

THE ETHICAL EYE:
PHOTOJOURNALISTS'
VIEWS OF ETHICS AND
DIGITAL PHOTOGRAPHY IN
UK NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

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The Ethical Eye: Photojournalists' Views
of Ethics and Digital Photography in UK
National Newspapers

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Paula Kliewer

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Abstract

This thesis highlights the importance of ethical awareness amongst photojournalists, their complex professional practices and digital photography in relation to photographs submitted for publication in UK national newspapers. At the current time in the UK photojournalistic context, the ethical significance of photojournalists' practice is often silenced. This thesis aims to bring their voices to the surface.

By adopting a social constructivist approach, this study draws on data collected from semi-structured interviews from twenty-five professional photojournalists. The interviews provided data which reflect the thoughts, opinions and views of professional photojournalists currently practising and that have submitted photographs to UK national newspapers. Below are the key themes of this study:

- In constructing the importance of ethical practices in relation to newspaper photographs, I developed a representation that conceptualises the ethical relationship photojournalists have regarding challenges they face, being an eyewitness to history and their photographic identity. This representation positions practices relating to ethical activities conducted and understood by photojournalists; encapsulating the 'ethical eye'.
- Ethical awareness amongst professional photojournalists is evident in the acts of both taking and working on photographs. I developed the idea that photojournalists utilise an 'ethical eye' while taking and working on photographs.
- In further examining the 'ethical eye', I constructed the 'deontological ethical eye' which conceptualises the ethical duties faced by professional photojournalists. This research suggests that these duties aid in guiding them when taking action in ethical situations.
- Photojournalists take 'care' while taking photographs, exhibiting excitement and dedication to their profession. I contend that even though photojournalists take 'care' with their

photographs, this may be in vain because newspapers may make their own changes to the photographs.

- I argue that photojournalists are socialised despite the lack of a structured working environment. In addition, I argue that they act as ethical role models for their professional peers; aiding in deterring unethical behaviour and helping to maintain the 'traditions' of photojournalism.
- Photojournalists' personal views relating to the complex changes within their industry reveal challenges faced by photojournalists. I assert that although digital photography has been a great benefit to photojournalism; it has also brought about pressures, difficulties and concerns for photojournalists.
- Throughout this study, I draw upon the perspectives of photojournalists, and I establish that there is a lack of communication between photojournalists and newspaper staff.
- It is also established that photojournalists do not receive ethical codes or guidelines from newspapers regarding photo manipulation. However, there is an unwritten 'code' within the photojournalism community; the socialisation of photojournalists is a key factor in dictating their ethical practices.

The implication of this study goes beyond a consideration of professional comradery between photojournalists and newspaper staff. To establish ethical boundaries, I argue that photojournalism is becoming increasingly boundless in that anyone can submit photographs, from anywhere, making the management of the profession difficult. Yet, through the optimistic views of photojournalists, newspaper photographs will remain at the forefront of visual communication.

The findings of this research were considered in light of existing theory as discussed in Chapter Two. The research findings for this research were highlighted in Chapter Four. In Chapter Five, I discuss digital photo manipulation, ethical views of photojournalists regarding their practice and digital photographs.

Chapter Six discusses the judgment values and views of photojournalists on the current challenges and future state of photojournalism; as well as the way in which photojournalists are socialised into their profession. Limitations of this research study were reviewed, and recommendations for future research were outlined in Chapter Seven.

Photographic discussions are important; especially those concerning ethics within photojournalism because it can help improve and may spark participation in photographic discussions. Discussions could create awareness, guiding professional photojournalists and those involved in photojournalism on how they conduct themselves while performing their professional ethical duties.

Photography is a topic of interest to many people, not only because it is fascinating, but because most people at one point or another have picked up a camera and taken photographs.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This research set out to examine the relationship between ethical behaviour and the use of digital photographs in UK national newspapers. The findings from this study suggest that photojournalists are aware of where ethics enters into their profession. However, what this means in practice is complex. This research developed two new concepts: 'the ethical eye' and 'the deontological ethical eye'. These two concepts were constructed from the research data and both help to conceptualise the ethical working practices and ethical decision-making of professional photojournalists. The research findings also suggest that photojournalists are 'socialised' which attributes a sense of responsibility towards the 'tradition' of photojournalism.

