

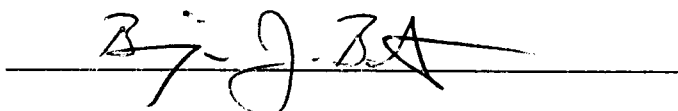
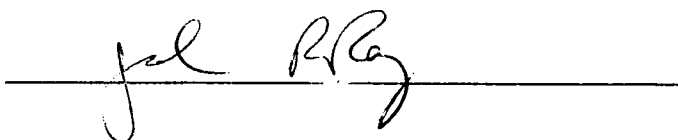
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by David N. Ozmun entitled "Local Television News Photographers and Newsroom Structures: A Structural Look at Technology, One-Man-Bands and Input." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communications.

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Associate Vice Chancellor and
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LOCAL TELEVISION NEWS PHOTOGRAPHERS
AND NEWSROOM STRUCTURES:
A STRUCTURATIONAL LOOK AT
TECHNOLOGY, ONE-MAN-BANDS AND NEWS INPUT

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

David Ozmun

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Adria, my children, Neal, Janet and Anna, and my parents, Cliff and Janet Ozmun and Adrian and Sylvia Lawwill. Emotionally, financially and spiritually, they made it possible.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore structural components relevant to full-time news photographers serving local television news departments in the United States. The theoretical foundation for this study, structuration, proposes that systems, such as electronic newsgathering, are created and reproduced through the enactment of rules, resources, traditions and interactions among individuals. Structures within the news system include technological resources, codes of ethics, newsroom roles and responsibilities, etc. The enactment of a structure is the result of individuals' interpretations of the structure's spirit and properties. Photographers, as newswriters, interact with these structures, and may contribute to a recreation of the news production system, creating new structures.

The focus of the study, photographers' experiences with one-man-band newsgathering, emanated from anecdotal evidence that innovations in camera-recorder technology may be expanding solo news coverage. A national survey of full-time television news photographers from a random sample of commercial stations was conducted. The survey included items on equipment usage, work assignments, newsroom input, and professional values. Subjects were also asked to discuss the effects of newer newsgathering technologies in their work. Three hundred ninety-eight usable surveys were analyzed.

Findings suggested that there was little evidence to support structurational interaction between camera equipment and the proportion of story assignments that constituted "one-man-band" newsgathering. The strongest relationship was found, not with technology, but with communication. Meeting with assignment editors to discuss ideas for stories was positively associated with several variables involving the selection of news material. These included influencing which aspects of a story should be emphasized, defining how a story will be used in a newscast, and participating in daily planning meetings with producers, reporters and news managers. These findings suggest interpersonal and group communication is an important variable in the shaping and processing of local television news content.

The photographers did express enthusiasm for newer newsgathering technologies. Many photographers felt wireless microphones, lightweight camcorders, and computer editing systems generated more creativity, originality and flexibility. The results supported some findings of qualitative studies, but suggest more study of these technological structures may be needed to better understand how they interact with photographers and other newsworkers in altering and/or maintaining the system of electronic newsgathering.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Rationale for this Study

Throughout its history, mass communication media have been dependent on technology. The television industry has traditionally placed a high priority on improving its capability of producing, recording and broadcasting visual information to its audience (Inglis, 1990). The introduction of, and improvement in, technological resources have led to some of the greatest changes in news content (Bennett, 1996). One example entails the capability of recording and/or transmitting material live from anywhere in the world any time of the day under almost any conceivable condition. Consequently, technological resources are important in that they influence the way television news departments gather and process information (Cremer, Keirstead, and Yoakam, 1996). Over time, advances in technology have required broadcast newsrooms to adapt to new tools and resources (Westin, 1982).

The television newsroom is a good environment, according to McQuail (1994), in which to study aspects of a media organization, since news selection, processing, production and transmission take place in close proximity (both in terms of time and space). McQuail also suggested that most of the main theoretical questions about media and society can be channeled through the study of "media-organizational routines and procedures for selecting and

processing content" (p. 186). Much of the research into the television news environment has been ethnographic in methodology and critical in analysis (Epstein, 1973; Altheide, 1976; Tuchman, 1978, Gans, 1979). Television news research has also focused on the effects of individual, organizational, institutional and societal factors on the media content (see Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). There is less research, however, on the effects of some of these factors (individual, organizational and institutional) on the organization itself, its structure and personnel.

The study of organizational structure, behavior, and communication offers theoretical concepts with which to investigate relationships among individuals, groups, actions and other variables. Like most social constructions, the television news operation (as an organizational system) is the product of actions and interactions among individuals (Littlejohn, 1989). Sociologist Giddens (1979) has taken the concept of structure and employed it to explain the production of social systems through the application of generative rules, resources, roles and norms. In Giddens's theory of structuration, systems are the outcome of the application of structures. But Giddens proposed that actions taken to apply structures (such as rules and resources) to systems should be understood as a duality: "The structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the

outcome of practices that constitute those systems" (1979, p. 69).

Others have taken this social theory and adapted it to the study of group communication (Poole, Seibold and McPhee, 1985), political culture (Riley, 1983), organizational communication (Poole and McPhee, 1983) and technology's influence on organizational structure (Barley, 1986; Orlikowski, 1992; Poole and DeSanctis, 1992). Barley (1986) suggested that technologies, as a component of structuration, should be viewed as social objects, as "occasions that trigger social dynamics which, in turn, modify or maintain an organization's contours" (p. 81). DeSanctis and Poole (1994) proposed an Adaptive Structuration Theory that "extends current structuration models of technology-triggered change to consider the mutual influence of technology and social processes" (p. 125). Orlikowski (1992) suggested technology is "interpretively flexible, hence the interaction of technology and organizations is a function of the different actors and socio-historical contexts implicated in its development and use" (p. 405). In a field study which investigated the use of information technology in a large, multi-national software consulting firm, Orlikowski discovered evidence that suggested that tendencies within organizational contexts constrain certain developments and deployments of technology, while facilitating others.

The purpose of this research was to explore the potential interaction of particular newswriters with specified structural routines, conditions, resources, and interpretations of professional norms. Relationships between individuals' actions and particular structural factors may suggest, according to structuration theory, tendencies in the television newsgathering system. The structural factors examined included camcorder equipment resources, work assignments and routines, news material selecting and processing practices, and individual factors. This study of television news technology, the organizational structure of the local television newsroom, and the photographers employed to produce visual news content tested one thesis of structuration theory submitted by Barley (1986, p. 80). He proposed that structure is driven by actors' perceptions and interpretations of structuring events; by the degree of access actors have to resources; and by value frameworks that legitimate a system's social order. If relationships between the structures described above and the actors addressed in this study (photographers) can be suggested, the questions of influence and causation may be considered.

This study explored part of the structure of a television news photographer's job. Within the system of newsgathering and processing, there are several structural stages of coverage that require different organizational responsibilities, from planning and selecting to gathering

and reporting to producing and broadcasting (Cremer et al., 1996). Traditionally, newsrooms have utilized electronic newsgathering (ENG) teams--a reporter and a photographer--to cover events and compose news programming content (Smith, 1987). Technological advances in newsgathering equipment offer news management the option of utilizing only one person to fulfill newsgathering tasks, a concept known as "one-man-banding" (Rosenau, 1988; Brodie, 1991; Calem, 1993; Langman, 1993; Sherer, 1994; RTNDF, 1995). Television camera manufacturers have introduced increasingly smaller, lighter, less expensive but more sophisticated, camcorders (a camera/videotape recorder unit in which the recorder is built into the camera housing) and videotape formats that make it easier for one person to cover a news story (McConnell, 1996; Jessell, 1996a; Beacham, 1996).

Traditionally, the organizational structure of television newsrooms has been divided among news managers, news gatherers and other newswriters (who hold little journalistic influence or editorial control) (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996). As a news gatherer, the reporter's "primary function is to collect and to frame information into one to two stories or packages per day" (Goedkoop, 1988, p. 33) that inform and engage the audience. According to Cremer et al. (1996), reporters must be aware of the strengths and limitations of words, pictures and sound, so that they work together effectively. The photographer's responsibility has

been to illustrate the stories with appropriate and interesting pictures; they complement the written and spoken information (Lindekugel, 1994). A question for researchers is whether photographers deserve to be included as news gatherers or as newswriters.

Whether ENG involves just videotaping, or includes interviewing, writing and editing, it has now become technologically and physically practical for only one person to cover a story (Broholm, 1993). The opportunity to alter the system (newsgathering in the local commercial television station) may be afforded photographers through their interpretations and employment of several structures (camcorder equipment technology, one-man-band journalism practices and other routines), suggesting some interaction between actor and structure.

Structuration theory proposes that structures themselves are altered through the process of structuring, resulting in intended and unintended consequences (Barley, 1986). As the photographers (actors) access resources (technology, responsibilities, norms and traditions) and re-interpret parameters of acceptable conduct and judgment, other structures and actors may be affected. In this study, elements of two of these structures, 'selecting' and 'processing' (McQuail, 1994, p. 212), were explored through the perceptions of news photographers. These structures were compared with the photographers' conceptions of traditional

work assignments and with opinions they hold concerning the newsroom system. Since structures are produced by human actors, they can be open to change through human creation and application. Established norms reflecting influence and superior-subordinate relationships are examples of structures that exist through application and acknowledgement. Comparing photographers' interpretations of the various work patterns explored in this study may uncover structural factors that support or challenge assumptions about some of these established norms.

Lindekugel (1994) used participant observation and interviewing techniques to study television news photographers in one city. Among his conclusions, he proposed that, "when considering the future of the job, we would likely find technological advancement to be the most relevant context within which to proceed" (p. 155). This study employed quantitative and qualitative methods to extend this premise by testing several hypotheses. The first hypothesis suggested that the use of one-piece camcorder equipment results in a higher proportion of total work that is completed alone, than is completed with the use of separate camera-recorder equipment. The second hypothesis suggested that the proportion of one-man-band assignments would be positively associated with greater involvement in selecting and processing situations. The third hypothesis predicted that photographers' levels of agreement with

professional value statements would be related to one-man banding. In addition, correlation of one-man-band newsgathering with certain other individual variables was explored, to identify other potential relationships. One open-ended question also served to analyze qualitatively photographers' feelings about newer newsgathering technologies.

This study continues research of newswriters' routines, attitudes, ideologies and orientations. While much research has focused on the news media's influence on content (see Shoemaker and Reese, 1996), this study's purpose was to focus on the newswriter amidst organizational routines, orientations, and structures. Attempts at measuring particular newsroom structures, individuals' interpretations of those structures on the newsgathering system, and the reaffirmation or modification of the system's structures, may assist future functional as well as interpretive studies of news selecting and processing.

Need for the Study

There are several ways to depict the institutional hierarchy, or structure, of the newsroom, but most place the positions of news director, assignment editor, and producer on a level above that of reporters, photographers, editors, and on-air talent (Stephens, 1993; Mayeux, 1996; Shook, Lattimore and Redmond, 1996). Shook et al. further define the role of the reporter as producer in the absence of a

producer (p. 242), and imply more interaction between reporters and assignment editors and/or producers than photographers encounter (p. 154). Lindekugel (1994), from his field observations, noted that "in most circumstances the reporter bears the responsibility of being the field producer of the piece and has differential authority concerning many decisions" (p. 65). This study seeks further clarification of this structural arrangement in light of Giddens' (1979) duality of structure, wherein photographers work out "the tension between individual creativity and organizational constraint" (Eisenberg and Goodall, 1993). How much of the time do they work without reporters, and how much input do they perceive themselves contributing to various stages of newsgathering?

According to Poole et al. (1985), while organizational (as well as social) phenomena cannot ever reasonably be considered completely stable or fixed, neither can they be cast as continually emerging or subjective. A measurement of structural conditions at one point in time may provide both quantitative and qualitative researchers a marker to compare findings longitudinally. Correlation tests provide a method for measuring association between structure and action, without promising deterministic conclusions. Findings may encourage further study via different methods. Because little quantitative research has focused on the interactions between television newswriters and the organization, this

study attempted to measure some of the structural relationships between photographers and their perceptions of various newsgathering conditions.

Data for this study were generated by a randomly drawn sample survey of commercial television stations' news photographers. The survey questionnaire sought information regarding photographers' perceptions of their newsgathering responsibilities and input, their regard for technological advances, and individual professional values. These data served to operationalize conceptual structures of newsroom organization and local television newsgathering by addressing individuals' interpretation of involvement in particular structure enactment (measured through relative frequency estimates), their beliefs concerning certain norms (measured through agreement/disagreement scaling), their activities (measured through enumeration of specific work duties), and individual and work information.

Background for the Study

When studying an organization, proponents of structuration (Barley, 1986; Poole and DeSanctis, 1992) recommend an understanding of the context, history, tradition and purposiveness of both the structures and the system created by the structures. Such knowledge helps establish a comparative base for suggesting affirmation or modification of system parameters. In the case of one-man-band journalism, there is little evidence that the practice

is an established structure; what evidence there is has been based on perceptions drawn from technological innovations in newsgathering.

In the 1980s and 1990s there appeared several potential catalysts of change in the way news was covered by television stations. Besides camcorder innovations, newsrooms experienced increased programming demands, staffing modifications, and the application of new communication transmission technologies (Lichty and Gomery, 1992). Reaction to some of these catalysts included the insinuation that news operations were attempting to do more news with less labor (Sanit, 1992; Koppel, 1994a; Bennett, 1996). One fear was that the traditional structure of newsgathering, in which the reporter leaves the newsroom to cover a story or event, was being modified by sending only a photographer to gather the material (or contract with an outside agent to provide the material) while the reporter stayed in the newsroom.

In a 1994 news technology survey (RTNDF, 1995, p. 9), one-third of the news directors indicated they employed one-man bands. Among reporters responding to the survey, 75 percent voiced concern that such practice engenders a dilution of quality. There may be less input, fewer discussions and more potential for mistakes. One respondent commented that a journalist "who must shoot his/her own video will likely miss important information related to the

rest of the story" (p. 9). In addition, there was concern that stations seeking new employees might be interested more in their workers' technical skills than in writing and reporting abilities. From a structural standpoint, traditional norms of newsgathering, the rules and values of journalism would be subsumed under other considerations, like efficiency and economy.

These concerns lead to several questions regarding structural components of journalism: writing skills, news judgment, input, training and experience. How often are photographers covering news alone? Is one-man-band journalism overtaking the traditional structure of reporter-photographer team news coverage? Do photographers see themselves taking on more journalistic responsibility in the gathering and shaping of news stories?¹ How do they view some of their structural roles within the news department? Does educational and training experience relate to the amount of newsgathering conducted by photographers working alone? What are their thoughts concerning the worth of technological advances to newsgathering?

¹In one of the few studies focusing on photographers, Smith (1987) found that sixty-two percent of the photographers responding to the 1986 survey indicated they usually work alone when they shoot news video (note 6). However, the study's author indicated "in all but the smallest markets (where reporters shoot their own video), news stories are the result of a cooperative effort in which a reporter gathers information while a photographer gathers news pictures." p. 1.

Several surveys regularly gauge the concerns and values of news directors and reporters.² Although there is anecdotal evidence that news photographers are being asked to contribute more to covering local news, there is little quantitative research to support or qualify this view, nor has there been much research into photographers' duties and values (Smith, 1986, 1987; Upshaw, 1994).

The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press (1996) reported that 65 percent of Americans regularly watch local news, compared with 42 percent who watch network television news on a regular basis. Since the early 1970s, broadcasters have responded to viewers' appetite for broadcast news with more programming, and have been rewarded with high ratings and increased profits (Powers, 1977; Matusow, 1983; Kaniss, 1991). Some critics have charged news broadcasters with abandoning journalism for entertainment and profit (see Smith, 1988; Reider, 1993), sometimes relying on individuals not employed by news media organizations to fulfill newsgathering duties (Sanit, 1992; Jacobs, 1996).

The local television newsroom is affected by decisions, suggestions and policies made outside the newsroom, by station managers, owners, government regulators and others.

²See for example, annual surveys conducted by Vernon Stone and Bob Papper and Andrew Sharma in cooperation with the Radio and Television News Directors Association, published in RTNDA Communicator.

Within the constraints of organizational policies and pressures, media routines, and other factors, newswriters can still affect the content that viewers receive (Bennett, 1996). On the front lines of newsgathering for television are the news photographers. This study attempted to add to earlier quantitative research (Smith, 1986, 1987; Upshaw, 1994), in which photographers were found to have strong views concerning news video as a powerful means of communication.

There have also been qualitative studies (Lindekugel, 1994; Sherer, 1994) that indicated photographers enjoy a great deal of freedom in their work, but are sometimes relegated to second-class status by news management. Researchers (Barkin, 1987; Graber, 1989) have also looked at the structure of local news production and its effects on presentation and content. Their conclusions included the need to reexamine news-making practices. Barkin noted that technological innovations in news coverage, enhanced profit potential of local television news, and that the nature of the local community required more study of changing station and community interests, "boosterism," and the construction of community (as a social world) through television news.

Moreover, findings may add to previous research into the effects of mass communication workers and their characteristics on news content (Shoemaker, 1987; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). These include personal and professional

backgrounds as well as conceptions of structures at various organizational levels. Content serves as a primary objective broadcast organizations use to achieve their twin goals of profit and public service. It is news content around which the structures of the new system are built and maintained. The practice of one-man-band newsgathering may affect relationships and interactions among photographers and others in the news operation. These organizational dynamics influence, to some degree, not only communication and behavior (news selecting and processing), but also the subsequent news content and its impact on viewers. Those who are most involved in the construction of a news story will likely influence the framing of an issue or event.

Significance of Issues

Theoretical Issue

For much of the research that has investigated news selecting and processing, and the subsequent content, decisions about what constitutes worthy news material has been a frequent research topic. Because of the subjective nature of news selection, much "attention has been given to systematic influences on selection which can be considered as either 'organizational' or 'ideological'" (McQuail, 1994, p. 213). Less emphasis has been placed on the study of production of content (Graber, 1987). Ethnographic methods have been used to explore the relationships between newswriters and content (for example, Altheide, 1976;

Tuchman, 1978). The methods of participant observation, interviews, and case studies emerged from a theoretical perspective known as the human-action (Infante, Rancer and Womack, 1993) or human-relations (Eisenberg and Goodall, 1993) approaches to the study of communication. This perspective originated as a response to classical functional and deterministic perspectives. The organizational and bureaucratic theories of Weber (1947) and Taylor (1947) had served as functional standards for organizational research and theory (Eisenberg and Goodall, 1993). From the human-action perspective, theories that neglect communication and human behavior and emphasize "a system of continuous, purposive activity" (Weber, 1947, p. 151) fail to adequately explain either formal or social organizations (Littlejohn, 1989).

Structuration theory addresses the gap between those who propose that individuals' actions are determined by outside forces and those who emphasize the subjective experience and interpretation of individuals. Since structures are both the medium as well as the outcome of interaction, they are not purely functional, nor are they completely interpretive. Instead the systems they produce "are regularized relations in interaction--not functional relationships between parts of a whole" (Riley, 1983, p. 415). Although much of the research applying structuration concepts has been ethnographic, limiting systematic

comparison and reliability, some researchers have begun using means that allow for more structured analysis and replication of formal systems and institutions (Barley, 1986; DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, Yates, Okamura and Fujimoto, 1995).

Structuration theory has also been used to investigate interaction between technology (or technological developments) and individuals working in organizational contexts (Orlikowski, 1992). Poole and DeSanctis (1992, p. 11) identified two aspects of technology as a structure: its "spirit, the general goals and philosophy that the technology promotes..., and the specific features through which the spirit is realized." From Giddens's (1979) metatheory, researchers have found heuristic value in applying the basic thrust of structuration into subgroup communication and interaction, and specific structures of institutions and organizational systems.

Applying structuration to the television newsgathering system allows a path of study that departs from an emphasis on influencing media content. Instead, the goal is greater understanding of the newsroom environment and the actions and interactions among workers. McQuail (1994, p. 227) offered a model of intra-organizational news production in which selecting and processing decisions are made by managers. This study explored the possibility of structural modification in models like this, by examining one-man-band

newsgathering by photographers and their perception of involvement in selecting and processing news.

Studies have shown that the overall attitudes and values of individual journalists defer to the needs of the media organization and its sponsors (see, for example Epstein, 1973; Glasgow University Media Group, 1976; Gans, 1979). There are conditions, however, under which individuals can participate in and contribute to the selecting and processing of news content. The organization establishes policies and constraints, but individuals discover, prioritize, select, gather, prepare and present news content. Through organizational structures, one-man-band responsibilities, professional values and ethics, and the utilization of the technological resources provided by the organization, photographers may modify the structure of selecting and processing news.

Professional Issue

Although Smith (1987) found that reporters and photographers were in agreement on several perspectives and attitudes toward television news, others (Marks, 1987; Steele, 1987; Lindekugel, 1994; Sherer, 1994) offer qualitative evidence that important differences between the two groups affect the manner in which they gather news. When looking through a camera lens, the photographer "sees" a story differently from the reporter (Steele, 1987, p. 14; Marks, 1987, p. 19). Television photographers must also

contend with the effects a camera creates on those who are photographed. Cameras may be viewed as an intrusion or imposition (Sherer, 1994, p. 34).

The potential for one-man-band journalism (through the development of camcorders) of increasing the role of photographers, has raised concerns among reporters (RTNDF, 1995). Cremer et al. (1996) submitted that technological advances have changed the qualifications of photographers. Casey (1996) used the term "technojournalist" to predict the emergence of a position traditionally held by four persons. The technojournalist shoots, writes, edits, narrates and transmits a story live. Sherer (1994) alleged one-man-band journalism exacts a high price for both the organization and the photographers:

Entry level news photographers and reporters, for example, miss sage counsel they could have gained by working in reporting teams with more experienced individuals. One-man-band have a more difficult time watching out for difficult and potentially dangerous situations without a second set of eyes on assignment. Some news photographers also feel that less information is gathered and brought to viewers when a two-person workload is placed upon one individual (p. 58).

This study should also interest broadcast professionals directly involved in television news photography. This constituency includes news managers, reporters and broadcast

journalism educators. For news managers, the newsroom environment is one of their primary concerns (Powers, 1991). A clearer understanding of the effects that technology, news assignments, journalism values and individual feelings create for their photographers may assist managers in making newsroom decisions, responding to organizational pressures, assessing the climate of the newsroom environment, and understanding their peers.

Definition of Terms

Within the scope of this study, structuration was understood to mean the production and reproduction of systems (in this case the system of local television news production) through the interpretation and application of organizational structures (Giddens, 1979; McPhee, 1985). Structures, then, are both the traditions, norms, rules, resources and other parameters under which individuals are constrained, and the interpretation and appropriation of those parameters. Structures investigated in this study included camera equipment (as a technological resource), one-man-band news work, professional norms and values, and interpersonal relations.

These structures were analyzed as potential correlates with two decision-making constructs, identified as "selecting" and "processing" (McQuail, 1994). The first refers to the situations in which decisions are made concerning the choice of news material for broadcast (the

product); the second "refers to the application of work routines which affect the nature of this product as it passes through the 'chain' of decision-making" (McQuail, 1994, p. 212).

