city were interviewed, it shares this limitation with similar studies conducted in the last few years. In Beston's (2013) study of newspaper's long-form journalists the sample size was limited by the relatively small New Zealand population of journalists. Similarly, in this study, magazines form a small part of the larger journalistic landscape of India. Out of that part, the proportion of English-language magazine journalists is even smaller. However, Dickinson et al. have pointed out that having a narrow focus is important for understanding "the implications of the rapid changes in the global news industry" (2013, p. 5). Furthermore, as Albaek has said of his research on news journalists in Denmark, the findings could lead to more in-depth, comparative studies between countries (Albaek, 2011, p. 345).

I hope that the results of this study will spur other researchers in developing countries and markets such as India to conduct a study of magazine journalists there. I expect there to be some benefit of the research findings to the pedagogical aspect of journalism as well.

Chapters

This is an outline of the seven chapters of the thesis, which helps to explain the content and structure of the thesis.

1. Introduction

This chapter establishes the background of this thesis, states the research questions, describes the research outline and establishes the scope and limitations of the study. It also contains a list of the other chapters in the study.

2. Literature review

This chapter appraises existing academic research in the field of magazine journalism. It establishes the nature of journalism as it stands today, the identity of a journalist, the nature of a magazine, the paradigm of publishing in which the two operate, and the ever-changing factors that are causing a reinvention of magazines.

3. Methodology

The rationale behind the study's research methodology is explained in this chapter. It contains a profile of the research sample, breaks down the data collection process and describes the methods used for data analysis. Issues of ethics, generalisation, and the limitations of generalisation, are also addressed.

4. Research findings

The results of the data gathered in interviews with five magazine journalists is presented in this chapter. The research questions raised in **Chapter 1. Introduction** are reiterated and addressed. The chapter is organised according to the themes that emerged through data analysis and it is split into subheadings which help define the magazine journalist's sense of identity, as their medium goes from print to digital.

5. Discussion

This chapter contains reflections on the research findings and an overview of the aims of this research. A discussion of the results, specifically in relation to the contribution this study has made to existing theory, research and practice in magazine studies, has been presented.

6. Conclusion

This chapter elaborates on and makes some assessments around the findings presented in the previous chapter and suggests ways in which this study could be taken further or used to launch similar research in the field of magazine studies.

7. Reference list

A record of every article, book, and webpage referred to in the thesis.

8. Appendix

This section of the thesis contains samples of emails, indicative interview questions, ethics approval, and an example of the coding process of the interviews conducted.

Literature review

This literature review appraises existing academic research in the field of magazine journalism. It attempts to examine the nature of magazine journalism as it stands today, the identity of a journalist, the paradigm of publishing in which the two operate, and the ever-changing factors that cause a reinvention of magazines.

The concept of a magazine has been in a state of flux for decades. For the purpose and scope of this thesis, I have tried to focus on the last five years, that is, 2009 to 2014, and the changes that have occurred in that time span. The literature review suggests that although there have been studies conducted in the area of magazines and magazine journalism, there are some gaps and there is scope for more to be done, particularly for research situated in India.

This literature review contains references to works by key academics such as David Abrahamson (2011; 1998, 2006, 2007, 2008), Tim Holmes (2013; 2012; 2007), and Sammye Johnson (2007), among others who have conducted research in the field of magazines. To define the identity of a magazine journalist, or who a magazine journalist is expected to be, I used the work of Barbie Zelizer (2010), Rosalind Gill (2011), and John Morrish and Paul Bradshaw (2012), who have observed how the work of journalists has changed. I have also extrapolated the findings of studies in newspaper and long-form journalism, as not only is existing research in these areas plentiful, but also because the feature writing work of newspapers comes closest to the magazine journalist's kind of work. Furthermore, I have used studies in the field of news journalism such as those conducted by Mark Deuze (2011; 2001, 2005, 2008, 2011a; 2011) to understand in what ways it is different from magazine journalism – this exercise helped to better define and understand the identity of a magazine journalist.

This chapter has been organised into three main sections, titled as questions: **What is a magazine? Who is a magazine journalist? and Where is India in all this?** While trying to identify what a magazine is, I have also tried to show the significance of magazines in society. From there I have gone on to explore who a magazine journalist is, based on the education of magazine journalists, their experience of their work and how they are different from newspaper journalists. Then I have established the fact that existing research in this field, particularly work situated in India is meagre. In the conclusion of the chapter, I have tried to underscore the significance of this study and explain why more research in this field is necessary.

What is a magazine?

The word itself is a form of the French term “magasin” which means a storehouse, but scholars have been grappling with the definition of a magazine for the better part of the 20th century. Experts such as Fred and Nancy Paine wrote in 1987: “... for all that magazines have been studied, analyzed, and written about, their number and purposes remain as elusive as their precise definition” (Paine and Paine, 1987, p. 15, as cited in Holmes, 2007, p. 516).

... magazines as a class, be they magazines of ideas, journals of opinion, newsweeklies, or niche publications about matter culinary, athletic, sexual, or what have you, by definition reflect the values and tensions of the culture and society they help to define. (Navasky & Cornog, 2012, p. viii)

Now, in the 21st Century, the question of what a magazine is has not only persisted, but has also become more complicated. Experts in the field such as Tim Holmes (2013; 2012; 2007), Megan Le Masurier (2012, 2014), and Samir Husni (2002; 2010, 2013) have tried to answer it and it cannot be said that their work is done. The reasons for this continuous redefining are the constantly changing criteria that define a magazine. For the purpose of focus and brevity, I have looked at two of these criteria: a magazine’s medium and its user.

The medium

Before the advent of computers and the Internet, a magazine could be defined as a “bound pamphlet” (Mott, F. L., 1930, Vol. 1, p. 7, as cited in Le Masurier, 2014). Now, with publishers pushing out magazine content via websites and social media, it could be said that this ink-on-paper definition is obsolete.

Going beyond the paper format has excited publishers and researchers for several years. Research conducted even before the iPad was launched, suggest an increasing interest in non-paper design of published material. For instance, in the article titled “The mixed reality book: a new multimedia reading experience” (Grasset, Duenser, Seichter, & Billinghamurst, 2007), the authors suggest ways in which a children's book can be expanded into a three-dimensional experience, by augmenting the space surrounding the book by using 3D objects, offering pre-recorded narration played through headphones and hand-held displays that react to the movements of the reader.

This idea of going beyond the ink-on-paper experience has been of interest to publishers of magazines as well. In fact, print editions of magazines regularly feature links to social media profiles of the magazines and its creators, website links for extra articles or image galleries, and QR codes that can be accessed by pointing a smartphone's camera at them (Latitude, 2013; Pavlik & Bridges, 2013; Swartzlander, 2011). Fast forward to 2010, when Apple launched the iPad and we see case studies such as that of the *Wired* magazine's app, developed in collaboration with publishing software makers, Adobe (Clark & Brandt, 2012). From the time that case study was published to the present day, *Wired* magazine has established a presence on desktop computers by way of its website, on tablet computers and smartphones by way of specially designed apps and social media streams, and the paper edition is also being published.

It becomes apparent then that a magazine is, as Morrish has put it, "something that cannot be reduced to mere paper" (Morrish & Bradshaw, 2012, p. 1). It is about what the magazine's readers "are buying into – whether that's printed on paper, pixels on a screen, or something intangible like a sense of community and belonging" (Morrish & Bradshaw, 2012, p. 1).

However, there are some experts in the field who have a different point of view. Samir Husni, is one such expert, who has often been referred to as "Mr Magazine" due to his keen interest in the format and the fact that he has been publishing the annual *Guide To New Magazines* since 1986. Husni has argued that a magazine is undeniably tied to its traditional medium of paper:

Magazines are not just content providers, they are experience makers, one printed issue at a time. And, if it is not ink on paper, please try to find another name to define that new medium, because in my book if it is not printed it is not a magazine. (Husni, 2010)

Readers' desire to hold printed paper in their hands has been studied (Ingham & Weedon, 2008; Kenna, 2011; Le Masurier, 2012; Ytre-Arne, 2011) and it was found to be a desire strong enough to warrant not only the continued production of print editions but also the launch of new ones. Recently, music website pitchfork.com, which has been online-only for 17 years, launched *The Pitchfork Review*, "a perfect-bound quarterly music publication" featuring "long-form feature stories, photography, illustrations and other ephemera" ("Introducing The Pitchfork Review," 2013, para. 1). *Guernica*, a

magazine about art, fiction, and poetry, which had also been online-only for ten years, is now available in print form (Sillesen, 2014).

This goes to show that defining a magazine by its medium is fraught with contradictions and complications. It bears mentioning here that another criterion – periodicity – is also no longer a useful measure of what makes a magazine. Unlike a newspaper, for example, a magazine is not expected to have a new edition daily. The appeal of the magazine lies in the delayed release of its content, which also has a lot to do with the long-form content of a magazine. However, Holmes observed that this is no longer true, calling periodicity “too narrow to accommodate the fact that in 2007 the United Kingdom’s *Guardian* newspaper began to call its quotidian supplement *G2*, a ‘daily magazine’ ” (Holmes, 2007, p. 516).

This impact of technology on journalism is not new. John Pavlik defined four ways in which technological changes affect journalism:

(1) the way journalists do their job; (2) the nature of news content; (3) the structure and organization of the newsroom and the news industry; and (4) the nature of the relationships between and among news organizations, journalists and their many publics, including audiences, competitors, news sources, sponsors and those who seek to regulate or control the press. (Pavlik, 2000, p. 229)

Pavlik suggests that the fourth effect in this list – the change in the nature of the relationship between journalists and their many publics – is perhaps most important. One reason is that since the invention of the printing press 500 years ago, “the basic relationship between publishers and their publics has been defined by a “broadcast” model of communication” (Pavlik, 2000, p. 234). This form of communication is one-way, dominated by the transmitter of the messages – from publisher/editor/journalist to reader. This one-way communication persisted with the advent of electronic modes of communication as well, for example, television. However, technological advancements meant that the tools for producing these messages – such as cameras and home video recorders – soon became available to consumers of these messages. The flow of communication could no longer be called one-way. The public were no longer “purely recipient or amateur” (McRobbie, 1996, p. 338) because a large number of them were creating “their own cultural forms”.

More recently, the Internet, social media, and smart devices, took this evolving two-way communication to the next level – publisher/editor/journalist are now in a dialogue with the reader. “No one group dominates the process of persuasion. Rather, all parties influence each other, at least to some degree” (Pavlik, 2000, p. 236). This brings us to my second criteria that defines magazines: Its users.

The users

“The Reader Is King,” said Felix Dennis whose company Dennis Publishing produces titles like *Maxim* and *The Week* (Navasky & Cornog, 2012, p. 169). Going by the earliest definitions of the magazine, when it was limited to reading words printed on paper, one would call consumers of magazines passive “readers” because that was how they engaged with the content. Now that magazines are available across various media including ink-on-paper, these “readers” have also become watchers of YouTube videos, followers of the magazine’s social media updates, and, in some cases, commentators, too. A better catch-all term for modern consumers of magazines, instead of “readers”, could now be “users” which suggests a more interactive manner of magazine consumption.

A fundamental basis of defining a magazine is by its users or, in some ways, its subject matter – magazines aimed at women’s issues, for example, or the ones focused on hobbies, such as sailing, playing the guitar, or cooking. Magazines, by their very nature, “specifically target a niche of readers in their conception and execution, be that commercially motivated or not” (Le Masurier, 2014). This separates them from newspapers in that daily broadsheets are meant for everybody. Magazines do not try to pack in all the news and events that have occurred, but only the news that fits the magazine’s editorial philosophy, which is shaped by its “subject matter, voice, style, readers, market niche, format and design” (Le Masurier, 2014). Holmes has pointed out that “newspapers, radio, television and cinema are generally accorded higher status” (2007, p. 511) and, as a result, are studied more. But, he quoted Abrahamson’s statement about magazines having the distinctive function of bringing “high-value interpretative information to specifically defined yet national audiences” (Abrahamson, 1996a, p. 1 as cited in Holmes, 2007, p. 511). As a result of this, magazines provide their readers a kind of club membership, defined by the shared beliefs, for example, and the desire for the kind of content that the magazine delivers.

This idea is in contrast to newspapers and their journalists cultivating, or having to cultivate, a kind of detachment or distance from their readers in a bid to define and build

trust with their readers (Deuze, 2005, p. 448). Magazines and their creators, conversely, “share a direct community of interest with their readers. They are often, indeed literally, the same people. There is no journalistic distance” (Abrahamson, 2007, p. 669).

Technological advances have exerted their influence on magazine users, too. They have been spoilt for choice when it comes to the various channels via which they can consume their favourite magazine’s content. Although the print version of most magazines has persisted, research conducted in America showed that magazines and advertisers want their readers to engage with their digital counterparts. A 2011 study observed that the intention was not to “divert the reader away from the magazine, but rather be a helpful tool to direct viewers to other services that the magazine and advertising companies offer, giving the reader a more complete experience” (Swartzlander, 2011, p. 1). This has left some academics grappling with questions of whether a book – in terms of a printed and bound object, including newspapers and magazines – is still a book when produced in digital form: “The book’s social function as *the* high-status vehicle for communicating new ideas and cultural expressions is being challenged by sophisticated systems of conveying meaning in other media” (Weedon, Miller, Franco, Moorhead, & Pearce, 2014, p. 109).

Simultaneously, many researchers have tried to find out what users want from this new technology. For instance, American consultancy firm Latitude in 2013 released their findings in a two-part report called *The Future of Storytelling*. The study collected information on what readers want from the characters in the stories / articles they read, how they want it to connect to the real world, and what they want from the advertisements they see, to name a few things. The results of the study showed that users today want more interaction with the characters in the stories they are reading, such as real-time updates on events (Latitude, 2013, p. 4). Users are also willing to engage with “a back-story about a brand or product, visually immersive experiences, game elements” on a variety of platforms, not limited to just the computer screen (Latitude, 2013, p. 4).

Other researchers have cautioned against the use of new technology for “the sake of showcasing [its] novelty” (Pavlik & Bridges, 2013, p. 29). They argue innovations must not lead to the sacrifice of the print version of the magazine. Some studies suggest that readers, too, find the rapid change of technology difficult to keep up with. In a 2011 study of 125 Norwegian women, a large proportion preferred reading the magazine in print rather than online or on the iPad (Ytre-Arne, 2011). Computers and technology are

too closely related to work, the study found, while magazines were meant solely for leisure. A similar study conducted in the UK – it focused on readers of a B2B magazine – found that 90 percent of the readers surveyed preferred the print magazine, although the online version of the magazine was used for keeping track of timely, immediate information like events or contacting the community of online readers that had registered themselves on the website (Ingham & Weedon, 2008).

Meanwhile, there is little research on the effect these changes have on the people in the editorial team. A recent Australian study observed the community-building function of special-interest magazines and how digital media literacy has affected this function (Williamson, 2014). While this study looks at how digital media is “shaping the collective identity of readers” (Williamson, 2014, p. 127) it does not look into the identities of the publishers, editors, or writers of magazines. A recent student essay published in the *5pm Journal of Digital Research & Publishing* sought to “examine the position of Condé Nast Publications and its digital division, Condé Nast Digital, in relation to their online presence and influence and compare it with the audience’s perception of the magazines’ online niche” (University of Sydney, 2010, p. 97). Here, too, the focus was on the reader and on analysing the future of the print consumer magazine, not how these changes will affect the people creating the magazine.

Who is a magazine journalist?

The origin of the term “journalist” goes as far back as the 17th Century. The word’s literal meaning is “someone who writes in a journal” but the word is used to describe “those who systematically keep records of certain happenings within a specified timeframe and make that record public” (Zelizer & Allan, 2010, p. 64). However, Zelizer and Allan suggest that in the current climate of multimedia communication, this definition is insufficient. They offer two examples, one of a teenage blogger and one of a freelance writer. Although neither of them are part of an organisation that is explicitly engaged in the dissemination of records of events (or simply, news) Zelizer and Allan argue that they cannot be ignored if they have proven that they are no less influential. Two cases in point, Julian Assange and Tavi Gevinson. Assange’s website WikiLeaks, launched in 2007, was responsible for releasing controversial information about attacks in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the treatment of prisoners in Guantánamo Bay (Rogers, 2011). Gevinson gained international fame at 13 years of age when she became

the youngest fashion blogger to be featured in the magazine *Harper's Bazaar* (Twohey, 2010, para. 7).

One important commonality between Assange and Gavinson is their “keen sense of audience and market imperatives and a finely tuned understanding of the culture and power nexus in a specific subject matter” (Holmes & Nice, 2012, p. 52). “As power shifts away from a handful of traditional news organizations toward a diverse collection of individuals and institutions, the matter of who defines the parameters of journalistic behavior must also shift” (Ugland & Henderson, 2007, p. 259). A 2013 study identified two main areas of change in journalism: digital convergence, in which traditional and online teams are forced to work together, and participatory journalism in which citizens contribute to the creation of journalistic material (Spyridou, Matsiola, Veglis, Kalliris, & Dimoulas, 2013, p. 78).

The trend in the latter part of the 20th century is for media companies to specialise in either newspapers or magazines (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 4). One of the reasons for this is newspapers and magazines are different in many ways. For the purpose of this study, the following section aims to establish these differences to better define who a magazine journalist is.

The difference between a newspaper journalist and a magazine journalist

Newspapers and magazines can be seen to represent two sides of the press: The former is a record of events as they have occurred while the latter is a record of events as seen through people's interests. By this definition the differences between newspaper journalists and magazine journalists start to become clearer. Traditional and, indeed, newspaper journalists define themselves in terms of their role as watchdogs (Deuze, 2005; Gravengaard, 2012, p. 1066) who are “active collectors and disseminators of information” and provide an objective point-of-view (Deuze, 2005, p. 447). Magazine journalists, on the other hand, observe, curate, interpret and then share this information in a manner that readers want (Losowsky, 2009; Scattergood, 2013).

In popular culture, the newspaper journalist's role is described as heroic, as a kind of outsider (Cole, 1998: 65, as cited in Frith & Meech, 2007, p. 145) whose duty is to protect readers from untruths. Magazine journalists are also expected to provide truthful information and insights but not as outsiders. They are expected to be community members, insiders of a club, people who share a common culture with their readers (Abrahamson, 2007; Le Masurier, 2014). A newspaper provides content that “readers

ought to need or want” (Holmes & Nice, 2012, p. 8) while a magazine’s content is determined by “a consideration of the readers’ actual needs or wishes” (Holmes & Nice, 2012, p. 8). As a result, magazine journalists have a different kind of social responsibility, social function, and a different kind of obligation to their readers.

