The

Fashion Magazine

goes online

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Executive Summery

The fashion magazines are present on the Internet, and this thesis investigates how fashion magazines are facing the challenge of the online medium. An inspection of the debate on cultural and/ or creative industries is included. The fashion magazine is a cultural product that distributes creative content. The naming of the content, editorial or advertising, as creative, influencing the cultural product (and vice versa), opens up the possibility for a curiosity concerned with the economic and commercial side of the matter. The understanding of the fashion magazine as an object embedded in society and culture and as a cultural object in itself containing creative content prompts the following question for analysis:

How has selected fashion magazines met the challenges from the Internet technology?

This thesis investigates two primary features of the fashion magazine: editorial content and advertising, answering the following two sub-questions: 1) Can new forms of editorial content be detected in online versions of selected fashion magazines? 2) How has advertising changed in online versions of selected fashion magazines? The magazines are "Vogue UK" (print edition) and the online version "Vogue.co.uk", "Vogue Paris" (print edition) and "Vogue.fr" (online edition), all four published by Condé Nast. Two examples of Danish fashion magazines, "Cover", by Malling Publications, and the online edition "Cover.dk", and "Costume" from Benjamin Media with the online edition "Costume.dk". Using a methodology from cultural researcher Paul du Gay, the circuit of culture, an investigation is conducted in a theoretical framework from anthropologist Brian Moeran and sociologist Hartmut Rosa, which leads to the following conclusion: Vogue Paris and Vogue UK by Condé Nast are well represented online, and have successfully created a bridge between print and online. Editorial content has not found new ways online. In regards to advertising, the perfect format for online ads still needs to be invented. The advertising based business model of the printed fashion magazine is currently inappropriate for the online business model. Finally, the thesis presents a discussion and suggestions for further research focused on virtual ethnography.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the fashion magazine in the digital age. A fashion magazine is commonly known as a printed publication, issued on a monthly basis and dealing fashion and related areas, such as beauty and life-style. It is printed on glossy paper, with lots of photos and texts, and adverts accounts for a large page number of each volume. Today, many fashion magazines are present on the Internet, and it is interesting to see how the fashion magazines are facing the challenge of the online medium and what challenges lie ahead for the publishing and advertising industry in the digital age.

The fashion magazine is part of the publishing industry, so in order to determine the challenges a closer inspection must be made as to what type of industry we are dealing with. The publishing industry can be named both cultural and creative, depending on what your epistemological point of departure is. Richard Caves (2000), an economist, place publishing in the 'creative' industries and David Hesmondhalgh (2007), from the field of cultural studies, name publishing 'cultural'. The debate of cultural and creative industries is important, because the definitions have an impact on how people understand the area and what the implications for the industry are.

As part of the publishing industry, the fashion magazine faces the same challenge of addressing technological development as the industry in general. Technological development has induced major changes on the print industry, enabling everybody to become their own printer, and with the spread of the Internet, the vicious circle of declining readership of the printed media continues along with the flight of advertisers.

I find it important to ask questions about the underlying trends and come to an understanding of what brings about a development that imposes dramatic changes to the existing order of things. What are the driving forces behind this development? Introduction of new technology to an area is always something that affects people and processes in a certain field, in some cases making old ways obsolete. Just as often we find, what seems old actually represents

values, that are lost if things move too fast, and old techniques are abandoned. One example is vinyl records vs. MP3s, which are criticised for impoverished sound and listening experience - or in the case of the fashion magazine, we could ask how well the online edition would fare a sunny day at the beach, compared to a printed magazine?

In "More than just a fashion magazine" (2006b), Brian Moeran finds indications of a more fluid production schedule in fashion, made possible by changes in consumer demand and technological development, and points to the importance of the two-seasonal system to the fashion magazine for the following three reasons:

1. Order – the readers can fix their attention on two main seasons at which point the trends change, thus creating order in a 'potentially chaotic' mass of clothes;
2. Production process – without the system, magazines could no longer rely on their monthly publishing schedule and complicate planning in finance and personnel;
3. Advertising material – the system provides a nice way organising of the indispensable ads. (Moeran, 2006b: 729)

In other words, without this structure the fashion magazine as such could not survive – "unless those concerned decide that they want a very different kind of medium in which to publicise their outputs". (Ibid, 2006b: 729)

This 'other medium' could be the Internet, and signs of this very point are showing with fashion houses experimenting with runway collections shown online, like the late Alexander McQueen did for Gucci in the 2009 Paris Fashion Week.[1] "The use of Internet for us is absolutely crucial," says Robert Polet, chief executive of Gucci Group (GUCG.PK), which owns the McQueen brand. "Interaction and involvement with customers are key words." [2]

Others as iconic fashion name Yves Saint Laurent and hip Viktor & Rolf have both experimented with studio filming and web-only shows in addition to their traditional runway show.[3] The 'Fashion Film' has been gaining ground in the past seasons, so far culminating in

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[1] http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/oct2009/gb20091012_492194.htm 161009
[2] http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/oct2009/gb20091012_492194.htm 161009
[3] http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/oct2009/gb20091012_492194.htm 161009

the fall 2009 with numerous examples of the genre, which is a perfect match for the Internet. [4] The Fashion Films are in some cases made with collaboration from people employed at fashion magazines, who use their skills in another medium e.g. the short film for Richard Nicoll Spring/Summer 2010 produced by Jamie Pearlman, Art Director at British Vogue, who besides her work in the magazine industry also have launched the online platform TEST[5].

The Internet is being given a more prominent position and it is tempting to jump to the conclusion that Internet based runway shows will eventually replace the traditional show, and that magazine publishing only will occur online, but as for now the new media are only used as a supplement to established forms. The two season system is definitely under pressure and as for the fashion magazine the possibilities of Internet publishing is creeping in; as measure of cost reduction and platform for attempts at new forms of creative content and business models. Because today, consumers are online and anyone can publish anything for virtually nothing, using a blog[6], Facebook[7], or Twitter[8], and the traditional one-way speech of marketing becomes a conversation, and content from consumers is ever increasing.

In order to capitalize on the cacophony of voices in the Internet-sphere, it is all about who owns the conversation, it is not about dictation. Brands are expected to inspire and focus the conversation by providing something interesting to discuss. The challenge and possible threat for fashion magazine lies within the fact that when a brand like Chanel begins to think and act like a media company[9], they will create the original editorial content that gets the attention

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[4] http://www.businessoffashion.com/2009/09/new-york-fashion-week-of-fashion-prequels-and-sequels.html 201009
[5] http://testmag.co.uk/ 201009
[6] Blog: online journal where an individual, group, or corporation presents a record of activities, thoughts, or beliefs. Some blogs operate mainly as news filters, collecting various online sources and adding short comments and Internet links. Other blogs concentrate on presenting original material. In addition, many blogs provide a forum to allow visitors to leave comments and interact with the publisher. "To blog" is the act of composing material for a blog. Materials are largely written, but pictures, audio, and videos are important elements of many blogs. The "blogosphere" is the online universe of blogs. From: Encyclopædia Britannica 2010.
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/869092/blog 260110
[7] Facebook: www.facebook.com American company offering online social networking services. Facebook was founded as a social networking web site in 2004. The site generates revenue through advertising. Access to Facebook online is free of charge. New users can create profiles, upload photos, join a pre-existing network, and start new networks. From: Encyclopædia Britannica 2010
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1366111/Facebook 260110
[8] Twitter: (www.twitter.com) online service for distributing short messages among groups of recipients via personal computer or mobile telephone. From: Encyclopædia Britannica 2010
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1370976/Twitter 260110
[9] http://www.businessoffashion.com/2010/01/fashion-2-0-chanel-learns-to-think-like-a-media-company.html 260110

from fans who will in return reward the brand by making it the topic of conversation online. Is the fashion magazine as intermediary no longer needed?

Before we declare the fashion magazine irrelevant, it is important to remember that television did not mean the end of books, the VCR did not kill movie theatres and the Internet will not do any of these in. What has changed is the name of the game, and competition has become harder. For the printed fashion magazine the Internet means fierce competition, but not necessarily the end. In order to be relevant in an online age, the magazines need to decide what to do with the new technology. Therefore, it is relevant to take a look at where the magazines are at this point in time, and look for pointers to the future.

Thesis outline

Following this Introduction is the Delimitation in which I present the issue of cultural and/ or creative industries, the placing of the fashion magazine in an industry, and finally, the Problem Statement with questions to be taken under consideration in the thesis. I then turn to a Methodology concerning the performed research and choices made in connection herewith. In the section on Theory, I introduce the theory on social acceleration and technology, followed by an outline of the development in cultural studies and an account of the main theory applied in the Analysis. In Analysis, I investigate the fashion magazines as they go from print to online, and finally conclude on the posed questions. The Discussion & Suggestions for Further Research is concerned with perspectives on the development of the fashion magazine and suggest a number of research ideas unfolding a possible approach for conducting investigations on the Internet with point of departure in the concept of Virtual Ethnography.

DELIMITATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Delimitation

Cultural or/ and creative industries

Much has been debated in terms of what constitutes cultural industries and creative industries, if they are in fact one and the same or consists of different parts. The definitions

are important in order to form an understanding of what industry fashion magazine publishing belongs to and how the nature of the industry affects the fashion magazine.

The term creative industry is of relatively recent date made famous in Europe by the British Labour government elected in 1997. (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 144) David Hesmondhalgh (2007) claims that the term 'creative' made it possible to identify the cultural industries as motors for economic growth.

Beside the implication for policy and decision makers, the influence of the creativity term has from around 2000 also sparked a multitude of definitions and a lively debate in academia, depending on epistemological point of departure. The creative industries are seen by some to hold information on other industries, or even to give birth to a new class identified by Richard Florida as 'the creative class' in 2002. (Florida, 2002)[10] 'Creative cities' and 'creative clusters' have also been a focal point for a number of researches with an economic point of departure. The following is a look into the debate, and how policy institutions and different researchers have defined creative industries and put it to use:

Richard E. Caves (2000) in "Creative industries: contracts between art and commerce" is concerned with the economic organisation of art and culture, 'core' creative activities and the actives that surround them, which he names ' humdrum' activities: "The painter needs an art dealer, the novelist a publisher." (Caves, 2000: 1)

In a report by the European Commission from 2001, the creative industry is attributed by the following: "the creative industry can be considered a 'digital culture' whose boundaries are difficult to draw because of the manifold synergies and interactions of the traditional culture sector with information technology."(Lazzeretti in Cooke, 2007:178)

Margaret Wyszomirsky suggests four sets of criteria for the definition of creative industries, each focusing on a single distinctive factor: "(1) the product/service supplied, (2) the organisation of production, (3) the main production process and (4) the occupational/workforce group". (Ibid: 178) This point of view is the economic, where focal interest lies in matters regarding the properties of goods and services, organisation of production etc.

Calvin Taylor sets out to study entrepreneurship in the creative industry and finds the definition from the British government helpful: "Those industries who have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. This includes advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio." (Taylor in Henry, 2007:180)

Luciana Lazerretti, taking an economic view on regional development and competitive advantage, identifies at least three different approaches to the studies of 'creative' industries, and uses the term 'creative industry' or 'cultural industry' as interchangeable synonyms:

1) The cultural approach, where creative industries supply goods and services associated with cultural, artistic or entertainment value;

2) The copyright approach, in which creative industries are distinguished from other industries on the important issue of copyright;

3) The creative approach, in which creative industries are found across sectors, especially those associated with the 'individual creativity, skill and talent' and the 'potential for wealth and job creation', as defined by the British government. (Lazzeretti in Cooke, 2007:177).

The Fashion Magazine in the 'C' - Industry
Caves (2000) talks about seven economic properties tied to 'creative activities' or 'goods':

1) 'A-list/B-list'/ vertically differentiated skills – In the creative industries, you find stars and a vast amount of lower raked creative workers;

2) 'Nobody knows' / demand is uncertain - You never know if the creative vision applies to people willing to pay money for it;

3) 'Art for art's sake' / creative workers care about their product – the creative worker get satisfaction from the work itself, not necessarily in economic compensation;

4) 'Motley crew' / some creative products require diverse skills – A lot of creative production takes place in teams, where interests, schedules and opinions about the result may vary;

5) 'Time flies' / Time is of the essence – Most creative productions needs to coordinate diverse creative skills in a short time frame;

6) 'Infinite variety' / differentiated products – The competition is high between creative products, leaving the public with an almost infinite number of choices;

7) 'Ars longa' / durable products and durable rents - people are willing to pay for a creative product long after it is made available for purchase, and the copyright owners continue to extract rents;

It is also with Caves (2000) that the publishing industry is said to encompass both books and magazines, even though there are notable differences between the two, especially when it comes to business model. You seldom see ads on every other page of a novel, while this is most common in magazines, especially in fashion magazines, the subject at hand.

The creation of content (a photo shoot, an article written) for a fashion magazine resembles very much the list of properties as formulated by Caves:

1) 'A-list/B-list' - e.g. rankings of photographers or set designers;

2) 'Nobody knows'- you never know if the creative vision of a magazine editor or a fashion designer applies to people willing to pay money for it;

3) 'Art for art's sake' - the editors (mostly) care about their product, and some consider themselves artists in their field;

4) 'Motley crew' - e.g. a photo shoot, the presentation of a Spring Collection for an established brand requires many diverse skills;

5) 'Time flies' – The magazine has a clearly defined production schedule

6) 'Infinite variety' –The are many different fashion magazines with different profiles to choose from;

7) 'Ars longa' –There is copyright on editorial material and editorial fashion photos, a potential source for income.

So, the publishing of magazines can be placed within the realm of creative industries as understood by Caves.

Turning to David Hesmondhalgh (2007), a researcher from the cultural field, the understanding of the publishing industry (print or online), is identified as one of the core cultural industries that deal primarily with the industrial production and circulation of texts. (Hesmondhalgh, 2007:13)

Taking into account the findings of Caves and Hesmondhalgh, we are able to establish publishing as both a cultural and creative industry, but how can both labels be attached to the fashion magazine? The content of a fashion magazine is text and imagery that definitely has cultural meaning and impact, and it is also very much a creative production. I do not see the two terms cultural and creative as mutually exclusive but more as a pair of methodological binoculars that in their combination allows for a more complete vision. This definition enables me to investigate the fashion magazine as a cultural product, for which it makes sense to analyse as such. The naming of the content, editorial or advertising, as creative, influencing the cultural product (and vice versa), opens up the possibility for a curiosity concerned with the economic and commercial side of the matter. After giving much thought to the subject, I have decided on the following definition of the nature of the fashion magazine for this thesis: The fashion magazine is a cultural product that distributes creative content.
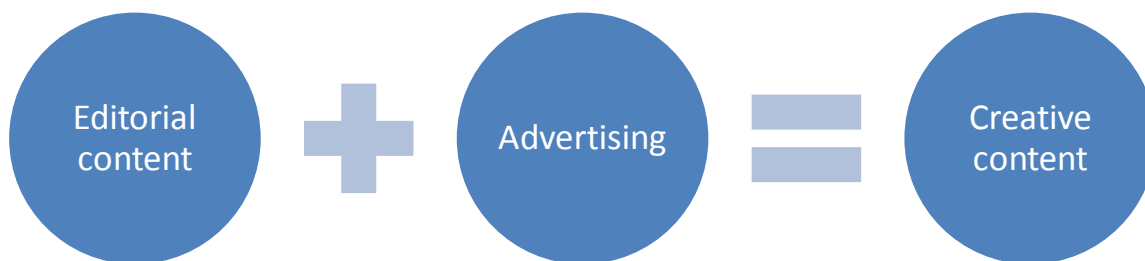
Fig 1 Creative content is both editorial content and advertising

Problem Statement

Magazines play a part in our society, fashion magazines plays a part in the fashion industry and advertising industry, in the lives of women (even if you as a female chose to distance yourself from fashion magazines in doing so, you relate to them). They are a part of our society and therefore a part of our culture. You can investigate them from many angles, depending on what your interest is.