The target population for this study were full-time news photographers employed at a commercial television station, whose primary responsibilities require the use of camera and video recording equipment. The system, or environment, in which the photographer works, a commercial broadcast television newsroom, is traditionally divided into two primary groups: news managers and newswriters. News managers can include the news director, assistant news directors, executive producers, producers, and assignment editors. Newswriters have typically included anchors, reporters, photographers, editors and other technical crew members (Goedkoop, 1988). Although newswriters may propose story ideas and coverage strategies--enterprise stories--those decisions have traditionally been considered the responsibilities of managers (Harmon, 1989b).

The various news selecting and processing measures of this study were based on traditional newsgathering duties. Gathering entails the compiling of visual, aural and textual material for a news story. It may also include subsequent script writing, video editing, announcing, interviewing or

reading from the script.³ These additional responsibilities connote more editorial influence than simply providing video and audio material for a story, thereby potentially affecting structural qualities of news selecting and processing.

Technological advances and their effects have been depicted as influences outside of media organizations (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996), or as organizational factors that contribute to routines (Bantz, McCorkle and Baade, 1980). Berkowitz (1991) contrasted technology with resources, and considered camera and recording equipment as resources. Cremer et al. (1996) used cameras and recorders to describe TV news technology. Common to all these conceptualizations is the understanding that the introduction and establishment of technological resources may be viewed as opportunity for maintaining or modifying components of a news organization's structural contours (Barley, 1986). The camcorder represents one example of technological advances in television newsgathering (Sherer, 1994) and constitutes one of the structures in this study.

³Common script formats include *Readers*, *Voice-overs*, *Soundbites*, *Packages*, and *Live reports*. With a reader, an on-camera anchor reads the story with no additional video. A voice-over has the anchor or a reporter reading the copy over edited video which is shown full screen. With a soundbite, the viewer sees and hears the videotaped statement of a news source. A package includes a reporter's voice-over, soundbites, edited video, and sometimes the appearance of the reporter talking to the viewer (Mayeux, 1996, pp. 45-55).

Summary

The local television news operation provides an example of a media organization (McQuail, 1994). Like other formal institutions, the news organization is the product of the actions and interactions among many individuals and groups. Workers rely on communication, resources, norms, rules and traditions to guide their actions. These structures, as defined by Giddens's (1979) theory of structuration, enable and constrain action (Poole and DeSanctis, 1992). At the same time, as workers accomplish individual and organizational goals, they also reproduce the organization system itself (McPhee, 1985).

As a structural force (Barley, 1986), technological resources can serve to enable as well as constrain the work of television newswriters, such as news photographers (Westin, 1982). Technological advances may serve as catalysts for modifying newsroom work norms and practices (Sherer, 1994). As one example, the use of smaller, more sophisticated, and less expensive tools like the camcorder make it technologically and physically possible for one person to cover a news story, so-called one-man-band newsgathering. The enactment of one-man-band journalism, in turn, may be associated with photographer involvement in news selecting and processing situations.

This study proposed that the following structural variables, camcorder equipment, one-man-band newsgathering,

and professional norms, are positively associated with involvement in the selecting and processing of news material. A survey, designed to note camera and recorder equipment used by photographers, and quantify the practice of one-man-band newsgathering and other news activities executed by photographers, was used to measure relationships between photographers and several structural factors in the gathering of news.

Television news photographers no longer need the physical assistance of others to videotape and cover a story, and the basis for this study was drawn from evidence that suggested some routinization of one-man-band journalism. If so, this may serve as quantitative support for earlier ethnographic findings, as well as a marker for future studies of news organization structure and the actions and interactions of its newswriters.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter begins with an introduction to the concepts of structuration theory and its application to organizational communication and behavior, technology and local television newsrooms. This is followed by a review of the structure of the television news operations within which individual newswriters and managers interact to produce news programming content. Next, research into the news system itself is reviewed, including the importance given the visual component, the "rules" behind news selection, and the history of news gathering and technology. The chapter then reviews studies that focus on the work and values of the television news photographer. Finally, the research hypotheses and questions are presented and discussed.

Structuration Theory

The theoretical concepts discussed in, and applied to, this study are extensions of Giddens's (1984) attempt to cultivate a macrosociological perspective called structuration. As elaborated by others who have interpreted structuration in various contexts (Riley, 1983; McPhee, 1985, 1989; Poole and DeSanctis, 1992; Yates and Orlikowski, 1992; Bastien, McPhee and Bolton, 1995), the theory has several goals. One goal is to better understand the "ongoing interactions between individuals and institutions" (Yates and Orlikowski, 1992, p. 299). Structuration is also seen as

an attempt to integrate elements from social theory as interpretive social science with traditional functionalist sociology (McPhee, 1989, p. 200). As such, structuration appears to help bridge perspectives that cast social phenomena as either fixed and stable or emergent and negotiated (Poole et al., 1985, p. 75). From this standpoint, people are neither "purely free, creative co-constructors of social reality nor pawns whose moves are determined by social structural forces" (Bastien et al., 1995, p. 88).

Structuration's central theme is that the structures of a system (organizational, social, physical, etc.) produce and reproduce that system. Structure refers to the body of rules, resources, traditions and norms individuals draw on to act and interact. The system, then, is the outcome of the application of structures. Structuration connects human action with formal structure, creating an interdependence between individuals and the system (Riley, 1983). According to Bastien et al. (1995), the theory is particularly useful in the study of organizational processes.

First, there are numerous organizations within which some level of bounded, autonomous self-regulation is sought.... Thus, multiple comparable units for study, structuring themselves somewhat independently, often exist. Second, most organizations are established with relatively narrow goal orientations... and can be

studied without considering the totality of life-interests that concern their members (Bastien et al., 1995, p. 88).

These conditions allow for the measurement of objective, formal structures established within an organization, and for inquiry into individuals' appropriation or enactment of structures, based on interaction with others and with the structures. The achievement of organizational and individual goals also subsequently reproduce the organizational system.

A study of the newsroom within a commercial broadcast television station offers variables for structurational study. Electronic newsgathering, as a system, is a product of the news organization and its personnel who locate, gather, and disseminate news programming (Tuchman, 1978, p. 4). The "news" is reified not only in content, but also as the actions and interactions of its workers (managers, journalists, technicians) and the structures under which they operate. From the standpoint of a formal bureaucracy, these structures would include titles and responsibilities, station workroom policies, program requirements, resources provided by the company, traditions and history, etc.

Researchers have used concepts like "culture" (Riley, 1983) and "climate" (Poole, 1985; Bastien et al., 1995) to explore the expectations, interpretations, attitudes and behavior that individuals bring to structure orientation and enactment. A primary concern of structuration theory,

therefore, is the identification and understanding of conditions that may lead to either the maintaining or the altering of systems by way of the reproduction of structures (Riley, 1983). The interpretive component provided by the individual governs the dual nature of structure as both medium and outcome of action (Poole et al., 1985). In addition, action is dependent upon macro-structure concepts and social interaction; thus, there is an interconnectedness between the system and its people.

Two logical elements precede this interconnectedness, according to McPhee (1989). First,

Different parts of the organization are not just linked or related to one another. They are held distinct and in place in social space-time, and given relative identity and relative autonomy, in the social and system integration processes (p. 201).

Individuals are positioned within an organization or social system through roles, workspace, tasks, schedules, etc. Positioning connotes routinization, adaptation to change, perceptions of autonomy, and establishment of boundaries.

The second structural element McPhee (1989) envisions is the communication within the formal structure of an organization, normally through channels. Organizational structure is normally conceived by those who make decisions and choices that constrain what occurs within the organization. This is communicated through implementation or

codification of those decisions and choices. The announcement of decisions itself affects the organization. Finally, organizational members receive and act in accordance with their interpretation of the decisions and choices. Within many formal structures, top management is instrumental in conceiving, mid-level management implements, and the workers are the receivers and actors. As Littlejohn (1989) notes, however, the communication process is complex and the communication outcome is affected by the skills of the communicators. Within the local television news system, workers include photographers and reporters, who rely on news managers to communicate management's structural priorities.

Structures can be appropriated by actors from several sources, including technology. Poole and DeSanctis (1992) distinguish between two qualities of technological structures. The spirit of the technology connotes the general goals and ideals that it advances. The spirit provides a "normative frame with regard to behaviors that are appropriate in the context of the technology" (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994, p. 126). But there are also specific features of a technology (or a structure) through which that spirit may be achieved or modified. Barley (1986, p. 81) recommends that technologies are "better viewed as occasions that trigger social dynamics, which, in turn, modify or maintain an organization's contours." This view offers

opportunities for studying the activities of users who shape their use of technology as they learn of it, use it, promote it, critique it, and so on. For example, the arrangement of work roles may be changed due to technological advances, such as camcorder equipment and one-man-band newsgathering potential. In so doing, (news) system and organizational contexts are reproduced while work is being accomplished (see Orlikowski, Yates, Okamura and Fujimoto, 1995).

Several technologies have been examined as structuration variables in the study of organizational behavior and communication. These include a study of role relations among radiologists and radiological technologists as CT scanners were introduced to different hospital structures (Barley, 1986), a study of the effects on users of a computerized group decision support system (Poole and DeSanctis, 1992), and a study of the effects of technology-use mediation¹ on the use of electronic communication technologies (electronic mail, newsgroups and computerized records) in a research and development group (Orlikowski et al., 1995). Each study resulted in what Barley calls "soft determinism," findings which result under certain contexts, but allowing for diversity of history and composition of the system (Barley, 1986). Technology has structures in its own

¹According to the authors, such mediation consists of the activities of individuals who shape users' interaction with the technology, modify features of the technology, and alter the context of technology use (p. 424).

right, but other structures, interpretation and action always moderate technology's effects on ultimate practice (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994). Because of the many complex possibilities structuration promises, conclusions are limited and replication (both qualitative and quantitative) is recommended.

This research into technology and context is an argument for technology as opportunity for change instead of agent of change (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994). Referring to a "social technology" perspective, DeSanctis and Poole offered Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST) as a model to depict the interplay between technology, social and formal structure, and human interaction (p. 125). By focusing on the social structures, AST acknowledges structures in technology and structures in action, each shaping the other.

One of the AST researchers' goals was to understand the complexity of this recurrent relationship before causation is suggested. For example, when a technology is introduced to a system, its spirit is in a state of flux for some time. By spirit, DeSanctis and Poole (1994) mean the technology's "general intent with regard to values and goals underlying a given set of structural features" (p. 126). The designers, manufacturers, promoters, customers and others have different notions about a technology's use, based on different system goals and values. The organization also adds to the technology's spirit through traditions,

purposes, norms, training and allocation. Once a technology has become stable in its development and advancement (less open to conflicting interpretations), the spirit, combined with the structural features of a technological resource, can form its structural potential, a focus of AST (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994).

This study took place approximately 10 years after both camcorder and satellite newsgathering structures were introduced to local television stations (Smith, 1984; Inglis, 1990; Fang, 1997), allowing for some stabilization of these structures within not only specific newsrooms but among the population of local television news photographers. The spirit, or general intent, of the camcorder, as mentioned before (Sherer, 1994; RTNDF, 1995), includes the potential for one-man-band newsgathering as both an economic and journalistic resource or structure.

There are other structures of the news system that are potentially vulnerable to change from the social interaction spawned by technological potential. This study looked at one newsgathering structure, the decision-making process. As McQuail (1994, p. 212) described it, two interrelated aspects of decision-making can be labeled "selecting" and "processing." Cremer et al. (1996, p. 264) suggest the morning editorial meeting as the catalyst for much of the day's activity. Whoever attends the meeting is expected to "bring hard material--stories, segments, series that are or

will be ready to run--and to contribute to general discussion of how scheduled stories and breaking news will be covered" (Cremer et al., 1996, p. 265).

In a similar context, Yates and Orlikowski (1992) have drawn on both structuration and rhetorical theory to study the concept of 'genre' in organizational communication. The authors defined genre as "social institutions that both shape and are shaped by individuals' communicative actions" (p. 300). As an example, meetings are genres created to address a recurrent organizational need. Genres (such as the morning editorial meeting) exist within established rules. A formal structure is enacted which outlines the appropriate elements of both form and substance. Some of the evidence from television news literature (Lindekugel, 1994; Cremer et al., 1996) indicate photographers usually remain outside the constitution of this "selecting" genre.

Structuration, as a form of soft determinism, offers a research premise that the technological features and spirit of camcorder resources, enacted by photographers, may reproduce, or modify, the news system to some degree. The study of organizational communication and behavior is one means for researching camcorder enactment by newswriters. Evidence for this premise can be suggested through analysis of the proportion of one-man-band assignments, presence at editorial meetings and attendance to story coverage,

interaction with other newswriters, and interpretations of other newsroom structures, such as professional values.

Structuring Local Television News

Much of the research into local television news has focused on social and organizational influences that affect the production of news programming content. Although the structuration vocabulary that denotes elements discussed above do not appear in the literature of mass communication, many of the concepts overlap in meaning. Organizational behavior, communication, and structure investigate the system and its components. But the organization does not exist without a product created or service rendered by its people. In the case of local television news, the product would include news programming content, and one service it provides is known as surveillance (DeFleur and Dennis, 1996, p. 384). The concept of surveillance implies tracking events in society and helping citizens make informed decisions about important issues.

As Shoemaker and Reese (1996) portrayed it, media content can be affected by variables at six levels: individual, media routines, organization, extramedia and ideological. The authors' depiction of media creation as a series of concentric circles is drawn from earlier research of media organizations and individuals. Although in this study it was the local television news photographer who interprets and enacts the structural elements being

examined, there are certainly other factors that affect the gathering and producing of news. Besides the influence of the individual, media routine and the organizational forces are also pertinent to news photography.

Shoemaker (1987) determined that very few variables intrinsic to the journalist affect content. One exception was the influence of professionalism. In an early study, (McLeod and Hawley, Jr., 1964) devised a means of indexing professional orientations among journalists. Basing their measurement indices on sociological studies of professionalization in other occupations, the researchers developed a measure of desired job characteristics, and a demarcation of respondents according to those characteristics. Items that were measured included attitudes toward specific aspects of job performance, professional training, and the organization of the company. Survey respondents were also asked how important particular job characteristics were, regardless of the job. These included opportunity for originality and initiative, having a job that is valuable to the community, being with people who are congenial and easy to work with, freedom from continual close supervision, and having an influence on important decisions.

The researchers found significant differences between the responses of editorial and non-editorial employees. Those who were scored higher on the professionalism measure

expressed a stronger need for professional values, and were more critical of their organization. Other studies, directed at broadcast journalists (LeRoy, 1973; Weinthal and O'Keefe, 1974; Smith and Becker, 1989), have used many of the same indicators of professionalism to apply the concept to other groups. The research questions became ones for suggesting what constitutes a professional journalist and how he/she may be different from less professional associates in broadcasting.

LeRoy (1973) compared television newsworkers with twelve other occupational groups who had completed a professionalism questionnaire. LeRoy suggested that television news professionals fell below the median rank established for the other occupations. He discovered, however, that in the area of commitment to public service, the television news sample ranked third, with scores equivalent to those of nurses, teachers and social workers.

Weinthal and O'Keefe's (1974) surveyed broadcast journalists. The respondents who scored higher in professionalism scales were more highly educated, were less willing to leave the field and desired professional values more. Smith and Becker (1989) compared television reporters with news producers, and found that producers were more likely to assume what the researchers identified as a management orientation to their work (such as less criticism

of the product, strong desire to control the product, experience at more stations) than were reporters.

The researchers in these studies reasoned that differentiation presupposes distinct roles and values. Professionals are less likely to value the needs of the organization over professional norms, and they desire independence from constraints established by management. However, these studies did not investigate other, more interpersonal, factors that influence the realization of professional values.

According to some who have written about the process of producing news content (Altheide, 1976; Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1988; Berkowitz, 1988; Parenti, 1992), it is more the routines and customs (structures) of news departments, not the individual, that strongly influence selecting and processing news content. In a study of newspapers, Fishman (1988) observed that work schedules, deadlines, beats, and other organization-established routines played an important part in the work of journalists. Tuchman (1978) explored how the news organization created "rhythms" of work to help newswriters classify and construct news content.

Berkowitz (1988) concluded that television news decisions were normally made by a group, which includes news directors, assignment editors, managing editors and producers. Their decision-making routines were instrumental in the newsgathering routines of newswriters below them.

Altheide (1976) argued that the mundane (though practical) routines of work served to distort the way in which television is used to present news messages (p. 24). Parenti (1992) charged that many of these factors contributed to bias as stories are framed. The news was shaped to respond to the organization's need for simple, safe and manageable subjects or themes. These analyses suggest newswriters work within the authority of organizational routine. Those who are resistant may find themselves regularly at odds with their peers and supervisors.

Bantz, McCorkle and Baade (1980) uncovered five organizational pressures that create television newsroom routines: the nature of news staffs (newswriter mobility and station turnover); technology (coordination and role specialization); consultants (program and story formats and style); profit (department efficiency and sales involvement); and product (uniformity of agreement among departments) (pp. 46-51). Those in television news are always aware of the need to attract and hold viewers' attention, and so have devised routines for attracting a larger audience through visual presentation and story selection (Epstein, 1981; Iyengar, 1991; Kaniss, 1991; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Along with organizational variables, the influence of the broadcast media company and its managers, supervisors, and producers may affect the work, routines and attitudes of

newswriters. Several researchers (Epstein, 1973; Gans 1979; Bantz et al., 1980; Altheide and Snow, 1991; Berkowitz, 1993) submitted that economic considerations are an imperative consideration at the higher rungs of the organizational ladder (at both the networks and their affiliates). Shoemaker (1987) added that those who finance television influence station management, and suggested that an economic model best "explains media content as the product of a complex set of ideological forces held by those who fund the mass media" (p. 30).

Those who acquire mass media firms may not themselves be actively involved with their investments, but rely on organizational forces to secure financial returns. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) used the term extramedia to include revenue sources (not only financiers but advertisers and audiences), news sources, interest groups, other news organizations, government and the marketplace. All of these can affect the creation of program content, since they have a stake in the financial success of the broadcast station and its products.

Tuchman (1978) suggested that there may be two social perspectives in observing the making of news. The first perspective views journalists as dependent upon societal norms and expectations that reflect the society; the second perspective sees news as an outgrowth of routines and customs. Even if individual television newswriters claim independence from daily pressure by others, there is

agreement among most critical researchers that a variety of ideological, economic, organizational and professional factors influence the values, routines, responsibilities and subsequent output of television journalists.

Journalists may not necessarily agree. When Epstein (1973) observed network news organizations, he was told by executives that since their individual newswriters were autonomous professionals, the news was not simply a product of the institution (p. 25). Although Epstein determined otherwise, some network journalists (Rather, 1977, p. 158; Biagi, 1987) have perceived more independence from their superiors than Epstein discovered. Ehrlich (1993) concluded that newswriters' own sense of competition was more important than external pressure; it is a "cultural resource" practically everyone in the newsroom employs as "part of their accustomed way of understanding and exerting control over their work and of exercising some degree of professional autonomy" (p. 31).

In a gatekeeping study of one market's local news reporters, Wickham (1989) found that perception conflicted with reality. While the vast majority of the reporters and news managers surveyed said reporters should be responsible for their own story ideas every day, most relied on assignment editors and others to generate stories.

Once a story is assigned, though, how much influence is brought to bear by the newswriters? Jacobs (1996) found that

when news is produced, requirements handed down from above "were not hard constraints, but were mediated by the way newswriters saw the world" (p. 381). This was particularly true, the researcher found, when routines are interrupted by breaking news, events that break with the normal pattern, and by other coverage that prevents "orchestration" (p. 387). Jacobs concluded that it was the interpretive and communicative practices of newswriters that transform events into newsworthy stories. They "legitimate this sense of newsworthiness to their superiors, and construct broadcast texts" (p. 393) that conform to their perceptions of the story.

There have been attempts at quantifying the conclusions of qualitative and critical examinations of individual and organizational effects on news. In a survey of Canadian newswriters, Pollard (1995) suggested that newspaper workers enjoyed job characteristics that are conducive to autonomy, control and responsibility, while broadcast newswriters were controlled more by the organization and by broadcasting's technological and scheduling pressures. Powers (1991) compared two styles of leadership within television newsrooms, from the perspective of newswriters. Among other findings, she discovered that there were high levels of disagreement between newswriters' goals for the news department and those of management. However, with news managers who stressed a relationship-oriented (over task-

oriented) leadership style, workers were more likely to agree with their news department's priority of goals.

McManus's (1994) interviews with reporters, assignment editors, and news directors suggested general acquiescence to ratings and other organizational goals, although there persisted a residue of disappointment that serving the public was subordinated below the interests of investors and owners. In what he described as a case study of 12 Iowa stations, Berkowitz (1993) found that although all the respondents believed news judgment should supersede other factors in news selection, actual practice was dependent upon other concerns. Those who reflected a view that news selection is determined by traditional journalistic values made up only about a quarter of the respondents. Most other respondents held perspectives that were aligned more with business and programming concerns. They also exhibited less journalism experience, education, and weaker feelings of professionalism.

Smith's (1987) comparison of survey responses indicated both reporters and photographers were frustrated in their work as journalists, and dissatisfied with their station's product. Upshaw's (1994) survey of newswriters found that producers were more likely to feel ratings pressures than visual newswriters, and that self-described photojournalists felt ratings pressure violated their ethics. Findings such as these imply that workers at various levels in the news

hierarchy feel the pressures of the organization conflicting with professional values and personal standards, and feel ratings and business priorities can override other decision-making considerations.

The System: Producing Television News

The Visual Factor

Considerable research into television news has dealt with the valuation of its visual characteristics, distinguishing television from other mass media. Researchers (Altheide, 1976; Graber, 1987; Iyengar, 1991; Kaniss, 1991) have examined the process, the content and the effects of television news and its visual assets. The Glasgow University Media Group (1976) was one of the first to extensively analyze both the process and content of network television news in Great Britain. In 1975, the researchers determined that visuals were secondary to the text, in that "the vast majority of the coverage consists of men reading or speaking to camera in various ways; *talking heads* as they are called in the business" (p. 26).

In the United States, Gans (1979) came to a different conclusion, based upon his observation of network news practices. He found that

all suggested stories are automatically judged for whether they lend themselves to filming; and when top producers compile their lists of selected stories, they always begin with, and give most thought to, the films

they hope to run that day (Gans, 1979, p. 158).

These qualitative findings at the network level have found quantitative support at the local television news level. Townley (1971) calculated that 55 percent of the local evening news was devoted to news film clips. In a 1991 study by Coon and Tse on negativity of news content, the researchers discovered that 80 percent of the news items contained video. This finding supports Harmon's (1989a) percentages from a study comparing stations in different size markets. Stone, Hartung and Jensen (1987), in an update of a study of good vs. bad news, reported that 83 percent of local news stories contained video. Another content analysis of graphics presentations found that 78 percent of the nightly network news block included visual imagery (Foote and Saunders, 1990). This suggests there may be more emphasis placed on the visual than the British researchers found in the 1970s.