For the purpose of this study, I have also tried to define a journalist based on the standards of affiliation, training, and education. Journalists take on the identity of the organization they work for or are affiliated with, whether it is a newspaper, TV channel, or a magazine. Furthermore, they identify themselves by the organization they were trained at, or as alumni of the journalism school they received an educational qualification from.

Another way of looking at magazine journalists is to see them not as individual professionals but as an “interpretive community, united through its shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events.” (Zelizer, 1993, p. 221). Journalists use these “collective interpretations” of past events to compare and appraise their present actions (Zelizer, 1993, pp. 223–224). Zelizer states that journalists act not in isolation, but in a shared frame of reference, their own version of reality, in which they exist for doing their work. This frame of reference is that of authority, the seed from which the gate-keeping nature of journalists’ work comes. It comes naturally to those in the profession, but those outside it cannot, may not, understand it, and that could be one of the reasons why journalists often complain about being misunderstood.

The journalists’ struggle to define their professional identity – be they a newspaper journalist or a magazine journalist – is made more complex in a work environment characterised by “convergence culture” (Deuze, 2008). Deuze defined convergence culture as a “blurring” of the lines that separate various channels of media dissemination. This culture is also characterised by “the acts of production and consumption” becoming hard to distinguish:

The impact of convergence culture on the professional identity of journalists therefore should emphasize the continuous negotiation processes going on regarding the individual media actor – a negotiation between the dynamics of the journalist as a person and as a professional, each of which functions with its own characteristics, conditions, perceptions and (thus) factors of influence on news decision-making and media production (Deuze, 2008, p. 111).

Keeping up with technology

The nature of journalists' work has always been gradually changing, shaped by technological changes such as the invention of the printing press and the telephone. In his 1958 article "Speed of Cultural Change," Canadian philosopher of communication theory, Marshall McLuhan, eloquently described what is needed to cope with the speed referred to in the title:

It is so accelerated a situation that to articulate quickly what is going on requires the skill of a sports announcer. We really have, in order to keep up with ourselves, to develop that sort of sport-announcing reportage on just the plays that are going on around us. (McLuhan, 1958, p. 16)

Fast forward over fifty years and although scholars have become more accustomed to the pace of technological development, they still seem to struggle to define just how to cope with the speed of technological and cultural change within communication media. McLuhan offered the example of Edgar Allan Poe who used the then new invention of the telegraph to create the first symbolist poem and the detective story. McLuhan implored journalists to "use the history of poetry as a kind of inside history of the human imagination at grips with the technological over the centuries" (McLuhan, 1958, p. 17).

Changes in the publishing landscape and its technology have compelled journalists, in general, to keep up or be left behind. More recently, these changes appear to be putting disproportionate pressure on them. Depending on the researcher and the specific paradigm of the study, there are various versions of what these pressures are, however, most agree that they are "characterised by risk, insecurity, and contingency in which more and more of the costs of work are borne by the workers themselves" (Gill, 2011, p. 250).

With the introduction of computers in newspaper offices and new production equipment in TV newsrooms, journalists are now expected to be multiskilled – they are supposed to learn how to use new technology in all aspects of their production work as well as learn how to use new, emerging media (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Multiskilling is argued to be beneficial to journalists as it offers flexibility, speeds up tasks such as information-gathering, and, in the case of emerging media such as social networking, also gives journalists more control over their output. By using tools like

the telephone and more recently the Internet, many journalists have reduced the number of hours they had to put in on-the-scene reporting – or “legwork” as it is sometimes called (Pavlik, 2000, p. 229). It has also raised concerns about “declining quality in news output because of increased work loads” (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008), but more on that later.

For the editorial teams behind the magazines – comprising journalists, art editors, sub editors and photographers – this scenario has created a fear of obsolescence and unemployment. They are under increasing pressure to take on more responsibility, learn new skills and add more tasks to their to-do lists than they have ever had before. I can say from my personal, eight years’ experience as a magazine journalist in India that editors expect their teams to approach stories not just for how they would play out on the page, but also whether they would fly on social media, how they would be visually appealing on a website or tablet and what supporting video and audio components can be plugged in.

Editorial teams in other countries such as Canada and the UK seemed to be facing the same concerns as I did in India. In a book published by the Centre for Journalism & Communication Research, Bournemouth University, UK, one of the authors wrote about how consumers with smart phones and laptops are able to access more magazines in various different formats. This puts pressure on journalists to produce content that consumers can access on any device, in any format.

Experts believe that consumer magazines will survive, but only if their journalists can step up to the challenge of not only producing appealing and engaging print content that can compete against digital offerings, but also producing additional content for their own brand’s alternative platforms – and to do so against a background of limited resource in a continuing recession. Can the print consumer magazine survive against such pressure? (Scattergood, 2013, p. 115).

Furthermore, it is not good enough just to produce engaging content, the journalist has to ensure it is read. In a Canadian study titled “Life after print: Revising the digital editorial strategy in magazine publishing” the researcher used a B2B magazine as a case study to emphasise the fact that “Publishing excellent content is the editor’s steadfast goal, but ensuring that it is findable is paramount in her strategy. If you build it, the reader must be able to Google it” (Hilderman, 2011, p. 2).

Nevertheless, “new media work” – as Gill describes it – is in general popularly regarded as exciting and cutting-edge work, and its practitioners are seen as artistic, young, and cool (Gill, 2011, p. 251). Part of the reason for this perception is the fact that journalists have to keep up with speedily-evolving communication technology to use it to their advantage. This perception of magazine creators brings us to one of the important ways in which a magazine journalist’s identity is forged: the journalism school.

The education of a magazine journalist

Although educational background has not traditionally been necessary nor has it been a marker of success nor identity for journalists (Adam, 2001; Bull, 2007) recent surveys have revealed that in the last 20 years, journalism and its practitioners – be they in newspapers or magazines – have acquired undergraduate as well as postgraduate degrees (Colbert, 2013; Frith & Meech, 2007; Holmes & Nice, 2012; Surugiu, 2012). Specific to the Indian perspective, the magazine workforce is relatively small, which leads to poaching of employees and suggests a need for more education and training in this field of journalism (Holmes & Nice, 2012) so that this shortage of skilled magazine journalists can be addressed.

It is already difficult for working journalists to keep up with changes in technology and to rethink their jobs to best exploit new tools. Specialized computer skills and social media skills take a long time to reach levels of expertise that are suitable to pass on to students of journalism. This is apparent from studies conducted to gauge this delay. For example, a study of 20 journalism students in New Zealand found that “journalism education controlled by the New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation still resembles that of 20 years ago, despite increasing numbers of students learning journalism as part of degree programmes” (Thomas, 2008, p. xi).

Textbooks on journalism seem to be playing catch-up by releasing updated editions, and that is because of what Deuze has called a continuous refinement of a consensus about who a real journalist is (Deuze, 2005, p. 444). Although these textbooks continue to define a journalist based on the acts of gathering information and processing it to present to an audience (Singer, 2003, p. 144), they also attempt to include as much as possible about digital storytelling. Unfortunately, in the time it takes for the multimedia-ready chapters of these textbooks to reach classrooms, the content has already come very close to obsolescence.

Two textbooks that have kept up-to-date successfully are *Multimedia Journalism: A Practical Guide* (Bull, 2010) and *Magazine Editing: In Print and Online* (Morrish & Bradshaw, 2012). Bull's guide has gone into great detail about journalism itself and how the tasks have changed in the face of technological demands. He has presented, for example, the following questions that every modern magazine journalist faces while planning the coverage of an event:

What are you going to do for your magazine or newspaper and on the website? Will you file daily or several times a day from the event?
How many text-based news stories can you file? What are the opportunities for multimedia reporting? (Bull, 2010, p. 62)

Bull has given step-by-step instructions to readers – future magazine journalists – on how to record podcasts, with easy-to-follow examples of situations and story ideas such as this one: “Do the images on women’s magazines of perfect figures make women want to have cosmetic surgery?” (Bull, 2010, p. 118). He then suggested where the recording of this podcast would take place: “...in front of a rack of women’s magazines in a newsagent’s” (Bull, 2010, p. 118). It must also be noted that Bull’s book started at the very beginning, at the inception and creation of a magazine, not in the middle of its life-cycle. In explaining these demands to the young magazine journalist, the book has done a superb job but it leaves out, for good reason, a magazine’s process of shifting from print to digital.

Meanwhile, Morrish and Bradshaw have provided a comprehensive guide that explores the territory of “apps, e-zines, online communities and magazine websites”, includes “case studies, interviews with successful editors, examples of covers and spreads, and useful tables and graphs” and offers help in solving “legal, technological and ethical dilemmas”. Although the scope is wide, that also means that there is not enough in-depth guidance about how to work with journalists struggling to bridge the print and online divide. For example, it has only one chapter dedicated to leading and managing an editorial team.

David Abrahamson, who is a professor of journalism at Northwestern University and author of *The American Magazine: Research Perspectives and Prospects* (Iowa State University Press, 1995) wrote in 2006 about his students’ desire for “a longer shelf life for the product they have worked so hard to produce” (Abrahamson, 2006, p. 432). This is an interesting observation in light of the fact that these very students’ peers are the

users that have grown so accustomed to newer, fresher content being delivered 24/7 that they have developed what Abrahams on calls “an instantly disposable view of the universe.” On the positive side for these students, content remains on the internet and so digital gives a journalist’s work a much longer, in fact potentially an infinite shelf life.

The role of magazines in society

A recent Nielsen study showed that business decision makers in New Zealand ranked magazines as their favourite way to consume media: “Magazines are the most pleasurable of all media to consume ... compared to the Internet, TV, cinema, newspaper, radio, direct mail, unaddressed mail and outdoor” (J. Edwards, 2014). Canadian professor of journalism G. Stuart Adam has pointed out that journalists “provide information and thought on which consciousness of the state and its officers is formed” (2001, p. 316). He has also observed that journalists are responsible for the formation of social consciousness “in the name of the public” (Adam, 2001, p. 316).

While there appears to be limited academic research on magazines and magazine journalists, a respectable amount has been done on newspapers and their staff. The reason for this could be the perception of newspapers as more important, or a necessity, to society and magazines as comparatively frivolous and one could even do without them. However, David Abrahamson has explained precisely what makes magazines so important. He has defined the relationship between magazine journalists and magazine readers thusly:

When contemplating the typical relationship between the magazine journalist and his or her readers, and then contrasting it with a similar consideration in the newspaper world, it is quickly evident that something special is apparent. In most cases, the editors and writers of magazines share a direct community of interest with their readers. They are often, indeed literally, the same people. There is no journalistic distance (Abrahamson, 2007, p. 669).

A life-and-death situation (or why magazines have always been on the brink of extinction)

“Much of journalism’s resilience and vitality comes from an ability to adapt to changes in cultural and economic imperatives,” wrote Martin Conboy in his book, *Journalism: A Critical History* (2004, p. 5). There is no better time than now to watch

his observation unfold. The international magazine landscape is changing faster than ever before. Some might say it looks like a killing field of sorts, with news reports comparing the shutdown of a beloved title to a death of a loved one in the family (McCracken, 2013, para. 3).

For decades, the future of particular magazine titles has been fraught with uncertainty. Magazine scholar Theodore Peterson noted that between 1950 and 1957 alone, over 110 American publications “had died or been merged out of existence” (Peterson, 1960, p. 108). While speaking at the University of Pennsylvania in 1963, he said:

Magazines have been coming and going ever since 1741,
when Andrew Bradford brought out the first one in America
three days ahead of your fellow Philadelphian, Ben Franklin,
and their fragile hold on life has fascinated observers ever since.
(Peterson, 1964, p. 221).

Peterson went on to describe the “fast-changing world” that the magazines inhabit, adding that an article about magazines would become outdated by the time one was finished writing it. Fifty years later, it seems like that aspect of magazines has remained unchanged. Even today it is difficult to say exactly how many magazines are out there. In the light of new technology, social media and such, it seems like magazines inhabit a world that could change with the turn of a tweet.

Over the last five years, major magazine markets like America and India have seen many titles lose their hold on life: the Conde Nast group’s 70-year-old cooking magazine *Gourmet*, Wicks Group’s hip-hop magazine *Vibe* – founded in 1992 by Michael Jackson’s mentor Quincy Jones – and Ziff Davis’ *PC Magazine* are a few examples (2011). In India, although Discovery Channel Magazine was launched in 2014 (“Discovery Channel’s magazine hits newsstands in India,” 2014), international magazines *People*, *Marie Claire* and *Geo* were closed down (Choudhary & Shukla, 2013).

Amidst those tombstones there is some good news – many magazines are being reborn or resurrected on the intangible building blocks of digital technology. *PCWorld* magazine, after over thirty years, has closed down its print edition and is focusing only on its website and digital editions (McCracken, 2013), as is the headline-making *Newsweek* (Saba & Lauria, 2012). *Top Gear* magazine still has a print edition that readers can “linger over, but the iPad edition and the app, with its galleries and high-

definition videos, its exclusive offers and interactivity, is where the magazine's strength now lies" (Rowlands, 2013, para. 7). In India, digital subscriptions for some legacy titles, like *Reader's Digest* for instance, are looking up (personal communication, March 12, 2014) and I know from personal experience that lifestyle magazines such as *GQ India* are investing heavily in creating non-print content such as behind-the-scenes videos, access to exclusive photos via social media and enhanced iPad apps to immerse the reader in the magazine's universe.

This scenario is undoubtedly superb for readers, who are being offered more choices than they have ever had for interacting with their favourite periodicals. Advertisers can smell the opportunities for placing their brands across new and more dynamic media, and publishing houses know all too well the rising costs of high-quality paper and ink that they could, in future, potentially do away with.

Where is India in all this?

By this point in the literature review, it became apparent that research on magazine journalists in India does not exist. While there are a number of studies about Indian media such as cinema, television and newspapers in journals such as *Media, Culture & Society*, *Journalism Studies*, *Thesis Eleven*, *Global Media and Communication*, the *Media International Australia* and others, there appears to be no study that focuses on magazines or magazine journalists.

The media in India

Following liberalisation and deregulation in early 1990, international satellite-TV content started being broadcast into Indian homes and Indian satellite-based services were also launched (Rao, 2009). Simultaneously, newspaper circulation also surged.

... unlike much of the western world, journalism as a business is thriving, not least as a result of rising literacy (in the past two decades, it has grown from 52 to 74 percent) and the purchasing power of the 300-million strong middle class, major beneficiaries of India's enthusiastic embrace of neoliberalism (Thussu, 2013, p. 157).

This country's scenario is especially remarkable because of its sizeable youth population. The age group of 13-35 years constitutes roughly 38 per cent of the total population and is expected to reach a strength of 574 million by 2020 (Shukla, 2010, p. xxv). This sizeable group not only consumes the most number of books,

newspapers and magazines (Shukla, 2010, p. xxvi) but also has the most conspicuous online presence.

Given their proficiency in English, the dominant language of global commerce and communication, coupled with the growth of English-language media in India and the globalization of Indian media industries, they are likely to become more visible in the international media sphere (Thussu, 2013, p. 159).

Already Indian cities have been feted as “sites of radical transformations in visual material cultures” (Hogan & Raja, 2012). Indian journalism, meanwhile, is “being shaped by Western and global approaches characterized by a dramatic rise in the integration of information technologies” and an increased preference for professionally trained journalists (Rao, 2009, p. 479).

Media studies and India

As a result of the growing interest in media and its production, the demand for trained journalists has also risen. “With the demands of the changing and globalized media landscape, both the private and public educational entities are becoming more skills-oriented” (Karan, 2001, as cited in Rao, 2009, para. 481). Meanwhile, researchers have observed “a glaring absence of historical research on media in India” (Parameswaran, 2010, p. 288). The focus of most studies appears to be on critiquing “Indian news media for their adoption of global corporate culture and sheer commercial compulsion of journalism practices” (Rao, 2009, p. 474) or “the ways in which media produce and uphold particular and partial narratives of social and political realities, that then go on to inform, and even constitute, individual and collective subjectivity and agency” (Roy, 2011, p. 763).

However, studies about the cultural, political, and economic aspects of journalism in India have been hard to find (Rao, 2009). This is not surprising. Media studies, like other social sciences and humanities, are “embedded in a Euro-Atlantic intellectual tradition” (Thussu, 2013, p. 159).

The fact that media and communication as an academic field itself emerged in the United States has made a deep imprint on its theorization, teaching and research. The dominance of English as the language of global media and communication has also contributed to the primacy of English-language scholarship in this field, represented

in the number of journals and textbooks produced in the US and Britain. (Thussu, 2013, p. 159).

Media research in and about India is still in its early stages “in terms of theoretical innovation and empirical rigour” (Thussu, 2013, p. 161). That is why more research is necessary. There is a need to understand how the act of creation of the media in India, of “news-making”, influences the creators as well as its consumers. Without going behind-the-scenes of the creation of media in India, the educational courses in media could remain skewed towards an American- or European-perspective: “... this gap in our understanding of the past [of Indian media] will limit seriously our ability to interpret the present and anticipate the future” (Parameswaran, 2010, p. 288). In the worldwide issues about “multiculturalism, intellectual property rights in the digital environment, safeguarding of media plurality and indigenous media” (Thussu, 2013, p. 161) India’s contribution would be significant.

The call for more research on magazine journalists

Sammye Johnson, a faculty member at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas, USA, began her 2007 journal article with this sentence: “The relationship between academic scholarship and the magazine industry is not currently a strong one” (S. Johnson, 2007, p. 522). She is not alone in her observation. In the same year, Tim Holmes – senior lecturer at Cardiff School of Journalism, Media & Cultural Studies – asked the question, “why has the point of reading magazines to help the understanding of the way society and culture evolves and adapts, the way socio-cultural-economic changes are initiated and disseminated, been overlooked?” (Holmes, 2007, p. 511).

Holmes has also appreciated the fact that magazines are harder to study than newspapers. The complex nature of their contents, the diversity of topics, and the sheer number of different types of magazines makes focusing the research into a homogenous subject rather difficult. At the same time, researchers also agree that this diverse nature and therefore the specificity of magazine titles makes them a useful tool in the study of particular groups of readers. For example, a comparative study of 44 versions of *Cosmopolitan* magazine from around the world (Machin, 2005), or the examination of the new paradigm of magazine journalism (Scattergood, 2013). In whatever little research on magazine or magazine workers that exists, the focus tends to be on the editor of the magazine, or its readers and less on the journalists working on it.