Fig. 2 The fashion magazine in society

Surrounding actors in our society influences the fashion magazine:
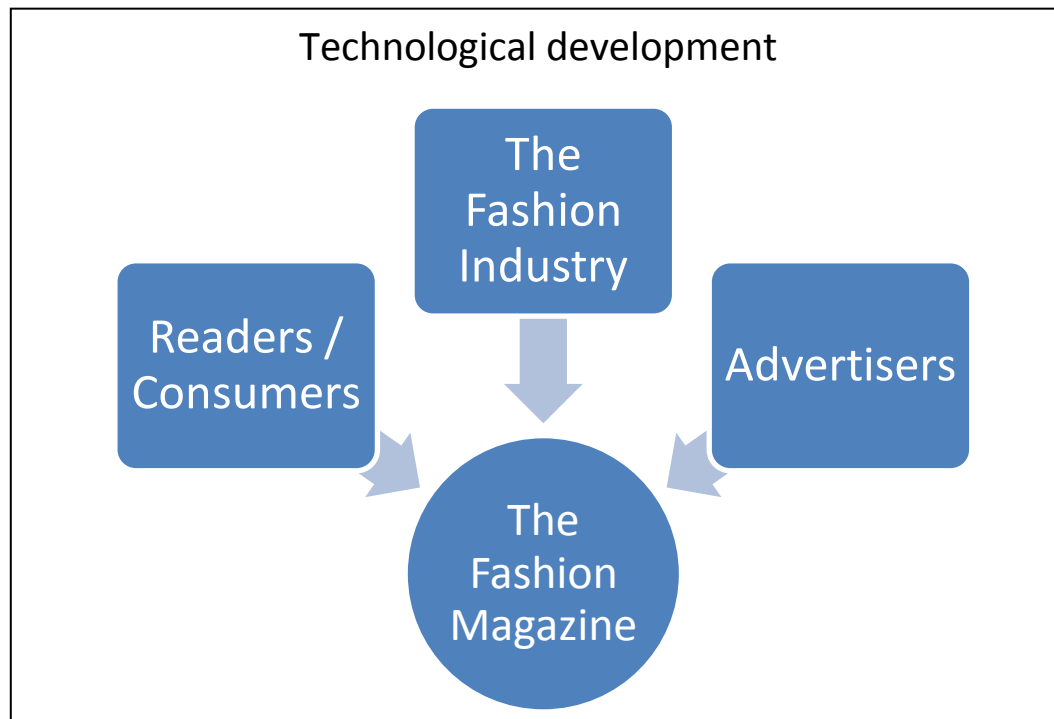
Fig. 3: Factors influencing the fashion magazine in a context of technological development

My understanding of the fashion magazine as an object embedded in society and culture and as a cultural object in itself containing creative content prompts the following question for analysis:
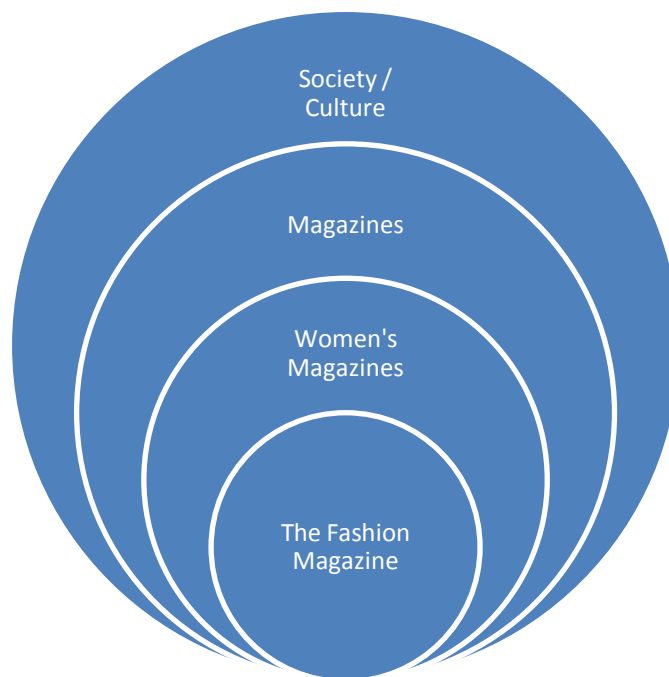
How has selected fashion magazines met the challenges from the Internet technology?

In order to answer the question, this thesis investigates two primary features of the fashion magazine: editorial content and advertising, answering the following two sub-questions:

1) Can new forms of editorial content be detected in online versions of selected fashion magazines?

2) How has advertising changed in online versions of selected fashion magazines?

The first question points to online content and a possible innovation going on in the editorial content, fuelled by technological possibilities; and the second question points to advertising online in order to be able to discuss possible changes in business models as a consequence.

The two categories *editorial content* and *advertising* have been chosen because this is what the fashion magazine essentially consists of, and the duality coins the nature of the fashion magazine as both cultural object and creative commodity.

PRESENTATION OF SELECTED FASHION MAGAZINES

I have examined "Vogue UK" (print edition) and the online version "Vogue.co.uk", "Vogue Paris" (print edition) and "Vogue.fr" (online edition), all four published by Condé Nast, representing the international fashion magazine. Also two examples of Danish fashion magazines are part of the analysis, "Cover", by Malling Publications, and the online edition "Cover.dk", and "Costume" from Benjamin Media with the online edition "Costume.dk".

Vogue UK / Vogue.co.uk

Vogue UK saw the light of day in 1916, as the first sister magazine to American Vogue, which has been published by Condé Nast since 1909. It is a monthly magazine with a circulation of approx. 220.000 in 2008. Some sees it as more commercial than other editions of Vogue and the editor-in-chief since 1992 is Alexandra Shulman. [11]

When you visit Vogue.co.uk, the first thing you notice is the title: Vogue.com. Here, the website will be referred to by its address, Vogue.co.uk, in order to avoid possible confusion with other Vogue-sites. Average unique visitors per month are 1.200.000, and the reader is described as being between 18 and 44 years of age, an average of 30 years. 88 % are female, 29 % are married and 69 % work full time – the same demographics as for the print edition.[12]

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[11] http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2008/feb/10/fashion.features1 310310
[12] http://digital.condenastinternational.com/uk/web-site-properties.vogue-com.htm 200410 and http://www.vogue.co.uk/voguemediapack/swfa/ 200410

Ill. 1 Vogue UK, April 2010 (vogue.co.uk 310310)
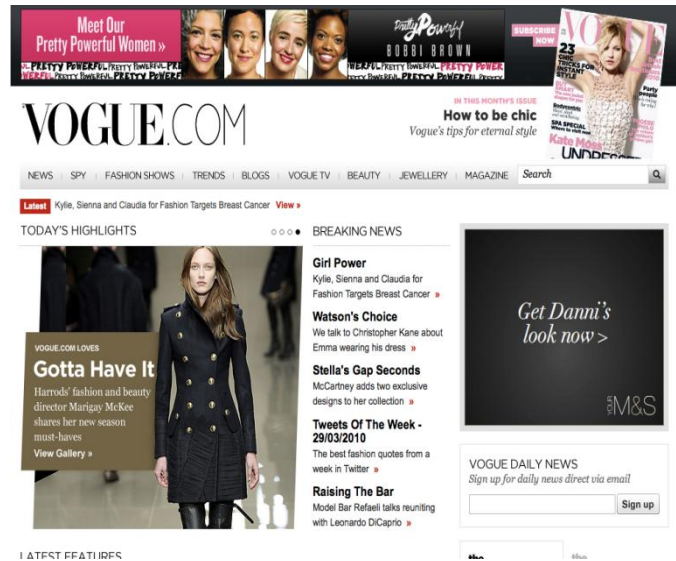
Ill. 2 Vogue.co.uk front page (vogue.co.uk 300310)

Vogue Paris / Vogue.fr

The first issue of Vogue Paris was issued in 1920, issued on a monthly basis, has a circulation of 133.000, and today it is said to be elitist, edgy and very French. Carine Roitfeld has been editor-in-chief since 2001.[13]

In September 2009, Vogue.fr had 296.000 unique visitors. 81.6 % are female, 43.6 % are between 25 and 45 years old – and 28.2 % live in the Paris-region.[14]

Ill.3 Vogue Paris, March 2010 (vogue.fr 310310)
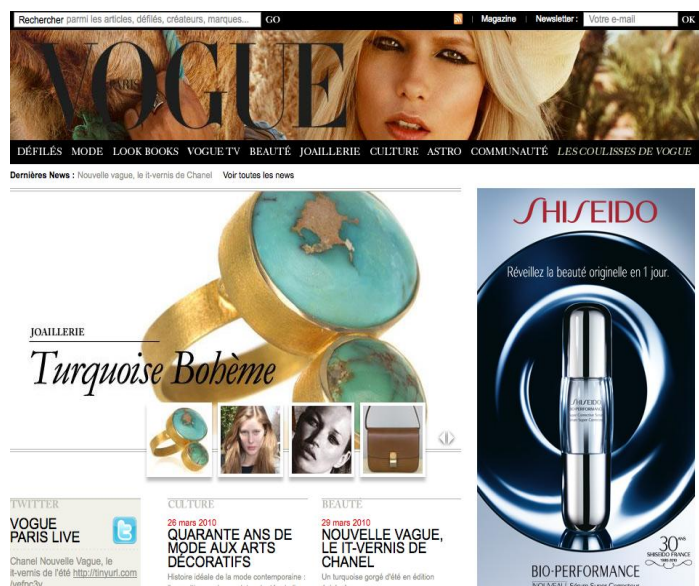
Ill.4 Vogue.fr front page (vogue.fr 300310)

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[13] http://nymag.com/fashion/08/spring/44215/ 310310
[14] http://digital.condenastinternational.com/fr/web-site-properties.voguecom.htm 200410

Cover / cover.dk

Danish Cover is published by Malling Publications on a monthly basis with a circulation of 44.429 in 2009.[15] Cover is presented as an edgy, but accessible fashion magazine, with a focus on fashion which is "useful, but also one step ahead".[16] The target group is described as female, urban, between 18 and 40 years old, 'smart' and 'demanding', with a love for shopping. The editor is Sara Sievers.

Cover.dk is presented in the media kit 2010 as the leading Danish fashion website. It has existed since 2007, and in the fall of 2009, Cover.dk started collaboration with the website of Danish newspaper Politiken – in order to generate traffic.[17]

Ill.5 Cover, April 2010 (cover.dk 310310)
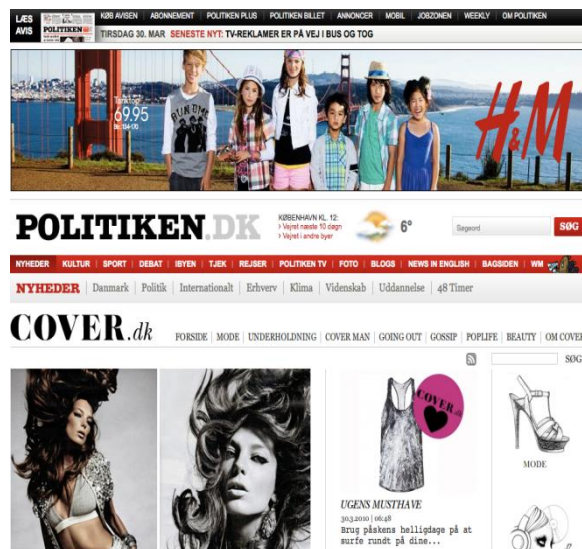
Ill.6 Cover.dk front page (cover.dk 300310)

Costume / costume.dk

Danish Costume is published by Benjamin Media, on a monthly basis, and had a circulation of 87.137 in 2009.[18] Costume is very commercial, full of shopping guides and a 'first-with-the-latest' vibe, which is how the magazine is presented to potential advertisers in the media kit.

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[15] Dansk Oplagskontrol www.do.dk 310310
[16] www.cover.dk/files/pdf/COVER_mediakit2010_dansk.pdf 190410
[17] http://mediawatch.dk/artikel/politiken-og-cover-i-mode-samarbejde 01032010
[18] Dansk Oplagskontrol www.do.dk 310310

The readers are described as 'shoppers', 'bon-vivants' and fashion fans.[19] The editor-in-chief is Rikke Agnete Dam.

According to the Association of Danish Interactive Media (www.fdem.dk), Costume.dk had 50.259 visits in February 2010[20], and the media kit for Costume.dk informs the potential advertiser, that 65 % of the visitors on the site shops online.[21] Costume.dk is the only magazine out of the four that has launched a web-only magazine; Fashionista by Costume, which most prominent feature is the possibility to click on the items displayed and be directed to a shopping possibility in an online store.[22]

Ill. 7 Costume, April 2010 (costume.dk 310310)
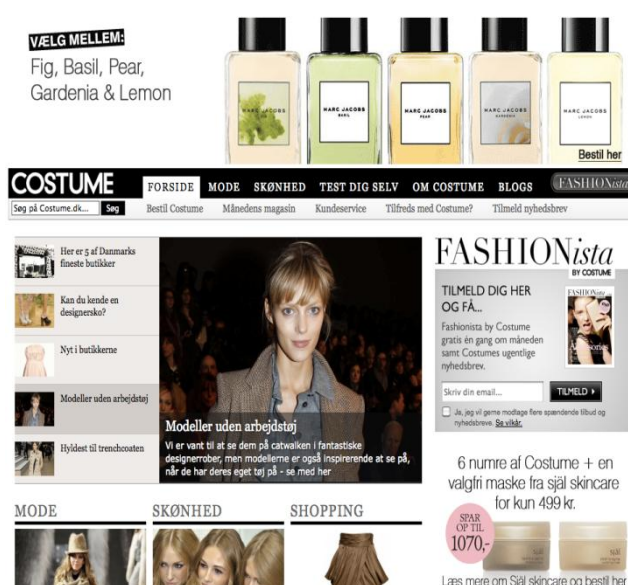
Ill. 8 Costume.dk front page (costume.dk 300310)

The range of the fashion magazines is from almost pure catalogue and shopping guide to an artsy magazine that distribute more attention and pages to the neighbouring worlds of fashion, the areas of art and music.

Danish Costume is an example of the catalogue-like magazine. This magazine is in essence shopping guide for, well, everybody. In Costume, you will find something for every taste and every wallet. In Cover on the other hand, you get the sense that the magazine wants you to dress a certain way, listen to specific music and attend nightlife in certain places. There are

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[19] http://benjamin.dk/article/35128 190410
[20] http://www.fdim.dk/statistik 190410
[21] http://benjamin.dk/article/35153 190410
[22] http://costume.dk/fashionista 200410

articles dedicated to artist portraits, and when a designer is featured it is often in a broader context than just this seasons take on the silhouette. The same difference is notable in the edition of Vogue; Vogue Paris is the magazine with the edgy, artsy take on fashion, and Vogue UK is a more commercial edition whit plenty of celebs and gossip and '40 items under 40 £<u>£</u>'.

