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Date 8/5/91

A PROFILE OF PHOTOJOURNALISTS AT TENNESSEE'S DAILY NEWSPAPERS

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

John Mark King
December 1991

For Danice,
who always expresses the utmost confidence in my abilities.

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Abstract

This thesis sought to examine issues about daily newspaper photojournalism in Tennessee and to develop a profile of photojournalists at Tennessee's daily newspapers. Research questions and issues were advanced on nine key topics including 1) demographics, 2) work experience, 3) photo assignments, 4) use of photographs in the newspapers, 5) darkroom facilities and practices, 6) electronic imaging equipment and new technology, 7) professionalism, 8) perceived strengths and weaknesses about photojournalism at the newspapers and 9) open-ended questions for respondents to express other concerns.

To address these issues, the author conducted a state-wide survey of daily newspaper photographers in Tennessee using a 39-item questionnaire. He also did case studies and in-depth interviews of three of the photojournalists, Michael McMullan of The Commercial Appeal in Memphis, Jeff Guenther of The Chattanooga Times and Kelley Scott Walli of The Oak Ridger.

Generally the study found that Tennessee newspaper photographers basically match national demographic trends among photojournalists. The profile of the group of 57 respondents shows they were white (96.5 percent) and male (76.8 percent). Eighty percent were 21-40 years old. Almost two-thirds (63.7 percent) were paid less than $25,000 annually. More than half (55.4 percent) held bachelor's degrees.

Photojournalists in Tennessee reported that they have only moderate levels of input into photo assignments and the use of photos in the newspapers. A majority (76.9 percent) process film by hand, but half process prints by automated processor. A huge majority (90.4 percent) process the film they shoot themselves.

Emerging technological innovations in the form of electronic imaging devices such as still video cameras, portable photo transmitters and electronic picture desks could alter the already limited influence photographers have over how photos are used in the newspapers. A majority (58.2 percent) viewed such technical advances as positive developments. However, a fairly large percentage (36.4 percent) said electronic imaging devices would have negative outcomes. Many ethical concerns about electronic imaging devices, such as alteration of photographs and changes in the influence photojournalists would have in the news process were voiced by the photographers.

Tennessee's photojournalists also expressed many concerns about professionalism in the newsroom. Almost half (49.1 percent) said they were treated in the same professional manner as reporters and editors on the "word" side. However, 43.9 percent said they were not on an equal footing with writers in their newsrooms.

The greatest strength about photojournalism reported by the respondents was freedom to handle assignments in their own way. The most often mentioned weakness about photojournalism as it was practiced at their newspapers was dissatisfaction with having to shoot staged pictures.

As expected, the open-ended questions brought a diversity of responses. The top recommendation by the photojournalists was that newspapers should work to improve interpersonal communication among the staff.

The author suggested that further communications research should center on electronic imaging, professional equality among visual and verbal communicators, effects of multiple picture stories on newspaper readers and whether newspapers can expect to benefit financially by improving and expanding photojournalism.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON NEWSPAPER PHOTOJOURNALISTS: ROLES AND TECHNOLOGICAL INFLUENCES	1
	Introduction and Background	1
	Statement of the Research Issues	10
	The Importance of the Study	11
	Organization of the Thesis	12
II.	RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY	14
	Research Questions	14
	Methodology: A State-wide Survey and Three Case Studies of Photojournalists at Tennessee's Daily Newspapers	15
III.	PREVIOUS COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH ON DAILY NEWSAPER PHOTOJOURNALISTS	17
	Review of Literature	17
IV.	A STATE-WIDE SURVEY OF TENNESSEE'S DAILY NEWSPAPER PHOTOJOURNALISTS	35
	Introduction	35
	Demographics	37
	Education	38
	Work Experience	44
	Photo Assignments	45
	Who Makes Photo Assignments?	47
	Usage of Photos in the Newspaper	48
	Darkroom Facilities	50
	Electronic Darkrooms and Other Technologies	51
	Professionalism	59
	Strengths and Weaknesses of Photojournalism at the Newspapers	65

Photojournalists' Recommendations..... 68
What Was Left Out of the Survey?..... 69

V. THE CASE STUDIES: THREE PHOTOJOURNALISTS AT THREE DISTINCT DAILY NEWSPAPERS..... 71
Introduction..... 71
An Overview of the Newspapers..... 72
The Three Photojournalists..... 75
Covering the News With a Camera..... 84
The Structure of the Photography Departments.....104
Equipment and Facilities.....109
Darkroom Facilities.....112
Electronic Imaging.....121
Professionalism.....129

VI. CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....145

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....157

APPENDIX.....163

VITA.....174

Chapter I

A Historical Perspective on Newspaper Photojournalists: Roles and Technological Influences

Introduction and Background

Photographs are a growing part of our daily lives. They seem to be increasingly prevalent in all types of media and are strongly evident in newspapers. Along with the news items, columns, editorials and feature stories, readers are presented a wide array of graphic elements including illustrations, computer generated graphics and color and black and white photographs when they pick up a newspaper. A strong body of communications research has shown, that of all the elements on newspaper pages, both written and graphic, readers are overwhelmingly drawn to photographs first when they look at a newspaper. This research, which will be detailed later in this thesis, suggests that newspaper readers, many of whom may only read the headlines and look at the photographs, may be more influenced by photographs than written matter and other graphic elements that appear on newspaper pages. Photographers, who may have a great deal of input and influence into the creation, editing and display of newspaper photographs, may exert more influence over readers' perceptions of news than reporters, writers, copy editors and editors.

Whether they are produced by individuals who have journalistic, technical or artistic training; people with journalism degrees or another college degree; or those without any type of training or college education; photographs apparently may have a great deal of influence on how news is interpreted and understood by readers.

Over the years, to some extent, the role of the

newspaper photojournalist has been defined by the technology in existence. In the days before the technology existed for newspapers to produce direct reproductions of photographs on newspaper pages, newspapers often would produce woodcuts carved by artists from photographs. The process was slow and tedious, and results were not greatly different from illustrations, except that the content of the illustrations were based on actual photographs made on the scene, rather than an artist's interpretation of the event pictured. However, many artists who made the engravings would use artistic license, such as making a composite picture from several images or adding or removing elements in the photographs, when making the woodcuts (Marzio, 1973, pp. 64-66).

The photographs themselves were produced by large, heavy, bulky cameras that required a great deal of fragile equipment to process the images. The cameras, such as those used by Mathew Brady to cover the Civil War, always required a tripod and long exposures of 30 seconds or more. Such equipment limitations precluded any action shots and probably helped establish the respected reputation of the early photographers, who could be considered newspaper photographers since reproductions of their work often appeared in newspapers. Brady's mode of operation when he shot the first photograph of a president while in office was starkly different from photographers who cover the president today. An account of President James K. Polk's portrait session with Brady captured the encounter between the photographer and the president.

> President Polk led the way down the hall to the dining room and Brady followed respectfully at his elbow. In the dining room, Brady drew aside the drapes, placed a chair near the window with the immobilizer (head clamp) behind it, then set up his daguerreotype

> camera. Polk sat in the chair. Brady told the president it would take but a few seconds, then slipped the cover from the lens, counted 30 seconds under his breath, and put the cover back on the lens. He unscrewed the head clamp, thanked the president, gathered up his equipment with his precious copper plates and was ushered out of the White House (Horan, 1975, p. 3).

Today's press photographers, with their highly portable 35mm single lens reflex cameras, high speed film and motor drives enabling them to shoot five, six, seven or more frames per second cover the president in a much different manner. My personal experience is illustrative of the way presidents are photographed by news photographers today. As the chief staff photographer at the U.S. Pavilion during the 1982 World's Fair in Knoxville, Tennessee, I covered an official visit by President Ronald Reagan. Since the pavilion was operated by the U.S. Department of Commerce, I was allowed access to the White House Press Pool. Because of the modern equipment I was using, two Nikon 35mm cameras with motor drives and various lenses, I was able to fire off 10 rolls of film, approximately 360 exposures, in the 15 to 20 minutes the president was on the stage. I was surrounded by photographers from the major national news organizations in the pool area. There were at least 50 other newspaper photographers and television photographers covering the event. Such technological advances as those I used allow photographers to concentrate on covering an entire event, rather than just getting one or two shots. This facilitates more intelligent coverage by news photographers, because they can see and record visual images of many aspects of a news event. In this respect, today's photojournalists have the means to thoroughly report the news like never before.

From Brady's time in the mid 1800s to 1990, cameras underwent dramatic, but slow, technological changes.

Technological developments of great significance in photojournalism were the development of hand-held portable cameras, relatively high speed film and flashguns. The height of this level of technological development culminated in the Speed Graphic camera, the mainstay of photojournalists from the 1920s until the 1950s. Speed Graphics still only allowed the photographer to shoot one shot at a time since they used single sheet film. However, unlike the view cameras they were modeled after, the photographer using the Speed Graphic could pre-load several film holders and instantaneous, though usually posed, exposures, could be produced. The Speed Graphic represented a quantum leap from the view camera, which required a tripod and focusing cloth similar to the cameras Brady used. But, the relatively slow operation of the Speed Graphic camera dictated how the photographer worked. The news photographer often had to direct the subjects of his photographs to pose, because of the technological limitations of the camera. This required a great deal of intervention by the photographer to get his shot, quite unlike today's photojournalist who can often cover news without affecting the news unfolding before him. As a result, newspaper photographers became known as pushy, loud brutes. "It seems only yesterday that the news photographer was looked upon as a queer fellow—half artist and more than half roughneck—and his product was referred to as 'the embellishment of a story or feature (Mott, 1951, p. viii)." The photographer was seen as someone "...who got in everybody's way at public events, invaded private homes, exploded stinking flashlight powder in enclosed rooms, and was noticeable for his big black box and his bad manners (Mott, 1952, p. 171)."

Variations of this stereotype of the photographer as a rough intruder were reinforced for many years. An excellent illustrative example is the character identified only as

"Animal," the fictional photojournalist for the fictional newspaper, the Los Angeles Tribune, on the CBS television program, The Lou Grant Show, aired in the 1970s. On the dramatic show, Animal always got great news shots, but he dressed in a manner that appeared to be a cross between a hippie and a combat soldier, and he acted rather intrusive and brusque toward the subjects he covered as well as the reporters and editors of the newspaper. This was not unlike the characterizations of the Speed Graphic photographers, except that Animal did exhibit a stronger sense of journalistic values and judgment.

The development and adoption of rollfilm cameras and highly portable 35mm cameras, such as the early German Leicas, and electronic flashes allowed photographers to escape the constraints of the Speed Graphics and similar cameras that forced them to pose subjects. Candid, unobtrusive and uncontrived photographs resulted from the new equipment which allowed photographers to cover news better. By the early 1930s the level of camera technology and printing technology, which could provide quality reproductions of the high quality photographs, paved the way for the news picture magazines, Life and later Look, which introduced in-depth photojournalism of news events the world over.

> Cameras were modern and could readily produce brilliant and realistic photographs of the world unposed. It was a seductive idea, seeing the world as it was instead of as it had often been seen before, as frozen for and by a Speed Graphic. The old world had been of people saying "cheese." A number of editors and publishers had explored the possibility of a magazine which would come out every week and which would emphasize the work of talented, highly mobile photographers, the right photographer capturing the right scene at exactly the right moment (Halberstam, 1979, p. 64).

On Nov. 19, 1936, the dream of a national photo news magazine became reality when the premiere issue of Life was published. Henry Luce, the publisher who had brought Time magazine to national prominence through its weekly coverage of world affairs, "brought photojournalism to a height never reached before," with Life (Halberstam, p. 47). Even though the picture magazine, printed weekly on high quality stock paper and distributed to millions of readers, differed greatly from newspapers, the high quality of photojournalism in its pages set the tone for photojournalism in newspapers. Newspaper photographers, eager to bring their profession to a new level of respectability, likely followed the lead of great Life photojournalists such as Phillipe Halsman, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Carl Mydans, W. Eugene Smith, Margaret Bourke-White and many others.

The Life photographers demonstrated the ability of photojournalists to cover news stories and convey news through photographs with a high level of effectiveness. The news picture magazines, based primarily on visual images, enjoyed wide acceptance by readers. "It was in the pre-television era, the same kind of journalistic and advertising vehicle that television was eventually to become (Halberstam, 1979, p. 64)."

An important technological component of photojournalism during the Life period and even before was the ability to transmit photographs by wire. At the turn of the twentieth century, transportation of photographs had not caught up with the much earlier successes of transmitting news copy by wire. Photographs were still bound by the time barriers imposed by train, plane, automobile and carrier pigeon couriers. By the 1920s, American Telephone and Telegraph had developed a limited commercial system of sending photos over wires. The first photo was sent from Cleveland to New York in 1924. Shortly after this event, the company set up eight

transmission sites. The quality was poor and it took about one hour to set up the transmission and accomplish the delivery from one site to another. The AT&T system was abandoned in 1933 and the AP Wirephoto was established in 1935, using a much improved Bell Labs system. The first AP Wirephoto was sent in January of that year. Competitors quickly followed. Hearst set up the Soundphoto International News Photos system later in 1935, and The New York Times was operating its World Wide Photos in February 1936, which boasted the first portable photo transmitters. Scripps Howard established Acme Telephoto in June 1936. The photo wire services enabled news organizations to carry photographs taken from almost anywhere in the world on the same day, allowing newspapers to bring readers same-day coverage of world news events. (Kobre, 1969, pp. 705-706). Wire systems developed to extensive networks with high quality and reliability and the ability to send color photos directly to printing plates throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Three developments that will probably soon be regarded as quantum leaps of technology in newspaper photojournalism are satellite transmissions, still-video cameras and electronic darkrooms integrated with computer systems. All three technologies are in existence, but only satellite transmissions have seen widespread use at this point. The merger of these three technologies will drastically alter the role of the photojournalist as it becomes routine for him to capture hundreds of photos in electronic form, transmit them instantaneously to newsrooms anywhere in the world and then have a photo editor prepare them for printing with an electronic darkroom on a computer. In some respects, the newspaper photographer may operate in a manner similar to television news photographers who already follow this basic arrangement.

Ironically, just as the illustrative artists who crafted

woodcuts from photographs before photographs could be captured directly for newspaper printing in the early 1900s, the electronic darkroom photo editor of the twenty-first century will conceivably be able to alter the content of news photos without any indication that such alteration has taken place. Advertisers and artists are already using such computer technology to create totally seamless images of contrived photographic images for creative purposes. Such ability suggests that in the future journalistic education and training among photographers and photo editors will be even more important than it is today.

After the original Life was discontinued in 1972 (Halberstam, 1979, p. 726), newspapers continued to refine photojournalism by covering news in a highly professional, journalistically-oriented style. Throughout this period, and even today, some journalists, photojournalists and journalism educators have argued about whether words or pictures carry more importance in news coverage. As in so many controversies of this type that have proponents on each end of a continuum of issues, the solution to the problem lies in the middle.

> Probably Confucius never said a picture was worth a thousand words; and if he did, it was one of the slips a wise man sometimes makes. A very good picture—like Joseph Rosenthal's "Flag Raising on Iwo Jima"—is worth a good many thousand words in the average newspaper, though not as much as the 265 words of the Gettysburg Address. On the other hand, a group picture captioned "Prominent Members of the State Dental Convention Now Meeting at the Grand Hotel Left to right: James Whoosis, Charles Doke, and Frank Zilch," in which Whoosis looks as though his dentures were paining him, Doke looks like a pallbearer suffering from a hangover, and Zilch has his eyes shut, is not worth more than one noxious word—lousy (Mott, 1952, p. 171).

Clearly, photojournalists share the responsibilities of journalism with reporters. "As I see it...a press

photographer simply is trying to answer with a camera those old questions of journalism, who, what, when, where and why—just as a reporter tries to answer them with words (Churchill, 1950, p. 85)." Given the perspective of news photographer as photojournalist, newspaper photojournalism should be viewed as an integral part of the news process.

> We know now that pictures are just as definitely reporting as the written story is. Whether pictures are better reporting than words depends on many factors in individual cases, and is a purely academic question anyway. The point is that they are a necessary part of reporting today. Pictures are today an extremely important part of journalism, and we must increasingly regard them as an integral with all of journalism. They are indeed integral with all of modern communication, not only in newspapers and magazines, but in books, in motion pictures, in radio, in advertising, in education (Mott, 1951, pp. vii-viii).

Daily newspaper photographers, characterized in a myriad of roles over the years, are recognized today by many journalists as journalists in their own right. Serious photojournalists recognize the importance of timeliness, accuracy, honesty (Mott, 1951, p. viii) and objectivity in news photographs, just as reporters are aware of the need to constantly strive for these same journalistic ideals in their news writing. As photographic newspaper reporters, photojournalists must also be subjected to the same constraints of editing that writers encounter when they write news stories (Mott, 1951, p. viii). More so than writers, daily newspaper photojournalists are also affected by a host of visual and technological concerns encountered each day. Today's photojournalist is an integral part of the news team. Even so, news photos photographers produce are often mistakenly considered by some news managers and some communications researchers only as graphic elements, mere accoutrements to the news stories they accompany. However,

many serious journalists and photojournalists understand that news photographs themselves can convey a great deal of information about news stories and can even stand alone as news coverage.

This professional characterization of modern newspaper photographers has not always been the case, and in fact, among some newspaper staffs, the role of the effective photojournalist is still largely misunderstood today.

Statement of the Research Issues

The research issues addressed in this study primarily concern the characteristics and roles of photojournalists in Tennessee's daily newspapers, the influence photojournalists have on the news process, how photojournalists work and the impact emerging technologies will have on photojournalists and photojournalism in Tennessee newspapers.

One of the basic issues concerns who Tennessee's daily newspaper photojournalists are. What demographic characteristics, such as age, income, sex, education and race, make up a profile of the photojournalists?

A second issue involves the roles and professional orientations of the photojournalists. Do these photographers consider themselves journalists, technicians, artists, a combination of these roles or something else? The roles these important members of newspaper staffs perceive for themselves could have a strong impact on how they perform their work and the influence they have over visual communication in their newspapers. Do they have input into the assignments, editing and usage of photos in the paper? Are they encouraged to seek out important stories or issues in their communities? Do the photographers think that writers, editors and managers consider photojournalists as journalists, on an equal footing with "word" communicators?

As electronic photographic technologies emerge and become adopted by newspapers, photojournalists and newspapers could be impacted profoundly. Do Tennessee's daily newspaper photojournalists think their papers will use the new technologies? If electronic picture desks, still video cameras and other technologies are made commonplace in Tennessee's newspapers, how do the photojournalists think these technological developments will affect their jobs and photojournalism at their papers? What will be the positive and negative effects?

Finally, an important issue in this research centers on how photojournalists, journalism educators, newspaper managers and readers will be affected by new technologies and moves toward professionalism if they materialize. How will these various groups respond to the changes, and what opportunities exist for newspapers to take better advantage of visual communication to better serve readers?

The Importance of the Study

This study is important because it examined a growing body of research which suggests that photographs are the most important element in newspapers that readers pay attention to. Given this perspective, the thesis endeavored to explore the people who produce many of these photos and to find out what they think about the news process at their particular papers.

Given the apparent power of newspaper photographs to command the readers' attention and apparently have some influence on how the news is interpreted and understood, it is important for newspaper journalists and managers, journalism educators and newspaper readers to understand more about a group of journalists who have largely been neglected by communications research—daily newspaper photojournalists.

While this study concentrated on the photojournalists at daily newspapers in Tennessee, much information about the newspapers themselves was revealed. Results from this study provide a portrait of photojournalists in the state of Tennessee, illustrate the working conditions of the photojournalists and raise many issues of concern to journalists, journalism educators and newspaper readers. Journalists and newspaper managers may gain ideas from this research to strengthen the quality of news information conveyed to readers. Journalism educators may be able to form better informed opinions about approaches to the journalism curriculum and the teaching of journalism courses that include photojournalism. Newspaper readers may benefit from a better understanding of photojournalism among newspaper personnel.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis has been organized into six chapters. In the first chapter, discussion focuses on the background of newspaper photojournalists, how they have changed over the years and how the photographic technology they use has accelerated. Some indication of how photographers at daily newspapers have been regarded by reporters and editors at daily newspapers has also been explored. The importance of the study is also included in the first chapter.

Research questions that were addressed and how the primary research of the thesis was conducted is covered in the section on research questions and methodology, Chapter II. The study utilized a mail survey and case studies to arrive at conclusions.

In Chapter III, previous communications research published about daily newspaper photographers was examined. Information on how this thesis expands on the existing

knowledge of the role of newspaper photojournalists is also included in this chapter.

Chapter IV centers on the results of the survey. Chapter V covers the three case studies carried out as part of this thesis.

The final chapter includes conclusions drawn from conducting this research and implications the findings may have to photojournalists, newspaper managers, journalism educators and readers.

Chapter II

Research Questions and Methodology

Research Questions

The basic research questions of this thesis are: who are Tennessee's daily newspaper photojournalists; what are their working conditions; how do they function in their jobs; what is the state of photographic technology in Tennessee's daily newspapers; and how do photojournalists think emerging technologies will affect the way they work?

Most of the research questions that help arrive at answers to the research issues in this thesis center on the photojournalists. What kind of training or educational background do they have? How old are they? What sex are they? How long have they been photojournalists?

Other questions concentrate on the working conditions at the newspapers where the photojournalists work. What kind and quality of photographic equipment are the photographers provided? What kind of facilities are in place? What level of technology is present? Are there plans for implementing new technologies?

Another set of research questions focuses on how the photographers function at their newspapers? Who makes the photographic assignments? Who shoots the photographs? How much input does the photographer have into the editorial process? Who edits the photographs? Who decides what kind of placement or treatment the photographs get?

A final group of research questions involves how the photographers perceive their roles as photojournalists? Do the photographers think that writers, editors and others at the newspapers view photojournalists as journalists, technicians, artists or something else? Are the working

conditions at the papers good in the photographers' estimations? Are readers getting quality photojournalism? If not, what do the photographers think could be done to improve the situation?

Methodology: A State-wide Survey and Three Case Studies of Photojournalists at Tennessee's Daily Newspapers

To begin to attempt to understand the current role of photojournalists at daily newspapers and to begin to answer the research questions, two methods have been utilized: a state-wide survey of daily newspaper photographers in Tennessee and case studies on three of the photojournalists.

An old adage says that if you want to know what some group thinks about something, ask them. With that bit of wisdom in mind, I have conducted a state-wide mail survey of the photojournalists at Tennessee's daily newspapers. Tennessee was chosen as the survey state because it has a wide spectrum of small, medium and large circulation daily newspapers and a population of more than 5 million people.

This study was limited to daily newspapers in Tennessee, because many weekly newspapers in the state do not have individuals whose primary responsibility is photojournalism. Because most daily newspapers in Tennessee do have people who are primarily responsible for photography and to keep the study at a manageable level and for convenience, the study was restricted to daily newspaper photojournalists in Tennessee. Also, since the daily newspapers in the state have much larger circulations than weekly newspapers overall, it is assumed that daily newspapers have much more influence over the images readers receive.

Tennessee photojournalists were also chosen because the College of Communications at the University of Tennessee,

where I conducted this study as part of my completion of the master of science in communications degree, has a strong relationship with many newspapers across the state. This professional relationship helped ensure good cooperation and the mechanism to possibly share the results with newspapers across the state.

To bring more detailed information to the thesis beyond that capable in a mail survey, I personally interviewed three photojournalists who work at three different daily newspapers in Tennessee. The photographers for the case studies were purposefully chosen to represent photographers who work at different-sized newspapers with different working conditions. The case studies provide illustrative comparisons among photojournalists who work for large metropolitan dailies, medium-sized dailies and small daily newspapers. Results do not represent a typical photojournalist or a typical newspaper.

To supplement the survey and case studies, copies of the newspapers were reviewed and publication of award winning photographs from the newspapers that were entered in photography competitions sponsored by the National Press Photographers Association over a three year period were also examined. Information from these reviews of the newspapers and photography competitions were used to provide more insight into the research questions.

While the results from this study are not generalizable to the entire population of daily newspaper photojournalists in the United States, they are useful for the study of photojournalists and photojournalism.

Chapter III

Previous Communications Research on Daily Newspaper Photojournalists

Review of Literature

The communications research literature on newspaper photojournalists includes only a few studies devoted solely to the subject of profiles of newspaper photographers. However, a strong body of research suggests that photographers may be even more important in the news process than previously thought, because of the strong attraction and apparent influence photographs in newspapers have on readers.

Several research studies have shown that of all the graphic elements that appear on newspaper pages, photographs are by far the most popular element used, and they draw the attention of readers first over all other graphic elements and written matter. Despite the widespread use of charts, maps, illustrations and other types of non-photographic graphics, several studies found that newspapers seem to use photographs more than any other graphic element.

A content analysis of the front pages of five major newspapers in 1986 revealed that "photographs are the visual element of choice" for the newspapers studied. The study, which examined 300 newspaper front pages from USA Today, The Chicago Tribune, The New Orleans Times-Picayune, The New York Times and The Los Angeles Times, yielded 1,148 photographs, far outnumbering any other type of visual element examined. There were 113 illustrations, 64 charts combined with a photograph and one map combined with an illustration. Among all the papers studied, photographs constituted 82 percent of the graphics on the front page (Lester, 1988, Journalism Quarterly, pp. 760-761).

The use of photographs on the inside pages of newspapers seems to be prevalent as well. A 1977 study of 16 major daily newspapers found that of 3,669 photographs that appeared over a five-day period in 1973, only 193 or 5.3 percent showed up on the front pages. The average newspaper in the group studied published about 46 photographs in each issue each day (Trayes and Cook, 1977).

A study which looked at which characteristics of news items serve as the best predictors of readership in newspapers, found that "a positive predictor of readership is use of pictures. News stories with a picture have higher readership than those without a picture (McCombs, Mauro and Son, 1988, p. 28)."

Despite the ability of newspaper photographers to capture events candidly at what Henri Cartier-Bresson called "the decisive moment," that slice of time in which the photographer captures the significance of an event, many newspapers continue to use mug shots, "...tiny images that show little except what the subject looks like... (Lester, 1988, Journalism Quarterly, p. 761)." In another study by Lester that revealed 1,148 photographs, 45 percent, or 520 photographs, were mug shots (Lester, 1988, Newspaper Research Journal, pp. 3-4).

A study of 1,296 newspaper front pages for one week of each month in 1936, 1956 and 1976 by Singletary revealed 3,141 photographs. Of these, 1,249 were mug shots. This study showed decreasing use of mug shots: 57 percent in 1936, 42.2 percent in 1956 and 29.9 percent in 1976 (Singletary, 1978).

A 1989 study of 93 daily newspapers found that 56.5 percent of the papers ran an average of two photographs on the front page. Mug shots were still there; 67.8 percent of the papers ran one on the front page each day (Utt and Pasternack, 1989).

Lain (1987) suggested that newspaper readers may form judgments about the people in the mug shots based on the content of the picture. However, I suspect that Singletary's view that most mug shots are "relatively contentless and uninformative (1978, p. 586)" has yet to be successfully challenged. The fact that many of the mug shots are probably submitted to the newspapers by the representatives of the newsmakers themselves for the express purpose of presenting the subject in a good light would seem to support Singletary's idea.

One of the most popular uses of photographs in newspapers is the use of full-color halftones. Following the lead of USA Today and other newspapers, newspapers across the country are using more color photographs. Click and Stempel (1979) found that 21 percent of daily newspapers with more than 100,000 circulation used at least one color halftone per week. Utt and Pasternack found in their 1984 survey that 34.6 percent of dailies use color halftones regularly on their front pages, and another 28 percent used them occasionally.

Papers do seem to be using more color photographs, and the readers seem to like them. A 1986 study by Pasternack and Utt that asked respondents to rank various graphic devices used commonly by newspapers in terms of attractiveness found that color photographs ranked at the top of the list. Ninety percent of the respondents said color photographs in newspapers were attractive; 4 percent said they were unattractive; and 6 percent were neutral. The use of charts and graphs, often seen as a good substitute for photographs by newspaper editors, scored only 41 percent for attractiveness.