Academic scholars, as recently as 2013, have noted that research in the area of the global news industry has shown “less interest in journalists’ situated experience than is helpful” (Dickinson et al., 2013, p. 3). The researchers of this study, who are from the University of Leicester, point out that the changes in the media industry “cannot be understood without understanding in detail what journalists do and how they do it.” (Dickinson et al., 2013, p. 3).

Conclusion of the literature review

This chapter has reviewed existing academic and non-academic literature on the subject of magazines and magazine journalists. It was arranged into three areas, defining what a magazine is, who a magazine journalist is, and finally narrowing the focus to magazines and magazine journalists in India. There appears to be a gap in the study of magazines and magazine journalists in India, and that is what this study attempts to address.

The concept of a magazine was observed through two determining factors: the medium and the users. Various new media channels and their peculiar periodicity have rendered the traditional definition of the ink-on-paper magazine inadequate. Similarly, new media has changed the way users consume the content of the magazine. These users’ expectations have impacted the nature of the modern magazine as well. Simultaneously, the work and role of a magazine journalist has been shaped by technological advances, the training that journalists receive and also users’ expectations of what a magazine should be.

The literature review suggests a growing interest in the study of magazines and magazine journalists, with many academics suggesting that more research is necessary (Abrahamson, 2007; Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011; S. Johnson, 2007). A number of researchers have studied the peculiar aspects of magazines and magazine journalism (Gill, 2011; Holmes & Nice, 2012; Losowsky, 2011) and they, too, have said that more needs to be done. There appeared to be no similar study conducted in India, a region that deserves more attention due to its young demographic (Shukla, 2010), its swift adoption of technology (Rao, 2009; Thussu, 2013), and its potential impact on the global media landscape (Parameswaran, 2010; Rao, 2009).

The following chapter explains the methodology of this study, some of which is informed by the review of existing literature. Methods of data collection and analysis were chosen based on similar studies conducted on journalists in other countries

(Beston, 2013; Dickinson et al., 2013; Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011; Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011; Scattergood, 2013; Spyridou et al., 2013; Surugiu, 2012). The study is situated in the qualitative paradigm and a symbolic interactionist perspective is used. The debate between the ideas of Marshall McLuhan and Raymond Williams will be discussed to establish why technological determinism by itself is insufficient for this study.

Methodology

This chapter explains the rationale behind the study's research methodology. It contains a profile of the research sample, breaks down the data collection process and describes the methods used for data analysis. Issues of ethics, generalisation, and its limitations are also addressed.

Qualitative paradigm

In the dynamic world of media studies, facts are value-laden, research is dependent on context, and the focus is complex, broad, and based on multiple realities. But those are not the only reasons why this study is based in the qualitative paradigm. Quality, as Bruce Berg explains in *Qualitative Research Methods For The Social Sciences*, is the “what, how, when, and where of a thing” (2009, p. 3). Simply by that definition, and the fact that one of the research questions is “How are magazine journalists coping with the demands of digitisation, the Internet, and social media?”, it is clear that this study is not about quantity.

Quantitative orientation is based on positivism – the assumption that there is precisely one version of reality that can be measured using quantitative tools (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). However, the goal of this study is to discover how journalists feel about their work, which implies that the results of this study would be their version of reality. Furthermore, this study lacks the three things necessary for quantitative study: the lack of objectivity of the data, the nature of the data being interpretive and not measurable, and the fact that the intent of the research is discovery not action.

As evidenced in the literature review, there appears to be no study conducted on magazine journalists in India. The aims of this study include describing the magazine journalists' experience of digitisation and observing the changes they are having to make in their worklives. These aspects of the study – description, explanation, and change (Boeije, 2010, p. 33) – are three more reasons why a qualitative research design is most suited for this study.

This study aims to examine magazine journalists' changing identity, but before going into a specific group of people, it would be useful to see how any human forms a sense of identity. Berg explains that qualitative researchers “are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings

make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles, and so forth” (2009, p. 8). For journalists, this social arrangement and setting is informed by their rituals of newswork, such as reading the news, tapping sources for stories, networking with other journalists, and so on. Not only do these rituals ensure that journalists perform their job properly, but they also foster a sense of “shared solidarity, identity and in-group cohesion” (Zelizer & Allan, 2010, p. 135). As this study aimed to observe journalists as social entities that attach meaning to realities by way of their personal and their shared experience, it becomes clearer that this research is placed in the qualitative, constructivist paradigm (Boeije, 2010, p. 6).

Quantitative methods for this thesis were, therefore, deemed unsuitable. The following section explains why Berg’s symbolic interactionist perspective was used as the lens to observe magazine journalists.

Symbolic interactionist perspective

Symbolic interactionists observe the connections between “subjective consciousness, interpersonal interaction, and identity formation” (D. P. Johnson, 2008, p. 111). Such observations reveal facts about society as constructed by these interactions and what they mean to the individuals that construct it. As this study is about magazine journalists and they are seen as professionals, it is useful at this point to delve into the manner in which past research on professions and professionals has been conducted. There is the functionalist sociological study, one of whose aspects is to observe the traits of a sociological task to assess its degree of professionalism (MacDonald, 1995, pp. 2–3). Then there is the interactionist perspective which studies the individuals’ or groups’ interactions rather than comparing it to a set of standards (MacDonald, 1995, p. 4). This perspective engages with the idea of professional power, that is, the profession’s tendency to exercise control over its practitioners as well as the society that the profession is situated in.

Now, getting into the part about this study that seeks to observe magazine journalists’ identity, we can first establish the concept of this person as one who communicates with others, and therefore label them as communicator (MacKinnon & Heise, 2010, p. 53). By interviewing them about their role as communicator, the study aims to observe in what way their “present actions are directed intentionally toward an ideal future self that has not yet come into being” (D. P. Johnson, 2008, p. 118).

Berg's description of the symbolic interactionist as researcher fits the methodology of this thesis:

What humans say or do are the results of how they interpret their social world. In other words, human behaviour depends on learning rather than biological instinct. Human beings communicate what they learn through symbols, the most common system of symbols being language. ... The core task of symbolic interactionists as researchers, then, is to capture the essence of this process for interpreting or attaching meaning to various symbols. (2009, pp. 9–10)

There are three basic elements that guide the work of symbolic interactionists: first, human interactions as the central source of data; second, participants' "ability to take the roles of others (empathy)"; and third, how these participants appraise their actions and in turn, define and shape their habitat (Berg, 2009, p. 11). The best way for symbolic interactionists to achieve this is via in-depth interviews which search for meaning by asking interviewees how they make sense of their realities (Prasad, 2005, p. 25). These interviews are open-ended, which helps the interviewees feel they are in control of the direction of the interview. This approach also allows the researcher to "explore issues of self-identity by asking subjects how they see themselves and others in different social situations" (Prasad, 2005, p. 25).

Constructionist approach

In this study, as I am a magazine journalist interviewing other magazine journalists, there was no difference in our positions in terms of culture or status, which eliminated any potential barriers that would need to be broken down during the interviews. Furthermore, I followed a naturalistic, social construction approach during the interviews, focusing on the interviewees' perception of the magazine industry and how they interpret their experience of it (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 3). This idea finds favour in Saldaña's coding manual as well: "Like the characters in Akira Kurosawa's classic film, *Rashomon*, multiple realities exist because we each perceive and interpret social life from different points of view" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 8). Symbolic interaction, as Prasad has pointed out, is a part of this social constructionist approach and is "a particularly appropriate way to gain such understanding because of its emphasis on the construction of meaning in social situations" (Prasad, 1993).

As this study seeks to observe the magazine journalist's changing identity, it would help to explore the evolution of the concepts of media culture and society as described in classical Marxism right up to contemporary globalisation. By delving into the ideas of how culture is created and by whom, we can better understand the dynamics of power between creators of this culture and its consumers and thus come closer to understanding how this shapes the identity of the magazine journalist.

Furthermore, as the research question is concerned with technology (digitisation) and its influence, this chapter and indeed this study would be incomplete without exploring the debate of "technological determinism" that plays out between two of the most revered minds in communication studies: Marshall McLuhan and Raymond Williams.

From Marxism to the Frankfurt School ...

The role of journalists in society can be described by using concepts of media culture and society that evolved from Marxist thought. In modern society, there has been a kind of tug-of-war with media companies on one side and media consumers – or members of society – on the other, competing for dominance. Like a game of Follow The Leader, the power dynamics, too, keep shifting from one side to the other.

By being collectors, curators and creators of information, journalists – as seen through classical Marxism – are a class of people that can be said to "produce ideas that glorify the dominant institutions and ways of life, and propagate these governing ideas in cultural forms like literature, the press" (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 5). If we look at a society as an arena in which competing groups seek dominance – like media companies seeking to dominate an area of media production – we get into ideas of "hegemony" as posited by Italian Marxian thinker Antonio Gramsci (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 5). Following Gramsci's suggestions that hegemony is a struggle for dominance, it appears that media companies are a kind of ruling class, "using their ownership of the means of producing culture" for presenting a certain kind of living (Dickenson, 2010, p. 242).

To separate media companies from society and think of them as part of a "culture industry" would be to employ the Frankfurt School's ideas of placing mass culture and communications at the heart of leisure activity. The Frankfurt School saw these as "important agents of socialization and mediators of political reality, and should be seen as primary institutions of contemporary societies with a variety of economic, political, cultural, and social effects" (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 6).

So far it appears that the power rested with the creators, curators and disseminators of culture. It would seem that this culture is largely homogenous, which is where the work of Jürgen Habermas comes in. Habermas, a second-generation member of the Frankfurt School, developed the idea of the public sphere and its influence on media. He was against the “fascism” of the Frankfurt School and instead explored society and media culture with respect to the emergence of the public sphere during the American and French revolutions (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 7). This public sphere was formed when people gathered in salons, coffee houses and discussion societies with copies of newspapers, pamphlets and books to talk about public affairs. It was in spaces like these that “the ideals of openness, equal access and rationality seemed realized (or pretended to be realized) in spite of the social diversity of the participants” (Rhee, 2010, p. 356).

By this time, not just political and intellectual, but commercial interests started to exert increasing pressure on newspapers and advertising and entertainment gained more space in a bid to sell more papers. Soon, media corporations became bigger and more dominant, leading to a weakening of the public sphere’s power as it transformed from “a locus of information and debate to a site of manipulation by corporate powers” (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 8).

... to Political Economy and Globalization

It would seem that commercial interests would change media companies into assemblers and packagers of audience segments which they could then “sell” to advertisers (Meehan, 2012, p. 243). Naturally, these “packages” were largely homogenous leading to the creation of a “consumer society based on uniform needs and desires for mass-produced products and a mass society based on social organization and conformity” (Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 8). Now three things were exerting influence on the media: politics, culture, as well as money.

But a fourth influencer, technology, changed things again as satellite television, cellular phones, and internet access blurred the boundaries and widened the potential markets and societies that media companies had access to. Technology thus became an important contributor to what we now know as globalization. Not only was this new consumer society more voluminous than ever before, it was also not homogenous at all. Rather than classify the audience based on one culture, this new consumer society was instead seen as a mixing of various cultures (Nederveen Pieterse, 1994).

Further technological advances led to a point of time in which the concept of media as a separate entity disappeared (Deuze, 2011b). Now that consumers also had the tools for creating and replicating media content (Sohn & Schneider, 2010) – and although these tools might be less sophisticated than the tools media companies have – the answer to the question of who is in control of the media has become more complicated. In their efforts to retain control of content, media companies introduced digital rights management (DRM). However, now that media consumers have bypassed these controls as well, it seems the power has once again shifted away from media content creators: “the question is no longer who should implement DRM, but whether we should have DRM at all” (Sohn & Schneider, 2010, p. 203). At this point, it would be useful to look into ideas of technological determinism.

McLuhan, Williams and Technological Determinism

Curran (2002) summarises the tradition of technological determinism into four central arguments. The first is that new means of communication change the organization of society by changing the dimensions of space and time. The second one is that new means of communication change the nature of human senses and perception. Third, new means of communication affect the structure of interpersonal relations. And finally, new technological means of communication disrupt traditional paths of communication and influence. This, the fourth argument comes closest to what this study aims to explore: the disruption of the traditional role, identity, or influence of magazine journalists.

One of the most influential philosophers of communication theory, Marshall McLuhan, presented ideas of “desocialised” media operations. From his point-of-view, media interaction is not based on relations between ourselves, but it is actually our perception of the relations between a “generalised human organism and its general physical environment” (Jones, 1998).

McLuhan sees technological development as an autonomous process, which suggests that the printing press, for example, was “discovered” through human study and experiment and that led to “the Enlightenment”. Similarly, “telegraphy led to the industrial revolution and that the Internet has led to an information age” (May, 2003, p. 175). In fact, in one of his lectures titled ‘Man And Media’, McLuhan illustrates man’s helplessness in the face of technological development by comparing the experience to a horror movie: “*The Exorcist* is an account of how it feels to live in the electric age, how it feels to be completely taken over by alien forces and hidden powers” (McLuhan,

1979, p. 280). He goes on to say that new technologies such as cars, telegraph, or radio have the power to change – and damage – the identity of the people who use them. This change can be so radical that the effect can be “more deadly and destructive to human values than were wars fought with hardware weapons” (McLuhan, 1979, p. 286) and more devastating than food and fuel shortages. McLuhan appears to suggest that man is inherently incapable of coping with the effects of technology.

This brings us to the ideas of McLuhan’s biggest critic: Raymond Williams. According to May, Williams is “passionate about the possibilities of technological innovation but insists that the development, take-up and use of technologies are all shaped by the social relations of the world into which they enter” (2003, p. 174). In fact, Williams suggests that society itself is a form of communication, “through which experience is described, shared, modified, and preserved” (R. Williams, 1976, p. 10). Williams’s vision of a democratic creation of media – in which all members of society are “direct autonomous composers” (R. Williams, 1976) – is clear to see in today’s media landscape. Williams’s observations, which he made before the creation and popularity of the Internet, still resonate strongly almost four decades later. With his focus on the social context of media and technology, Williams puts the spotlight on questions such as “who has developed the technology, in whose interests, for what purposes, for which audiences, and with what consequences?” (May, 2003, p. 175).

This goes to show that for the purpose of this study, the data to be observed is not just the technology behind the creation of magazines today, but the journalists who use this technology to create magazines for their specific audiences. As Williams has pointed out, technology is a relationship: it is “necessarily in complex and variable connection with other social relations and institutions” (R. Williams, 1976).

Data collection: Interviews

For gaining an in-depth experiential account of an aspect of a respondent’s life, the interview is considered “the basic method of data gathering” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 120). Qualitative interview studies conducted with a small number of participants have scope for informal patterns of questioning (Silverman, 2010, p. 204). For this study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted using a set of open-ended questions (see Appendix 3a). Structured interviews would be unsuitable for this study as those are ideal for data gathering associated with surveys, wherein rational responses to questions are more valuable than assessing the emotional dimensions of the responses

(Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, pp. 124, 126). The idea behind choosing a semi-structured interview style was to encourage the participants to talk about their lives as magazine journalists as freely as possible, to allow them to set the pace of the interview, while simultaneously trying to find the information that is relevant to this study.

From a constructionist perspective, reality is built through “communication, interaction, and practice” (Tracy, 2012, p. 40) so the interview questions were about the journalists’ work, their interactions with others in their workplace, and what they felt about the changes they are going through. Instead of framing questions that attempt to find truth or reality in the interviewees’ answers, the questions were framed “in pursuit of a different, ‘narrated’ reality in which the ‘situated’, or locally produced, nature of accounts is to the fore” (Silverman, 2013, p. 238). Some of the questions were, for example, “Is there a difference of status between the print team and the web/digital team?” and “Have your ways of information-gathering changed in any way?” As Berg has pointed out about the symbolic interactionist perspective, “human behaviour depends on learning rather than biological instinct” (2009, p. 9) which led to questions like, “In the past five years, have you had to change your perception of how you view yourself?”, and “Do you feel the necessity to be ‘multiskilled’ has affected the quality of your work as a journalist?” (See Appendix 3a for full list of indicative questions.)

It is useful to mention at this point The Iowa School’s contribution to the symbolic interactionist methodology: A research instrument called the twenty-statement test or TST. This test involves asking the interviewee to answer the question “Who am I?” using 20 different words. These words are then scored to represent either an external or internal self-concept (Berg, 2009, p. 11). However, as the TST is designed for testing of hypotheses, it would not work for this study. Nevertheless, its manner of scoring of external and internal self-concept was useful for fine-tuning questions so that the interviewees would reveal self-concepts in conversation. One of the interviewees, for instance, said she was described as a “scholar” for choosing to pursue journalism, revealing that this was her external self-concept.

Research sample

A research study that results in a definitive understanding of all magazine journalists in India would have to be a large-scale undertaking beyond the limited scope of time and expertise that was available to this researcher. So to maintain the exploratory nature of this study, and in order to encourage further analysis of magazine journalists in India

(Silverman, 2013, p. 37) certain strengths and limitations were identified and allowances were made to ensure the research sample's validity was justified. Furthermore, it was established that the peculiar contribution of this study – as is the case for most qualitative studies – is to provide an in-depth analysis of a small amount of data (Silverman, 2013, p. 54).

Based on my skills, which were at novice level when conducting this research (Berg, 2009, p. 46), and due to the limited time and budget available, I decided that a random convenience sample would be best for this study.

Strengths of the research sample

To make this a purposeful sample, I did my best to randomise the sample by approaching twice the number of participants I needed for the study: I contacted eleven professional contacts in the Indian media (see Chapter 8: Appendix for samples of emails, information sheets, and consent forms) out of which I received five positive responses.

The aim of the study, as seen through the symbolic interaction perspective, was to “convey the rich texture of specific patterns in social life as they actually unfold in particular settings” (D. P. Johnson, 2008, p. 113). Although it would be far fetched to generalize the results on the basis of such a small research sample, by extracting “thick descriptions” from the data, the results may be generalized only as far as similar participants and situations that may be observed (D. P. Johnson, 2008, p. 113; Prasad, 1993, p. 1422). Furthermore, bearing in the mind the limited time and resources available to me, and the fact that my goal was to provide an in-depth analysis of a small amount of data, I decided that five interviews would be sufficient for this study.

The participants were from Mumbai, India. They were between 27 to 38 years old, with at least five to 10 years of experience in journalism, and more than one year in magazine journalism.