The magazines have been chosen for the following reasons: availability in Denmark and online. I have found it useful to include both international and Danish magazines to get an impression of the development on an international level and in Denmark.

METHODOLOGY – RESEARCH ON THE INTERNET

From the very beginning, it was my intention to conduct as much research as possible on the Internet. It has been a purpose in itself to explore the possibilities of conducting research online. I find that there is still a lack of research in the study of websites as objects in a cultural sense. It is only recently that researchers in the field of sociology have concerned themselves with the Internet, and then primarily in a context of human interaction, CMC (Computer Mediated Communication) or communities. This is of course due to the fact that the focus of cultural analysis is real human life, but I find that there is currently missing an attempt to view the Internet as a tool of communication, with the emphasis on 'tool'. Given the nature of my question on fashion magazines online it seemed natural to attempt to stay online for as long as possible. However, this posed numerous challenges:

Books and articles: Every article for this thesis has been retrieved online, as academic journals are very easy to find in databases. I have used EBSCOhost [23] for all searches, in order to include as many databases as possible, without ending up in infinity. EBSCOhost includes all major relevant scientific databases for social sciences. For books on my subject, I relied on REX, the Royal Danish Library database[24] and Google Books[25]. Google Books have been of particular interest, since it has been possible to read editions online, and not having to wait for the library to retrieve it. It did pose some problems, when a certain edition lacked the pages I needed for copyright reasons. In those cases, I was usually able to retrieve the book in the library.

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[23] www.ebscohost.com
[24] www.kb.dk
[25] www.books.google.com

Collecting empirical data was more difficult than I expected. I could buy the magazines for analysis from the shelves, but it proved quite difficult to keep an eye on all publications, which came as a surprise. Indeed, it struck me how early the monthly editions were published. The earliest printed fashion magazine was Costume, where the January edition 2010 was published and on shelves December 6th 2009. Yes, Benjamin Media certainly is first, but to such an extreme that it seems silly.

I struggled quite a bit with observation of the online version of the fashion magazines. True to the nature of the medium, they changed all the time, in content and form, and especially the Vogue sites changed quite a bit during my period of research from August 2009 to December 2009. Originally, it was my intention to observe, describe and take screenshots of the sites as documentation, but again and again I found I was too late. I opened the site to take a screenshot, and puff, it was gone and a new site was in place. I had to make this a point in itself in order to make sense of the observations. Internet research is extremely difficult, the data online are written in sand, and once it is gone, it is gone. My collection of printed version I could go back and flip through, but my online observations only existed in my notes. This is where it becomes extremely important to date the sites visited, so that if I refer to an object on a site that no longer exists, it is shown that it was observed earlier. But there is no way to test this, and this is a very important methodological problem, that needs to be addressed when conducting research online.

In a sense the problems with documentation is no different from the interview situation or field observations, where words uttered or actions taken only exist at that particular moment. Technology has helped us to capture the moment on audio recorders and in photos than can be saved for later interpretation. When you are collecting data from websites, you can easily be fooled by the sense of consistency that usually follow written words and printed imagery. Failing to understand the nature of the Internet can lead to a false sense of security, which leads you to believe that you can go back and have a second look. As for any other 'field study', you need to come prepared, and in the case of the Internet field, you need tools for saving contents on websites.

Style of observation

How to properly collect data when using observation is a classic issue. In 1958, Gold listed the following four types of roles in an attempt to define the differences between observer and participant: The complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant and the complete observer. (Flick, 2009: 223)

The four roles deal with issues of distance and relation between observer and participant. In my case, I took on the role as observer in the way that I observed the activity and changes in the online editions of the magazine, thus maintaining distance to the object. I did not participate in the creation of an online (or printed, for that matter) fashion magazine. Or did? I find it very interesting that the very structure of the websites in question all were 'open' in the sense that they all allowed the reader several entrance points by clicking on a given link. The flow that exists in a printed magazine is lost online, and thus I as observer became participatory in the sense that every time I chose an article, I re-created the online magazine. Another reader might click on something else and thereby create a different online magazine. Here, I find the line between observer and participant to become blurry, and a need to further elaborate the roles to encompass the observer of an amorphous object.

Occasionally in this thesis, I have conducted an analysis and interpretation of words and imagery in hermeneutic tradition in order to establish the nature of a magazine, e.g. the excessive use of the words 'shopping guide' have let me to conclude that a particular magazine is very commercial. I have also noted how the style (images, colour, and content categories) of a print magazine have or have not been transferred to the online edition. In these cases, I assume the position of 'reader' over mere 'observer', using my preconceptions and prejudices to extract meaning from a text.

Using myself as source I find very useful and productive. I have not nurtured the ambition to provide an 'objective' description of the 'true' world, but instead turned to cases and examples to indicate possible truth. I am quite a good source being in the target group for the fashion magazines analysed, and even though British and French Vogue of course exhibits national traits new to me, this has been a place where I could use difference of culture as reference point, instead of cultural identification as with the Danish magazine, which I, as a Dane, understand intuitively. I further argue that the form of the fashion magazine is standardised

and that I have no problem reading an English or French magazine, as long as I know the language.

Presentation of Theory

I am investigating the fashion magazine as it goes online and therefore I have looked for theoretical foundation for an examination that focus on general trends in society that might explain, why the fashion magazine inevitably appears in an online form. The theory of social acceleration and modernization by Hartmut Rosa provides theoretical insight into as to why the fashion industry and thus the business of magazine publishing are affected by rapid changes in technological development, and how this changes the game for the fashion magazine.

"High-Speed Society"

In "High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity" (2009) Hartmut Rosa looks at analysis of acceleration in society from the late 1800s and early 1900s and brings the theories and thoughts up-to-date. These theories of society are based on a sociological tradition similar to the tradition leading up to the construction of an actual cultural analysis.

- Differentiation (Paradox: Disintegration) (Durkheim)
- Rationalization (Paradox: The iron cage) (Weber)
- Individualization (Paradox: Mass culture) (Simmel)
- Domestication (Paradox: Environmental disaster) (Marx)

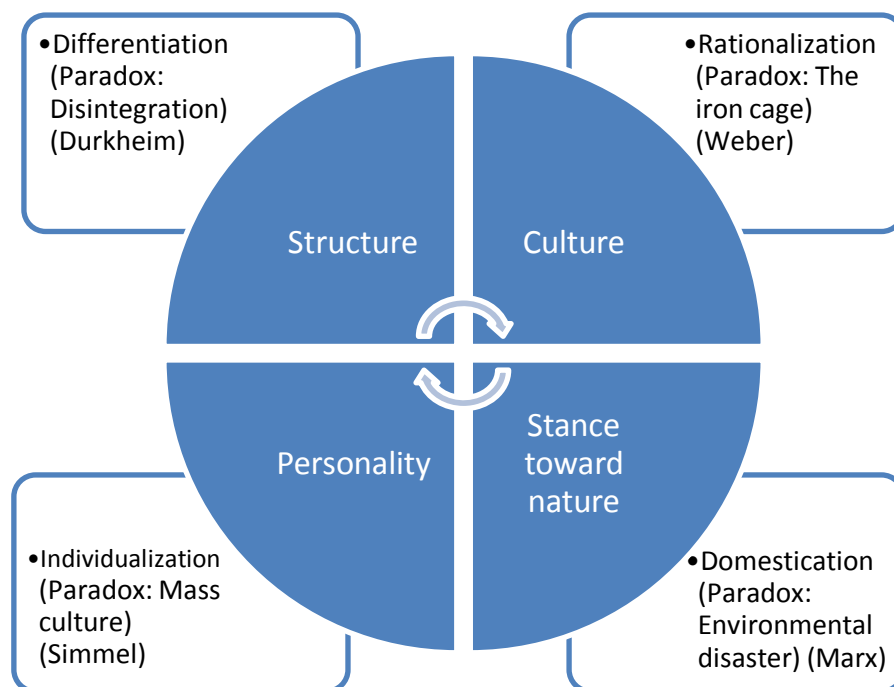Structure Culture Personality Stance toward nature

Fig. 4 The Process of Modernisation I (Rosa, 2009:79)

Fig 4 shows how modernisation has been analysed in sociology from different perspectives, and according to Rosa (2009) we must add the temporal perspective to the analysis, in order

to properly grasp the nature of modernity. While social acceleration does not affect all of the world's population equally, Rosa points to technological acceleration, pace of life and overall acceleration of social change as crucial features and of great importance to the modern relation to nature, personality and cultural and structural transformation. (Rosa, 2009:108) The result is shown in Fig. 5:

Structure

Culture

Speedup and desynchronization of systemic processes; accelerated social change (groups, roles)

Temporal dimension (Paradox: deceleration)

Acceleration of cultural change / concentration of the present

Acceleration and fragmentation of the pace of life

Technological acceleration

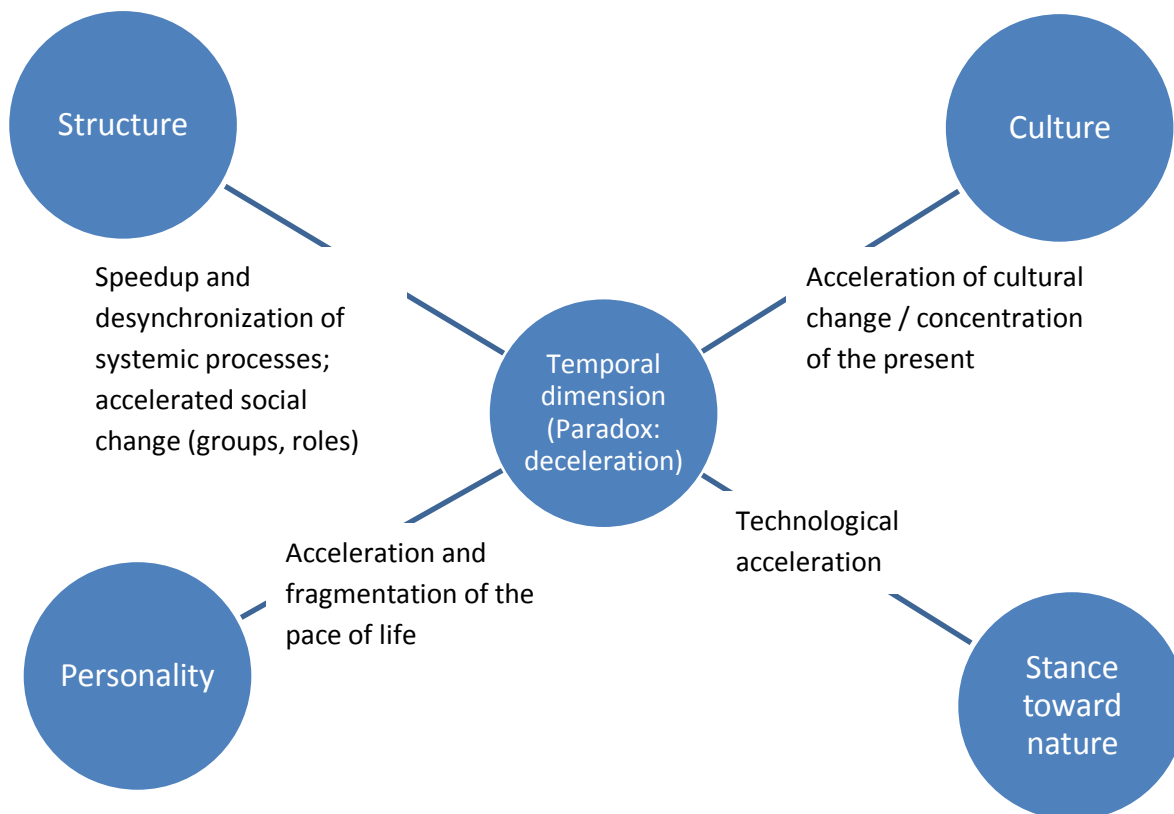Personality

Stance toward nature

Fig. 5 The process of modernization II (Rosa, 2009: 109)

I see the technological development in the shape of the Internet as the one prominent factor; the technological accelerator, influencing pace of life and inducing social change that have had the greatest importance to relation to nature, personality and cultural and structural transformation in modern time. In this particular case, in the publishing business, it raises questions about the survivability of traditional print media, thus becoming something that fashion magazines needs to address. Other areas of the fashion world are also affected by technological development, imposing change to established order.

Hartmut Rosa's theory of modernization and social acceleration tells us, that to understand our society, we must take different aspects into consideration – one being technology. In

Rosa's analysis, technology is an area that highly influences the way we perceive the world, and the technology driver is the root of many developments and challenges. In the case of magazine publishing and the fashion magazine online, the technological development in society serves as backdrop for an explanation and reason for the fashion magazine to have an online edition. In order to keep up with changing cycles in the fashion industry, the magazines need a place to keep reader up-to-date on more than a monthly basis.

Rosa introduces the temporal aspect of modernisation and with it the paradox of de-acceleration. Indeed, because of technological development in production of fashion, the manufactures are able to disrupt the two-cycle system, which in turn disturbs the magazine production cycle, leading to the logical and necessary step of going online. Simultaneously, things seem to slow down, as our expectations are set to instant and on demand. Consumers of fashion are no longer content with waiting for the Fall/Winter-line to become available – they want the possibility to buy, as the items are shown, and as a consequence, things appear to be slowing down.

The general theory of social acceleration and modernity can serve as a step towards a more detailed investigation of what is, essentially, going on. The field of cultural studies has also added to the understanding of society, with emphasis on human processes, and the following is a look at the analytic framework for this thesis:

Cultural studies

Cultural studies are situated within the realm of social science, in sociology, alongside other disciplines, which have human society's processes as focal point. Traditionally, cultural studies with the focus on signs, language, images, have been treated as 'soft' academia as opposed to so-called 'hard' disciplines as economics and political processes. (du Gay et al, 1997:1-2)

This has changed and rather than being perceived as a reflection of other processes in society, e.g. economic and political, a view held primarily by Marxist scholars, cultural is now an independent in the social world and cultural studies now stands a ground of its own. Some even argue that the tables have turned and since all social practices can be thought of as meaningful, they are all fundamentally cultural. (Ibid, 1997:2)

Cultural studies are interested in real people and real lived lives. In the words of Turner (2003) in his book on the British tradition of 'doing' cultural studies: "It is a means of generating knowledge of the structures we live in, and the knowledge it generates is meant to be used."(Turner, 2003:225)

Turner states that cultural studies has been criticised for being too theoretical and inaccessible, resulting in poorly applied methodology picked and chosen from other disciplines. This has led to an investigation by cultural studies researchers into embracing the value of utilising many methodologies and a widespread use of 'triangulation', where the subject of investigation is approached using different methods. (Ibid: 226)

Triangulation was used in the examination of the Sony Walkman in "Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman" from 1997 by du Gay et al.:"(...) rather than privileging one single phenomenon – such as the process of production – in explaining the meaning that an artefact comes to posses, it is argued in this book that it is a combination of processes – in their articulation – that the beginning of an explanation can be found."(du Gay, 1997:3)

Du Gay et al. states that an artefact must be placed within a circuit of culture consisting of five different cultural processes if one wishes to perform an adequate study. (Ibid, 1997:2)
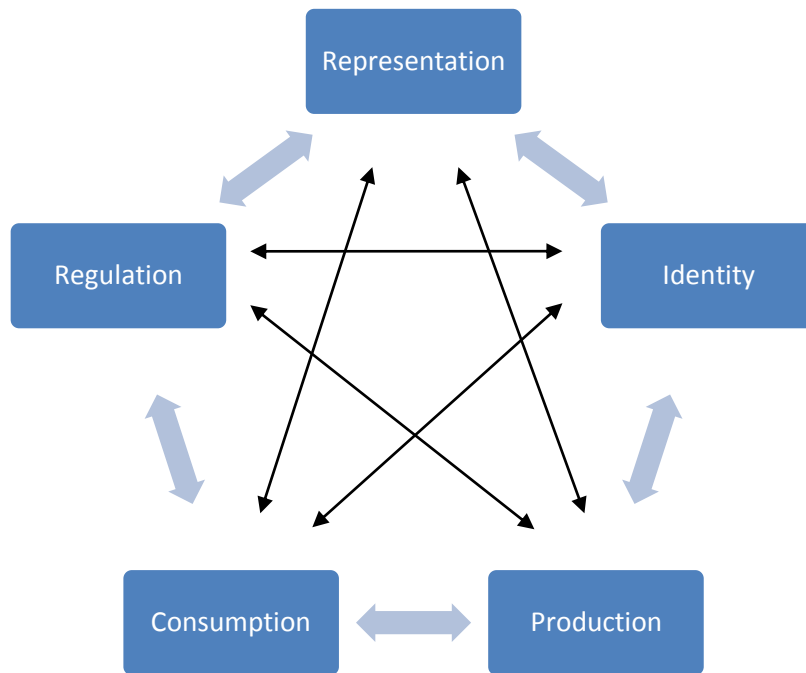
Fig. 6 The circuit of culture by du Gay (1997)

Representation: Representation is an object represented in language.