In an early survey of local television news directors, Schuneman (1966) sought to define news directors' attitudes toward the visual factor of news. Almost 100 percent of his respondents agreed that news director should know how to communicate visually as well as verbally, and more than 75 percent also agreed that newsfilm is the most important tool of television news. It followed that 80 percent advocated photographic and editing skills for their writers and reporters. The importance of visual content associated with

information in television news has become the rule for news directors, their newswriters (Smith and Becker, 1989) and the subsequent content of their efforts.

Television News Selection

Much of the research at the local news level appears to support the network findings of Gans (1979) that producers make a conscious decision to emphasize particular elements in selecting and processing the news. Buckalew (1970) sat with 12 different television news "editors" to determine the factors that led to a story being included or eliminated from the program's lineup. From 24 different newscasts and interviews with editors, he concluded that the news dimensions of conflict and timeliness were the most frequently appearing factors influencing their decisions. Buckalew also found that the editors were greatly alike in their habits of news selection and perceptions.

Berkowitz (1991, 1993) discovered four forces at work in news selection, including news judgment. However, he concluded that constraints on resources (which included staff and equipment) were almost as important a determination in whether to cover a story. In fact, several of his interview subjects indicated the ability to cover the story was sometimes the most important consideration. A third factor, technology, was not considered an important consideration to most of the respondents, although

assignment editors maintained that new technology was used to promote the station's news department.²

In his study of market forces in local television news, McManus (1992) found, through interviews with assignment editors, a heavy reliance upon outside sources in determining news content because it was the least-expensive means. Carstens's (1993) survey research suggested the business of news can affect news decisions, as newswriters profess greater concern for journalistic objectives but news directors must focus on profitability goals. Conflicts can surface based on what stories should be covered and how.

In an effort to study both content and influence, Peale and Harmon (1991) looked at news stories and the role of consultants for local television stations. The authors suggested, based on their findings, that "the agenda framed by local television news is more than issues. It exists within the institutional framework of the television medium, and encompasses all aspects of content" (p. 9). News selection and treatment were coded according to whether the newscast had an association with a consultant and the content's reliance upon video, production elements and anchor or reporter emphasis. Results suggest consultants influenced both the presentation and the content of news, depending upon the consultant. Berkowitz (1987) studied

²The fourth force, information provided by news sources, was considered inferior to news worthiness, even though it was a daily factor in the decision-making process.

other influential sources who may hold sway in the news selection process. Official spokespersons, experts and executives were found to be important determinants.

In a study to determine the reasons behind the use of live on-the-scene reports by local television news operations, England's (1994) interviews with more than 60 news managers found that often the desire was "to create an illusion or sense of immediacy rather than actually covering events that were occurring or unfolding at the time of their newscasts" (p. iii). This suggests that technology (satellite and microwave transmission, for example) may affect the decision-making or selection process, since England found that Buckalew's (1970) theme of timeliness can be supplanted by the illusion of timeliness. Upshaw (1994) discovered negative feelings by photojournalists toward live shots as being poorly motivated and the result of ratings pressure.

Looking at the process more comprehensively, Harmon (1989b) used both participant observation and content analysis to test earlier findings of a passive, sensationalism-minded gatekeeper dominated by the visual factor. He determined that those assumptions were overstatements that needed clarification. While White's (1950) gatekeeping study identified what became recognized as traditional news values--proximity, prominence, consequence, significance, conflict and novelty--Harmon

added three questions asked by gatekeepers: "Will this story interest all or most of my viewers? Can this story be shown to my viewers? How will this story fit with the rhythm, flow, and content of the rest of the newscast?" (p. 863).

As indicated, however, many of the qualitative studies conducted inside newsrooms affirm that the needs of management often override the desires of the journalists, and affect news selection. Television stations use their news programming to help attract the largest audience possible; consequently the news department may also adopt a philosophy of news geared to increase ratings. The studies of British television news by the Glasgow University Media Group resulted in a series of books documenting the daily customs, practices and codes of network television news operations (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, 1980, 1982). Their work followed Epstein's (1973) work at the American broadcasting networks and was followed by the writings of Tuchman (1978), Gans (1979), Parenti (1992), and Bennett (1996). Themes permeating most of this work revolve around organizational power over the selection of news, visual emphasis, and newsroom structure that results in distortion.

Technology and the News

There are several other structural variables that affect the roles, responsibilities and values of news organizations and their journalists. These include statutory

and regulatory factors, technology, and economics. History and tradition have also contributed to the evolution of broadcast news. Elements throughout the news hierarchy are affected by laws and by convention, but only at the higher levels may individuals actively respond to these forces. Individual newswriters lower in the hierarchy are more closely tied to resources provided them by management (Goodwin and Smith, 1994).

Technology is one of several resources that affect the creation of news stories for television. Other resources include staffing, organizational support and constraints, budgets, time, and environmental variables. Westin (1982) likened the growth of television news to a game of leapfrog in which one player is editorial content and technology the other. A new piece of equipment lets the editorial side try new approaches to covering the news or conveying information. When the limits of the new machinery are reached, the editors demand more, and the technicians respond with a new generation of equipment to keep the editors satisfied (p. 31).

The composition of television news, throughout its short history, has never drifted far from an emphasis on utilizing technological innovations to tell stories more effectively. The study of television's history and tradition provides a context for linking technology as a structure with the

system of news production, as described by DeSanctis and Poole's (1994) Adaptive Structuration perspective.

History of Television News Photography

The Primacy of Visuals

When the television networks began offering news programming, it was immediately apparent that merely reading the news on camera was inferior to another format--the theatrical newsreel (The News by Television, 1948). In terms of viewer popularity, it was the live remote coverage and newsreel programs that audiences wanted, over still-picture, headline and television "newsreaders" (Heath, 1950). However, Rennick (as cited in Heath, 1950) commented that the high cost of motion picture development equipment prevented 95 percent of TV stations in the late 1940s and early 1950s from considering the more expensive production techniques. They relied on still-pictures and readers. According to Stephens (1989), television news "was seen initially as an amalgam of radio news and movie newsreels" (p. 281).

Teamwork was critical to network news (Frank, 1993; Heath, 1950). Early on, the development of reporter/photographer teams set the standard for television newsgathering (Karnick, 1988). In an early defense of the pictorial emphasis in his news programming, NBC producer Frank McCall declared that "the basic tool of television news is film. We need more, and more, and more film coverage

if NBC is to be the outstanding television news network" (Karnick, 1988, p. 28). As Heath (1950, p. 417) noted, viewers would have it no other way.

This philosophy became the accepted view that filtered down to network affiliates, the critics and the audience. As Schuneman (1966) found out through a survey, television news directors were keenly aware that they should know how to communicate visually as well as verbally. More than 75 percent of them agreed that newsfilm was the "chief reportorial tool" of television.

Initially, newsgathering was hampered by the practical and economic limitations of film and production equipment (Rennick, cited in Heath, 1950; Matusow, 1983). Many local newscasts were given little money for film, and the program was often only 15 minutes in length. Broadcasting a live news event required an enormous amount of engineering expertise and personnel, as well as the cooperation of the telephone company; it still took up to two days to set up (Yoakam and Cremer, 1989, p. 1). Immediacy and portability came at great expense, and only about 36 percent of local news programming was profitable to stations in 1950 (Rennick, cited in Heath, 1950).

From Film to Tape to Disk

When television news camera operators first went out on story assignments in the late 1940s and early 1950s, they took along the "one-ton pencil," a 35mm film camera

(Langman, 1993). In the early 1960s, not only did the networks and stations lengthen their newscasts to a half-hour, CBS presented its news in color, and its photographers were introduced to a wireless portable video camera (Fang, 1985). By the 1970s, the portable minicameras and video tape recorders created new advantages, such as shortening the time between recording and airing, providing higher quality video than in the 1960s, increasing the amount of coverage possible with long-recording tape, and costing less than film (Hilliard and Keith, 1992, p. 213). This technology became known as electronic newsgathering (ENG) and video eventually replaced film in local television news operations. News programming became profitable for network affiliates as audiences began to grow. Stations responded by investing financially in their newsrooms (Head and Sterling, 1990, p. 345).

The creation and growth of news consultation is seen by some as an outcome of increased competition among stations (Powers, 1977; Matusow, 1983; Whetmore, 1989). The consultants' responsibility was to conduct audience research and advise station management on ways to increase its news programs' ratings. Consultants have been credited with helping establish certain standards: a faster-paced newscast with more news items and shorter stories, more emphasis on producing local news content, more visuals, longer newscasts, and more reporter involvement (Matusow, 1983, pp.

188-190). Peale and Harmon (1991) concluded that consultants exert a discernable influence in both the presentation and the content of news stories. Technological advances in the 1970s and 1980s led to calls for more live reports, more graphics, and faster-paced editing (Powell, 1993).

The news became, for many stations, the most expensive, lucrative and important department (Stephens, 1993, p. 443). Local news programs emphasized terms like "action," "eyewitness," and "live" to evoke images of bringing the world to television viewers (Mayer, 1993). Technology was vital to this emphasis. ENG was called "a revolution as significant as the arrival of color TV in the early 1960s" (Yoakam and Cremer, 1989, p. 2). Due to the portability, flexibility and relatively low overhead of ENG equipment, and because of increasing sophistication in camera technology, newsgathering allowed a station to cover breaking news live and promote itself as being first on the scene (Shook, Lattimore and Redmond, 1996). Though the speed and quality of newsgathering improved, the complexity and bulk of the equipment still required at least two people for most stories--one to shoot the video and record the audio, the other to interview and report--until the early 1980s. As computer-chip technology improved, it became possible for one person equipped with a camera/recorder combination (camcorder) to serve as reporter, camera operator, audio engineer and producer (Yoakam and Cremer,

1989). By the late 1980s, high-quality news cameras costing tens of thousands of dollars began to be replaced by lower cost, smaller ENG camera packages (McConnell, 1994a). As size decreased, quality increased. From the imaging devices in cameras--pickup tubes and later CCDs (computer chips)--to more than a dozen videotape formats, manufacturers steadily increased the selection, economy, and quality of newsgathering equipment (Wurtzel and Rosenbaum, 1995).

In 1995, manufacturers introduced digital, in-camera tapeless recording equipment. The promise was that videographers could record directly to disk (McConnell, 1995). One camera system, called the CamCutter, offered the capability of organizing, digitally (nonlinear) editing and playing complete stories or short clips back to the newsroom for broadcast. No post-production-equipped van was necessary and the journalists could stay in the field ("Curt Rawley," 1995; "Disk-based camera," 1995).

From Microwave to Satellite

With ENG established in most local television news departments by the 1980s, stations began looking at other news-production tools for competitive and economical reasons. Miniaturized microwave transmission equipment helped spur local live news coverage. A microwave transmitter uses antennas to send signals from a location back to the station. It is dependent upon line of sight between antenna and receiver, and utilizes very high

frequencies, so distance and terrain can present problems (Cremer et al., 1996, p. 294). Stations lease (or purchase) helicopters equipped with microwave equipment to overcome these problems.

By the mid-1980s satellite newsgathering (SNG) began taking the place of microwave relays in many instances. Satellites had been orbiting the earth since 1962, affiliates had been receiving network programming via satellite for years, and CNN had been providing its cable service since 1980 (Mayer, 1993, p. 213). However, it was a network called Conus (for "continental U.S.") that "interconnected stations across the country on an ad hoc basis depending on the news story and its location" (Sterling and Kittross, 1990, p. 499). Stations began sending out reporters with trucks furnished with satellite uplink equipment to provide material to other stations with downlinks (Gross, 1990).

The use of SNG technology altered again the manner in which stories could be covered. By the mid-1980s, 90 percent of stations in large markets had utilized satellites in some way (Smith, 1984), and often for live coverage of news. Lacy, Atwater and Powers (1988), surveying news directors on the impact of SNG, discovered several implications for local news. Because of the high cost of hardware, stations attempted to get the most out of their investment. This meant more live coverage. Many news directors said it

improved the quantity and quality of statewide coverage, although some critics began to complain that the practice of "live, via satellite" stories was unnecessary (Rieder, 1993). Receiving material from satellite news networks like CONUS led to more regional, national and international stories, and stations began sharing content with one another via satellite (Lacy et al., 1988).

A 1994 report on satellites in *Broadcasting and Cable* (McConnell, 1994b) found both manufacturers and customers hopeful about potential uses for SNG. This was true for local news coverage as well as the use of newsfeeds. By 1994 the broadcast networks had established regional newsgathering infrastructures to coordinate the footage they received from local stations around the country. Whereas in earlier times the networks provided local stations with a substantial amount of video content, local news production began supplying material to the networks. After the Los Angeles earthquake in 1994, CBS set up 18 simultaneous satellite transmission paths from the city. One representative from ABC said some of the local uplinks supplied his network with material ten times a day (McConnell, 1994b, p. 37). Stations found new ways to expand their influence, strengthen their news departments, generate more programming, acquire video material and increase profits.

Technology as a Research Variable

As mentioned, there are many apparent components that influence both the etiology of news content and the distribution of labor, including newsroom resources. Technology by itself will not ensure superior journalism, but Altheide (1976) discovered that newswriters did use equipment as an indicator of quality. When he asked newswriters about their competitors who were considered substandard, they related equipment with performance: "They had in mind the poor quality of equipment, but also the lack of individual care or precision in framing a picture, improper editing, and poor coordination between technicians to have it 'come off okay'" (pp. 52-53). Altheide suggested at least correlation, if not causation, between the caliber of technology a station acquires and its news production.

Another variable is the high cost that new equipment often necessitates. Equipment and technology do not necessarily offer the least-expensive mix of gathering content. As Bogart (1980) observed, a news producer who sends out a crew equipped with expensive cameras, an SNG vehicle and an editing system

has made an investment from which the producer is ordinarily inclined to want a return. Especially on local news shows produced with limited manpower resources, there is an economic pressure to use the available footage (p. 222).

Another concern of researchers is how technology can affect viewer choice and variety. Davie and Lee (1993) used a content analysis of nine television stations in Texas to study how various content sources (including ENG, SNG, network and syndicated news services) might be affecting the levels of duplication and uniqueness of stories. The researchers found that, while network ENG/SNG source material led to more duplication among the stations, local ENG/SNG capability contributed to more diversification of stories and coverage. With only about half the stories duplicated in a market, the researchers concluded that both market needs and the local public interest were served through these technologies.

In the early 1980s, Smith (1984) surveyed news directors regarding their feelings about the acquisition and use of several newsgathering resources. Though the use of helicopters, satellite downlinks, and live-capable news bureaus was increasing (in large markets over 60 percent of stations, and in smaller markets at least 25 percent), their impact was assessed negatively. The news directors were more likely to say that new technology had a negative effect on content, although no reasons were given.

A subsequent survey by Lacy, Atwater and Powers (1988) concerning satellite technology found that 83 percent of the responding news directors said satellite news networks improved the quality of their newscasts. Regarding satellite

newsgathering, 65 percent felt that their coverage of a larger geographic area (the state) improved with SNG. At the time of the survey, however, only about 16 percent used SNG vehicles, possibly due to its high cost. Time and experience with a technology may affect the endorsement of newer resources (see Tyre and Orlikowski, 1993).

What of the individual newswriters who are assigned stories and given the equipment and technology? Concerning the responsibilities of newswriters, Bantz, McCorkle and Baade (1980) used an analogy of factory assembly line production to explain how, for example, broadcast technology had created the need for role specialization, division of labor and strict coordination of activities in the television newsroom. The researchers concluded that since a newscast was the result of various assignments completed separately by specialists, there was a consequent lack of personal investment in the news product. At the time of the study, the bulk and complexity of ENG equipment meant that "unless the reporter helps carry the equipment, the team does not have the physical mobility to attain the desired visuals; if the reporter helps, he/she is inhibited in covering the story" (p. 48). Under a team arrangement, smaller, more lightweight equipment suggests an improvement in coverage. In 1980, however, camcorders were not yet commonplace.

One study (Cleland and Ostroff, 1988) looked at the effect of technology on the responsibilities of particular newswriters. The researchers used participant observation, personal interviews and content analysis to study a satellite news consortium's effect on one Jacksonville, Florida, television station in 1986. Several demands were placed on reporters as they were required to file more succinct, accurate stories more quickly, sometimes without an opportunity for a second chance. The four-station statewide satellite consortium also needed stories that could give local events a larger perspective. In addition, the authors noted that reporters who moved to this station from a smaller market would have to develop these skills on the job. Although the authors did not address one-man-band newsgathering, it was understood that both reporters and photographers have greater demands placed on them because of SNG.

By 1992, Wicks and Kern (1995) found that many news directors were planning more applications for SNG and news exchanges during political seasons. Market size and number of employees helped measure the extent of satellite-technology usage. The researchers speculated that without adequate support (personnel resources), technological advances alone could not permit news directors to alter traditional reporting strategies during the campaign season.

In 1995, the Radio and Television News Directors Foundation (RTNDF) published a survey that included questions regarding newsgathering and processing technology. This survey mirrored the ambivalence found in Smith's (1984) respondents. More than half the news directors indicated that new technology resulted in better efficiency. One-third of the respondents said they used one-man-bands, while 73 percent were "uncomfortable" with this trend. Many felt attention to the hardware and equipment would make reporters less effective. These findings, along with Berkowitz's (1991) conclusion that "resource constraints" sometimes supersede "news judgment" in deciding if news expectations are being met, suggest continued concern among news managers that merely seeking efficiency and economy of resources and manpower does not necessarily lead to an improved product.

The Television News Photographer

The formal structure of the news hierarchy, as outlined earlier (Cremer et al., 1996; Shook et al., 1996), subordinates the news photographer to the level below management, and without the direct link to managers that reporters often enjoy. Until recently, photographers were often classified as technicians (see Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996, p. 4). That may help explain a lack of research into responsibilities, input and values of these newsworkers. Much of the research has been ancillary to an interest in

reporters or newswriters in general (Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman, 1972; Weaver and Wilhoit, 1991).

There persists a view of the photographer as something less than journalist. Jacobs' (1996) ethnographic research in a Los Angeles television station supported this view. He found that, although visual content is vital to newsworthiness, new firsthand video may not be as consequential. Video material might be received from freelance photographers, file footage from the station's library, the affiliated station's network, computer-simulated images, and other source material. Sometimes, even the use of the station's technological resources (news vans, helicopters, full-time photographers, etc.) can be used for either significant and new footage, or to simply "place" a story in a context (see England, 1994). In one sense, the position of the photographer corresponds more to resources than to newswriter.

Of course, photographers will disagree, and some researchers have concluded there is more to producing the video content than operating the camera. Because of perceived changes in the newsroom, Allen (1993), surveying news directors about hiring trends, suggested that the extent "to which reporters and videographers are needed is essentially determined by commitments to journalistic quality" (p. 7). In order to simply provide news, it would be more efficient to use material obtained elsewhere or just

read the copy. Allen also suggested future studies of employment patterns within newsrooms include a combination category, "reporter-videographer," to account for dual job responsibilities (p. 18).

Prior to Allen's study, Smith (1986) found that television news photographers rated themselves about equal to newspaper photographers and television reporters on scales tied to professionalism. Those who had won a professional award valued the autonomy they were given to work alone, and showed little interest in the potential of news photography to influence public opinion. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents said they did much of their shooting without a reporter alongside, and valued journalistic autonomy. They also tended to be idealistic about what television news should be. Eighty-two percent disliked overdramatized content, and less than half felt their station's news represented their personal standards for how television is used visually.

A subsequent analysis by Smith (1987) of reporters' and photographers' working relationship found that both considered video to be a powerful medium in its own right, but with the potential for abuse. A majority of news photographers also considered themselves professionals committed to their work.

Most qualitative studies (Marks, 1987; Steele, 1987; Lindekugel, 1994; Sherer, 1994) have supported those

findings. The Glasgow University Media Group (1976) provided the major exception (at a network level). The researchers found that, in the British network newsroom of ITN, photographers' activities were closely directed by reporters in the field. Even when unaccompanied by a reporter, photographers were given precise instructions as to the coverage desired for the editors (p. 77).

In a study of television news photographers' belief structures, Steele (1987) concluded that photographers were very aware of ethical dilemmas resulting from organizational demands, competition, peer pressure and aesthetic values. He also found they had strong feelings about journalistic ethics and loyalty to such traditions as reliability and responsibility.

In a response to Steele's study, Marks (1987) wrote that the photojournalist should be considered a separate class of journalist. A primary reason was that

the television news photographer has a built-in sense of detachment. This is a person who spends his career watching life on a two-inch black and white television set. This endows him with an amazing capacity to suspend belief. Looking through the viewfinder gives the photographer a strikingly different picture from the one the reporter has (p. 19).

Sherer (1994), in a monograph published by the National Press Photographers Association, noted that photojournalists

often filled several roles in news organizations, even though they may be left out of the gatekeeping process. In addition to shooting video, photographers may serve as reporters, field producers, editors, technicians and writers (p. 11). Lindekugel (1994) dedicated a chapter of his book on television photographers to significant transformations in their profession. The result has been an increase in importance of the photographer to television news (pp. 7-16).

Some historians have regarded the contribution of the photographer to television news as a significant one. Devoting a chapter of his history of broadcast news to the "knights of the camera," Bliss (1991) distinguished the photographer as "the supreme reporter" (pp. 361-366). Schindehette (1989) wrote that "of all journalism's foot soldiers, television cameramen are the most anonymous and the least respected" (p. 140). Cremer et al. (1996) maintained that the advent of ENG and SNG promoted the photographer in the field to leader of the team that sends the story back to the station, on equal footing with the reporter.

Of the several qualitative studies that have included observations, interviews and analyses of television news operations, only one has focused on the news photographer. Lindekugel (1994) spent time in the newsroom, out in the field, in the editing bays and in the cars and vans of

reporters and photographers in one television market. He concluded the photographers he observed can and do have some say in the framing of the topics and events they cover. Harmon (1989b) found that television newsgathering was more active than previously thought, and enterprise pieces (stories initiated by reporters, editors, producers or videographers) constituted more than 18 percent of the primary sources for news items (p. 860).

In an ethnographic study of the social setting within a local news operation, Reid (1990) interviewed a producer, reporter, and news director about the role of the photographer. They informed him that the role of the videographer "was without question more significant than their own positions. In fact, each affirmed in separate interviews that they considered the videographer to be another reporter" (p. 113). The interviews also revealed various levels of dependency upon the partnership created by reporters and photographers working together. Familiarity, reliance and expectations were themes prevalent in discussions about newsgathering teams. If a trend toward solo coverage is growing, it would be worthwhile to investigate its effects on the team concept.

Survey research has often skirted around the input of the news photographer. The 1995 RTNDF study of the future of news limited its television survey to station managers, news directors and reporters. In Weaver and Wilhoit's (1991)

profile of the American journalist, the authors defined journalists as "those who have editorial responsibility for the preparation or transmission of news stories or other information--all full-time reporters, writers, correspondents, columnists, newsmen and editors" (p. 219). Although they included photographers who were also reporters, "because full-time photographers, librarians, camera operators, and technicians usually are directed by reporters and editors (or assist them in carrying out their work), we did not classify them as journalists" (p. 220). The dissenting view proposes that there are sufficient reasons for distinguishing photographers from other newsworkers, elevating their status to that of reporters, and seeing them as original contributors (within the apparent constraints of the organizational and hierarchical structure) to the content of local news. As mentioned, Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) included photojournalists in their 1992 survey of journalists, although their reasoning points more to print photographers' editorial control over pictures.