They were employed with some of India's most popular consumer magazines (travel, fashion, and music) – a genre that has been affected the most because of changes in technology and the emergence of social media (Scattergood, 2013, p. 114; Silva, 2011, p. 305).

Each of the participants had a postgraduate qualification in media studies, if not specifically journalism, and had been with their current employer for more than 12 months.

Table 1: Participants' background

Magazine journalists	Gender	Age	Years in journalism	Years with magazine
MJ1	Female	35	14	5
MJ2	Female	28	7	7
MJ3	Female	28	7	7
MJ4	Female	27	6	6
MJ5	Male	38	13	4

Limitations of the research sample

Although using this sampling method has its risks – for instance, looking like I'm trying to avoid hard work – a convenience sample allowed me to make full use of my existing network of magazine journalists in India (Tracy, 2012, p. 135). The people, interactions, and social structures that are part of the research questions were easily available to me (Berg, 2009, p. 46). Any potential for coercion and bias was carefully eliminated, and this is explained in the sub-chapter 'Ethical issues'. By seeing this study as an attempt to raise questions about magazine journalists – and not as an attempt to provide “categorical ‘truths’ about” (Silverman, 2013, p. 36) magazine journalists – the relatively small sample size of this research study becomes less of a limitation.

Conducting the interviews

The interviews were conducted over Skype, and video and audio recordings of these were made. I was thus able to pay full attention to the interviewee and our conversation – this would have been difficult if I was taking notes simultaneously – and allowed me to jot down ideas for follow-up questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 100). The recordings ensured that the interviewees' quotes were accurate. Transcripts were sent back to each interviewee for approval before I began coding, thus giving the interviewees the chance to correct any misinterpreted or misheard information. Writing up the analysis became easier thanks to the recordings, which could be referred to at any point if interviews seemed to get muddled together (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, pp. 64–65).

According to Rubin and Rubin, naturalist and constructionist researchers, as well as research subjects, make interpretations so it is impossible to eliminate all biases or expectations (2012, p. 16). However, as this research was being conducted as part of a thesis, suitable guidelines were followed for addressing researcher bias – the research supervisor participated as the observer of the interview process, following which recommendations for the remaining interviews were incorporated (Chenail, 2011, p. 258). Using Rubin and Rubin's guide to qualitative interviewing and Saldaña's coding manual, these interviews were subjected to a thematic analysis.

Data analysis

This section of the chapter explains how the gathered data were analysed. The section explains how the data were coded and why thematic analysis was carried out.

As is common practice in qualitative data analysis, the gathered data was segmented, compared, and reassembled as a step towards finding answers to the research question (Boeije, 2010, p. 77). As expected from the interview questions, the transcripts were of a descriptive nature, with interviewees offering examples, anecdotes, and narrations of their experiences as magazine journalists.

Coding & thematic analysis

Initial coding was done using concepts and themes "explicitly asked about" in the interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 195) which has also been described as codes on the "manifest level (directly observable in the information)" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4). This was the first cycle of coding, as defined by Saldaña (2013). These codes were assembled into themes, which Rubin and Rubin define as "a statement that summarizes what is going on, explains what is happening, or suggests why something is done the way it is" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 118). Such themes were already incorporated in the interview questions, especially ones that asked the magazine journalists about their work, how it has changed, and why these changes have had to take place. "Coding is thus a method that enables you to organize and group similarly coded data into categories or "families" because they share some characteristic" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 8).

In the second cycle of coding, I looked for concepts and themes that interviewees alluded to, but did not explicitly describe. This can be called coding at the "latent level (underlying the phenomenon)" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4). While the codes at the manifest level were things like "challenges" or "attitude towards digitization", codes at the latent

level were more subtle. For example, a detailed anecdote by one of the interviewees about interns in her office revealed how confident she was about her role as a skilled magazine journalist. Notions of “self-identity” were thus made clearer by the interviewee’s choice of words and phrases, such as “I find they have problems”, or “things as basic as these I did not have to be taught”.

At this point it was important to keep going back to the original research questions so that the analysis did not stray from the focus of the study. By arranging the codes and themes and looking for repetition, it became clear which are the most common themes. These were then arranged in terms of how they connected with each other and what they revealed about the journalists’ self-identity.

Ethical issues

I followed guidelines laid down by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) so that privacy and confidentiality of the participants was protected throughout the research process (see Appendix 1).

The email sent to participants (see Appendix 2) clearly explained the aim of the research and why they were chosen as a potential participant. The email assured the participant that they were free to refuse to participate and that this would not affect their relations with me in any way. An Information Sheet and Consent Form (see Appendix 2a and Appendix 3) were included and recipients were asked to convey their decision after considering it for a minimum of three days.

All participants gave signed consent and they were assured that their identities would not be revealed in the study, that the information they provided would be used only for the purpose of this study, and that they had the right to withdraw from the study with no obligation to offer a reason.

Generalisation and its limits

Before going into the generalisability of this study’s findings, it is useful to reiterate that this study is placed in a qualitative, constructivist paradigm. In this kind of research, reality is observed through the “subjective frame of reference of those observed, to capture the nuances and the singular characteristics of the social environment” (M. Williams, 2000, p. 212).

Although Malcolm Williams points out that generalisation is inevitable in interpretivist research (M. Williams, 2000, p. 210), he presents three kinds of generalisations that occur in research studies. **Total generalisations** can be made when the situation being studied is identical “in every detail” to every other instance of that situation; such as when conducting experiments in, say, thermodynamics or similar replicable sciences. **Statistical generalisations** are made when the probability of a situation occurring is estimated based on a study of a small number of instances. This form of generalisation is applied when the sample being studied is larger (as in sociological surveys and some natural sciences) and has been assembled using a sampling frame.

The third kind of generalisation that Malcolm Williams suggests, the one he calls **moderatum generalisation**, fits this study the best. It is where aspects of the situation being studied “can be seen to be instances of a broader recognisable set of features” (M. Williams, 2000, p. 215). Williams goes on to say that this form of generalisation is seen most commonly in interpretive research (see Qualitative paradigm section). As Williams states, “this would seem to be inevitable if we are to ‘say something of something’.” (M. Williams, 2000, p. 213).

As for this study, while conducting the literature review, I observed that although this study is situated in India and its findings cannot be generalised, my study could be extrapolated to include magazine journalists in any mass media market of the same size and maturity. As Deuze has pointed out, journalists in the face of media convergence are “forced to give meaning to their work and thus construct their own professional identity in the context of rapidly changing and often overlapping work contexts” (Deuze, 2008, p. 111). The factors that influence magazine journalists’ work in this study – emerging dominance of social media, a fickle audience, and the rush to be multi-skilled coupled with a swelling workload – are factors that affect magazine journalists everywhere. Going back to Williams, the sample of magazine journalists in my study reflects “the relevant characteristics of the wider group to which” I intend to generalise (2000, p. 216).

Research findings

The results of the data gathered in interviews with five magazine journalists are presented in this chapter. Each interview lasted, on average, 45-60 minutes and was conducted as a video call over Skype. The interviewees had between four to seven years' experience in magazine journalism, and six to 14 years' experience in newspaper or broadcast journalism.

In this chapter, the research questions raised in **Chapter 1: Introduction** are reiterated and addressed. The findings have been organised according to the themes that emerged through the data analysis. Where appropriate, subheadings have been used to arrange the findings into topics within the themes. These subheadings also serve to define the magazine journalists' sense of identity, as their medium goes from print to digital. Each of the five magazine journalists has been identified as MJ followed by a number, for example, MJ1.

One of the main findings of this study is that many magazine journalists, who would traditionally have defined their identity based on the magazine they were working for, no longer do so. As the medium has gone digital, this is changing, and journalists have increasingly had to forge their own identities, independent of the magazine they work for. In this new role, journalists are expected to promote their own work on social media and were also free to promote others' work in a similar fashion. When the interviewees were explicitly asked to define their own role as a magazine journalist, they struggled to find the right words. A few of them even admitted that they had never thought of how they see themselves at all.

In some sections, the findings of this study appeared to mirror those of other, similar studies conducted in other countries (Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007; Scattergood, 2013; Surugiu, 2012; Thomas, 2008). Wherever this occurred, and wherever it seemed appropriate, I have attempted to show how my results could be generalised by drawing comparisons to similar studies in the field of magazine studies. This study is meant to offer a starting point for similar studies to be conducted in India and other parts of the world as well. I have provided a more in-depth exploration of these aspects of the study in the **Chapter 5: Discussion** and **Chapter 6: Conclusion**.

RQ1: How are magazine journalists coping with the demands of digitisation, the Internet, and social media?

This section of the chapter addresses the first research question, and it is split into two sub-sections: **Attitude towards digital**, and **What's the future?** The overarching sentiments are those of positivity, hope, and the willingness to take on new challenges. In other words, magazine journalists appeared to be coping well with the demands of digitisation. These sentiments appear to be in contrast to similar studies involving magazine journalists and journalists in general situated in other countries. A UK study, for example, brought up issues of survival of magazines (Scattergood, 2013), another pan-European study revealed that journalists feel they are losing their professional status (Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011), while another discussed the conflict that journalists feel about their duty towards their reader versus their obligation towards their employer (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). In this study, every interviewee admitted that these demands and conflicts could be overwhelming to some, but they also said that they had managed to reconcile these conflicts.

Attitude towards digital media

At the start of every interview, the magazine journalists were asked about their educational background, what they feel about their audience, what their level of engagement on social media and digital media is, and how they feel their work has changed because of digital media. Their responses were coded and split into themes following the guidelines of Rubin and Rubin (2012) and Saldaña (2013).

The theme 'Attitude towards digital media' is split into three sub-themes: What journalists are expected to do when they "go digital", what they feel about the "print versus digital" debate, and what they feel about self-promotion.

Going digital

Instead of just focusing on long reads, magazine journalists these days are required to make playlists, curate videos, assemble, and sometimes create content that can be shared on social media (Beston, 2013; Lariscy, Avery, Sweetser, & Howes, 2009; Marshall, 2013). While all the journalists interviewed said that going digital has meant more work, none of them saw this as a burden.

"It has made the job tougher, but it's also made it more fun. You're forced to use your brains a little more, in a way." – MJ2

Most of them were expected to contribute to their magazine's websites and social media channels. The ones who were not were doing it anyway, keenly aware that there is no escaping the fact that everyone has to go digital. MJ3, however, compared digital challenges in magazine publishing to the changes in the music recording industry: "It's like crying that nobody listens to cassettes anymore. We've got USB sticks now and that's good!" Conversely, in a similar study conducted with long-form journalists in New Zealand, the interviewees "perceived themselves as dinosaurs and believed it was a perception shared by others" (Beston, 2013, p. 45).

In this study, all interviewees were confident and clear about how to use different kinds of social media. For example, MJ3 said:

"... larger stories ... go into the magazine, my photos go on Instagram, the pieces that I like and I want others to read go on Facebook, my blog is for my food thing ... As long as you know what aspect of yourself to give to each mediums, it's fine, you're just distributing. You're not expected to deliver as much on each and every one."

When asked about whether they would like to receive training so they can use social media better, everyone said they would appreciate it. However, the training had to be at an appropriate level. MJ4 said that she would attend a training workshop only if it was worthwhile.

"Sometimes these workshops just tend to tell you things you already know. If you're already in that space, and you're not averse to technology then you do just fine. But there are so many people I know who are just off Facebook and Twitter and can't handle it; it's difficult for them. You'll see what they bring to the table is very different, in terms of stories and ideas that they have."

No one complained about being made to work on the print edition as well as the digital channels. Having said that, everyone acknowledged that it is a lot more work, having to take pictures, shoot video, record audio, and so on, whenever and wherever possible to add to each story. Further, MJ1 said that working on both platforms affects the quality of her work, especially since writing for the website and for social media posts means the deadlines are much tighter.

“Maybe this problem would be solved if there were a digital video team or social media team helping you out ... I’m doing everything, like my colleagues are, on my own, and I think it does affect the quality of your work.”

This sentiment is echoed in a UK study, which found that “journalists will still need to produce fresh material for the new platforms without taking their eye off the original print product” (Scattergood, 2013, p. 118). The study also points out that a magazine’s printed content is in competition with its digital content. This competition has the potential to manifest as a power struggle between the editorial team (print edition) and the digital team (website, social media).

However, in most of the interviews conducted for this study, there appeared to be no tussle between which team gets priority. MJ5 described how the two teams in his office work together:

“I think it’s a very symbiotic relationship. We all sit together we all work together so it’s a huge impact on it if I receive, say, a press release now, and it doesn’t make sense for me to put it in the magazine three months later, which is the lead time of working on a magazine, I’ll immediately tell my web editor and say hey I think this should go online.” – MJ5

MJ4 said that the digital team in her office does “dabble in print” sometimes and that she and her team contribute to online content, too, describing the contribution as, “we’re planning stories together, we’re working together”. MJ4 also said she has heard of offices where the “print [team] doesn’t want to write for web” and is “very averse to doing anything else apart from print”.

Print versus digital

Three out of the five interviewees said that there used to be a time when strong stories were used in the print edition and weak ones went on the website – almost as if being discarded – but that is slowly changing. Editors and publishers realise now that, depending on the story and its requirement of multimedia content, it could work better on digital platforms than in print, which suggests that digital media is slowly commanding more respect.

On more than one occasion, the website BuzzFeed was mentioned. All the interviewees mentioned how editors and even the audience were expecting that kind of bite-sized content from their favourite magazines.

Self-promotion

In the modern digital world, where engaging with the audience on social media is essential for journalists, the practice of self-promotion also becomes necessary (Oputu, 2014, p. 12). Journalists' perception of self-promotion as a narcissistic PR exercise keeps them from embracing it as an effective way of reaching their audience (Fowler-Watt & Allan, 2013, p. 272). However, as MJ2 pointed out while describing her own experience, journalists need to work harder to break through the clutter and for their work to get noticed. "I do get the sense of, I am now one in a crowd of people doing this kind of work," said MJ2.

Every journalist interviewed for this study struggled with promoting themselves on social media and on the Internet. MJ5 likened the act to "pimping my own stories" and "blowing his own horn". While he was comfortable sharing and highlighting his colleagues' work, he finds self-promotion crass: "That's why I let my social media team do that." MJ4 said that this is a problem that all journalists need to overcome and unless they become more active online they will be unable to survive.

"... at the end of the day, if no one's reading the magazine ... they're not seeing your work. And if your work is not getting seen, what are you doing? I think you need to get the word out there about your work, and I think web is the better platform to do it." – MJ4

MJ3 said she was slowly becoming comfortable with social media and Twitter, especially after she found that social media was useful to find story ideas. "I do this of my own volition and because I am interested and quite happy to meet people," she said, and went on to give an example of an article about local cheese that she wrote based on her contact with an Instagram user. MJ4 felt that social media interaction was a great way to get feedback for her stories as well.

"I think it's interesting, because earlier it used to be so passive, you just put the content out there you wouldn't care for what worked what didn't work, but you'd know about it if someone wrote a letter three months down the line. Now you instantly know what's working what

isn't how many hits it received. And you know what kind of stories to write and what not to." – MJ4

Despite showing antipathy towards acting as their own publicist, all the interviewees realised the importance of becoming a personality independent of the magazine they are working for, especially on social media, as people follow other people. MJ1 felt she was becoming part of the online community of bloggers and social media sharers as well. She said she was determined to not be "stuck in a vacuum" in which she believed people are reading her stories when, in fact, they're probably not.

"People in the industry may have known me but regular people [same as the magazine readers] who attended gigs [live concerts] may not have known me. ... It was also a huge wake-up call for me. I realised that nobody is reading print and, wherever I freelance I should ensure that my by-line went out online. I thought it was integral to getting my work out there." – MJ1

Despite MJ5's apprehension towards self-promotion, he said he found himself posting selfies "more as a matter of routine" but realised that those images could work to promote his magazine stories, too. He echoed what MJ1 said about "naturally flipping out your phone and recording" something that could become part of the final magazine story that gets published.

What's the future?

This theme addresses the second part of RQ1: "How are magazine journalists coping with the demands of digitisation, the Internet, and social media?" The journalists brought up subjects of going "all-digital", the emergence of video content, and the importance of finding ways to monetise social media.

Magazine journalists in India have a vision for the future of their occupation. The interviewees were confident that magazines would evolve into a different form, however, they did not feel that the print version of the magazine would have to succumb. They also felt that the next big medium for magazines is digital video and that they would be willing to gain the skills necessary for becoming magazine journalists who not only write articles but also create engaging video content.

Print cannot be ignored

All the journalists agreed that going digital is the way forward, however, a magazine needs to put its existing print edition first. In the case of some magazines, such as the one MJ2 works for, the audience is older and harder to reach via websites or social media. MJ2 said, “The way I see it, we’ll need to be in print for a long time because a lot of our readers are not available online.” MJ3 had a different point of view about the print edition; she compared the future of paper magazines to “gramophone records” – they may not have the same status as they used to but they would become collectors’ items. As for the notion of print magazines becoming obsolete, MJ5 had this to say: “...radio didn’t get killed by television, as much as they predicted it would.”

Video is the next big thing

All journalists interviewed had smartphones and were already capturing videos on their devices. MJ3 felt that if she could shoot a video that was worthy of being uploaded on the magazine’s website, she would be “valued tremendously”.

“[Video] has the potential to go viral and sadly a piece, the written word, is not going to viral in this day and age, unless it has pictures of baby guinea pigs, or cats or elephants stuck in the middle of it.” – MJ3

MJ2 said she would like to have someone help her to shoot the video so her mind would not be in two places – worrying about whether she is getting everything she needs for the written article and simultaneously worrying about shooting the right images for the video. In the case of MJ1, MJ4, and MJ5, shooting and uploading videos related to their magazines meant it would help them connect with their audience more effectively.

“... [Video] is such an exciting medium you’re just naturally flipping out your phone and recording a gig or a video of an artist that you’re talking to ... it’s great to have that as part of the piece.” – MJ1

Magazines will evolve... slowly

Everyone agreed that magazines and feature writing would always be around. However, our definition of what a magazine is will change. As MJ2 put it, “I think journalism will never really go away, but the other forms of media will have to be incorporated. I don’t think that is something you can ignore.” Others agreed that there will have to be more “bite-sized” type articles and feature-length stories will be read on tablet devices. Although this meant more work for the journalists, all agreed that the results made it all

worth it. MJ3 said, “I think it’ll be a better piece, because there’ll be more pictures and video and audio.”