Identity: Provides an idea of which types of people can be associated with the object in question.

Production: Encodes the object with particular meanings from the culture of production surrounding the object.

Consumption: Gives insights on how consumers put the object to use.

Regulation: Regulation is about how the emergence of new object regulates cultural life.

However, since the cultural processes are part of a circuit, it is quite possible that elements I deem to be placed in a Representation, others would call an element of Identity or Production. This does not pose a problem since every separate part of the circuit is intertwined and helps construct each other. (Ibid, 1997:4)

In Representation, I have examined how text and imagery in the print edition are transformed when entering a new medium by observing the websites of the chosen magazines, I also take the point of view that the online version of a magazine can indeed be perceived as the online

representation of a printed magazine, thus delivering meaning to the printed edition by creating an online presence.

For the purpose of Identity, I have considered whether the readers of printed fashion magazine are likely to visit the online edition.

In Production, I have considered the implication of the interaction between reader and magazine online. The reader of an online magazine has to perform actions on the screen that send instructions to the host server, which in return delivers the text and imagery visible on screen. The consequence is that the creative content of the fashion magazine is continuously created and re-created in a non-static way, which is what give the online magazine its amorphous property. I have also used the findings of Moeran (2006a, 2006b, 2008) to gain insights of the production process of a fashion magazine.

In Consumption, I have given consideration to the actions described under Production, but here in terms of the reader experience, and how the magazine is consumed and experienced online.

In Regulation, I have looked for pointers as to how the online possibilities might affect and change behaviour of the readers.

As a consequence of the interconnectivity of the elements in the circuit of culture, I have not kept a strict distinction between the processes when applied in the observation of the fashion magazines in question. Instead, I have attempted an uninterrupted observation, and then afterwards considered the points and concluded on the processes.

Theory of the Fashion Magazine

In order to reach an understanding of the fashion magazine as phenomenon, I have decided to centre my thesis on the writings of Brian Moeran, "Elegance and Substance Travels East: Vogue Nippon" (2006a), "More than just a fashion magazine" (2006b) and "Economic and cultural production as structural paradox: the case of the international fashion magazine publishing" (2008). These articles give valuable insights on aspects of the fashion magazine, which has been neglected in earlier studies of same - e.g. McCracken's (1993) study of magazines as "glossy text", which left out production- especially the double identity of the

magazine as both commodity and cultural object. In "Elegance Travels East: Vogue Nippon", Moeran focus is on taking into account, as far as possible, the total social processes surrounding such a cultural product in order to transform it into a cultural production. Moeran finds that it is in the negotiations between people (producers, consumers, "critics" employed in advertising, PR and journalism) that enable this transformation. (Moeran, 2006a: 227) I find that Moeran's work investigate the fashion magazine as an entity with all its different cultural functions, meanings and aspects, 'bridging the gap', and that I, learning from the points of Moeran, have an opportunity to bring the findings of my own analysis to a more complete result.

Moeran's view of the fashion magazine as carrying a 'double identity' as both creative product and commodity provides theoretical background for identification of attributes that fall both under Representation and Production/Consumption. As I will show in my research review leading up to Moeran, I see his work as a continuation of a research tradition that only fairly recently have begun to see the fashion magazine as exhibiting traits of a 'double identity". Moeran and Rosa complement each other as theorists and researchers, since they both have roots in sociology, Rosa being interested in the examination of general trends on level of society and modernity, while Moeran conduct in-depth anthropological analysis for the good of learning from example. Du Gay's circuit of cultural processes is a method for analysis of my observations, which I believe has a good chance of producing useful information.

Reflections on Methodology - Validity, reliability and precision

For this thesis, I have used myself as respondent regarding question to the observation and interpretation. This leaves the findings of the thesis subject to critiques on the point of validity. I believe, however, that my observations are reliable: The observer is white, female, in her 30's, well educated and an urban resident. This makes me a primary target for fashion magazines, which on the one hand might leave me blind for certain aspects (which I cannot account for, since I cannot see, what I cannot see), but it also gives me the possibility to examine my own reaction to the fashions magazine online, as I suppose it is intended to be received by the audience.

The most interesting problem in my choice of methodology is concerning precision, where I have been unsuccessful in finding an adequate instrument for measuring and comparing the

print edition of the fashion magazine with the online version. Clear-cut measures as number of pages and space are not transferrable to online texts and imagery. I have in this thesis attempted to perform a comparison between print and online magazines in counting of number of ad pages, but when it comes to 'counting pages' online the concept does not make sense. A web page is not to be considered a 'page' in traditional sense. This insight is gained from my research, and in Suggestions for Further Research I suggest that future analysis use other types of measures, e.g. financial and economic.

My intention of doing Internet-based research has met challenges. I found it possible to reach academic journals through databases and retrieve literature online, but the result can be discussed in terms of how the choice of literature was made, and if the search can be said to have exhausted the possibilities for information. I have had clear intentions with every search conducted, and this has cut me off from the information, I could have 'stumbled upon' on library shelves or by assistance from a librarian. It must be said, though, that the Internet today actually helps out the researcher by suggesting other relevant material, when words are typed, so there is also the possibility that I have actually retrieved more information, than would have been possible without Internet access. I do think that I have fulfilled the methodological intent of integrating the Internet, not only in my object of analysis, but also in the process of completing the thesis.

THEORY

Theoretical Framework - The Fashion Magazine in print

The following is a review of the studies on woman's magazines, with focus on the influential feminist approach and the emergence of the cultural perspective that leads to the works of Brian Moeran. The intent is to show the development in research of the field, and add the theory from Rosa to give the technological perspective a place in the most recent developments of the fashion magazine.

Studies of women's magazines – a feminist approach

Janet Winship (1987) was one of the first to evolve the perspective on women's magazines, building on the notion on a hegemony and 'civil society', where the magazine can be regarded

as a site for negotiating female identity rather than a site for reinforcement of women's oppression. This ongoing struggle takes place in 'civil society', which consists of social institutions including trade unions, religious organisations, the media and all other non-state institutions. It is in 'civil society' that magazines can assume the place of a site of negotiation. In Winship's "Inside Women's Magazines" from 1987, these thoughts are expanded in a study on women's position in Britain through the content of women's magazines. Winship shows how while increasing content on politics, the magazine still only offers the solution based on the individuals wants and abilities, and everyday actions, and does not treat is as an issue that requires changes on the level of society. (Winship, 1987: 149)

Winship found that these ideological messages in the magazine were subject for some 'resistance' from the readers, but only for a while. The (guilty) pleasure of reading the magazines made the ideological message go down like chocolate. Other scholars continued Winship's train of thought (e.g. Ellen McCracken in 1993), and, as a natural consequence, arrived at similar conclusion as to the magazines emphasis on the individual. They concluded that the 'resistance' was here, but was too weak to change society or the magazines themselves. (Gough-Yates, 2003: 11) This might be due to the ambiguous nature of magazine reading, a pleasure that might be questionable, but nonetheless IS a pleasure.

Others were more optimistic on behalf of the magazines empowerment of their reader and their ability to change the world. In the 1990's the ethnographic approach entered and influenced the feminist perspective on magazines, building on Foucault and discourse theory, where the meaning of the text is dialogical and in a struggle with other uses of language, other cultures. This paved the way for studies on how cultural artefacts are consumed by women as seen with Hekman (1990) or Ramazanoglu (1993).

In "Understanding Women's Magazine: Publishing, Markets and Readerships" from 2003, Anna Gough-Yates reviews the literature and research done on fashion magazines and finds that most academic attention has been devoted to the 'problem' of fashion magazine as interpreted by media scholars who inhibit the feminist tradition. The 'problem' of fashion magazines lies in their alleged contribution to gender differences and inequality between the sexes. The feminine identities constructed by the magazine are oppressive to women, and the media promotes both patriarchy and capitalism. Gough-Yates finds that traditional feminist

critique tend to overlook important aspects of the industry of magazines and cultural production in terms of ignoring the role played by producers of magazines, embedded as they are in social, political and economic formations that influence magazine production and the 'lived cultures', of the producers. (Gough-Yates, 2003: 7)

Joke Hermes (2005) noted a shift in the epistemology and methodology in the studies of women's magazines at the time when Foucault became a significant influence, opening up for the possibility of an interpretive ethnographic approach and eliminating the researcher's advantage over 'normal' readers. Hermes also questioned the 'harm' of the content in women's magazines and has continued to discuss the feminist approach in popular culture, for example in her 2005 "Re-reading Popular Culture", where she concludes on the status of the field: "(…) insofar as one can speak of a feminist program, singular, since the late 1980s it needs to be seen as a poststructuralist program that advocates respect for difference and diversity." (Hermes, 2005: 146)

Studies of women's magazines as cultural products to be consumed

Until the mid-1980s studies of women's magazines had the readers as point of interest, but in the post –modern area something happened to the view on magazines; now the properties of the magazine as cultural product to be consumed made its way into research.

What the feminist critique neglected was the publisher's side of the magazines, the producer's role. Marjorie Ferguson made up for this in some part with her focus on production and consumption of women's press in 1983. Being an insider from the industry herself, Ferguson had the opportunity to go beyond the readership and construct an analysis on the production of women's magazines, and by invoking Emile Durkheim's writing on the cult of religion, she presented a similar view on femininity as a cult, worshipped in magazines. (Gough-Yates, 2003: 14)

Also Reed (1996) concentrated on the industry, and showed how readers could use the perception of the magazine as product and their role as consumers by trying to influence the publishers, thus putting the properties of the magazine as commodity into use for their own advantage. (Ibid, 2003: 16)

In this way, the 1990s presented a view on the 'new' women's magazine through studies, which methodologically made use of ethnography and a return to text analysis.

Gough-Yates own approach in 2003 is in line with Ferguson (1983) in the focus on industry of magazine publishing, but is also shaped by research through the 1990s on cultural production and consumption. In her analysis, she looks at the surrounding cultural discourses, in order to explain the organisation and changes in the industry. (Gough-Yates, 2003: 5)

The feminist viewpoint is in alignment with the viewpoint of magazines as commodity in Moeran 2006b and 2008, when it comes to being part of a capitalist system. But where feminist scholars see this as an unequivocal negative thing, Caves, Moeran and Gough-Yates merely point to it as fact, and thus, from a feminist view, accept the powers that be. The development in the studies of women's magazines seems to follow the general trends in society, from the activist and politically awareness of the 1970s over the commercial, post-modern and individualistic 1990s till today's focus on technology, communication and style – it's not what you say, it's how you say it, or wear it, watch it or read it. Or tear it and share it.

The fashion magazine in the digital web age
In order to understand how a fashion magazine can use the technology in the digital web age, we much consider the challenges and opportunities lay in the very nature of a fashion magazine, what a fashion magazine is, which properties can be attributed to it. The following taps into the fashion magazine as both cultural production and commodity, based on research and writings of Brian Moeran.

Brian Moeran argues for the legitimacy of the existence of the fashion magazine in his 2006 article "More than just a fashion Magazine" building on analysis and arguments from respectively Becker's "Art Worlds" (1982) and Bourdieu's 1993 "Sociology in Question": "Reception cannot take place without a special institution that serves that reception and thus brings about a fruitful dialectic between producer and consumer. In fashion, this institution is the fashion magazine." (Moeran, 2006b: 737)

Taking into account Becker's description of art worlds as 'networks of people cooperating' and applying it to the fashion world with its myriad of stakeholders (e.g. designers, stylists,

editors, photographers, critics, models and celebs), combined with the argument put forward by Bourdieu about how the field of cultural production in general is inseparable from the relationship between the field of production and the field of consumers, Moeran states that the magazine serves as intermediary between producer and consumer: "It is the fashion magazines that bring together the producer and consumer, supply and demand, by means of host of intermediary figures". (Ibid, 2006b: 730)

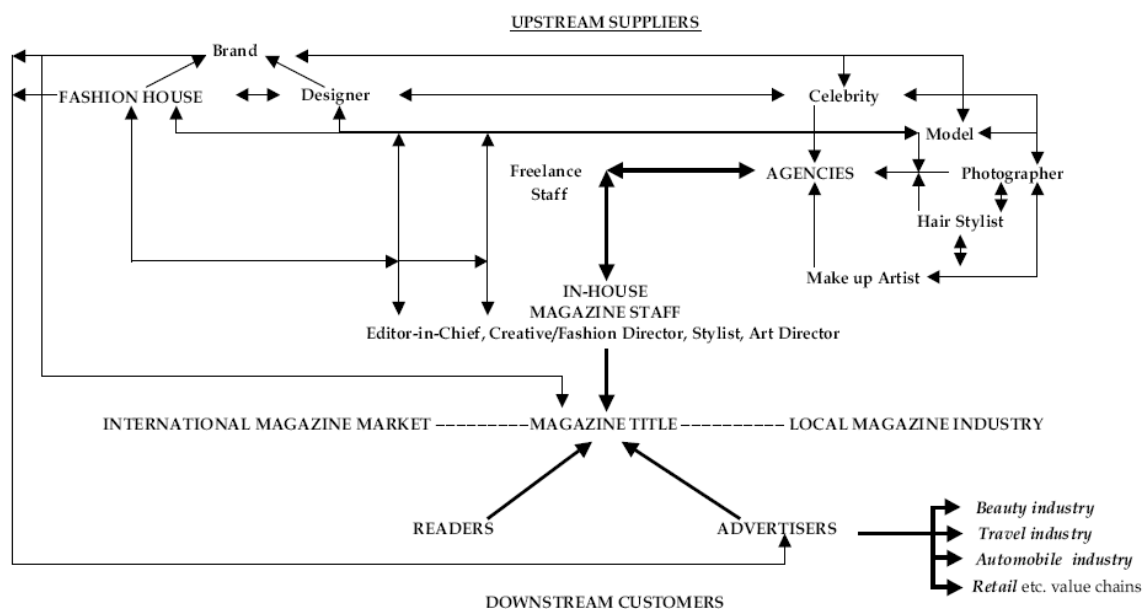Fig. 7 illustrates where the fashion magazine is placed in the fashion world.