Bohle and Garcia sought to find out "whether readers like all the color and how it affects their eye movements through a page (1987, p. 731)." The researchers took the

study a step further to explore how the use of color and photographs affected reader's overall opinion of the newspaper. An average of 47 percent, the highest for any of the elements on the page, of the readers were drawn to color and black and white photos first on the front pages. Even though this study was not specifically designed to seek out the effects of photographs alone, the researchers came to the overwhelming conclusion that main photos, whether in black and white or color, whether spot color was used or not, drew the attention of most readers first and that most readers liked all the color.

In addition to using color to attract and please more readers, many newspapers are using page designs that feature dominant photographs. Utt and Pasternack (1989) found that 94.6 percent of the newspapers in their study used a dominant photograph on the front page.

A study by Wanta (1988) that featured a pre-test and post-test of manipulated versions of newspaper pages found that of the 12 issues of concern presented, the three that were manipulated by introducing photos or enlarging them, showed increases in importance to the readers. One of the issues increased significantly in the readers' minds by the use of a dominant photo in one treatment. Wanta concluded that larger photographs may assert a somewhat stronger agenda-setting function than smaller photographs.

Despite the apparent power of photographs to influence readers' understanding of the news and attraction to newspaper stories, there seems to have been only a few research studies on the people who produce many newspaper photographs—the newspaper photojournalists.

One study examined 83 photographers from six large daily newspapers, chosen by a panel of 22 photojournalism experts to represent a wide diversity in photographic performance among two groups. Three of the papers were considered in a

superior group concerning photographic performance, and the other three were considered inferior by the selectors. The assumption was made that how a newspaper performs photographically was a partial indicator of the capabilities of the photo staff (Coldwell, 1974).

Coldwell devised a total of 24 factors to measure the job characteristics of both groups. Twelve involved professional items including opportunity for originality and initiative, full use of abilities and training, getting ahead in professional career, opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge, respect for ability and competence of co-workers, supervisor who appreciates time spent improving capabilities, freedom from continual close supervision, opportunity to have influence on public thinking, being with a newspaper respected by photographers nationwide, having a job that is valuable and essential to the community, having influence on important decisions and organization different because he works for it.

Non-professional factors in Coldwell's study included an enjoyment of what's involved in doing the job; availability of support people who stand behind him; excitement and variety the job provides; being with people who are congenial, easy to work with; working with people rather than things; salary, earning enough for a good living; getting ahead in the organization; security on the job, in its being fairly permanent; hours that do not disrupt family life; having prestigeful job in the organization; contact with important people; and a job with prestige in the community (Coldwell, 1974, p. 77).

Professional orientation of the superior group was higher than the inferior group in every category. Among the non-professional items, the inferior group showed more job satisfaction on five items, less on five items and the same on two of the items. "...The job characteristic over which

the superior group photographers exhibited the highest relative satisfaction was being with a newspaper respected by photographers nationwide (Coldwell, 1974, p. 78)." "The job characteristic on which the inferior group photographers exceeded the superior group by the widest margin was security on the job (Coldwell, 1974, pp. 77-78)."

Two variables that relate to photojournalism directly involved ethics and evaluation of the photographers' own newspaper's photographic policies. Photographers from the superior group displayed a stronger code of ethics, and they rated their own newspaper's policies on photography higher. Superior group photographers rated their papers slightly above average on policies, and the inferior group rated their papers slightly below average (Coldwell, 1974, pp. 79-80).

The Coldwell (1974) study also measured demographic data. Photographers in the inferior group averaged 39.5 years of age, while the superior group averaged 40.8 years. "The high professionals in each performance group were the youngest and the low professionals were the oldest (p. 80)." Educational data was sketchy, but "slightly less than half of the high professionals are college graduates (p. 80)." The superior group photographers also showed more "interest in professional periodicals such as National Press Photographer, Editor & Publisher and Quill (p. 80)."

It seems reasonable to suggest that better educated, more professionally-oriented photographers tend to result in better photojournalism for the newspapers. "The finding suggests the obvious: a newspaper would be best advised to attract professionals and then provide well for professional job characteristics. In short, hire professionals and give them the latitude to exert their professionalism (Coldwell, 1974, p. 81)."

A study that compared professionalism among male and female photojournalists found that women were slightly more

professionally oriented than men, and that 70 percent of the women had college degrees compared to 51 percent of the men. The study also found that women belonged to slightly more professional organizations than men, 2.25 for women and 2.12 for men. Women also subscribed to more professional periodicals than men, 2.67 for the women press photographers and 2.58 for the men (Slattery & Fosdick, 1979). Interestingly, there was no large difference in the professional orientation among men and women at the same newspaper, suggesting that "...perhaps newspapers set a professional tone for employees (Slattery & Fosdick, 1979, p. 247)."

Two newspapers which may have fostered an atmosphere of professionalism among the news photography staff, The Minneapolis Star and The Minneapolis Tribune, were the subjects of research that examined newspaper photojournalists in more depth. Both papers, owned by the same company, employed 20 photographers at the time the study was done. The Tribune had 10 photographers and The Star had eight. Also, the two papers shared two photographers for color work. Eighteen of the 20 photographers responded to the questionnaire (Bethune, 1981).

"The data show that, typically, Star and Tribune photographers are married, Gentile, white males between the ages of 25 and 35 with at least a high school diploma (Bethune, 1981, p. 106)." Eighty three percent of the photojournalists were male; 67 percent were married; 44 percent were between the ages of 25 and 35; 28 percent were 35 to 45 years old, and 28 percent were over 45 years old.

The photographers as a group seemed to be fairly well educated. The data indicated that all photographers had graduated from high school; 22 percent had only a high school diploma; 45 percent had a bachelor's degree; and none had a master's or doctoral degree. One-third had some college

work, but had not earned a bachelor's degree (Bethune, 1981).

The fathers of one-third of the photographers held white collar jobs and the rest came from blue collar families. Fifty-six percent of the mothers were housewives. Salary levels of the photographers were as follows: none made less than $10,000; 17 percent earned $10,000 to $15,000; 17 percent made $15,000 to $20,000. Fifty-six percent made $20,000 to $25,000. Only five percent earned more than $25,000 (Bethune, 1981).

The photographers were all white. Seventy-two percent went to church regularly or occasionally. Half said they were liberal Democrats; 28 percent were moderates; 17 percent were Republicans; and 33 percent said they were independent politically (Bethune, 1981).

As a group, the Star and Tribune photographers rated high on professionalism. Eighty-three percent belonged to a professional organization, the most common being the National Press Photographers Association with 72 percent as members. Eleven percent were members of the Society of Professional Journalists; 22 percent held membership in the American Newspaper Guild, and 5 percent were members of the Press Club of Minneapolis (Bethune, 1981).

Eighty-two percent of the photographers in Bethune's study said they were usually comfortable with the newspapers' news policies. However, only half said they were usually comfortable with photo policies; 39 percent were sometimes comfortable and 11 percent were rarely comfortable. "Dissatisfaction with photo policies generally centered around two related areas: the qualification of the person on the news desk who was in charge of photo selection and the visual awareness and understanding of print people in general (Bethune, 1981, p. 107)."

In answers to questions about how the management of the newspapers regarded the photographers in comparison to the

reporters and other print workers, 61 percent of the photographers said they were not regarded as equals with reporters; 22 percent said they were thought of as being equal; 17 percent didn't know or didn't respond to the questions (Bethune, 1981).

In later research, Bethune (1984) conducted a study to "...present a national sociological profile of daily newspaper photographers....(p. 607)" Her survey questionnaire, which concentrated on demographics, professional characteristics and orientation, newspaper policies and practices and the photographer's beliefs and attitudes about job satisfaction, was returned by 436 photographers from 240 daily newspapers from 44 states. Bethune found that the the photographers were fairly young. The median age was 31. The respondents were overwhelmingly white and male. A huge majority (92.7 percent) were white. Males comprised 89.1 percent of the group, and 10.9 percent were females.

The group surveyed by Bethune (1984) was fairly well educated. Forty-one percent had bachelor's degrees; 1.9 percent held master's degrees, and one respondent had earned a Ph.D. Salary levels were moderate. The largest group (26.5 percent) was the $15,000-$20,000 group. Twenty-five percent made $10,000-$15,000; and 24.7 percent earned $20,000-$25,000 as newspaper photographers. "Only nine photographers made more than $25,000 (Bethune, 1984, p. 608)."

The professional orientation of this sample of photographers was high. Sixty-nine percent were members of the National Press Photographers Association; 7.3 percent were members of the Society of Professional Journalists; and 2.8 percent were members of the American Society of Magazine Photographers. The most read professional publication was NPPA's News Photographer, read by 86.1 percent. American

Photographer was read by 38.5 percent; Popular Photography was read by 24.8 percent; Modern Photography was read by 15.6 percent; and 16.3 percent reported that they read Editor & Publisher (Bethune, 1984).

A third measure of professionalism concerned professional development. Among this sample of photographers, 50 percent said they had participated in photographic seminars or workshops (Bethune, 1984).

To assess job satisfaction, respondents in the study were asked to to rate 12 factors they considered important in judging the job satisfaction of newspaper photographers in general. The choices were very important, moderately important, somewhat important or not very important. These factors included: pay, fringe benefits, freedom from supervision, opportunity to help readers, paper's prestige, paper's editorial policy, job security, opportunity for photos to be seen, opportunity to improve your photography, opportunity for input in photo use and layout, opportunity to advance in the organization and interaction with other photographers and journalists. Five of these items emerged as the top factors in job satisfaction. Opportunity to improve your photography was rated highest by 81.2 percent; 68.2 percent said the opportunity for input into photo use and layout was most important; 59.5 percent listed job security; 56.7 percent said stimulating interaction with other photographers and journalists was most important; and 49.9 percent said the opportunity to help readers was the most important factor for their job satisfaction (Bethune, 1984).

After rating these factors, respondents were asked how satisfied they were on each factor at their newspapers. Possible responses were very satisfied, moderately satisfied, somewhat satisfied and not at all satisfied. The top five categories listed by photographers who said they were very

satisfied were: job security (45.7 percent), opportunity for their photos to be seen by many people (35.1 percent), freedom from supervision (35 percent), opportunity to improve their photography (30.5 percent); and opportunity to help readers (26.8 percent) (Bethune, 1984).

> All things considered, 21.6 percent of the respondents said they were very satisfied with their jobs; 48.2 percent said they were moderately satisfied; 23.1 percent, somewhat satisfied; and 7.1 percent not at all satisfied (Bethune, 1984, p. 609).

The item photographers were most dissatisfied with was the opportunity to get ahead in the organization. Sixty-five percent said they were just somewhat satisfied or not very satisfied with advancement opportunities for them. The respondents also clearly reported that they thought reporters had stronger advancement opportunities. Almost three-fourths of the photographers (74.5 percent) said they thought they had less opportunity to advance into upper management than a reporter of comparable experience and skills at their newspaper (Bethune, 1984).

A study by James Bissland (1984) looked at career issues and job satisfaction for photojournalists in more detail. Bissland mailed his 89-item survey to every fourth name on a list of 6,800 NPPA members. The researcher received 751 (44 percent) responses from photographers who worked for daily and weekly newspapers. Demographic data was basically consistent with the findings in previous research on photojournalists. The group was described as young (median age 30), male (86 percent), married (54 percent) and college graduates (54 percent). Salaries were fairly low; 65 percent earned $10,000 to $25,000; 24 percent made $15,000 to $20,000. Thirty-nine percent had worked for the same paper five years or less.

Bissland (1984) measured burnout by asking respondents

to indicate how frequently they had several experiences.

> Our photojournalists complained most commonly about "being tired," with 39 percent calling it a frequent occurrence. Also occurring frequently: "feeling anxious," 37 percent; "feeling trapped," 28 percent; "being emotionally exhausted," 22 percent; "feeling depressed, 19 percent; and "feeling burned out," 17 percent. In addition, large percentages said they experienced these feelings at least sometimes (Bissland, 1984).

Despite these common complaints of burnout, the majority of respondents in the Bissland (1984) study indicated that overall, they were at least somewhat satisfied with their jobs; 15.5 percent said they were very satisfied; 57.4 percent were somewhat satisfied; 22.1 percent were not too satisfied; and 5 percent said they were not at all satisfied.

However, the photographers did express dissatisfaction in a number of areas. Dissatisfaction showed up strongest in issues of job promotion. Seventy-six percent said their chances for promotion were not good; 67 percent said their employers were not very concerned about giving everyone a chance to get ahead; and 53 percent did not agree that promotions were handled fairly. (Bissland, 1984).

Bissland (1984) reported that in general, there is a fairly large discrepancy between the amount of influence photographers said they had in deciding news value and usage of photos and the amount of influence they desire. Bissland said he had determined that compared to other professions, photojournalists were significantly more dissatisfied with their jobs than workers in other professions.

However, no specifics about the amounts of influence indicated by the photographers was reported, so it is unclear how large the difference between perceived influence and desired influence was.

Bissland concluded his report with the following

admonition and recommendation.

> For too many photojournalists, the newspapers they work for are graveyards of talent, sucking the vitality out of their creative people and burying the victims alive. An improved career ladder, which permits photographers to develop through a professional lifetime, is urgently needed (Bissland, 1984).

The president of the NPPA, Thomas Hardin, responded to Bissland's research by calling for newspaper management to take a number of actions to address issues of concern to photographers. Among his suggestions to newspaper managers and photographers were the following:

> Take a look at the staff listings that are printed in your favorite magazine. Notice "senior writer" and "senior correspondent" titles reserved for those exceptional staffers, who, after many years have received special recognition and probably more money. We should have these kinds of titles throughout the newsroom.
>
> The managing editor or executive editor must set the tone of communication and coordination among all of his or her departments. That doesn't seem so difficult—and managers would say at this point they already do that. This survey (and others like it) strongly suggests otherwise. Why? Because senior management officials must create the atmosphere for cooperation and communication. This attitude starts at the top of any organization....
>
> Editors should allow (and expect) photographers to make themselves more valuable to the newspaper organization by making it possible for the photographers to go beyond the daily assignment tedium and have coverage-area specialities, which would be developed along with the day-to-day assignments. Such an approach would make it possible for a photographer to consistently cover the same politician, the same team or the same important issue in the newspaper's coverage area.
>
> Building contacts, gaining access and becoming expert in a field—just as the reporters do—would allow the photographer to become more valuable to the newspaper—and to feel better about his or her contribution. It works today on several newspapers.

Why not on every newspaper?

And to the photojournalist: You must make yourself more valuable to the news operation—not just as a staff photographer but as a specialist in a certain coverage area that is important to your readers. And you must become a student of that specialty, seeking sources and contacts as well as expanding yourself by participating in workshops, short courses and other mind refreshers such as Nieman Fellowships.

Do we need more photographers assigned to a particular department within the news operation? I recently talked with a photographer who had been assigned to an individual department instead of the regular photo pool in the news operation. The photographer found real personal and job satisfaction in working with the smaller department—make that read "team"—where being a part of the planning, generating and working with just a few people gave the photographer a real sense of team play. Partnership.

And to the photographers: Will you be creatively happy to shoot sports or features or be part of the city desk for a two-to-five-year assignment?

These suggestions I listed above can make the photographer a bigger part of the newspaper team. If the "flaw" in photojournalism is going to be addressed the ball lies in two courts: In our court as photojournalists to become more valuable to our news operations. In upper management's court to create opportunities for job rotation, specialties, earlier involvement in planning and communication—and a sense of partnership.

We are talking about 10 percent of the newsroom employees—an asset eager to be included. Why should it be any other way (Hardin, 1984)?

Three master's theses examined photojournalists from similar approaches. Sullivan (1988) interviewed nine photojournalists at daily newspapers in Pennsylvania and concluded that new electronic technologies applied to photojournalism could cause photographers to become image gatherers instead of photojournalists as they lose control of the influence they have over news photographs. She also concluded that newspapers are not giving visual communication the value it deserves. She recommends that newspapers employ photo editors and that photojournalists communicate and sell

themselves to word editors and journalists to improve visual communication.

Koepsel (1982) mailed opinion surveys to a national sample of 362 National Press Photographers Association members. Responses were received from 175 (53 percent). The researcher found that photojournalists agreed that they should be able to participate in news-staff meetings, that they should be part of the layout process, that they should be regarded as equals with reporters, and that they should have some say in the overall operation of the newspaper. Koepsel also found that photojournalists expected periodic reviews of legal aspects of news photography, reimbursement pay for using their personal equipment and overtime pay when they work more than 40 hours in a week.

The seven greatest problems photojournalists face, according to Koepsel's research, were "... 1) management, 2) public image, 3) lack of adequate pay, 4) colleagues and their egos, 5) interference by authorities while working, 6) loss of enthusiasm for work and 7) new technology (Koespel, 1982)."

Maner (1982) examined professional orientation of photojournalists by mailing a survey to a random skip interval sample of 300 members of the National Press Photographers Association drawn from a directory of 3,000 NPPA members. Responses were received from 138 (46 percent) photojournalists.

The researcher concluded that three factors may have some influence on photojournalists'' professional orientation. These were years at the current job, job title and previous employment. He also found overall that photographers would like to see professional values and standards implemented in their occupation. One educational finding stood out of this research. Maner found that only 18.5 percent of the respondents to his survey agreed that

colleges and universities are adequately preparing young people for careers as press photographers; 34.1 percent were neutral on this item; and 47.4 percent disagreed.

Maner (1982) also found that photojournalists surveyed considered the opportunity to improve one's competence, an opportunity for originality and a job which allows full use of one's training and ability as the three most desirable professional items.

Most of the previously discussed studies have included photojournalists at large daily newspapers. One study focused on editorially successful dailies under 50,000 in circulation. The researcher who conducted the study of six top small daily newspapers selected the papers through responses to surveys by a total of 83 journalism educators, state and regional editors of metropolitan and regional newspapers with circulations over 50,000 and Associated Press bureau chiefs. In answers to questions designed to identify which factors lead to excellence in newspapers, strong photojournalism was listed the second most important factor by only one judge and as the third most important factor by four respondents. None of the 55 respondents to the questions listed strong photojournalism as the most important factor for excellence in newspapers (Connery, 1989).

As in most of the other research studies done on newspapers, photojournalism is given very little consideration in Connery's research. Several of the editors of the papers examined point out that encouragement of professional development is a standard philosophy for reporters and editors, however, there is no mention of such opportunities for photojournalists.

A study by Pasternack and Martin (1985) sought to find out what skills and abilities of photographers are desired by daily newspaper editors. This study focused on 41 newspapers with circulations of 10,000 or more in the Rocky Mountain

States. Surveys were completed, not by the photographers, but by the "...staff member most directly responsible for photojournalism decisions at the newspaper (Pasternack and Martin, 1985, p. 133)."

Respondents were asked to rate each of nine characteristics they considered important for news photographers at their newspapers. A five-point scale was used to measure mean scores. Scores ranged from one (not important) to five (very important). The top three responses in terms of mean scores were the ability to deal effectively with people (4.4), good darkroom skills (4.3), and previous professional experience as a photographer (4.2). The characteristics with the lowest mean scores were a college degree in a field other than journalism (2.7), an extroverted personality (2.8) and writing ability (3.1) (Pasternack and Martin, 1985).

Pasternack and Martin (1985) also asked whether the paper or the photographers own the photographic equipment used by the photographers. At 36.6 percent of the newspapers, the photographers owned the equipment; at 31.7 percent the newspapers owned the equipment; and at 31.7 percent of the papers, the ownership was split between the photographers and the newspapers. The camera equipment was overwhelmingly provided by one manufacturer. At operations where the newspaper owned the equipment 75 percent was Nikon equipment. At papers where the photographers provided their own equipment, 70.6 percent used Nikon equipment.

Some of these studies have focused primarily on sociological aspects of photographers, while most others have only dealt with the issues of visual journalism peripherally. None of the studies reviewed dealt with the impact of new technologies on photojournalists in any great depth. Clearly, research that goes beyond the approaches in these studies to examine issues of technology and journalism as

they relate to photojournalists is needed. This thesis will attempt to do that by looking at photojournalists as journalists in their own right and by dealing with the issues on a journalistic level. Demographic data will be included, but the emphasis will be on how photojournalists function at daily newspapers and how photographers think they fit into the news process. By surveying photojournalists at all the daily newspapers in the state of Tennessee and performing three case studies on photographers at large, medium and small daily newspapers across the state, this study will represent a larger spectrum of photojournalists than usual in this type of study. The idea here is to gain a deeper and broader understanding of journalistic issues and concerns photojournalists face and how they deal with them on a daily basis.

Chapter IV

A State-wide Survey of Tennessee's Daily Newspaper Photojournalists

Introduction

A 39-item survey was mailed to all of the full-time photojournalists at the daily newspapers in the state of Tennessee in June and July of 1990. The population was determined by telephoning each newspaper individually and requesting the names of all people whose primary responsibility involved shooting photographs for the newspaper. This information was provided by the chief photographers, photo editors or editors of the newspapers.

A total of 119 surveys were mailed. After three mailings and two follow-up telephone calls to non-respondents, a total of 63 surveys were returned. Four of these were completed by people who worked only part-time for the papers, and two were returned blank by people who indicated they did not consider themselves photojournalists. Of the 113 potentially useful remaining surveys, 57 were returned for a return rate of 50.44 percent.

Surveys were returned from 23 of the 30 daily newspapers in Tennessee. Two of the papers were very small circulation, specialized publications and did not employ any photographers. Two other papers were small circulation general newspapers which did not employ any photographers. Not counting these four papers, one or more photographers from 23 (88.5 percent) of the 26 daily newspapers with photographers responded to the survey.

The 57 respondents appeared to be fairly evenly distributed across different sized newspapers. Six photographers (10.5 percent) at newspapers with circulations

ranging from 5,000 to 10,000 responded to the survey. At papers with circulations of 10,001 to 25,000, 11 (19.3 percent) photographers responded. Papers with 25,001 to 50,000 circulation were represented by 13 photographers (22.8 percent). Twelve (22.1 percent) of the respondents worked for papers of 50,001 to 100,000 circulation, and 15 (26.3 percent) photographers were photojournalists at papers with circulations of more than 100,000.

It should be noted again that since this fixed effects, observational study involved a purposive, convenience sample of photojournalists in Tennessee's daily newspapers, the results should not be generalized to the entire population of photojournalists in the United States. The purpose of this study was to offer a descriptive view of this group of photojournalists. Therefore, no statistically significant inferences are intended, and none should be inferred.

Throughout this chapter some of the findings do not add up to 100 percent due to rounding. All data were analyzed using the statistical analysis package, SAS, on the IBM/CMS mainframe computer system at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. This system was accessed from my home using a Macintosh Classic computer with a 40 megabyte hard drive, a Versaterm terminal emulation program and a Hayes 2,400 baud modem. All text in this thesis was produced on the Macintosh Classic or Macintosh SE using the Microsoft Word 4.0 word processing program for the Macintosh. All printed output was produced on the Apple LaserWriter II NTX.

The five-page survey included closed response and open-ended questions that centered on nine key topic areas: 1) demographic information, 2) work experience, 3) photo assignments, 4) use of photos in the newspapers, 5) darkroom facilities and practices, 6) equipment and new technology, 7) professionalism, 8) perceived strengths and weaknesses and 9) a completely open-ended question that solicited any

additional concerns not covered in the survey that respondents wished to address.

Demographics

Sex

Fifty-six people responded to this question. Forty-three (76.8 percent) were male, and 13 (23.2 percent) of the respondents were female.

Age

Respondents' ages were determined by asking them to indicate which age group they fit into. Categorical data was used in this question and a few others to attempt to overcome problems of people not answering sensitive questions. Fifty-six people answered the age question.

The categorical data on age was recorded as follows: Twenty (35.7 percent) said they were 26-30 years old; 12 (21.4 percent) were 31-35 years old; eight (14.3 percent) were 36-40 years old; and five (8.9) percent were 21-25 years old. Three age categories, 41-45, 46-50 and older than 56 years old all had three respondents (5.4 percent) in each category. Two categories, 18-20 and 51-55 both had one respondent (1.8 percent) each.

These data indicate that, on the average, this group of photographers was fairly young. A large majority, 45, (80.3 percent) of these photojournalists were 21-40 years old. Only one (1.8 percent) was younger than 21; and only 10 (17.5 percent) were older than 40.

Income

Another sensitive area, income, was also addressed by requesting nominal, rather than continuous data. Fifty-five people provided information on their salaries as

photojournalists.

Twelve (21.8 percent) were paid $10,001-$15,000 annually. Eleven (20 percent) were paid $15,001-$20,000. Another 11 (20 percent) were paid more than $30,000. Nine (16.4 percent) were paid $20,001-$25,000; and another nine (16.4 percent) were paid $25,001-$30,000. Three (5.5 percent) were paid less than $10,000 each year.

The data suggests that daily newspaper photojournalists in Tennessee are not highly paid. Thirty-five (63.7 percent) earned $25,000 or less. Only 20 (36.4 percent) earned more than $25,000 each year.

Race

Respondents to this survey were overwhelmingly of one race, Caucasian. Fifty-five (96.5 percent) indicated they were white. One respondent (1.8 percent) was black, and one respondent (1.8 percent) indicated that he was neither black, white, Hispanic, Native American Indian or Asian. This respondent selected the "other" category without providing any further information about race.

Education

Tennessee daily newspaper photojournalists reported information about their educational backgrounds as follows. Of the 56 respondents, all 56 (100 percent) had been graduated from high school. However, 20 (35.7 percent) had not earned a degree higher than a high school diploma.

Thirty-one (55.4 percent) had earned at least a bachelor's degree. Two of these (3.6 percent) had progressed further to earn master's degrees. Five people (9 percent) had earned two-year college degrees.

Among the 34 photojournalists who had earned college degrees 18 (52.9 percent) had B.S. degrees. Seven (20.6

percent) had B.A. degrees; and 4 (11.8 percent) had two-year A.S. degrees. One (2.9 percent) had earned a two-year A.A. degree; one (2.9 percent) had earned an A.B.J. degree; and one (2.9 percent) had a B.F.A. degree. Two of the photojournalists had graduate degrees. One (2.9 percent) had earned an M.A. degree, and one (2.9 percent) had earned an M.F.A. degree.

Other education related questions included the major, area of concentration and the name of the college or university the respondent had attended. Thirty-three of the 34 people who had earned a college degree responded to this question. The most popular major was journalism. Eight respondents (24.2 percent) listed journalism as their major in college. Photojournalism and photography were each listed by five respondents (15.1 percent) as their college major. Four respondents (12.1 percent) said mass communications was their major. Two people (6.1 percent) said communications was their major; and another two people (6.1 percent) said English was their major. The remainder of the categories were listed by only one person (3 percent) each as their college majors. These were administration, applied photography, biology, business administration, engineering, media communication and social work.

The photojournalists were asked to list their area of concentration in college in an attempt to get a better understanding of which subjects they considered to be their primary concentration. The area of concentration differed somewhat from the majors listed. Thirty-two of the 34 respondents who said they held college degrees responded to this question. Six (18.7 percent) said their area of concentration was photojournalism; another six (18.7 percent) listed photography; and five (15.6 percent) listed journalism as their area of concentration. The following subjects were listed by only one (3.1 percent) of the respondents each:

administration, advertising, American literature, applied photography, biology, broadcasting, business administration, communications, engineer, English, mass communications, media communications, news, political science and social work.

The colleges and universities where the photojournalists earned their degrees were widely scattered. However, two universities known for their photojournalism programs were at the top of the list. Five (15.6 percent) of the 32 respondents said they graduated from Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro. Four (12.5 percent) graduated from Western Kentucky University in Bowling Green, about 70 miles from Nashville, Tennessee. Three (9.4 percent) graduated from the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga. Two (6.3 percent) graduated from Ohio University.

The remaining colleges and universities were represented by only one respondent (3.1 percent) each. They were the Art Institute of Ft. Lauderdale, East Tennessee State University, the University of Iowa, Louisiana College, Murray State University, Rochester Institute of Technology, Shorter College, the former Knoxville State Technical Institute (now Pellissippi State Technical Community Technical College), Tennessee Wesleyan College, Tennessee State University, the University of California, the University of Florida, the University of Georgia, the University of Alabama, the University of Texas at Austin, Virginia Technological University and Wichita State University. One respondent said he earned degrees at both Walters State Community College in Morristown, Tennessee and the Navy School of Photography.

Interestingly, two of the largest journalism schools in Tennessee, the schools of journalism at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and Memphis State University, were not represented by any respondents.