Research Hypotheses and Questions

Within the context of the newsgathering and television production system, this study examines the perceptions of television news photographers (as individual newsworkers) regarding structures with which they may interact regularly. As it is depicted in structuration research, structure is

the "matrix of rules and resources that people draw on to enable (but also constrain) action" (McPhee, 1985, p. 164). For this study, certain structured practices are examined in light of technological resources, newsroom interaction, formal and informal structures of organizational behavior and practice, and interpretations of work roles and patterns.

The hypotheses emanated from television news' tradition of teamwork in producing programming, with formal and informal roles and responsibilities. In addition, the influence of technology on the structure of the newsroom workplace can help shape individuals' actions and institutional practices. The beginning point of reference in this study was the introduction and stabilization of camcorder resources as a technological factor that may shape the work patterns of news photographers. The first hypothesis, based on qualitative findings (Lindekugel, 1994; Sherer, 1994), survey results (RTNDF, 1995) and anecdotal examination (Brodie, 1991; Calem, 1993; Langman, 1993), suggested that those photographers using one-piece camcorders would have a higher proportion of total work that is performed solo than would photographers using separate camera-recorder equipment. Structuration theory does not look for deterministic relationships, but recognizes "triggering dynamics" (Barley, 1986) whose consequences may follow a contextual logic.

The second hypothesis looked further at the practice of solo news coverage, or one-man-band newsgathering. The observations of Lindekugel (1994) and Sherer (1994) suggested that one-man-band newsgathering has become an established practice to some degree. Structuration holds that structural components such as one-man-banding are not merely an outcome of organizational and structural composition. The duality of structuration proposes that this resulting component (one-man-banding) serves as a medium for subsequent enactment or activity by individuals in other structures and in the system. Hypothesis two suggested that one-man-band newsgathering, represented by covering events alone, editing as well as videotaping stories, and producing packages without the assistance of others are associated with several activities relevant to news material selection and processing. Specifically, the hypothesis suggested when more solo work was evident, there would also be an increase in photographer involvement in situations when decisions are made.

The applications of structuration stem from sociology, social psychology, organizational and small group communication. Many of the rules, traditions, norms, arrangements, and other facets of a system's structures are created by humans. The interpretation, enactment and reproduction of structures also consist of human activity and interaction. Structuration presupposes that individuals

bring to their interpretation of structures a history of beliefs and practices. The third and fourth hypotheses in this study examined potential relationships between specific professional and personal values and activities relevant to news selection and processing. The hypotheses suggested that greater involvement (based on higher frequency estimates) in selecting and processing situations would be related to stronger agreement with statements regarding values, and concerning relationships with reporters.

Although two factors were tested for their association with other structures in the newsgathering system, there are certainly other variables that play a part in the structuring of newsroom work patterns and norms. Whether or not the utilization of camcorders is related to solo work by photographers, there may certainly be other factors pertinent to this pattern of newsgathering. One research question examined several variables as potential correlates with one-man-band newsgathering. For example, it may be anticipated, as with many occupations and professions, that the more experience an individual possesses, the more that individual can expect increased responsibility and freedom to contribute. Likewise, more freedom and responsibility may increase as age, education and training increase. Market size and union membership suggest certain geographic and demographic characteristics of a news system. Larger audience population bases and stronger unions can imply more

resources, more specialization and more teamwork. Research question one explores relationships between each of these factors and indications of one-man-band newsgathering.

Although camcorder equipment was the technological resource examined in hypothesis one of this study, it is by no means the only technological tool utilized by newsrooms and their photographers. Some research has focused on satellite newsgathering tools and capabilities (Smith, 1984; Lacy et al., 1988; Cleland and Ostroff, 1988; England, 1994), but there may be other tools that warrant further study. A second research question asked in this study provided photographers the opportunity to describe and explain how newer newsgathering tools have affected them in their job.

Summary of Literature Review

The local television news operation has provided stations with popular and profitable programming since the 1960s. The methods behind the study of local news have often consisted of analyzing news content, or observing and interviewing in newsrooms by qualitative researchers. Structuration theory provides a means for examining the organizational framework behind the content and process. Theorists also suggest structuration can help bridge the disparate objective and subjective philosophies of human behavior.

Structuration theory advances the proposition that individuals' actions are enabled and constrained by structures, even as those structures are the result of previous actions. This reciprocal interaction between humans and structural components of a system produce and reproduce the system. Structures include such elements as the formal rules, resources and norms of an organization, its history and traditions, social processes and climate, and so on. Structure is communicated directly and indirectly. The study of structuration involves the investigation of communication and behavior patterns, from the conception of structures through their implementation or codification, to the reception, interpretation, modification and enactment of the structures.

Researchers who have studied news operations and observed the selecting and processing of news have often concluded that organizational, economic, ideological and other non-journalistic variables can affect the subsequent news content. The focus often concerns the social ramifications of news decisions influenced by forces from within the newsroom and outside it. This study also sought to examine news-selecting and processing situations, but through the structurational lens of human interpretation and action. As it concerns the television photographer, Lindekugel (1994) qualitative research sheds the most light on journalistic values, routines and experiences of

photographers. His findings were not automatically generalizable to the population, since conclusions must be limited to the subjects of his observations. Quantitative support is needed to verify the conclusions that photographers play a meaningful decision-making role in the news system.

One variable that has implications in the study of structures and systems is technology. Although used by individuals to accomplish some action, technology also has the potential to interact with humans, possibly modifying their behavior and practices. It may even serve to influence organizational structures in measurable ways. Its power, as a structure, may also be influenced by users' interpretations of their work, environment and social contexts.

Proponents of particular technological advances often promise increased efficiency, lower costs and better journalism. Survey research has revealed some ambiguity in the minds of news directors and newswriters about the efficacy of satellite newsgathering, satellite and digital transmission, camcorders, and other technological innovations. Some news directors have indicated a greater willingness to merge reporter and photographer positions.

Newswriters operate within parameters set by journalism, business, ideology and other system meta-structures, but structuration recognizes the individual's

power to help shape the production/reproduction of the system through interpretation and modification of particular structures. This study attempted to test hypotheses that suggest a relationship between camcorder technology usage and one-man-band newsgathering, and between one-man-band practices and participation in selecting and processing situations.

In much of the survey research of broadcast journalists, the subjects have not included news photographers. Qualitative research suggests this may provide an incomplete picture of broadcast news. A 1992 survey of American journalists included photojournalists in the sample, for the first time. Some qualitative evidence supports this shift. This study analyzes technological, professional, and organizational variables as a means of identifying potential structures in the work of photographers and their participation in selecting and processing news.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

Newsrooms in the mid-1990s used several relatively new tools to produce news stories, such as smaller videotape formats, satellite uplink dishes, helicopters, camcorders, and digital distribution of pictures, sound and text. The introduction of these resources offered news departments new techniques for creating content. For example, the camcorder made it more physically practical to send one person to cover a story or event, instead of a crew of two or more. One thing that has not changed is the news operation's dependence upon visuals as news content, so for most stories a camera is used to tape record and/or transmit the material.

Whatever their title, newswriters become photographers when they use a camera, either by themselves or with a reporter or producer alongside. In many markets, photographers may also edit the material they have recorded. Some of the research on television newsgathering and production suggests that many television photojournalists are allowed to produce enterprise stories, where they actively pursue story material and produce packages independently (Smith, 1986; Harmon, 1989b; Allen, 1993). These findings lend support to anecdotal evidence of an increase in one-man-band newsgathering, and the potential for structural changes in the way news is selected and processed. This study utilized a survey, addressed to full-

time news photographers employed by local television stations, to explore their news gathering responsibilities, and to test hypotheses involving the frequency of participation in certain news selecting and processing factors, newsroom perceptions, and responsibilities. Research questions asked about various structural factors that may also be associated with increased one-man-band newsgathering, and about photographers' feelings concerning newer technological tools. The purpose was to explore structural factors that may help improve understanding of the photographer's place in the newsroom and structural forces with which he/she interact.

Development of Research Hypotheses and Questions

Within the context of television newswriters and the structures comprising the news production system, this study attempted to test concepts of structuration theory in organizational behavior and communication. Specific hypotheses addressed three structural factors photographers encounter in the context of news gathering: camcorder equipment provisions, professional or environmental norms, and work duties (in this study one-man-band journalism is examined). Two recent studies focusing on television news photographers (Sherer, 1994, and Lindekugel, 1994) used qualitative research methods in addressing these news photography factors, among others. This study attempted to quantify some of their findings, as well as help ascertain

significant structures in the news organization that may modify the work and role constraints of the photographer. The variables were established and data obtained through a cross-sectional survey research design, with items gleaned from earlier surveys of news directors and news workers.

The framework of structuration theory prompts several hypotheses for testing. Whether camcorder technology is considered a structure or a structural factor, it can trigger organizational dynamics (Barley, 1986; Orlikowski, 1992; DeSanctis and Poole, 1994). If there is an increase in one-man-band journalism due to smaller, lightweight, and cheaper camcorders, there should be a higher proportion of solo work by photographers. From survey responses, then:

H1 The proportion of total work that is executed alone (one-man-band), employing camcorder equipment, will be greater than the proportion of work performed alone using separate camera and recorder equipment.

Applying structuration theory's duality premise, workers' appropriation of structures serves to reproduce the system, with intended and unintended consequences. In the case of news photographers, an increase in one-man-band newsgathering should lead to greater involvement in situations traditionally attended to by reporters, producers and managers. The enactment of the one-man-band structural factor may become a means for modifying aspects of news "selecting" and "processing" structures, with participation

by newswriters whose traditional emphasis has centered primarily on the visual component of news content.

H2 The proportion of work that is executed alone (one-man-band), will be related to relative frequency estimates of involvement in news selecting and processing situations.

Part of McPhee's (1985) thesis is that formal structure is communicated directly, through organizational, institutional conventional and other forms of communicative discourse, but that the realization of structure is also dependent upon the personal, indirect and subjective interpretation and application by recipients of structural directives. Two structural factors presupposed upon most photographers (as recipients of formal structure), professional norms or values and interaction with reporters, were examined through examples of journalism values and relationships. Individuals with strong beliefs should be expected to involve themselves in organizational activities that are integral to the selecting and processing of news content. Likewise, those who have strong views about the journalists with whom they work should be expected to involve themselves in activities that determine the nature of the content. If this is so, then:

H3 Stronger agreement with statements concerning professional values will be related to higher frequency estimates of involvement in news selecting and processing situations.

H4 Agreement with statements concerning newsroom interactions with reporters will be stronger as frequency estimates of involvement in news selecting and processing situations increase.

Structuration theory evolved as a counterpoint to more classical structural theories of organization and bureaucracy. Structuration assumes human action and environmental variables intervene to mitigate against strictly deterministic variables. Another premise of structuration is the duality of structures, perceiving them as both the medium and the outcome of actions (and interactions). Consequently, one-man-band newsgathering, as a factor in the structure of newsroom personnel and duties, should not be presumed to be simply the result of a formalized organizational policy or associated only with one factor, such as technological resources. Structurationists would assume other elements come into play. Some would represent formal structural factors, and others would speak more to individual background. Before causative or explanatory relationships are explored, association needs to be established. This study addressed several factors about which photographers should be knowledgeable, and could be thought to be associated with the proportion of work performed by photographers without assistance. There are most certainly other variables, such as budgetary and financial considerations of a station, which are integral to

the structure of a news operation. However, it was thought that some photographers would not be able to adequately address administrative topics such as these. A research question was posed:

Q1 Which, if any of the following variables representing other structural components are associated with with higher proportions of one-man-band newsgathering: organizational variables (market, job title, union association) and individual variables (age, experience, educational level, training, previous camera equipment and years with station)?

The process of structuration assumes the interpretations and actions of individuals will modify existing systems, and reproduce structures. One basis for this study was founded on anecdotal and qualitative evidence that technological advances (camcorders being one example offered) have affected traditional newsgathering practices. While the qualitative studies of photographers by Lindekugel (1994) and Sherer (1994) support this conclusion, no quantitative data from a large sample were available for study. One objective of this study was to give photographers an opportunity to discuss their views of structural factors relating to technology. Their responses might help clarify ways in which both organizational and individual policies facilitate and/or constrain the deployment and worth of

particular technologies. Thus, a second research question asked:

Q2 How do photographers interpret newer newsgathering technologies' impact on their work?

A primary focus of structuration is the identification of conditions that govern the evolution of structures that reproduce the system. In general, the ethnographic research of television news photographers has uncovered variables through case study, interview and observation methods. These include technological advances, "increased specialization within the ENG photographer's occupation," (Lindekugel, 1994, p. 144), management utilization of one-man-bands "because of reduced personnel expenses and increased flexibility in covering breaking news stories," (Sherer, 1994, p. 58), and distinctive values and perspectives brought to television news by photographers (Marks, 1987; Steele, 1987). Quantitative analysis of the breadth of these technological resources, regularized practices, and values may illuminate what Poole and DeSanctis (1992) called the spirit of a structure (what it means to individuals), and may connote how "deeply-layered" these structures may presently be, in terms of the spatial breadth of the actions in the system (Giddens, 1979, p. 65).

Instrument Development

Several measures were utilized to measure the variables addressed in the hypotheses and research questions. Information was sought through several means, in order to

draw distinctive types of responses. The survey included both original material and items used by others.

Items were adapted from several surveys addressed to broadcast journalists, which have helped improve understanding of the work journalists perform. Questions and statements were chosen for this study based on their relevance to organizational routines and the environment within photographers work. The "Journalists' Survey Questionnaire" was created for the Indiana University Journalists' Survey, and conducted by Weaver and Wilhoit in 1991 (pp. x-xii). The "Working Together: A Profile of Local Television Reporters and Photographers" and "Visual Excellence and Photographic Professionalism in Local Television News" questionnaires by Smith (1986) were initially presented at annual meetings of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. "The Future of News: Defining the Issues" (RTNDF, 1995) was a 1994 survey of radio, television and print news professionals by the Radio and Television News Directors Foundation. This survey asked broadcast station managers, news directors, and reporters (along with cable operators, newspaper editors, publishers, and equipment manufacturers) their opinions of trends, benefits, and potential problems associated with new technology in their newsrooms (RTNDF, 1995).

The survey in this study began with questions about camera and news gathering equipment. The first question asked for the year in which the photographer first began using his/her present equipment. The purpose of the question was to measure one aspect of experience the photographer had with the equipment. The next questions asked for the photographer to choose from a list the format used presently and the format used prior to the current equipment. This information served as a way to categorize technology as either camcorder (newer resources) or separate camera/recorder configurations. With equipment type measured as a bivariate nominal variable, camera resources were then used to measure differences in news work practices given by the photographers, specifically practices relating to solo news coverage. Proportion of solo work was coded as an interval-level measure, and suggested the use of a one-sided t -test as the procedure to test the first hypothesis.

Proportion of solo work was also used in the second hypothesis. To operationalize the structure known as one-man-band newsgathering, four questions were asked relating to work assignments. Three of the questions asked for information about work duties from the past five working days that relate to occasions when the photographer would be working alone to some degree. Two questions suggested a great deal of independent work, either by covering an event or story alone or by producing a package without any

assistance from others. A third question asked for the number of times the photographer edited a story that he/she also shot. While this does not constitute one-man-band newsgathering as it is usually portrayed, it does offer the photographer opportunities for more editorial input and responsibility. Photographers were also asked for the total number of story assignments in which they were involved over the previous five working days. Since the first two hypotheses tested a potential impact of work that is executed without assistance, the data were computed as a percentage of the total number of assignments.

The news-production constructs of selecting and processing material were operationalized two ways. Selecting refers to structures established wherein decisions are made about what source material (information, events, ideas, issues, etc.) will be covered and how. Processing connotes the nature of constructing the finished product through work routines and editorial choices, thus influencing the nature of the product (McQuail, 1994). One question asked how many times during the previous five working days the photographers had met with assignment editors to discuss ideas for stories. They were also asked to indicate, from a frequency scale, their perception of relative frequency of participation in decision-making situations, story and news broadcast factors and relations with management. These responses were used to measure association of photographer

involvement in these newsgathering structures with the structures of one-man-band news work, with professional norms, and with reporter relations. Relative frequency estimates were coded and analyzed as an ordinal-level measure, that suggested the use of the Spearman rank-order correlation as a measure of association, to test the second hypothesis.

The items in this section of the questionnaire used a relative frequency scale, because the perceptions of photographers' overall involvement was sought. As Alreck and Settle (1985) explain the utility of frequency scaling, "the focus is on the *policies* of the respondents concerning the frequency of certain actions, rather than the actual number or percentage of performance" (p. 137).

Specific statements alluding to "selecting" included covering a subject of importance to the photographer, influencing which aspects of a story should be emphasized, defining how a story will be used, writing, and participating in planning meetings. Statements that dealt with "processing" included the frequency with which photographers believe they influence the video coverage of an issue or story, management influences the video coverage, and a reporter influences the coverage. In addition, two statements addressed more specific depictions of influence, in which either the photographer stages a scene for purposes

of editing, or a news source attempts to manipulate video coverage of a story or issue.

The next section of the survey measured photographers' strength of agreement or disagreement with statements involving values and interaction with reporters. This section relates to the organizational structures of professional norms, values and traditions upon which individuals act within a system. As it relates to structuration, association between strong beliefs and involvement in selecting and processing situations help clarify photographers' application (potential reproduction) of structure within the newsroom. The third and fourth hypotheses suggested that values and interaction with reporters would be associated with news selecting and processing situations. Responses to statements asking for strength of agreement or disagreement were coded as ordinal-level data. With the frequency estimates also analyzed as ordinal-level variable, the Spearman ran-order correlation was the proper procedure for measuring association. Variations of the value judgment items have been used in surveys addressing the concept of professionalism among journalists (LeRoy, 1973; Weinthal and O'Keefe, 1974; Smith and Hubbard, 1987). Value statements include importance of understanding local politics, recognition of photographers as journalists, perception of news photography's purpose, importance of opportunity for creativity and for influence.

Statements suggesting interaction include interpretations of the working relationship with reporters, supervision from reporters, and neglect of facts by reporters in the search for video.

Additional variables that might associate with the proportion of one-man-band newsgathering indicated by photographers in this study were also considered. These include the individual's job title, years experience as a photographer and with the station, age and education. These factors connote individual background information that might constitute elements outside formal organizational structure. Union membership and the size of the area (market) in which the television station operates, calculated on a rank scale, served as organizational variables that affect the structure of a photographer's work environment.

The purpose behind the qualitative (open-ended questions) component of the study was to allow the photographers to provide their own interpretation of new technologies and their training experiences. Open-ended questions offer more flexibility for respondents who may feel the prompted questions do not fit their experience. These answers to these questions may be used as variables for tests of relationships or they may prompt additional hypothesizing.

One question asked for a recounting of additional training received that was relevant to the job of

newsgathering. The second question asked how newer newsgathering technologies had affected the respondent's conception of the job. The responses were coded based on written responses connoting a belief that the effects have been positive, negative, both positive and negative, or neither.

Full-time news photographers in four Arkansas and Louisiana television markets were asked to pre-test the survey instrument. Chief photographers at seven stations distributed 49 survey instruments, along with a cover letter and a self-addressed and stamped envelope for returning each survey. Based on the data provided by 23 respondents, modifications to the survey were made. Scaling parameters were truncated, second-person pronouns were changed to first-person, and some questions that were deemed too vague or obscure by respondents were eliminated¹.

Sample

Data were gathered through a mailed questionnaire sent to news photographers currently employed full-time at commercial broadcast television stations selected randomly from the population listed in Broadcasting & Cable Yearbook (1994). Chief photographers and/or other news managers were contacted by phone and asked the names of their photographers, and for permission to include them in the

¹The respondents were asked to include their reaction to the survey and its questions and statements.

sample. Assuming an average of six full-time news photographers per station,² a systematic random sample of 135 local television news operations (approximately 18 percent of the population)³ was needed to reach a target of about 800 potential respondents. This would approximate the sample sizes used in several studies surveying broadcast news managers and newswriters (Smith, 1987; Smith and Becker, 1989; Upshaw, 1994; Pollard, 1995) Beginning with a randomly chosen number, every sixth station (listed alphabetically by call letters) was selected. To account for an approximate amount of non-response from commercial stations offering no news service, public television stations, and stations unwilling or unable to participate, the initial sample began with 180 viable call letters. All call letters listed had an equal chance of being chosen.⁴

Telephone calls were made to chief photographers at each station, or to another news manager if station policy

²From unpublished table, compiled by Vernon Stone, (personal communication, February 8, 1996). Very small stations averaged two photographers, and very large stations averaged 17.

³This, according to Stone's "Local TV News Operations" 1994 survey projection of an estimated 740 newsrooms at commercial stations. A 1996 census by RTNDF and Ball State University (published after this study) determined there were 657 newsrooms at commercial television stations.

⁴Since call letters, not markets, were randomly selected, some markets were not represented, and some included more than one station from the market. In addition, some stations that represented a market offered no news service. Overall, 90 markets were included in the sample.

prevented giving out names. The names of all full-time photographers at the station were requested, and a short explanation of the purpose behind the request was given. At least two follow-up phone calls were made to all non-responding stations. The responses determined that a final sample of 119 stations would reach approximately 1050 full-time photographers.⁵ Of the 61 remaining stations, 42 said they did not offer news programming, 9 indicated they would not allow their photographers to participate, and 9 could not be reached, based on the use of answering machines, unpublished telephone numbers, or non-response to phone calls.

The survey instruments were sent to either individual photographers (N = 395) or, if the station would not release individual names, to chief photographers or other news representatives, to be distributed (N = 651). A separate response card was coded and also sent, to allow respondents to request a copy of the study's findings and to determine if follow-up was needed (without affecting respondent anonymity).

Wimmer and Dominick (1994, pp. 75-76) identified several principles in determining an acceptable sample size. Cost, time, mortality, precedents set by previous

⁵Subsequent correspondence (by phone or letter) from several stations' news managers affirmed that they would not respond to the study, for various reasons. The sample size was not adjusted, however, since some individuals returned the questionnaire regardless of their stations' policies.

researchers, and demographic groups should be determinants in deciding upon the size of the sample. Smith and Hubbard's (1987) survey of news photographers was mailed to 438 subjects; Smith and Becker's (1989) survey of television reporters and producers used 796 randomly selected reporters; and Wulfemeyer's (1990) survey of broadcast news directors concerning ethical issues was sent to 538 individuals. All three studies yielded response rates of more than 40 percent. The target sample for this study exceeds these examples, and a comparable 40 percent response was targeted.

The response rate for mail surveys is usually lower than other survey methods. Shoemaker and McCombs (1989) predict that intensive follow-ups are necessary if the response rate is to exceed 50 percent (p. 155). Since non-response bias may be the most important consequence of low response, considerable attention was paid to the factors affecting the rate of response (Fox, Crask, and Kim, 1989). The respondents were promised anonymity; a follow-up letter was mailed to the chief photographers two weeks after the first survey mailing (Alreck and Settle, 1985); the questionnaire included a signed letter describing the study, its purpose and value; and an incentive was offered. In addition, the survey instrument was designed to allow for easy completion and return.