Fig. 8 The Fashion Value System (Moeran, 2006b: 731)

Acting as intermediary, the fashion magazine plays an important role, offering a number of services to its constituencies: "They make meaningful connections between things that seem to be essentially independent; they give them social lives by creating an imaginary world around them; they create awareness in participants of the field of fashion in which they work, and they provide historical and aesthetic order in a world whose products, by their very seasonality and potentially chaotic quantity, are likely to go unnoticed." (Ibid, 2006b: 738)

He sees the magazine as pivotal to the existence of a 'fashion system' and the magazine thus become extremely important to the fashion world. The rhythm and beat of fashion is reflected in the way fashion magazines are published and structured. Moeran describes how monthly editions follow the seasons of fashion, and how it is normal to plan six months ahead when preparing issues of a magazine, with March (spring/summer collections) and September (fall/winter collections) as pointer issues, followed by issues devoted to trends, accessories, hair and makeup. The rest of the issues are connected to seasonal celebrations e.g. Valentine's Day, holiday/swimwear for July and gifts (jewellery, fragrances and accessories) in December. (Ibid, 2006b: 728-729)

This division and detailed planning of the publishing process is linked to the merger of different needs and interests of the different stakeholders who inhabit the fashion value system from Fig. 7. The different agendas come together in the business of fashion magazine publishing and create what Moeran describes as 'a structural paradox'.

The Structural Paradox

In Moeran (2006b and 2008), Moeran describes the 'structural paradox' that stems from the contradictions in the economic and cultural production of international fashion magazines. He describes how they, like all mass media productions, can be viewed as both cultural products and commodities: "As cultural products, they circulate in a cultural economy of collective meanings, providing recipes, patterns, narratives and models of and/or for the reader's self particularly in the realms of fashion and beauty. As commodities, they are products of the print industry and crucial sites for the advertising and sale of commodities (especially those related to fashion, cosmetics, fragrances and personal care)." (Moeran, 2008: 269)

Moeran includes Caves (2000), who outlines the economic properties attributed to creative industries (A/B list, nobody knows, art for art's sake, motley crew, time flies, infinite variety, and ars longa.) In addition to these seven properties, Moeran describes the fashion magazine as being subject to the condition of 'double-or sometimes multiple-audience property', which is the circumstance that a fashion magazine is produced for and targeted a consuming public, and simultaneously has to consider its advertisers as well as the rest of the fashion world. (Ibid, 2008: 269)

According to Moeran (2008), the financial means and the following social recognition are provided the fashion magazine by the fashion world, enabling it to stay in business, and thus creating the paradox of cultural production and commodity. Moeran formulate the questions that arise from the paradox as follows: "(...) to what extent are editorial staff able to meet their readers' needs and expectations? And how much is their professional autonomy threatened by the sometimes conflicting needs and expectations of advertisers?" (Ibid, 2008: 269)

Moeran uses Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1993) to examine how the people involved in producing the fashion magazine are organized, thus finding representation of the distinction between magazines as cultural products and commodities. Moeran reveals the division between 'creative' activities on one side, vis-à-vis the 'commercial' side of things: "There is a clear division of labour between editorial and publishing (or advertising) employees, with the former represented by the editor-in-chief, fashion, beauty and feature editors, art directors, designers, stylists and so on, and the latter by the publisher, budget directors, business managers, advertising managers, sales managers, financial analysts, and so forth." (Ibid, 2008: 269)

The division of labour is also present and visible in the magazine itself, where Moeran points to the double-page spared where we, in American magazines especially, see advertisement placed opposite editorial pages: "Ideally (that is to say, design-wise), links between the two pages should be made by means of overall layout, colour matching, product repetition, a model's gaze and pose, or any combination of these". (Ibid, 2008: 270)

The distinction between cultural (as Moeran calls it) and creative (indentified by Caves) content and content pushed by the economic (Moeran) or 'humdrum' (Caves) side of the business is unclear: "In theory, tie-ins should be clearly marked as advertising matter, although different countries have different practices in this regard. Nevertheless, the fact that most advertisers are themselves members of the fashion world that the magazines illustrate means that most pages can in one way or another be considered as promotional. Thus economic considerations can and do influence the cultural content of a magazine. Most obviously in the inclusion of 'puffs' for frequent advertisers in its editorial pages (and

occasionally, too, on a magazine cover), but also, for instance, in the noting of clothing not shown in a fashion photograph, and even in the inclusion of a cover model's fragrance (which cannot be smelled). In this way, the line drawn between cultural content and the economic structure of magazine publishing becomes extremely fuzzy. In a worst-case scenario, editorial coverage is seen to be little more than 'service journalism', with 'special sections', advertorials, and revenue-related reading matter or 'fluff' placed on behalf of a magazine's advertisers (Clark 1988, pp. 344-351)". (Ibid, 2008: 270)

Advertising and Multiple Audiences

Advertising is an important part of the business model in the printed fashion magazine. It is without question the very most important part of the financial background of a fashion magazine and it is very hard to imagine the publishing of a magazine without ads, as Moeran puts it: "(...) advertising material, which itself forms the financial base influencing a publisher's decision to launch, maintain or cease publication of a particular title."(Moeran, 2006b: 729)

The 'structural paradox' is also present in fashion itself, and both fashion and the fashion magazine thus share the implication of being subject to the interests of 'multiple audiences' or 'multiple readerships', as mentioned above. The 'multiple audience' must be accommodated in every issue, and it is part of structuring of content. There is nothing random about the way a fashion magazine is structured and for very good reason; it is part of the intricate system of the fashion world and has to own up to a bundle of 'contracts' with readers, advertisers, industry professionals etc. The magazines have to handle the 'competing forces' of, on the inside, interests of the fashion editor, stylist, art director and photographer, and on the outside the interests of readers and advertisers. (Ibid, 2006b: 734)

The importance of the multiple audiences in structuring the fashion magazine must not be underestimated. Moeran shows through the description of how a fashion story is created, the many objectives that has to be accounted for:

1) Stability in an otherwise chaotic environment;

2) Stabilisation leading to establishment of connections between stakeholders of the fashion industry;

3) Becoming socially relevant by naming important people in the industry and making them publically known;

4) Provides readers with a way to consume the product supplied by the fashion industry. (Ibid, 2006b: 734-735)

It is the multiple audiences who in the end determine the content and publishing schedule for a fashion magazine, and it is only when the audiences all feel accommodated that the magazine fulfils its mission and justifies its existence.

The many functions in a fashion magazine give it a complex nature and lay the ground for many challenges. The fashion magazine is an extremely complex entity, where the recipe for a successful publication is depending on the synergy created by multiple stakeholders. The magazines raison d'être is as show; the meeting place for people involved in the fashion value chain and a partner in the constant creation and re-creation of 'fashion' and the 'fashion world'.

What essentially blurs the line between creative and commercial activities in a fashion magazine is the part of the business model that depends on advertisers. As in all 'sponsored' products and events, the name of the financial backer is on display. In fashion magazines, the name of the sponsor is not only on display; the 'sponsorship' is an integrated part of the final product, because the ads represent the actual products featured in the magazine, as presented by the producers. So the producers and the interpreter, the magazine, become inseparable partners.

Having examined the fashion magazine its raison d'être and its traits and its place in the fashion value system, it is time to look at the fashion magazine in development. For this purpose, Hartmut Rosa's writings on acceleration and globalisation are utilized to place the fashion magazine in a general social context, as it is affected by general trends.

The Speed

Fashion is speeding up, and the two-seasonal cycle mentioned above that is so important in fashion magazine publishing, in terms of planning and structuring content, is, if not under

pressure, at least under development. High-street brands like H&M and Gina Tricot is now offering new items in store every week.[26] This acceleration is possible due to technological innovation, but in order to form a deeper understanding of the phenomenon appearing in the interlinked worlds of fashion and fashion magazines; we first need to understand what this acceleration is and where it originates.

In "High-Speed Society" (2009), the German scientist Hartmut Rosa talks about the processes of acceleration in society, and explains how technological acceleration can be seen as an effect of social acceleration rather than the cause of it, presenting, among others, Marx' thoughts on technological development as a time saver – when it is employed correctly: "(...) technological development potentially functions to save time and thus should augment free time and leisure. When probably employed high-speed technology might very well function to slow down the pace of everyday existence. Therefore, technological acceleration is perhaps an effect rather than a cause of social acceleration as a general phenomenon." (Rosa, 2009: 9)

In turn, social acceleration is said to be caused by the presence of capitalism itself: "...another commonly held view attributes social acceleration more or less exclusively to the immanent dynamics of capitalism. Following Marx's famous account of the temporality of modern capitalism, the simple equation of time and money is responsible for the speedup of production, and hence of circulation and consumption, too." (Rosa, 2009: 8-9)

Since fashion magazines as commodities, according to Moeran, quoting Margaret Beetham (1996), are a part of capitalist production and consumption, the forces of social and technological acceleration must apply. According to Rosa the forces come in different shapes, more in communications than anywhere else with the mass-diffusion of the Internet, notably in the 1990's and 2000's, where time can be seen as compressing the concept of space: "...the 'natural' (that is anthropological) priority of space over time in human perception (rooted in our sense organs and the effects of gravity which allows for the immediate distinction of "above" and "below", "in front of" and "behind") seems to have been inverted: in the age of globalization of the Internet, time is increasingly conceived as compressing or even annihilating space." (Rosa, 2009: 82)

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[26] https://www.ginatricot.com/#/company/0 040410

The compressing of concepts like time and space can be identified in the worlds of fashion and fashion magazine publishing, and will eventually impose changes. At the very least, the publishing industry needs a good answer to the challenge of up-tempo cycles, which inevitably will affect their business model and thereby their existence. This answer may very well be the online versions of their magazine, which can keep up with the changing pace of the fashion world. For example, Danish Costume provides a guide to what are on the shelves in stores this week on Costume.dk, a thing that would be useless in the static monthly edition.[27] In the following analysis, I take a closer look at the chosen fashion magazines and their online editions, and see how the fashion magazine handles the challenge of the online world.

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[27] www.costume.dk 161009

ANALYSIS

"Everyone knows that editorial content is going to change."
Jamie Pearlman, Art Director, Vogue UK, 2009

The following analysis will examine how a rapid technological development and breaking of boundaries in the fashion industry influence the fashion magazine, and if new creative content can be said to appear online.

First, it is important to establish what possibilities for creative content exists online. The fashion magazine can choose between different takes on online presence. The common choice is the 'portal', which is in fact, the magazine adapted to a webpage. You have a menu bar at the top with content categories and articles with lots of photos usually gathered in a gallery section. There is not much of a magazine 'feel' to it and no obvious new creative content or visible changes in business model.[28] But with the Internet comes new technological possibilities and the question is if this can be a driver behind new creative content. Let us take a look at what the Internet has to offer:

Sound and movement

The Internet is essentially a tool of communication and the fashion magazine can add audio and video - sound and movement to its online representation. The magazine can create an interview in a video format and have a 'TV-channel'. You can also put sound, like music to a text piece in order to create a certain feel, and convey a mood. The online experience is, as the word 'experience' suggests, a situation involving several senses. It makes way for sight and sound, but lacks considerably in the department for tactile feedback, not to mention smell - a thing the printed version of online magazine have explored in ads with small samples of perfume.

Interactive content

Sound and movement can be considered new formats, but are examples of one-way communication. In the age of Web 2.0[29] the visitor of a website has herself become a very

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[28] www.vogue.co.uk, www.cover.dk, www.costume.dk, www.vogue.fr 120110
[29] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Web_2.0 040410

important part of the experience created. Users are asked and invited to take active part by posting comments to content, write reviews or upload pictures of their own style. A sort of co-creation is taking place, where visitors on a fashion magazines website can influence the shape of their own experience.

Representation, Identity, Regulation, Production and Consumption - CREATIVE CONTENT

In the following I take point of departure in Moeran's investigation of content in the printed fashion magazine in order to enable identification of possible new creative content online. Moeran (2008) discovers two traits of the fashion magazine as a result of a status game between readers, magazines and advertisers:

1)   Conformity of contents, with sections consisting of features, fashion, beauty, health, interior and lifestyle and variations hereof; and

2) Addressing the generic reader, who exhibits the following attributions: young, loyal, independent, well-educated, affluent (or well-off) and ready to spend. (Moeran, 2008: 275)

The content categories mentioned are repeated online. The sections online still consists of fashion, beauty, health, interior and variations hereof. This analysis will assume that the generic reader of fashion magazines online share the characteristics of the reader described above, and that the identity of the reader is unchanged.

At the website for the magazine examined for this thesis, all these categories were present:

Vogue.co.uk: News, Fashion Shows, Trends, Beauty, Jewellery - and also Vogue TV and Blogs.[30]

Vogue.fr: Défilé, Mode, Look Books, Beauté, Joallerie, Culture, Astro - and then the new ones: Vogue TV and Communauté. Two content categories made possible by the online medium.[31]

Cover.dk: Mode, Cover Man, Beauty, Going Out, Underholdning, Pop Life - and Cover Blogs.[32]

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[30] www.vogue.co.uk 180110
[31] www.vogue.fr 180110
[32] www.cover.dk 180110

Costume.dk: Mode, Skønhed, Shopping - and the really interesting new online publication Fashionista by Costume.[33]

Besides the repetition of old categories, new categories in new formats are found.

> 1) User/reader-generated content

> 2) Formats made possible by technology.

1) User/reader-generated content

All the fashion magazine sites offer some kind of interaction with the visitor. In the user/reader generated content we find sections where reader can create profiles and upload pictures of their individual style and comment on articles. [34]

Stylegallery.dk is a community by Costume, where you can upload pictures of your own style, and the magazine uses some of the material on Costume.dk.[35] Costume.dk features a whole section titled 'Costume and you' with headlines like 'Test yourself' (on knowledge of fashion, 'How well do you know Sex and the City?' 'What shoe-type are you?' etc.).[36] This part of the site also features a letters-section called 'Miss Costume' where visitors can ask questions about style or give tips.

2) Formats made possible by technology

The most prominent of the new formats is the blog. All the online representations of magazine have blogs in one way or the other. It can be magazine staff, freelancers, or readers. The blog is the clearest example of the new content format provided online and a phenomenon that deserves closer inspection, as these blogs seem to produce a creative content not possible in the printed fashion magazine.[37]

The Fashion Blog

The fashion Blog is a phenomenon that takes many shapes: the independent amateur fashionista's blog, the independent fashion journalist blog, and the fashion blog written by journalists, who are staff members on established magazines. You can also find blogs by

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[33] www.costume.dk 180110

[34] http://www.vogue.co.uk/news/daily/100111-georgia-may-jagger-for-versace.aspx 120110

[35] http://costume.dk/article/36148/gallery/193902 120110

[36] http://costume.dk/category/251 17.10.09

[37] http://www.vogue.co.uk/blogs/ 120110, http://trineswardrobe.dk/?utm_source=costume.dk&utm_medium=styleblog-drawer 120110

practically any member of the fashion worlds, who share knowledge, tips, and experiences on their field – the photographer (http://fashionphotographyblog.com/)[38], the stylist (http://www.fashion-stylist.net/blog/)[39], the actual fashion designer, e.g. Sonia Rykiel at http://www.rykielles.com/ (the blog is written by her daughter Nathalie Rykiel, it's a family affair.)

The fashion magazines examined for this thesis all have blogs online. Do the blogs contribute to the creative content in terms of form and of output compared to the printed magazine? The blog is a new format, but the content is true to the nature of the fashion magazine – text and imagery.