Fifty-six of the people surveyed responded to a question about how many photojournalism courses they had taken in

their college work. Thirty-two (57.1 percent) said they took at least one photojournalism course in college. Twenty-four (42.9 percent) said they had not taken any photojournalism courses. The majority of these 24 respondents represent people who did not earn college degrees

When it is considered that 34 of the photojournalists earned college degrees and 32 of these (94.1 percent) said they took at least one photojournalism course, it is clear that the vast majority of college graduates had some interest in learning about photojournalism in college. However, the fact that 24 people (42.9 percent of 56 respondents) did not take any photojournalism courses is somewhat disturbing considering that they are expected to gather news pictures every day for the newspapers.

The average (mean) number of photojournalism courses taken by the 47 responding to this item was 1.74. The number of courses ranged from zero to 10. The median (middle answer) was 1, and the mode (most common answer) was zero.

Also of interest was which photojournalism courses were taken by the photojournalists. Respondents were asked to list the names of the photojournalism courses they took while in college. Twenty-three photojournalists responded to this question. Although some of these courses may be of similar content, they were reported here by the names of the courses listed by the photojournalists. The course listed most often was Basic Photojournalism, taken by 15 (65.2 percent of the respondents. The next most common course was Advanced Photojournalism, listed by five (21.7 percent) of the photojournalists. Five courses were listed by two (8.7 percent) respondents each. These were Black and White Photography I, Graphics, Photography I, Photography II and Picture Stories.

All remaining courses were taken by one (4.3 percent) photojournalist each. These were Advanced Newspaper

Photography, Art Photography, Black and White Photo II, Black and White Photo III, College Paper, Color Printing, Commercial Photography, Documentary Photography, Experimental Photography, Feature Writing, History of Photojournalism, Independent Study Photography in Communities, Independent Study Photo Essay, Independent Study Photojournalism, Intermediate Photography, Intermediate Photojournalism, Journalism, Lighting, Magazine Layout, News Writing, Photo Editing, Photo Essay, Photography III, Photography in Communities, Photography in Newspapers, Photojournalism I, Picture Stories II, Practicum in Photojournalism, Reporting, Sports Photography, Still Photo for the Media, Studio Photography, Studio Illustration and Transparencies.

A review of the names of the courses listed by the respondents may provide some insight into how photojournalism courses are viewed by the colleges and universities that offer them and how newspaper photojournalism is viewed by the respondents. The issue here is whether photo courses are generally regarded as pertaining to journalistic or more technical study. It seems plausible that courses with the name photojournalism in the title would be more journalistically oriented, while courses with photo or photography might be more technically oriented.

Among the 41 course names listed, 21 (51.2 percent) had the name photo or photography included in the course title. Only five (12.2 percent) courses included the word photojournalism in the title. However, 15 (36.6 percent) of the courses listed had neither photo, photography or photojournalism in their titles. It appears that at least among these 23 respondents most of the photography courses they took were more technical in nature.

But, it must be remembered that only 23 of 57 people responded to this question, and the question really measured the respondents' recollections of the names of the courses

and not necessarily the actual names of the courses. This finding may be more a reflection of the respondents' technical orientation toward photojournalism than the orientation of the college or university toward photojournalism. A systematic investigation of college catalogs could provide further insight into this topic.

Another set of education-related questions concerned which journalism courses respondents took while in college. Of 55 respondents, 17 (30.9 percent) said they did not take any journalism courses in college. Thirty-eight (69.1 percent) said they did take journalism courses in college.

Of 57 respondents, 32 (57.1 percent) took a news writing course. Of 56 respondents, 20 (36.4 percent) took an editing course. Of 56 respondents, 26 (47.3 percent) said they took a graphics/layout or design course. Of 56 respondents, 18 (32.7 percent) said they took other journalism courses. Names of the courses in the "other" category were not specified.

The mean number of journalism courses taken was 2.1. The median was two; and the mode was zero. The range in the number of journalism courses taken was seven, from zero to seven.

The final set of questions on education concerned current enrollment in college at the time this study was done. Of 56 responding, only four (7.1 percent) said they were currently enrolled in a college degree program. Two were working on B.S. degrees; one was working on a B.A. degree; and one was pursing a J.D. degree in law school. These four photojournalists listed four different majors and concentrations that they were enrolled in at the time the survey was administered. These were art, criminal justice, journalism and law. Two were enrolled at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga; one was in enrolled at Middle Tennessee State University; and one was enrolled in the

Nashville Law School.

Work Experience

Years of Experience

Overall, these respondents are a fairly experienced group of photojournalists. The mean number of years worked as a newspaper photographer was 9.31. The range was 38.5 years from a minimum of 0.17 years to 38.5 years. The median number of years as a photojournalist was six; and the mode was five years.

The difference between the number of years worked as a newspaper photographer and the number of years worked as a newspaper photographer at the current newspaper was 2.28 years. This suggests, that on the average, these photographers worked at another newspaper for about 2.28 years before landing their current jobs. However, on the average, they appear to have stayed in their current jobs for a reasonably long amount of time. The mean number of years worked as a newspaper photographer at the current paper was 7.03. The range was identical to the number of years worked as a newspaper photographer, 38.33 years from 0.17 to 38.5 years. The median was 3.5 years; and the mode was 0.5 years.

Hours

It appears that this group of photojournalists works long hours during the average work week. Forty-one (72 percent) said they work more than a 40-hour week. Twenty-nine (50.9 percent) said they work 41-45 hours each week. Nine (15.8 percent) said they work 46-50 hours a week; and three (5.3 percent) said they spend 51 hours or more on the job each week. Sixteen (28.1 percent) said they work 31-40 hours each week. Since all 57 photographers indicated they work full-time it seems reasonable to assume that these

respondents who checked the category, 31-40 hours, really work about 40 hours each week. However, this is not certain. In retrospect, a category of 40 hours or an open-ended question that asked for continuous data instead of categorical data would have been more beneficial for this question about number of hours worked each week.

Photo Assignments

Two sets of questions on the survey dealt with how many and what kind of photo assignments photographers shoot each week and who decides what stories or photo assignments photojournalists cover.

These 57 photojournalists estimated that they shoot more news assignments than any other type of photo assignment each week. The mean number of news assignments was 6.73. The range was 40 from a low of zero to a high of 40 news assignments shot each week. The median was five; and the mode was 10.

The next highest category of assignments shot each week was features. The mean number of features was 5.71. The range was 30, from a maximum of 30 to a minimum of zero. The median was four; and the mode was three.

Sports was the third category of photo assignments. The mean number of sports stories or assignments shot each week was 3.37. The range was 15 from zero to 15. The median for sports was three; and the mode was two.

The "other" category was virtually tied with sports for the mean number of photo assignments. The mean was 3.38; the range was 25 from zero to 25. The median and mode were both zero. Most respondents did not indicate what kind of photos they were talking about in the other category, but judging from comments in other open-ended questions, most of these seem to have come from a few photographers who said they had

to shoot many posed, static shots known as "stand-ups" and "grip and grins." Most of these would have been check passing ceremonies, anniversaries and other posed shots.

Advertising photos were next highest. The mean was 1.44; the range was 15, from zero to 15 advertising assignments. The median and mode were both zero.

The respondents said photos shot for illustration was the next highest category. The mean was 1.03. The range was five, from zero to five. The median and the mode were both one.

Overall, while it appears that most of the photo assignments Tennessee daily newspaper photojournalists shoot are news, features and sports, there is some amount of effort required to cover illustrations, advertising and posed photographs. With the exception of illustrations, which many photographers seem to enjoy shooting, it does seem odd that news photographers would be involved in shooting advertisements and posed, static photographs for a daily newspaper. While it is clear that some daily newspapers may see some usefulness in using staff photojournalists for these kinds of shots, it seems that their time might be better utilized by covering the news and feature stories in their communities. By having photographers concentrate on covering news and feature photos with a journalistic style rather than shooting the same kind of boring, static photos that many small weekly newspapers use, it seems that a daily newspaper would better inform and entertain its readers. If photographers were allowed to expend their time and energy on gathering photos that would engage the interest and attention of readers the paper could probably benefit by attracting more readers.

Who Makes Photo Assignments?

A major concern of photojournalists centers on who in the newsroom has an influence over the stories and photo assignments photographers are sent out to cover.

Respondents were asked: Who at your newspaper decides what stories or photo assignments photographers cover? Since many people in a newsroom may have some influence on photojournalists' assignments, respondents were asked to check all positions that applied at their newspapers. By comparing what percentage of certain positions were checked the most frequently it may be possible to get some sense of where these 57 photojournalists believed the most influence lay.

Thirty-three (57.9 percent) said the editor decides what stories or assignments photographers cover. Twenty-nine (50.9 percent) said department editors decide; 29 (50.9 percent said photo editors decide; 25 (43.9 percent) said news editors decide; 22 (38.6 percent) said photographers decide; 21 (36.8 percent) said managing editors decide; 19 (33.3) percent said reporters decide; 9 (15.8 percent) said graphics editors decide; and 7 (12.3 percent) said people in other positions decide what stories or photo assignments photographers cover. One respondent (1.8 percent) said page designers decide.

It appears that photographers do not have a great deal of influence over their assignments. Editors, department editors, photo editors and news editors all seem to have more say over what photojournalists cover than the photographers themselves. However, some papers do apparently encourage their photographers to generate enterprise stories, photo stories they generate on their own. Of 56 respondents, 46 (82.1 percent) of the photojournalists said they are encouraged to come up with enterprise assignments. Ten (17.9

percent) said they were not encouraged. The mean number of enterprise assignments published each month was 4.90. The range was 20, from zero to 20. The median number published was three; and the mode was one.

Usage of Photos in the Newspaper

Another important concern of photojournalists is who has influence over which photos are actually used in the newspaper. To address this issue, one of the questions on picture usage centered on editing. The photojournalists were asked: Who decides which photographs are used in the newspaper? Again, respondents were asked to check all positions that applied.

Thirty (52.6 percent) said department editors decide which photos are used. Twenty-eight (49.1 percent) said news editors decide; 27 (47.4 percent) said editors decide; 27 (47.4 percent) said managing editors decide; 24 (42.1) percent said photographers decide; 23 (40.4 percent) said photo editors decide; 14 (24.6 percent) said page designers decide; 13 (22.8 percent) said graphics editors decide; 8 (14 percent) said reporters decide; and 7 (12.3 percent) said others decide which photos are used.

These photographers perceive themselves as having some influence on how photos are handled. However, they said they had less editing influence than department editors, news editors, editors and managing editors. Interestingly, compared to photo editors, photographers said they have more influence over editing of photos than photo assignments. This finding may be due in part to the fact that several of these papers do not have photo editors.

Also, these photographers said they have more influence over reporters when it comes to editing the photos than photo assignments. This may have to do with the fact that many

photographers submit their photos to a manager of some sort after they have selected the best shots to print. Newspaper photographers typically don't submit all the shots they have taken on an assignment. In effect, they are editing the photos to some extent before their supervisors or others choose which shots are published.

The second question on usage dealt with how the photos are used in the paper. Often photographers who have worked to cover an assignment are anxious to see how their work is displayed in the paper after it is published. Reporters have similar concerns over how their stories are edited when the stories are out of their hands. The photojournalists were asked: Who decides how the photos are used in the paper? (for example- size, cropping, placement on the page). Again the respondents were asked to check all the positions that applied. Frequency of responses for the various positions, again, offer some indication of where the photographers perceive the influence on picture usage lies.

Page designers were viewed as having the most influence over treatment of photographs in the newspapers. Thirty-four (59.6 percent) said page designers decide how photos are used in the paper. Twenty-four (42.1 percent) said news editors decide; 23 (40.4 percent) said department editors decide; 18 (31.6 percent) said editors decide; 17 (29.8 percent) said managing editors decide; 14 (24.6 percent) said photo editors decide; 14 (24.6 percent) said graphics editors decide; 12 (21 percent) said photographers decide; five (8.8 percent) said reporters decide; and five (8.8 percent) said others decide.

Overall, in the areas of assignments, editing and picture usage these photographers perceived themselves to have the greatest influence over editing of photos. Twenty-four (42.1 percent) said they decide which photos are used in the paper. The photographers also said they have some

influence over what assignments they shoot. Twenty-two (38.6 percent) said they decide what assignments or stories they cover. The photographers said they have the least influence over how the photos are used in the newspaper. Twelve (21 percent) said they make the decisions on how photos are used in the paper.

Darkroom Facilities

Part of the photographers' perceptions of the influence they have over the control of images may be determined by how much control they have over the functional and creative processes of film and print processing. Traditionally, newspaper photojournalists have had a great deal of control over the processing of news photographs in the darkroom.

That trend of creative control in the darkroom did appear to be intact among the photojournalists at Tennessee's daily newspapers. Much of the work is still done by hand, but some of it is done by machine and lab technicians, taking some of the creative control away from the photographers who created the images for the newspaper.

Forty (76.9 percent) of 52 respondents said film is processed by hand at their newspapers. Twelve, (23.1 percent) said film is processed by automated processors. This is probably related to the fact that many newspapers are now using more color photographs than they did a few years ago. Few, if any newspapers process black and white film by machine processors, but color film processing machines have the capability to handle black and white film as well.

Automation is much more common for print processing. Of 54 respondents, 27 (50 percent) said prints were processed by traditional tray processing; and the other 27 (50 percent) said prints were processed by automatic processors. Again, this is probably due to increases in the use of color prints

in the past few years at daily newspapers. Color prints are almost always processed by automatic processors, but they can be processed by hand, as they are at The Commercial Appeal in Memphis.

As stated earlier, most photojournalists at daily newspapers tend to process film and prints themselves. This was true among these photographers. Of 55 respondents, 50 (90.9 percent) said photographers process film at their newspapers. Of 52 respondents, 47 (90.4 percent) said photographers process prints at their newspapers.

Although laboratory technicians are not relied upon for film and print processing by a large percentage of the photographers, it is important to note that five (9.1 percent) respondents said lab technicians process film at their papers, and five (9.6 percent) said print processing is the responsibility of lab technicians at their papers. As newspapers look for more efficient ways to operate, lab technicians could be used to allow photographers to have more time in the field to cover more assignments and less time in the darkroom. This would probably result in a reduction of the photography staff as well.

Electronic Darkrooms and Other Technologies

A more likely scenario than utilizing lab technicians that could result in smaller newspaper photography staffs and newspaper photographers who spend more time in the field and less time in the darkroom are electronic darkrooms, portable electronic photo transmission devices and eventually, still video cameras. In varying degrees, such electronic devices will probably bring about radical changes in newspaper photojournalism.

Electronic darkrooms in conjunction with portable electronic photo transmission devices would essentially

eliminate the need for processing photographic prints in a darkroom. These systems, already in existence, are going to be the standard for many, many newspaper photography departments in the near future. In fact, the Associated Press is planning to have electronic picture desks in place at all its member newspapers by 1992 (News Photographer, March 1990).

The AP electronic picture desk, called PhotoStream, will be replacing all the laserphoto machines in AP newspapers across the country. Instead of receiving photos by telephone lines that are printed out on low quality paper, when the PhotoStream system is in place, newspapers will receive photographs in electronic form, via satellite from AP and other sources. The photos will be fed into a computer system, much like a Macintosh computer, in which an operator will be able to size, crop and manipulate the image in a variety of ways. When finished working with the image, the operator will be able to send the image directly to the engraving system and have it ready to print in the newspaper in a few minutes. (AP Log, March 28, 1990).

A major complement to the electronic picture desk is the APLeafax portable electronic photo transmitter. This device requires only that black and white or color negatives or transparencies be processed by traditional chemical processes. When the film is processed, it is placed into the machine and transmitted to the electronic picture desk via a computer modem and a telephone. Photographic prints will not be required once this system is in place, so conventional photographic prints made in darkrooms could be eliminated entirely (News Photographer, March 1990).

Several successful experiments have already been performed using this system. In fact at The Commercial Appeal, this capability is already a reality, although it is utilized primarily for photos that need to be transmitted

from a distance on deadline. The Memphis paper has a Reuters electronic picture desk and a Leafax transmitter that is used occasionally. But, the technology would allow a newspaper to transmit from any place where film could be processed and a phone was available. At The Chattanooga Times, Phil Schmidt, photo editor for the paper, said he plans to use the APLeafax to transmit photos to the newsroom after they are processed in the photography department upstairs once the system is in place (Phil Schmidt, personal communication, July 12-13, 1990). This bypasses conventional photographic print processing entirely.

This whole idea of producing newspaper photos electronically is even more seductive when still video cameras are entered into the equation. Using a still video camera, the electronic picture desk and a portable electronic photo transmitter and a cellular phone, a newspaper photographer could cover a news event with his still video camera which would record images on a computer disk, CD Rom disk or magnetic tape and then almost instantaneously transmit the image back to the newspaper's electronic picture desk where it could be prepared for the printing of the newspaper in just a few minutes. All of this technology is available now. However, the image quality of the still video cameras is still lagging far behind the images that can be obtained by conventional photographic processes. But, the quality is improving, and the totally electronic system which would replace traditional film processing and print processing entirely may someday be the standard operating system of newspaper photographers.

It is not difficult to imagine this happening when the economics and time savings involved are considered. Just as television stations clamored for videotape systems to replace tedious and notoriously slow film processing, I predict newspapers will wholeheartedly adopt electronic imaging

devices when the quality improves substantially. By using such systems, material costs and opportunity costs will drop dramatically. By adopting electronic photography systems newspapers will be able to eliminate three of the most costly aspects of conventional photography: film, chemicals and photographic paper. While the initial start-up cost of electronic systems will be high, once the systems are paid for, operating costs will be minimal.

The opportunity cost reductions will be even more dramatic. Newspaper photographers will be able to cover more events in shorter amounts of time, and newspapers will be able to extend deadlines making them more competitive with other electronic media.

Of course the ultimate extension of all this electronic capability would be electronic publishing in which newspapers would be delivered electronically to home computers. If this were accomplished, and I believe it will be in the next few decades, four of a newspaper's largest costs: ink, paper, printing presses and delivery; would be eliminated. If a newspaper were totally electronic it would be able to compete in a timely manner with radio and television stations as well. Papers could be updated hourly if they were delivered electronically, and they would still be able to provide more depth and analysis than radio and television which are bound by time constraints. Electronic production of news photographs are a logical first step in the electronic newspaper publishing process.

To address the current state of electronic photo technology and the perceived impact of these technologies this group of Tennessee photojournalists was asked what kinds of electronic photo equipment were already in place at their newspapers, what electronic equipment for handling photos they thought would be acquired in the next five years and how the new and emerging technologies might affect the way they

work in the next five years.

There were 56 respondents to questions about electronic technologies. First respondents were asked: Does your newspaper have any kind of electronic equipment for handling photos? Forty-seven (82.5 percent) said their paper had a conventional wire service photo receiver. Six (10.7 percent) said they had an electronic picture desk similar to the AP PhotoStream system. Sixteen (28.6 percent) said they had a portable electronic photo transmitter such as the Leafax. Fifty-six (100 percent) said they did not have still video cameras. Ten (17.9 percent) said they had a digital scanner and software for Macintosh or other computer systems. Scanners allow photographs to be scanned by computers and converted to electronic form. Two (5.4 percent) said they had other forms of electronic equipment for handling photos. One listed a color separator; and one responded yes to the other category without specifying the equipment. Forty-nine (87.5 percent) said their newspapers had no electronic equipment for handling photos.

To determine some measure of the photographers' perceptions of the direction electronic photo technology would take in the near future they were asked: Which electronic equipment for handling photos do you think your newspaper may acquire in the next five years?

Three (5.4 percent) said they thought their papers would acquire a conventional wire service photo receiver in the next five years. Thirty-one (55.4 percent) said their papers would acquire electronic picture desks in the next five years. Fifteen (26.8 percent) listed portable electronic photo transmitters. Eight (14.3 percent) listed still video cameras. Fifteen (26.8 percent) listed digital scanners and software. Three (5.4 percent) listed other electronic equipment. Only six photographers (10.7 percent) said they thought their papers would not acquire any electronic

equipment for handling photos in the next five years.

These photojournalists clearly perceive that they will be using a great deal more electronic equipment in their work as photojournalists in the next five years. Many ethical and practical issues surround the prospect of increased use of electronic photographic equipment by newspapers and photojournalists. Many photojournalists have questions about changes in their roles within the newspapers as a result of the new and emerging technologies. The increased capability to electronically alter pictures is another big concern. Leaders of the National Press Photographers Association and other professionals have spoken out against deception and contrived photos, but the controversy continues (Reaves, 1987).

Given the photojournalists' perception that the use of electronic photographic processes are expected to continue to increase, it is interesting that of 55 respondents, 32 (58.2 percent) expressed positive comments when asked the following open-ended question: How do you think new technologies such as still video cameras, portable electronic transmitters and electronic darkrooms or picture desks will change the way you work in the next five years? Twenty (36.4 percent) expressed negative outcomes; and three (5.5 percent) were neutral on the subject.

Those who were positive about new technologies generally seemed to be of the opinion that such technological advances would relieve them of much of the drudgery of darkroom work. Some positive comments recorded were: "New technologies will speed up the work I do back at the office. Spending less time at the office and in the darkroom may give me more shooting time." "The advances will dramatically speed up spot news coverage, but I don't think it will totally replace 35mm photography." "The down time between shooting an assignment and getting in the paper will be drastically

reduced. Darkrooms and lab technicians as we know them will no longer exist. Photographers will spend much more time in the field shooting." "The speed whereby images can be shot and put in the paper will be so fast that it will be possible to cover some stories that were prohibitive before because of time, deadline restrictions or distance problems." "They are probably going to eliminate the chemical darkroom and make us a lot more portable and a lot more versatile. I think it is a very positive step and look forward to it." "I will be able to keep my hands out of chemicals. I hope that I will retain a certain amount of control over the images that I produce. It should make things quicker and cleaner." "The sky's the limit! Photography has advanced in leaps and bounds over the past, and I expect the technological growth to continue unabated." "Hopefully, 80 to 90 percent of what we shoot will be scanned in the photography department directly into the system." "It will allow photographers more time to work on other assignments and make our jobs much easier." "In an ideal situation, I'll be more able to respond to an event rather than be restricted by equipment and material. Also, it'll require more editing time, but will allow us to choose and possibly enhance what our vision of a scene or event was."

Others saw the new technologies as negative developments for photojournalists. Some negative comments recorded were: "I think it will take away much of the photographers' creativity and freedom to shoot what he wants to show. I think it will, like most everything else, make photojournalism a plastic, high quantity, low quality trade." "I feel that all the new technology will cause me to think about what I'm doing less and less, thereby dulling my creativity afforded by present film and camera techniques." "I think a lot of photographers will be resistant to the change." "I feel these new technologies will speed up the

availability of my work, but may cause me to lose the human touch that shows in the photos. I would prefer an old fashion 35mm camera. It works fine for me." "More run and gun assignments on deadline, more zoned edition work." "Quality will go down the tubes. Unless quality improves, I'm not in favor." "These new developments take the human element out of the photographer's job." "I like simplicity and good, old fashioned SILVER images. Film, paper—SILVER—it'll never die."

Several photographers said they would welcome the new technologies, but that they thought they would not come about at their papers until about 10 years from now. Some comments along this line of response were: "The next 10 years will see more workable still video camera technology and more use on a broadening basis." "I don't see them having a great impact in five years, but beyond 10 years they will transform the profession, giving me more immediacy to breaking stories and eliminating darkroom drudgery." "At this small newspaper we are at least five years behind in what we use. I don't see a change for at least 10 years."

A few photographers expressed doubts that their papers would be willing to expend funds to get new electronic equipment. Some responses were: "This place won't spend the money to keep up with the times." "No, not at this newspaper. It costs money." "Not at all. The management is cheap." "Even if available, I doubt they will buy it."

Some of these responses may be the reflection of a legitimate concern about the ability or willingness of newspapers to provide equipment for photojournalists' use in the future. A fairly large percentage of these photographers provide their own cameras and lenses for the work they perform for their papers now. The photojournalists were asked: Does the newspaper provide the camera equipment you use? A majority, 39 (68.4 percent) answered yes. However, a

fairly substantial number, 18 (31.6 percent) said the paper did not provide the camera equipment they use. It is difficult to imagine that a daily newspaper photographer would have to provide his own camera equipment to do his job. This would be comparable to requiring reporters to provide their own typewriter or computer terminal. Newspapers clearly should provide at least the basic camera equipment needed for photojournalists to do their jobs. J. Bruce Baumann, graphics manager for The Pittsburgh Press, recommends that papers should provide at least two camera bodies with motor drives and a reasonable selection of lenses for the photojournalist to carry out the work (Peattie, 1990).

Professionalism

Photographers' Perceptions of Roles

An important consideration for photojournalists is how they are treated by other members of news organizations. Particularly of interest is how editors and reporters regard photographers professionally and what photojournalists perceive their roles to be in a newspaper environment. These perceptions could have dramatic impact on photojournalists as they prepare to enter a new age of technological change which could transform their jobs substantially. Whether the photographers function as technicians, journalists, artists or graphics persons or a combination of these could heavily impact their roles in a changing newspaper environment.

Fifty-seven respondents answered the following question about professionalism: Do you feel you are treated in the same professional manner as editors and reporters at your newspaper? Twenty-eight (49.1 percent) said they were treated the same as editors and reporters. Twenty-five (43.9 percent) said they were not treated the same as editors and

reporters. Four (7.9 percent) said they did not know.

In general, most photojournalists would like to be considered journalists by other newspaper staff members. When asked how they perceive themselves at their newspapers 19 (33.9 percent) photographers said they perceived of themselves as journalists. Seven (12.5 percent) said they saw themselves as journalists, artists and graphics persons; six (10.7 percent) said they were journalists and artists; four (7.1 percent) said they were artists; another four (7.1 percent) said the were technicians; three (5.4 percent) said they were technicians and journalists; and another three (5.4 percent) said they considered themselves technicians, journalists and artists. Two (3.6 percent) said they were photographers.

Other definitions were indicated by one respondent (1.8 percent) each. These were: fireman; illustrator; photo editor; photojournalist; stand up shooter 90 percent of the time; technician and artist; technician, artist and graphics person; and technician, journalist and graphics person.

Responses from 54 respondents about how photographers think they are perceived by editors and reporters differed greatly from their perceptions of their own roles in newspapers. Twelve (22.2 percent) said editors and reporters think of them as technicians. Seven (13 percent) said they were perceived as journalists; five (9.3 percent) said they were thought of as technicians, journalists, artists and graphics persons; and three (5.6 percent) said they were seen as technicians and journalists.

The following categories of perceptions of reporters and editors toward photographers were listed by two (3.7 percent) respondents each: artist; technician and artist; technician, artist and graphics person; technician, journalist and artist; and technician, journalist and graphics person.

Several descriptions of how photographers thought they

were perceived by reporters and editors were listed by one (1.9 percent) respondent. These were: artist and graphics person; errand boy; journalist and artist; journalist, artist and graphics person; photojournalist; photographer; picture taker; servant; technician, graphics person and service attendant; technician, journalist, artist, graphics person and you name it; technician, journalist, artist, graphics person and necessary evil; technician, journalist, artist and gofer; technician, journalist and other; tool; and trained fool.

Clearly, the difference between the number of photojournalists who consider themselves journalists (19, 33.9 percent) and the photojournalists who thought editors and reporters considered them journalists (7, 13 percent) is wide. This discrepancy could affect the roles of photojournalists as new technologies are introduced. Many word journalists may begin to think of photographers more as technicians since they will be responsible for using more equipment. This could further lessen the influence newspaper photographers have over the kinds of assignments they cover, how they are shot, how they are edited and who edits them. In other words, it seems likely that newspaper photographers may have less control over how they work. A plausible scenario is that they will spend less time in the newspaper office and more time out in the field covering stories and filing photos and information electronically. Much of the editing and creative control they have using traditional chemical processes may be reduced substantially. Editors or photo editors will probably take over much of those influences once held by newspaper photographers.

Professional Development

One way for photographers to continue to strive to be recognized as photojournalists is to take part in

professional development activities. Fortunately, these opportunities appear to be available for many of these newspaper photographers. Of 57 respondents, 38 (66.7 percent) said their papers pay for professional development activities such as workshops, seminars, special training or conventions for photographers. Sixteen (28.1 percent) said their papers did not pay for professional development activities. Three (5.3 percent) said they did not know if the paper paid for professional development or not.