Photojournalists appeared to take a deontological ethical position to professional decision-making based on duties constructed from this study which included; duty to the subject/story, duty to society/public, duty to their profession, duty to the newspaper and duty to self. However, the categorisation of the importance of these duties varied from one photojournalist to the next. In light of growing concern over manipulated photographs published in newspapers, it was both interesting and important to elicit the experiences and views of photojournalists; particularly because their voices appear to be silent in relation to newspapers. This research highlights their views and opinions.

At the heart of the ethical issues faced by photojournalists is the complex and dynamic structure of the creation of a newspaper. A newspaper is a construction presented to the public, and that includes the photographs published in them. The

public is heavily influenced by what they see (Lowrey, 2003; Sontag, 1977). As our society becomes increasingly visual, it is reasonable to assume that visual consumers not only will be influenced by photographs but become dependent on them. Yet, the photojournalists hold the power of control, and it is the ethical decisions that they make daily that has a bearing on the thoughts, actions and views of the public.

This research highlights that photojournalists may want to act in an ethical and professional manner; yet when faced with fast-paced news events, it may be difficult for them to weigh each situation ethically. Photojournalists that publish in UK national newspapers appear to understand the consequences of covering worldwide events and are aware of the ethical implications of their visual images. The daily professional practices of photojournalists include tasks which may seem mundane and repetitive; however, their practices produce photographs that wield great power over viewers (Tagg, 1988; Sontag, 1977). Even practices which may seem ordinary such as pressing the button on a camera and transmitting photographs to a newspaper becomes a practice coated with ethical complexities.

How much can a photograph be altered before it is considered unethical? The data in this research notes that this question has crossed the minds of photojournalists, especially in an age when digital computer programs replace darkroom procedures, making manipulation easier. The question is important because the integrity of a newspaper relies on accurate and truthful accounts of documenting history (Chapnick, 1994, p. 306). Although the idea of truth is a problematic topic; in terms of this study, it relates to what a photojournalist sees

and captures the moment a photograph is taken and before any changes are made.

With more and more photojournalists becoming freelance and fewer photographers are hired directly by newspapers, it will be much more difficult to manage or regulate photojournalists. In truth, there is no definite way to determine between staff, freelance, paparazzi or citizen photographers. As one interviewee commented;

I was working on a job for the Sun, when I first came to London, and it was Amy Winehouse at a hospital, I think, and from those sorts of jobs where you start to work as paparazzi, in reality; there wasn't any distinction between a news photographer and paparazzi. There's no difference between a news photographer and a paparazzi. There's no certificate that you have, there's no letter you have, there's no press card you have.

(Photojournalist M5)

Rather than looking at the ethics of photojournalism in terms of *large-scale industry*, or looking at the newspapers themselves, the focus of my study lies solely with photojournalists. As a child, I was always looking beyond the photograph wondering who the photographer was that took the picture and what they may be thinking. Further down my educational path, I started to question the ethics involved with picture taking. Like many people, I have vivid memories of photographs as a young child; in family albums, newspapers and magazines. Later as a student, I can recall many instances during my photographic practice where my fellow students and even teachers appeared to have a 'distrust' or even 'hatred' of digital photography. I began to question, why; further developing my

interest in interpretation, manipulation and the creation of photographs. Crucially, my reasons for wishing to explore this area further is the result of my past research interests. Kliever (2008, p. 98) writes:

With the continuing ease of manipulation in photography due to new technologies the public's scepticism of photographs grows ever stronger; however, photographers can make an ethical stand by proclaiming their photographic intentions so that it can be up to the public to decide the photographs' merit. Fictional photographs can be highly enjoyable as long as the purpose of the photograph is not to intentionally mislead or misrepresent the public and the artist discloses, in one form or another, their intentions and methods.

Therefore, my interest lies in examining photojournalists' ethical practices, their view of this topic and their place in connection with UK national newspapers. Even though I have written about photography and how photographs can manipulate viewers in my previous studies; carrying out this research has given me the opportunity to focus entirely on the views of photojournalists. I was particularly able to focus on their views of the ethics in their practice and the challenges they face in their industry. I believe these dimensions of photojournalism are important, not only because the voice of the photojournalist seems to be lost within past research. In addition to this photojournalists are the initial source of the photographs in the newspapers, therefore, I believe, that it is *their* voice that should be heard the loudest.