There are examples of blogs based on that particular author's point of view and not necessarily the magazine as such. This type of blog becomes a way for the magazine to allow for individual voice in the magazine. The website Vogue.co.uk feature fashion blogs written by profiled staff members, plus the collective Vogue blog without signatures and a blog dedicated to beauty, also without signatures.[40] Costume.dk hides the blogs under a grey menu bar at the top of the page. The online reader has to click to make them appear. The blogs of costume.dk are a combination of blogs written by staff and independents.[41]

On the website of Cover.dk the blogs are placed visible and by author picture. You can see the magazine's bloggers in the bottom of the page, presented as 'the bloggers of COVER'. The status of the bloggers is undefined for the online reader.[42] You have to be a reader of the printed magazine in order to determine whether a blogger is independent or a member of the magazines staff. The online reader can therefore experience difficulties in knowing if a blog express the view point of the magazine or not.

Fashion magazines have chosen to incorporate the blog format, and in this way they add new content through reader interaction and interaction with members of the fashion world. An example of cooperation between an online magazine and a member of the fashion world is the blog on street style Jak + Jil, by Tommy Ton, who was hired to photograph for GQ magazine in

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[38] http://fashionphotographyblog.com/ 17.10.09
[39] http://www.rykielles.com/17.10.09
[40] Vogue.co.uk 17.10.09
[41] Costume.dk 17.10.09
[42] Cover.dk 17.10.09

the Milan and Paris Fashion Weeks 2009. This way, GQ stays on top and gets the best addition to their magazine, communicating creative content to the readers faster than a printed magazine could do, and adding the photographer's viewpoint to the profile of the magazine. [43]

Editorial content

Cover.dk & Costume.dk

What happens to the printed material when the fashion magazine goes online very much depends on how the magazine is presented on the Internet. Cover.dk is presented as a blog with short entries with news value[44], where as costume.dk reuses material from the print edition, like shortened articles alongside short news and competitions.[45] The two magazines get different results from their respective strategy - cover.dk adds to the print edition, but not with very much, and costume.dk has a tighter connection with the printed edition, but also adds a substantial amount of material, so that the online edition represents value in its own right.

Cover.dk is the face, the representation, of Cover the print magazine on the Internet. When you visit the website, you are met by a page framing by the Danish newspaper Politiken. As reader, you immediately ask the question: "Is Cover a part of Politiken?" especially when you read in the disclaimer in the bottom of the page that all rights of articles belong to Politiken. The publisher Malene Malling has explained the integration with Politiken in the summer of 2009 as an exchange of contents for visits - Politiken would get access to Cover content and Cover.dk would get more readers referred from Politiken. Politiken would also handle advertising and split revenue with Malling Publications.[46]

Even when examining the cover.dk web site with the best of intentions, the fact remains: Politiken represents Cover magazine online. The arguments for the integration relate to publishing issues, advertising / financial matters and number of visitors, there is no editorial argument supporting the decision from Cover's side of the table. For readers of Cover.dk there is no change, except that they are now reading Politiken - which is a substantial change. For

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[43] http://www.cover.dk/index.php?id=326032 190110, http://www.gq.com/fashion-shows/F2010/street-style/tommy-ton-milan#slide=1 190110, http://jakandjil.com/blog/ 190110
[44] www.cover.dk 01032010
[45] http://costume.dk/article/33874 01032010
[46] http://mediawatch.dk/artikel/politiken-og-cover-i-mode-samarbejde 01032010

Politiken, on the other hand, the editorial benefits are clear: Politiken gets a fashion section and feeds on Cover's edgy brand. Cover no longer has an independent representation of the magazine online. This has severe consequences for the identity of the magazine and its readers.

Cover.dk is no longer independent - this raises questions in the minds of the readers about Cover magazine. Does Cover share the viewpoints of Politiken? Malene Malling claims the independence of the magazine, but the damage is done. The before mentioned generic reader of Cover magazine might fit the profile of the generic Politiken-reader but by becoming an online appendix to Politiken, Cover magazines suffers the loss of potential readers, who do not identify themselves with a particular Danish newspaper with strong opinions. Politiken has gained in the area of Representation, while Cover has lost credibility.

Costume, published by Benjamin Media, has an independent and elaborate web representation with lots of editorial content. The commercial style is kept up from the print edition, with shopping guides and spending on a budget. Overall, the reader easily recognizes Costume and the transition from print to online is well performed. Furthermore, the online edition has prominent focus on the print edition, which makes them companions. There are signs that the online presence will become more independent over time.

Vogue.co.uk & Vogue.fr

Both Vogue UK and Vogue Paris have online presence in form of a portal in English and in French respectively. Vogue UK and Vogue Paris are different in their editorial tone and so is their online presence. Vogue UK is the more accessible, anti-snob and commercial while Vogue Paris is everything but. Vogue Paris is arch-French - chic, exclusive and artsy. The difference between the two sites of the magazines is visible already in the top banner, where Vogue.co.uk displays an ad for the print magazine and a cosmetics brand, and Vogue.fr has, well, the title and logo of the printed edition (Vogue Paris).

There is good coherence between the printed magazines and the online version. Both Vogue-sites are providing lots of picture material, e.g. from runway shows but also a lot of video is found here. Vogue.TV is present on both sites and provides insights to back stage of photo shoots and magazine creation processes. Interviews with designers and editorial staff at the magazine are also found in both sites.

Vogue magazines online have clearly kept their distinctive features from the print editions. Vogue.co.uk corresponds very well to Vogue UK and Vogue.fr to Vogue Paris. Senior vice president and chief revenue officer, Drew Schutte, has stated that the online sites are to be seen as enhanced version of every title's editorial mission.[47] The Vogue-sites are sort of living up to that statement by publishing material that is not featured in the magazine, but this material largely consists of moving footage or audio and as such, would be impossible to publish in the print magazine. So the readers definitely get additional material online and it is well suited to the medium.

When you visit Vogue.co.uk and Vogue.fr the correspondence with the print editions means that there is no change in the generic reader profile to be expected. The identity of the female reader is conserved from print to online. The example of blurry identity on the Danish Cover.dk site meant that you could question the identity of the object itself, and this shows the link between the identity of an object with the identity of the recipient /reader. If the identity of the object is unclear, the recipient's identity is affected. Condé Nast has successfully transported the identity of Vogue UK and Vogue Paris to their online editions, so has Benjamin Media with Costume, odd one out is Cover, where Malling publications has failed in creating an online presence that corresponds with the printed version.

Advertising print

When you open a printed fashion magazine, at first all you see are ads. The ads are a natural part of the magazine, as Moeran has shown the line between editorial content and advertising is at best, blurry in a fashion magazine. As documented in the print examples in this thesis, up till about 60% of a magazine can be advertising. Indeed, in 2008 only 3 % of Condé Nast revenue came from digital.[48]

The business model for fashion magazines in print is ad-based, and a combination of subscriptions and off-the-shelves sales. Different magazines in different geographical parts of the world have different relations between the three generators of income, but the fact remains that ads are an indispensable part of the fiscal ground for a magazine. The dependency on ads of course affects the magazine a number of ways. I have conducted a

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[47] http://www.foliomag.com/2009/cond-nast-moving-away-web-sites-print-magazine-companions 03032010
[48] http://www.foliomag.com/2009/internet-nickels-digital-dollars 03032010

sample study in order to examine how big a part of the fashion magazine consists of, and found that it can be as much as 60%.

Vogue UK

	Pages in total:	Ad-pages in total:	% Ad of total
Vogue UK vol. 175 August 2009	200	92	46 %
Vogue UK vol. 176 September 2009	348	195	56 %
Vogue UK vol. 177 October 2009	376	226	60 %

Fig. 9 Vogue UK ad count

Vogue Paris

	Pages in total	Ad pages in total	% Ad of total
Vogue Paris No. 899 Aug. 2009	226	70	31 %
Vogue Paris No. 900 Sept. 2009	370	171	46 %
Vogue Paris No. 901 Oct 2009	322	148	46 %

Fig. 10 Vogue Paris ad count

Cover

	Pages in total:	Ad-pages in total:	% Ad of pages in total
Cover August 2009	162	28	17 %
Cover September 2009	162	34	21 %

Cover October 2009	162	32	20 %

Fig. 11 Cover ad count

Costume

	Pages in total:	Ad-pages in total:	% Ad-pages of total
Costume August 2009	114	17	15 %
Costume September 2009	130	35	27 %
Costume October 2009	138	38	28 %

Fig. 12 Costume ad count

Advertising online

Entering the online edition of Vogue UK (vogue.co.uk), Vogue Paris (vogue.fr), Costume (costume.dk) or Cover (cover.dk) with your eye set to ad-mode, this is what you will encounter:

Vogue.fr

The website is a portal, sporting this basic design:

Top Banner		
Column	Column	Column
Bottom		
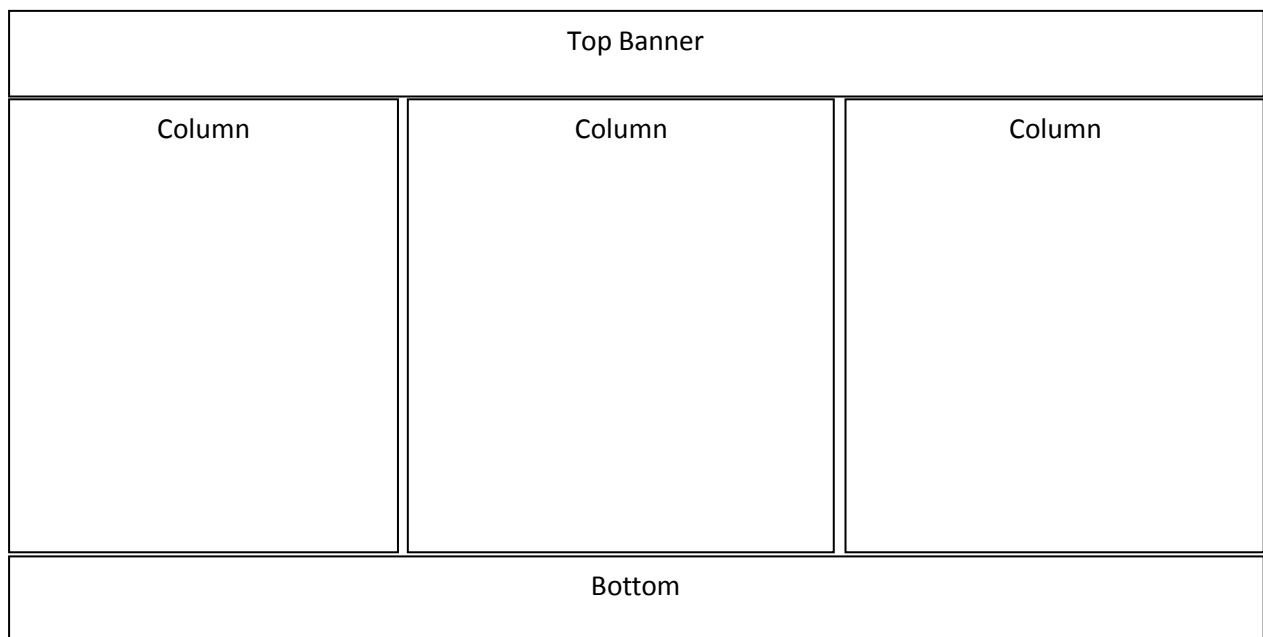
Fig. 13 Web page portal design; top, 3 columns, bottom

In the following description of ad placement in the vogue.fr website, I will refer to top banner, left, right or middle column, and bottom. Other terms are click, mouse-over, menu-bar, and animation.
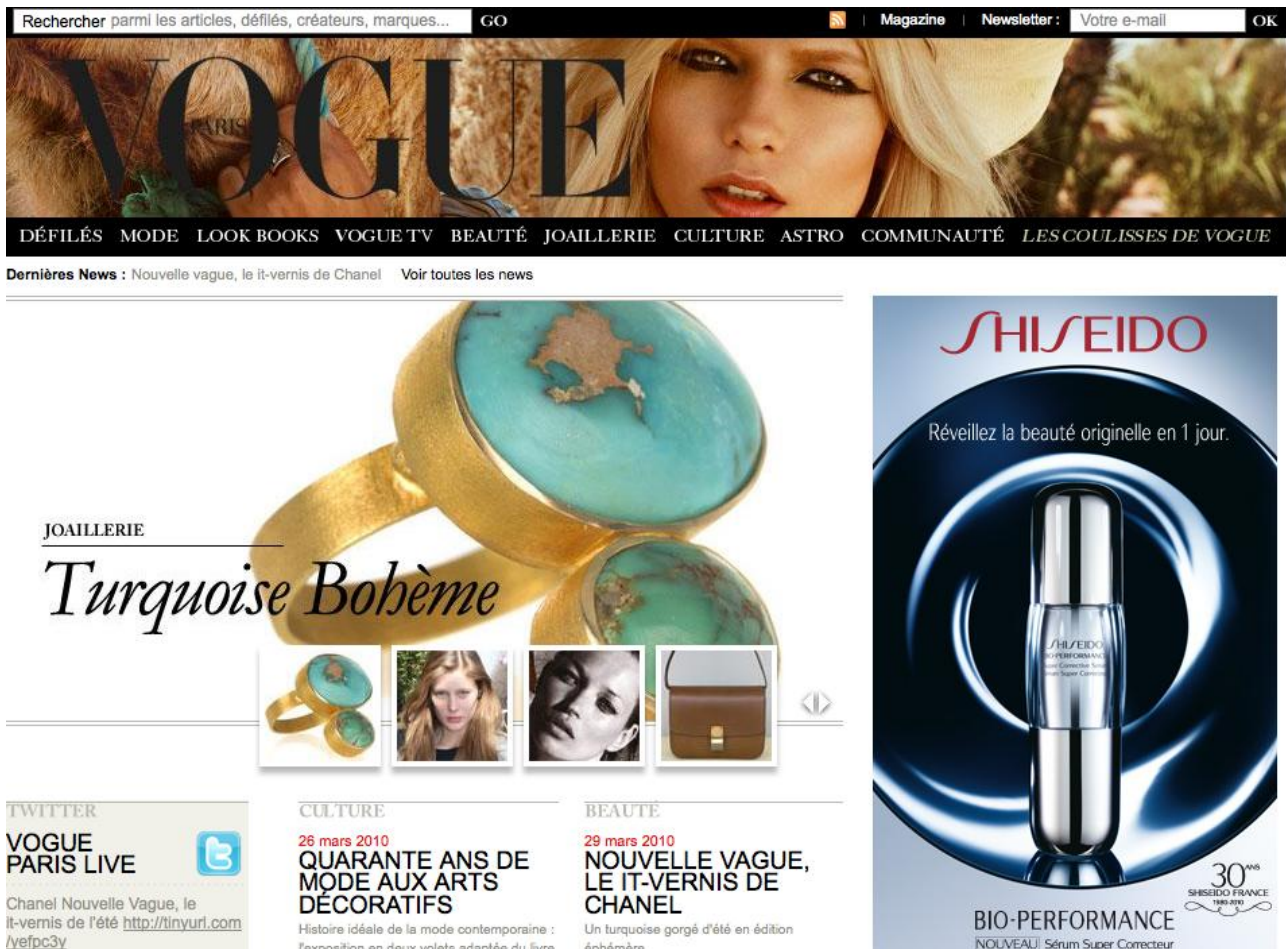
Ill. 9 Vogue.fr front page 300310

On the front page, the top is dedicated to a top banner featuring a model and the words 'Vogue Paris'. This headline the page and instantly tells you were you are. The bottom part of the banner is a menu bar, where you can click on the different section of the magazine. The sections largely correspond to what is found in the printed edition (Mode, Beauté etc) with the exception of section made possible online, e.g. Look Books and Les Coulisses de Vogue.