While the journalists interviewed recognised the significance, they also felt that there is some way to go before their magazines plunge into digitisation wholeheartedly. Part of the reason is the people behind the big decisions: editors and publishers. MJ1 and MJ3 used phrases like “old-school” and “older generation” to describe their bosses. MJ4 felt that senior editors, publishers, and owners of magazines should adjust their perception of social media:

“There’s an idea that oh it’s just social media, it’s not really writing and you’re writing short pieces, there’s that whole attitude towards web, for some reason, which is not entirely fair because you’re doing so many things! You’re trying to do tweets, you’re doing Facebook, Instagram, and news is breaking around on the web ... but I don’t think people see it as something very serious.” – MJ4

Not taking social media seriously meant that sufficient resources would not be deployed for its execution. This goes for publishers of magazines as well as advertisers, who MJ4 pointed out, are not convinced of the value of digital ads. MJ4 brought up another point of apprehension – she said she was not worried about digitisation but she worried that people have yet to figure out how to monetise it. She felt that online space is not given the value it deserves even though it is the first thing users see about the magazine.

“... your website is the face of the magazine more than anything else, yet people tend to not value it as much. ... Print pages are given more importance in terms of money and prestige. I think once that changes you’ll have more faith in digital expansion and you’d be OK with print becoming obsolete. ... Another 15-20 years and we should start panicking if no one has figured out how to monetise digital!” – MJ4

There was mild impatience in all the interviewees’ responses regarding their bosses’ slow adaptation to and uptake of digital technology. However, there was also a belief that things will change. As MJ5 emphasised, it is very important that their bosses take their time to understand and plan a clear vision for digitisation.

“As long as the decision-makers know what they want from it, and how they’re going about it, once that is crystallised, then I think it’s

OK for everyone else to know about it; because if they're confused, you're going to be even more confused about it."

RQ2: In what way has the role of the magazine journalist changed in his or her own eyes?

This section of the chapter addresses the second research question by delving into the same data and inferring from the journalists' responses how their perception of a magazine journalist has changed.

Self identity

When asked how he or she sees himself or herself, every journalist took a long pause to consider the question before answering it. A few of them admitted that they had never thought of themselves at all. After asking other questions such as how they decided to pursue journalism as a career, and what their values as journalists were, they gradually began to reveal more about their self-identity.

When asked why they chose journalism, four out of the five journalists interviewed said that it was not a mindful, carefully considered decision. They all enjoyed reading, the play of words, writing and using words, and were all sticklers for detail.

Other people as mirrors

Although it was difficult for the journalists to define how they see themselves, they could articulate quite clearly how others saw them, and how they see themselves in a relative context.

"The funny thing is, when I tell people what I do, the ones who've known me since I was very young, they always say "ya we knew"." – MJ2

While speaking about what they learnt in journalism school, and whether it has helped them in their careers, some of the journalists felt that they inherently possessed some of the skills required for the job. MJ2, for instance, noticed this about herself while working with interns who were fresh out of journalism school:

“I realised that there were things that were as basic as these I did not have to be taught, I may have needed that polishing, I may have not done it as well then as I do it today, but I had an idea to begin with.”
– MJ2

MJ3 had a similar experience working with interns:

“It’s not like the ones who have studied journalism feel like they have an edge over the others, I really don’t think so, it really just comes down to who you are as a person and little to do with everything else.” – MJ3

In her first job at a magazine, MJ3 said she felt like a “blank slate”, which suggests that she felt her education had not prepared her for the job at all. MJ3 also added that this, in fact, worked to her advantage. She could maximise her learning this way. In fact, she realised that her writing skills were not enough to become a valued employee and she expressed this by defining who her ideal choice of employee would be.

“I’d hire somebody, for instance, who was a mediocre writer, but a great ideate-er and a great production person, over somebody who was just a phenomenal writer. You realise that there are various other machines that are at play when you’re looking at a larger publication.” – MJ3

When asked if they felt their journalism school education had prepared them for the work they are currently doing, they all said it had not. All the participants felt, unanimously, that their J-school education was lacking in many ways. They felt unprepared for the demands of their job and felt that they received better instruction about magazine writing from their seniors and colleagues. Some of the interviewees also said they had to “unlearn” some of their ethical ideas of journalism, especially when faced with the dilemma of writing articles with an advertorial bent while also trying to keep the readers’ best interest in mind.

Although this appears to be in conflict with the apparent upward trend of new journalism schools opening up in India (Rao, 2009; Thussu, 2013) it also mirrors the Western sentiment about training in journalism being less than perfect (Deuze, 2001; Frith & Meech, 2007; Lewis, 1993).

Me and the audience

All the journalists recognised the impact of their work and in what way social media and the Internet had affected the impact of their work. They all said they had to try harder than ever before to get noticed and be read, because so many others – not just journalists – were putting information out there that is easily accessible. Other researchers have also observed and questioned this changing relationship between journalists and their audience. One study used the term “neo-journalists” (Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011) to describe the new audience, another described audience members as “competitor-colleagues” (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011) in relation to magazine journalists, while another one simply called them “The People Formerly Known As The Audience” (Rosen, 2006).

The interviewees in this study were keenly aware of this changing dynamic. However, they were also clear about what they had to do to keep the audience interested. Rather than the message or information itself, they said the manner or the style in which the message was put across would grab their audience’s attention.

“Every magazine is covering the same people, the same stories, so it’s the angles that you find and the stories that you get from these people. It’s not so much about new things, it’s about learning different facets of things, or trends, opinion pieces, those would be the things you’d turn to a magazine for.” – MJ4

While speaking about their responsibilities to the audience, MJ2 observed “how easily people are taken in by what they see, whether it’s in print or on TV” and how she realised the extent of the impact of her articles. This suggested that MJ2 felt responsible towards her readers and she was acutely conscious of the content of her articles and the potential of losing her audience’s trust. This task of building and negotiating trust with the audience has been brought up by several researchers studying not just journalism, but also specifically magazines (Fowler-Watt & Allan, 2013; Hayes et al., 2007; Le Masurier, 2014; Singer, 2003) and, in one case, even referring to this task as ‘getting into bed with your reader’ (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 27).

MJ2 also said that the significance of her role as a trusted provider of information is somewhat diminished by the fact that there appear to be so many more journalists now than there used to be.

“I do get the sense of, I am now one in a crowd of people doing this kind of work.” – MJ2

This perception of being just another face in the crowd comes from the growing interest in the pursuit of a career in the media (Rao, 2009, p. 41; Thussu, 2013, p. 157).

Me and the magazine

Working harder to get noticed has meant that journalists know their audience better than ever before. This has led to them being asked to sit in at meetings with the magazine’s marketing and advertising teams so that they can provide inputs for helping to increase sales and subscriptions of the magazine. MJ3 said, for instance, that she had insights on the audience and the world that they inhabit that the marketing team may not always have. All the journalists interviewed said that it was crucial to meet the demands of editorial and marketing at a halfway point. As MJ1 described it: “[The marketing team] will ask us, ‘Are you doing something so that we can pitch something around it’ but it hasn’t happened that we go out of our way and try and get some editorial [content] in so that an ad can be accommodated.” Similar observations were made in a New Zealand study which found that long-form journalists in newspapers were asked by the employers for more “ ‘integration’ of editorial and advertising” (Beston, 2013, p. 65).

Every journalist interviewed showed that his or her prime responsibility is always towards the reader. For example, MJ2 was keenly aware of how influential the messages in media can be: “... we can see something that clearly shouts ‘advertorial!’ — by we I mean journalists – whereas I’ve realised what a vast difference there is in the perception the audience has.” MJ2 said she could see her own family being swayed by these media messages:

“... they come from an educated background and I would say they’re fairly aware, more aware than most people. In spite of that there are a lot of things that make an impression on them which makes me wonder how easily people are taken in by what they see, whether it’s in print or on TV or wherever else. And this is something that always plays on my mind when I am writing something.” – MJ2

Deuze and Fortunati have expanded on this conflict, describing how “journalists are required to survey and denounce the power which gives them the money to live” (2011, p. 166). MJ4 accepted the inevitability of the editorial team having to meet the marketing team halfway to ensure the success of the magazine – as long as advertorial

content was labelled as such. MJ3 felt that working closely with the marketing team could only be beneficial.

“...you’ve got a team that’s marketing you; I’m going to write a food blog so while over here my identity as a writer really just depends on what story I’m doing, the minute you have a column that has to do with food that is regularly updated and which people are advertising for you, you can only gain from that as a writer.” – MJ3

From gatekeeper to competitor

With celebrities and personalities taking to social media to connect with their fans / followers, the journalists’ role has changed. MJ3 felt that she’s gone from being a gatekeeper (giving readers access to celebrity) to competitor (becoming a personality herself). By becoming a personality that is independent of the magazine they’re writing for, MJ3 felt that she was freer to, and in fact, encouraged to pursue writing for other publications. As long as the journalist was identified by designation and publication – and he or she fulfilled the duties of the magazine that pays the salary – he or she could write for any other publication they wanted to.

The downside for journalists of a certain age group is that they are not used to promoting themselves, and MJ3 pointed out that this might even lead to some good writers being lost.

“There’s a lot of pressure to be as cool as that person, to have as many followers, to have as many tweets ... in the democratisation of the internet, the cred that you got for simply being a journalist you don’t have anymore.” – MJ3

On the bright side, MJ1 presented this example to show that journalists need not feel their role is being diminished in any way: “Maybe the reader would be... say, a die-hard Radiohead fan, maybe one day he’ll be part of my story because I’ve seen him tweet to [lead singer of Radiohead] Thom Yorke ...” MJ1 said good journalists would find ways to tell stories with the changing times.

This is the attitude that fosters the “positive environment for the progress of journalism” that researchers have discussed in other studies (Sutcu & Oztermiyeci, 2011, p. 53). Although it is a challenge, research in America showed that digital storytelling is

becoming an important area of investment, as can be seen from the launch of HuffPost Live and Vice's multimedia portal (Pew Research Center, 2014, p. 6).

Writers forever

All the journalists found it hard to predict what they would do in the next ten to fifteen years, but they all said they would “continue to write in some format or the other” and be creating magazine-like content. They were certain that there would always be an audience for feature journalism, even though reading patterns might change, and the devices through which people consume feature stories will change.

“I would imagine that everything we create would have a sort of 360[-degree], digital and print bent, you have to explore ways to make sure that what you did in the magazine still felt up-to-date, current and didn't feel 2002.” – MJ5

Closing remarks

The results of the study were presented in this chapter. They were arranged according to three major themes – **Attitude towards digital**, **What's the future?**, and **Self identity** – that were used to answer the two research questions of this study. References to results of past studies were made wherever they appeared to mirror the results of this study. For example, journalists interviewed for this study felt that their journalism education had been insufficient, which is an issue that also comes up in Western studies (Deuze, 2001; Frith & Meech, 2007; Lewis, 1993).

Results that were contrary to existing studies were also noted. For instance, this study found that magazine journalists in India are hopeful for the future of magazines, which is in contrast to results of other studies which discussed issues of survival of magazines (Scattergood, 2013), loss of professional status (Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011), and conflict between their duty towards their reader versus their employer (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011). The following chapter, titled **Chapter 5: Discussion**, goes into greater detail about these results, exploring reasons why they appeared the way they did.

Discussion

This chapter contains reflections on the research findings. The overarching finding of this study was that magazine journalists in India were coping well with the digitisation of their publications. They admitted to difficulties adapting to new ways of working, including with the speed, quantity, and variety of output they are expected to deliver. It was also found that magazine journalists in India were being compelled to rethink their role and identity, in some cases, for the first time in their career. Despite this being daunting, the research discovered a sense of hope and positivity, even among the interviewees who find social media and the Internet difficult to work with.

This chapter contains an overview of the aims of this research. The research questions have been reiterated here and answered, too. A discussion of the results, specifically in relation to the contribution this study has made to existing theory, research and practice in magazine studies, has been presented. The results have been interpreted in order to provide some explanation of why they occurred as they did. They have been compared with other existing research in the area and the results' contribution to the field of magazine studies has been presented.

The research questions

Magazines provide their readers with a sense of identity, whether it is teenaged girls' concepts of femininity (Gonick, 1997), young men's ideas of masculinity (McNeil & Karaminas, 2009), or periodicals targeted at hobbies. Magazines give their readers a sense of their place in the wider culture that they inhabit, and their experience of it has been studied widely (Machin, 2005; Navasky & Cornog, 2012; Williamson, 2014; Ytre-Arne, 2011).

However, questions about the identities of magazine journalists and their experience of inhabiting their world are only just beginning to be answered (Chacón & Miriam, 2010; Deuze, 2005, 2008; Husni, 2013; Le Masurier, 2012, 2014; Losowsky, 2009; Scattergood, 2013). The aim of this study is to raise more such questions and attempt to answer them, following the observations of academics such as Holmes (2013; 2012; 2007), Abrahamson (2007), and Johnson (2007) who have underscored the importance of studying the people behind the creation of media, particularly magazines. To further the understanding of magazine journalists in India, the following research questions were used:

RQ1: How are magazine journalists coping with the demands of digitisation, the Internet, and social media?

RQ2: In what way has the role of the magazine journalist changed in their own eyes?

Contribution to existing knowledge

Recent studies have shown how journalists in other countries cope with the demands of digitisation (Beston, 2013; Chacón & Miriam, 2010; Dickinson et al., 2013; Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008) and studies specific to magazine journalists have been conducted as well (Le Masurier, 2012; Scattergood, 2013; Surugiu, 2012). However, there appears to be no similar studies about magazine journalists in India. There is, without a doubt, a sustained interest in studying India's media landscape (Moro & Aikat, 2010; Rao, 2009; Roy, 2011; Thussu, 2013), however this interest appears to be focused on the medium of television and newspapers, not the workers..

The study of specialised publications in India, such as magazines, offers insight into a section of the media that is by sheer numbers comparatively small but its influence on global media is hard to ignore. An indicator of this influence is the number of international magazine titles that have India editions, some of them which were launched within the last ten years. Some of these include *Rolling Stone*, *Forbes*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle*, *Men's Health*, *Discovery Channel*, *National Geographic Traveller India*, and four Conde Nast's titles (*Vogue*, *GQ*, *Architectural Digest*, and *Conde Nast Traveller*). Academics have pointed out the significance of studying India's media landscape because of its young demographic (Shukla, 2010), its swift adoption of technology (Rao, 2009; Thussu, 2013), and its influence on the global media landscape (Parameswaran, 2010; Rao, 2009). By gaining insight into Indian magazine journalists' work and their sense of identity, this research takes the growing interest in the country's media one step further.

Comparing the research findings of this study with similar studies conducted in other countries reveals that the challenges magazine journalists face in India are very similar. This suggests that further studies in India can reveal insights that could be useful to magazine journalists in other countries as well.

What is a magazine?

Technological advances in communication and media have kept changing the criteria that define a magazine. The research findings of this study showed that not only are

magazine journalists in India keenly aware of this but they are also prepared to embrace the changes that they will have to make. They are already, on their own, learning new skills such as taking pictures and videos and recording audio to enhance the content that they create for their magazines. Their sentiment regarding the future of print magazines echoes what prior studies have found: Readers continue to have a strong desire to hold a printed magazine in their hands so paper technology is not about to go obsolete soon.

Technology has helped magazine journalists in India engage with their readers more closely. Access to tools of content creation – be they computers, smartphones, or the Internet – has given magazine users the power to create content. This phenomenon echoes the fourth argument of technological determinism as presented by Curran (2002): New means of communication disrupt traditional paths of communication and influence. Furthermore, Williams's ideas of democratic creation of media also find favour here, where modern magazine users have become "direct autonomous composers" (R. Williams, 1976). The findings of this study showed that rather than feeling threatened by these changes, magazine journalists in India have accepted their new role as co-creators of content. They were also confident that their knowledge and insight will remain valuable to their audience.

Who is a magazine journalist?

As co-creators of content, magazine journalists in India are no longer gatekeepers of access to information and are now having to work harder to get noticed. In some ways, they have to become "celebrities" in their own right in order to get their audience's attention. This includes learning how to exploit social media channels to get them to follow them and their magazine's social media feed and, furthermore, teaching themselves how to achieve this – the findings of this study revealed that magazine journalists are open to being trained in this new aspect of their worklives and that, so far, they have had to become multiskilled on their own.

Magazine journalists' in-depth understanding of what their users want means they are becoming more involved with the marketing and advertising of their magazines.

Although this presents the ethical dilemma of always keeping the readers' interest first versus helping sell more copies of and subscriptions to the magazine, this study found that magazine journalists in India are making sure that a balance is maintained.

Participants of this study admitted to being unsure about their future and the future of their profession. However, they were sure about the perpetuity of magazines in some

digital form, regardless of whether the ink-on-paper, print format endures or not. This also meant that they were sure of their roles as writers, curators, and providers of insightful information, regardless of whether it was via words, sound, vision, or all of the above.

Interpretation of results

This section of the chapter interprets the findings presented in the previous chapter and attempts to answer the research questions. The results pertaining to RQ1 are split into two sub-sections: **Attitude towards digital**, and **What's the future?** and results pertaining to RQ2 are subtitled **Self-identity**.

Attitude towards digital media

To understand how magazine journalists are coping with digitisation (RQ1), they were asked about their own use of social media and digital media, and how they feel their work has changed because of this. All the interviewees said that going digital has meant more work, which echoes the findings of similar research about new challenges in journalism (Fowler-Watt & Allan, 2013) and journalists' response to media convergence (Deuze, 2008; Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). However, the interviewees did not appear to show adverse signs of stress and, in fact, seemed to accept the challenge as has been observed in a study by Tandoc and Peters (2014). One of the interviewees, MJ2, said, "It has made the job tougher, but it's also made it more fun. You're forced to use your brains a little more, in a way." MJ3 welcomed the change, comparing it to the inevitability of digital challenges in the music recording industry: "It's like crying that nobody listens to cassettes anymore. We've got USB sticks now and that's good!" In a similar study conducted with long-form journalists in New Zealand, however, the interviewees perceived the growth of online journalism as a threat to long-form journalism and this threat through a discourse of dying or death (Beston, 2013, p. 69).

All the interviewees acknowledged that working on the print version as well as the digital version is a lot more work. MJ1 said that this makes deadlines tighter and, in turn, affects the quality of her work. This problem could be solved, she said, "if there were a digital video team or social media team helping you out." It is, indeed, unusual to have a team that is "proficient at both working on the print version and attending to the needs of the new platforms" (Scattergood, 2013, p. 119).