Many of the photographers said they do take part in professional development activities. However, the category listed by the most respondents was zero. Of 56 respondents, 16 (28.6) said they did not take part in any professional development activities in the past three years. Twelve (21.4 percent) said they had participated in two professional development activities. Eleven (19.6 percent) took part in one; seven (12.5 percent) took part in three; six (10.7 percent) took part in five or more; and four (7.1 percent) participated in four professional development activities.

To further measure professional involvement of the respondents they were asked if they were members of The Newspaper Guild, how many and which professional organizations they hold memberships in and how many and which publication related to photography and/or photojournalism they read on a regular basis.

Union Membership

Of 57 respondents, nine (15.8 percent) said they were members of The Newspaper Guild. Forty-eight (84.2 percent) said they did not hold membership in the newspaper union. Four (7 percent) said they were members of another union, but all four turned out to be locals of The Newspaper Guild.

Professional Organization Membership

The professional organization overwhelmingly represented by membership among these photographers was the National Press Photographers Association. Forty-five people responded to this question. Thirty-one (70 percent) of the photojournalists who said they are members of a professional organization hold NPPA memberships. Eight (17.8 percent) said they did not belong to any professional organization. Three (5.3 percent) said they were members of the Tennessee Press Association.

Several organizations were represented by two (3.51 percent) photographers. These were Association for Visual Artists, American Society of Magazine Artists, the Society of Professional Journalists and the Virginia News Photographers Association.

Organizations listed by one (2.2 percent) respondent were Tennessee Newspaper Guild, Christians in Photojournalism, ICP, NABJ, NFPW, NPS, Society of Newspaper Design, ADS and Tri-Cities Professional Photographers Association.

The mean number of professional organizations these photojournalists hold membership in was 1.1. The median and mode were one. The range was four, from a minimum of zero to a maximum of four.

Publications Read

Other indicators of professionalism among this group of photojournalists were the number and names of the publications relating to their profession they read on a regular basis. To determine readership the respondents were instructed: Please list all the publications related to photography and/or journalism you read on a regular basis. Of the 51 photojournalists who said they read publications relating to photography and/or photojournalism, 28 (54.9

percent) listed News Photographer. This magazine, which had the highest readership among the photojournalists, is the official monthly publication published by the National Press Photographers Association.

The publication with the next highest readership was American Photographer, a magazine aimed at professional photographers, with 20 (39.2 percent) readers. Interestingly, at the time this survey was taken, American Photographer had been renamed American Photo, yet no respondents listed the publication by this title.

Popular Photography, a general interest monthly photography magazine, had 14 (27.5 percent) readers. The next highest read publication was SixShooters, a Southeast regional publication of NPPA, with 13 (25.5 percent) readers.

Two publications with starkly different content each had 10 (19.7 percent) readers. One of these was Life magazine, one of the early publications which strongly embraced photojournalism. The other publication with 10 readers was Shutterbug, a national publication that features classified advertisements for professional photographic equipment.

Editor & Publisher, a trade magazine for newspaper managers, was read by eight (15.7 percent) of the photojournalists. Photo District News was read by an equal number of respondents.

National Geographic, another publication known for its high quality photojournalism, was listed by five (9.8 percent) respondents.

A publication devoted primarily to commentary and criticism on journalism, Columbia Journalism Review, was read by four (7.8 percent) photojournalists. Two other publications with four readers were Outdoor Photography, a photography magazine for outdoors enthusiasts, and The Rangefinder, a technical photography publication aimed largely at studio photographers.

Publications with three (5.9 percent) readers each were Darkroom Photography, Modern Photography, Photo Pro, Shots and Zoom. It is worth noting that one of the publications had undergone a major change which was apparently not noted by any of the three respondents. At the time this study was done, Modern Photography had ceased publication and had been absorbed by Popular Photography. Yet, it was still listed on the survey by three respondents.

Publications with two (3.9 percent) readers each were Aperture, Petersen's Photographic, Photo Methods, Sports Illustrated and Time.

Thirty publications were listed by one (2 percent) reader each. These were AP Log, Creative Camera, Darkroom, French Photo, Friends of Photography, Graphic Arts Monthly, Graphis, Interview, Lears, Lens, New York Times (Sunday), Newspapers and Technology, Newspapers in Technology, NFPW, Photo Design, Photo Lab Management, Photo, Pittsburgh Press, Press Photography, Pro Photo, Publisher's Auxillary, Studio Light, Studio Photography, Studio, Taxi, The Chattanooga Times, The Commercial Appeal (Memphis), The Knoxville News-Sentinel, The Quill, The Virginia Pilot-Ledger Star and USA Today.

The mean number of publications read was 3.6. The median and the mode were three. The range was eight, from a minimum of zero publications to a maximum of eight.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Photojournalism at the Newspapers

In two open-ended questions, the group of Tennessee daily newspaper photojournalists was asked what they thought were the strongest and weakest aspects about photojournalism at their newspapers. These responses were content analyzed for patterns of similarity.

Strengths

The strength reported by the largest majority of the 50 respondents to this question was freedom. Twelve (24 percent) reported that being provided the freedom to handle assignments in their own way was the greatest strength about photojournalism at their papers.

Four (8 percent) said sports was the greatest strength. Three (6 percent) said the talent of the photographers was the strongest aspect of photojournalism. Another three (6 percent) said the time they have to work on assignments was the top strength.

Two (4 percent) listed the variety of assignments they get as the strongest aspect. Another two (4 percent) said there were no strong aspects of photojournalism at their papers.

The remainder of responses were listed by one (2 percent) respondent each as the major strength of photojournalism at their respective papers. They were: a big news hole, the paper's commitment to photojournalism, the ability to cover news, creativity, depth, editors and managers who understand photojournalism, enterprise assignments, being in the eye of the public, features, a good effort by the photographers, good usage of photos in the paper, long term photo projects, the paper publishes lots of photos, photos with news angles, photographers have a say about assignments, photo usage, project week, plenty of space for photos, quality of the photo staff, support for the photo staff, ability to work as a team and photographers are thought of as journalists. One respondent (2 percent) said he cared about photojournalism, and another individual (2 percent) said, "What photojournalism?, in response to this question.

Weaknesses

The only response that showed up by more than one or two respondents in this question was a dissatisfaction with having to shoot staged photographs. Eight (16 percent) of the photojournalists said they resented or didn't like having to shoot staged photos such as check passings, officer installations and the like. One photographer summed up the frustration with staged photos by stating, "Old-fashioned, old guard firmly in control desires to cultivate small-town paper image as creativity is drowned in a sea of rehearsal dinners and Kiwanis club stand-ups."

Responses listed by two (4 percent) respondents each were complaints about photos being used as filler, photographers not having enough time to cover assignments adequately, not enough planning and poor communication with staff.

The following subjects were listed by one (2 percent) respondent each as weak aspects about photojournalism at the newspapers: unimportant assignments, photos used as decorations, dull assignments, editors who don't understand photojournalism, group shots, low pay, low quality photos, management, not enough respect for photographers, not enough spot news photos, news, no commitment for photojournalism, no credit for photographers, no depth, no ethics, photographers not having input, no leadership, no professional development, no spot news, no true photojournalism, photographers having to take the role of gofers or order takers, poor quality of reproduction of photos in the paper, poor management, reporters shooting photos, severe cropping of photos by page designers, small staff, not enough space for photos, too many stand alone photos, poor attitude of the staff toward photographers and too much time required in the darkroom.

One respondent (2 percent) said a former photo editor

position should be restored to the paper, and another (2 percent) said the paper's very existence was a weak aspect about photojournalism at that paper.

Photojournalists' Recommendations

In another open-ended question respondents were asked: What do you think could be done to improve the use of photographs in your newspaper? As expected in an open-ended question, responses from the 50 photojournalists who answered this question were wide ranging.

The top recommendation, voiced by only six (12 percent) of the photojournalists, was that the newspapers should work to provide better communication among the staff. Four (8 percent) said a photo editor should be hired.

Three (6 percent) said photographers should have more say about how photos are used in the papers. Another three (6 percent) recommended hiring new managers; and three more said better planning needed to be implemented.

Four subjects were mentioned by two (4 percent) respondents each. These were send the editors to a photo conference, provide better usage of photos in the paper, more teamwork and provide more space for photos in the papers.

The remaining recommendations were listed by one (2 percent) photojournalist each. These were: shoot less group photos, cut out group photos entirely, give photographers more clout, use more color photos, provide more space for photos, more photo essays, more news photos, more pay for photographers, more photos published, more staff in the photo department, more time to work on assignments, more local art, new equipment, a new press, more photo credit, allow photographers to shoot more, less staged photos, take risks, educate staff about photojournalism and better understanding of photo editing by section editors.

What Was Left Out of the Survey ?

One of the dangers of survey research is that the researcher, by imposing his or her own thinking and bias toward a subject of inquiry, may not include important questions on topics of concern to the people being surveyed. This is why several open-ended questions and the case studies were included in this research. The final item on the survey was designed to give the photojournalists one last chance to include any additional comments they wanted to offer. The final item was: Often these types of surveys may leave out questions that you may wish had been asked. Please feel free to write any additional comments here.

In the space provided 14 respondents listed 14 different subjects of concern. The subjects discussed included concerns and questions about what the future holds for people entering the field of photojournalism, papers where one person works as a photographer and a reporter, opportunities for career growth for photojournalists and beats for photojournalists, lack of equipment and feelings of isolation in the newsroom, credibility with readers over staged and altered photographs, a need for more time for photographers to research and produce photo stories equitable to the time reporters get for the same tasks on their stories, the responsibility photojournalists have because of the assumed historical impact of photojournalism, low pay and publisher who cares more about making money than truth in journalism, demands and stress of job not being commensurate with pay, dissatisfaction with "prehistoric" management and the desire for a photo editor who understands photojournalism, internships that should be more than cheap labor, thanks to the researcher for the interest in photojournalists, whether photojournalists plan to stay in newspaper, satisfaction with

the freedom to create picture stories and layouts and an explanation from one photojournalist that he learned photography mostly through on the job training.

Many of these topics, offered by the photojournalists for daily newspapers themselves, could provide worthwhile ideas for further communications research about photojournalism and photojournalists. Such inquiry could broaden understanding about these important components of the processes of newspaper journalism.

Chapter V

The Case Studies: Three Photojournalists at Three Distinct Tennessee Daily Newspapers

Introduction

To expand the knowledge about daily newspaper photojournalists available from the results of the previously discussed state-wide survey of photojournalists at Tennessee's daily newspapers, three case studies were conducted. The focus of the case studies centered on three photographers at three distinct newspapers. However, other photographers, editors, graphics editors, photo editors and photography directors were interviewed as well. The primary aim was to examine the individuals who work as photographers at these three newspapers, rather than the entire newspaper. However, indications of management's view of photojournalism at the three newspapers, from the perspective of the photographers and others, did emerge.

I spent two working days interviewing and observing each of the three newspaper photographers included in the case studies. The interviews, which were modeled after the format of the mail questionnaire, were conducted while the photographers performed their jobs, during the two working days I spent with them. Audio tape recordings and transcripts of the interviews, totalling more than 200 pages, were used as the basis for the information contained in this section of the thesis. Because I was able to travel with the three individuals in the normal performance of their jobs as newspaper photographers, the observational quality of the experience was very useful to the study. Many issues of concern to photojournalists not included in the questionnaire

arose as a result of this method of study.

The photographers were selected on the basis of circulation size of the paper, chain and non-chain ownership, union and non-union representation, staff size, years of experience as photojournalists, professional achievement, sex and educational background. These case studies were not intended to represent a typical photojournalist or a typical newspaper. The intent was to provide illustrative comparisons among three photojournalists at three distinct newspapers. All three case studies were conducted in the Summer of 1990.

Discussion on the case studies was divided into eight sections including 1) an overview of the newspapers, 2) personal, educational and professional backgrounds of the three photojournalists, 3) shooting style and issues that relate to covering the news with a camera day-to-day, 4) the structure of the photography department at each paper, 5) equipment and facilities, 6) darkroom facilities and 7) electronic imaging. The final section (8) centered on professionalism as it relates to union membership, professional development opportunities and activities for the photojournalists and how the photographers perceive their roles in their respective newspapers.

An Overview of the Newspapers

The three photojournalists selected for the case studies were Michael McMullan of The Commercial Appeal in Memphis, Jeff Guenther of The Chattanooga Times and Kelley Scott Walli of The Oak Ridger.

The Commercial Appeal, with a daily circulation of 212,269 and a Sunday circulation of 290,446, is the largest newspaper in Tennessee (Tennessee Newspaper Directory, 1990). The Scripps-Howard newspaper is almost twice as large as the

next largest paper in the state, The Tennessean, with a daily circulation of 126,884 (Tennessee Newspaper Directory, 1990).

The Commercial Appeal has been repeatedly recognized for its commitment to quality photography and graphics design in competitions sponsored by the National Press Photographers Association and other organizations. The morning newspaper regularly runs multiple picture stories and carries out long-term photographic projects on a continuing basis.

The photographers have union representation in The Newspaper Guild. The newspaper began publishing in 1839 under the name The Western World and Memphis Banner of the Constitution. The Commercial Appeal has no major newspaper competitor in the Memphis area.

The Chattanooga Times, also a morning newspaper, is best known for its early publisher, Adolph S. Ochs, who served in that capacity from 1878-1935. The paper was established in 1869. A point of pride for many of the staff members at the Chattanooga paper, which is a part of the The New York Times chain of newspapers, is that Ochs owned The Chattanooga Times before taking the helm at The New York Times. Director of photography, Phil Schmidt, said it's a fact that he gets great pleasure from. "I always remind people when I'm somewhere where The New York Times people are that we're the father," he said. "There's a great newspaper heritage here." Ruth S. Holmberg, publisher of The Chattanooga Times, is also a member of The New York Times board of directors. (Schmidt)

A bronze bust of Adolph S. Ochs in the entrance foyer greets visitors to the Chattanooga newspaper. Jeff Guenther said one of the other photographers is so caught up in the history of the paper that he rubs the head of the statue every morning for good luck before heading upstairs to the photography department.

Despite its traditional history of strong journalism, a tradition which continues today, The Chattanooga Times, with

a Monday through Friday circulation of 47,677, trails behind its local competitor in terms of circulation. The Chattanooga News-Free Press has a Monday through Saturday circulation of 64,750 and Sunday circulation of 108,915 (Tennessee Newspaper Directory, 1990).

The two papers operated under a joint operating agreement for many years until they broke up in 1966 when the publisher of the News-Free Press, Roy McDonald, moved his paper to another building a block away from The Times building. Later that year The Times published a Sunday edition called The Chattanooga Post, designed to compete with the News-Free Press Sunday paper. Publication of The Chattanooga Post ended after a settlement in which The Times paid the News-Free Press $2 million to end a dispute over fair trade practices. In 1981 the two Chattanooga papers again entered a joint operating agreement which is still in effect today. The press and composing rooms are located in the News-Free Press building. The board of directors contains three News-Free Press members and three representatives from The Times (Schmidt).

Although not generally recognized at the same level as The Commercial Appeal, The Chattanooga Times does seem to have good layout and strong photographic capabilities. Its sometimes creative use of photography stands in stark contrast to the Chattanooga News-Free Press, which is full of "stand ups", photos in which individuals or groups of people are lined up and posed for the camera, similar to the dental convention photo described by Frank Luther Mott earlier in this thesis, or "grips and grins," which feature smiling people shaking hands or passing checks.

Some workers, including the photographers, at The Times are represented by The Newspaper Guild. The Guild has no presence at the News-Free Press.

The Oak Ridger, published in the City of Oak Ridge,

about 20 miles west of Knoxville, is the smallest of the three papers. The paper publishes Monday through Friday afternoons with a circulation of 10,677. Its Sunday edition, begun in 1988, has a circulation of 9,551 (Tennessee Newspaper Directory, 1990).

Arguably the least picture oriented of the three papers, The Oak Ridger, established in 1949, did not have a full-time photographer until Kelley Scott Walli was hired in 1988, shortly before the Sunday edition was implemented. Multiple picture stories are not run very often, and long-term photographic stories are very rare in the paper. The paper underwent an extensive design change in conjunction with its Sunday edition, which has improved its photography usage somewhat.

The Oak Ridger is published in the city where research was carried out to help create the atomic bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. Large defense firms, including Martin Marietta Energy Systems, are located in Oak Ridge, and the Department of Energy has a large facility in the area.

The paper has no union representation. Its nearest competitors are the two Knoxville dailies, The Knoxville News-Sentinel, which operates a bureau in Oak Ridge, and The Knoxville Journal. A strong weekly paper with a circulation of 7,293, The Clinton Courier-News, (Tennessee Newspaper Directory, 1990) located in the county seat about 10 miles away, is sometimes considered a competitor by the Oak Ridge daily. The Oak Ridger is part of a chain of newspapers owned by Stauffer Communications, headquartered in Topeka, Kansas.

The Three Photojournalists

The three photojournalists interviewed for the case studies, Michael McMullan of The Commercial Appeal, Jeff

Guenther of The Chattanooga Times and Kelley Scott Walli of The Oak Ridger, were purposefully selected to provide three unique examples of working photojournalists at daily newspapers in Tennessee. My goal in choosing these photographers for the case studies was to select three people from different perspectives in different working conditions. After narrowing the list of photographers down to about 10, these three were selected for the study. All three photographers agreed to participate after discussing the research with me, and each paper provided access to their photography departments.

McMullan, the most experienced of the three, has been repeatedly recognized for his expertise as an outstanding photojournalist by the National Press Photographers Association, which awarded him the photographer of the year award for the southeast region in 1984. He was runner-up for the honor in 1985 and in 1988. Reviews of his work over several years demonstrated that he is an accomplished photojournalist. He was recommended by Larry Coyne, director of photography at The Commercial Appeal, as an excellent example of a well respected photojournalist. He was also selected because of his membership in The Newspaper Guild.

Jeff Guenther represented the middle ground among these three photographers. He was also a union member, but The Chattanooga Times is in a joint partnership with a larger circulation, non-union newspaper. So, the photographers at The Times were somewhere between the other two papers concerning union representation. Guenther had less professional experience as a newspaper photographer than McMullan, but more than Walli. He was also selected because he had previously attended the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and had some contact with Rob Heller, my thesis advisor.

Kelley Scott Walli was selected because she represented

someone who worked at a small daily newspaper as the only staff photographer. She had the least amount of experience among the three photographers and was not a union member, because there is no union representation at The Oak Ridger. I was also interested in including Kelley because of her art background and because she was a woman photojournalist.

Michael McMullan said he dreamed of being a photographer at an early age. He wrote his eighth-grade career report on being a photographer. At the time he said he wasn't really thinking about working as a newspaper photographer, just a photographer in general.

> I always did want to be a photographer. I don't know why. It just seemed kind of a neat thing to be. I guess it was that image of hanging out with the fashion models, shooting the beautiful people (Michael McMullan, personal communication, July 5 and 7, 1990).

After working as a newspaper photographer for the past 13 years, the most recent five at The Commercial Appeal, McMullan said he has realized for a long time that journalism is not the glamour industry many young people dream about. Covering all manner of grisly news stories, from suicide attempts from the bridge over the Mississippi River that connects Memphis to West Memphis, Arkansas to a propane truck explosion that killed nine people living near a freeway in Memphis, cured him of the glamour perception. However some of the early impressions he had about newspapers have held true for him.

> The reason I got into newspapers was because when I was growing up in Little Rock a lot of the kids I hung around with, their parents worked for the newspapers. They weren't photographers. They were writers and columnists for The Arkansas Democrat and The Arkansas Gazette. They all seemed pretty much liberal, pretty laid back, pretty much the kind of people I wanted to be like....I liked their intelligence. I liked their

> opinionatedness, their liberal attitudes. Probably more than anything it was their liberal attitudes that attracted me. I just decided that I'd like to try to get into journalism. I never wanted to have a job where I'd be stuck in an office all day...I like the freedom that being a photographer gives you. It does kind of amaze me. It's like you haven't really quite grown up. You're still a photographer. What other job is there where someone could pay you to sit on the 50 yard line of life? Where else could you have a job where all you've got to do is spectate life? Life's going on all around you and all you've got to do is watch it (McMullan).

McMullan's characterization of news photography as a spectator sport, which he said he paraphrased from a nationally recognized photojournalist, does not seem to guide his day-to-day work performed with a determination to seek out and bring back strong pictures. It's a skill he has honed over the past 13 years he has worked as a photojournalist.

His first newspaper job was a staff photographer position at The Arkansas Democrat in Little Rock. Before landing this job, McMullan attended the University of Arkansas at Little Rock for a year-and-a-half. Then he went to the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville for another year-and-a-half. Later, he came back to the University of Arkansas at Little Rock for another year. He majored in journalism and English. He worked as a photographer for the Arkansas Department of Agriculture Cooperative Extension Service at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock for a year while attending school. McMullan never finished his degree.

> I was about halfway through my junior year credit-wise when I got a job on staff at The Arkansas Democrat. I really wish I'd gone ahead and finished to say that I have that degree. But, at the time, this was what I wanted to do, and so as soon as the opportunity came along for me to begin doing it I dropped out of college

and started doing it (McMullan).

McMullan said he would like to finish his degree, but that he didn't think it was crucial to his job.

> I don't think you need a journalism degree to be a journalist. I think it just prepares you for some of the idiosyncrasies of the business. But as far as being able to do the job, it doesn't really prepare you for actually doing it (McMullan).

As he processed black and white film after a day's worth of shooting, he also said going back to school now would be very difficult.

> When would I do that now. I've got a mortgage note and a wife who couldn't support us both while I went back to school. I wouldn't want to work part time flipping burgers anywhere. I know that I couldn't keep a newspaper job here and go to school (McMullan).

After working at The Arkansas Democrat for three years, McMullan went to work as a photographer for The Birmingham Post-Herald. During his five-year tenure in Birmingham, McMullan captured the title of regional newspaper photographer of the year in the National Press Photographer Association's annual competition. He won in region six which includes the southeastern states of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. McMullan was the first newspaper photographer outside Florida to win the NPPA newspaper photographer of the year award for region six. He received the honor for his work in 1984 (News Photographer, July 1985). McMullan has been runner up for the NPPA regional photographer of the year award for region six twice since he has worked for The Commercial Appeal, in 1985 and in 1988. McMullan has also had several news photographs he shot for the paper purchased by the Associated Press and distributed on the wire.

The award-winning photojournalist said his decision to

move from Birmingham to Memphis was based on some professional considerations, such as working for a larger paper and better working conditions, but salary was a strong factor. "My main motivation for wanting to leave was to make more money," McMullan said. According to McMullan his yearly salary at the Memphis paper is about $35,000, plus about $60 a week for a car allowance, totalling close to $39,000. "I made $18,500 in Birmingham," he said. "When I started at The Democrat over 13 years ago I was making $113 a week." The Commercial Appeal pays beginning photographers about $22,000 as an annual salary. A photographer who has worked at the Memphis paper five years makes about $35,000 to $36,000 a year (Larry Coyne, personal communication, July 5 and 7, 1990). As a union member, McMullan rarely works overtime at the newspaper. His work week is a standard 40-hour week.

Jeff Guenther, a photojournalist at The Chattanooga Times, said he realized he wanted to be a newspaper photographer somewhat later in life than Michael McMullan did.

> I didn't get interested in pictures until my senior year in high school. I took an art class that taught six weeks of photography. I enjoyed it so much. I'm not sure why, but I ended up building a darkroom in my basement. In high school I was the guy with the camera, and I could have prints the next day because I could do them in my basement. Everybody gets excited when they've got a really nice picture watching it come up under the developer. I think that doesn't happen near enough. But, when it does you realize this is why you're doing it (Jeff Guenther, personal communication, July 12-13, 1990).

After graduating from high school, the Nashville native enrolled at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to study graphic design. He worked as a photographer and photo editor for The Daily Beacon, the campus newspaper, for three years.

> I was miserable while I was doing it because I was working six hours a day six days a week. My classes would start out at 15 hours, 12 hours, 10 hours. By the time mid-term got there it was eight hours. It even dropped down to four one time. I was overworked and underpaid. I think you got $3 a day. It was awful, but now I look back on it like most bad experiences and I realize that was a lot of fun. I'm glad I did it (Guenther).

At the end of his third year of college, Guenther signed up for a summer internship at The Chattanooga Times. At the end of the internship he was hired to work full time for the paper where he has worked for the past eight years. He said he had the idea that he would go to school part time to finish his degree. Five years later, Guenther kept his promise to himself and enrolled at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga.

> I was still a sophomore after four years of college. So after working in the job for a few years I realized that this is all I know how to do so I might as well learn how to do it better. I wanted to learn to write, so I changed over to journalism (Guenther).

After three years at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, the 29-year-old photographer said he has about another year-and-a-half of part-time study left before he completes his bachelor's degree in journalism.
In contrast to McMullan, Guenther said he sees a direct link between a journalism degree and photojournalism.

> I'm realizing more and more...I just don't think a newspaper photographer can do as good a job as he could if he had a background in journalism. There's just too much of your business dealings that you're just not aware of (Guenther).

Guenther has won several awards in NPPA's monthly clip contest, but has never been a contender for the regional photographer of the year award. He recently gained national

publication when the Associated Press purchased his photograph of a man accused of killing a civil rights activist more than 20 years ago. The picture has subsequently appeared in Time, Newsweek and other publications.

Like McMullan, Guenther is also a member of the Newspaper Guild. His annual salary is about $25,000. Beginning photographers at the paper earn a salary of about $15,000. Photographers with five years experience are paid about $22,000 (Rick Owens, personal communication, July 12-13, 1990). Guenther also gets 22 cents per mile allowance on his car mileage. His work week, similar to McMullan's, is a standard 40 hours.

Kelley Scott Walli, a 31-year-old news photographer for The Oak Ridger, said she remembers being fascinated with cameras when she was a child, growing up in her hometown of Greeneville, Tennessee.

> I'd always played with a camera. I was always taking still lifes. I didn't really take a lot of people. I was interested in things and people doing things. I didn't like posed family shots, and I would look in magazines, and I would notice the pictures and I'd try to notice the composition and this type thing. I got interested in it as a hobby. I never considered it was a career (Kelley Scott Walli, personal communication, July 25-26, 1990).

Walli said her path to photojournalism was circuitous. Upon graduation from high school she sought a business career.

> I went to a business school, graduated and worked as a bookkeeper for a while and got totally bored with it. Then I decided. I'd always played around with a camera, and I decided why not do that? At least it would be fun, and I didn't think I would get tired of it. The more I thought about it, the more I liked it. The more I thought, well you know people do this for a living. So that's what I did. It just sort of evolved.

> The main attraction I guess was that it was something I liked to do and something that I thought that I could do and not get tired of it, and that's been the case (Walli).

After checking out several area colleges, Walli enrolled in the Art Institute of Ft. Lauderdale. She said she chose the art school over journalism schools because she felt the curriculum included more emphasis on photography.

> It turned out to be a really good experience. I really enjoyed it. For two years it was nothing but photography. It was really intense. It was just like a work situation. You go in, and you get your assignments. You have a certain amount of time to finish them (Walli).

The course work covered all types of photography. Walli concentrated on commercial advertising photography and landed an internship with a studio in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. Near graduation, at a career night sponsored by the school, Walli said she got four job offers to work as a photographer's assistant. One of the jobs was at a major advertising studio in Miami. She didn't accept any of the offers.

> I'd been in Ft. Lauderdale for four years, two in school, two working. I didn't like the area. I didn't like the people, and especially during spring break when all the college kids came, it took you two hours to get anywhere. I decided I wanted to come back home (Walli).

During a Christmas visit to Greeneville, Walli discovered that there was a opening for a photographer at her hometown newspaper, The Greeneville Sun. She applied and was hired.

> Then once I got in the newspaper...I don't know there's something about it...it kind of sticks with you. I stayed there four years, and I met my husband there. He moved to Knoxville almost a year before I did. We

decided to get married, so I knew I had to get a job in this area (Walli).

A former editor for The Oak Ridger hired Walli in 1988. Since arriving at the paper she has had several photos appear on the Associated Press wire and was honored with a first place award for feature photography from the Associated Press in Tennessee in 1990.