The initial cover letter and instrument were mailed in early June, to avoid absences due to vacations, national political conventions, and the 1996 Olympics. The first follow-up letter was mailed two weeks after the first mailing. It consisted of a request to encourage photographers to return the instrument, and asked if additional instruments were needed. After one month (long enough for the first follow-up to have been received and processed), a second follow-up letter was mailed to representatives at all unresponsive stations.⁶ It included another questionnaire and a letter requesting their participation. Six more weeks were allowed for the second follow-up, so the cut-off for responses came ten weeks after the initial mailing.

Overall, 398 usable instruments were returned, for a response rate of 38 percent. No surveys were returned as undeliverable. Ten respondents (2.5 percent) indicated they were both reporter and photographer, and 7 (2 percent) provided titles that suggested they were not full-time news photographers, such as producer/photographer or production camera operator. There were 312 respondents (79 percent) who returned cards indicating they wished to receive the results of the survey.

⁶Follow-up letters were sent to station representatives, because 651 of the surveys were sent to a station whose policy disallowed giving out names.

Data Analysis

Four hypotheses and two research questions, drawn from structuration theory and organizational routines, interactions and values of television newswriters, were addressed in this study. Information supplied by the respondents were coded and analyzed as nominal, ordinal and interval data. The purpose behind the hypotheses was to explore structures with which photographers deal in the newsroom and on assignments. Items were designed to suggest a descriptive account of local television news photographers' experience with various organizational structures that may enable and constrain their actions, and possible associations between certain structures and photographers within the newsgathering system.

Hypothesis 1 suggested camcorder usage is associated with a greater proportion of solo work assignments. Responses to questions of camera and recorder equipment were broken into two categories, camcorder and U-matic (representing equipment configurations in which the camera and recorder are separate) formats. The use of one-sided t-tests suggested whether there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups (camcorder and U-matic) in the amount of solo work undertaken by the photographers. Solo work was measured by computing the proportion of story assignments that consisted of solo story/event coverage, video edited, and solo packages.

Hypotheses 2 through 4 tested relationships between structural factors, so measures of association were used to compare the proportion of work assignments and indications of agreement or disagreement with stated values and working relationships in the newsroom with indicators of relative frequency estimates of occurrences in the newsroom and on the job. As mentioned, the frequency scale does not require absolute numbers, but rather an estimate of overall tendencies or policies (Alreck and Settle, 1985). Data from the scales used for relative frequency estimates and value judgments were regarded as ordinal-type data, since the intervals between numeric values on the scales cannot be assumed to be equal (Babbie, 1986). The Spearman rank-order correlation was used to calculate the difference between the ranks of the two variables. The correlation, indicated by r_s , treats the data from the proportion calculations, along with the Likert-type agreement-disagreement scale and the relative frequency scale as ordinal data (Singletary, 1994, p. 227).

For Hypotheses 3 and 4, the statements concerning frequency estimates of involvement in "selecting" and "processing" situations, as well as the news value and relationship statements, were generated by examining and adapting survey items aimed at similar populations (Smith, 1986; Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996). In addition, the main ideas behind the questionnaire statements were drawn from the

findings of qualitative researchers (Marks, 1987; Steele, 1987; Lindekugel, 1994; Sherer, 1994).

Finally, factor analysis was used to check the grouping of "selecting" and "processing" statements.⁷ The varimax rotated factor matrix supported the grouping of elements from four factors into the two constructs of "selecting" and "processing." with one exception. Items (relative frequency statements) that exceeded a criteria of .5 loading were retained within the loaded factors and used as an index for interpretation and analysis. Grouped together were survey statements indicating ability on the part of the photographer to get a subject covered, helping to influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized, doing the writing as well as the shooting, and helping define how a story will be used in a newscast. Participation in daily meetings did not fit with any of the other rotated factors. However, the intent of the statement implies an environment in which news material is selected. The third factor grouped three statements alluding to influence on video coverage, based on the views or opinions of reporters, management or the photographer. The fourth factor grouped two statements concerning either the staging of a scene by the photographer or attempting to manipulate video coverage by a news source.

⁷Babbie (1986) suggests the use of interval-based measurements for ordinal-type data when the purpose is for researcher understanding, but he warns against using such measurements for inferential statistical purposes.

Research Question 1 sought indications of association that may improve the understanding of relationships between the work of photographers and structural properties of a television news system. The variables in this study included job title and experience, union membership, age, education and training, camera equipment and station market ranking.

Structuration, at its theoretical base, is a reaction to the polarity created by deterministic conclusions (maintained by classical structural theorists) and subjectivists' attention to individual differences, shared meanings and interpretive perspectives (Pace and Faules, 1989). Accordingly, for the purposes of this study, data analysis did not include attempts to provide predictive findings through regression measures. On the other hand, the responses to the open-ended questions were coded, so as to analyze and interpret, to a limited degree, the descriptions provided by the respondents. Because the content of the responses might be interpreted differently by another researcher, the analysis cannot assume high reliability.⁸

Responses from the open-ended questions were coded, according to the essence of the answer. This is borrowed, in a limited way, from a qualitative research technique known as "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The codes and

⁸The content of the answers to the open-ended question, "How have newer newsgathering technologies affected you in your job?" based on coding provided by the researcher, was checked for intercoder reliability by another researcher. Agreement was found in 96 percent of answer categorization.

categories are determined by the researcher (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 67). For example, if a respondent identified more than one source of additional training, the source given the most attention and importance by the respondent was named as a category. If none was clearly given priority, a new category, consisting of some combination or association, was created. For the question of newsgathering technology's effect on photographers, four categories were established, based on the respondent's views about the application of technological resources used by photographers: improvement, detriment, neither or no change, and both. Only those replies that did not include negative connotations were labeled "positive." Any combination of negative and positive comments were coded "both." In addition to content analysis and coding of the responses, frequency and percentage data were used to satisfy Research Question 2.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the survey questionnaire. The findings are presented in four parts. Part One describes demographic characteristics of those who participated in the study. Part Two provides the frequency distributions of responses to the instrument questions and statements. Part Three presents the results from the hypotheses tests and research questions. In the fourth part, the responses to the two open-ended survey questions are examined.

Demographic Characteristics

A total of 180 stations, randomly drawn from the population of call letters arranged alphabetically in Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook (1994), were contacted. There were 119 stations that were operational, produced news programming, were willing to participate and gave information about their newsworker staff. Among the non-respondents, 42 did not produce news programming (and thus were ineligible for the study), 10 did not respond to telephone calls, and 9 indicated they were unwilling to participate. A subsequent check of the 10 stations which did not answer phone calls confirmed that they were not actively broadcasting at the time. The 9 which refused to cooperate were primarily either stations in top 10 markets or very small markets (with one- or two-person news departments).

Most said their photographers would be too busy to participate. Although non-response bias could be problematic, in this case it may be ameliorated (in the case of the top 10 stations) by the fact that over 14 percent of the total sample were employed in top 10 markets. The number of news photographers for this study was obtained from the 119 stations willing to participate.

The survey questionnaires were mailed to either individual photographers (N = 395) or to chief photographers or other news representative (N = 651), if station policy forbade giving out names. The survey questionnaire was at least partially completed and returned by a total of 398 individuals, for a response rate of 38 percent of instruments mailed. No survey instruments were returned as "undeliverable," or blank. Two questionnaires were returned after analysis had begun, and they were not included in the sample. There remains the possibility of non-response bias among smaller stations, ranked below 160. Mailings to 29 individuals resulted in only 9 questionnaires returned (31 percent). In addition, by comparing this study's responses, based on market size, with those of Smith's (1987) survey of both reporters and photographers, a higher percentage of respondents in this study were found in the top 50 markets.¹

¹In this study, 57 percent of the sample represented top-50 markets, while only 42 percent of Smith's 1986 survey were determined to be working in a top-50 market.

Table 1 contains demographic data of those participating. The average (mean) age for a full-time local television news photographer in this sample was 34.5 years, and the mean years of experience as a photographer was 10.4. These averages are higher than the 30.7 years of age and 6.35 years of experience found by Smith (1987).² The respondents to this study averaged 7.5 years working at their current stations.

The majority of respondents had received a college degree (74 percent), and another 22 percent had at least some college education.³ Of those responding ($n = 394$), 23 percent indicated that they were members of a union. Chief or Senior photographers constituted 17.7 percent of the responding sample. Another 60 percent described their title as either news photographer, photographer, or photojournalist. Only seven respondents provided a title that implied they were only part-time photographers, or that they worked in other departments in addition to news. Their responses were excluded from computation of the hypothesis tests, since photography was not their primary work.

²Using a one-sample t test, with the 1986 means for the test value ($p < .0001$).

³Smith computed a mean from four categories of education (4 = graduate degree, 3 = bachelor's degree, 2 = some college, 1 = high school or less) that resulted in 2.57, or a mean signifying less than a bachelors' degree. This would suggest a higher level of education by respondents in this study.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Age</u>		
18-24	39	9.8
25-31	118	29.6
32-38	121	30.4
39-45	82	20.6
46-52	18	4.5
53-59	17	4.3
60 and over	3	0.8
Totals	398	100.0
<u>Education</u>		
High School Graduate	14	3.5
Some college	89	22.4
College Graduate	245	61.6
Some Graduate work	23	5.8
Graduate degree	25	6.3
No response	2	0.4
Totals	398	100.0
<u>Title</u>		
Chief Photographer	70	17.7
(News) Photographer	140	35.4
Photojournalist	89	22.5
Photographer/Editor	35	8.9
Videographer	15	3.8
Reporter/Photographer	10	2.5
Sports Photographer	8	2.0
Asst. Chief Photographer	4	1.0
Photographer/Other	17	4.4
Other	7	1.8
Totals	398	100.0
<u>Union Membership</u>		
Yes	90	22.6
No	304	76.4
No response	4	1.0
Totals	398	100.0

Responses from part-time workers or those whose primary duties revolved around something other than news (such as program production) could skew the data. In addition, when a question regarding a photographer's relationship with reporters was analyzed, those who responded that their title was reporter/photographer ($n = 10$) were excluded from the analysis. At any rate, several of these did not answer those questions.⁴

Some information provided by respondents was unclear or tenuous. One example concerned the question of market size. Responses included such answers as Top 10, about 200, 50+, and between 25 and 30. Since it was impossible to accurately ascertain the correct answer from anonymous participants, the variable of market size was considered an estimate, and recoded into groupings of 10 markets. In a few cases, the back-dated cancellation stamped on the returned survey by the postal service confirmed the city of origin. Table 2 presents the frequencies of responses.

Although there was a much higher percentage of top 40 markets represented than any other grouping, this was anticipated, since most initial phone calls indicated that

⁴These items included the following: "The opinions of a reporter influence my video coverage of an issue/story;" "I have a good working relationship with most reporters at this station;" "There is freedom from continual close supervision from reporters;" and "Sometimes reporters overlook the facts of a story in the search for video."

Table 2
Composition of Respondents by Markets

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Market Index</u>		
1-10	56	14.2
11-20	68	17.2
21-30	46	11.6
31-40	37	9.4
41-50	22	5.6
51-60	32	8.1
61-70	25	6.3
71-80	13	3.3
81-90	4	1.0
91-100	18	4.6
101-110	19	4.8
111-120	11	2.8
121-130	9	2.3
131-140	9	2.3
141-150	6	1.5
151-160	11	2.8
161-170	4	1.0
171-180	0	0.0
181-190	2	0.5
191-200	2	0.5
201-210	1	0.3
Totals	395	100.0

Note. Three respondents did not answer the question.

there were many more photographers at stations in those markets than stations in smaller markets. This finding was also consistent with those of a previous survey (Stone, 1996).

When respondents supplied hand-written information which was not legible, it was omitted. Some information, such as tenure at their present station and length of time as a TV news photographer were converted to years, if a year or starting date was given. The date photographers first began working with their present camera equipment was also converted to number of years experience with the equipment. When photographers are provided a camera, often they keep the camera with them, even during off days, and it is the only one they use. This allows the newsroom to send them to a location without coming to the station first. In addition, stations rarely mix formats in their newsroom, because it is inefficient and expensive to maintain incompatible systems. It is likely, then, that a photographer's experience with his/her present equipment was continuous (Lindekugel, 1994; Jacobs, 1996).

Frequency Distributions

Once the surveys were returned, the data were analyzed using the statistical program SPSS. Answers to the final open-ended question were analyzed by both computer, using QSR NUD*IST, and by the researcher. Before statistical analysis began, the data were confirmed, coded and labeled.

A few questionnaires revealed a potential weakness in the wording of instructions prior to questions regarding the number of work assignments given by respondents. While the intent was to garner a total of assignments, meetings, editing sessions, and solo productions, a few respondents answered by writing "days" after each number. These cases were not entered into the data set. This suggested that others who gave an answer of "5" (or fewer) to the number of story assignments for a week may have believed the question called for "days." However, there were others (for example, chief photographers and those with dual job titles) who indicated they do not go out on many daily assignments. For this reason, it was assumed the question was clear in its wording.

A second concern involved the selection of equipment used by respondents prior to their present format. While the intention was to receive an answer different from the description of their current equipment, a large number indicated the same format for both questions. Of the 41.2 percent who answered "Betacam" as the equipment they had used before, 73.9 percent also circled "Betacam" as their present format. There have been changes and improvements in the original Betacam recording process without altering the physical makeup of the camcorder (Zettl, 1997). However, since the purpose of the question centered on analysis of those who moved from a separate camera-recorder

configuration to a camcorder compared with those whose previous equipment was also a camcorder, this did not hinder the analysis. Separate camera-recorder equipment included 3/4" U-matic recording systems and any others identified by circling "other" and describing the configuration.

Camera Technology Resources

The first questions asked for information concerning respondents' experience with their present camera equipment. Table 3 shows the frequency distribution of years with the respondents' current camera equipment. Of those who provided an answer, about a third of the photographers had worked with their present camera a year or less. Almost half had less than 3 years experience. Table 3 also lists camera formats that respondents indicated were their present equipment, and the equipment they used prior to this. Almost three-quarters of the respondents were using Betacam. About 40 percent used 3/4-inch U-matic, a format that requires the camera and recorder to be separated, prior to their present camera equipment.

Work Assignments and Responsibilities

The next questions addressed the amount of work assigned to the photographers, with or without assistance. Table 4 presents the responses given to questions about their work during the past five days. Data represent answers to these questions: How many times did photographers go out on a story assignment, cover a story alone, meet with

Table 3
Photographer Experience with Camera-Recorder Formats

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Years with present Equipment</u>		
Less than 1	47	11.8
1	85	21.4
2	55	13.8
3	49	12.3
4	35	8.8
5	18	4.5
6	31	7.8
7	21	5.3
8	10	2.5
9	11	2.8
10	6	1.5
11	5	1.3
17	3	0.8
25	1	0.3
No response	<u>21</u>	<u>5.3</u>
Totals	398	100.2 ^a
<u>Format Currently Using</u>		
Betacam	294	73.9
MII	45	11.3
3/4" U-matic	14	3.5
S-VHS	32	8.0
Hi-8	9	2.3
Other	<u>4</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Totals	398	100.0
<u>Prior to Present format</u>		
Betacam	164	41.2
MII	16	4.0
3/4" U-matic	164	41.2
S-VHS	22	5.5
Hi-8	7	1.8
VHS	3	0.8
Film	4	1.0
None	14	3.5
Other	<u>4</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Totals	398	100.0

^aTotals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 4
Work Assignments During the Previous Five Days

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Number of assignments</u>		
0-2	2	0.5
3-4	13	3.3
5-6	65	16.6
7-8	40	10.2
9-10	57	14.6
11-12	41	10.5
13-14	23	5.9
15-16	63	16.1
17-18	25	6.4
19-20	28	7.2
21-22	6	1.5
23-24	5	1.3
25-26	10	2.6
More than 26	8	2.0
No response	<u>5</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Totals	391	100.0
<u>Number of stories covered alone</u>		
0	9	2.4
1	23	5.9
2	66	16.9
3	51	13.0
4	48	12.3
5	38	9.7
6	24	6.1
7	15	3.8
8	27	6.9
9	10	2.6
10	23	5.9
11	4	1.0
12	11	2.8
13	6	1.5
14	2	.5
15	13	3.3
16 or more	8	2.3
No response	<u>13</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Totals	391	100.0

(table continues)

Table 4
Work Assignments During the Previous Five Days

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Number of stories edited</u>		
0	49	12.5
1	16	4.1
2	26	6.6
3	30	7.7
4	23	5.9
5	65	16.6
6	13	3.3
7	11	2.8
8	27	6.9
9	7	1.8
10	49	12.5
11	4	1.0
12	12	3.1
13	7	1.8
14	4	1.0
15	18	4.6
16	2	0.5
17	3	0.8
18	1	0.3
19	0	0.0
20	9	2.3
21 or more	5	1.5
No response	<u>10</u>	<u>2.6</u>
Totals	391	100.1 ^a
<u>Number of packages without assistance</u>		
0	252	64.5
1	56	14.3
2	27	6.9
3	14	3.6
4	8	2.0
5	15	3.8
6-7	1	0.3
8-9	4	1.0
10-11	4	1.0
12-13	1	0.3
14 or more	1	0.3
No response	<u>8</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Totals	391	100.0

^aTotal may not add to 100 due to rounding.

(table continues)

Table 4
Work Assignments During the Previous Five Days

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Number of meetings</u> <u>with assignment editors</u> <u>to discuss story ideas</u>		
0	118	30.2
1	36	9.2
2	48	12.3
3	29	7.4
4	17	4.3
5	88	22.5
6	8	2.0
7	3	0.8
8	4	1.0
9	0	0.0
10	15	3.8
11-12	1	0.3
13-14	2	0.6
15-16	5	1.3
17 or more	5	1.4
No response	<u>12</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Totals	391	100.2 ^a

^aTotal may not add to 100 due to rounding.

assignment editors, edit a story they shot, and produce a package without assistance from others.

Although two respondents indicated they worked more than 40 assignments the previous five days, over 50 percent of the answers fell within the range of 5 to 12. Of the total number of assignments, the number of solo coverage assignments ranged from none to 35. Over 92 percent, though, gave an answer of 12 or fewer. Over 12 percent indicated they do not edit, while 17 percent edited 5 stories, possibly suggesting they do one a day, and another 13 percent edited 10 stories. The numbers drop off significantly when respondents were asked how many packages they produced without assistance from others. Over 64 percent answered zero. Under 20 percent indicated they produced more than one. Finally, slightly more than 30 percent had not met with assignment editors to discuss story ideas over the previous five working days. Over 22 percent said that they had spoken with assignment editors 5 times during the time period, and over 58 percent indicated they had at least one meeting.

In addition to the responses to these questions, the ratios of particular solo work duties to total story assignments were computed as percentages. This data were used for the purposes of testing the hypothesis that the proportion of work that is executed alone will correlate with variables representing frequency of involvement in news

selecting and processing situation. The percentages are listed in Table 5.

Based on the responses, over 50 percent of the photographers surveyed suggested they go out on an assignment by themselves less than half the time. However, 50 percent also indicated that solo coverage constituted anywhere from 30 to 70 percent of their work. The responses given for the percentage of video assignments edited by the respondents was notable by its extremes. Over 12 percent did not edit any of their own work, while about a third edited over 90 percent of their video work. Finally, the proportion of assignments that were complete one-man-band packages was low, since almost two-thirds of the respondents had answered zero. Only about 4 percent indicated that over half their assignments result in packages they produce without assistance from others.

Involvement and Influence

The respondents were asked to indicate, on a frequency scale ranging from never (1) through always (5), how often they perceive an action has been taken.⁵ Four statements alluded to opportunities for participation in the selecting components of newsgathering. These components included one's involvement in getting a story covered, influencing story

⁵This scale was adapted from Alreck and Settle's Verbal Frequency Scale, which uses "sometimes" (3) as a midpoint for the proportion or percentage of activity indicated by the statement (Alreck and Settle, 1985, pp. 136-138).

Table 5
Proportion of Story Assignments Performed Solo

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Percentage of stories covered alone</u>		
0-10 percent	11	2.8
11-15	11	2.8
16-20	34	8.7
21-25	27	6.9
26-30	32	8.2
31-35	26	6.6
36-40	49	12.5
41-45	14	3.6
46-50	37	9.5
51-55	11	2.8
56-60	38	9.7
61-65	7	1.8
66-70	14	3.6
71-75	11	2.8
76-80	15	3.8
81-85	2	0.5
86-90	1	0.3
over 90	24	6.6
No response	<u>27</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Totals	391	100.5 ^a
<u>Percentage of stories edited by photographer</u>		
0 percent	48	12.3
1-10	16	4.1
11-20	29	7.4
21-30	29	7.4
31-40	21	5.4
41-50	12	3.1
51-60	17	4.3
61-70	24	6.1
71-80	32	8.2
81-90	17	4.3
over 90	131	33.5
No response	<u>15</u>	<u>3.8</u>
Totals	391	99.9 ^a

^aTotals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

(table continues)

Table 5
Proportion of Story Assignments Performed Solo

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Percentage of packages produced alone</u>		
0 percent	251	64.2
1-5	9	2.3
6-10	35	9.0
11-15	13	3.3
16-20	21	5.4
21-30	12	3.1
31-40	11	2.8
41-50	9	2.3
51-60	4	1.0
61-70	1	0.3
71-80	1	0.3
81-90	0	0.0
over 90	9	2.3
No response	<u>15</u>	<u>3.8</u>
Totals	391	100.0

emphasis, defining how a story will be used in a newscast, and participating in planning meetings. Six other statements referred to processing news, in which there was allusion to some form of influence being brought to bear on the video coverage. One question was directed to photographers' feelings about reporters with whom they work. All respondents who suggested by title that they were a reporter and photographer were excluded from the computation of this item. The data from these responses are located in Table 6.

The responses to statements focusing on news selecting imply that many photographers believed they could get a subject covered when they thought it was important. Almost 48 percent indicated they were successful with some regularity. Only five percent felt this would never happen, and 23 percent felt they could always get a story covered at their station. They felt that their input was even more frequent when influencing which aspects of a story to emphasize. For almost 60 percent, this appeared to be a common occurrence.