However, the subject matter of this research is also of wider importance. Examining the professional practices of photojournalists is important because the integrity of newspapers relies on the ethical actions of those that submit

photographs to the newspapers. Protecting the ethical creditability of photographs in newspapers requires discussion about photojournalism ethical practices (Irby, 2003b). Journalistic photography aims to inform the public of events occurring globally, and if the public begins to doubt the integrity of the photographs, then photojournalism, as a profession, may lose credibility and newspaper readership may suffer. Thus, for this research, I wanted to explore an area of professional working practice of photojournalists which happens daily, in order to shed light on areas of photojournalistic practice which are often unseen or unknown by anyone apart from the photojournalist. This research attempts to highlight photojournalists' practices because by understanding these practices, photojournalism may become more transparent.

In areas of mass media, reality is re-presented to us; it shows us one version of reality, not reality itself. This paper does not deal in-depth about reality and truth in photographs; however, it does address how photojournalists re-present or reconstruct reality through photographs. When discussing reality and truth, one must also address representation theory because as Chandler (2006) states;

Representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of reality such as people, place, objects, events and cultural identities. The term refers to the process as well as to its products.

Therefore, through this research, I aimed to develop a greater understanding of the ethical practices of photojournalists and to examine and acknowledge this important, yet neglected area. The key questions examined in this research are as follows:

Research Question 1: *How do photojournalists ethically interact with their digital photographs?*

Research Question 2: *What are the judgment values and acceptances of photojournalists towards digital photo manipulation?*

Research Question 3: *Do photojournalists apply newspapers' ethical codes concerning photo manipulation to the production of their digital photographs?*

While engaging with these questions, this study adopts a social constructionist approach because, from my own deduction, photojournalism *is* social construction. Photographs give knowledge which is constructed through the representation of reality and photojournalism focuses on re-presenting events occurring in society. One of the central ideas of the social constructionist approach is that knowledge is constructed by the interactions of individuals within a social group (Charmaz, 2006, p. 127); such as photojournalists. Photojournalism communicates knowledge through photographs which are shared and are significant to society. In order to study the creators of these social constructions (photographs), then it deemed appropriate to adopt a social constructionist approach for this research.

Data for this study was collected using semi-structured interviews from twenty-five professional photojournalists who have published in UK national newspapers. Participant interviews were conducted in late 2009 with professional photojournalists. Even though the research data was collected nearly nine years from the date of completion of this thesis, this data is a snapshot of the views and opinions of photojournalists at the time. In addition, this research opens up a wide range of possible future research areas to explore and discover. Although the focus of this study was the ethical practices of photojournalists, the challenges they face within their profession 'flowed' throughout the interviews creating full,

rich reflections of the photojournalists' thoughts, views and passions with regards to their profession. My analysis of photojournalists' views of ethical practice in relation to their digital photographs reflects my correlation that photojournalists, even if unaware, maintain personal ethics within their practice. This point is developed in greater detail in Chapter Four. By taking a step sideways from traditional areas of inquiry, such as focusing on the editorial staff of newspapers, this research focuses on the photojournalists themselves. This research fills the gap mentioned above in photojournalism research and adds to the greater body of knowledge on this subject.

The next three chapters detail; the literature in this area (Literature Review), the way the research was carried out (Methodology) and my main findings (Research Analysis and Findings). The findings demonstrate that photojournalists take their profession as their 'identity' with no distinction between their career and their life; that photojournalists are 'socialised' into their profession by reflecting on the past and by communicating with colleagues; and that most photojournalists work with an 'ethical eye' even if they are unaware they are doing so. My research establishes that the 'ethical eye' is individually established through personal ethics which is interlinked with their professional practice because there is little distinction between the two.

In Chapter Four, I outline a representation (see Fig 11) which I developed to explore photojournalists regarding the way in which ethics is considered in their professional practice, such as: being an eyewitness to history, their photographic identity and the challenges they face. In addition, as noted earlier, I emphasise

that photojournalists are engaged in an on-going process of practices with an 'ethical eye' in relation to the notions set out above and they are all interlinked. Moreover, the representation I developed is very 'fluid' (as indicated by the overlapping of the quadrants, see Fig 11) because conversations would flow from one quadrant to the next. My research highlights that ethical practices of photojournalists resides within each individual photojournalist. Their personal ethics are interwoven within their professional lives because there appears to be a blurring between the two. In Chapter Four, I also developed the concept of the 'deontological ethical eye' from the research data, which links deontology to their ethical decision-making. I discovered that photojournalists take a deontological approach to their ethical decision-making; consisting of five duties I constructed from the research data (see Fig 19). The duties which photojournalists consider within their practice are: duty to the subject/story, duty to society/public, duty to their profession, duty to the newspaper and duty to self. Based on a theory introduced by Ross (1930); he proposes that the duties faced by an individual is not singular, as Kant asserts (Kant, 2008, p. 25), yet divided into a set of prima facie duties; my theory also mirrors this aspect. Largely influenced by the duties faced in my own personal life, I understand that ethical decision-making is not fixed, yet ever changing and revolving its priority. Photojournalists weigh each duty when faced with ethical situations, and chosen actions are taken according to each individual's chosen priority.