The ad is placed in the right column, in this picture featuring an ad from the beauty brand Shiseido. In the left column is placed a link to the Twitter account of Vogue, in this case mentioning the new Chanel nail polish available from May 14th 2010 (it is Turquoise, thus relating to the theme Turquoise Bohème feature in the middle column of the page - Turquoise is apparently in fashion Summer 2010).

When you go through the site, you notice that the page design (top banner, ad in right column) is kept up consequently, now with an animated ad for the BlackBerry phone to the right:

Ill. 10 Vogue.fr 300310

But now, when you mouse-over, the ad double in size and now takes up both the right and middle column as shown below:

Ill. 11 Vogue.fr 300310

This way of interrupting the online reader can be seen as an attempt to get the attention of the reader. Ads in printed fashion magazines have long time been constructed in a way to make the reader stop at the ad. But the attempt to attract attention online is irritating - nothing more. Yes, the reader stops reading, and if it is difficult enough to get rid of the ad again, the reader might stop altogether, and leave the site, which would be unfortunate.

Vogue.co.uk:

The front page of vogue.co.uk is not surprisingly quite similar to vogue.fr - a portal with the same design outline. Again, there is a top banner, 3 columns and a bottom. Here the top banner is split in two parts, the top part being an ad for Bobbi Brown cosmetics and the lower part an ad for Vogue UK, the print edition. On the banner, it says Vogue.com, which is somewhat confusing, since the web address is vogue.co.uk.

Following this is a menu bar with the sections outlined and the right column reserved for ads:
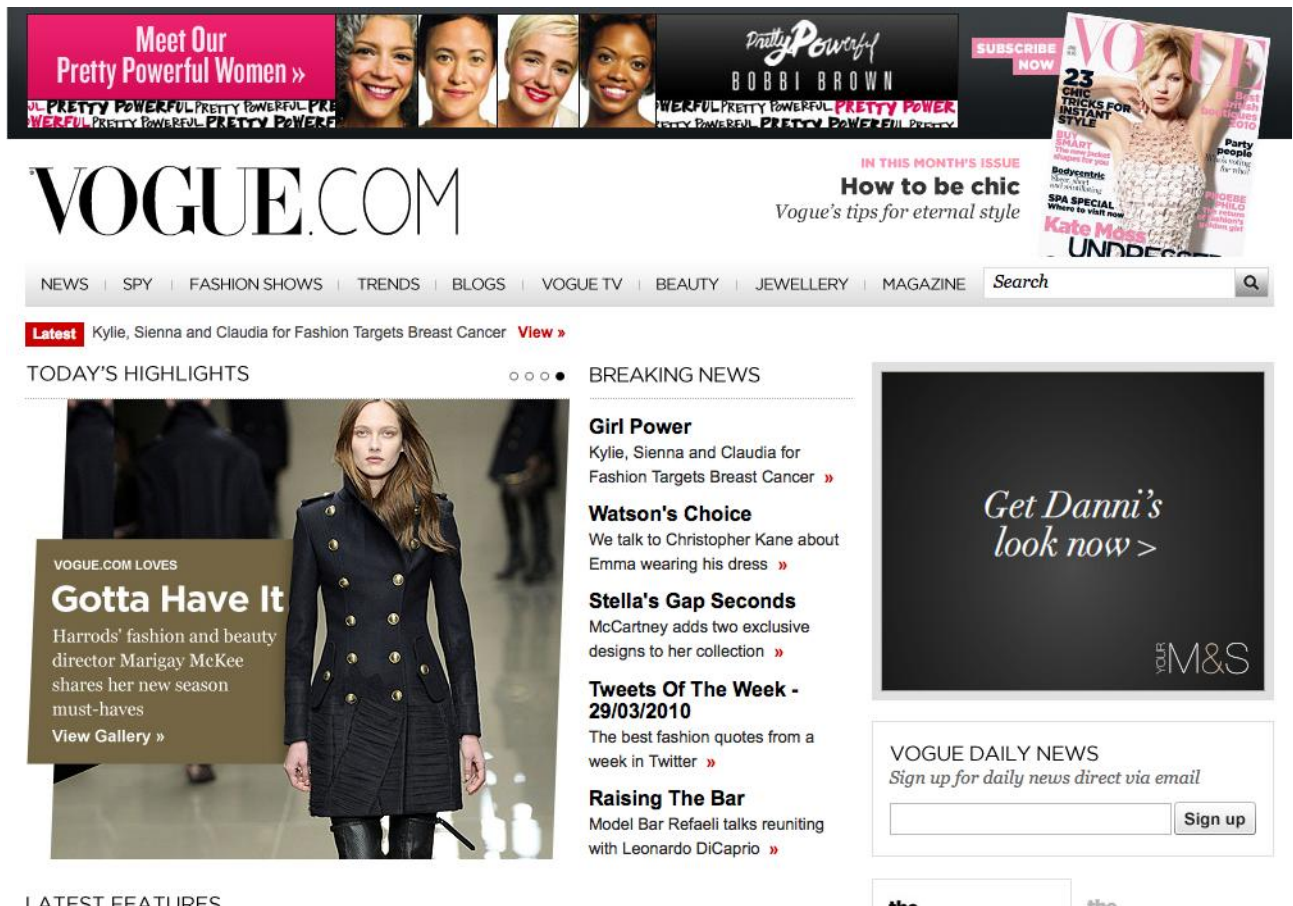
Ill. 12 Vogue.co.uk front page 030410

The ads are not a very prominent feature about vogue.co.uk. Even though the printed edition of the magazine has a more commercial angle than its French counterpart, the web edition comes off a quite stylish and simplistic.

Costume.dk

The online edition of Danish magazine Costume, costume.dk is a portal with a layout corresponding to vogue.fr and vogue.co.uk: top banner, 3 columns and a bottom. The top banner is entirely an ad for Marc Jacob's Perfumes and in the right column there is an ad for a beauty product, interestingly enough, both in connection with an offer for a subscription for the printed magazine Costume.

Fig. 13 Costume.dk front page 0304110

What is notable in this case is that the top of the right column features an ad for the online spin-off product by Costume: Fashionista by Costume, an online only magazine in a different format. When you click on the ad or the special Fashionista button in the top menu bar, you are directed to a sign-up page:

Ill. 14 Fashionista sign up page via costume.dk 030410

And from here you have to click again to view the actual magazine:

Ill. 15 Fashionista front page 030410.

Fashionista by Costume is created in a flip-page format that allows for traditional flow, as known from the printed editions of fashion magazines. But because it is online, many new features are possible. On the first page, the reader is welcomed by the editor - in person by video and audio:
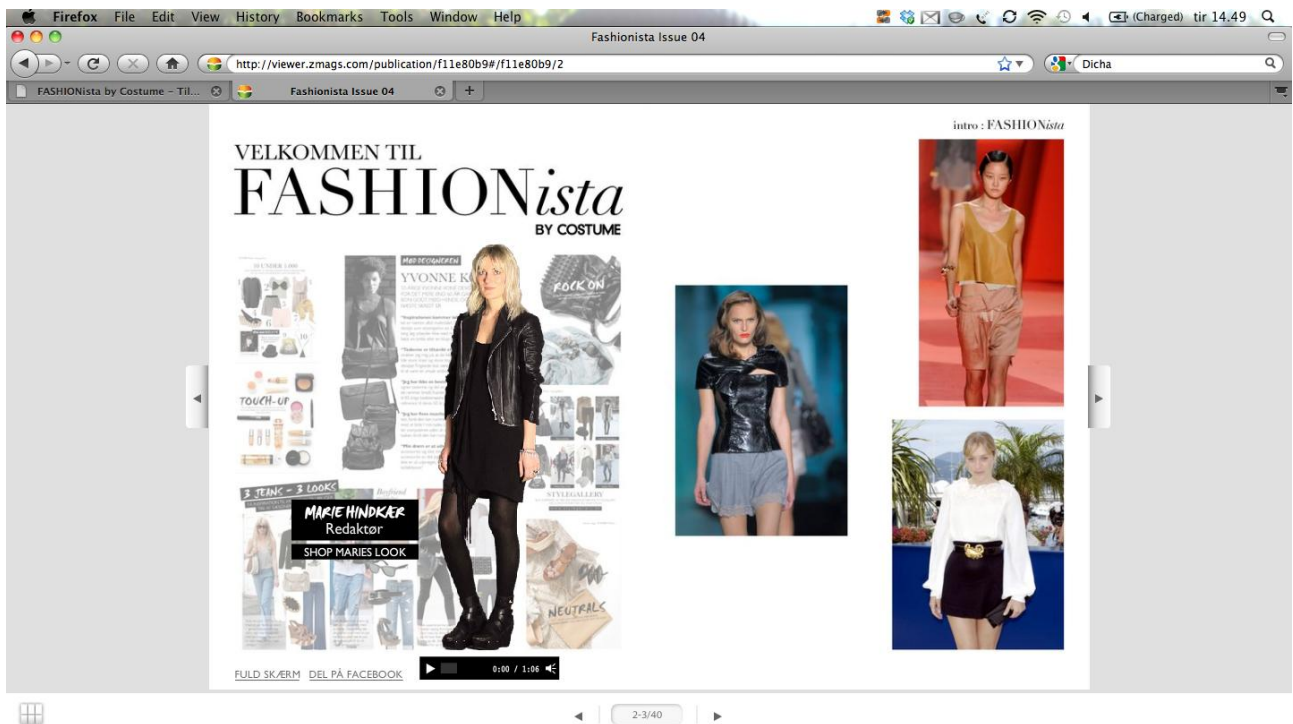
Ill. 16 Fashionista by Costume 030410

You can also sop her look right away, should you be so inclined. Fashionista makes it possible to click your way through to online stores that sells the items featured in the magazine. This enhances the catalogue property of the magazine and merges creative an commercial content in a way, where distinction is almost impossible, e.g. in the pages below, where the only difference between the editorial content and the ad material is that the ad has price tags on the items:
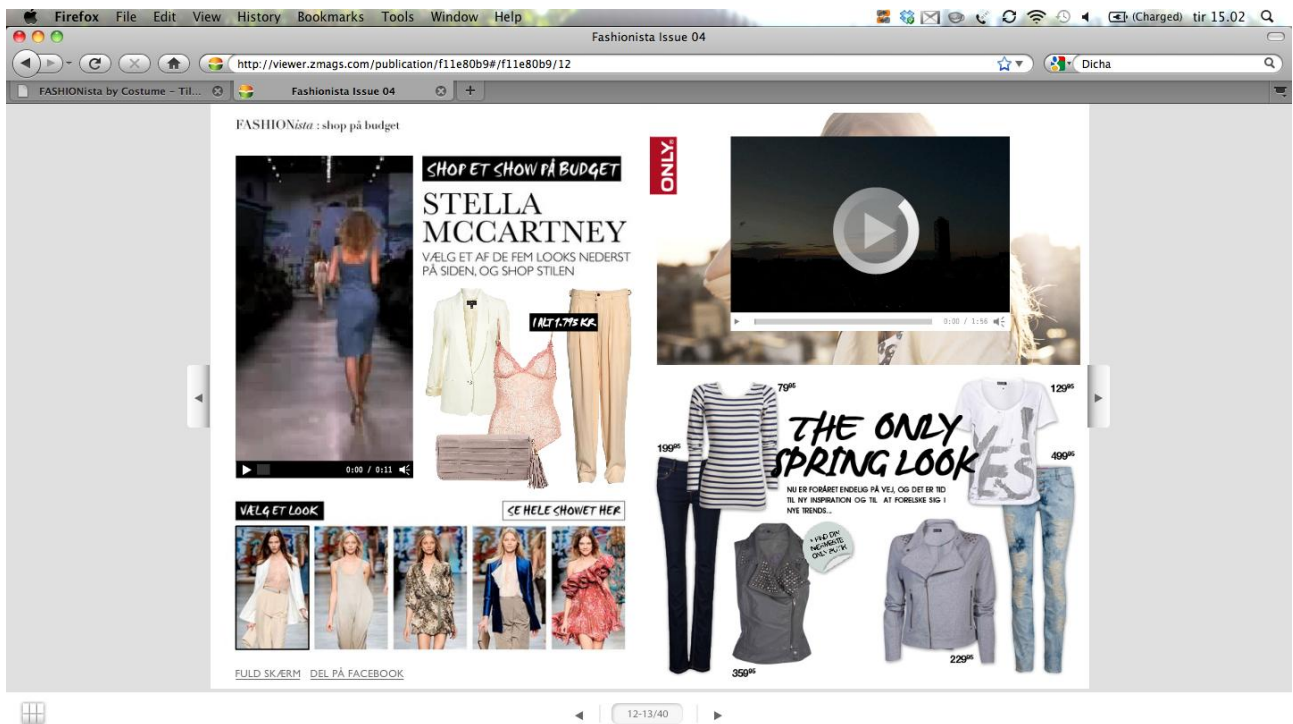
Ill. 17 Fashionista pages 12-13 030410

Fashionista is a bonus feature on Costume.dk, and it underlines the commercialism of Costume. It is interesting to see how well the flow works and how comfortable it is to read compare to costume.dk, where you to find your own way. The format also allows for ads to integrate video and audio, and the reader has to actively choose to see them by clicking them. This makes it unobtrusive and as a reader it makes you curios to see the ad.