The majority of photographers in this study considered the frequency with which they could define how a story would be used in a newscast as low, with 63 percent answering below "3". As far as preparing scripts was concerned, subjects indicated that writing was not one of their responsibilities in the newsroom. Almost 55 percent of the sample said they never wrote the script for a story they

Table 6
News "Selecting" and "Processing" Situations
Frequency Estimates by Photographers

Statements	Percentage of Responses					<u>n</u>
<u>News selecting</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
I am able to cover a subject, when I think it is important and should be covered.	5.2	13.9	33.0	24.7	23.2	388
I help influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized.	2.1	10.3	28.6	45.9	13.1	388
I do the writing as well as the shooting for the story.	54.7	29.9	10.7	3.3	1.3	391
I help define how a story will be used in a newscast.	31.8	30.8	26.4	9.0	2.1	390
I participate in daily planning meetings with producers, reporters and news managers.	33.0	25.6	13.3	15.6	12.5	391

Note. 1 (never) - 5 (always) scale

(table continues)

Table 6
News "Selecting" and "Processing" Situations
Frequency Estimates by Photographers

Statements	Percentage of Responses					<u>n</u>
<u>News processing</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
The opinions or views of a reporter influence my video coverage of an issue/story.	13.5	19.8	32.3	23.5	10.8	378
Station management influences my video coverage of an issue/story.	31.5	31.2	22.3	11.3	3.8	391
My opinions or views affect my video coverage of an issue/story.	31.8	24.6	25.9	11.5	6.2	390
I stage a scene for purposes of editing.	40.9	34.9	19.2	4.3	1.5	391
A news source attempts to manipulate video coverage of a story/issue.	19.7	33.3	35.4	10.2	1.3	381

Note. 1 (never) - 5 (always) scale

shot. Another 30 percent suggested, by marking "2", that they write the script, but not very often. In the daily planning meetings with producers, reporters and news managers, photographers did not appear to regard their participation as a daily occurrence. Only about 13 percent always attend, while a third said they never participate. The responses to this statement suggest even less involvement than meeting with assignment editors (from Table 4). Over 48 percent indicated they had met with assignment editors at least three times during the past five working days.

The remaining frequency statement addressed editorial contributions during the processing of stories, both visual and written. About 34 percent answered that the opinions or views of a reporter often or always had some influence on the video (by marking "4" or "5"). One-third of the respondents indicated this rarely or never occurred (by marking "1" or "2"). As far as station management was concerned, over 37 percent felt the influence by management over the video coverage of an issue or story at least some of the time. The distribution of responses to photographers' perception of their own influence on video coverage appeared to be fairly similar to their perception of management influence. Although only about 18 percent believed their opinions or views often or always affected the video

coverage of an issue or story, another 26 percent suggested it happens sometimes.

Two other statements addressed influence from a different angle, calling on photographers to gauge the frequency with which they or their news sources manipulated video. When asked about staging scenes for editing purposes, some respondents took exception to the wording of the statement. A number of respondents wrote next to the item that they would only engage in the practice for feature material, and never for "hard" news (see Lin, 1991, for more discussion of staging by photographers). A few put a question mark beside their response. About 75 percent indicated they rarely or never practiced staging.

Another form of staging was suggested by referring to a news source's attempts to manipulate coverage. Almost 20 percent suggested this never occurred. Over 45 percent indicated it happens at least sometimes.

Professional Values

Respondents were asked for the strength of agreement or disagreement with statements alluding to professional values. The statements were taken from similar professionalism surveys that focused on the values of photographers and other newswriters and managers (LeRoy, 1973; Weinthal and O'Keefe Jr., 1974; Slattery and Fosdick, 1979; Smith, 1986).

The percentage distribution of responses is provided in Table 7. With several items, there appeared to be relatively strong agreement with the statements. Strong agreement was registered with statements suggesting photographers were journalists more than technicians, that photographers had a good working relationship with reporters,⁶ that opportunity for originality and creativity was important, and that it was also important for photographers to have some influence on news coverage decisions when they were involved. There was also fairly strong agreement (by marking "4" or "5") that the photography should illustrate the verbal content.

Photographers' relationships with reporters was addressed in several statements, including photographers' assessment of the relationship, perceptions of freedom from continual close supervision from reporters and the belief that reporters sometimes overlook the facts of the story in the search for video. The respondents' answers suggested a good working relationship. No one strongly disagreed with the statement, "I have a good working relationship with most reporters at this station," and under 6 percent indicated any disagreement whatsoever. Over 73 percent agreed with the statement suggesting photographers have freedom from close supervision from reporters. In addition, only about 6

⁶This response, along with items 19 and 20, were adapted for the independent variable 'title.' Those who identified themselves as reporters, or reporter/photographer, were not included in the analysis.

Table 7
Professional Values and Relationships

Statements	Percentage of Responses					<u>n</u>
<u>Values</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
A thorough understanding of local politics is important for my job.	2.0	10.0	32.7	28.6	26.6	391
Photographers are journalists more than technicians.	.5	1.8	10.0	22.8	65.0	391
News photography should illustrate a story's verbal content.	2.6	6.2	14.9	25.2	51.2	389
Opportunity for photographers to be original and creative is important on most stories.	.5	2.1	10.0	22.6	64.8	389
It is important to me to have some influence on news coverage decisions when I am involved.	1.5	3.3	10.0	28.9	56.2	388

Note. Scale: Strong disagreement (1) - Strong Agreement (5)

(table continues)

Table 7
Professional Values and Relationships

Statements	Percentage of Responses					<u>n</u>
<u>Relationships</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
I have a good working relationship with most reporters at this station.	0.0	1.6	4.2	37.1	57.1	380
There is freedom from continual close supervision from reporters.	1.9	6.1	18.5	42.9	30.7	378
Sometimes reporters overlook the facts of a story in the search for video.	11.6	31.1	35.1	15.8	6.3	379

Note. Scale: Strong disagreement (1) - Strong Agreement (5)

percent strongly agreed that reporters sometimes overlook the facts of a story in the search for video.

Although the proposition that a thorough understanding of local politics was important did not draw as strong agreement as other statements, only 12 percent disagreed with the statement (by circling "1" or "2"). In fact, the median response for seven of the eight statements was either "4 or "5." The only statement that elicited a median response of "3" was the statement that sometimes reporters overlook facts in favor of video.

Additional Training

Two open-ended questions were included which did not ask for a figure or provided a choice. The first question asked respondents to describe additional training they had received in electronic newsgathering and reporting. The responses were coded and used as a variable in one of the research questions. The second question, which asked about the effect of newer newsgathering technologies on photographers' jobs, constituted the second research question.

The question of training drew 264 responses (66 percent) and typically elicited a single experience or two of training or educational opportunities. Categories were established, based on the information provided. Coding began by identifying the first source given in the answer. Next, the amount of information given about that source, compared

with any other information or source, determined if the category needed more than one label. Table 8 lists the primary sources. Those who identified a source not repeated by anyone else and those who identified two or more sources as equal in importance, are labeled as "others". Most respondents identified one factor as the primary component of their additional training. Two responses appeared more than all others: workshops conducted by the National Press Photographers Association and on-the-job training. These two forms of learning constituted 69 percent of the responses from those who provided an answer.

Testing Hypotheses

Hypothesis One

The study's first hypothesis tested one of structuration's premises, that technology serves as a work structure. By affecting the individual's actions, the introduction and routinization of technology use reproduces the system, with intended and unintended consequences. The research hypothesis stated that the proportion of work that was performed by the photographer alone, using camcorder equipment, would be greater than the proportion of solo work using separate camera and recorder equipment.

A series of one-sided t-tests were performed on the proportion of story assignments that were handled solely by

Table 8
Additional Training Received by Photographers

	Frequency	Percent
No response	134	33.3
NPPA workshops	93	23.5
On-the-job training	90	22.7
Workshops	26	6.6
Previously held jobs	18	4.5
Internship(s)	13	3.3
Seminars/conferences	11	2.8
Vocational-Technical or other school	6	1.5
Others (3 categories)	7	1.8
Totals	398	100.0

the photographer, based on camera equipment. Assignments included solo story coverage, story editing, and package production without assistance. Each was calculated as a percentage of the total number of story assignments provided by each respondent. Binomial variables were established by comparing those photographers who answered 3/4 U-matic as the type of equipment they presently used with those who listed some form of camcorder as their format. This included Betacam, MII, S-VHS and Hi-8.

The results of the t -tests indicate hypothesis 1 was not supported. For each of the three work responsibilities, the findings support the null hypothesis that any difference based on the effect of camera equipment, could be due to chance, based on the assumptions of equal variances and an alpha threshold of .05. For the proportion (or percentage) of story assignments that were covered alone, the use of 3/4" U-matic equipment ($\bar{M} = 49.97$, $\bar{SD} = 2.94$) was not significantly different from the proportions based on camcorder use ($\bar{M} = 47.39$, $\bar{SD} = 4.64$), $t(379) = .21$, $p > .05$. The difference in mean percentages of video edited between U-matic users ($\bar{M} = 57.64$, $\bar{SD} = 7.81$) and those who use camcorder equipment ($\bar{M} = 62.53$, $\bar{SD} = 4.82$) was not statistically significant, $t(383) = -.36$, $p > .05$. And for the production of packages without assistance from others, the difference, as a percentage of total work assignments, between U-matic users ($\bar{M} = 9.64$, $\bar{SD} = 2.64$) and camcorder

users ($M = 11.56$, $SD = 4.69$) was not significant, $t(386) = -.15$, $p > .05$.

Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis was drawn from the duality premise of structuration. An individual's appropriation of a structure will result in actions that reproduce the system, with intended and unintended consequences. In the case of one-man-band newsgathering, the suggestion could be made that this enactment of a structure (one-man-band newsgathering by photographers) within the news department may result in increased action or activity by the photographer in another component, or structure. In this study, involvement in news selecting and processing situations constituted that structure. Using responses to statements asking for frequency of particular news situations as dependent variables, Hypothesis Two proposed that the proportion of work that is executed alone (one-man-band newsgathering) would be related to responses to the frequency estimates in news-selecting and processing phases of news production.

The calculation used to test this hypothesis was the Spearman's rank order correlation, a measure of linear association for rank-ordered data. This produces an appropriate correlation coefficient, r_s , when one variable consists of a continuous measure and the other is rank-ordered (Singletary, 1994, p. 227). The variables identified

as "proportion" were established by computing the percentage of five-day story assignments that resulted in solo coverage, video edited by the photographer, and packages produced without assistance. The rank-ordered data were found in the questions asking for relative frequency of involvement in news selecting and processing. It may be argued that the data contained in the frequency estimates and the agreement/disagreement scales could be computed as interval data. Babbie (1986) encourages the use of whatever statistical technique helps the researcher to better understand the data being analyzed, such as in factor analyzing the statements for grouping purposes. At the same time, Babbie strongly objects to the practice of making statistical inferences from the treatment of clearly ordinal data as interval. Thus, in this study, data were treated as interval for the purpose of factor analysis. Otherwise the responses were treated as ordinal data, leading to the use of Spearman's test, rather than the more powerful Pearson product-moment correlation.

The results of the Spearman calculation are shown in Table 9. For the first assignment variable, covering a story or event alone, statistically significant ($p < .05$) correlation was found in only two cases. A slight positive⁷

⁷Williams (1992, citing Guilford, 1956) suggests correlation lower than .20 to be slight. A low correlation could be surmised from a correlation between .20 and .40, moderate correlation between .40 and .70, and high correlation between .70 and .90 (p. 137).

Table 9
Correlations Between Solo Work Percentage and
Frequency of News Selecting and Processing Situations

Situations	r_s and (n)		
<u>Selecting</u>	<u>solo coverage</u>	<u>editing</u>	<u>packages</u>
covering a subject	.02 (378)	.15** (382)	.08 (385)
influencing story	-.00 (379)	.21*** (382)	.12* (385)
writing and shooting	.13* (381)	.08 (385)	.30*** (388)
defining newscast	.00 (380)	.14** (384)	.15** (387)
attending meetings	-.04 (381)	.29*** (385)	.07 (388)
<u>Processing</u>			
reporter influence	-.06 (379)	.09 (383)	-.02 (386)
management influence	.10 (381)	-.01 (385)	.01 (388)
personal influence	.01 (380)	.06 (384)	.04 (387)
scene staging	-.12* (381)	.05 (385)	.01 (388)
source manipulation	-.00 (372)	-.15** (376)	-.08 (378)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

association resulted when solo coverage was coupled with photographers' frequency estimate of writing as well as shooting for the story ($\underline{r}_s = .13$, $\underline{p} < .05$, $\underline{n} = 381$). A slight negative association was found by pairing solo coverage with staging a scene for purposes of editing ($\underline{r}_s = -.12$, $\underline{p} < .05$, $\underline{n} = 381$).

Regarding the practice of editing stories shot by the photographer, four pairwise comparisons with news selecting variables resulted in statistically significant positive correlations, two of which had coefficients greater than .20. Among those who indicated greater frequency of shooting and editing stories, there was correlation with ability to cover a story when the photographer thought it was important ($\underline{r}_s = .15$, $\underline{p} < .01$, $\underline{n} = 382$), helping influence which aspects of a story to emphasize ($\underline{r}_s = .21$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, $\underline{n} = 382$), helping define how a story will be used in a newscast ($\underline{r}_s = .14$, $\underline{p} < .01$, $\underline{n} = 384$), and participating in daily planning meetings with producers, reporters and news managers ($\underline{r}_s = .29$, $\underline{p} < .0001$, $\underline{n} = 385$).

Statistically significant correlations resulted from three comparisons of the frequency estimates with production of packages without assistance from others. The strongest correlation was found when solo production of a package was paired with writing ($\underline{r}_s = .30$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\underline{n} = 388$). Weaker positive correlations were found with helping influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($\underline{r}_s = .12$, $\underline{p}$

$< .05$, $n = 385$), and helping define how a story will be used in a newscast ($r_s = .15$, $p < .01$, $n = 387$).

The hypothesis was supported in only a few specific relationships; overall, it was not supported. Very little correlation was observed, then, between solo coverage and the selecting and processing situations. Some correlation was observed with the production of packages and writing, but with little else. And with the variable "editing" (editing the footage shot by the photographer) there were two situations that suggested some correlation--influencing which aspects of a story should be emphasized, and participating in daily planning meetings with producers, reporters and news managers.

Hypothesis Three

The study's third hypothesis was based on McPhee's (1989) work concerning structuration and communication, particularly within a formal structure. Structures are communicated directly and indirectly, and they are received and interpreted subjectively, resulting in both intended and unintended consequences. The hypothesis proposed that personal interpretation (through agreement with statements) of professional values or judgments would correlate with frequency estimates of involvement in news selecting and processing situations. Five statements were provided the respondents to assess the strength of their agreement or disagreement.

Table 10 contains the results of the Spearman correlations. Within the correlation matrix, several comparisons were found to be statistically significant, though some associations were slight. Comparing the belief that a thorough understanding of local politics is important with "selecting" variables resulted in three correlation coefficients that were statistically significant. They included the ability to cover a subject when the photographer thinks it is important ($r_s = .14$, $p < .01$, $n = 388$), influencing which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($r_s = .18$, $p < .001$, $n = 388$, and helping define how a story will be used in a newscast ($r_s = .17$, $p < .01$, $n = 390$).

The next value judgment called for respondents to measure their strength of agreement with the belief that photographers are journalist more than technicians. This variable indicated correlation with six instances of news selecting and processing. Positive associations were indicated with helping influence story emphasis ($r_s = .18$, $p < .01$, $n = 388$), writing ($r_s = .14$, $p < .01$, $n = 391$), and defining how a story will be used in a newscast ($r_s = .12$, $p < .05$, $n = 390$). As far as "processing" was concerned, the comparisons elicited three negative correlations: reporter

Table 10
Correlations Between Agreement with Professional Values and
Frequency of News Selecting and Processing Situations

Situations	r_s and (n)				
<u>Selecting</u>	#16 <u>understand</u> <u>politics</u>	#18 <u>journlst.</u> <u>not tech.</u>	#21 <u>illus.</u> <u>content</u>	#22 <u>need for</u> <u>creative</u>	#23 <u>have</u> <u>infl.</u>
covering a subject	.14** (388)	.09 (388)	.05 (386)	.05 (386)	.06 (385)
influencing story aspect	.18*** (388)	.18** (388)	.08 (386)	.19*** (386)	.21*** (385)
writing and shooting	.01 (391)	.14** (391)	.09 (389)	-.02 (389)	.04 (388)
defining newscast	.17** (390)	.12* (390)	.15** (388)	.09 (388)	.21*** (387)
attending meetings	.08 (391)	.08 (391)	.03 (389)	.13** (389)	.15** (388)
<u>Processing</u>					
reporter influence	.03 (379)	.13* (379)	.15** (377)	.00 (377)	-.02 (376)
management influence	.02 (391)	-.13* (391)	.19*** (389)	-.02 (389)	-.00 (388)
personal influence	-.04 (390)	-.13* (390)	.07 (388)	.05 (388)	.11* (387)
scene staging	-.05 (391)	-.06 (391)	.11* (389)	-.05 (389)	-.07 (388)
source manipulation	.07 (381)	-.07 (381)	-.07 (379)	.04 (379)	.01 (378)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

influence on video coverage ($\underline{r}_s = -.13$, $\underline{p} < .05$, $\underline{n} = 379$), station management influence ($\underline{r}_s = -.13$, $\underline{p} < .05$, $\underline{n} = 391$), and personal opinions or views ($\underline{r}_s = -.13$, $\underline{p} < .05$, $\underline{n} = 390$).

The third value judgment concerned the belief that news photography should illustrate a story's verbal content. Three instances of news processing indicated some correlation with this statement: reporter influence on video coverage ($\underline{r}_s = .15$, $\underline{p} < .01$, $\underline{n} = 377$), station management influence on video coverage ($\underline{r}_s = .19$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\underline{n} = 389$), and staging a scene for purposes of editing ($\underline{r}_s = .11$, $\underline{p} < .05$, $\underline{n} = 389$).

The importance of opportunity for photographers to be original and creative correlated with only one instance of news selecting, helping to influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($\underline{r}_s = .19$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\underline{n} = 386$). The final value statement, measuring the importance to photographers of having some influence on news coverage decisions when they are involved, correlated with two instances of news selecting and one instance of news processing. The importance of having influence on news coverage decisions was associated with influencing which aspects of a story to emphasize ($\underline{r}_s = .21$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\underline{n} = 385$) and with defining how a story will be used in a newscast ($\underline{r}_s = .21$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\underline{n} = 387$). The process of a photographer's own opinion or view affecting video coverage

also correlated with the influence on news coverage decision variable ($\underline{r}_s = .11$, $p < .05$, $n = 387$).

Hypothesis Four

The fourth hypothesis continued the testing of formal and interpersonal communication as a structure within the news system, and its potential effects on the variables "selecting" and "processing" of the news. There were three reporter relationship statements used from the survey instrument that were designed to explore working relations with reporters. The results of the Spearman rank-order correlation calculation are found in Table 11.

The first interaction statement sought photographers' agreement or disagreement with the suggestion that they had a good working relationship with most reporters at the station. A statistically significant correlation was found in only one "selecting" instance, the frequency of helping influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($\underline{r}_s = .19$, $p < .001$, $n = 379$). The second statement, the sense of freedom from close continual supervision from reporters, also showed a correlation with helping influence aspects of a story ($\underline{r}_s = .21$, $p < .001$, $n = 377$). In addition, this variable evidenced correlation with another "selecting" variable and with two "processing" variables. These included the ability to cover a subject when the photographer thought it was important ($\underline{r}_s = .13$, $p < .01$, $n = 376$), estimates of station management influence on video coverage ($\underline{r}_s = -.11$, p

Table 11
Correlations Between Agreement with Reporter Interaction
Statements and
Frequency of News Selecting and Processing Situations

Situations	r_s and (n)		
<u>Selecting</u>	#17 <u>good relations</u> <u>with reporters</u>	#19 <u>freedom</u> <u>to work</u>	#20 <u>overlook facts</u> <u>for video</u>
covering a subject	.06 (378)	.13** (376)	-.03 (377)
influencing story	.19*** (379)	.21*** (377)	.06 (378)
writing and shooting	-.01 (381)	.04 (379)	.03 (380)
defining newscast	.05 (380)	.09 (378)	.07 (379)
attending meetings	.03 (388)	.09 (385)	-.13* (386)
<u>Processing</u>			
reporter influence	.01 (379)	-.05 (383)	.07 (384)
management influence	.00 (388)	-.11* (385)	.06 (386)
personal influence	-.06 (386)	-.04 (384)	.11* (385)
scene staging	-.07 (387)	-.02 (385)	.09 (386)
source manipulation	-.02 (377)	-.11* (375)	.13* (376)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

$< .05$, $n = 385$), and news source attempts to manipulate video coverage ($r_s = -.11$, $p < .05$, $n = 375$).

Hypothesis Four suggested that stronger agreement with statements indicating good relations with reporters, freedom from close reporter supervision and the belief that reporters sometimes overlook facts in the search for video would relate to higher relative frequency of involvement in news selecting and processing situations. This hypothesis was not consistently supported by the correlation coefficients, with one exception. There was a low correlation indicated between photographers' agreement that there is freedom from continual close supervision from reporters and the frequency with which photographers believe they help influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized.

Photographers and Assignment Editors

As far as communication with management is concerned, the assignment editor has possibly the closest relationship with the photographers (Lindekugel, 1994; Shook et al., 1996). Although not addressed as a structure in the hypotheses, meeting with assignment editors to discuss story ideas would be considered a structure by researchers of group communication and organizational climate (Poole et al., 1985; Bastien et al., 1995). The interaction and consultation photographers experience with assignment

editors can determine both the number and kind of work responsibilities photographers assume (Lindekugel, 1994).

For this reason, the total number of times photographers indicated that they met with assignment editors during the previous five working days was tested for correlation with the frequency estimates of news selecting and processing involvement. More frequent meetings with assignment editors correlated with seven selecting and processing variables. The highest correlation coefficient in this study was found when the assignment editor factor was paired with participating in daily planning meetings ($r_s = .51$, $p < .001$, $n = 379$). The next highest correlations indicated more meetings with assignment editors were positively associated with more instances of helping define how a story will be used in a newscast ($r_s = .37$, $p < .001$, $n = 378$) and with helping influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($r_s = .28$, $p < .001$, $n = 376$). The complete results of the Spearman correlations can be found in Table 12.

Research Questions

Since the focus of this study concerns the one-man-band newsgathering practice, solo work serves as both a dependent variable for tests of differences in camcorder equipment, and as an independent variable in comparing work responsibilities with frequency estimates of news selecting and processing situations. The theory of structuration

Table 12
Correlations Between Meeting with Assignment Editors
(During the Previous 5 Days)
and
Frequency of News Selecting and Processing Situations

Situations	r_s and ($\underline{n}$)
<u>Selecting</u>	
covering a subject	.11* (376)
influencing story	.28*** (376)
writing and shooting	.19*** (379)
defining newscast	.37*** (378)
attending meetings	.51*** (379)
<u>Processing</u>	
reporter influence	.13* (383)
management influence	.05 (379)
personal influence	.04 (378)
scene staging	.02 (379)
source manipulation	.02 (370)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

assumes there are many variables that may serve as organizational factors influencing individual action and enactment of structures. Therefore, part of this study's purpose is to seek clarification of factors that may help explain the practice of one-man-band newsgathering in the local news system. Structuration proposes that a structure serves as a factor in suggesting behavior within a system, but that it subsequently is reproduced as an outcome of that behavior.

Research Question 1

Based on the establishment of one-man-band newsgathering's potential, the first research question asked about other variables that may represent structural components and that may be associated with the three news responsibilities, measured in proportion of total work assignments--solo coverage, package production and story editing.

Four of the study's survey questions asked for interval data: age, number of years working with present camera equipment, years of experience as a TV news photographer, number of years employment at the current station, and number of meetings a photographer had with assignment editors to discuss ideas for stories (over the past five days). A commonly used statistic that measures the degree of relationship between two interval-level measures is the Pearson product-moment correlation, symbolized as r . A

Pearson r was calculated for comparison of these variables, with the results contained in Table 13.