The overarching aim of this thesis is to examine photojournalists' ethical practices before their photographs reach the newspapers. Chapters Five and Six are formulated from the data in this study; emphasising the way that photojournalists

are engaged in taking 'care' while creating photographs. This 'care' reflects my contention that photojournalists are ethically aware of their photographic practices.

Chapter Five discusses how, despite the lack of government or institutional ethical guidelines, photojournalists are aware of ethics within their practice; however, photojournalists' personal ethics are subjective, and personal to them.

Photographic technology has advanced significantly since its development and because of this, photojournalism has changed rapidly. Although this has greatly benefited their careers with regards to speed and access, it has also had a detrimental effect on their credibility and financial sustainability (Chapter Six). In addition to this, Chapter Six argues that photojournalists are 'socialised' into their profession and this contributes to their commitment to the 'traditions' of photojournalism. Even though photojournalists do not have a governing body, they do have the eyes of their fellow professionals scrutinising their work.

This research of the ethical practices of photojournalists appears to be the first to assess the gatekeepers of the visual images of UK national newspapers; it assesses their practice, judgements and views concerning ethical decision-making while creating newspaper photographs. As such, it offers an interesting insight into their professional working practices and provides a base for further investigation within this field of study. Crucially, it is a study that asserts the importance of ethical practice in relation to the creation of digital photographs and indeed newspaper photojournalism as a whole.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In order to study influences of ethical practices of photojournalists that publish in UK national newspapers, which involve multiple disciplines, it is necessary to have an overview of past and present research about ethics, photojournalism, photography, technology, manipulation and their impact on photojournalists and photojournalism. Gaining an understanding of these areas is important in supporting and advancing awareness of the ethical practices of photojournalists and news media. Recognition of newspaper photojournalists' views of their contribution to photo creation, as well as photojournalists' need to engage with emerging technologies is an important area of this research because based on this literature review, there is a lack of literature focusing entirely on the voices of photojournalists. The objective of this chapter is to establish an understanding of the past and the current state of knowledge in the field of newspaper photojournalism and to identify key areas where ethics play a role in their professional practices. In addition, this literature review provides an overview of the current literary understanding of newspaper photojournalism and the impact of digital technology in this field; including the ethics surrounding the use of digital technology to manipulate photographs printed in newspaper publications. This review of literature involved an examination of numerous texts, journal publications and internet sourced publications.

This chapter starts by reviewing the beginnings of both photojournalism and photography by highlighting the advancements of technology and evidence of previous photographic manipulations (Kobré, 2008, p. 386). Then, the theories and concepts of photography's power, interpretation, reality and truth are

discussed (Barthes, 1977; Pinney, 1992; McQuire, 1998; Sontag, 1977; Tagg, 1988). Next, it examines texts which address views on photojournalism; including concerns, training, the future of photojournalism and ethical guidelines. Lester (1991) and Collins and Lutz (1994) highlight the stresses that photojournalists and editorial departments are under due to the demands they face from newspapers, agencies and their professional peers. Ethics of photojournalism has been discussed in the media literature in the context of assessing or monitoring photographic content; however, there is no agreed or common unified ethical code or guideline encompassing digital photo manipulation in UK national newspapers (Baradell and Stack, 2008, p. 1). The last section in this chapter reviews the advancements of photographic technologies and digital photo manipulation. The research findings presented by each author cited below were balanced against one another in order to establish a sound basis of how photography has established itself within newspaper media and how new technologies have shaped photojournalism. The authors and their influences on this research are discussed in the following sections.

2.1 History of Newspaper Photography

Since photography was first developed in 1839, the demand for photographs in print media has increased (Collins, 2012). Technological advances in photography have always been a part of its history. Early changes in photography from halftone printing, portable cameras, gelatine-based roll film to 35-millimetre equipment and flashbulbs all made a significant impact on photography within early newsprint media because these developments drastically changed the ease in which photojournalists could take photographs (Collins, 2012; Kobre, 2008).