Walli is not a member of the Newspaper Guild or any other union because there are no union employees at the paper. Her salary is based on an hourly rate of $7.65 or about $16,000 annually, and she gets 22 cents per mile reimbursement for using her personal car to perform her work. Since she is the first and only staff photographer at the paper comparisons with other photographers are impossible, but her salary is equal to the pay reporters with similar experience receive. Although overtime is discouraged at the paper, she often ends up working about 10 hours overtime in an average week. She is compensated for overtime with compensation time, but receives no extra pay.

Covering the News With a Camera

Spending two working days with each of these three photojournalists revealed many similarities and differences in the way each photographer approaches covering the news with a camera. A wide variety of stories were covered, and each photographer brought his or her unique style to the assignments. Several factors at the newspapers seemed to influence the kinds of photographs shot: how much information was available about the story before the photographer started working, how much time was spent covering an assignment and how many assignments there were to cover, whether the photographers were encouraged to come up

with story ideas themselves, whether the photographer was shooting for a single photo or a picture story and how the photographer's own style of shooting worked on a particular story.

A stark contrast was evident among the three papers as to how much information was available about the story being covered before the photographer went out to shoot it. At The Chattanooga Times, Jeff Guenther received detailed information about the stories he was assigned to shoot from the director of photography, Phil Schmidt. He also was in contact with reporters and was able to talk to them about the stories sometimes.

On one occasion during the two days I spent with him, Guenther was assigned to cover a story about a rural county in northern Georgia which had just purchased a machine to count votes on paper ballots. A reporter who was writing the story rode with him to the site about 40 miles away, and they discussed several angles the story might take during the trip. Guenther said that it wasn't very unusual to work with a reporter on a story.

At The Commercial Appeal, Michael McMullan never worked with a reporter on a story during the two days I observed him. He said it was very rare that a reporter and photographer would be at the same event at the same time and that they almost never travelled together to cover a story.

> Everything's done separately. I could probably count on both hands in five years the number of times a reporter and I actually went together on an assignment. We very rarely accompany each other out like that on an assignment (McMullan).

McMullan said that this type of arrangement has been set up purposely to allow the reporter and the photographer more time to cover a story without interfering with each other.

> I think the feeling here is the reporter has their job to do, and they'll go and do the story and do the interview and ask the questions and get all that done.... They don't have to work around us, and we don't have to work around them when we go in to take photographs. It has its pluses and minuses, but I think generally it makes for an expediency. You're able to go in and get what you need to do and not have to worry about interfering with the reporter's time or taking the interview down a path that they didn't want it to go or anything like that. I like that independence now that I've gotten used to it (McMullan).

McMullan rarely interacted with reporters to get more information before going out to cover a story, although he did get some information from the photography assignment editor or the director of photography on two occasions. On many feature assignments, the story has already been written before the photographer is made aware of it. This does give the photographer the chance to read the story before going out to shoot, as McMullan did on one story while I was with him. But, as he points out, this practice is sometimes problematic.

> The reporters go out and spend energy on a story and then the day that they want to run that story, now that the reporter has finally finished it, they turn in a photo assignment, and they expect the photographer... You know, it's funny to me how the reporter can spend a week on a story, and then they assume that all the photographer needs is a day to work on the story (McMullan).

Kelley Walli of The Oak Ridger did cover stories with reporters much more than the other two photographers. However, she received scant information on most of the stories. Reporters and editors give her assignment sheets that are supposed to give detailed information about the stories she is assigned. These assignment sheets usually included only the location and the name of a contact person and a request to get vertical and horizontal shots. Walli

said often she is not even told whether color or black and white is desired on a particular assignment.

> I never get enough information. They're supposed to tell me what it is they need. If they need Joe Blow with a book he's written, I need to know that's what they need. Sometimes, I can't always get a reporter to tell me anything about it. They just put the guy's name, and I'm on my own to figure out why I'm taking this picture. If I haven't talked to them I'll go back and I'll ask them, "You know, there's not enough information here. What's this story about? What am I supposed to try to tell people with this?" Sometimes they know, and sometimes they have no idea (Walli).

This situation suggests that photographers need to have basic journalism skills to perform their jobs well. A photographer with expert technical skills but no journalism training or experience could have some difficulty adequately covering an event. Such a photographer might be able to shoot good pictures, but a photographer trained as a journalist would be better able to gather the information and convey the significance of the story.

Walli and Guenther both said they never see the story written before they go out to shoot it. The preference for Walli is to go with the reporter on most assignments.

> That's the way I like to do it. I'd rather go with them, because when they're busy talking with the reporter they're ignoring me. I like to do it that way, because usually if it's something that they do, they're going to show the reporter how something works. They're actually going to be doing something. The hardest part with that is trying to keep the reporter out of the way, because nine times out of 10, they're going to be right where I need to shoot (Walli).

Walli has worked out an arrangement with the reporters that seems to be a compromise between the way McMullan and Guenther work. Most of the time she will drive to an event in her car and a reporter will go in another car, allowing

for a more flexible schedule for both people. This worked to her advantage on one story she covered about a gifted children's program for the arts. She had a tight deadline and needed to leave the site for another assignment at a time when the reporter, who had driven there in her car, needed another 30 minutes to finish gathering her information.

Of these three photographers, McMullan was able to spend much more time on stories than the other two photographers. During the two days I spent with him he shot very few assignments. During the first day, which began at 10 a.m. and ended at 6 p.m., he had no particular assignments, but he did go out and find a story that ended up being used on the front page the next day. The story was about a city recreation program that provides activities for inner city children during the summer. McMullan shot pictures at an indoor skating rink with more than 500 children skating for almost three hours.

Before he found a story he wanted McMullan received a call from the assignment editor on the two-way radio in his car to check out a possible suicide attempt on the bridge that crosses the Mississippi River into Arkansas. By the time we arrived on the scene, the man was in police custody, and there was apparently no suicide attempt.

The rest of the day was spent driving around the city, "cruising" as photographers call it, to try to come up with some photographs for the paper and processing film and prints back at the paper.

The next day, which also began at noon and ended at 8 p.m., McMullan had two assignments. He was asked by the photo editor to check out the site of an automobile accident that killed four people the night before. There was no activity at the site, so no pictures were made.

The major story of the day was a baptismal ceremony at a convention of several thousand Jehovah's Witnesses.

We arrived at the event about an hour before the mass baptism began. After the ceremony began, McMullan spent another two hours shooting more than 100 people being baptized and getting information.

Then he went back out to the bridge across the Mississippi River to get a shot of the city skyline to use in an illustration coming up in a few days. About 3 p.m. we headed back to the paper to process film and make prints. After the print from the baptism was ready, McMullan spent a couple of hours working on an illustration shot in the paper's studio.

McMullan said his workload was a little bit lighter than normal during the two days I spent with him, but that he usually did have two or three hours to spend on assignments if needed.

Jeff Guenther had about the same number of assignments as McMullan did. On both days, he began his day at noon and ended at 8 p.m. During the first day, his only assignment began about 5 p.m. He was assigned to cover a musical performance at an international educational camp of 10- and 11-year-olds. Before going to the assignment, the day consisted of cruising for pictures. Guenther spent about an hour-and-a-half on the assignment. Then he came back to the paper and made color prints.

On the second day, Guenther had only one assignment, the ballot counter story mentioned earlier. This was a long assignment because it was about 40 miles away. He spent about an hour actually at the site setting up the picture and waiting for the reporter to do his interview. The whole trip took about three hours. The rest of the day was spent processing color film and making prints from this assignment. Guenther said he can usually shoot most assignments in about 15 to 30 minutes.

Kelley Walli had the longest schedule and the most

assignments of the three photographers. Her first day began at 8 a.m. and continued until 9 p.m. She processed black and white film from the previous day's shooting until 11 a.m. Then she spent five minutes shooting a group shot of a local candidate and his family for an advertisement. About 11:30 she spent 15 minutes shooting a reception for Japanese exchange students. At 12:30 p.m. she and a reporter travelled 50 miles away to shoot a story on a bed and breakfast hotel in an antebellum home. She spent almost three hours on this story, half of it waiting on the reporter. After arriving back at the paper, she stayed late to take pictures of two local groups that were constructing a fence. That same night, she also covered a league of women voters event. The fence story was shot from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., and the league of women voters event, which started about 7:30 p.m., lasted until 9:30 p.m.

The next day she shot a story on an arts program for gifted children, an advance story about local interior decorators who were taking part in a parade of homes open house, and a mug shot of a fire chief while he was being interviewed by a reporter. The arts program and the interior decorator story took about one hour each. The fire chief story was shot in 10 minutes.

Walli did not take any cruising photos during the two days I spent with her. She said her schedule during this time was fairly typical of her everyday schedule, although she said it gets even more hectic during football and basketball seasons.

Cruise pictures generated by the photographers themselves were major points of concern for all three photographers. Cruising usually involves driving around looking for picture possibilities that could be used in the newspaper.

Michael McMullan seemed to be looking for somewhat

different subject matter for his cruise shots than the other two photographers. Not content with ordinary shots of children running through sprinklers, McMullan said he tries to dig deeper to find stories that have a news angle. "I'm looking for novelty," he said as we drove around downtown Memphis. "I'm looking for something with a news peg."

During the time I spent cruising with McMullan, it was obvious that he was thinking like a journalist in his quest for news pictures. He had searched the previous day's newspaper for possible follow-up pictures, and he checked out the site of a huge city festival that had been held near the river the night before in hopes that he might find some aftermath story such as hordes of homeless people scavenging aluminum cans from the event.

It was also interesting how he passed up potential pictures. One on occasion there were about four or five children playing on a merry-go-round in a park with a couple of adults. McMullan decided not to shoot any pictures after watching them for a few minutes from the car. "It may make pictures the first time you've ever seen it," McMullan said. "But, when you've seen it a million times it's not going to make a picture for the newspaper."

One distinction between McMullan and the other two photographers was that he didn't just drive around looking out the window for pictures. On three occasions he got out of the car and went looking inside for picture possibilities. "A former picture editor here told me one time that you've got to get out of your car," McMullan said. "You can't just drive around for eight hours and expect to find anything." McMullan found the pictures of the city parks and recreation skating program by walking into a community center where there were a lot of kids playing outside.
He found out that more than 500 of the children had just left for a nearby skating rink. The result was a strong page-one

shot of a parks and recreation worker tying the skates of a small child.

Jeff Guenther only went out to cruise one time during the two days I spent with him. A thunderstorm looked imminent, and the director of photography asked him to go out and see if he could get a weather photo of people running for cover from a sudden burst of rain. The rain never materialized, so no photographs were shot.

While he didn't specifically go out to cruise, Guenther did seem to keep an eye out for potential enterprise photos when travelling to an assignment. He did actually get out and shoot a photo of a woman reading a book in a window, but the shot never made it into the paper.

Kelley Walli did not cruise for pictures at all during the two days I spent with her. She said she used to do more of those kind of pictures, but she doesn't now because of the way the paper handles them. Sometimes old cruise pictures are pulled from the file and run in the paper.

> They run them when they're so old it's not good. Sometimes maybe you can't tell, but I guess maybe because I know when they were shot. And I know the people in them know when they were shot, so it doesn't make a whole lot of sense. I just feel like it makes us look bad, and it makes me look bad because my name's on it. So I just try to avoid that (Walli).

The other problem Walli encounters with cruise pictures is dealing with the people in the pictures when the photos are not run in the paper.

> I feel bad when I go out and shoot people pictures. I get their names, and they'll ask when it might be in the paper. I tell them I don't know for sure. Or, I tell them it will be in the next week or so. And then if it doesn't run, I get real upset. If I take their picture and take their name they expect to see it. Sometimes they even call and want to know why it wasn't in there. They don't understand that I don't have that power (Walli).

A situation many photographers encounter when shooting cruise pictures or pictures on assignment is how to deal with photographs that may have to be set up to get the pictures desired. The situation came up three times in 15 minutes with McMullan while cruising. He noticed a workman working in the second story of an old downtown building that was being renovated into apartments. McMullan had read about the building in the paper. When we got upstairs, one man was working, and another man was lying down resting. In the background of the work area were three arched windows that would have made a very graphic silhouette shot of the work in progress. The problem was that the one person who was working was too far away from the windows and the person reclining, who was in a good position for the shot, got up as soon as we walked in. McMullan said the temptation was strong to ask them to ignore us and go back to what they were doing. But, he never asked them to do that.

> If he hadn't gotten up, he would have made a picture just lying there with these windows up in the background, just taking a break on the job kind of thing. I could call that a weather picture and not have had to do anything. But at the same time, I'm not going to ask him to lay back down there for me, because what's that going to do? It could potentially make him look lazy. He may not be too crazy about the after effect of my asking him to do that. That's where I really watch myself and worry about it if I ever have to be in a situation where I ask somebody to do something for me for a picture. It damn well better not be anything that's going to be harmful for that person. And yes, it actually does need to be a truthful image, as close as you can come to getting the picture. This is still a business, and we're here to get pictures (McMullan).

After coming downstairs from the work area, we were greeted by three men sitting outside a hat maker shop just relaxing during a slow period of the day. McMullan pointed out later that while that would have made an interesting shot

it wouldn't work for the newspaper. Had he been on assignment to shoot a story about the shop, he would have had to set up the picture to some extent.

> In that situation I would probably ask the guy, whichever one wanted to volunteer, basically if he would mind showing me what goes on there, show me some of the machines. So, to a degree you're setting up the shot by asking him to leave the sidewalk and come inside and let you take his picture. You're doing so for the story. You've got a purpose for being there. He knows that. The story is not about him sitting out on the sidewalk in front of the store (McMullan).

After we got back in the car, we noticed a man sweeping in another picturesque window. Although he didn't shoot any pictures, McMullan took the opportunity to explain his position further.

> If I'd been driving by there, and I see the guy sweeping in the window and I go in and when I go in he's not sweeping anymore, I might go in and ask him to sweep again for me, but it just depends. If he's acceptable to it, you don't like to go, "Oh, sweep here or oh sweep over here." If you just ask him if he would mind doing it again for just a second for you, and he doesn't mind, then I don't really look at that as manipulating or blatantly setting up a shot. The majority of what you go in to shoot as far as assignments go...If you were to drop in and shoot the people as they were when you got there, you wouldn't have a job very long in the newspaper business....You don't have the time to mess around all day, working on the perfect moment. You've got to get involved and sometimes instigate that perfect moment happening. How you do that is all in accordance with your own amount of personal ethics and standards and your own personal dignity. I don't ever like to feel I'm just using people to get a picture. I like their cooperation, and sometimes I've even used that as the way to get my pictures, make it a team effort and make them feel like they're part of what you're doing, because they are. Routine assignments that you go out on 50 percent of the time of what you're doing at newspapers like <u>The Commercial Appeal</u> requires you to do that (McMullan).

McMullan pointed out that orchestrating a shot would never be done in a news situation, but that such practices are more common on certain kinds of feature stories.

> This will occur most often with scheduled appointments where you go somewhere and someone is waiting for you to arrive to be photographed. It is even more staged probably if you have to set up a lot of lighting equipment because then you have to work within the confines of the metered area. Set ups are not something that should ever be practiced on daily street features (McMullan).

Jeff Guenther said it is sometimes necessary for him to direct photographs to some extent in some situations.

> It depends on how much of a hurry I'm in. I hate setting anything up. I kind of feel bad about it. If I don't have to, I won't. Let's say I'm shooting a picture of a bunch of kids playing with a beach ball. I walk up and they quit. I'll say who I am, and I'll say, "Do you all mind doing what you were just doing?" I don't think that's setting anything up if they were doing that before (Guenther).

Guenther follows a style similar to McMullan in handling such situations. The technique basically involves reinstigating action that was already taking place or recreating action that normally does occur. The Chattanooga Times photographer offered an example. One time he was assigned to shoot a feature story on a woman who does creative icing on cakes. When he arrived the woman was waiting on the photographer to arrive instead of working on a cake, so he was forced to ask her to show him what she does with the cakes. Guenther's wife, who is the lifestyle editor for the paper, took issue with photographers setting up shots such as these.

> When she first realized that we were doing that she said, "I don't like you setting these pictures up."

> I said, "Well these people never are doing what you're there to shoot a picture of them doing." In most cases they aren't. They're waiting for you to show up (Guenther).

These kinds of situations present a dilemma for many photographers who don't really like to set up shots, but find that they must in order to meet deadlines and get acceptable pictures for publication. The voting machine story that Guenther did was a good example. When we arrived on the scene the only photo opportunity that would not require setting anything up was a big gray machine that is used to tally the votes. The machine was sitting in the corner of a nondescript room and was covered up. Guenther decided to set up a picture to make it more visually interesting and to get across the impact the machine would have. The significance of the story was that the vote counting machine would allow ballots to be counted in just a few hours rather than days. To illustrate this idea, he asked the woman who was in charge of running the machine to demonstrate how it works. He then took a blank copy of the previously used ballots that were about 2 x 3 feet in size and had the woman write "VOID" in red letters across the old style ballot. The resulting photograph was a shot of the old ballot draped across a chair with the woman feeding the new 8 1/2 x 11 inch ballots into the machine at a high speed.

Even though it is inevitable that photographers will sometimes be required to set up some feature pictures, I think this should be avoided if possible. The responsibility, I think, rests more on the person who assigns the photographers to cover stories than the photographers themselves. In this case Guenther had to work with the situation as he saw it to provide a photograph for an advance piece. In the absence of any real action he had to improvise to get a usable picture for the paper. A photo assignment

editor could have solved the problem by sending the photographer out to cover the story when there was an election taking place, and the machine was actually being used. Research probably could have turned up photos of election officials counting the ballots by hand. A shot like this, with a caption pointing out that the slow laborious process of counting votes by hand would be eliminated, would have made a much stronger visual story for an advance piece. During the two days I spent with him, this was the only photo that Guenther set up.

The Oak Ridger photographer seemed to be more willing to set up feature photos than the other two photographers.

> If you give a kid a lollipop or those little things you blow bubbles with you set that up to a point. But, you can't guarantee the kids are going to blow a bubble with it. They may stick the suckers on their noses for all you know. Those are set up, but not set up, those I can live with (Walli).

Walli said she felt compelled to set up several of the pictures she shot. On the story on the bed and breakfast hotel, she set up one shot with the owner serving iced tea. Because of time constraints she also set up a shot of a teacher helping a child make a basket on a story she was shooting about an arts camp for gifted children. A shot on the interior decorator story was also set up even though the two people pictured were working on the room when we arrived. On several other shots she took pains not to direct the photos. The mug shot she shot on the fire chief was not posed at all. She just shot pictures while the man was being interviewed by a reporter.

All three photographers complained that one of the major problems they have while shooting assignments is dealing with people who want to direct the pictures for them. All three said that public relations people often try to guide them too

much on stories. McMullan experienced this during the shooting of the baptismal service at the Jehovah's Witness convention. We were escorted by public relations people from the moment we stepped into the Civic Coliseum until the moment we left.

> That was actually a pretty well-coordinated event. I just have a problem with always having an escort.... These guys were great.... But, at the same time when I have a door-to-door escort it makes me uptight. I feel like I'm not being allowed to see what I might find otherwise. I feel limited to stay within the bounds of where this individual is willing to go with me. Or, just his mere presence makes you a little less inquisitive as you might be in a situation (McMullan).

Guenther said he has been in a similar situation while shooting a feature story on a hospital intern. The idea, which Guenther developed on his own, was to show a day in the life of a hospital intern.

> The public relations people were really easy to work with, but they were a little nervous about me showing an intern that worked a 24-hour shift and looked exhausted. They were a little nervous that that was going to be the whole mood of the piece, how this intern is working on patients, but he's exhausted, and he's under-educated (Guenther).

Walli encountered difficulty with the local school system over a story she wanted to do. The local high school is known for excellence across the state, because it turns out several national merit finalists each year. The paper is always doing stories on outstanding students who have reached a high level of achievement. Walli wanted to do a picture story on the typical day of average students.

> I wanted to just go over and kind of hang out in the hall and just shoot some pictures of kids doing whatever they were doing. I said something to the principal about it, and he said he didn't have a problem

> with it. But, he wanted to call the superintendent of schools. His office says, "That's a strange thing to do, and I don't think it's necessary." It didn't help them any. They didn't want pictures of their kids hanging out in the hall doing nothing. They wanted their kids doing these science experiments or something that will give good recognition to the school. They don't want an ordinary school, and they don't want us to indicate that there may be ordinary kids at that school (Walli).

One technique of photojournalism prized highly by all three photographers is the ability to shoot assignments that will be used as picture stories, two or more photographs on a newspaper page that tell a coherent story photographically. These picture stories were the mainstay of the original Life magazine. Used well with words they can be very powerful.

McMullan has had dozens of picture stories published at The Commercial Appeal. Just before I arrived for the interviews with him at the Memphis paper McMullan had been working on a continuing, in-depth photo story on daycare in Memphis. The paper periodically covers such subjects as daycare, education, the drug problem and others by assigning an investigative team, which includes photographers, to the story for several weeks.

Larry Coyne, director of photography at the Memphis paper, explained the paper's reasoning on long term stories.

> It's an effort to cover the news. We've got a commitment in staff people now to look at daycare in Memphis and look at it exhaustively. We've got two reporters who have been on it for eight weeks at least. They're going to produce a series of stories, maybe even a special section on daycare in Memphis. We think it's that important an issue to our readers. We think it's something that if we gather the information, people may want to hang on to. A part of the story is visual and we're devoting time to cover the visual side of it. It's been a long process, but the editor likes picture pages, so he says. This project, the daycare project, is part of the projects team effort. We did drugs. We did schools. As long as the picture stories seem to go

along with issues, and we can explore and help impartial understanding, then I think he's all for it. I don't think he wants to see a picture package on a bunch of flowers somewhere or kids on swings, a day at the park, and I don't either (Coyne).

McMullan's input into the project had consisted of spending several days in the previous eight weeks working on nothing but daycare. McMullan has shot dozens of other picture stories that end up as a full page stories with four or five large photos. Assistant managing editor for graphics at The Commercial Appeal, Mike Kerr, said the paper does seem to be fairly open to the idea of picture pages.

> We will open up space for picture stories when we've got something we're sure works and will tell a story. Space has really gotten to be a problem. We've had kind of a space crunch this year...Competition for space is tougher, but we're still managing to get strong picture stories in the paper. They've got to have good strong news content (Mike Kerr, personal communication, July 5 and 7, 1990).

McMullan said that support for picture stories in the paper does not seem to be as strong as it was when he first came to work for the paper. According to him, many stories run with only one picture.

> I hear the verbal arguments that go on everyday. "Well, we don't have the space. We don't want to commit the space. We've got two or three nice pictures out of this situation. Pick the best one and we'll run it." It's like, "We want one picture per thing that you go out to cover." Whereas, it used to be they would run picture packages in the Metro section two, three or four times a week, little combos they would call them (McMullan).

At The Chattanooga Times, Guenther said picture stories, packages or combos are run sometimes. The paper does run stories, especially features, with two or three pictures quite often. The story Guenther covered on the international

student program appeared as a story with three large color photos covering the top half of a page. There is also a "Neighbors" section that runs once a week on Thursdays. The front page of this community interest section is often a short written piece with four or five large photos that all comprise one story.

> Our news hole is unusually big. Our photographers have every opportunity to display their wares on section fronts throughout this newspaper. And that's something that you don't have in a lot of papers. It's an unusual situation because of the space that we have (Schmidt).

Single pictures that accompany stories seem to be the standard at The Oak Ridger with the exception of occasional picture stories in the living section of the Sunday paper. "Most of the time it's a one shot deal," Walli said. "No matter how many hours they expect me to stay there and shoot, it's still going to be one picture."

Because she shoots so many assignments, about four or five in an average day, Walli is not able to spend as much time on long term picture projects as she would like to.

> They'd say fine if you can work it out and do all this other stuff. There's no way they would be able to let me go anywhere and stay two days. If I wanted to come in on my day off which is Monday and do that, then that would be fine (Walli).

Occasionally picture stories appear in the paper. The story she shot on the bed and breakfast hotel ended up as a full-page story with six color photos.

Walli said she has a strong interest in documentary photography and would like to explore the possibilities of mixing that interest with newspaper work.

> I've always had this thing about looking at things through the camera and realizing that they will never be the same again. If I shoot something, even an old

> barn...I come back a week later and something's changed. I grew up on a tobacco farm, and in the past few years that has changed. They don't pack tobacco in baskets anymore to take it to market. They bale it. I've shot a lot of pictures of stuff like that. That's a way of life that's changing, and that's the kind of thing that I would like to do...Those kind of things take time, weeks, months, years. I would like to follow something all the way through, like working mothers...maybe a pregnant lady having the baby, going back to school, the toddler running around, how hard it is to get through and then graduation. That would be an ending. You see how much time that takes. It's an imposition too. You have to find somebody who's willing to let you be a part of their life. You would literally be a part of their life (Walli).

Given the current approach to photography at The Oak Ridger, Walli said she thought the prospects of being able to shoot even short documentaries was very remote.

Coyne said that newspapers should allow photographers the opportunity to spend the time it takes to get good picture stories.

> I think it takes patience to get decent photographs. It takes constantly being on the lookout for what you can add to the story to make it come alive to the reader and actually give some information as opposed to just being there. Robert Cohen (a Commercial Appeal photographer) has worked a couple or three months on the drug story. The pictures being produced I thought were well worth the time invested. Jerry Holt's (another Commercial Appeal photographer) series on how four schools relate to the community...I think he gave people a lot of insight into what goes on in schools, the problems that people are up against (Coyne).

It has been clearly demonstrated to me in my visits to the The Commercial Appeal and The Chattanooga Times that newspapers must do more than just support the idea of picture stories. Adequate staffing must be in place and scheduling must be arranged so that photographers have the freedom to work on strong picture stories that will ultimately benefit

the readers by explaining important and complex issues visually and with words. Both these papers are succeeding in this regard.

To encourage the use of multiple pictures on one story, all three photographers said they sometimes try to shoot assignments so that the person doing the layout on the page will be more inclined to use more than one picture.

McMullan said that he has little direct influence on the way photos appear on the page.

> Me personally and most of the photographers I think don't ever get involved in the layout side of things. At a paper the size of The Commercial Appeal, you've got so many layers of responsibility, so many different people doing different things that it's not viewed as any of your business to get involved in telling the designer...Sometimes I'll push for one picture over another being used, and I think your input is taken into consideration in that way. But as far as ever dictating how they would run it—never (McMullan).

Despite this, McMullan said he does make some effort to turn in several pictures that would make a nice picture package in hopes that more than one photo will be used in the paper. He said that because the picture editors and others understand photography this technique works well.

Guenther said his input into the layout process at The Chattanooga Times is primarily limited to how he shoots the pictures and what pictures he submits. After eight years at the paper, Guenther said he is familiar with the style of layouts the designers like to use, and he will sometimes try to shoot to fit those layouts. This was evident at the performing arts event for international students that Guenther shot. He turned in three color photos of the event: a wide shot of most of the performers that would have to be used as a three- or four-column horizontal shot in the paper, a colorful close-up, head shot of one of the performers that

could be used as a one-column vertical or square shot and a medium action shot of some of the performers that would probably be used as a two- or three-column horizontal. The page designer used all three pictures in almost exactly the configuration that Guenther had shot for.

Walli has much more input into the layout process than the other two photographers. Like them, she submits photos in a way that encourages certain kinds of layouts and she thinks about how pictures could be used on a page as she is shooting. This style of visual thinking is similar to a filmmaker who shoots film in such a way so that it is basically edited as it is being shot.

> If I want something printed long and narrow, I'll print it that way and they have no choice but to use it that way. They can size it different, but it's still going to be long and narrow, no matter what they do to it. That's just a trick (Walli).

Walli said she is directly involved in laying out pages occasionally. She photographed and designed a page on an annual festival held in the city. She also does get involved in discussions of placement of photos, especially on the front page. Walli's pet peeve is the paper's inconsistency in running the lead photo on page one above the fold.

> I push for above the fold, especially if it's color. If it's a person, make sure you get at least their head above the fold. Don't cut them off right in the middle (Walli).

The Structure of the Photography Departments

The manner in which newspaper photographers work and the amount of influence they exert over how photographs are produced and used in the newspaper is partly determined by the structure of the photography departments at the

individual newspapers. As expected, there were wide differences in staff structure and size at these three newspapers.

McMullan works in a highly structured environment at The Commercial Appeal. The paper employs 10 full-time photographers. One of them works primarily in-house shooting studio work, and the others cover news, features and sports regularly. At the time of my visit there was also a university intern working full-time. The paper almost always has a full-time intern working with the staff (Coyne).