No moderate or high correlations were found in any of the comparisons of continuous data with the proportion of work assignments that were covered alone. One pairing of meeting with assignment editors and solo package production resulted in a statistically significant correlation ($r = .14$, $p < .01$, $n = 377$). With the proportion of camera work that is edited by the photographer, three of the other variables indicated some measure of negative correlation. The associations were with the age of the photographer ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$, $n = 377$), years employment at the station ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$, $n = 378$) and years experience as a photographer ($r = -.13$, $p < .05$, $n = 378$).

Two other survey items provided rank-ordered data. The variable market connotes a ranking based on the number of television homes within a designated geographic area. The markets are identified and ranked in descending order, indicating that the higher the ranking number, the smaller the population base. This constitutes one measure that interests advertisers, and is indicative of a station's size, resources and wealth (Sherman, 1995). The markets were grouped in multiples of 10, due to uncertainty on the part of a few respondents about the rank of their market. With the education variable, a higher number marked on the

Table 13
Correlations Between Solo Work Percentage and
Demographic Characteristics of Photographers
Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients

Variables	<u>r</u> and (<u>n</u>)		
	<u>solo coverage</u>	<u>editing</u>	<u>packages</u>
Age	-.06 (373)	-.16** (377)	-.06 (380)
Years with present camera	-.06 (355)	-.04 (358)	-.05 (361)
years experience as photographer	-.06 (374)	-.13* (378)	-.05 (381)
Years at present station	-.07 (374)	-.16** (378)	-.07 (381)
Meetings with assignment editors (previous 5 days)	.08 (372)	.00 (376)	.14** (377)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

questionnaire by the respondent indicated a higher educational degree or level.

Spearman's rank-order correlation was computed to determine if any statistically significant association existed between these two variables and the three one-man-band practices. The results are provided in Table 14. Of the six possible associations, two statistically significant correlations were suggested. First, editing video shot by photographers was related to market rank grouping ($r_s = .23$, $p < .001$, $n = 382$). This implies that the smaller the market, the higher the proportion of camera work that was also edited by the respondent. The second association was again related to editing video, as it showed a slight correlation with educational level ($r_s = .11$, $p < .05$, $n = 379$).

Finally, there were several variables that asked for categorical data that could be recoded into dichotomous variables and that could be measured for correlation with interval data through an index known as the "point biserial correlation." Walsh (1990) contends that the point biserial r_b and Pearson's r are equivalent under the circumstances of a continuous variable correlation with a dichotomous variable. Three variables were recoded for this measurement: equipment used before present equipment (based on camcorder or not), union representation, and job title (photojournalist or not). The classification of job title

Table 14
Correlations Between Solo Work Percentage and
Characteristics of Photographers and News Organizations

Variables	r_s and (n)		
	<u>solo coverage</u>	<u>editing</u>	<u>packages</u>
market rank (grouped by tens)	-.03 (378)	.23*** (382)	.09 (385)
education level	-.08 (375)	.11* (379)	-.03 (382)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

was drawn from Weaver and Wilhoit's (1996) use of the term as a title connoting greater journalistic responsibility and capability.

Again, correlations were computed for the three work-assignment responsibilities, solo coverage, package production and video editing by the photographer, with the results located in Table 15. Only the proportion of work that was edited by respondents evidenced a statistically significant correlation with any of the variables. Union membership was negatively correlated with editing ($r = -.21$, $p < .001$, $n = 375$). A t -test comparing the means of editing

Table 15
Correlations Between Solo Work Percentage and
Characteristics of News Organizations

Variables	<u>r</u> and (<u>n</u>)		
	<u>solo coverage</u>	<u>editing</u>	<u>packages</u>
Classification as photojournalist	.03 (375)	-.02 (379)	-.02 (382)
Union membership	.02 (371)	-.21*** (375)	-.03 (378)
Previous camera format	-.08 (374)	-.02 (378)	-.04 (381)
Years at present station	-.07 (374)	-.16** (378)	-.07 (381)

Note. For complete wording of survey items, see Appendix A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

percentage between union members ($M = 46.31$, $SD = 4.71$) and non-union photographers ($M = 66.73$, $SD = 4.86$) also supported the correlation result [$t(379) = 3.48$, $p < .01$].

One other categorical variable was derived from responses to a question about additional training. As mentioned earlier, there were several categories represented by the answers. Treating training as a factor in exploring one-man-band newsgathering, a series of one-way analysis of variance were used to indicate whether there were any significant

differences in the proportions of solo work, based on training. For the variables solo coverage and package production (as percentages of total story assignments), the main effect of training was not significant, $F(5, 248) = .276$, $MSE = .875$ and $F(5, 253) = .419$, $MSE = .118$, respectively, $ps > .05$.⁸ There were statistically significant differences among the types of additional training and proportion of video coverage edited by respondents, $F(5, 250) = 3.53$, $MSE = .875$, $p < .01$. The correlation ratio known as eta, measuring the degree of association between the two variables, was .26. The means are listed in Table 16. A multiple comparison of the means (Least-significant difference test with $p = .05$) suggested the training sources of internships and other job experience were significantly different from the other sources.

Based on the results of the tests conducted for research question one, there was some evidence that union membership and larger market size may result in a lower proportion of video footage edited by the photographer. There was also some indication that photographers whose additional training consisted of internships or experience from other jobs may edit a higher percentage of the footage they shoot. However, there was little evidence that these factors help explain the variance of solo work proportion

⁸Tables containing the information regarding the means for these variables can be found in Appendix B.

Table 16
ANOVA Results
Proportion of Story Assignments Edited by Photographer

Additional Training	<u>M%</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>n</u>		
Workshops	61.71	4.68	25.57	118		
On-the-job	58.28	4.28	15.56	86		
Other jobs	94.66	6.55	6.44	16		
Internships	97.22	9.64	11.15	13		
Seminars/ conferences	43.08	3.68	1.36	11		
Others	40.59	4.14	1.89	12		
Within Groups Total	62.63	4.98	61.96	256		
Source of Variance	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MSE</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>	Eta
Between Groups	4.37	5	.875	3.53	< .01	.257
Within Groups	61.96	250	.248			

signified by story coverage or package production. There was also little correlation found between these two forms of one-man-band newsgathering and age, experience with camera, years as a photographer, and years at the photographer's present station.

Research Question 2

One purpose of the structurational perspective is a desire to bridge the functionalist (quantitative) approach to organizational culture and communication study on the one hand, and the interpretive (qualitative) approach (Riley, 1983, p. 414). Since structuration's goal is connect human action with structural explanation, there should be opportunity for the subjective input of the individuals participating in the study. Consequently, the survey instrument used in this study concluded with an open-ended question. The final question asked respondents how newer newsgathering technologies had affected them in their job. 284 respondents (71 percent) offered some answer to the final question.

With the final question, asking for respondents feelings about technologies' effects on their work, two attempts were made to categorize and analyze the 284 responses. The purpose was to cull the sample's subjective interpretation of technological advances in newsgathering. An initial examination and analysis of all answers, a process known as "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990),

suggested four discrete categories. Response categories were created based on whether technological advancement was seen clearly as an improvement, a detriment, both (based on answers that contained both positive and negative statements), or inconsequential. This categorization provided a fairly simple determination, based on a wide variety of comments about specific tools, responsibilities, and feelings. Frequencies of response are listed in Table 17. All responses were also coded by a second researcher as a check on coding reliability. Category agreement was found in 96 percent of the cases. More categories could have been created, but over 61 percent of the responses consisted of one sentence or less, favoring simplification.

Overwhelmingly, those who responded saw the effect of newer technologies as an improvement in their working conditions. The other categories were fairly evenly split within the sample. The themes that recurred regularly among the positive-oriented responses centered on the opportunity to be creative, to be more flexible in covering an event or story, and as an improvement in the quality of the video product (such as clearer audio from wireless microphones). In addition, there seemed to be agreement that camcorders decreased physical ailments and added years to a photographer's professional life. Among those who implied that newer technologies were a detriment, answers gravitated toward a resentment of increased workloads, live events

Table 17
The Effect of Technology
Photographers' Perceptions

	Frequency	Percentage of total
<u>Newer newsgathering technologies' effect upon your job</u>		
Improvement	168	42.4
Detriment	31	7.8
No change	45	11.4
Both	39	9.8
No response	<u>115</u>	<u>28.6</u>
Totals	398	100

(which decreased their creative opportunities, but added to their work hours), and more responsibilities beyond photography, such as satellite news vehicle engineer or reporter.

Among those who indicated new technology had not affected them were several who remarked that their present equipment would not be considered new technology. Interestingly, in addition to 3/4 inch U-matic, MII and S-VHS were formats identified as old and outdated. Several respondents explained that their stations were receiving

digital camera technology (such as the DVCPRO format or the CamCutter system), but that it had not yet been fully incorporated into the newsrooms.

A second examination of the data was conducted in an effort to substantiate the reliability of the themes suggested by the open coding. Computer analysis of question 32 incorporated a text-search function of QSR NUD*IST, a qualitative data analysis software program. A pattern search located all occurrences of words that had a common word stem, which was listed and displayed within the answers' sentences or phrases. A stem is the least number of letters that form a foundation for other words similar in meaning and intent. For example, the word stem "edit" would incorporate several other words associated with the word, such as editor, editing, edited, edit-based, etc. Initial researcher observation of responses led to text searches of the following word stems: cam, edit, better, worse, more, eas, work, and live. This was based on an initial reading of responses by the researcher.

The subject of editing arose more than that of cameras. Over 55 times, editing was the subject of respondents' answers. In light of the relatively few who characterized themselves as "photographer-editor," it was surprising to find that many thought of computerized, non-linear and desktop editing, sophisticated edit suites, and editing techniques when asked about new technology. The feeling

toward editing technology was generally positive. This was true of camera advances and changes as well.

The computer search revealed that, among the word stems listed, "eas" (encompassing ease, easy, easier, etc.) and "better" were most often found in a positive statement about new technology and "more," "work," and "live" contained the most negatively worded statements. For example, among the 87 references to ease, easier, etc., the majority of references signified the quality of the work experience, physically and creatively. Likewise, photographers paired the term "better" with words like job, quality, performance, capabilities, video, cameras, and stories.

The negative connotation of "live" was evidenced by statements like the following: "live shots at the expense of substantive story, etc.," "ENG, LIVE, has meant longer hours to staff live shots," and "live shots get in the way of covering the story." The text search for "more" elicited the highest frequency from the terms examined. Although many references to "more work" were recorded (23 instances), these still made up a minority of the 137 answers. This suggests support for the initial thematic interpretation of complete responses by the researcher.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Review of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore both the potential impact of a television newsgathering resource--one-piece camcorder technology--on photographers's work, and the impact of photographers' perceptions concerning work on organizational structures within the television station's news system. The theoretical framework for this study, structuration, is built on the idea that a system is created from "structures," such as rules, resources, traditions and interactions; that the enactment of these structures constitute the tools people use to provide meaning and substance to their work roles and performance. At both the organizational and individual level, "people create structural constraints, which then constrain them" (Weick, 1990, p. 18).

This dual nature is an important concept of structuration, suggesting that a structure is both the medium and the outcome of enactment or action. Organizational life (like social life) has two sides: the intentions and objectives of individuals, and the subsequent actions designed to accomplish those intentions and objectives. However, actions have unintended consequences that precipitate future actions. In effect, they reproduce the organizational system by maintaining or modifying

structural factors, sometimes without the awareness of the individuals involved--creators, communicators, and recipients of structures.

Philosophically, structuration is an attempt to bridge two theoretical emphases in the study of organizational and social communication. Classical structural theories of formal organization, bureaucracy, and management (Taylor, 1947; Weber, 1947) were the results of attempts to find order, stability and functional aspects of stable systems, in which causal relationships can be suggested and behavior predicted. The interpretive perspective maintains that the organization or system exists more as a complex, subjective construction, based on the interpretations and interactions of individuals. Structuration is an attempt to respect both approaches to studying organizational communication and behavior.

One focus of this study, one-man-band newsgathering, constitutes a potential outcome of technological advances as well as a possible medium for modification of certain news production structures. Two aspects of television news operations, selecting news material and processing the material into content, were examined. Existing and emerging technologies serve as structures, first as material resources that may enable and constrain action, and also as occasions for altering the dynamics of a system's contours through their utilization (Barley, 1986, p.81). The

technological structure examined in this study was the camcorder. A product of technological advances, camcorders offer the individual worker the physical capability (and the organization the efficiency) of covering an event without assistance from others. Older technology (3/4" U-matic) traditionally called for more than one person to carry heavier and separate camera/recorder equipment. Camcorders combined the two, resulting in less weight and more mobility.

One application of Structuration Theory in this study, the duality of structures, is the assumption that differences in equipment, based on advances in technology, evoke individual changes both in work and organizational input. Photographers' perceptions formed a measure of work duties, interpretations of the work environment and professional values, and possible relationships between structure and action. Because visual content is important to television news content, photographers are potentially significant contributors to the production of news content. Until recently, though, researchers have not often included photographers in surveys of journalists' opinions and beliefs. Research hypotheses and questions were developed in order to test aspects of Structuration Theory, based on work conditions of the local television news photographer, the technology used to execute assignments, specific work responsibilities, news values and the news system.

Conclusions

From data provided by 398 respondents, the mean age of a photographer in this study was 34.5 years, possessing an average of about 10 years of news photography experience. In addition, the mean number of years spent working at the photographer's present station was over seven. About 96 percent had at least some college education. Finally, of those who responded, over 45 percent indicated that they had received additional training from workshops. These statistics suggest a considerable degree of maturity, experience and stability among the respondents.

Based on the data, camcorders (portable cameras with the recorder attached to it, forming a single unit) were used by most photographers. The format known as Betacam (including newer versions, like "SP," for superior performance) introduced to photographers in the 1980s, proved to be the most frequently listed camera/recorder equipment. About half the respondents had been working with their current equipment two years or less, and less than 25 percent had worked with their cameras and recorders more than five years. With the average number of years employment at their present station exceeding 7, many photographers had been introduced to newer equipment while at their present station.

The work-related activities of photographers were addressed in questions about particular aspects of story

assignments during the previous five days of work. Although it could be said that an average day for photographers in the study consisted of two to three assignments (the average number of assignments for a work week was about 12), wide variance in the responses suggested this was not the best way to measure the data. Instead, from the responses to the three other duties included in the survey, the proportion of total story assignments that were covered alone, edited by the photographer, or produced without assistance were calculated as percentages. The percentages were used as variables for testing the research hypotheses.

Research Hypotheses

The first hypothesis proposed that the proportion of story assignments carried out by photographers, represented by covering stories alone, editing stories shot by the photographer, and producing packages without assistance from others would be higher for those who employ camcorders in their work than for those who work with separate camera and recorder units. The t -tests did not support this hypothesis. The differences in the means among all three work variables were small (from 2 to 5 percentage points) and not statistically significant. One reason could be that stations that rely on 3/4 U-matic follow the lead of other stations which use one-man-bands, regardless of the encumbering qualities of U-matic.

The second hypothesis concerned the question of relationships between each of the three work-related activities--solo coverage, editing, and producing--and news selecting and processing variables. Using Williams' (1992) criteria for recognizing the strength of a relationship, a coefficient less than .20 would be considered weak, even if statistically significant. In general, the data did not support the hypothesis. However, when broken down into individual elements, there were a few relationships that warranted notice (see Table 9). The strongest correlation indicated by the Spearman calculations was found with the association of producing a package without any assistance from others and photographers' estimates of the frequency with which they write as well as shoot for the story ($r_s = .30$). Williams suggests this would constitute a modest relationship.

There were two pairings that produced weaker but still notable association. Photographers who edit a higher proportion of their video also perceived a higher frequency of participation in daily planning meetings with producers, reporters and news managers ($r_s = .29$), and perceived a higher frequency of helping influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($r_s = .21$). Although not suggesting strong support for the hypothesis, these correlations do constitute a definite, though modest, relationship.

The third hypothesis suggested that the strength of photographers' agreement with statements about professional values would be related to frequency estimates concerning various news selecting and processing situations. Again, using the threshold of $\underline{r}_s = .20$, the hypothesis was not supported by the overall results. But there were a few specific combinations that were worth noting (see Table 10). Concerning the selecting of news, a stronger agreement from a photographer with the view that is important to have some influence on news coverage decisions when he/she is involved, was related to higher relative frequency estimates of influencing which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($\underline{r}_s = .21$), and with helping define how a story will be used in a newscast ($\underline{r}_s = .21$). None of the correlations pairing values (importance of understanding local politics, belief that photographers are journalists more than technicians, understanding of photography's purpose as illustrating the verbal content, importance of originality and creativity, and importance of photographer influence on news coverage decisions) with news processing statements (reporter, management or photographer influence on coverage, and photographer staging or news source manipulating of video) reached the .20 level.

The fourth hypothesis looked at newsroom interaction between photographers and reporters. The hypothesis suggested that agreement with statements describing

relations with reporters would be associated with the frequency estimates of involvement in news selecting and processing situations. One association reached the .20 level from the correlation calculations (See table 11). Agreement with the statement that there is freedom from continual close supervision from reporters rose with higher estimates of helping influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($r_s = .21$). One other correlation came close to the .20 level of association. There was some indication that a good working relationship between photographers and reporters was related to photographers' perception of greater influence in determining which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($r_s = .19$).

Research Questions

The first research question asked about variables besides camcorder technology that might be associated with higher proportions of one-man-band newsgathering practices. Depending on the kind of information asked by the survey questionnaire, different correlation measurements were computed. Among the results, only two variables suggested correlation with the proportion of solo work. A negative, though modest, correlation was found between market rank and editing work ($r_s = -.23$), which implies that the smaller the market (or population base) the higher the proportion of video that is edited by the photographer who shot it. Another negative correlation was found between editing and

union association. Membership in a union suggested a smaller proportion of editing assumed by photographers ($r_s = -.21$). This finding was supported by testing the differences in means between union and non-union photographers. A third variable, training, may also play a role. Based on ANOVA results, those respondents who suggested that internships or previous job experiences had provided them with additional training in electronic newsgathering and reporting also indicated that a greater proportion of their video was edited by the photographer.

The second research question asked for photographers' views about newer newsgathering technologies' effects on their job. The purpose behind the question was to look for areas of concern to photographers that may not have been addressed earlier in the survey. The question was analyzed two ways. First, each response was coded as an improvement, a detriment, both or neither.

Of the 284 who answered the question of newer newsgathering technologies' effect on their job, most (about 60 percent) voiced approval. Only about 11 percent viewed it solely as a detriment. These respondents were more likely to list greater workload and more responsibility during live assignments as their reasons. Most of the negative assessments also revolved around satellite vehicles and the live reports they spawn.

However, the qualitative testimony normally did not indicate whether more work was being required. Instead, the primary response often conveyed enthusiasm, based on the impact of technology as a resource. Often cited were the opportunities for increased creativity, more mobility and ease of use. From the entire sample, about 42 percent wrote affirmative answers.

Discussion

The impetus for this study began with anecdotal evidence that the practice of one-man-band newsgathering was increasing at the level of local television news. It appeared as though recent innovations in camera and recorder technology were behind news management decisions to send one person to cover a story when, traditionally, newsgathering teams of two or more were the norm. With a number of sources suggesting that news managers have increasingly considered the utilization of one-man-bands (Rosenau, 1988; Allen, 1993; Foisie, 1993; RTNDF, 1995) as a means of economizing news resources and costs (Goodwin and Smith, 1994), two research issues presented themselves.

First, within the population of commercial broadcast news operations, how widespread was the practice of sending out a photographer to cover stories alone, either to simply record footage for another newsworker to write, edit and present, or to produce a package without assistance from others? Concurrent to that, could it be suggested that the opportunities camcorder technology provide to newsrooms play

a role in determining the proportion of solo work? Second, how do these practices and other structural properties of the local television newsroom relate to decision-making situations relevant to news selecting and processing? The survey instrument was designed to explore whether camcorder usage at a particular point in time was associated with photographers working alone, and whether such one-man-band journalism, as well as professional values, were related to photographers' participation in news selecting and processing situations.

The larger question addressed by the study concerns the organizational make-up of the local television news system. Within the newsroom, there are structures that enable and constrain the newsmen. These structures include station policies, professional codes of ethics, job descriptions, rules, resources, traditions, norms and other formal and informal properties. Structuration theory is a way of exploring an organization or social system's establishment of structures to coordinate communication and behavior are also affected by the consequences of the creation, implementation, and interpretation of structures. This study looked at several structures as they are perceived by news photographers.

The findings suggest that there are particular structures or structural factors that may affect the amount of work a photographer completes alone. The implementation

and utilization of camcorder equipment was examined as a potential factor associated with increased solo work performed by photographers. Based on a series of two-sample t-tests, no statistically significant differences were found when comparing those who work with camcorders and those who work with separate camera and recorder equipment in performing particular one-man-band newsgathering duties. There was also little indication that age, years of photography experience, education, length of employment at the station, previous equipment, or job classification as photojournalist were significantly related to the percentage of solo work. Only with editing video shot by the photographer (which in fact may not always constitute total one-man-band newsgathering) were there correlations with other structures.¹ Results from correlation calculations suggested that the smaller the market the more editing that is performed by photographers, and that membership in a union is negatively associated with editing.

When one-man-band newsgathering, as measured by the proportion of story assignments that were covered alone by the photographer, edited by the photographer, or produced (as a package) by the photographer, was compared with a series of statements representing frequency of involvement

¹Editing video does not necessarily imply that a reporter was absent during the coverage of a story. And although editing may offer the photographer more editorial input, it cannot be assumed others do not intervene.

in news selecting and processing situations, there appeared from the statistical analysis of data no strong correlations among any of the combinations. Using Spearman rank-order correlation coefficients as indicators, one test of correlation resulted in a coefficient suggesting a moderate association. Among those photographers who are more inclined to write their own copy there was evidence of a higher number of packages produced without assistance from others. Somewhat surprising was the fact that the coefficient was not larger, since producing a package would involve writing.

There was little evidence from the Spearman tests of correlation that the variables in this study suggesting solo work by photographers are associated with more involvement in the news selecting process. Statements alluding to such involvement included estimating the frequency with which the photographer was able to cover a subject he/she considered important, influencing which aspects of a story should be emphasized, writing for a story, defining how a story will be used in a newscast, and participating in daily planning meetings.

There was one measurement of photographers' work that appeared to be related to involvement in the news selecting situations described in this study. Results from the correlations suggested that during the previous five working days, those photographers who met more often with assignment editors to discuss ideas for stories were also more likely

to say they often attend the daily planning meetings ($\underline{r}_s = .51$), help define how a story will be used in a newscast ($\underline{r}_s = .37$), and influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized ($\underline{r}_s = .28$) (See Table 12). This suggests that photographers who take advantage of communication opportunities with assignment editors may continue that involvement throughout the news selecting process, from introducing story ideas to defining how a story will be used in a newscast. Whether or not there are other significant structural elements not addressed by this study associated with the amount of input a photographer enjoys, it is apparent that communication with others (more than technology or work assignments), with its "interactive and discursive orientation" (Bastien et al., 1995, p. 89) may serve as an important structure and is related to individual perceptions of roles and attitudes within the system.