Cover.dk

On cover.dk the page is designed like a blog with entries, still 3 columns, a slim column in the right side of the page containing a menu, then a little broader column with teaser for other articles and a main column to the left where the articles are shown. Half of the front page is dedicated to banners and menu bars from Politiken.dk, framing the site in top and bottom. A banner ad in the top says cover.dk, daily fashion news:
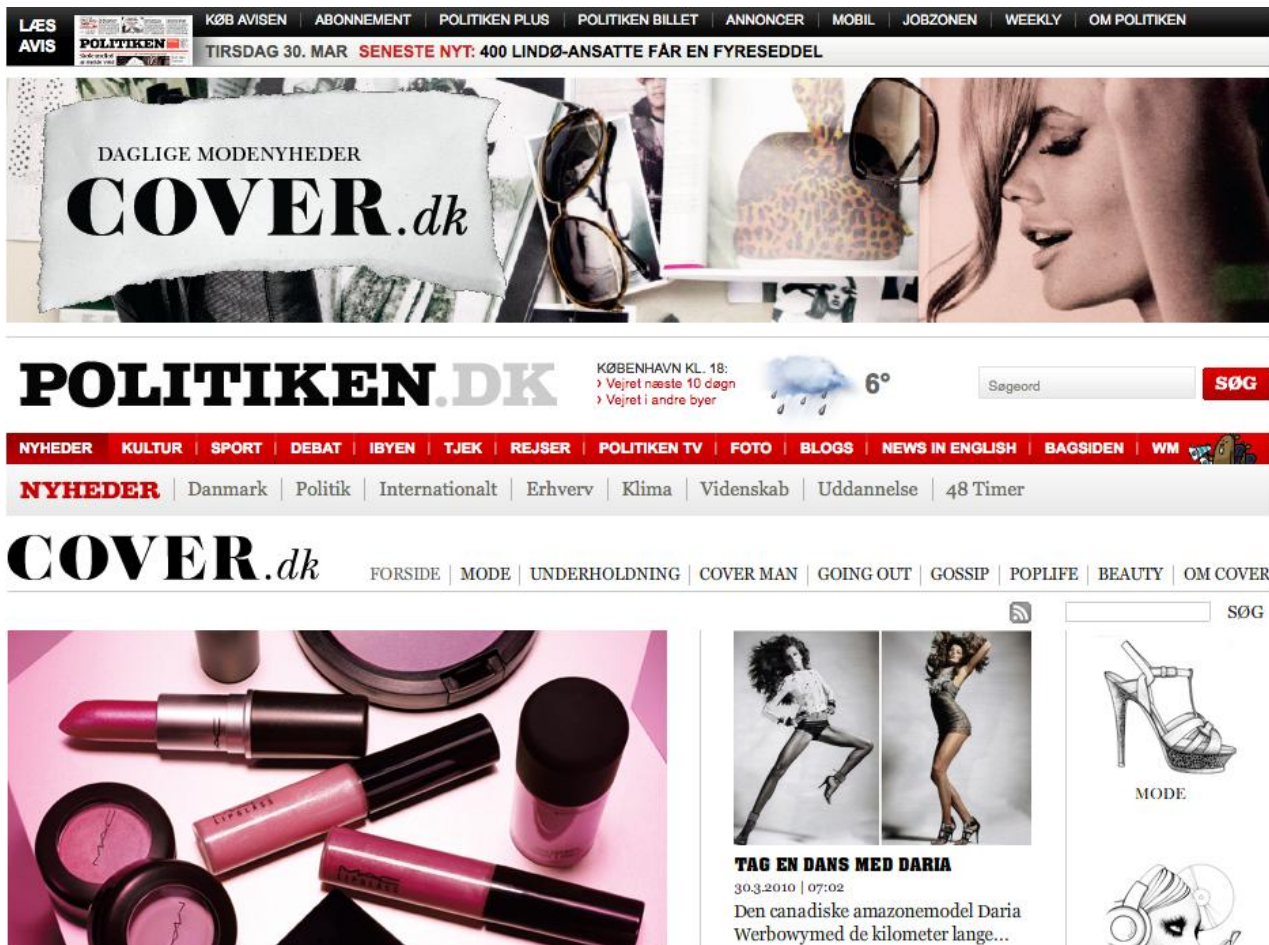
Ill. 18 Cover front page 030410

As you scroll down and click your way through the site, you notice that besides the framing by Politiken.dk, which takes up half the site, ads are not featured, except for the top banner. The question is if the lack of ads, which would probably be a nice change for some, is worth the marriage to Politiken.

Online it seems like advertising is playing a more secondary role; when the fashion magazine turns into a web portal online the magazines forego the opportunity of devoting wholes pages to ads. This is why page showings are o important online, and why articles continue over several pages. Each time a page loads, you get the possibility of showing an ad or devoting part of the page (banner, sidebar etc.) to ads.

The line between editorial material and advertising is still a fuzzy one, e.g. the 'News' section is often devoted to presentation of new products in clothing and beauty. Ad or Ed? If you subscribe to a magazines newsletter or RSS-feed, you are also subject to direct marketing.

Cover.dk regularly sends presentations of new beauty product to the people on the feed list. So this has not changed from print to online.

Without overdoing it, it is safe to say that the digital and online media has changed advertising. Of course, clicks can only say so much, but it is in fact the first time in history that you can document a precise action from a potential consumer. For the fashion magazine it poses a tricky situation, depending on your point of view. If the goal is to generate sales through your ads, you can now count the click on the online fashion magazine, and see how many online readers actually go and buy in an online shop. That is very direct. On the other hand, one could argue that that print ads in fashion magazines never have been about igniting a direct sale, but more about the brand. The view is supported by the fact that many ads in printed fashion magazines display show pieces or couture that is not sold in stores, but made on request.

In example, the 2009 fall campaign for Dolce & Gabbana coincided with the opening of the online D&G store www. D&G.com, but the items shown in the ads were not available online, which sparked feelings of disappointment and a sense of being tricked in this researcher. The promise that you could now buy the items shown in the picture, proved out not be true. The store feature instead prêt-a-porter inspired by the runway collection.

The fact remains that the online version of printed fashion magazines as the ones investigated for this thesis lacks considerably in the ad department. Vogue, both British and French, features traditional banner ads, maybe with a slight movement, but no ads that successfully combine the possibility of the medium with the allure of fashion. Online advertising is constantly under construction and new methods are being tested all the time. Maybe the seemingly endless possibilities online overshadow that fact that nothing is really new, content wise. The rules of thumb still apply, creating synergy between product, medium and presentation. The perfect format for online ads still needs to be invented.

CONCLUSION

It is the individual voices that imply the biggest changes in regard to Representation of the fashion magazine. As Moeran pointed out, the fashion magazine assumes a certain place in the industry, acting as intermediary and bringing order to chaos, but as speed and individualisation affect the magazine, the role is transformed and somewhat undermined. As a reader, you can choose the blog you like to follow and have that be your 'judge' on what is in and what is out. This trend is similar to the one described by Rosa, who points to the fact that, while everything seems to be speeding up, there are also signs of slow-down. In the same way, you see two forces at work at the same time, when the fashion magazine goes online; now it can speed up and deliver instant fashion news and report and trends as they appear, but there is still need for establishing order in chaos, and this is where the fashion magazine online should be, using its credibility to maintain and create hierarchy in the fashion world.

The addition of an online version of a magazine has implications for Production and Consumption. The magazines analysed or this thesis show no indication of having established separate teams for creating content for print and online edition. The fashion journalists are largely expected to be able to communicate effortlessly in both media. This makes sense if you look at it from a cost-reduction perspective - there is no need to create the content twice, when you can just publish online. Nevertheless, there are additional content being created directly to online, like footage of runway shows, TV and the like. Changes in consumption are really interesting because of the threat posed by readers only reading online - for free, thus not paying for a magazine. The business model online is really challenged in the sense that it has to make up for revenue lost to free. It has to utilise online ads to an optimum, and also consider new ways of paid content. Should the magazine charge for online content, such a first look at collection, special interviews etc.? This question does not only apply to fashion magazine but to the publishing business as such.

Looking Identity and Regulation, the generic reader of the fashion magazine is likely to be found online as well. Her identity is the same, but her behaviour can be affected by the online magazines ability to integrate the online shopping possibility, thus changing the cultural pattern of purchase and promoting virtual shopping.

So how have the selected magazines for this thesis met the challenge of Internet technology? Vogue Paris and Vogue UK by Condé Nast are well represented online and have successfully created a bridge between print and online. Still, there is much confusion about the titles – e.g. Vogue UK online is called Vogue.com, while the address for the web site is vogue.co.uk. There seems to be a lack of coherent web strategy from Condé Nast Digital. The national editions of Vogue are obviously allowed to create their own online edition, and this is a problem since the Internet is a global medium. Initially, when I attempted to access what I thought to be Vogue Internet "home", I typed in vogue.com – and was referred to vogue.de. Last I looked, Denmark was not a part of Germany, but since there is no Danish version of Vogue and apparently no knowledge about Danish preferences for all cultural things Anglo Saxon, it is not a matter of importance to Condé Nast.

As to the Danish magazines, it surprised me to find how far Costume and Benjamin Media have come with their online version of Costume.dk. Though not experimenting with Internet TV, Costume has ventured out in search of a well-functioning integration of medium and content. Fashionista by Costume shows a possible path for the commercialism of the fashion magazine, taking the integration of editorial content and advertising to whole new level, while preserving the flow of the fashion magazine by using the flip-format. The printed versions of fashion magazines have list of retailer in the back, and store listing, but the 'click-to-buy' property of the online fashion magazine is something new and allows for the magazine to explore the revenue generated from clicks.

Editorial content has not found new ways online. What is new is the format in which the content is presented, together with a more independent status of contributors. In regards to advertising, the ads are there, but in a format that does not serve the purpose very well. This leads me to conclude that the advertising based business model of the printed fashion magazine is currently inappropriate for the online business model.

The fashion magazine online is a natural consequence of social acceleration. The Internet technology affects every aspect of our society and culture, and changes the publishing and advertising industry. The constant flow of information, and the individualisation and

customisation curiously enough becomes mass-culture. The fashion magazine needs to be a part of what is happening on the Internet, and has to have an individual voice that can serve as a guideline for the consumers.

DISCUSSION & SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

I believe the online business model for fashion magazines could consist of partly 'click-to-buy' revenue and an integration of editorial content and advertising. This is usually called 'advertorial' in the printed magazine, online it will simply be a part of creative content. I find that in the online version of the examined fashion magazines, the fuzzy line between editorial and advertising material has ceased to exist all together. The merger of the interests of manufactures and consumers seem to be complete online; this might be part of the reason why we do not see that many ads online – besides the limitation of the format. It is simply not necessary to create specific ads, when practically all editorial material is focused on product presentations and edging on immediate consumption through online shopping.

In developing a useful theoretical framework for this thesis, I dissected the fashion magazine into two parts - the editorial material and advertising. It seemed curious at times, because it is my belief that the two are in fact inseparable in the fashion magazine, and this is exactly what gives the fashion magazine its complex nature. But by separating the two, I managed to merge them again under the term 'Creative content'. I found this extremely helpful in the process of creating a concept that can encompass the two-folded nature of the fashion magazine. I am convinced that the debate on the concepts of 'creative' or 'cultural' will continue. As the field for creative industries becomes more mature in the years to come, we will continue to see attempted definitions, that all will share one common trait: That they are coined for whatever purpose they are meant to fulfil.

This thesis has examined a selection of fashion magazines and their online presence. It would be very useful to conduct further cultural studies of the online fashion magazine, in order to

gain additional insight as to who the readers /users are and how they use the sites. Also, writing for print media and writing for an online audience might hold interesting differences that a thorough rhetoric analysis could reveal.

The ads online present many interesting issues. A further study of the integration of advertising in editorial content in the digital media would shed more light on the question of the business model for the fashion magazine online. The development of 'click-to-buy' and cooperation between magazines and online retailers also deserves a closer inspection. Organisation of labour in the publishing industry could be of interest, in order to inspect the division between creative workers and humdrum employees. Is the division emphasized in the digital media?

Valuable knowledge of the consequences for the business model for a fashion magazine could be produced, if the right measures for comparison of advertising in print and online were in place. There is defiantly a need to elaborate on the economic and financial side of the matter, if the fashion magazine is to not only survive, but also maybe even generate profit online.

An objective of this thesis was an attempt to produce research online, both in retrieving theory and empirical data. I have used the findings of Brian Moeran, an anthropologist, and the following is a look at the Internet as culture and cultural artefact in order to allow for a rediscovering of the findings of Moeran in a virtual site. I think it would be very interesting to examine the fashion magazines online through an ethnographic approach to see if the conclusions that apply to the printed version also can be attributed the online version.

In "Virtual Ethnography" Christine Hine has wished to develop an approach to the Internet embracing the complexities of that type of mediated communication and she sets up a number of principles for conducting ethnographic studies online. The principles will be presented below with emphasis on the most important in relation to this thesis.

The field and site of interaction
A very important principle is concerning the concept of 'field'. In virtual ethnography, the concept of field site is questioned, as culture and communication is not self-evident located in place, neither is the ethnography. "The object of ethnographic enquiry can usefully be reshaped by concentrating on flow and connectivity rather than location and boundary as the organizing principle." (Hine, 2000: 64)

Another principle is concerning the site of interaction. Hine seeks to overcome the simplified notion of the distinction between 'offline' and 'online' and the view of the Internet as something secluded from 'real life': "Cyberspace is not to be thought of as a space detached from any connections to 'real life' and face-to-face interaction. It has rich and complex connections with the contexts in which it is used". Hine also argues for the Internet as both culture and cultural artefact, and adds the point that emphasis on either aspect at the cost of the other leads to an 'impoverished' view. (Ibid, 2000: 64) I find it important that scholars assume the position as suggested by Hine regarding 'online/offline'. I believe that in order to conduct future research that is truly insightful on society and culture, we must include 'online' as a fourth dimension that is not to be considered as something detached from the three dimensions of the 'real', offline world.

The Internet as Culture

In order to reach the understanding of the Internet as culture, Hine examines computer-mediated communication (CMC) through earlier writings within the subject, where a branch of research was concerning the criteria for selection of a communication medium for a given task (media choice).

Most of the research conducted on media effect dealt with the problems arising from the use of CMC, e.g. the 'reduced social cues' model (Kiesler, Siegel and McGuire, 1984; Sproull and Kiesler 1986; 1991) where a social psychological approach to analysing the results from experimental studies on group decision led to the theory that CMC was short of social context cues which had disinhibiting effect on the participants. (Ibid, 2000: 15)

Especially concepts like identity and behaviour in online communities have been of interest to researchers. For the methodology of ethnography the interest gathers around 'what people actually do' with the technology. (Ibid, 2000: 19-21) But in the movement of ethnography online consequences for the methodology naturally must be taken into account: "In an offline setting we might expect an ethnographer to have spent a prolonged period of living or working in their field site. We would expect them to have observed, asked questions, interviewed people, drawn maps and taken photographs, learnt techniques and done what they could to find out how life was lived from the point of view of participants. Moving this approach online poses some interesting problems: how can you live in an online setting?" (Ibid, 2000: 21)

Hine finds the Internet to be of increasing interest to ethnographers, naming it a popular field site for 'desk-bound' academics: "The Internet is available from the researcher's desktop, and can be accessed whenever there is the time." (Ibid, 2000: 22)

Time and space, key elements in ethnographic methodology, are the concepts under alteration when the field is the Internet. Hine suggests a possibility for 'time-shifting' the ethnography, and that ethnographer and participants no longer need to share that same time frame. This is, however, dependent on how the study is conceived, since the experiences of the participants lose some of their value if they only are studied after the event has taken place. (Ibid, 2000: 23) To experiment with 'time-shifting' is not only connected to Internet and the virtual field – also the use of still photos and audio recordings of past events as a possible ethnographic method have been discussed.

What I find really interesting about the approach to online studies by Hine is the consideration of the Internet as cultural artefact in order to turn it into an object, which can be studied as such.

The Internet as Cultural artefact

In her attempt to develop an ethnographic approach to the Internet, Christine Hine presents the Internet as cultural artefact and enters into the task of identifying an object, which has no boundaries: "In contrast to many technologies which take a material form, it is harder to say where the Internet begins and ends and what is meant when the term is used: computers, a protocol, application programs, content or domain names and email addresses. Both its production and its consumption are dispersed among multiple locations, institutions and individuals. The Internet is as much a discursively created object as a single, given artefact". (Ibid, 2000: 28)

Arriving at an understanding of the Internet, as artefact requires a look at approaches which deal with the constructed nature of technologies. Today Internet access is extremely common and mainstream, but it is not only the physical wires that make it so. According to Hine, it is also the matter-of-factness by which it is incorporated in our everyday settings; it is the way we talk about URLs[49] in a way like everybody knows what it is. (Ibid, 2000: 29)

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[49] *Uniform Resource Locators* (Hine, 2000: 28)

Shaped by its users, we arrive with Hine at the following consideration for the Internet as artefact: "Treating the Internet as a cultural artefact interrogates the assumptions which viewing the Internet as site for culture entails, and highlights the status of the Internet itself as a cultural achievement based on particular understanding of the technology". (Ibid, 2000: 39)

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