The Memphis paper has several layers of management concerned with photography. At the top of the departmental hierarchy is Mike Kerr, assistant managing editor for graphics, who oversees the photography and art departments. He seems to be basically on an even par with assistant managing editors in other departments.

At the next level is Larry Coyne, director of photography. Coyne, who previously worked as a Commercial Appeal photographer, coordinates the photography department specifically. Between Coyne and the photographers are picture editor, Jeff McAdory and Jim Shearin, assignment editor for photography. McAdory's primary duties are coordinating picture procurement from the wire services, the staff photographers and other sources. He is also responsible for making the final selection on pictures that will be used in the paper and how they are treated. Shearin coordinates photo assignments for the photographers and sometimes acts as a liaison between the photographers and McAdory.

Kerr and McAdory both attend the daily budget meeting to decide with the managing editor and other assistant managing editors which pictures will be used on the front page and how they will be used. I was present at the budget meeting on July 5, 1990. There was very little exchange among the

managing editor, Kerr and McAdory except on one story. The story concerned the state of the cotton economy in Memphis. The photography intern had shot a picture of a local cotton king standing in his near empty warehouse. It was the kind of picture that would have to be run big in the paper to convey the intended impact. McAdory and Kerr suggested that it should run as a four-column photograph. The managing editor questioned this, but then changed her mind after seeing the picture. She recognized the impact of the photograph immediately and agreed that it should have more space. The picture ran as a four column photo on page one the next day. Kerr, who reports directly to the managing editor, told me later that he was pleased to work with a managing editor who has a good understanding of photojournalism. He characterized the editorial meeting as "fairly smooth." "Frequently there's debate about what's the lead picture, and what's the size of the lead picture?" he said. "It's good, healthy debate."

The structure of the photography department at The Chattanooga Times is similar to that of The Commercial Appeal on a smaller scale. Jeff Guenther is one of seven full-time photographers. The Chattanooga paper also has a full-time intern on staff.

Phil Schmidt, director of photography, functions as the department director, photography editor and photography assignment editor. He also serves as the liaison between the photography department and the news and sports departments, in effect serving in an assistant managing editor role, although he does not deal with non-photographic graphics. He does attend the daily editorial meeting to stress his opinions about photographs being considered. "I'm in an equal position with the news editors, sports editors, city editor and lifestyle editor," Schmidt said.

Schmidt said he doesn't get involved in the layout

stage. Page designers from the various sections handle that function at the paper. Schmidt reports to the managing editor. Up until two years ago Schmidt's title was photo chief. In that capacity, he shots news and sports stories and coordinated the work of the other photographers.

After he was named director of photography, the paper, at his urging, made some radical changes in the types of stories the photographers cover.

> We used to shoot, just like the Free Press did, group pictures. We shot officers, check presentations, scholarship presentations, groundbreakings, business openings...oh the list just goes on and on and on and on. We did not do as many as the Free Press did and still does. But two years ago when I went down into the newsroom...as more or less a liaison between the photographers and the editors...then we started the process. Over a period of about three months we phased them out. That has opened up a lot of space in the newspaper that we didn't have before....
>
> We still shoot 50th wedding anniversaries, 100-year-olds, and check presentations that are for $5,000 or more.... We didn't do this because we think we're better than anybody. We did it because of space limitations, and we did it because of staff size. They (the Free Press) have 18 to 20 photographers available over there. We have eight. Logistically, we can't get around to all those things (Schmidt).

The result of the policy change, according to Guenther and Schmidt, is greatly improved morale and professionalism among the photography staff. "It puts more demand on them for the good feature pictures and good feature story pictures," Schmidt said.

A photographer himself at heart, Schmidt still shoots University of Tennessee, Knoxville football games for the paper every year. "He's been doing it for 20 years," Guenther said. "That's his baby."

Kelley Walli said she doesn't have the same kind of structure at The Oak Ridger. Officially, she reports to the

editor. But in practice she is responsible to the editor, managing editor, news editor, sports editor, lifestyle editor and writers at the paper. Any of these people can and do request photo assignments on a regular basis. Walli basically serves as her own photography coordinator.

There are no other photographers at the paper. However, there is an employee who serves as a darkroom technician who also prepares color separations for the paper. She occasionally shoots photos as a backup photographer when Walli is on vacation. She also does some of the color slide processing and black and white film and print processing. Several reporters also shoot pictures occasionally when inevitable time conflicts arise.

Before Walli arrived, the paper had never had a full-time photographer. The staff had relied on part-time photographers, freelancers and writers shooting their own pictures.

> They really didn't know what to do with me. I had to show them how to make assignments and how to talk to me because they really didn't know. They were used to calling up (a local freelance photographer) and asking if she had time would she mind going and doing this. They never thought is was necessary (Walli).

Walli said hiring a second full-time photographer on the staff would be a good idea. "The pictures would definitely be better than having reporters do them or people submitting them...," she said. "Overall, the appearance of the paper would be better if they had at least one more person who didn't do anything but what I do....It would allow us to cover more." Walli said there has been no discussion about hiring another photographer since the editor who hired her left the paper two years ago.

Equipment and Facilities

The equipment and facilities available to these three photographers differ to about the same degree as the structure of the photography departments

At The Commercial Appeal, photographers have excellent equipment and modern facilities. Photographers at the paper all have a basic set of Nikon camera bodies and Nikkor lenses that they are assigned to use. The lenses provided by the newspaper to McMullan included a 24mm/f2.8, 35mm/f2.8, 105mm/f2.5, 180mm/f2.8 ED and a 2x converter. The paper also provides three Nikon F3 camera bodies to each photographer. Several special Nikkor lenses are also available for use on a check-out basis. These include one 400mm/f2.8, five 300mm/f2.8, one 600mm/f4.5 and one 400mm/f4.5 lens. Other special equipment available are Leafax and UPI portable electronic transmitters for sending photos back to the paper from remote locations and dynalite electronic strobe kits for location lighting. In addition to the equipment provided by the paper, McMullan also uses two of his own Nikkor lenses on a regular basis including an 18mm/f2.8 lens and a 55mm/f2.8 macro lens.

Each photographer at the Memphis paper has the use of the paper's 25 foot by 25 foot studio with high quality strobes, lightdomes and a 2 1/4 x 2 1/4 Hassleblad camera system for illustrative work. There is a combination film processing/storage area for each photographer, and there are spacious work areas for viewing negatives on a light table that is about eight feet long. All of this is located in the photography department that is separate from the newsroom on a different floor.

In the newsroom, photographers also have a designated area, and they are able to use terminals to write photo captions. About 10 to 15 percent of the newsroom space,

including the picture desk and photo assignment desk, is devoted to photography. However, photographers do not have a specific desk in the newsroom or the photography department to call their own. Larry Coyne, the director of photography, has an office in the photography department.

Commercial Appeal photographers have two-way radios in their cars that double as portable radios so that they can be in constant contact with the picture desk. McMullan also had a police scanner radio in his car to monitor police, fire and ambulance transmissions. The photographers all drive their own cars and are paid 9.5 cents per mile reimbursement, according to McMullan. McMullan said he drives about 10,000 miles each year in his work for the paper.

Jeff Guenther also has a good selection of Nikon equipment at The Chattanooga Times. The paper provides him with several Nikkor lenses including 24mm/f2.0, 35mm/f2.0, 105mm/f2.8, 135mm/f2.0, 300mm/f2.8 ED, a 1.4x converter and two Nikon F3 camera bodies. Like McMullan, Guenther also uses some of his personal Nikon equipment including 180mm/f2.8 ED, 300mm/f4.5, 55mm/f2.8 macro and a Nikon FM2 camera body.

The paper also has a studio similar to, but not as modern as, the one at The Commercial Appeal. At the Chattanooga paper, the photography department is totally separate from the newsroom on a different floor. Each photographer has his own desk and storage cabinet. However, I heard several complaints from the photographers because the newsroom has had extensive remodeling with lowered ceilings, carpet, new desks and a generally pleasant working area. On the other hand, the photography department looks about like it did 40 years ago according to Schmidt. Everything in the photography department, including the desks, are painted "battleship gray," as Guenther described the area. Schmidt's office is next to the photography department, but he also has

space in the news department.

The photographers described the photo area as "a mess" generally. Things are in general disarray. There is a small light table, about two feet long for photographers to use to view negatives. The space is large, but in obvious need of remodeling.

Guenther and the other photographers keep in touch with the paper by using portable, hand-held cellular phones, which they carry in their cars. The paper purchased the cellular phones in the past few weeks. Before that, photographers had to stop at phone booths and check in with the office periodically. "It was just ridiculous," Guenther said.

The photographers use their own cars to get to work assignments and are reimbursed at the rate of 22 cents per mile. "We used to have staff cars when I first started here," Guenther recalled. "They were Chevettes. Can you imagine eight photographers driving two Chevettes? They were in pathetic shape. They didn't even replace them."

The Chattanooga paper does not yet own any portable photo transmitting equipment, but they are planning to purchase several units in the next year. When Guenther covers stories out-of-town in Knoxville, Nashville or other distant locations, he has to use processing and transmitting facilities of other papers or the Associated Press.

Kelley Walli provides most of her own camera equipment in her work for The Oak Ridger. She also uses Nikon equipment and has a FE2 camera body and 105mm/f2.5, 55/f2.8 macro, 28mm/f2.8 and 50mm/f1.4 lenses. All this is her personal equipment. The paper, at her request, has provided 200mm/f4.0 and 24mm/f2.8 Nikkor lenses and a Nikon FM2 camera body. When she needs a lens longer than 200mm, she said she borrows it, when available, from friends who also work as photographers.

There is no studio at the newspaper. Walli said she has

used her home studio occasionally for illustrative work for the paper. However, she said she is not greatly inclined to do any illustrative work since the paper does not really provide her the means to do it effectively. Unlike the other photographers, Walli does have a desk in the newsroom. Her space is comparable to the space reporters have, which is basically a desk and the wall beside it to post notes. She does not have a computer terminal at her desk, as the reporters do.

Walli also drives her own car to assignments and is reimbursed at the rate of 22 cents per mile. She has no communication system in her car to contact the office while out on assignment. The paper provides no two-way radios or cellular phones. During the two days I spent with her, Walli never checked with the office by telephone. She said she rarely does.

The paper also does not have any electronic photo transmitting devices. She uses other facilities to transmit on the rare occasions when she covers distant events. In some cases, such as when she is shooting out-of-town sports events, she said she has sent unprocessed film back to the paper by school principals or others who were going back to Oak Ridge that night.

Darkroom Facilities

Like the other facilities available to the three photographers at the newspapers where they work, the darkroom facilities, the use of black and white and color photographs and the prospects for electronic darkrooms in the future differ greatly.

At The Commercial Appeal, each photographer has a black and white film processing station for his or her personal use. The black and white film processing is done with hand-

held processing tanks. Two automatic color processing machines are used to process color film.

> It's really no problem. With the color all you have to do is just walk in and roll it in and put it in the processor and come back 30 or 40 minutes later and it's done (McMullan).

McMullan and the other photographers at the Memphis paper also do their own black and white and color print processing. There are two large darkrooms to handle color and black and white printing. The color darkroom has one color enlarger with color analyzing equipment. However the processing is done with a dip and dunk manual tray method. There is no automatic print processor, however the color darkroom does contain sophisticated temperature controls and modern stainless steel sinks. The black and white darkroom has eight high quality enlargers. This spacious darkroom is well lit and is also equipped with good quality stainless steel sinks.

At The Chattanooga Times, Jeff Guenther and the other Times photographers work under less ideal darkroom conditions. There are only two small black and white film processing rooms inside the black and white darkroom. The photographers take turns getting inside the processing rooms to process their black and white film. There is a color film processor, but the paper has not always enjoyed such a luxury. When the Times and the News-Free Press reinstated the joint operating agreement, the photographers at the Times had to depend on the photography department at the competing paper to process their color film. Phil Schmidt, the Times' photo editor, said it was a potentially disastrous situation.

> They had a Wing Lynch (color film processor) and we didn't. When I became chief photographer that's one of the first things I got us, a Wing Lynch. I just said,"...We've got to have it. We're driving ourselves

> crazy. We're driving those people over there crazy." I said, "They don't like to do our film, and I don't blame them." It was an imposition on them, and they would see every bit of film we had. Whether they took advantage of that, that's not the point. I'm not saying they did. But at least they had the opportunity to do it. We got us a Wing Lynch. So we severed that tie, and now we're just completely independent. We get along with them real well, their photographers and everything (Schmidt).

The Times photographers have a small, cramped black and white darkroom to process prints. There are four black and white enlargers. The room is not as well equipped with bright safelights as The Commercial Appeal darkroom, so it is difficult for photographers to see the results of their work. The Times also has a very small color darkroom with one color enlarger and an automatic color print processor. Since the paper uses a large majority of it's local photos in color, this minimal color facility presents some problems for the photographers.

> Our set-up's not real good. We've only got one color enlarger, because the room's so small. We've got another one, but we can't put it in there. So a lot of the morning guys will shoot in color. But there's a line of guys doing nothing but just waiting to get in there and print color (Guenther).

Darkroom facilities at The Oak Ridger are the poorest of the three papers. Kelley Walli has the use of a black and white darkroom where she processes black and white film and prints. The darkroom is very cramped, poorly lit and ill equipped. An old, unused press camera is stored in the room, taking up almost a third of the space. The enlarger is adequate, but there is no high-speed, stainless steel film dryer like those used at the other two papers.
An inexpensive plastic film dryer serves the purpose, but is indicative of the haphazard way the darkroom was put together before Walli arrived. Before Walli came to work for the

paper, the film dryer had just been just an ordinary hair dryer rigged to a plastic bag. Wooden slats have been placed in the old, stainless steel sink to raise the processing trays. According to Walli, the wood just soaks up the chemicals and causes unnecessary odor. There is barely room to turn around in the small space provided for the photographer.

> This was an office building, and they just sort of stuck it in here. There's not much room to expand without going in and replumbing everything. It's better than it was (Walli).

Unlike the photographers at the other two newspapers, Walli does not do any color printing. The paper uses slides exclusively for its color work. Walli processes color slides in the black and white darkroom. There is no automatic film processor. Instead, Walli makes do with a set of color chemicals in bottles in a portable plastic tub with a temperature control unit. She processes the slide film in manual processing tanks. Walli said she prefers color slides to color prints because "...when you're finished with them, you're finished with them.... You can waste a lot of time printing. Color printing is not easy."

All three photographers noted that their respective papers have shown more interest in using color photographs in the paper. Guenther said that almost all the section fronts in The Chattanooga Times are shot in color now. "We're shooting three-quarters of our stuff in color now," Guenther said. "That's happened in the last eight months probably."

Rick Owens, a photographer at the Times for the past 23 years, said the paper has wavered on it's use of photos in general over the years.

> It comes and goes. Sometimes they're big on pictures and just want them, want them, want them.

> And then sometimes they're not so big. It just seems to evolve. You go a few years, then it changes or slows down. I think though, with color, especially with people changing over to color print now totally, has really made more of an emphasis on photos, because they have that impact, especially when you're lucky enough to work at a place that can print color real well. It's a heartbreaker. It seems like when it messes up, and it's out of register, it's on something you worked your butt off on, and you got it right. I mean you really did get it, and then you're proud of that. Then all of a sudden it looks awful in the paper. Oh God, I shouldn't have put my name under that (Owens).

Kelley Walli expressed similar thoughts about the use of color. The Oak Ridger runs color photographs on section fronts frequently. "On Sunday, we have it on every front except business, Walli said." She said she also is very disappointed with color "...when you see it reproduce, and it looks horrible, and it doesn't look anything like the slide, and it's got your name on it."

Michael McMullan said color has been received with mixed results at The Commercial Appeal.

> You always hear they're trying to make a big push to go color, color, color, trying to get color on every section. Up until a few months ago, that was the big deal. We were going to go all color. We were going to divide the print room and make it half black and white and half color lab. We'd all do a lot more color printing. Then something magical happened to the budget, and they cut back. Like tomorrow's paper used to always be all section front color. Now they only use color on A1 on Sunday.... The basic plan now is to only have A1 color for Sunday and to do inside art in black and white. It's strictly a financial consideration. Something in the budget happened.... It's expensive to print color in the paper. It's almost a direct about face from what they were preaching a year ago. I've always heard that from all the papers. You've got to have color A1, B1, C1, color, color, color, color, color. Let's put it everywhere. It takes a lot to successfully do that I think. It takes a lot of money (McMullan).

According to McMullan, the paper has drastically cut down on its use of color photographs because of the printing expense of a color press run. Also, color printing in the darkroom, as Walli said, does take much more time than black and white printing. McMullan spent more than three hours in the color darkroom to produce a good color print of the baptism at the Jehovah's Witness convention he covered. Amazingly, he did not react negatively when the photo editor told him they had decided to run the shot in black and white instead of color after McMullan presented the finished color print to him.

Surprisingly, the smallest of these three papers, The Oak Ridger, is the only one that uses a darkroom technician to do any film or print processing. At the Oak Ridge paper, the person who is responsible for producing color separations also assists Walli with black and white and color film processing and black and white printing.

At The Chattanooga Times and The Commercial Appeal each photographer does his or her own color and black and white film processing and printing. These papers certainly appear to be more able to afford a darkroom technician than the smaller paper. These two papers have decided to leave the film processing and printing jobs to the photographers themselves.

The photo editor at The Commercial Appeal said there was no specific reason why the photographers develop their own film. However, he said there is very definite reasoning behind having photographers print their own photos.

> I think as far as printing their own negatives, I think the photographer wants to see the process through to the end. Plus, they each have their own personal printing styles, and that's part of the craft also. I can see somebody else processing the negatives or sticking it in a machine and walking away, like we do in transparencies and color negatives. I think there's a

lot of benefits from photographers being forced to print. Number one, while you're out in the field you're going to make a better negative if you know you're going to have to print the damn thing later on (Coyne).

Guenther, who in addition to working as a news photographer has the responsibility of mixing up the color chemicals, said a darkroom technician would be welcome at The Chattanooga Times. However, there is no great demand for a person to handle film and print processing exclusively.

> That would be fine. The majority of things that we shoot, I don't really get a thrill out of printing them. The occasional one that I really like, I like to have hands on messing with it. We would sit around sitting on our hands around here if we had a lab technician though. He would be a really under worked person (Guenther).

McMullan said he would gladly relinquish color printing, but would like to retain control over the black and white photographs he submits himself.

> I wouldn't mind having a darkroom tech to do the color printing. I would prefer to continue to do my own black and white printing. A lot of the things I shoot, even today in the skating rink, I'm thinking, this ain't a great moment, but maybe I can print it and make it look like something, make it look better than it was to the eye the first time, by burning certain things out or whatever...I think some things can take on a different look by how they are printed, by making better pictures than they were if they were just printed straight. With color printing, there are certain things I can do to make it better, but we don't do enough color printing here to all stay really consistent at it, so I really wouldn't object to seeing one particular person do all that color printing, just because there is a certain consistency you need to have to do it well and do it fast. I don't think any of us here have enough experience printing it (McMullan).

McMullan and Guenther said they like to print their own photographs because of the control this gives them over the

process of getting photos ready to be published in the newspaper. By editing the selection of prints from the rolls of film they shoot on assignments, photographers gain a great deal of control over which photos make it into the newspaper. Taking this away would change that control drastically.

Guenther, who has had news photographs published in national magazines, including Newsweek and Time, said he feels a bit uneasy when he sends exposed film that is often unprocessed to such publications.

> You know photographers. The worst feeling in the world is if you shoot slides for a magazine and you mail them the film without ever looking at it (Guenther).

The problem is that unlike the work he produces for the newspaper, this kind of photographic work is seen in its entirety. The photographer does not have a chance to select his best shots and submit them to the photo editor, as is the standard practice at most large daily newspapers. The control over picture selection is taken away from the photographer in this situation.

McMullan said he generally decides what photos to submit to the photo editor on all assignments he covers. He said he tries to fill the needs of the photo editor and the page designers when making prints for the newspaper.

> I usually just print what I want.... I've worked places where they want five pictures. What for? You're going to use one picture. They like to think that they're the ones who should be deciding. At least here, we have a little more freedom. We ought to know what's best out there from the situation, because we're the ones shooting it and trying to make it good. Why waste the company's time and money printing five crappy pictures. Photographers are real hesitant to turn in their entire take. I don't really recall the last time somebody wanted to look at my whole take, a roll of film. I try to print up my best two or three or four good things. If I've got six good things, I'll print up six good things. If I only have one good picture, I'll just print up the one good picture. You know how it is

> before you leave.... Depending on what it is, you kind of know what you need to bring back, so I try to give them as many selections that they'll need to fill their layout (McMullan).

Kelley Walli said she works in a manner similar to McMullan and Guenther on black and white prints. She said she has a great deal of control over black and white prints. However, because the darkroom technician does much of the color processing while Walli is out of the office, she has little control over color slides selected by editors.

> Since I don't make a contact sheet, I usually give them one or two choices. On black and white, I can do that without any problem. Color, they always grab them before I do, and I don't have any choice.... I know they're going to see them anyway, but I'd rather see them first.... If there's something really bad on there, I want to take it out before they see it, because nine times out of 10, that's the one they'll pick (Walli).

The editor of the paper at the time this research was conducted said she generally respects Walli's judgment about which photographs to use in the newspaper.

> Usually, if I'm involved in helping make a choice, the light table's over there, and she'll bring them in and look at them.... I'll see two or three that I like and I'll say, "Well, which of these do you like?" She'll point out which one, but she'll also have some specific reason, and she'll explain that to me. Ninety percent of the time it's something I didn't even notice or think of. Usually if you go with what she picks, you get the best picture (Joan Wallace, personal communication, July 25-26, 1990).

Larry Coyne, who has several years experience as a newspaper photographer himself, said he tries to remember what it was like to be a newspaper photographer before he undertook the management role he now holds at The Commercial Appeal.

> Our photographic staff is pretty excellent. Most

> of the people back here are the ones who decide what is best because they know what most closely approximates the reality. If I don't like what I see, I go back in and get something, look at negatives.... For the most part, we trust what they're giving us. So they might give us four or five prints or sometimes one or two. It hasn't been that long since I was back there doing the same thing. I guess I feel the same way. Who knows better than me what happened there. I'm bringing you a truthful statement and representation of what occurred. If they didn't like it, they would ask to see more, and I would bring out more. That's their jobs. It's not taken personally. We're trying to bring the best photographs to the reader (Coyne).

Phil Schmidt, photo director of The Chattanooga Times, like Coyne, gets involved in the picture selection process sometimes. He also agrees with Coyne that the photographer who covered the story is usually the best person to select the photos for the newspaper.

> It just makes it a lot simpler. I respect their judgment. If we are working on something big that's going to run for several days or a page of pictures, I will get into the editing of the pictures with them and an editor. But, usually the photographers supply the pictures already. Sometimes I will look at their film. If we're in a hurry or something, like one comes in on a deadline or something like that and I need to look at something, I'll look at some film. I'll say, "Let's look at it together." They know what they shot. They were there, and I always ascribe that this is the best way to do it. They're the best people to do that (Schmidt).

Electronic Imaging

As electronic picture desks and still video cameras become more prevalent in newsrooms many photographers fear that the freedom to select the photos they want to submit to photo editors or other newspaper staff will be infringed upon. Many photographers also say they do not want to relinquish control of the image to someone else.

If conventional darkrooms are replaced with computerized electronic darkrooms or picture desks some photographers are fearful that part of the craft and creative side of photojournalism will disappear with the photographic paper and chemicals that would be discontinued. If still video camera technology continues to advance, film could be replaced with electronic devices such as computer disks to record the image.

Among the photography staffs at these three newspapers, two of them would like to continue the conventional ways of shooting and processing film and prints. One paper would welcome electronic imaging wholeheartedly.

At The Commercial Appeal, electronic picture desks are already used in a limited way. The photo managers there anticipate slow adoption of the electronic imaging devices, even though the Associated Press plans to phase in its electronic picture desks, the Photostream system, for many subscriber newspapers in the next two years. Mike Kerr, graphics editor for the paper said he sees many practical uses for electronic picture desks and slow progress for still video cameras.

> The Photostream is going to be coming out probably sometime next year, and it's expected to become the industry standard as far as replacing what is essentially 40-year old technology, laser photo machine. I don't think it will speed up the picture editing process, but it's got some real possibilities as far as the quality of reproduction because you will be dealing with sending electronic images directly to engraving departments, not having a different generation. We go right now to a paper print made by a telephone signal. The quality is pretty questionable. We'll be getting a digital signal from a satellite dish, so we'll see a big improvement in the quality of reproduction of wire pictures and also pictures our photographers send in from remote locations. Still video...I think it's got some real possibilities in situations where speed is essential. On a breaking news situation it's really tough to see how it wouldn't be beneficial to go to a

> system where you never have to even walk in a conventional darkroom. A photographer could take a picture of a breaking news scene, go to his car cellular telephone, dial up our electronic picture desk and send it in. We could have it in the paper in 10 minutes. In non-breaking situations the quality is going to have to come a real long way to really make it feasible. I think we're still going to be using black and white and color film for non-breaking situations where quality is what we're after unless this video quality really improves dramatically. I just don't see that we'd be able to do the same kinds of things with video that we can with conventional film (Kerr).

Larry Coyne, director of photography for The Commercial Appeal, voiced concerns about the quality of electronic imaging devices.

> I'm a little uncomfortable with it because it will be so new and different. Nobody really knows what to expect. On the one hand, I don't wish to see taking control away from photographers. But, yet they're still going to be the ones pushing the button. No one's going to be able to do that for them. It's still going to take a brain to push the button. So maybe what we do back there at the picture desk will just be an extension of that. I don't know how it's going to work out. We're just going to have to wait and see. They tell me it's coming. There's no question about it. It's going to be here. I don't know. I like the tonal range that you get in prints. I like photographers back here printing their own prints. I feel like that is an extension of the craft. There's just something to me that a photograph will give you with its full range of tones that a Leafax transmission cannot (Coyne).

Coyne said there will probably be no way around still video cameras in the next five to 10 years, but he was not very enthusiastic about immediate prospects for the new technology. "The quality is a long way off from what I want to see in a daily paper, but I can see where it has uses here and there," he said.

Michael McMullan said he could envision photographers sending a videotape portfolio of their work to prospective

employers rather than a portfolio of prints and slides. This, of course, is a standard practice among television photographers and could be an indication that newspaper photographers will not be so different than television photographers in a few years.

Kelley Walli said she is afraid that electronic picture desks and other electronic imaging devices will present several problems for photojournalists. She is specifically concerned about job security, ethics and communication with editors who may gain more control of images.

> I see it coming.... What that will eventually do, it will cut down on the number of photographers that a paper will hire. They'll use stock pictures and rearrange things.... When you start altering photos like that, that's not real, and that's not news.... They would use stock files. They would pull things out that they needed pictures of, the mayor and the county commissioners. They would just pull each of them out and put them all on one picture, because they have that capability.... It really bothers me. I really do see that they could do that, that the stock could be the way for papers to go. Costwise, that would eliminate a lot of cost, salary, time. They wouldn't have to keep buying film. They wouldn't have to develop it.... I don't want to get rid of my darkroom. I'm always going to want to do that, even if it's just for me, just to see it (Walli).

Walli said she thinks electronic picture desks will require much more communication between editors and photographers. Identification of people in photographs and information that only the photographer knows about could get lost in the shuffle, according to Walli.

> Of course, I could always put a note on my film. But by the time notes go through five people they may not always get to where they need to go, to the person who would make that decision. A good situation for that would be to have a photo editor who controlled that, and that person should have been a photographer at least at some time in their life. They should at least know composition. That's the biggest thing (problem) that I

> find. People who don't know anything about photography, don't know anything about composition. Hopefully they would have read the story that goes with it, unless it was a stand alone picture. But they probably would not do that. That would take a lot of time (Walli).

The Oak Ridger photographer said that it seems almost inevitable that newspaper editors will want to make the shift to electronic picture systems eventually and take advantage of all the capabilities such systems offer, including alteration of photographs.

> When people find out that they do have that capability, it will be pretty hard for us to stop them from doing it, especially people who don't really know, who are not thinking in terms of photography. They're thinking this is like working on the Mac. This is like a graphic. I can just do this. I think they're going to get into the electronic part of it and not really think about what they are doing, and they may go hog wild with it (Walli).