Journalism, the process of public enlightenment, was first made possible with the advent of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in the 15th century, yet it still took two more centuries for the first European newspapers to be published (Lule, 2012, p. 161). The Daily Courant was the first published newspaper which came out twice a week in England, first published in 1702 (Rogers, 2012). Early newspapers were not objective but biased towards the opinions of publishers and supporters. The newspapers often spoke aggressively against the government, in turn putting restraints on the newspapers. Governmental suppression of the press began to break down after a landmark court case involving a man named Peter Zenger. He was the publisher of the New York Weekly Journal, and in 1735 he was arrested for allegedly printing libellous stories about the British government. He ended up winning his case because it was argued that because the stories that were published were fact, they could not be libellous. The success of this case supported the power of the press over political injustice and paved the way for freedom of the press (Resnick, 2003, p. 166). By overcoming the initial resistance and oppression from the government, newspapers became ever more popular with middle-class society.

By the 1800's newspapers flourished and;

[w]ith the Libel Act in 1835, truth is allowed for the first time to be used as a defence in such cases and press freedom in Britain was fairly secure. With such freedom came 'new journalism' in the 1880s which allowed for interviews and gossip columns.

(Styles, 2010)

Technology advancements helped to aid not only the cost of distribution, making newspapers cheap enough for anyone to buy, but the aesthetics of the newspapers sold. Newspapers became more visually appealing with the addition of graphics and pictures.

With the invention of photography, the look of newspapers changed, appealing to a wider audience. Photography began in the early eighteenth century and commercially available in the 1830's. For nearly 180 years, photographic images have contributed to how we view ourselves, others and the world around us (Johnson, 2006). Photography was received in Europe with great enthusiasm because it seamlessly combined art and science and appeared to produce perfect replicas of the world.

Photography was created through a scientific experiment involving optics and chemicals; however, the fundamental basis of photography was nothing new. An apparatus called a camera obscura was used extensively by artists, a blackout box projecting an image using a lens or a pinhole onto a white surface ready for tracing (Collins, 2012). The camera obscura was a popular method for 19th-century travellers to collect drawings of their travels; it was particularly useful for those that could not draw very well. People had travelled all over the world, documenting what they saw by drawing the places using this tool, but for some people, this was just not accurate enough. It was with the help of artist and inventor, Louis Jacques-Mande Daguerre, in the year 1839 that the images could be fixed onto a surface. With the help of the camera obscura, Daguerre fixed these reflections using silver iodide on a copper plate creating what we call a

daguerreotype (Johnson, 2006). With the help of Daguerre, people could permanently fix images onto a plate and then take that image away from the original scene for further study. Photographs were more accurate; a stencil of the 'real', a direct impression of the objects or scene; people saw in front of them (Sontag, 1977, p. 154).

Photography brought the ability to document and record life with precision and detail; bringing a new type of visual knowledge which threatened to dominate the language of the western world (Brennon and Hardt, 1999a, p. 2-3). Photography offered visuals to moments in history. Photographs are useful historical documents which give us a rare ability to interpret and observe the conditions of the past in compared to our current knowledge (Brennon and Hardt, 1999b, p. 12) and it gives us an insight into the way in which reporters functioned in a particular time and place. At first, a photojournalist was thought to be an observer (a non-interfering recorder of objects, events and people), but people soon began to see that every photograph produced a new vantage point, not only supplying us with a record, but an assessment of the world (Sontag, 1977, p. 11-12).

The impressions made by the zinc plates was the only way to transfer a photograph to the newspaper because of the limited printing process at the time; it was not until 1880, that the first photograph was successfully transferred to the newspaper using halftone printing (Kobré, 2008, p. 418). Halftone printing allowed for a full tonal range including a grey scale, rather than just black and white. Photography as a profession grew in popularity and in 1897 professional photographers produced photographs for books, magazines, advertisements and

particularly newspapers (Tagg, 1988, p. 5). By 1910 halftone printing became standard for most newspapers and hand engraving became obsolete (Kobré, 2008, p. 418). The process of creating a photograph starts with film in a camera. The photographer shoots an image and then takes that image to the darkroom. The negative is then developed and processed with the use of an enlarger. The film image is one that is created straight from light bouncing off the subject and reacting with the chemicals on the film. Each image is just a moment in time that cannot be recreated because the moment is fleeting. How the light falls on the subject at that moment in time will never be the same again. Therefore, each photograph is unique from any other photograph, creating a sharper impression of the world than merely seeing with our eyes (Abbot, 1980; Eastlake, 1980).