Scattergood also found that a magazine's printed content is in competition with its digital content, which is the kind of role conflict that Tandoc and Peters (2014) have also explored. This competition has the potential to manifest as a power struggle between the editorial team (print edition) and the digital team (website, social media). However, in most of the interviews conducted for this study, there appeared to be no tussle between which team gets priority. MJ5, for instance, described the relationship between the print and digital team as "symbiotic". MJ4 said the two teams in her office worked together to plan stories and both teams would contribute to print as well as digital content in small measures.

This might be because the interviewees in this study were confident about digital media and how to use social media for specific features of their journalistic work. For example, MJ3 was clear that her feature-length stories would go into the print version of the magazine, her photos would go on the magazine's Instagram feed, and so on. "As long as you know what aspect of yourself to give to each mediums, it's fine," said MJ3. This level of comfort with using digital and social media was common among all the interviewees, a fact that has been observed about Indians' use of technology in previous studies (Rao, 2009; Shukla, 2010; Thussu, 2013).

When asked about whether they would like to receive training to make better use of this media, again the response was positive. MJ4, however, appeared to be suspicious of what level of training would be provided: "Sometimes these workshops just tend to tell you things you already know. If you're already in that space, and you're not averse to technology then you do just fine." MJ4 suggested that some people she knows who find social media difficult could benefit from such training more than she herself could.

What's the future?

To further understand magazine journalists coping with digitisation, they were asked about what they felt the future holds if digitisation continues. The overall sentiment was, again, positive and forward-looking, with journalists offering suggestions for monetising video stories and changing what a magazine's form should be.

All the journalists agreed that going digital is the way forward, however, a magazine needs to put its existing print edition first. This sentiment is echoed in a UK study, which found that "journalists will still need to produce fresh material for the new platforms without taking their eye off the original print product" (Scattergood, 2013, p. 118). While that observation was with respect to having multi-skilled staff and the

resources to pay them, this study found different reasons for keeping the magazine print-edition focused. In the case of MJ2's magazine, the audience is older and harder to reach via websites or social media: "The way I see it, we'll need to be in print for a long time because a lot of our readers are not available online." MJ3 made a more aesthetic point, comparing the print edition of a magazine to gramophone records, in that they will become collectors' items. The feeling of the texture of paper and the anticipation of the next print issue's arrival is something digitisation cannot provide (Le Masurier, 2012; Ytre-Arne, 2011).

All journalists interviewed felt video was the next big thing. "[Video] has the potential to go viral," said MJ3, referring to the quick, easy and far reach of digital content – a phenomenon often likened to the spread of a communicable disease in a human population. MJ3 felt that if she could shoot a video that was worthy of being uploaded on the magazine's website, she would be "valued tremendously" – this fact has also been observed in other studies (Beston, 2013, p. 79; V. Edwards, 2013, p. 332; University of Sydney, 2010, p. 106). MJ3's words seemed to suggest that, firstly, she feels her value to her employer may be diminished, and secondly, she is trying to find ways to maintain or improve her value. It is clear to her that being multi-skilled is the way forward and that going beyond writing is going to be essential.

However, the need for multi-skilling did not appear to be daunting to the interviewees. All the participants of this study owned a smartphone and were already capturing videos on them. MJ1 remarked that taking a video has become second nature to her, sometimes even while conducting an interview for one of her stories: "it's great to have that as part of the piece." However, MJ2 said she would like to have someone help her to shoot the video so her mind would not be in two places – worrying about whether she is getting everything she needs for the written article and simultaneously worrying about shooting the right images for the video. This suggests a kind of conflict between what her duties are as a journalist and how her duties are changing. There appears to be a struggle to prioritise the increasing variety of tasks that need to be performed to tell the story, that is, to write the article.

It was clear from the interviews that all the journalists recognised the significance of going digital and were gradually embracing it. However, they felt their bosses had some catching up to do, while describing them as "old-school" and belonging to an "older generation." This suggests that magazine journalists of a certain age group – in this study's case, between the ages of 27 to 38 – are able to adapt more easily to digital

media than their older bosses / editors. The age group of the participants is young enough for them to have been using the Internet in their formative years – basic dial-up Internet access became available in India around the late Nineties and early 2000s (Telecom Regulatory Authority Of India, 2007, p. 9) when the participants of this study were approximately 12 to 23 years old.

The mild impatience in all the interviewees' responses, regarding their bosses' adaptation of digital technology, has also been observed in other studies (Beston, 2013, p. 74). The fact that younger journalists are better at using digital media has also been observed (Scattergood, 2013, p. 120) and this suggests that there is a worldwide experience of a struggle to bridge the generational gap between digitally savvy journalists and digitally apprehensive editors and bosses.

Self-identity

To look for indications as to how magazine journalists feel their identity has changed (RQ2) they were asked about their educational background and what they feel about their audience.

When asked how they decided to pursue journalism as a career the interviewees appeared to use others' perceptions to justify their decision. Most of them said it was something they had chanced upon because they enjoyed reading, writing, wordplay, and were all sticklers for detail. Some of the interviewees felt that they inherently possessed the skills required for the job.

All the interviewees felt their journalism school education had not prepared them for the work they are currently doing. Although this appears to contradict the growing number of journalism schools in India (Rao, 2009; Thussu, 2013) it also echoes Western notions of journalism training being insufficient (Deuze, 2001; Dickinson et al., 2013; Frith & Meech, 2007; Lewis, 1993; Thomas, 2008).

When asked how he or she sees himself or herself, every journalist took a long pause to consider the question before trying to answer it. A few of them admitted that they had never thought of themselves at all – this could be a result of being taught in journalism school to remove oneself from the story in order to provide the reader with objectivity. As Deuze has observed, the interactivity of multimedia is such that it challenges objectivity (2005). It appeared that this journalistic value or expectation caused every interviewee to hesitate to promote themselves on social media and on the Internet. They compared the act to something loathsome like “pimping” their own work or

blowing their own horn. They nevertheless realised the importance of doing this so that their stories would get noticed and read by their intended audience – users who are on social media.

All the journalists recognised the impact of their work and in what way social media and the Internet had affected the impact of their work. They all said they had to try harder than ever before to get noticed and be read, because so many others – not just journalists – were putting information out there that is easily accessible. Ugland and Henderson have studied this phenomenon of journalistic identity being challenged by “the emergent class of bloggers, dilettantes, and do-it-yourselfers” (2007, p. 241) although it has been with respect to legal and ethical issues. Meanwhile, other researchers have also observed and questioned the changing relationship between journalists and their audience, or users. One study called users “neo-journalists” (Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011), another described them as “competitor-colleagues” (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011), while another one simply called them “The People Formerly Known As The Audience” (Rosen, 2006).

The interviewees in this study were keenly aware of this changing dynamic and they were also clear about what they had to do to keep the audience interested. Rather than the message or information itself, they said the manner or the style in which the message was put across would grab their audience’s attention. The search for these new angles has made the challenge of ensuring authenticity of their sources even more difficult (Matthews, 2012, p. 249). Furthermore, the magazine journalists’ role as a trustworthy provider of information and analysis becomes fraught with doubt.

Interviewees were also aware of this responsibility to their audience. MJ2, for instance, observed “how easily people are taken in by what they see, whether it’s in print or on TV”. This suggested that MJ2 felt responsible towards her readers and she was acutely conscious of the content of her articles and the potential of losing her audience’s trust. This task of building and negotiating trust with the audience has been brought up by several researchers (Fowler-Watt & Allan, 2013; Hayes et al., 2007; Le Masurier, 2014; Singer, 2003). Specific to the Indian scenario is the number of journalism schools that have opened up (Rao, 2009, p. 41; Thussu, 2013, p. 157), giving journalists the perception of being “one in a crowd of people doing this kind of work,” as MJ2 said.

Interviewees said they have had to work harder to get noticed, which meant that they had to get to know their audience better than ever before. This deeper insight into the

audience helped journalists prepare more focused content to keep the audience engaged. Furthermore, their knowledge has led to journalists being asked to sit in at meetings with the magazine's marketing and advertising teams. The same insights that help journalists create more engaging content are interpreted for the benefit of improving marketing and advertising messages in order to increase sales and subscriptions of the magazine. This is where another role or identity of the journalists emerges, that of the conflict between journalistic duties towards the audience versus the need for advertising revenue to earn a living. This conflict that journalists experience has been studied by Deuze and Fortunati who described it as "a case of double bind since [journalists] receive two conflicting messages: on the one hand, their self-policed professional ethics" (2011, p. 166) and on the other hand, "the feature of enterprise of the outlet for which they work" (2011, p. 166). The professional ethics of journalists refers to the service they provide to their readers: an unbiased collection of information that is objective and legitimate (Deuze, 2005, p. 447). These ethics are in conflict with the business needs of the journalists' employers, who in the interest of profit, could expect journalists to exclude some facts in their stories so as to keep financiers and governments happy (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011, p. 166).

Similar observations were made in a New Zealand study which found that long-form journalists in newspapers were asked by the employers for more " 'integration' of editorial and advertising" (Beston, 2013, p. 65). However, every journalist interviewed for this study had no doubt that his or her prime responsibility was always towards his or her readers.

There were also feelings of conflict in the relationship between journalist and audience i.e. users, too. With celebrities and personalities taking to social media to connect with their followers, the journalists' role has gone from being a gatekeeper (giving readers access to celebrity) to competitor (becoming a personality herself). This contest with the audience has been studied by Rosen (2006) who called the analysis "The People Formerly Known as the Audience" (TPFKATA). Speaking on TPFKATA's behalf, Rosen wrote, "Think of passengers on your ship who [have] got a boat of their own. The writing readers. The viewers who picked up a camera" (Rosen, 2006, para. 2).

Deuze and Fortunati also observe that publishers have created this competitive relationship between journalists and the audience. TPFKATA are not interested in destroying traditional newspapers or their websites, nor are they looking to compete with journalists (2011). The journalists interviewed for this study appeared to be aware

that the audience was not out to get them. In fact, MJ1 suggested how an audience member could become part of her story in her magazine. MJ1 said good journalists would find ways to tell stories with the changing times.

This is the attitude that fosters the “positive environment for the progress of journalism” that researchers have discussed in other studies (Sutcu & Oztermiyeci, 2011, p. 53). When interaction between the journalist and audience becomes as immediate as MJ1 described, it narrows the gap between the magazine journalists’ role as gatekeeper and the audience’s role as a passive consumer. This new relationship, in which journalist and audience or user share the tasks of telling the stories in the magazine, suggests a shift in the power dynamics but it is not to the detriment of the magazine, its journalists, nor its users. This relationship challenges traditional journalistic norms of keeping a distance from the user as a way of maintaining objectivity, however, it serves to improve the finished product for the end users. In the age of the Internet and social media, the boundaries between subjectivity and objectivity are being blurred (Fowler-Watt & Allan, 2013, p. 14). However, in the case of magazines, the users determine the value and in fact the existence of the publication (Le Masurier, 2014), so this new, almost symbiotic relationship is in fact beneficial to the magazine journalist as well as the end user.

Although engaging with the audience over digital media is a challenge for journalists and media outlets, research in America showed that digital storytelling is becoming an important area of investment, as can be seen from the launch of HuffPost Live and Vice’s multimedia portal (Pew Research Center, 2014, p. 6). With this growing interest in digital interactivity is coming a radical change in the way journalism is conducted and while there are reasons for apprehension, there are also reasons to celebrate and welcome these changes as they will, in fact, strengthen the role of journalists in the years to come.

Closing remarks

This discussion on the research findings has outlined the contribution this study has made to existing theories of magazine studies. The results have been interpreted and compared to previous studies conducted in the field of magazines and magazine journalists. While some similarities with previous studies were found, these served to establish that magazine journalists in India operate under similar conditions as magazine journalists in other countries. In instances where the findings seemed to oppose other

studies, reasons for these differences were established such as the age of the participants, the sample size, the participants' educational background, and the peculiarities of the Indian market they work in.

Following these reflections on the research findings is the Conclusion chapter. It contains a summary of the findings and establishes their significance while also outlining the study's limitations. The Conclusion chapter also presents recommendations for practical applications of these findings and suggests directions for further research.

Conclusion

This chapter reiterates the aims of this study and its key methodological features. It presents a summary of the results along with an evaluation of their contribution to development of research in magazine studies. The study's limitations have also been presented. The chapter concludes with recommendations for practical applications and suggestions for further research.

The aims of this study

Readers of magazines, or users (as this study has chosen to call them) have been the subject of many studies in Western countries (Machin, 2005; Rosen, 2006; Ytre-Arne, 2011). Creators of magazine content – that is, editors and magazine journalists – are only just beginning to be studied (Chacón & Miriam, 2010; Deuze, 2005, 2008; Husni, 2013; Le Masurier, 2012, 2014; Losowsky, 2009; Navasky & Cornog, 2012; Scattergood, 2013). Furthermore, the bulk of these studies also appear to be taking place in Western countries.

The merits of observing users of magazines are more easily apparent than the merits of studying the creators of the magazine. Users are the reason any magazine exists because the magazine's content is created with them in mind (Husni, 2010; Le Masurier, 2014; Sumner, 2001). Without users, the work of magazine editors, journalists – in fact, even television staff, radio presenters, bloggers, or any other broadcast media – is meaningless.

Although creators of magazine content have started to come under academic appraisal, more work in this field needs to be carried out. The medium of magazines changes rapidly due to technological advances and this makes studies from even five years ago seem out-of-date. The aim of this study was to take research in magazines further and into the emerging market that is India. A robust economy and a large middle-class population with purchasing power make this country an attractive market not just for indigenous publications but for foreign magazine titles as well.

To answer the research questions, semi-structured interviews with five magazine journalists in India were conducted, using open-ended questions. A symbolic interactionist perspective was used as the research methodology.

Significance of the findings

There were three main findings of the study. The first was that magazine journalists in India find the demands of digitisation to be formidable but not impossible to cope with. Their attitude towards digital media is keeping an open mind and embracing the changes that digitisation is causing in their work. There appeared to be no sense of hopelessness or a threat to survival of the magazine or their occupation. The second finding of the study was that magazine journalists in India have a positive vision for the future of magazines and their occupation.

The third and final finding of the study is about how the magazine journalist sees his or her role in the digital environment. The interviewees struggled to define their self-identity as they had been trained as journalists to remain objective and to remove the self from their work. However, they were aware that they could no longer afford to remain anonymous as in the age of social media, there had to be a focus on the self. They have to consider themselves as personalities now so that their readers would “follow” them on social media and, as a result, notice the articles and content they were creating for the magazine. Although the interviewees were somewhat uncomfortable with the idea of self-promotion, they were slowly gaining the confidence to do it.

The main significance of the study is that it appears to be the first of its kind conducted in India and among magazine journalists working there. The study has established that India is an emerging market for the business of journalism. Knowledge about its journalists not only adds to the academic field of international media studies but also helps to shape policies that govern the day-to-day work of journalists, whether it is in terms of what journalists’ have a right to do and what they are expected to do to perform their duties.

The significance of the findings also lies in how useful they can be in practical applications. Two areas where the findings can be useful are a) the daily workings of a magazine office, and b) the training and educational aspects of journalism in India. These have been addressed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Attitude towards digital media

Through semi-structured interviews, magazine journalists were asked about their educational background, what they feel about their audience, what their level of engagement on social media and digital media is, and how they feel their work has

changed because of digital media. Their responses showed that although they all agree digitisation of magazines has increased their workload, they saw this more as an opportunity than a burden. This might be because of the age group of the journalists that were interviewed. They were already using digital and social media in their personal lives and were confident and clear about how to use digital and social media for magazine content. One of the interviewees, in fact, felt that she might already know more than a training workshop about this could teach them.

This finding suggests that there is a gap in the knowledge and practices of social media and digital media within the magazine journalists' work environment, particularly between senior management and the working journalists. As Dickinson et al. (2013) have observed, this gap has prevented journalists and media outlets from fully exploiting the potential of the Internet. Although that study is based on observations in the UK and other European nations, the fact that such a situation has emerged in India as well reveals how similar both regions are. That study's recommendations for media organisations' management, therefore, would echo this study's suggestions as well – media organisations' management must focus on creative, digitised ways to distribute content (Dickinson et al., 2013, p. 8).

Although the interviewees were willingly tackling the digitisation of their magazines, they were also certain that the print version of the magazine would always be as important if not more important than its digital manifestations. One of the interviewees said the reason is her magazine's audience, which is older, still prefers the print version. Another interviewee said the reason is her magazine's bosses, who are older.

Print magazines may never go away, however, what is considered to be a magazine might change. Ideas such as video magazines or audio-only editions were offered:

“Maybe they'll find new ways to do long-format and maybe they'll start narrating them more often than not and have people might just plug it in and listen to a magazine story but it could be an oral magazine.” – MJ5

These ideas have been imagined by Western journalists (Spence, 2014) and academics, too (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011; Fortunati & Sarrica, 2011; Losowsky, 2009).

Self-identity and self-promotion

Gill has described the qualities of a new media worker thusly: “She must be flexible, adaptable, sociable, self-directing, and able to work for days and nights at a time without encumbrances or needs and must commodify herself and others” (Gill, 2011, p. 249). The act of commodification leads to a focus on the self, which is becoming increasingly normal among workers including journalists (Marshall, 2013) of generation Z, also known as “digital natives” or people who have grown up using the Internet and mobile phones.

Despite their comfort and confidence with digitisation and social media, the magazine journalists interviewed for this study struggled with this focus on the self, especially when it came to their selves being connected with the articles they had written for their magazine. In fact, when asked how he or she sees himself or herself, every journalist took a long pause to consider the question before answering it. This suggests that they struggled with the notions of self-identity.

Part of the reason for this struggle is the effort required to maintain a balance between keeping an objective distance from the audience versus trying to engage with the audience on social media. Traditionally, the concept of objectivity has been used to define what journalism is and both journalists as well as media consumers have used objectivity as way of establishing the authority of journalism (Fakazis, 2006, p. 20). From the interviewees’ responses, it appeared that by revealing their self on social media, they not only lost their stance of objectivity but it also appeared to the journalists as an unappealing act of “pimping” their own stories (as one of the interviewees described it).

The work of the magazine journalists in this study was not impeded by their dislike of self-promotion; they have learnt to accept it as a part of their changing role. However, it is likely that other magazine journalists would find it difficult or even impossible to reconcile self-promotion with their journalistic role. It is also likely that magazine journalists of a younger age group will not give self-promotion a second thought, and will not struggle with any reconciliation of objectivity with the need for self-promotion. Further research in this direction would have to be done to be certain of this.