Joan Wallace, editor of the Oak Ridger at the time of this study, was somewhat skeptical about the impact of electronic imaging.

> I'm not too clear about how it's going to work yet.... I keep getting these things from AP, and I'm trying to ignore them actually. If they will look better we'll certainly be happy. I've also heard some comment about editing the photo. Sometimes, maybe there's a picture of you and right behind you is something really weird, so you try to get that out. I can understand the photographer's feeling on that. That's not a legitimate thing to do. It hasn't come up here yet, fortunately. I've heard a lot of talk about that.... All through my working life I've heard we're going to get this, and it's going to make things easier. And, sometimes it does, and sometimes it doesn't. I'm about to the point where I'll believe it when I see it. When I see it works, then I'll know (Wallace).

At The Chattanooga Times, photo editor, Phil Schmidt, is very enthusiastic about the prospects of being able to use

electronic picture desks, portable electronic transmitters and still video cameras to gather news photos.

> I think it's going to affect our business in a very positive way. I look forward to it. I look forward to it for the speed of it for one thing and for the portable aspect of it. I think it'll make us a lot more portable like television is now with their trucks and all that stuff. I think now we will be able to go to Nashville and cover the Legislature, and we will be able to get stuff back, get sporting events back. We'll be able to do things we haven't been able to do in towns we haven't been able to go. All we have to have now is a telephone. A telephone and a Leafax, and you're in business and a place to develop film (Schmidt).

Schmidt said he is also very optimistic about the future of still video cameras for photojournalists.

> I am very positive on that also. I think it's going to make us remarkably more able to respond to deadline situations, and what I've seen so far has improved in the last five years greatly. AP transmitted a picture from the inauguration, from right there on the platform, right there, the guy with a phone and a transmitter and a still video camera. And it was amazing. The quality of it, I thought, was pretty good for what it was. Five years from now I think you're going to see a lot more of it.... I'm looking forward to this with great anticipation. I'm just excited about it. I really am. I think it's the future, and I think by the time I retire 15 years from now, I think we'll be head over heels into it (Schmidt).

Schmidt said he is so excited about electronic imaging devices, he plans to make great changes in the photography department at the paper after the AP electronic picture desk and Leafax portable transmitters are in place. The plan is to stop black and white printing entirely and have photographers shoot their work on conventional color or black and white film and then simply transmit the images from the negatives from the photography department to the newsroom. The only chemical processes that would remain would be film

processing, which could be handled by the photographers themselves or by a darkroom technician. Schmidt said he is ready to implement the new electronic system as soon as it becomes available to him. He admitted that long term costs are a big part of his decision.

> We're looking for ways to cut costs. Look at the newspapers that have folded in the past 10 years. Look at the problems newspapers are having today financially. Like Paul Neilly, our managing editor, says, the first thing his colleagues are talking about now is how are you doing financially? It's not what great stories you've done, or how many Pulitzers you've won. It's how are you doing financially? This is a business. We've got to remember that, and the guy that sits downstairs in that front office reminds me of it constantly every time I want to spend some money. With all of this new technology it's going to get cheaper, and it's going to be easier to operate. It's just a matter now when we get this new electronic darkroom. And if we get a Leafax and we can transmit pictures into the system, you don't have to fool with a print. And that has to help us (Schmidt).

Despite his enthusiasm, Schmidt said he is concerned with ethical questions about electronic imaging and losing control of images.

> I see us having to have a lot of integrity in this because we can certainly do things to alter photos, and I don't like that aspect of it. But, we can alter photos now, right here on the easel, right here in the black and white or color darkroom by dodging and burning and things like that. That's been a capability we've had for years, and we haven't really thought much about it. We used to retouch photos heavily at this newspaper in the 50s and 60s. We don't do that anymore. We used to take backgrounds out of pictures and never think anything about it. Of course we used to shoot a lot more group pictures and stuff like that.... I am going to fight very hard to get a photographer into that editing position. I may have a fight on my hands. He (the managing editor) may want an editor to do that. I know I want a photo person on that desk somewhere (Schmidt).

Two photographers at the paper said they share Schmidt's concern about electronic picture desks being out of the hands of photojournalists and in the hands of word editors.

> The only problem is that the guys downstairs that decide they want to mess with it. Once you send it down to the electronic picture desk, they may want to do this and that, and the picture may look a lot different (Guenther).

> You're going to have trouble. Unless that person has experience with pictures and layout, balance and composition and color, then they could crop it in maybe a way that you don't particularly care for. ...You might shoot a scene with a lot of sky to try to set a mood, and if the picture person on the desk doesn't understand moods and stuff, then your pictures are going to be butchered, and it's going to lose the effect that you were going for in the first place (Owens).

Schmidt said that even if electronic imaging takes over newspaper photography entirely, he still believes that newspaper photographers will be an important part of the news gathering process.

> I think you still need the man behind the camera. I still think you will have the creative image. There will be times when it's just like pointing a movie camera. The motor drives of the future are going to be real motor drives. They're going to be like a video camera almost. That part of our business is going to change, and that's going to be something we will have to do. I don't know that it will be so bad. I still think you have to point the camera in the right place. Maybe I'm wrong. I can't see that far into it right now. But, I think the overall aspect of the electronic darkroom, still video cameras will outweigh all of this. We changed. We didn't used to have motor drives, flashes that would synch with motor drives, the great TMax films that we have, the great color films that we have now. All that's changed. We've gone from 2 1/4 to 35mm, which a lot of old timers really never thought would happen. We've seen an awful lot of change since the '50s (Schmidt).

Schmidt said he thinks the pace at which many of the new

technologies are accepted by newspapers will be determined by economic factors to some extent.

> A lot of it depends on how much small papers like ours want to put into this stuff. They may be very well satisfied with us using the cameras that we have now and the Leafaxes and not fool with any of the electronic cameras at this point. Electronic cameras are coming. I think that by the time I retire 15 years from now that's what we will be using (Schmidt).

Professionalism

Union Membership

There seems to be general agreement among the photojournalists and photo managers at these three newspapers that no matter what technology photojournalists use, professionalism among newspaper photographers will always be a concern of newspapers and photojournalists. To get a feel for how these three photographers felt about professionalism, questions about unions, professional organizations and the role of photojournalists in the news organization were discussed.

McMullan and Guenther are both members of The Newspaper Guild. There is no union representation for any employees at The Oak Ridger, including the photographers, the layout staff and the press operators (Wallace). The two union members both said they are not very active in the union, and that they saw positive and negative outcomes of being members.

> I don't know that we have all that much effect anymore on how management runs the paper.... Every time negotiations come around they try to exempt another half dozen positions that the union can't cover. All the writers and stuff are covered. They'll try to get exemptions on assistant metro editor for instance. They've been trying, in my opinion anyway, to install an assistant level of management that would enable them, if we went on strike, to more or less put the paper out regardless.

> I think the union helps in certain areas.... It does keep them from really trying to scrimp so much that we start becoming overworked. They hate to pay overtime, so generally you don't really work overtime.... If the union was busted and no longer existed I can't say that salaries would really go down. I think you would find that raises wouldn't be as frequent in coming.... I think initially the union is the reason that they pay so good here, definitely. I'm in the union, but I'm not...really active in the union.
>
> I don't really go to meetings all that much. I'm fairly satisfied with my wage, and I guess I try to divorce myself from as much company participation in about anything I can because I never want to give my life to some company. I look at my job at The Commercial Appeal as being a 40-hour a week kind of thing.... If I do more than that I expect to be compensated for it (McMullan).

The Chattanooga Times is in an interesting position as far as the union is concerned. The Chattanooga News-Free Press, the larger circulation partner in the joint operating agreement between the papers, has no union representation. The Chattanooga Times does have union representation, but Jeff Guenther said he feels that the joint operating arrangement limits the power of the union severely.

> Ours has been tolerated because it has no clout. The printers aren't in our building. We can't shut down the presses. If we were to strike, the Free Press would just send writers over to put the paper out (Guenther).

Professional Organizations

All three photographers, McMullan, Guenther and Walli, are members of the National Press Photographers Association, the largest association of press photographers in the United States. Activities and opinions on this organization were wide ranging.

McMullan, as was noted earlier in this thesis, won the

the NPPA newspaper photographer of the year award for region six, the Southeast, in 1984 before he came to work at The Commercial Appeal. He has been runner up for the title twice since coming to work for the Memphis paper, in 1985 and in 1988. Guenther and Walli have never won any major awards from NPPA, but both have participated in workshops sponsored by the professional organization. Guenther said he has entered the NPPA's monthly clip contest for newspaper photographers and has received some recognition by placing in the top three for some categories.

Coyne said photographers at The Commercial Appeal are encouraged to enter photo contests sponsored by NPPA and other organizations.

> Yeah I encourage them to enter. Scripps-Howard, our chain, promotes a contest monthly. For one thing, it recognizes the best work during the month, but it also pays money. It pays $250, which is a good amount. Plus the winner of that contest gets entered into an annual contest, and that pays $2,500 for first place and $1,250 for second place. You stand to gain a lot financially from it. Also, any contests are good in terms of review for photographers, because if you don't keep up with what you've been doing, the tendency is to forget the lessons that you learned.... So, a forced review annually for the National Press Photographers Association Photographer of the Year contest or for your clips even, it helps in that regard. It lets you know what you've done and where you're coming from (Coyne).

Coyne said he is aware that there is a danger that some photojournalists may get so caught up in the contests that they relegate their jobs of covering the news with the camera effectively to a greater concentration on winning awards.

> I'm sure there's some of that, and that's not good. I think we have to keep in mind that what we do best is document our own communities, what is going on around us, and contests are byproducts of that. If you win a contest, you've done your job well. And hopefully, we're setting standards instead of just following them (Coyne).

The photographers at the Memphis paper have many opportunities to take part in professional development activities, especially those sponsored by the NPPA.

> We pay for NPPA dues, $55 a year. We also pay for seminars. Not everybody can go to seminars, but maybe two or three can go to seminars each year. We'll send somebody to the (University of) Missouri workshop this year. We'll send somebody to the Western Kentucky (University) workshop. We'll probably go to Louisville. We sent our two women photographers to the women in photojournalism in Houston this past February. Jeff McAdory, the picture editor, went to the digital photo conference in D.C. So we have a budget for staff education. We send one photographer to the Pittsburgh conference in May. It's essential really. It's a reward, yes. It's also recognition of the fact that you have to constantly keep abreast of what's going on, and you have to get out there and see what other people are doing. You can't just live in a vacuum here (Coyne).

McMullan said he has been involved in NPPA activities for many years, but that he has become less involved recently, especially with the contests run by the professional organization.

> A lot of photographers shoot just for the contests. I really don't do that anymore. I used to do it a lot.... Once you've decided that you don't always need to win awards, you don't need a clip win every month. Sure, those things are nice and God, my management would certainly love to see everybody get a clip win every month. And, if you got the region, you'd probably get a bonus or a pay raise or something like that. Once you arrive at a certain position and you're making enough money that you can live on, you're basically content. Then why constantly beat yourself up by losing a contest or worrying about which pictures get used or not? You're just going to create frustration for yourself. I'm not saying you should sit back and be complacent with yourself and not try to be the best you can.
>
> I've been to Pittsburgh and Atlanta a couple of times. That's all been paid for by the paper. I think the longer you're in the business the more routine things become. I mean even the pictures all look the same. That's to some degree a problem. To see what's

> winning now, it's the same stuff that won 10 years ago. And, I've even noticed like the last year or so even regionally, I see a lot of really weak pictures.... I like to see photographers' creativity in things, and I see a lot of pictures that are winning that to me are just grab shots. Okay, maybe there's something different about it, but all the photographer had to do was be there. I like to see things that are more than just being there. I like to see things where you can tell that the photographer got involved with it and was working it (McMullan).

After working for eight years as a newspaper photographer, Jeff Guenther said he too is somewhat less active in NPPA than he used to be, but like McMullan he does still participate in the workshops and clip contests. He has attended several NPPA workshops that were paid for by the newspaper and recently won first place in the sports category in the NPPA monthly clip contest. But, he too is surprised at the winners that sometimes appear in the competition.

> I'm always amazed at what wins. I think half the time, three-quarters of the time it's pretty ridiculous what they choose as a winning photo, although I haven't seen what the competition is. But, it's just amazing to me (Guenther).

Kelley Walli said her paper does not usually send her to NPPA events. She did attend some NPPA conferences and workshops before coming to Oak Ridge, but has not really had the chance to participate lately.

> My turn hasn't come around. They sent a reporter to a science convention for a week in Washington D.C., and then somebody else got to do something. So my turn is coming up. I hope this year to go to the Southern Short Course. That's always a good one. I like that one. A lot of people from this area go to it (Walli).

Walli said she also pays some attention to the NPPA monthly clip contests. However, she is not a regular

entrant, and she also had some criticism about the contests.

> I think about it, but every time I find something I really want to enter, I end up forgetting, and I miss the deadline. It's a real hassle to keep up with that stuff. You've got to have it in on the seventh. I usually think about it on the seventh. They don't break it down into circulation. That's all region six, and you're competing with all the papers. Miami...they're always sending people down to those foreign countries. You can't compete with their news stuff. No way. Featurewise and sportswise, I think it's pretty well even. I think everybody's got a chance on that.... To get the photographer of the year, you've got to rack up the points. I'm not sure there's a fair way of doing it. I think it should be a portfolio. I think the organization is pretty good. They've got a lot of helpful things. I'm not sure I agree with the clip contest, even though I do think about entering it (Walli).

Walli said the newspaper does not pay her NPPA dues. She pays for the membership herself. Walli also performs a service to the newspaper by conducting basic photographic workshops for members of the community who submit photographs on a regular basis. Students who shoot photographs for the local high school newspaper also learn more about newspaper photography from Walli by taking part in training sessions she conducts for them. She also holds staff workshops for several reporters at The Oak Ridger who sometimes shoot their own pictures on stories they cover and write.

Perceptions of Photographers' Roles

An important indicator of professionalism among photojournalists is how they perceive their roles in the newspapers and how management views the role of news photographers. To explore these views among the photographers and news managers, each of the three photojournalists and one or more managers at each paper were asked whether they felt the photographers at their papers

were viewed as professionally equal to reporters. Generally there seemed to be a consistent difference between the views of the photojournalists and the managers on whether photojournalists and reporters were equals, although all seemed to agree that news photographers and reporters should be equal.

At The Chattanooga Times, Phil Schmidt said that photographers are basically on an even par with reporters. However, he said some reporters and photographers act as if they have very little professional values sometimes.

> I think the management part of the paper looks at them as equals. We have had some reporters who have been really disgusted at photographers and really hesitant to even work with photographers. We have a young man...who...had a run in with one of our photographers when he first became a reporter. He just wouldn't request a photographer on any assignments. This guy just griped, moaned and carried on. The photographer did too, so there was no excuse. I can't blame the reporter in a lot of ways, but I think we need to bury that. We've had some run ins. We are paid equally. That may not be the case after you've been here awhile. Somebody may get a merit raise, but the photographer and reporter scale is the same. At least you start out that way. After that, it's up to you. If you're good enough to make a merit raise then that's more power to you. I can't begrudge anybody getting a raise that deserved one, a photographer or a reporter.
>
> Photographers are considered more journalists than they were certainly 10 years ago, five years ago even. I think we're making a lot of progress in that area. We still have confrontation. I still have reporters come to me and say, "I'd rather not have him on assignment," or something like that...Most of the time the reporters that feel that way are the ones who've been here a long time. They're set in their ways. Maybe a young person has ticked them off, and they don't like to ride with somebody (Schmidt).

Jeff Guenther said he is working toward a bachelor's degree in journalism partly because he believes it will enhance his ability as a photojournalist and also because he

is interested in news writing.

> I think with writing experience I'll be more accurate with my pictures. I'll probably be more informative with my pictures...I think reporting training and learning the right questions to ask, I will kind of get the feel for where a story is going. I think I'll be a lot more intelligent about how to go about shooting the picture. I know it will improve. It's bound to improve. I think that if you're educated in more aspects of the business then you can't help but have a better grasp of what you need to get into the picture. I think I'll think less about technical things and more about the content or just the meaning that we're trying to get across. I'll be more aware (Guenther).

Guenther has used some of his journalistic skills training in his job at The Chattanooga Times by shooting and writing stories on a few occasions. He said writing and shooting presents a challenge he is interesting in pursuing.

> I think if I'm writing the story I'll be more in tune with the people I'm around, and they'll probably get more comfortable because I'll get to know them a lot more than just looking through a camera and shooting. It will be more of a personal thing than a technical thing.
>
> While I was taking (a news writing class) I probably did three stories for the paper. I did one spot news kind of thing. I just happened to show up. They were having this gas war at this intersection, and it had just made a traffic jam like crazy, so I felt like I could do it. So, I just went around and started talking to the people that were running the gas station, the people that were caught in traffic and how far they had come from. I had a good time doing it. I shot pictures and got back here and was printing and writing all at the same time. It was fun (Guenther).

This kind of news gathering is not really alien to Guenther in his work as a news photographer, because he would usually gather the same kind of information if he were shooting the story. The difference is that he would probably

not go into as much depth if he were gathering information for cutlines as he usually does. Guenther and McMullan both write their own cutlines. Walli usually just supplies information to a writer or editor who writes the cutlines for her photographs.

Walli said she does not feel that she is regarded as an equal to reporters at The Oak Ridger. When asked about this, her answer was very direct.

> No. Let's put it this way. In the employee handbook, photographers don't even rate. We don't have a dress code. We're not on any of their lists. We are non-existent as far as they are concerned. Unless they need us, that's how management treats us. We're great when they want us around, when they need something. Other than that, they're happy if they don't see us, because they don't know what to do with us (Walli).

As she was standing in the darkroom processing prints for the next day's paper, Walli said the situation is not much better concerning how reporters at her paper regard her in her role as a newspaper photographer.

> I think that reporters view us as necessary evils. They think we don't do anything. They don't count this as what we do. What we do is drive around and take pictures. To them, they do the work, and we just kind of hang along. Which is really funny, considering that educationwise, most of us have the same number of years in college. My husband always kids about photographers that can't spell. I can spell. Television shows like Lou Grant and Animal. People expected us to dress like Animal and act like Animal. It's crazy, because I walked in here the first day I came for an interview, and I had a dress on. I wear a dress to interviews. That's what I always was told. That's the proper thing to do, so I walked in here, and I had a dress on. (A previous editor) took one look at me and said, "You don't look like a photographer." I didn't know whether to be insulted or what (Walli).

Joan Wallace, editor of The Oak Ridger at the time of

this study, indicated that she thought Walli was regarded as an equal with reporters for the most part.

> I think so. I think most people here, particularly in this newsroom do, because Kelley does good work, and the reporters whose stories she illustrates appreciate that...I'd like to clone Kelley. Kelley's very creative, and we haven't always had that...One example that I've pointed to several times was a picture that was in the Sunday paper. They were doing immunization, and she caught this little girl just when she was stuck. The kid's making a really funny face, not intentionally, but it hurt, and you can tell. You can read the expression on her face. And someone else, whose name I won't mention, who has taken many pictures for The Oak Ridger and does a very nice job and is a good photographer, but she would have probably waited and had the child smile, which would have destroyed the news value. There's an instinct there, a knowledge of what the actual news is. Everybody doesn't see that (Wallace).

Walli said Wallace's view that photographer's are journalists is not really shared by most other reporters and editors at the paper.

> They look at it as all you do is push a button. You don't have to think about it. You just point and push. It's really hard to convince somebody that it's not. They tell me, "Well your pictures are better." But, they don't understand it's because I think about them, not because I just stand there and push a button. They don't understand. They don't want to understand. When I came into this business, I expected them to know that. I expect people at a newspaper to know. I know what they do, so I felt like they should know what I do, but it doesn't work out that way (Walli).

The creative, artistic side of newspaper photography is important to Walli. However, she said she strongly objects to editors calling any photograph art. But, she said she does think that newspaper photographers have to have some artistic ability.

> I don't like the word art. I don't like them calling photographs art, like when (an editor) says, "I need some art." Because to him, art can be a graphic. To me a graphic is not art. That's not art. That's a necessary evil, but it's not art. It depends on how the picture is used. I don't think an accident scene is art...A lot of people don't believe photography is an art form, probably because it is real. It's not altered. What you see is what you get. I really think that depends on the use. I don't think news is art really.
>
> I think you have to understand design and composition. I think you have to know what's attractive. It's very important that you understand how the eye flows through a picture. All this you get with an art background. And, I think you have to learn not just necessarily what's pleasing, but what's going to reach out and grab somebody. I think that's the art part of it (Walli).

A major frustration for Walli is the lack of a depth of understanding about the power and potential of good photojournalism for daily newspapers among most of the staff members at the paper. She cited an example of a dramatic photograph she had produced that was grossly misunderstood by a reader and even some staff members.

> This one lady...I had this really good silhouette picture of a principal and a little girl walking down a hallway. And it was a silhouette. The lady called, and I gave the little girl's name in the information, and the lady called, and she said, "I'd like to have a copy of that picture." And, I said, "Okay, that's fine." So I got her phone number and said, "I'll call you when it's ready." She says, "It's just too bad it wasn't a better picture, you can't even see either of their faces." There wasn't anyway I could explain to this woman that I didn't want to see their child's face. They don't want to hear that for one thing. Some of the (staff) here said the same thing. They didn't understand that it was a silhouette, that you weren't supposed to see their faces. It was a dramatic shot, back lit. They were holding hands. There was this big tall man and this little bitty kid.
>
> It's real frustrating, but like I said, they're not used to that here. They apparently don't look at other newspapers or magazines. They don't see that use of pictures. And, it's something that they have never done

here, and it doesn't seem to matter that they do it at other places. But, we don't do it here. It's really hard to break through that barrier. Sometimes I think the fence is still up. I work at trying to educate them to something different (Walli).

Walli said she is not bitter with the staff because of their apparent lack of understanding about the power of good photojournalism, but that such episodes as the one described above do tend to discourage her sometimes.

> I just wish that they appreciated the value of a good picture more. Of course, everywhere you go you're going to hear that same story. Probably Life magazine photographers don't feel like their stuff is played. I'm sure that's a common complaint. I'm sure it's worse at some places.
>
> The big difference I had when I came from school, everybody was a professional in some category, and you never felt like you were talking to somebody who didn't understand. Even if they weren't photographers, they still knew what you were talking about. They still understood the work. Then you come to a paper where you expect people to understand, because that's part of the paper, and yet they don't understand. It's real disappointing (Walli).

Michael McMullan said that while he does feel that there is a reasonably high level of professionalism among the staff at The Commercial Appeal, some reporters do not consider the photographers to be professionally equal as journalists. However, he said how editors and other managers view photographers is more important to him.

> There are a lot of good writers at The Commercial Appeal. I think many realize the importance a good photograph can have toward increasing readers' desire to read a story, as well as the added information a picture can provide. However, there are others, I'm sure that don't care or think about the positive impact a photo can have on their story. After all, if reporters could get as excited about pictures as photographers do, they would probably become photographers and vice versa.
>
> Whether reporters view me as their journalistic

> equal is to me irrelevant. It is more important that editors and those who put my work in the paper see me as a journalist and realize the value of my daily contributions. This is not universally the case, but at The Commercial Appeal, I know they do (McMullan).

The Memphis photojournalist said that sometimes stories run in the paper that could have had good art potential, but had no photograph with the story. He identified four reasons for such situations.

> First, there wasn't enough space to accommodate both. Second, there was breakdown in inner office communication between the word side and the picture desk. Third, there was a breakdown between the reporter and his editor. For example, either the reporter or the editor were not thinking very visually that day. Fourth, the selfish reason—that the reporter or editor didn't want anything to interfere with the story getting as much space as possible (McMullan).

The graphics editor at the Memphis paper expressed support for equality among the photojournalists and reporters at the paper.

> We feel that all our photographers are reporters. They're out there to get the visual side of the story. I think they're accorded the same kind of respect or responsibility the reporters are. It's definitely a part of the story. There are some stories that are tough to illustrate photographically too. We struggle with some. Words. It's all important. I've done both. I've worked as a photographer and as a reporter, and I like to think that both sides are important. I know there's a lot of words versus pictures debate among people, but I just think the pictures and words have got to work together to tell a story (Kerr).

The director of photography at The Commercial Appeal said he agrees with the ideal of equal footing among photojournalists and reporters, but he said the goal has not yet been fully realized at the paper.

> I think we have some headway to make in that

> area.... I think we've got an outstanding group of photographers back here. They're all solid journalists. Their ideas are as good as anyone else's. One thing about that though is our ideas take up a lot of space. It's reality that a photographer's idea usually is going to involve a picture story which might be four or five pictures or something like that. So, that's even more space. Space is at a premium. I think management support for photography is very high (Coyne).

Coyne's strong support for treating photojournalists as journalists is supported up by his expressed preference for photographers who have earned college degrees in photojournalism from journalism schools, even though he majored in English.

> Probably some of the best ones coming out would be from journalism schools...Some of the teachers in the business, they are the best journalists of our time, Chuck Scott, Kuykendall. They've been from the street and know what to look for, and they're good motivators, and they know how to impart that to the students (Coyne).

Coyne said he believes that to achieve effective newspaper photography a photojournalist must think and behave like a journalist, an artist and a technician to some extent.

> It's all three. First and foremost, I believe they're journalists, and then the craft comes into it. Some people say art. Maybe it is, and maybe it isn't. There are certainly art factors involved. I look at it mainly as a craft that can be practiced and learned and improved upon by attention to technique and patience in the field. I believe that any photographer can improve themselves. It doesn't necessarily take an artistic bent to do it. It sure helps sometimes. It's an artistic mirror.
>
> Those are things that can be learned. If you've got all three of those, if you're a journalist by and large, that's the main thing. You've got to be a journalist. If you can see things in a creative and artistic manner, and if you're willing to learn the craft, it's a piece of cake (Coyne).

McMullan basically agreed with Coyne. He explained his

view of photojournalism by giving some insight into how he thinks about pictures and coverage when he goes to cover an assignment with a camera.

> To me the craft of photojournalism is knowing how to operate your equipment and what film to use etc...being able to talk your way into a situation to take photos. The art of photojournalism is the creativity which you apply in using that equipment, your style, your technique, your use of light, etc.
>
> My first priority is to bring back a meaningful, truthful image from any event I cover, something that conveys information. Secondly, I want that image to be as visually intriguing or exciting as possible.
>
> As a photojournalist I want the picture with the most meaning and information. As a photographer I want the most exciting visual I can find. The two go hand in hand (McMullan).

McMullan said technical skills and recognizing how various photographic equipment will affect the visual outcome of a photograph are also an important part of the process of photojournalism in his day-to-day activities of reporting with cameras. Lens selection, angle of view, lighting, depth of field, shutter speed, composition and many other factors must be considered by photojournalists often in a short amount of time as they gather information and images. McMullan said technical mastery of photographic equipment is an important component of successful photojournalism.

> To me that's part of the creative process. Is a 180 (mm telephoto lens) going to make it look best? Like with that roller skating thing the other day, I looked at it with a telephoto, and to me sometimes there are certain kinds of pictures that if you use a wideangle you spoil any mood of spontaneity or candidness in the picture just because you're so close and overall. To look at the picture you have to know that you're far from conspicuous to the person you're photographing. They were so involved with themselves and getting their skates together they really hadn't had any time to think about me. Some did ham it up, but most of them were so caught up in the chaos of

everything around them (McMullan).

By selecting a 180mm telephoto lens, McMullan was able to isolate his two subjects, a small child trying to tie on roller skates and an adult instructor, for a strong visual impact that would not have been possible with a normal or wideangle lens. Without the technical know how to understand how this lens would impact visually on the photograph to isolate the two people from their surroundings and add drama, the photojournalist would be severely limited in the ability to bring powerful communication to the newspaper reader.

This example demonstrates in a small way that a photojournalist must have strong journalistic, artistic and technical skills to be an effective reporter and communicator for a daily newspaper. Journalistic ability then, perhaps the most important of these three skills, is a necessary, but not sufficient requirement for a professional photojournalist. He or she must also possess artistic and technical competence. In this sense, photojournalists do closely match the skill level of reporters who must be good journalists and be well versed in the art of writing and using technical equipment such as computers, databases and other communications equipment.