Early photojournalists of the late 19th, early 20th century focused their attention on documenting the hardships in society, in a similar way that Dickens put into words (Sontag, 1977, p. 23). Photographers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine were the first photographers to use their cameras to shed light on social injustice in order to evoke change (Kobré, 2008; Trachtenberg, 1980; Sontag, 1977). The reason that Riis photographs were so effective is that they are powerful weapons of persuasion and are direct with vacant-eyed subjects staring at the camera (Kobré, 2008; Tagg, 1988; Sontag, 1977). He took no liberties in glorifying his subject matter; he kept things completely raw. His photographs brought the general population right into the front doors of poverty, with absolutely no exaggeration, just pure and direct (Vaisse, 1998; Sontag, 1977). Many people had no idea about the kind of devastation that was occurring at their own back door. With images like these, it is difficult to push them aside and pretend it is not happening. Technical

advancements in camera design, such as the introduction of the flash bulb, aided photojournalism and gave the photojournalist the ability to access events that they previously would not have been able to photograph.

The wire photo is the process of transmitting photographs to the news desk and was developed in 1921. At first Graflex plate cameras dominated, then Leica 35mm cameras took their place in 1925 (Collins, 2012; Kobre, 2008). Before the Leica's invention, photojournalists would have to carry heavy and awkward equipment, but with the Leica, photojournalists could take photographs without the distractions of flashes and tripods. Photojournalists could be unobtrusive allowing for more natural and relaxed photographs depicting how people truly lived rather than having to pose for photographs because of long exposure times. Between 1927 and 1930 the first flashbulbs were developed, paving the way towards the 'golden age' of photojournalism (Collins, 2012).

The 'golden age' of photojournalism was between the 1930's and 1950's. Major newspaper publications built their readerships and their reputations on the photographs they used. They used famous photographers such as W. Eugene Smith, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Robert Capa, Margaret Bourke-White and Romano Cagoni (Kobre, 2008, p. 428). Camera technology continued to evolve; during the 1950's and 60's many photojournalists didn't convert to the use of 35mm film cameras, they preferred larger handheld cameras which used sheet film, called the Graphic. Although cumbersome and crude, these cameras produced high-quality negatives suitable for reproduction in print (Collins, 2012). After the Graphic, 120 format cameras such as the Rolleiflex became popular, which were

lighter and had smaller negatives. By the 1970's, 35mm film began to increase in quality, as well as offered photojournalists the chance to change lens. By the 1980's photojournalism began to change, rather than photographs standing alone, newspapers started to use photographs as just another design tool alongside drawings, headlines and other graphics (Collins, 2012).

Based on historical literature, it is clear that the advancements of technology have always driven photojournalism because the foundation of the medium is aided by a machine, a camera. In the 1990's photojournalists shot in colour and most photographs were no longer printed in the darkroom, but scanned into a computer and by 1998 photojournalists started using digital photography and no longer used film (Collins, 2012; Terras, 2008). It appears that photography will not stop evolving; technology will always continue to change this medium, and the photojournalists that use the technology will also continue to see changes to their profession.

2.2 Photojournalism: Technology and Manipulation

With new and faster photographic technologies there has been a significant shift in the world of photojournalism. Rios (2004) and Kobre (2008) both agree new technology has helped photojournalists in creating, speedy minute to minute news coverage and also allows photojournalists to work in varying work conditions. Lester (1991), however, warns that with new photo technologies, news media faces new challenges from manipulation abuse which threatens the credibility of the profession.

A magical sense of 'ah' over a photograph is established by the admiration of how a piece is created (Hammond, 2002, p. 138). Many manipulated photographs force us to ask 'how did they do that?' It is this disbelief that Slater (1995, p. 219-210) believes it's important to maintaining a magical quality of a photograph. Similarly to the photographs that are developed in the darkroom and seem to appear as if by magic, digitally manipulated images create an object that is magical and simulated. In addition, Flusser (1983, p. 9) suggests that viewers must take into account the magical nature of a photograph in order to interpret them.

Heller (2004) points out in the early days of photography; photographs were deliberately blurred to appeal to consumers that were used to paintings not showing the world too sharply. The creation and consumption of photographs have changed over the years just as the latest trends in fashion change. A consumer either likes something that they are familiar with, fitting into a specific style or for the opposite reason; by breaking all of the rules and introducing something entirely new.

Researchers have declared that with the introduction of new photographic technologies, photography itself is dead (Marlen, 2006; Mirzoeff, 2005; Wright, 2004). Maynard (2004, p. 487), however, points out that when photography was first introduced it was declared that painting was dead and that surely is not the case. The introduction of new technologies helps to reshape a medium, breathing new life into a field that has become regimented and conformed; paving the way for new creative possibilities.