Limitations of the study

Although this study was an attempt at having an in-depth understanding of magazine journalists in India, it is limited by its small sample of five magazine journalists situated in the one Indian city of Mumbai. An attempt has been made to connect the results to similar studies done in other countries, however, for a better understanding, there have to be not only more, similar studies conducted, but ones that use a larger sample and are situated in other cities in India as well.

This study shares certain limitations with similar studies conducted recently (Deuze, 2001; Dickinson et al., 2013; Saltzis & Dickinson, 2008). Deuze's work on the professional identity of journalists (2008), for instance, uses observations from American news companies. Chacón and Miriam (2010) used a convenience sample by interviewing journalism students at The University of Texas at El Paso. These researchers and others have also established that the study of magazines is difficult given the vast variety of magazines and the fact that subjects of study can be not only very heterogenous but also highly dynamic (Holmes, 2007, p. 511; S. Johnson, 2007, p. 524). The medium and its paradigm changes so frequently that studies' results, including this one, could be rendered obsolete within the next five years.

However, instead considering its lack of longevity as a limitation, this study serves as a record of events. This research would become one of many that belong to an era in which groundbreaking inventions and discoveries were made. It would be a document of the interactions between man and technology.

Practical applications

There are at least two practical applications for the results of this study. They are based on the criteria used in this study for defining a magazine journalist: 1) affiliation with the organization the magazine journalist is working for, and 2) training or educational qualifications received from a certain organization or journalism school.

Affiliation

This study found that although magazine journalists recognise the significance of their association with a certain publication, this significance is changing. The magazine journalists interviewed realise the importance of having an online identity that is linked to the publication they work for. However, for enhanced engagement with their users,

they find merit in having an online, social media presence that is independent of their employer's magazine as well.

The practical application of this research result is that more magazine journalists could see the merit in having an online presence that is separate from the magazine they work for. This not only makes them a "valued employee" as one of the interviewees put it, but also ensures that the magazine journalist's own future prospects are untied from the future of the publication itself. As this study has observed in previous chapters, many magazines over the years have had to shut down for various reasons (Fowler-Watt & Allan, 2013; Husni, 1988; Ives, 2009) although these closures do not suggest that the magazine as a medium itself is dying.

Training and education

This study echoed the findings of other studies conducted on journalists and discovered that the training and education that the journalists received was insufficient for the jobs they were in. The journalists interviewed also added that they appreciate the fact that it is difficult to teach journalism in schools. However, the practical application of this result could be taken as feedback to improve educational and training courses offered by schools and universities.

Interviewees said that their classroom interactions with real-world journalists, learning the ethics of journalism, and the fact that they had a degree or qualification from a reputed journalism school were the most beneficial aspects of their education. However, the interviewees also said there was too much stress on theoretical knowledge and not enough practical experience. The course could be improved by offering a wider breadth of knowledge about real-world journalism so students could make informed decisions about which medium of journalism they wanted to pursue – print, online, or broadcast. If journalism students were instilled, in the classroom, with the knowledge that they would have to keep up with rapid changes, such as technological changes, they would be better prepared to face the challenges that come up in a real-life newsroom or editorial office.

Recommendations

This study observed a small part of India's magazine market, one that is similar to the Western market in terms of the publications that the interviewees were employed with: they were all international titles published in the English language. There are a vast

number of Indian magazines that are indigenous and published in local languages. Research into those section's workings could reveal insights that would not only be fascinating for purely academic reasons but could also further the understanding of Indian media. This knowledge would go beyond the sheer statistical knowledge of readers/users, marketing potential, and sales figures that dominate discussions about Indian media.

The results of this study could possibly encourage researchers in developing countries and markets such as India's to conduct a similar study of journalists there. Further research could explore journalists' identities as a function of their gender or age, both as separate studies. This study focused on magazine journalists who were permanent employees, and similar studies using interviews with freelance journalists could reveal new aspects and challenges that are peculiar to that group. Journalism students have been interviewed in other countries to have their perceptions gauged about what they expect their work to be like. This study could be replicated in India. Furthermore, there is potential for similar research to be conducted in the allied profession of journalism: public relations.

Final remarks

Experts in the field of magazine studies such as Samir Husni (Husni & Main, 2002; Husni, 1988, 2010, 2013), David Abrahamson (2011; 2007, 2008), Andrew Losowsky (2009, 2011), Tim Holmes (2013; 2012; 2007), and Megan Le Masurier (2012, 2014) have observed and documented the effects of technology on the medium and its creators. While their contribution is significant, there is still ample scope for studying magazines in non-Western markets such as India. This study focused on five magazine journalists, employed with consumer magazines, located in one city. There are, however, many more categories of magazines, including trade magazines, community magazines, newspaper supplement magazines, all of which are both commercially or independently run, and published in many other local languages besides English.

As this study has shown, the peculiar aspects of the Indian youth's adoption of technology affects the creation and consumption of media, including magazines, in a unique way. This study has taken one small step towards understanding the impact of technology on magazines in India. The story of magazine journalism in India has only just begun to be told.

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Appendix

This chapter contains the following items:

1. A copy of the Ethics Approval as approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)
2. A copy of the email sent to potential participants, including the Information Sheet attached to each email
3. A sample copy of the Consent Form that each participant signed and a list of indicative interview questions
4. A sample interview transcript that has been through two cycles of coding.

Appendix 1: Ethics approval



13 May 2014

Helen Sissons
Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear Helen

Re Ethics Application: **14/106 Cover to cover: The changing identity of the magazine journalist as the medium goes digital.**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECS).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 14 May 2017.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTECS:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 14 May 2017;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 14 May 2017 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTECS is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTECS approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTECS grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Aditya Kundalkar aditya.kundalkar@gmail.com

A u c k l a n d U n i v e r s i t y o f T e c h n o l o g y E t h i c s C o m m i t t e e

WA505F Level 5 WA Building City Campus

Private Box 9900 Auckland 1142 Ph: +64 9 334 9999 ext 9346 email ethics@aut.ac.nz

Appendix 2: Email sent to potential participants

20/03/15 8:37 am



Aditya Kundalkar <aditya.kundalkar@gmail.com>

Hi [redacted], this is about my research

Aditya <aditya.kundalkar@gmail.com>
To: [redacted]@gmail.com>

18 June 2014 at 14:34

hi [redacted],

You already know by now I'm doing a master's in communication studies. My thesis is on the changing identity of magazine journalists and I feel an interview with you would be a valuable contribution to my data.

The attached Information Sheet tells you everything you need to know. If you have any reservations about this, I'm happy to discuss them, but please remember that you are under no obligation to do this.

You don't have to reply right away. Read the Information Sheet, take until Saturday to think about it and let me know your decision.

Thanks!

-- Aditya



InformationSheetExemplar_1113 - Aditya - Final.pdf
195K

Appendix 2a: Information sheet sent to potential participants

18 June 2014

page 1 of 2

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:

09 May 2014

Project Title

Cover to cover: The changing identity of the magazine journalist as the medium goes digital

An Invitation

I, Aditya Kundalkar, am pursuing a master's degree in communication studies from AUT University, New Zealand, and I would like you to be one of the participants in my research study. Your participation is completely voluntary and you can withdraw your consent at any time prior to the interview, which I am planning to conduct over Skype in the month of June. I believe there are no potential conflicts of interest and your decision regarding participation will neither be an advantage nor disadvantage to you.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research will help me fulfil the requirements for a Master Of Communication Studies degree. The findings of the research will result in a thesis and, possibly, a research paper, journal article, or conference paper.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been identified as a potential participant of this study due to your expression of willingness to participate in this research. Besides that, your experience in magazine journalism and digital media – be it via websites, social media and/or iPad editions – makes you an ideal participant. As you are part of my professional network on Facebook and LinkedIn, I already have your contact details. Please note that other magazine journalists who either have less than one year of experience, or whose organisations have no plans of going digital, are being excluded from this study.

What will happen in this research?

If you agree to participate in this research, I will conduct an hour-long interview with you over Skype to discuss your experience as a magazine journalist, what your expectations from this job or career are and what feelings you have about its future. I will share a list of indicative questions with you after you have given me your consent. This interview will be video-taped, after which I will transcribe it and offer the transcription to you for any edits. I'd like to assure you that the data I will thus collect will be used only for the purposes of this research study.

What are the discomforts and risks?

I assure you that there are no potentially discomforting questions. However, as we will be talking freely but confidentially about your work, and you may share information that you would not want your employer to know, all necessary steps will be taken to prevent any breach of confidentiality.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Please understand that anything you say during the interview will only go towards writing of the thesis. Your privacy is protected as only the interpretation of this data will be published. Your name, identifying details and the data recorded during the course of the interview will remain confidential. Although your responses will not be anonymous, you will be known only to me and my supervisor.

What are the benefits?

Your participation is beneficial to me as it contributes to my obtaining a master's degree but I also see your participation as beneficial to you. As a magazine journalist myself, I can appreciate the pressure of deadlines combined with the pressure to innovate and embrace new, dynamic technologies; it can leave you with little time or opportunity to take stock of where your career is headed. I hope you will see our interview as a chance to raise questions and concerns that you otherwise may or may not have had a chance to think about and they can help you gain clarity about your work life.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

Although there are no monetary costs involved, I understand that your valuable time would be a kind of cost to you and I appreciate you taking time out to help me with this study.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You don't have to respond to this invitation immediately; please take three days to consider it.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you would like to participate, I will send you a Consent Form which you will have to print out, sign and send back to me – a scanned copy by email would work, but do also send it by post.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes, I will share with you the feedback of this research via email.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Helen Sissons, helen.sissons@aut.ac.nz, +64 9 921 9999 ext 7859.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, +64 9 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?***Researcher Contact Details:***

Aditya Kundalkar, aditya.kundalkar@gmail.com, +64-22-344-7297

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Helen Sissons, helen.sissons@aut.ac.nz, +64 9 921 9999 ext 7859.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on **13 May 2014**, AUTC Reference number **14/106**

Appendix 3: Consent form

19 June 2014

Consent Form



Project title: *Cover to cover: The changing identity of the magazine journalist as the medium goes digital*

Project Supervisor: *Helen Sissons*

Researcher: *Aditya Kundalkar*

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 09 April 2014.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be video-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 13 May 2014 AUTEC Reference number 14/106

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Appendix 3a: Indicative interview questions

Introductory questions

How long have you been a journalist?

What is your academic background?

What is your career background?

Journalistic experience

Do you feel your education in journalism has helped you in any way, or prepared you for the job you're doing now?

In what way has your education in journalism benefited you?

What are your professional values as a magazine journalist? Please give examples from jobs and / or positions held in the past.

The audience

What do you feel about your status as a gatekeeper? Would you consider yourself to be a gatekeeper?

In the past five years, have you had to change your perception of how you view yourself?

What do you feel about readers' expectations of "free" content?

What do you feel about the narrowing gap between you (the content producer) and the reader (the consumer) of this content?

Are you expected to engage audiences and enlist their participation in creating content?
What do you feel about that?

The change in journalism experience

Do you engage with digital media? Please give examples.

In the past five years or so, have your ways of information gathering changed in any way? If yes, what do you feel about these changes?

Do you have a clear idea about your organization's plans for embracing digital / online technologies?

What is your attitude towards digitization of magazines, in general? What is your attitude towards digitization in your department?

Is there a difference of status between the print team and the web/digital team? Why do you feel that exists?

What are your thoughts on the influence of advertising / advertisers on your work?

Attitude towards digitization

Where does your work appear – only in print, only the website, only on the iPad or all of the above?

Does it matter to you where it appears?

In what way is digitization changing your work?

Have you used multimedia elements in your stories?

Have you had training for this use?

Would you take up training in this area if you were offered it?

Do you feel the necessity to be “multiskilled” has affected the quality of your work as a journalist? Do you feel there are any advantages to being “multiskilled”?

“... convergence offers a chance to do better journalism by giving reporters the tools to tell stories in the most appropriate medium. Technology frees them from the limits of individual media.” (Quinn & Filak, 2005). What do you feel?

The future

Do you follow any debates or discussions in the media about the future of magazines?

What do you feel is the future of magazines (both print and online)?

Where do you see yourself in the future of magazines?

Appendix 4: A sample of a coded interview

How long have you been a journalist?

I graduated with a degree in mass media with a specialisation in journalism and that was in 2007 and I've been working since, so it's been seven years now.

Education

Could you tell me a little about your academic background?

After I passed out from school I did my first three years in commerce and then I did my bachelor's in mass media because honestly I didn't know what to do next. And this course sounded really interesting, so I applied for it, gave the test. They had a three-step entry test thing where you first give a written test then you take part in a group discussion and then you do an interview. I applied for this course in just two colleges; I did not have any backup admission anywhere which in hindsight feels like a stupid thing to do. Anyway I got through and we were supposed to choose between advertising and journalism, those were the only two options, and for me... advertising was not even an option, I was just not interested in that. If you want to know how I landed there, as in did I have this vision that this is what I want to do and all, not at all, I just did what interested me at that point, what I felt like doing then. The funny thing is, when I tell people what I do, the ones who've known me since I was very young, they always say "ya we knew". They just seemed to know that this is what I would do, whereas I do not have that level of awareness.

Choosing journalism

Non-committal stance

Choosing journalism

Non-committal stance

Self-identity

What was your perception of journalism before you joined, did you have an idea of what journalism was like?

I don't know if I had really thought about it so much y'know. I'm thinking back to when I was in school; I really don't think I'd given it much thought, journalism as a profession, but yes when we were studying mass media it was one of the major things we talk about all the time. And at that point we had industry professionals also teaching us and we'd get to hear all kinds of things about how people had to interview (gangster) Abu Salem and it all sounded very exciting then, of course.

Non-committal stance

journalism

Example

In college we had a lot of assignments we had to speak to all kinds of people because it was an assignment we didn't really do serious things, these were smaller things that we could do without really getting in anyone's way, and that kinda taught me that there is a new perspective to things, even the most regular things, if you choose to look at them that way and then it's all about how you present them to others. That was one thing I really learnt then, how to

Studying journalism

Things learnt in school

see things differently, by that I mean look deeper. We would speak to people who we've always known or just these little feature assignments on things happening around us, things that we didn't usually think were newsworthy otherwise. That was interesting, I really enjoyed finding more in things than people usually do. And that is something I've carried into my work even today.

Things learnt in school

OK so you're saying you learnt how to do that in your course.

Yeah that is something I learnt is needed in journalism at that point at least for the kind of work I do, I don't report on what's happening around, it's not hard news, so that is something I learnt then and that is something I really liked.

"This is what I do"

Was there anything else about studying journalism that you liked? You said you hadn't made up your mind about what you wanted to do and this seemed interesting... what was interesting about it, before you actually started studying?

See like I told you everyone who knows me since I was really young told me yeah we always knew you'd be doing something like this, nobody seemed surprised, that was more from the perspective of something related to writing, or the English language. That is something I've always enjoyed as a kid, of course in school there were different kinds of things like essays and stuff so that was the kind of thing I liked to do. I really enjoyed reading, and as it turned out, I was reasonably better than my classmates at things like writing and reading comprehension so for people more than the journalism aspect of it they equate this connection with the acts of reading and writing and the English language and that is true. I really enjoy, y'know, with words and the language and I learn something new everyday about writing better, or giving a certain impression or just conveying something in a better and newer way everyday. That is a major part of what attracts me to my work.

Choosing journalism

Self-identity

Could you tell me a little about your career background? Where did you start working right after... you finished BMM in 2007, and then?

Then about a year and a half, a little less than a year and a half I worked with a women's magazine. When you say women's magazine it doesn't necessarily mean like a feminist magazine, it was called New Woman. And after that I joined RD, that's about it. I've been with RD since September 2008.

Maintaining clarity and accuracy

Do you feel your education in journalism has helped you in anyway, prepared you for the job you are doing now?

Most definitely, yes. I can say that with so much conviction because we get a lot of interns at RD and they aren't necessarily studying journalism or writing

Self-confidence

We get interns from all kinds of backgrounds, and that is when I have realised the difference that comes with the training that I got in college.

Could you elaborate on the training?

It started with simple things like you should cover the 5 Ws and 1 H, again that's very news report-like, but things like tying up all loose ends. And things like... I don't know which writer said this, but if you're writing a story and at the beginning of the story you see there is a gun hanging on the nail on a wall, there should be a reason why that gun is there in your story, there has to be something revolving around it later. Don't just say there was a gun on the wall and leave it there as a piece of decoration. So basically I learnt that interns who come in with a non-journalism background, they don't understand the use of logic in writing. More than issues with language, I find they have problems getting things to flow in a logical manner, tying up loose ends, making connections, basically what you'd call readability. They'll put their own thoughts in between, without any real source for them. Even if you talk to ten experts you come to a certain conclusion which is fine when you put in your own analysis, but here they'll just put in their own impressions and talk about it like it's a fact, which is not what journalism is about.

Things learnt in school

Example

Critique of interns

So these were things you learnt on the job, or were they in your course?

It's only after interacting with these interns that I realised that these were things that were as basic as these I did not have to be taught, I may have needed that polishing, I may have not done it as well then as I do it today, but I had an idea to begin with.

Self-identity

What about your professional values as a journalist, did you learn any of those in your course?

Yes, we did have a subject called press laws and ethics, I think. We studied about things like defamation, maligning people and what is allowed and not allowed in this country and what happens if you cross those lines. And then we also learned about things like press freedom. We also spoke about ethics which are not enforced, and what I have learned about ... you're asking me strictly about the course, so yes we did study ...

Things learnt in school

Yeah you can tell me both. What I was thinking of right now is that the course seems to have taught you the legalities of it.

Since we had industry professionals, we also had them talking about ethics. But then because they were these professionals with a lot of stories to tell us,

Things learnt in school

they'd say oh you shouldn't do this, this and this, because it's not considered right, but you know what, in so-and-so case this happened and that happened in this really funny way and everyone would go ha-ha-ha... so I really don't know how much of that was really drilled into us. And I have also found that ... I have worked in only two places so far, and they've both been magazines, but I do have friends who have worked with newspapers and ... what I've learned is that it's very subjective. It's entirely up to the journalist whether he wants to be ethical ...

What's been your own experience?

At RD there are only nice people, who always do the right thing, so at any point I haven't been in a dilemma of "this is not right, I shouldn't do it" but what if it was really good copy; we haven't been in that position here. Even simple things like if someone chooses not to go on print with something we try to convince them but we never force anyone.