Measures of association were also computed to explore potential relationships between professional values, suggested through measurements of agreement with particular statements, and news selecting and processing situations. Among the value statements, agreement with the assertion that it is important to have some influence on news coverage decisions increased as frequency estimates of influencing story emphasis and defining how a story will be used in a newscast increased. However, even the view that it is important to have some influence on news coverage decisions

did not indicate particularly strong association with these selecting variables (See Table 10).

This is not to say that the photographers in this study did not have strong beliefs about their profession and about their relationships with reporters. When the median to each value statements was computed, five of the six statements (perception of a good working relationship with reporters, belief that photographers are journalists more than technicians, the view that photography should illustrate a story's verbal content, feeling that the opportunity to be original and creative is important, and the belief that it is important to have some influence on news coverage decisions) registered "5"--denoting the strongest level of agreement--as the median answer.

In discussing the findings of his qualitative study, Lindekugel (1994) suggested a link between the profession of news photography and technology,

that the job of the ENG photographer is a relatively recent occupation and that it emerged and changes concomitant with emergent technology. Thus it seems that, when considering the future of the job, we would likely find technological advancement to be the most relevant context within which to proceed (p. 154).

Besides the use of camcorder equipment explored in this study, other technological resources were discussed by respondents in the final open-ended question of the survey.

Qualitative evidence suggested photographer endorsement of several resources, such as smaller cameras, wireless microphones and computer-based editing systems. Support was suggested by association of equipment with terms like more creativity, ease of use, more flexibility and more news coverage options. There was also some evidence from the photographers' responses that responsibilities tied to satellite newsgathering resources and practices, and to live news coverage in general, were not endorsed by photographers as means for creativity and originality, influence or involvement. Many statements about satellite and live news coverage were negatively-worded.

This study, as an application of structuration concepts, did not approach relationships among structural factors in the newsgathering environment along deterministic lines, treating technology as an independent influence on organizational and human action. A purpose of the study was pursue some measurements of human enactment of potential technology-generated practices. These practices consisted of several manifestations of solo news work. There is a structure--one-man-band journalism--that, however created and enacted, is appropriated by individuals within the news system some of the time, and may trigger certain organizational and social dynamics affecting other structures. The relationships between working alone and influencing news decisions were not particularly strong. But

that does not necessarily mean photographers do not have any influence. Other contextual variables may be at work.

Limitations of the Study

The study did not attempt to survey the entire population of television news photographers, since it does not apply to network television photographers, freelancers, part-time workers, and those who are employed by non-commercial stations, news services and cable television news operations. Although there is evidence that regional 24-hour news operations (some of which tout their use of one-man bands) are increasing in number (Colman, 1996), many have not had time to establish a strong system of news production. In time, these news channels may warrant distinct studies of their own. The work practices of these other groups may not necessarily parallel that of commercial television stations. Consequently, the results of this study may be generalizable only to the population of full-time news photographers at commercial broadcast stations.

Because the work duties of television news photographers require them to be away from the newsroom a great deal of time, a mail survey was determined to be the best method for surveying this group of newswriters. This method has also been used in earlier surveys of photographers (Smith, 1986; Upshaw, 1994). Mail surveys have several advantages, such as lower costs than phone calls and

personal interviews, anonymity, and no interviewer bias. But there are also definite disadvantages which can skew results, such as lower response rates. For this study, the response rate was 38 percent of those contacted, which according to Singletary (1994, p. 148) is common among mail questionnaires, though below what he considers a good return rate of 60 percent. And although it was difficult to accurately determine all the markets represented, based on the information provided by the respondents, almost 95 percent of the markets included in the sample were represented. There was some evidence of non-response bias from stations representing small markets (those ranking higher than 160).

Mail surveys also do not ensure that the survey will be completed by the addressee. In this study, a representative of the news photographers was contacted, for names of all full-time photographers. Some stations refused to provide names, and recommended sending a certain quantity of questionnaires to a particular person. There is no way of knowing, even with follow-ups, if a sufficient number of questionnaires were sent, and if they reached the target respondents. In addition, a few stations, when contacted, indicated that unless there was payment involved, they would not allow their photographers to participate. Others refused to give out any names, including those of news managers. The

nature of the response suggested that a different survey method would not have mattered.

Finally, two station representatives changed their minds about participating. One news director later confessed that, because his station was number one in the market, he had decided to keep his photographers from divulging any information that he felt could jeopardize the station's ranking. Another station in that market did participate in the study. The other representative indicated that all the photographers at his station were reporters, so they would not return any of the questionnaires.² In total, the nine stations that refused to participate constituted only 7 percent of the news-producing stations in the sample. In addition, there was some evidence that some photographers from one or more of these stations completed and returned the survey.

Although previous broadcast journalism survey research instruments were used to create this questionnaire, few were case-specific to television news photography. No survey was located that explored some of the aspects regarding news input and responsibility addressed in this study. Since the goal was for each instrument to be completed and returned in its entirety, the number of items was limited to 35, and consisted of questions and statements with which a news

²This representative did not divulge how many such reporter-photographers were employed at the station.

photographer would be familiar. Even so, some questionnaires were returned with at least one question or statement left blank. For some respondents, particularly reporters who are also responsible for all the video for their stories, this was expected for survey items dealing with reporter relationships. But for some, there was no indication why the item was left blank, leaving no opportunity for learning reasons behind the absence of a response.

The mail survey approach, with its limitations, was considered preferable to a telephone survey for several reasons. The nature of news photography requires that a significant part of the work day be spent away from the newsroom. This left photographers unreachable until later in the afternoon when preparation for the newscast dominates newswriters' time. In addition, some newsrooms refused to give any information about personnel. Another consideration weighing against phone calling was the nature of news photography. Many photographers keep a camera with them at all times, so that they do not come to work at the station, but proceed directly to assignments.³ It was determined that a mail survey would have a better chance of eventually reaching the photographers, and securing their participation.

³During the sampling period, several phone conversations with chief photographers and assignment editors confirmed such station policy.

The theoretical perspective behind this study of particular news structures experienced by photographers implies a boundary of research measurements, beyond which the theory does not address. Structuration assumes it is not possible to simply isolate factors, intentions, or other variables for explaining behavior and action. In addition, Structuration theory maintains it is not possible to describe all the rules, resources, policies, norms, etc. that exist in conjunction with a behavior, practice or action. Consequently, research measures used to pursue a better understanding of organizational practices, and the interpretations behind them, are limited. Predictive and causative implications were not pursued. The measurements used in this study are limited to association. While some correlations were statistically significant, they do not explain a causal relationship or direction between variables.

In addition, the ordinal-level data measured through scales of relative frequency and levels of agreement or disagreement limited the correlation tests used in this study primarily to Spearman's Rho, a measure of association between two sets of rankings. While a structurationist may decide to use no quantification measurements in the analysis of data, quantitative researchers will always look for more powerful parametric tests. Such limitations restrict the certainty of conclusions that may be drawn, but for the

purposes of structuration, they do not limit the capacity for understanding the ongoing production and re-production of a system and its structures.

Implications

Broadcast Management

In an article about lighting equipment for newsgathering assignments, Tanquary (1996) decried broadcast managers' unwillingness to spend less than three thousand dollars for daylight-appropriate lighting equipment. He contrasted this reluctance with stations' penchant for purchasing "a satellite truck so they can send this bad picture of a reporter all across the country" (Tanquary, 1996, p. 14). Photographers who provided their opinions for this study seemed eager to contribute their skills and efforts to improving their stations' product. While they did not appear anxious to bolster their influence beyond their immediate domain--the news story--they felt their work was important to the overall output. This study implies that greater communication may enhance opportunities for more input and influence by photographers.

Since the news contributes significantly to a station's revenue, image, and community service, comparing the work of the station's photographers with that of freelancers and other outside sources may warrant a closer examination of video procurement policies (or lack thereof). Some evidence suggests a substantial amount of news material received by a

station comes from sources outside the newsroom's supervision. Whether they are full-time photographers or not, these newswriters are some of the news system's most conspicuous producers of visual news material. The majority of photographers in this study considered themselves journalists more than technicians. Increased station reliance upon independent freelancers for news video may introduce unforeseen organizational dynamics.

The majority of photographers in this study held college degrees. Many pointed out the value of workshop training, and other continuing-education opportunities. Photographers appeared committed to their profession and to their station. Overall, they regarded themselves as journalists. Almost 60 percent of the photographers in this sample, however, indicated they do not attend most daily planning meetings. Over 30 percent did not meet with assignment editors at all over the previous five working days. This could be due to the fact that they keep their cameras with them, and arrive on the scene of a story to begin their day, bypassing the station. Station policy may also restrict attendance at meetings, while union rules may constrain the involvement of members in some areas of responsibility.

If this is the case, news managers may want to find other ways to solicit photographers' views and suggestions, integrating them into the decision-making process. In some

ways, management may be underrating photographers' value. As management budgets for future resource expenditures, photographers may offer creative as well as practical advice that optimizes the investment in resources and technology. Some stations have acknowledged that ratings gains were due, in part, to investment in newsgathering equipment ("Three on Top of the News," 1996).

Broadcast Education

About 34 percent of the respondents in this survey said that during the past five working days they produced a story in its entirety, without the assistance of others. These packages require skill in planning, interviewing, photographing, writing and editing. Broadcast journalism programs in two- and four-year colleges and universities should evaluate their curricula to guarantee adequate preparation and experience in all these skills. Half the photographers in this sample suggested that between 30 and 70 percent of their coverage assignments were performed without a reporter alongside. Because of this, broadcast educators should ensure that broadcast photojournalism preparation include more than application-based instruction and training.

First, course content should parallel that of the most stringent academic tracks in journalism. Faculty should not consciously allow electronic photojournalism students to avoid instruction in the fundamentals of news writing,

broadcast law and ethics, management, political reporting, public affairs and civic journalism, simply because they plan to shoot video. Technologies will continue to change, and students competent in several journalism and communication skills will be more capable of adapting to changing work conditions.

However, because broadcasting is so dependent upon technology, there is another emphasis broadcast education programs should consider. College-level course work needs to include exposure to new and emerging technologies. As evidenced by the statements from respondents in this study, satellite newsgathering vehicles and equipment, wireless audio systems and computer-based communication networks are some of the resources used daily by photographers. Not just exposure, but adequate training and experience is recommended. Since an investment in satellite technology (as well as other resources) is beyond the financial resources of many academic institutions' journalism or broadcasting programs, internships should include training in various technology-dependent skills.

Future Research

Future researchers may want to explore further the potential for relationships between the work of photographers and their feelings about involvement and influence. Stronger agreement by photographers that it was important to have influence on decisions when their work was

at stake was associated with greater relative frequency of exerting influence on how their stories were covered and used in a newscast. This could also be said of those who felt they enjoyed freedom from the close supervision of reporters. And, although no other strong correlations were found among the statements of newsroom values, many of the photographers appeared to hold strong feelings about the nature and purpose of their craft, as evidenced by the responses to statements regarding originality, creativity, influence and freedom.

One of the strongest relationships found in this study consisted of the link between potential photographer influence and interactions with assignment editors. Of all the variable comparisons, greater numbers of meetings with assignment editors (over the past five working days) to discuss story ideas was most clearly associated with perception of more involvement in news-selecting situations. Although research has examined reporter-photographer relationships (Smith and Becker, 1989; Upshaw, 1994), future researchers may also want to explore the influences assignment editors and photographers exert on each others' role and influence. For example, Sherer (1994) suggests, and this study supports, the notion that photographers value autonomy, freedom and creativity in their work. How does the assignment editor support or constrain such professional ideals?

Sherer (1994) and Lindekugel (1994) also report that photographers are not usually involved in the inner workings of the newsroom, because their work keeps them away from the station much of the day. Researchers may want to explore how some manage to be involved in selecting and other decision-making structures, and how the assignment editors contribute to or constrain a photographer's newsroom leverage. There is also the question of whether formal organizational structure or individual action is the greater influence in determining the number and kind of meetings with assignment editors.

Much of the research into news production has focused on the content and the organizational, institutional and ideological influences behind the content (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). This study supports the notion that, at least as far as the photographer is concerned, the individual is not particularly effectual in shaping the content unless his/her story is directly involved. But structuration's duality principle proposes that there are additional ways to look at the structure of media content production, such as the effects of content on organizational factors, and technology's dependence upon organizational practices that can facilitate or constrain the use of the technological resources.

Television news content, and the decisions behind it, are created by humans, acting and interacting within enabling and constraining structures. Structures give

meaning, purpose, power, legitimacy and flexibility to the organization and the individual. This study focused on several structures relevant to the photographer's milieu, including camcorder resources, one-man-band newsgathering practices, professional values, reporter relations, and meetings in which news decisions are made. More research into the organizational structures enabling and constraining news directors, reporters, producers, and others responsible for news content can add to the understanding of news work, when and how it changes, and the objectives behind those changes.

Because there are no previous quantitative findings of the daily work of the photographer, there can be no longitudinal comparison with this sample. Except for age, education and years of experience, little can be compared with a survey of photographers ten years before this study (Smith, 1986). Because there is some evidence that the work of the photographer is being supplemented (if not supplanted) by freelancers and others (Sherer, 1994; Jacobs, 1996), returning to this population of newswriters may be warranted at some point in the future, to compare the amount of work they perform, as well as their perceptions of input and professional judgment. As indicated by some accounts in this study, satellite newsgathering may be a technological structure worth exploring as a constraining influence on photographers and others (England, 1994).

Although its goal is not to suggest strict causal relationships, structuration seeks a "soft determinism" (particularly with adaptive structuration and the study of technology), in which variables have impact but are also moderated by the human actors and organizational contexts (Orlikowski, 1992; DeSanctis and Poole, 1994). Studies support the contention that individuals have some impact on the technology that affects them (Barley, 1986; DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski et al., 1995). Technological changes will continue to affect television stations' production of news content, and research into the potential, the spirit, the properties, and the effects of technology on other newsroom structures should continue. The application of any technology is neither neutral nor set. The more that is known about the individuals who apply the structures of the news system in specific settings, the greater the understanding of the organization, the institution and the ideology behind the news system.

The organizational characteristics of a broadcast television newsroom have several interesting qualities. Local television news has evolved into a profit-generating tool for station management. As such, news operations' managers and workers recognize and understand commercial and audience-related pressures that may affect not only their part of the organization, but the entire company. At the same time, the codes of journalism ethics declare that

"journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know" (Society of Professional Journalists, 1997). The National Press Photographers Association Code of Ethics (1996, p. 19) calls on its members to "strive by example and influence to maintain high standards of ethical conduct free of mercenary considerations of any kind." How these forces and other potential pressures may affect subsequent media content has resulted in many studies (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). The effects of these two philosophical forces on the day-to-day work of news managers and workers, however, have not been explored to a similar extent. This study was one small attempt at measuring several potential relationships between local television news photographers and some of the organizational variables they deal with every day.

The theoretical perspective undergirding this study, structuration, is an "approach that melds the causal powers of the traditional functional/variable perspective with an emergent/dynamic view" (Poole et al., 1985, p. 75). The theory attempts to account for the persistence of a system and its structure, while considering its modification and transformation due to its structures. The variables examined in this study were chosen on the basis of anecdotal evidence, qualitative findings, and earlier surveys. While individual variables were used to test association with other variables, structurationists warn against isolating

particular causative explanations for behavior. Rather, "partial enumeration of strategic features, along with their explication in relation to social practices is the best that can be achieved" (Poole, et al., 1985, p. 97).

Some of the findings from this study suggest that structuration is an appropriate perspective with which to investigate and discuss local television newsroom policies, practices, communication and behavior. The practice of sending out a photographer to cover a story without a reporter alongside does occur. From this sample, almost a third of the photographers cover stories alone over half the time. Association with particular news selecting and processing situations suggest some amount of interaction between photographers and those who make decisions about the selecting, gathering and broadcasting of news content. While photographers work with technology every day, association with involvement in decision-making situations was not strong. Meetings with assignment editors to discuss story ideas and attendance in daily planning meetings were more strongly associated.

This study suggests some quantitative support for more consideration of photographers as journalists who exercise some editorial control over their work. In their study of American journalists, Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) included photographers as journalists. It was their thinking that in the 1990s, photographers had more involvement with their

work than in the past. While this study supports this conclusion to a point, it is clear there are more factors at work that need further study. And while it is apparent that the photographer's contribution to the final product should not be overlooked, television newsgathering is a collective effort; the vicissitudes of local television news warn against the prediction of too much influence by any one person, or variable.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Survey Instrument, Cover letter and Response Card

27. In what size market do you work (DMA)? _____
28. Are you a member of a union? _____
29. What is your age? _____
30. What is the highest level you have completed in school? (Circle one)
- 1 some high school or less
 - 2 completed high school
 - 3 some college
 - 4 graduated from college
 - 5 some graduate work, no degree
 - 6 graduate degree
31. What additional training have you received in electronic news gathering and reporting?
32. How have the newer newsgathering technologies affected you in your job?

Telecommunications Box 3680
Ouachita Baptist University
Arkadelphia, AR 71998-0001

Technology & News Gathering

A News Photographer's Perspective

June, 1996

With support from the National Press Photographers Foundation and the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, I am conducting a nationwide survey of television news photographers to help clarify their role in television news.

Please take a few minutes to complete the survey. Your responses to the questions are necessary in order to accurately reflect the views of photographers. Only a sample of television stations was randomly selected for participation in this survey. After completion, simply tape the questionnaire and drop it in the mail, along with the response card.

You may be assured of complete anonymity. No question contains information that would identify you as a respondent. The response card is identified for follow-up purposes only. The survey's results will be tabulated and analyzed only in aggregate form, so that anonymity is assured. At no time will your individual responses be released to anyone.

Your return of the questionnaire will constitute your informed consent to participate in this study. The study's results will be shared with the NPPA as well as any respondent who wishes a copy.

Thank you for your time and consideration. Your answers and opinions are genuinely valuable to the study of television news gathering and production.

Sincerely,

Dave Ozmun
Doctoral Candidate, University of Tennessee-Knoxville
Assistant Professor of Communications,
Ouachita Baptist University

If you would like a copy of the survey's results, complete the enclosed card.

Technology & News Gathering: A NEWS PHOTOGRAPHER'S PERSPECTIVE

What year did you first begin working with your present camera equipment? _____

Which of the following describes the format you primarily use in your job? (Circle one)

- 1 Betacam (including SP and/or Digital)
- 2 MII
- 3 3/4 U-matic
- 4 S-VHS
- 5 Hi-8
- 6 Film
- 7 Other _____

What kind of equipment did you use primarily before your present equipment? (Circle one)

- 1 Betacam
- 2 MII
- 3 3/4 U-matic
- 4 S-VHS camcorder
- 5 Hi-8
- 6 VHS
- 7 Film
- 8 Other _____
- 9 None

During the past five (5) working days how many times have you

1. gone out on a story assignment (VO, SOT, PKG, etc)? _____
2. covered a story or event alone? _____
3. met with assignment editors to discuss ideas for stories? _____
4. edited a story you shot? _____
5. produced a package without any assistance from others? _____

Please circle a number from the scale to indicate the frequency with which the following occurs.

1 2 3 4 5
Never . . . Sometimes . . . Always

6. I am able to cover a subject, when I think it is important and should be covered.
1 2 3 4 5
7. I help influence which aspects of a story should be emphasized.
1 2 3 4 5
8. I do the writing as well as the shooting for the story.
1 2 3 4 5
9. I help define how a story will be used in a newscast.
1 2 3 4 5
10. I participate in daily planning meetings with producers, reporters, and news managers.
1 2 3 4 5
11. The opinions or views of a reporter influence my video coverage of an issue/story.
1 2 3 4 5
12. Station management influences my video coverage of an issue/story.
1 2 3 4 5
13. My opinions or views affect my video coverage of an issue/story.
1 2 3 4 5
14. I stage a scene for purposes of editing.
1 2 3 4 5
15. A news source attempts to manipulate video coverage of a story/issue.
1 2 3 4 5

In terms of your responsibilities, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the statements listed below.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly disagree Strongly agree

16. A thorough understanding of local politics is important for my job.
1 2 3 4 5
17. I have a good working relationship with most reporters at this station.
1 2 3 4 5
18. Photographers are journalists more than technicians.
1 2 3 4 5
19. There is freedom from continual close supervision from reporters.
1 2 3 4 5
20. Sometimes reporters overlook the facts of a story in the search for video.
1 2 3 4 5
21. News photography should illustrate a story's verbal content.
1 2 3 4 5
22. Opportunity for photographers to be original and creative is important on most stories.
1 2 3 4 5
23. It is important for me to have some influence on news coverage decisions when I am involved.
1 2 3 4 5
24. What is your title?

25. How long have you been working at this station? _____
26. How long have you worked as a TV news photographer? _____

_____ Please send me a copy of the results from the survey

Technology & News Gathering
A News Photographer's Perspective.

Name _____

Address _____

If you would not care to see the survey results, please send the card back blank.

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Appendix B

ANOVA RESULTS
Proportion of Story Assignments Covered Alone
Based on Training Opportunities of Photographers

Additional Training	<u>M %</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>n</u>
Workshops	46.29	2.63	8.12	118
On-the-job	53.10	8.56	61.49	85
Other jobs	50.06	2.25	.71	15
Internships	52.86	3.25	1.26	13
Seminars/ conferences	44.82	2.22	.49	11
Others	38.37	1.55	.26	12
Within Groups Total	48.69	5.40	72.34	254

Source of Variance	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MSE</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between Groups	.40	5	.081	.28	> .9
Within Groups	72.34	248	.292		

Proportion of Story Assignments Resulting in
Packages Produced without Assistance from Others

Additional Training	<u>M %</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>n</u>
Workshops	6.38	1.41	2.36	119
On-the-job	16.85	8.74	64.97	86
Other jobs	13.96	2.77	1.23	17
Internships	11.92	2.73	.89	13
Seminars/ conferences	10.25	1.74	.30	11
Others	15.34	3.16	1.20	13
Within Groups Total	11.25	5.30	70.95	259

Source of Variance	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MSE</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Between Groups	.59	5	.118	.42	> .8
Within Groups	70.95	253	.280		

VITA

David Nelson Ozmun was born February 28, 1957 in Wichita, Kansas. He attended school in Plainview, Texas, and junior high through high school in Washington, Illinois. He graduated from Washington Community High School in 1975. He earned an Associate Degree from Illinois Central College, in East Peoria, Illinois. In August, 1976, he entered Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Radio-Television in May, 1979.

Upon graduation, he was hired by WRAM-AM in Monmouth, Illinois. He served as a news and sports reporter for a year before moving to Milwaukee, Wisconsin and joining VCY, a Christian broadcast ministry. There he worked as director, reporter and photographer. In 1985, he left for Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, earning a Master of Arts in Communication in May, 1987. While there, he served as adjunct instructor. Upon graduation, he was hired by Ouachita Baptist University to teach in the Communications Department and serve as associate to the Director of Public Relations.

In August, 1994 he took a one-year study leave to continue doctoral studies at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, begun in the summer of 1993. He returned to Ouachita in August, 1995. He graduated from the University of Tennessee in August, 1997 with a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Communications.