2.2.1 Digital Photography

The use of digital cameras in photojournalism gives excellent benefits to photojournalists; such as being able to work under extreme lighting conditions, viewing the scene on the camera's display before shooting and allowing photojournalists to become discreet, unobtrusive observers (Douglas, 2004; Sontag, 1977).

Photojournalists are in a powerful position when they take photographs and edit them (McQuire, 1998; Barthes, 1985; Tagg, 1988; Damisch, 1980; Sontag, 1977; Neri, 2006). Heller (2004) points out that a photograph cropped by the camera when it was captured is no different from one which is later cropped digitally. Illustrations give licence for more creativity, however, photographs that report should do so honestly and portraying accurately the events occurring (Cunningham, 2002, p. 11). If photographs that are used for reportage are misused then the credibility of photojournalism suffers; Wheeler (2002, p. 136) says it is a violation of "a reader's QER (Qualified Expectation of Reality)". It is interesting to note the words of Minor White (Adams, 1981, p. 92); "the documentary photograph the literal image, is the ultimate illusion, the hopeless illusion." While White wrote these words years before the advent of digital photography, his words permeate the very core of news media.

2.2.2 Manipulation in the Context of Photojournalism

Manipulation within photography, historically, has always been present since its invention (Benjamin, 1972, p. 23). Merely asking a subject to smile in front of a camera is a form of manipulation, manipulating the subject's true feelings,

revealing only what the photographer wants to reveal (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Lester, 1991). Famous examples from the 1800's of photo manipulations include; President Abraham Lincoln's head placed on another body, Ulysses S. Grant on his horse, which actually originally were three separate photographs and General Sherman and his generals were added to the photograph later because they all could not be at the same place at the same time (Irwin, 2016, p. 115). These examples were all manipulated before the aid of digital technologies and skillfully created in the darkroom.

In 1929 Winchell and Sullivan developed a photographic process which could take several photographic images to create one image representing a scene where photographers could not gain access; this process was called a 'comosograph' (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Kobre, 2008). The first of these was published in 1925, see Fig 1:

During the infamous divorce trial of Alice Rhineland, in which the woman's attorney had her strip to the waist in front of the court (to demonstrate that her white husband should have known she was African-American when they wed). As Ken Kobre writes of the creation in his textbook, *Photojournalism: The Professionals' Approach*, Harry Grogin, The Graphic's assistant art director...began tearing up photographs of Alice, of the judge, of opposing counsel, of the stolid Rhineland, of Alice's mother, of Rhineland's lordly father. Then he put them through a process by which they would come out in proper proportion. Meanwhile, Grogin sent for an actress whom he posed as he imagined Alice Rhineland would have stood before the lawyers and the judge. For the photo, the art director had the actress wear as little as possible. 'Grogin used twenty separate photos to arrive at the one famous shot, but for the Graphic, it was well worth the effort. The picture was believable. You feel you are looking in on the judge's chambers. With the birth of The

Graphic composograph, The Graphic's circulation rose from 60,000 to several hundred thousand after that issue'

(Baradell and Stack, 2008, p. 9)

This was the beginning of the photo illustration. The public criticised the image “for the offence of putting a nearly nude woman on the newspaper’s front page not for the photographic manipulation itself” (Baradell and Stack, 2008, p. 10).



Figure 1: MacFadden, B. (1925) *Composograph*. Available at: <http://www.kevincmurphy.com/composograph.jpg> (Accessed: 21 October 2010).

Surrealists of the early 20th century began to play around with photomontages by taking photographs and pasting them in such a way that the images became skewed and manipulated. With the development of the photomontage, Berlin Dadaists were able to create complex imagery that expressed their views. The artist that had the most significant impact on photomontage was Raoul Hausmann (1920), see Fig 2. He used images that he found in magazines and newspapers

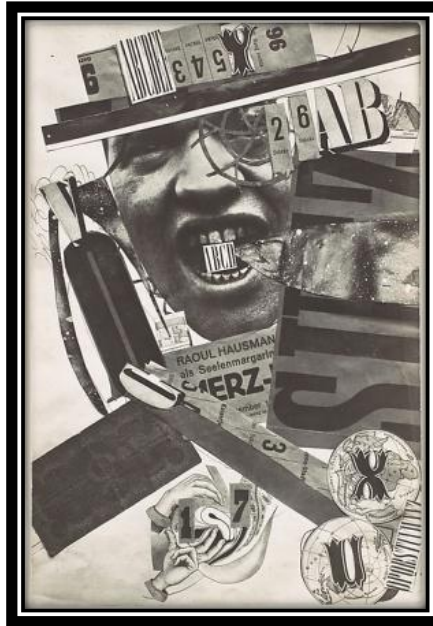


Figure 2: Hausmann, R. (1920) *ABCD*. Available at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/265584> (Accessed: 11 September 2009).