Things learnt
on-the-job

Those were the values I was talking about, not necessarily legalities and such, just work-day values. Of course, I'm not expecting anyone to learn about them in the classroom but are there are any other values you think you've learned on the job, besides doing the right thing, ethics of course (explains) I could give you examples ... (Do you mean related to my work?) Yes, I'm trying to define what it means to be a journalist, for example, who are you responsible to, are you putting the sale of the magazine first, are you putting the reader first, that kind of thing.

OK, this happens on two levels, one in terms of the content itself and two in terms of the ads we run in the magazine. Now again I have found here at RD we always put right and wrong first. We always look at, if things are right, we do them, if we think they aren't right, no matter what the cost, we don't do them. I have this ... I don't think everyone else functions that way, I mean other publications. But there is... I'm talking in terms of ads. Even in terms of content, I've also learnt how much content is manipulated. We'll have people approaching us and saying why don't you write about this and why don't you write about that, and what I have realised is that my family is in no way involved with the media, and I look at them and I understand how people are ... the kind of impact the media has on people. So when we say something that clearly shouts advertorial — by we I mean journalists — we know it's ...

Professional

"This is what I
have to do"

Things learnt
on-the-job

Professional
values

Whereas I've realised what a vast difference there is in the perception the audience has and my family, they come from an educated background and I would say they're fairly aware, more aware than most people, in spite of that there are a lot of things that make an impression on them, which makes me wonder how easily people are taken in by what they see, whether it's in print or on TV or wherever else and this is something that always plays on my mind when I am writing something. Again here at RD all arguments are allowed, in terms of if you're writing something, and one of us stands up

and says that hello this is the impression it's giving me, I as the writer of that piece will not say what rubbish that's not what I get out of it. My first thought will be if you perceive that maybe someone else will too.

So you've got the readers in mind all the time.

Completely.

It's interesting you brought that up because my next question is about audience perception. So there was a time when magazine journalists were seen as gatekeepers. There were things you would find in a magazine that you wouldn't find easily in a newspaper or you wouldn't have access to. But that's changed thanks to social media with people posting their own pictures, there's citizen journalism, famous people who have their own Twitter and Facebook accounts and often interact directly with the readers. Do you feel, do you agree that this is happening?

I do, but there is a different point I have to make. You seem to be focusing on the famous personalities and celebrities part. From my work point of view I'm looking at feature stories and analysis which will ... I remember when I was a kid I would really enjoy reading the Sunday Times Of India. That is when they had a lot of feature stories and I think that was the only day they had those many feature stories and they probably ... how many newspapers did we have then, but even the couple of competitors they had did not have those many feature stories, which is different now. Newspapers have a separate features team that is churning out feature stories all the time. And again because they're a newspaper they have a slightly different format, in terms of they would pick only topical things, but even then I find that in terms of my work I need to go beyond... significantly beyond what the newspaper would do on a similar topic so that my work stands out. Otherwise why would anyone read it.

"This is what I
Example

"This is what I
have to do"

I understand that, but what I was getting at was simply the idea that ... suppose there's a certain feature story on, say, North Eastern writers, authors a certain group of them. There was a time when your article would be the one way in which a reader could interact or know about these authors or hear their thoughts. Now if those authors are on Twitter and Facebook, readers kind of have direct access to them, so there's that role which has changed about being a magazine journalist, what do you feel about that?

I feel ... I'll give you an example of a story I may be doing in a while. It's about this guy near Coimbatore who developed a way to make sanitary pads for cheap. (Yeah I know that guy.) See, there you go, you already know this guy, and now why did I say I may be doing it, because he already is all over the place

Example

(he's doing his own social media?) He's not doing his own thing, like you said achievers or personalities, you specifically mentioned their own pages or blogs, now this guy doesn't have his own media like that, he's been interviewed in several places, a TEDx video a documentary is being made on him. The thing is he's an extremely chatty guy and he knows how to present his story. So his story is out there all the time anyway and it's identical everywhere, because he knows how to package it. which is why the question of whether I should do it or not has come up, whether there is any scope for that difference. I think even in terms of Twitter and all or blogs, yes, what you're saying is true, that does put a lot of information out there about them that does create... it has a different feel, like you said, direct access. It's a lot more personal. Again in terms of most of these guys when that happens they put what *they* want out there, which is not necessarily what I may bring across. I may even get a more complete picture, I may speak to other people about that particular person. And I may put in some of my own inference, so yeah it has made the job tougher, but it's also made it more fun. You're forced to look beyond them...

Like you were saying, looking for different angles ...

Yeah you have to use your brains a little more, in a way.

Does that feel like a burden?

I think it's fun.

Have you had to change how you view yourself? You're not someone who's giving information, the information is out there.

Y'know what... see there are a lot of people, who when they learn what I do, go, oh wow. But I also feel there are a lot of people who look at it as haan OK one more person who's out there writing something.

Self-identity

What do you feel about yourself?

I do understand that I have to do a lot more to break through the clutter now.

"This is what I
' ' ' ' "

I'm well aware of that. When I said there are a lot of people who think "theek hai" this is something others also do, so yes I do get the sense of, I am now one in a crowd of people doing this kind of work. And not necessarily doing something pathbreaking because there are so many people who may not say exactly what I have said but then we're all treading on each other's toes. I have this sense of I just need to do a lot more to break through the clutter.

Self-identity

There's one perception of the magazine journalist as a gatekeeper, as someone who gives readers access to information, to words, suppose you're writing a travel story it's something you've done and you're sort of showing the reader. That kind of gatekeeper role no longer exists, so would you be an opinion leader then?

A lot of what I'm saying is influenced by the publication I'm working with. At RD we get a lot of reader feedback, even if it isn't through the letters, or our Facebook page, when I meet people and they ask me what I do and I tell them this is where I work, a lot of people just end up telling me face-to-face... It just shows how well the brand is known around here. And that is what reiterates sometimes how much influence you can have over people. So I wouldn't say I look at myself as an opinion leader because there are so many others who are putting information out there and it's so easily accessible to everyone, so I really don't know if the impact is that deep. I doubt that. By the kind of work I do, I would be a more subtle influence. I wouldn't know how to label that, really.

Self-identity

The influence of

Self-identity

No, you don't have to label it, I just wanted to know how you perceive yourself. If you'd asked me that question I would've taken a long time to realise as well. As journalists you're trained to observe others and report on what you see and describe everything outside of you. Very rarely do you think hey how do I see myself.

By virtue of the amount of interaction we have with the audience, this is something that crosses my mind.

So your influence is there, but it's subtle. (Yes.) You mentioned audiences and the reactions you get from Facebook; is this something you're doing on your own or are you expected to do this as part of your role at RD?

Yes we do try to invite reader feedback as much as possible because there are sometimes there are articles ... more than feedback, there is reader opinion and experience. That is what we invite at the end of a lot of articles, wherever we can, we try not to miss any possible spot where we can hear from the reader. But again those are more ... those notes inviting reader opinion are more about the readers' thoughts on that subject, not on the fact that we've written about them. I wouldn't say it's ... I don't think we go actively looking. It would be a nice thing to do though.

"This is what I

Other journalists are expected to put out a Facebook post or tweet on behalf of the magazine and have a different kind of role to play other than writing for the magazine. You become ...

That is not what I got from your question; I thought you're asking me whether we ... here I am currently posting articles on our website.

Entirely new articles? These are not magazine articles put on the web?

No no, these are magazine articles. Basically when I say I am doing it, it is hardly my discretion of what I'm putting out there, rather I'm just doing a mechanical job of posting them. But yes a colleague and I on a daily basis we keep our Facebook page active; we're not on Twitter, but we keep our Facebook page active and it actually started as "oh let's get RD on Facebook, why shouldn't we be on Facebook" and because it was happening every day. ... it is work we do. And because there are a few of us involved in doing this, we're sort of expected to do it, but it isn't a part of ... if we don't do it someone will turn around and say "you missed this! how could you not do it!"

"This is what I
' ' ' "

This hasn't come from your boss or anyone in management, this is something you're doing.

No, yes, in fact ideally we'd like to get a team that looks into this, that is if we get into Twitter and stuff, the idea amongst us who are doing the writing otherwise is that we cannot keep up with this on a longterm basis. Right now we're managing with Facebook but if we had to manage Twitter as well, we don't see it as sustainable.

Challenges

Do you engage with digital and social media yourself, on your own?

Yes, personally, I do. I use Facebook, I'm not on Twitter, I have an account but it's dormant. I lurk, I'm a lurker, I'm following everyone else, like a voyeur. I look at the Twitter feed of some publications and a few people and I do put things up on Facebook, what I feel about something, an opinion, I do it sometimes, but it's not too often.

Personal use of
' ' ' "

Any other kind of digital media, iPad, blogs? I've been talking to people of different ages, some of whom have had to get onto social media because now it's expected of them. They can't write for a magazine without being on Twitter or Facebook or social media, it's a big change for some people. So you're using Facebook and Twitter, following feeds, any other digital media engagement? Any other apps, Instagram, Pinterest ...

None. I do read other people's blogs, I don't have my own blog and I don't have apps but there are other publications I look at for various reasons, good writing, good articles, and there are podcasts that I listen to sometimes.

Personal use of
' ' ' "

In a world where people use these regularly and everyone seems to be using social media, could you tell me how that's changed your work as a journalist? It could be information-gathering, research, are you accessing social media feeds for

research? Or do you ignore all that thinking social media is much too volatile and can't be counted as serious journalism..?

I look at everything, everything that I can, and especially when it comes to research, I look at everything possible, whether it's other people's reports whether it's ... if I'm writing about someone and there's a news report about that person online I will not only read the report, I'll also look at comments below. If I find something on Twitter about the person, I'm not just talking about his own account, even other people talking about him, I will look at all of that. Because I find it gives me, not just information, it gives me more perspectives.

"This is what I
....."

It's useful then, it doesn't feel like more work, more places to research?

Y'know what, it makes me wonder what people did before there was so much information so easily available. It must've been a lot more hard work, y'know tracking people down, talking to them, trying to dig out information.

In the past

Yeah, it was literally leg work, being on the streets, chasing people, physically. Alright, so, do you have a clear idea of your organisation's plans for embracing digital or online media? Are there any plans?

I don't have any idea of any clear plans, I wish they had clearer plans.

Digital future

OK, but what is your attitude towards digitisation of magazines, in general? Whether it's iPad editions or tablet-friendly websites or anything like that.

It's very much needed, sorry not needed, but it's important for a magazine to have a good digital presence but at least in India for a magazine like RD, I don't think we're ready to be exclusively digital, we still need to be in print. The way I see it we'll need to be in print for a long time still.

Digital future

Why do you feel that way?

Because a lot of our readers are not ... they're not available online, either they don't have access or they're just averse to that medium and there is a certain generation where a majority of them will just not get on to it.

The audience

OK, what I was trying to gauge is that it's because of your readers, it's not because of the fact that the organisation doesn't have a plan, like you said. It's because the audience is how it is, it should be in print for a longer period of time.

At the same time we do need a good digital presence also.

Digital future

Because it's the future, or... ?

Because there is a certain segment that's already there, and yes, there are going to be a lot more people who will get on to it, you have to be there for those who want to see it.

The audience

We touched upon advertising's and marketing's influence, you mentioned on two levels how the interaction happens, the values are based ... do you find advertising or marketing or any kind of promotional activity influencing editorial work in any way?

It may not be as direct as, oh we don't want to ... there are a lot of publications that do brand mentions or brand placements; we don't do that. There's no way we'd do that, but there was a time when we had our ad sales team walking up to us and telling us arey this toothpaste wants to advertise for gum problems, can we have an article on gum issues, and there also was a time when we'd give them that. Now I didn't approve of that at all, on a personal basis. But sometimes the argument is it has to be done, there are ads coming in, there's revenue. But then at the same time, we also look at eliminating subtle influences. For e.g. if we happen to have an advertisement for some brand of kiwi fruit and right next to that we have an article on the facing page about the goodness of fruit. So while in the article we may be talking about all kinds of fruit, if the article originally had an image of a chopped kiwi fruit, we'll ensure we'll remove that image to take away that influence it could possibly have. So yes there is an influence and sometimes ... we don't ever hold back content because it may not be good for an advertiser.

"This is what I

"This is what I

Example

Challenges

Example

Values

Does the reverse happen? Does the editorial team advise marketing or advertising saying hey this is what our readers are talking about, maybe you should look at these kinds of products. Maybe this kind of industry is something readers want to know about, so go talk to those kinds of companies.

The reverse happens but not from the point of view of this is what is going on with the readers. Like I said there was a time we'd have the ad team approaching us saying can you have an article on whatever-whatever subject. Sometimes, we don't really actively think about this, sometimes we find we have an article on any particular thing we find has certain advertising potential, we actually tell the team, saying look we're publishing this next month, maybe you can get so-and-so advertiser on board for this. In case they do not get an advertiser on board it doesn't affect us at all we go ahead with our plan.

"This is what I

"This is what I

OK, that's really all I needed to know; whether it's one way, both ways, what is the exchange. You'd said you put up articles on the website, does it matter to you

where your articles appear? Whether they're in the magazine and the website, only print, only website ... do you think about that?

By virtue of this particular magazine, because it's a global brand and we share articles with all the other editions, we find only a small selection of articles suitable to publish online every month in terms of rights and what is already out there. There are other editions also looking at using the same article, so sometimes we consider the fact that we may put this up on our website, everyone else may read it but then that makes it a little stale for, say, a neighbouring edition because it's already out there. So by virtue of that, most of the stories we generate within our office go online in any case. So there really aren't instances where there's something that I've personally written and it hasn't gone online and it's true for my colleagues also who generate content. But yes, if you're asking me whether it matters to me, yes, it is ... it would definitely I'd like if my article was online too. That is alongside my print article.

Challenges

Online by-line

What do you feel are the advantages ... why do you want that to happen?

Well, it's just about reach, because things get shared, you can push them further, more people read them ... it's really by virtue of that. Then of course a very easy way to generate feedback is online. It's a lot easier to, y'know, if I write something and share it on Facebook and ask people for their opinion, I will get a lot more feedback there because it's just so easy to give feedback, nobody has to take a postcard or even note down my email address and type it in or draft an email. Social media people just shoot off their mouth.

That's great for your story cuz more people are talking about your story. Cool, great. Are you expected to use any kind of multimedia elements in your stories, when they go online, for instance, are you expected to make sure there's video to go with it, pictures.

Digital future

Not yet. (So you feel like it's going to happen, eventually?) Yeah I think it's a matter of time. We already have other editions of the magazine doing it. (What are they doing?) They upload corresponding videos, (OK, but links to videos from YouTube or videos made by RD?) Made by RD, if I'm interviewing someone for a story I may have the video of that with everything else that happened during the interview online. I think it adds a lot of value.

"... convergence offers a chance to do better journalism by giving reporters the tools to tell stories in the most appropriate medium. Technology frees them from the limits of individual media." (Quinn & Filak, 2005). What do you feel?

It is true, because every medium has its own nature, y'know it has its own ___ and ___ and it doesn't. But being where we are right now, I don't think we can ... from where I

Digital future

stand now I think there is truth to that statement that a lot of scope when you involve all, multiple forms of media within your work, but considering our circumstances... by our, I mean, our readers, our audience ... I'm still calling them readers, but you're already looking at them in one way, not viewers or anything. Audience is more encompassing. Anyway, considering that, we still have to make the initial medium, that is print, as complete as possible. So while this can enhance it, it's still ... that doesn't mean you can leave print incomplete and say to see the rest of it, or to know what happened next, whatever, look at our video.

Challenges

Digital future

Correct, that's from the reader's point of view, what do you feel it means for the journalist, for you?

More work! (So this thing about technology frees them from the limits... I personally don't agree with it, but I want to know what you feel) **Well I think** there's a lot more... I'll give you an example; I went to meet someone for a story on Friday and this is a girl who lives in this shanty in a slum and I put that all down in words and say "as I walked down a narrow gully where the water from the ditch was overflowing and I had to dodge it as I walked down" either I spell that all out, or I have a little video of me approaching the house and you can hear the water running down and see how cramped that place is. I left my shoes outside her house and when I was leaving, as I was wearing my shoes, a rat ran by my shoes there. So if I had all that on video you get an idea of ... you get a sense of the place. Even if I have photos, my photos are 2D. It gives you an idea of the person, it adds more to my story.

Digital future

Example

But you're saying it's more work for you.

[laughs] It is. **(I'm not trying to catch you out or anything, it's OK.)** **Well, it** is more work because if I am doing this... I went and met her, because well I'm writing about her. But if I also have to look at this aspect at the same time I'd have to keep in mind, that I need to shoot, I should get this also and that also, my mind would be in two places and I'd have to make sure I have everything for everything, for video, for article... **Well, because we don't do this thing I don't know how it works is it like a daily crew you have, a cameraman, a photographer ... Besides the physical capability you also have to apply your mind to getting all of this right. So yes, it is more work.**

Digital future

"This is what I might have to

Challenges

What do you feel is the future then, with so many of these technologies and social media and all of these things becoming more and more accessible, what do you feel is going to happen to magazines, and to magazine journalists like yourself? Do you think about that at all or is it just something I've brought up...?

No it's a debate that's out there anyway, it really is an endless debates. (What do you feel about that?) Like I said, about using other media, technology, I told you I think it does add a lot of value, but I also think that magazine journalism and maybe long-form journalism, like the new technology have their pros and cons, and personally, not just as a journalist but even as the audience for other publications, I know I still like to read. Because there really is something else to reading. There really is a different kind of engagement that happens with the reader. And the way I see it possibly there will be a phase when print may dip considerably, but I don't think it will ever go away, because even after the dip, it will come back. It will be alongside ... I think the engagement when you read is just, the level of engagement is considerably more than when you're viewing. (It demands your attention so you're more focused.) Yes, yes definitely. In fact I think even listening demands a lot more attention, I don't know why that is but that is what I find. So yeah I think journalism will never really go away, but the other forms of media will have to be incorporated. I don't think that is something you can ignore.

Where do you think you'll fit into this new sort of convergent kind of situation in which magazine journalism is in every kind of media? What would you be doing, or what you like to be doing then?

I think the basic premise of my role will not change. (Which is?) If like I say the kind of articles magazines churn out will stay if it does work out that way, then I will still be doing y'know these feature stories, but yes, like we spoke earlier I will have to look at incorporating other forms of media whether it's videos or whatever else. I will have to think of the various options, various ways of playing with that particular story how to enhance it best by using these different tools so yes I will have to adapt in that way and probably experiment more, but the basic premise of going deep within into a story and giving it newer facets, that will stay.