Chapter VI

Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations

The survey, case studies and reviews of previous research all indicate that photojournalists are important members of newspaper staffs, with strong potential to contribute greatly to news organizations' efforts to inform and entertain readers. The photographs and information they produce may have tremendous impact on readers' understanding of important issues and events covered by newspapers. An added benefit for newspapers, is that the quality photo-reporting photojournalists produce may serve to attract and meet the needs of readers who are overwhelmingly drawn to photographs when they pick up a newspaper.

However, according to this research it seems that overall, daily newspapers in Tennessee are somewhat underutilizing the contributions photojournalists have to offer to news organizations. Tennessee daily newspaper photojournalists appear to be somewhat underpaid, overworked and not afforded the level of professional respect they expect, desire and deserve.

The profile that emerged from this research reveals that the photojournalists at Tennessee's daily newspapers were overwhelmingly male (76.8 percent) and white (96.5 percent). They are fairly young. Forty-five (80.3 percent) were 21-40 years old. The largest age group was 26-30 years old with 20 (35.7 percent) photojournalists.

As reported in this research, Tennessee's daily newspaper photojournalists do not appear to be highly paid. Three (5.5 percent) reported that they earned less than $10,000; 12 (21.8 percent) were paid $10,001-$15,000; 11 (20 percent) earned $15,001-$20,000; nine (16.4 percent) were paid $20,001-$25,000; nine (16.4 percent) earned $25,001-

$30,000; and 11 (20 percent) received salaries of more than $30,000. When these pay categories are combined, the compensation picture becomes a little clearer. Almost two thirds (63.7 percent) said they earned $25,000 or less each year. Almost half (47.3 percent) earned less than $20,000.

Apparently, Tennessee's daily newspaper photojournalists are paid about the same as newspaper photojournalists nationally. According to a national survey by Bissland (1984), 65 percent of the newspaper photographers earned less than $25,000. In her nationwide survey, Bethune (1984) found that 76.2 percent of the photojournalists in the nation earned less than $25,000.

Comparatively, it appears that newspaper reporters in the United States, on the average, earned somewhat more pay than the photojournalists in Tennessee. According to a report of the 1990 ANPA Newspaper Industry Compensation Survey, the yearly salary of entry level reporters averaged $19,847, and reporters with one to four years experience averaged $30,199 (presstime, September 1990). The photojournalists in this thesis had about five (the mode) or six (the median) years of experience, indicating that overall, Tennessee photojournalists are receiving somewhat less pay than the national average for reporters who have about the same number of years of experience.

Considering the experience and education level of this group of Tennessee photojournalists as a whole, these pay levels did seem somewhat low. All of the respondents had been graduated from high school. Five (9 percent) had earned two-year diplomas. More than half (55.4 percent) held bachelor's degrees and two (3.6 percent) had earned master's degrees.

The low levels of compensation seem especially disheartening when almost three-fourths (72 percent) reported that they worked more than a 40-hour week. Clearly,

photojournalists should be required to work no more than a standard 40-hour week, and they shouldn't have to rely on union membership to meet this standard. When photojournalists are called upon to work additional hours, newspapers should compensate them with overtime pay rather than compensation time as some papers do. Many newspaper workers find it difficult to arrange for compensation time in their busy schedules. They may end up losing overtime pay and compensation time because they can't work out their schedules to take the compensation time within the time period they are eligible for it. If newspapers consistently cannot avoid requiring photojournalists to work overtime, they should increase the size of their photography staffs by hiring more photographers to meet the workload. Such a change would result in more productive photojournalists and a better news product.

It is clear that Tennessee's daily newspaper photojournalists handled many assignments in an average week. On the average, they covered 21.66 assignments each week. News accounted for the largest category with 6.73 assignments. Features with 5.71 was next followed by sports with 3.37, advertising with 1.44 and illustrations with 1.03. The photojournalists reported that they cover 3.38 other types of assignments each week in addition to these categories.

It appears that the photographers did not have great amounts of influence over their assignments. They reported that many other people in the newsroom were making assignments for them. Among those making assignments were editors (57.9 percent), department editors (50.9 percent), photo editors (50.9 percent), managing editors (36.8 percent), reporters (33.3 percent), graphics editors (15.8 percent), other positions (12.3 percent) and page designers (1.8 percent). However, photographers did seem to have some

input into assignments; 38.6 percent said they made photo assignments sometimes.

It is encouraging that some of the newspapers do allow photographers to contribute to assignments, but newspaper managers should further recognize and encourage the journalistic skills of gathering information, researching stories and presenting information in the appropriate form among photojournalists. It must be understood that photojournalists are first and foremost journalists, and it must also be recognized that visual communicators are just as important and valuable, possibly more so to the readers, as verbal, "word" communicators are in a professional news organization. With that recognition comes a responsibility among news managers to expect and demand that photojournalists perform as journalists. To meet that goal a professional environment that recognizes the equality of visual and verbal communicators at all levels must be established to foster a greater sense of professional purpose among all the journalists, both visual and verbal.

One key to achieving these professional goals is to rectify a problem in newsrooms as identified by the photojournalists in this research: poor communication in the newsroom. It seems ironic that newspaper people, professional mass communicators, seem to fall short when it comes to providing adequate levels of communication among their own staffs. An atmosphere that encourages true upward communication, rather than imposed downward orders, from all levels of the organization will go a long way toward making photojournalists feel that they are a respected part of the news process.

Overall, this group of photojournalists does seem to have an orientation toward professionalism and journalism. Almost three-fourths (71.3 percent) had taken part in at least one professional development activity in the past three

years. Two-thirds (66.7 percent) said their papers pay for such activities. A large percentage (70 percent) belong to the National Press Photographers Association, an organization which works to promote journalistic ideals and standards among photojournalists. More than half (54.9 percent) said they read News Photographer, the official publication of the National Press Photographers Association, on a regular basis. This publication also promotes the idea of photojournalists as journalists. The mean number of professional publications read was 3.6, indicating that Tennessee's photojournalists make some attempt to keep up with developments in their field.

Of course an alternative explanation might be that the photographers take part in development activities, join NPPA and read News Photographer and other professional publications only because their papers pay for the privileges. However other indicators, such as educational backgrounds in journalism and communications, suggest these photographers are somewhat professionally oriented toward journalism. More than three-fourths of those who earned college degrees (75.6 percent) listed journalism or fields closely related to mass communications as their majors in college. Thirty-two (94.1 percent) of those who earned college degrees took at least one photojournalism course.

Given the photojournalists' interest and ability as journalists, newspaper managers should capitalize on these characteristics. They already do this to some extent. More than four-fifths (82.1 percent) of the photojournalists said they are encouraged to come up with enterprise assignments. I suspect, however, that many of these enterprise assignments may be simple "cruise" photos rather than full scale story ideas that photographers generate themselves and pitch to editors. To fully realize the potential of input from photojournalists, managers should encourage photojournalists

to submit expanded photo story ideas on a regular basis, and then provide the opportunity to run expanded photo stories on a regular schedule. I believe if photographers were given the incentive to bring important story ideas to the paper instead of being forced to shoot countless staged photos or weather shots, the result would be energized photographers and better informed readers.

To further enhance the visual side of newspapers, managers should include photojournalists in special project teams, as is the practice at The Commercial Appeal. By providing readers with extensive visual messages of important issues such as daycare, drug abuse, education, local governments and others, newspapers can compete with the visual presentations offered by television stations to attract and inform consumers of the news product. This approach will provide more detailed visual and verbal information than local television news can ever hope to achieve. With the proper promotion, newspapers could build readership.

Newspaper managers must also recognize that photojournalists are professional visual communicators and journalists. They are the best providers of information when they have been on the scene to cover an event. For that reason, some part of the control of visual images, once electronic picture systems are in place, should remain in the hands of the visual communicators. These photographers clearly believed that they would be using more electronic imaging devices in the near future. Only 10.7 percent said they did not expect their papers to buy any electronic equipment for handling photos in the next five years

The photojournalists also expressed excitement over the prospects of electronic photojournalism. More than half (58.2 percent) said they would welcome the new technologies. However, they also voiced real concerns over how the new

technologies would affect the way they work. News managers should not use faster, more efficient technologies to relegate photojournalists to the role of picture takers roaming around gathering as many pictures as they can as quickly as possible. Rather, these new technologies should be used to allow photojournalists more time to investigate, research and photograph important news stories. The idea should not be to get a photograph of as many people in the community as possible in the newspaper. Instead, the goal should be to fully develop photo stories of importance to large segments of the community. Again, in depth visual and verbal reporting will better serve the readers and attract them to the newspapers.

Along with the new technologies, will come many questions about ethics. Will photojournalists and those who edit photographs and prepare them for the newspaper understand what is and is not considered ethical in news gathering and reporting? For these reasons, journalistic training coupled with technical competency and artistic ability will become increasingly important. News managers should work with colleges and universities to improve and expand photojournalism programs. Partnerships between professional photojournalists and journalism educators should be forged to ensure that the photojournalists of the future will be well prepared to meet the challenges of timeliness, accuracy, honesty and objectivity all journalists must strive for.

As technological innovations become more advanced daily newspapers will have to plan ahead to meet the financial challenges that will accompany the changes. Some papers were apparently already having difficulties in this regard. Almost a third (31.6 percent) of the photographers said the newspapers they worked for did not provide their camera equipment. Despite the cost of quality photographic

equipment, newspapers should meet this basic need. It is difficult to imagine daily newspaper reporters having to buy their own computer terminals. Daily newspapers should certainly give photojournalists equal respect and provide them with the equipment needed to perform their jobs effectively.

A consistent complaint of photojournalists throughout this research was that members on the "word" side of newspapers do not have much understanding or respect for visual journalists or visual communication. Perceptions of inequality toward photographers in the newsrooms were reported by the photographers. Twenty-eight (49.1 percent) said they were treated equally with reporters and editors. However, a fairly large number (43.9 percent) said they were not treated in the same professional manner as the "word" side. Newspapers clearly should treat photojournalists, journalists who gather news and information with cameras, with the same levels of respect and with the same opportunities for professional development and advancement afforded writers.

To help build equality, respect and understanding among visual and verbal journalists, journalism schools and colleges of communications should require basic visual literacy course work in their curricula. Students being trained as writers for print or broadcast should understand that photojournalists are journalists in their own right and not drivers, gofers or order takers. All journalism and communications students should also understand the role of visual communication better. This could be done by including units on photojournalism in news writing, reporting and editing courses. Another option is to move more toward integration of verbal and visual communication by introducing students to journalism and communications through a beginning skills course that focuses on the fundamentals of journalism,

including writing, news gathering, reporting, editing and analysis of words and photographs.

Journalism schools should also incorporate a strong component of visual communication in their curricula for those students who want to specialize in visual communication. Based on the research presented here, I believe the best way to do this is to include a photojournalism sequence within journalism departments. Students majoring in photojournalism should have, at the minimum, a fundamentals of journalism course, a basic photojournalism course, a basic graphics and design course, advanced photojournalism, photo editing and a course that trains students to use electronic imaging devices such as electronic picture desks, portable photo transmitters and still video cameras.

To provide instruction in news writing, news gathering and editing, students majoring in photojournalism should also be required to take writing skills courses such as basic news writing, reporting and editing. The emphasis should be on photojournalism as a specialization within journalism or communications. The goal of a quality photojournalism program should be to train competent photojournalists who can cover the news and explain important and complex issues visually and verbally. While some journalism educators may argue that there should not be photojournalism sequences within journalism schools, it is important to note that three of the most respected photojournalism programs in the United States are located at prestigious journalism schools—The University of Missouri, Ohio University and Indiana University.

To fully provide students with the skills and knowledge needed to succeed in a professional capacity, journalism schools must invest in the emerging electronic imaging technologies. Journalism schools must stay in step with

industry standards to provide students with up-to-date skills and knowledge. As electronic imaging devices are widely adopted by newspapers and other information gathering organizations, it is important for journalism schools and colleges of communications to give students the opportunity to become intimately familiar with the current tools of the profession.

Just as journalism schools have replaced manual and electric typewriters with computers in writing courses, darkrooms and conventional cameras will eventually have to be replaced by electronic imaging devices. Getting rid of darkrooms may be difficult for many photojournalism faculty to accept. Their attachment to the creative chemical processes and the craft aspects of photography are just as strong as the reverence many writers felt for manual typewriters. But the new electronic technology is quickly being diffused throughout the industry, and journalism schools must follow suit. Just as broadcasting departments followed the lead of television news departments when they replaced film and film processors with videotape cameras and editing systems, journalism schools will have to take the plunge to purchase and continually update electronic imaging equipment if they want to provide students with quality photojournalism instruction.

To impact members of the working press, newspapers should send key managers, writers and editors to visual communication conferences, workshops and seminars. Journalism schools should also offer such events, and they should share results of visual communication research with newspaper professionals. Journalism educators could also benefit by instigating faculty internships at newspapers, and newspapers should provide additional educational opportunities for staff members to learn more about photojournalism.

Photographs, in conjunction with verbal information, as has been demonstrated in a large body of communications research, offer powerful communicative ability for newspapers. Taking advantage of the power of words and photographs could help newspapers regain lost readers by providing them with highly informative, detailed visual coverage of news and entertainment in newspaper pages. By developing and using the full professional ability of both verbal and visual communicators, newspapers could realize a crucial goal of any newspaper: better informing the public so that they may make reasoned, informed decisions about issues and events that affect their lives.

Given the emerging issues about photojournalists and photojournalism as outlined in this research, suggestions for further research in four key areas seem warranted. More research is needed about 1) electronic imaging, 2) measures of equality among visual and verbal communicators, 3) the effects of multiple picture stories on readers and 4) if newspapers can expect increased circulation and revenues by expanding the role and influence of photojournalism.

Communications researchers need to further examine the ethical and professional implications of electronic imaging in newspapers. The ethical responsibilities electronic imaging devices, such as still video cameras, portable and satellite photo transmitters and electronic picture desks, will bring to newsrooms need to be explored. Other research questions about electronic imaging could center on how such technological innovations will change news gathering , how the roles of those who use the machines will be affected and how photojournalists and other journalists are likely to respond to the technological changes.

Additional research is also needed to understand the levels of equality among reporters and photojournalists, whether news managers are committed to rectify any inequities

that may exist, how newspapers and other news organizations can benefit by doing so and how to implement the changes so that verbal and visual communicators can both contribute effectively to the news process.

Fresh research is also needed to assess the impact of multiple picture stories on newspaper readers. Do they provide the reader with more information? Do they add to the readers' recall and learning about news events and issues? Are readers attracted to such visual presentations, and do they evaluate them favorably? Can newspapers increase readership and thus understanding among readers by presenting more comprehensive visual information? What is the ideal balance of words and photographs to in form and appeal to readers?

Finally, research needs to examine whether there are any financial benefits to be enjoyed by newspapers if they provide better opportunities for photographers to develop their visual communication skills. Can publishers realize more profits, a better bottom line, by increasing their use of multiple picture stories, assigning photographers to special projects teams and treating photographers as photojournalists rather than image gatherers? Will enhanced photojournalism in newspapers attract new readers and increase revenue?

These suggested approaches to new research on visual communications could provide new levels of understanding and knowledge about an important component of the news process—photojournalism.

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APPENDIX

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

June 30, 1990

College of Communications

Communications Research Center and Graduate Studies

Dear daily newspaper photojournalist,

I am writing today to request your help in carrying out a research project about photojournalists who work for Tennessee's daily newspapers. This project will constitute my thesis in the master's in communications program at the University of Tennessee.

You can help us learn more about how photojournalists fit into the news process by completing the attached questionnaire, which should take only a few minutes to complete. By filling out the questionnaire, you will be providing information that will be used to help gather new knowledge about photojournalism.

As a former news photographer myself, I know that little information is sought from newspaper photographers. Here's your chance to contribute your thoughts about how photojournalists work and what you think about the process of photojournalism.

To provide minimal risk to you, your identity will remain confidential. Your name will not be included in the research report, and all data that identifies you will be kept in my home and will be destroyed at the completion of the research project.

Of course, your participation in this research project is totally voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or discontinue participation with no penalty at any time.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact me, John M. King, at 209 Kelsay Dr., Kingston, TN 37763. My phone number is 615/376-7614.

After you have signed the informed consent form and filled out the questionnaire, please mail them both back in the self addressed stamped envelope that has been provided. Please sign and keep one copy of the informed consent form for yourself.

Please mail the questionnaire and one copy of the informed consent form back by July 16, 1990 or earlier so that the deadline to complete the thesis can be met.

Thank you so much for your help.

Sincerely,

John M. King, graduate student
Professor Robert Heller, thesis adviser

98 Communications Building / Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0313 / (615) 974-6651

Informed Consent Form

Signing this informed consent form, filling out the questionnaire and mailing them both back in the business reply envelope constitutes your informed consent to participate in this research project on newspaper photojournalists in Tennessee by John M. King. Please sign and keep one copy of the informed consent form for yourself.

Please mail the questionnaire and one copy of this informed consent form back by July 16, 1990 or earlier so that the deadline to complete the thesis can be met.

Thank you for your help.

I have read and understand the explanation of this study and agree to participate.

Name (please print) _____ *Date* _____

Signature _____

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE



College of Communications

Communications Research Center and Graduate Studies

July 19, 1990

Dear daily newspaper photojournalist,

I recently wrote to you and all the other daily newspaper photographers in Tennessee to request your input on a research project about photojournalists.

Many newspaper photographers have returned the questionnaire, but we still haven't heard from you. To make this research more meaningful we need as many newspaper photographers as possible to take part in the survey.

Don't be left out. Please take a few minutes to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. It's relatively painless, and it gives you a chance to say what you really think. To provide minimal risk to you, your identity will remain confidential. Your name will not be included in the research report.

After you have filled out the questionnaire, please sign one copy of the informed consent form and mail them both back in the enclosed business reply envelope. Keep one copy of the informed consent form for yourself.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact me, John M. King, at 209 Kelsay Dr., Kingston, TN 37763. My phone number is 615/376-7614.

Please mail the questionnaire and one copy of the informed consent form back by Friday, July 27, 1990. (If you have already returned the questionnaire, please disregard this letter.)

Your help is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

John M. King, graduate student
Professor Robert Heller, thesis adviser

98 Communications Building / Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0313 / (615) 974-6651

Informed Consent Form

Signing this informed consent form, filling out the questionnaire and mailing them both back in the business reply envelope constitutes your informed consent to participate in this research project on newspaper photojournalists in Tennessee by John M. King. Please sign and keep one copy of the informed consent form for yourself.

Please mail the questionnaire and one copy of this informed consent form back by Friday, July 27, 1990 or earlier so that the deadline to complete the thesis can be met.

Thank you for your help.

I have read and understand the explanation of this study and agree to participate.

Name (please print) _____ *Date* _____

Signature _____

This survey is designed to construct an overall profile of photographers at daily newspapers in Tennessee. It should take only a few minutes to complete. Please answer each question as fully as possible. Thank you.

1. How long have you worked as a newspaper photographer? _____

2. How long have you worked as a newspaper photographer where you work now? _____

3. Are you employed by the newspaper full-time or part-time?

   ___full-time ___part-time ___other *(please explain)*_____

4. How many hours do you work at the newspaper in an average week?

   ___less than 10 ___10-20 ___21-30 ___31-40 ___41-45 ___46-50 ___51+

5. Does the newspaper provide the camera equipment you use? ___yes ___no

6. In an average week, how many of the assignments you shoot are:
   (please answer all that apply)

   news? _____

   features? _____

   sports? _____

   illustrations *(for example-food, fashion, etc.)* _____

   advertising? _____

   other? _____

7. Who at your newspaper decides what stories or photo assignments photographers cover?
   (check all that apply)

   ___editor ___news editor ___department editors ___photo editor ___photographers

   ___reporters ___graphics editors ___page designers ___ managing editor

   ___other *(please explain)* _____

8. Are you ever encouraged to come up with photo assignments that you generate on your own (enterprise assignments)?

   ___yes ___no If yes, about how many of these are published in the paper each month? _____

9. Who decides which photographs are used in the newspaper? *(check all that apply)*

   ___editor ___news editor ___department editors ___photo editor ___photographers

   ___reporters ___graphics editors ___page designers ___ managing editor

   ___other *(please explain)* _____

10. Who decides how the photos are used in the paper? *(for example- size, cropping, placement on the page)*
    (check all that apply)

    ___editor ___news editor ___department editors ___photo editor ___photographers

    ___reporters ___graphics editors ___page designers ___ managing editor

    ___other *(please explain)* _____

11. How is film processed at your newspaper most of the time?

___by hand ___by automated processor ___other *(please explain)* _____

12. How are prints made at your newspaper most of the time?

___by tray processing ___by automated processor ___other *(please explain)* _____

13. Who does most of the film processing at your newspaper?

___lab technician ___photographers ___other *(please explain)* _____

14. Who does most of the print processing at your newspaper?

___lab technician ___photographers ___other *(please explain)* _____

15. Does your newspaper have any kind of electronic equipment for handling photos? *(check all that apply)*

___conventional wire service photo receiver

___wire service electronic picture desk computer system receiver such as AP's PhotoStream

___Portable electronic photo transmitters that allow photographers to transmit photos from remote sites

___none

___still video cameras

___digital scanner and software for Macintosh or other computers

___other *(please list*_____

_____

_____

16. Which electronic equipment for handling photos do you think your newspaper may acquire in the next five years? *(check all that apply)*

___conventional wire service photo receiver

___wire service electronic picture desk computer system receiver such as AP's PhotoStream

___Portable electronic photo transmitters that allow photographers to transmit photos from remote sites

___none

___still video cameras

___digital scanner and software for Macintosh or other computers

___other *(please list*_____

_____

_____

17. How do you think new technologies such as still video cameras, portable electronic transmitters and electronic darkrooms or picture desks will change the way you work in the next five years?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Do you feel you are treated in the same professional manner as editors and reporters at your newspaper?

___yes ___no ___don't know

*Please write additional comments here:*_____

_____

_____

_____

19. How do you think editors and reporters at your newspaper perceive photographers?

___technician ___journalist ___artist ___graphics person ___other *(please list)* _____

Please write additional comments here: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

20. How do you perceive yourself at your newspaper?

___technician ___journalist ___artist ___graphics person ___other *(please list)* _____

*Please write additional comments here:*_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

21. Are you a member of the American Newspaper Guild? ___yes ___no

22. Are you a member of any other labor union? ___yes no___

If yes, what is the name of the union? _____

23. Please list all the professional organizations in which you are now a member.

_____

_____

24. Please list all the publications related to photography and/or journalism you read on a regular basis.

_____

_____

25. Does your newspaper pay for any professional development activities such as workshops, seminars, special training or conventions for its photographers?

___yes ___no ___don't know

26. How many professional development activities have you participated in during the past three years?

___none ___1 ___2 ___3 ___4 ___5 or more

27. What do you think are the strongest aspects about photojournalism at your newspaper?

_____

_____

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_____

28. What do you think are the weakest aspects about photojournalism at your newspaper?

_____

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29. What do you think could be done to improve the use of photographs in your newspaper?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

30. What is your sex? ___male ___female

31. What is your age? ___under 18 ___18-20 ___21-25 ___26-30

___31-35 ___36-40 ___41-45 ___46-50 ___51-55 ___56+

32. What education levels have you completed? *(check all that apply)*

___high school diploma ___two-year associate degree ___two-year technical degree

___bachelor's degree ___master's degree ___other *(please explain)*_____

33. If you earned a two-year associate or technical degree, bachelor's degree or master's degree, what was your degree, major, area of concentration and the name of the college? *(please be specific-for example-B.S. Communications, Journalism, University of Tennessee, Knoxville)*

_____

_____

_____

34. Did you take any photojournalism courses in your college work?

___yes ___no If yes, how many courses? _____

Which photojournalism courses did you take?

_____

35. Which journalism courses did you take in your college work? *(check all that apply)*

___none ___news writing ___editing ___graphics/layout or design

___others *(please list)* _____

_____

36. Are you enrolled in a college degree program now? ___yes ___no

If yes, what is the degree, major, area of concentration you are working toward and the name of the college? *(please be specific-for example-B.S. Communications, Journalism, University of Tennessee, Knoxville)*

_____

_____

37. What is your annual salary at the newspaper where you work?

___less than $10,000 ___$10,000 - $15,000 ___$15,001 - $20,000

___$20,001 - $25,000 ___$25,001-$30,000 ___more than $30,000

38. What is your race?

___Black ___White ___Hispanic ___Native American Indian

___Asian ___other *(please list)* _____

39. Often these types of surveys may leave out questions that you may wish had been asked. Please feel free to write any additional comments here. Use another sheet of paper if you need more space.

_____

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_____

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. Please don't forget to mail this completed survey in the self-addressed stamped envelope and one signed copy of the informed consent form by July 16, 1990. Thank you again for your help.

Daily newspaper photojournalist:

Thank you so much for your help in carrying out this research project about photojournalists who work for Tennessee's daily newspapers. This project will constitute my thesis in the master's in communications program at the University of Tennessee.

You can help us learn more about how photojournalists fit into the news process by agreeing to meet with me for personal interviews at your newspaper. By participating in the personal interviews, you will be providing information that will be used to help gather new knowledge about photojournalism. In order to get a better understanding of your job as a photojournalist, I would like to spend one or two working days observing you in your normal duties and conducting informal interviews. I will make every effort not to interfere in the performance of your job while doing this research.

As a former news photographer myself, I know that little information is sought from newspaper photographers. Here's your chance to contribute your thoughts about how photojournalists work and what you think about the whole process of newspaper photojournalism.

To provide more meaningful information for this research your identity will be included in the research report. Of course, your participation in this research project is totally voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or discontinue participation with no penalty at any time.

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact me, John M. King, at 209 Kelsay Dr., Kingston, TN 37763. My phone number is 615/376-7614.

Signing this form below constitutes your informed consent to participate in this research project. Thank you so much for your help.

I have read and understand the explanation of this study and agree to participate.

Name (please print) _____ *Date* _____

Signature _____

Vita

John Mark King, a native of Franklin, Tennessee, was born on June 23, 1959. He attended Grassland Elementary School, Franklin Jr. High School and was graduated from Franklin High School in June 1976.

His communications career began at an early age. When he was 13, King worked as a photographer, lab technician and writer for The Williamson Leader newspaper in Franklin. King and his brother, Thom, opened a photography studio in 1974 in Franklin. Beginning in 1977, King served as photo editor and chief photographer for Nashville's Take One Magazine. In 1980, he was director of public relations for The Music City Song Festival and The Great American Photo Contest in Nashville.

King began his college education when he enrolled in journalism and English courses at Tennessee State University in Nashville in January 1981. Later that fall, he transferred to the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and in June 1984, he received the bachelor of science degree with honors in communications. His major was broadcasting/news editorial. While working toward the bachelor's degree, he was selected for a paid, broadcasting internship at the Tennessee Valley Authority. He also served in internships and volunteer positions with WBIR-TV, WTVK-TV and WSJK-TV, all in Knoxville. And, he served as chief staff photographer for the United States Pavilion during the 1982 World's Fair in Knoxville.

After graduation, King continued his work in communications at WATE-TV in Knoxville as graphics producer, photojournalist and occasional feature reporter. From there, King moved on to work as a reporter/photographer for The Daily Herald newspaper in Columbia, Tennessee. In 1985, King

was named communication specialist at The Tennessee School Boards Association where he served as editor of the Tennessee School Boards Journal and the Tennessee School Boards Bulletin. Later, King instituted the video services department at TSBA, which he directed.

In 1987, King was named community relations coordinator for Roane State Community College in Harriman and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. He also served as a member of the Tennessee Higher Education Commission Printing Advisory Committee.

While at Roane State, King began work on a master's degree in communications at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He taught one semester of Journalism 290 (Basic Photojournalism) as a Bickel Scholar. He completed the master's degree in communications, with highest honors, in December 1991. His major was journalism.

In August 1990, King began work in the Ph.D. in Communications program at UTK full-time. He taught two semesters of Communications 200 (Writing For Mass Communications) in 1990-91 as a graduate teaching associate and will teach two communications courses in the 1991-92 academic year, also as a graduate teaching associate. His major is journalism, and his area of concentration is photojournalism and visual communication.

The author is a member of Kappa Tau Alpha, the journalism honor society and Phi Kappa Phi academic honor society. He is also a graduate student member of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (AEJMC).