to create his works. Photomontages did not use drawings or paintings; mass media such as newspapers and magazines provided all of Hausmann's material and people were shocked to see posters with realistic photography that attacked the bourgeoisie with its own imagery (Rubin, 1968, p. 3). The point of this movement was to; shock, to change opinions and to get people to ask questions they may not have asked otherwise.

Computer photo manipulation gets its roots from photomontage; photomontage was done manually, but computer manipulation was done with the aid of the computer. To make tasks easier, photojournalists started taking their images; scanning them in a computer and transforming the images into millions of pixels that could be easily altered using programs such as Photoshop. The first edition of Photoshop was introduced in February 1990, designed originally by a professor Glenn Knoll. Knoll based many of the tools of Photoshop to mirror the tools found

in the photographic darkroom, such as dodging and burning (Baines, 2009).

Before the use of Photoshop, one of the first pioneers of computer-manipulated images was Nancy Burson (1979). With a background in painting, Burson became interested in face compositing using computer technology. Computer-generated portraits created by Burson used computer technology to manipulate visual reality paving the way for composite portraits, artificially aged portraits and digitally altered facial features (Mora, 1998, p. 81-82). Burson's piece entitled, *Mankind (an oriental, a caucasian, and a black weighted according to current population statistics)*, is an example of her ability to morph three separate faces to create one fictional portrait (see Fig 3). Her creations were generated purely using fragments of images then compositing them into a single image, using digital technology. Fausing (2016, p. 71) suggests that digital imaging such as Burson's



Figure 3: Burson, N. (1983-1985) *Mankind: (an oriental, a caucasian, and a black weighted according to current population statistics)*. Available at: http://www.marthagarzon.com/-contemporary_art/2011/02/nancy-burson-race-beauty-power/ (Accessed: 22 January 2010).

would replace previous image-making by breaking the link between image and reality. From the early days of computer manipulation (where only the lucky few

had access to computer) to computer-aided manipulation of today (where most people have personal computers and smart-phones), digital manipulation has made a fast progression in a short time and there does not seem to be any sign of it slowing.

In the realm of newspaper photography and digital manipulation, photojournalists take a great risk in manipulating their photographs to the extreme. There have been cases where professional photojournalists have been fired for manipulating their photographs; such as Brian Walski, a respected Los Angeles Times staff photojournalist who was fired for this. In 2003 he took two different photographs that he took while he was in Iraq and combined them to create one photograph with a better composition, evoking more emotion of a soldier and Iraqi civilians (Van Riper, 2009; Kobre, 2008). When a spotted duplication was found on the photograph it was discovered as a fake and Walski was fired. According to Michelle Henning (1998, p. 219), the photojournalism industry takes manipulation of photographs seriously because society expects the photographs shown in news publications to be real depictions of the world and truthful to the events depicted. We are surrounded by photographs, photographs that are increasingly available to us through printed media and new technologies; sorting through these images to source the ones that depict the truth is becoming ever more difficult.

Digital photo manipulation threatens the credibility of photojournalists (Johnston, 2003); a reader's trust is a key to newspaper sales and enabling photojournalists to create a strong voice among other newspaper journalists. Baradell and Stack (2008, p. 4) describe photojournalists' loss of credibility as a "broken product";

news organisations must make it essential that readers believe in what they read as well as what they see to maintain integrity. Communication is important in photography because if communication is broken down through lack of journalistic impact and self-respect, then credibility and responsibility of the photojournalist are lost (Baradell and Stack, 2008, p. 6).

Sontag (1977, p. 14-15) describes the camera as an aggressive tool; however this is only the case in the hands of an aggressive photographer. When photojournalists and those publishing photographs understand that photographs can have a tremendous impact on its viewers, that's when they may start to control how they take and use them (Wheeler, 2002, p. 42).

It must be noted that manipulation does not only take the form of digital changes to a photograph; it can also come in the form of staging or setting up a scene for a photograph. Some iconic photojournalistic images from the past were even manipulated; staged scenes created by a photographer.

Dorothea Lange's *Migrant Mother* [see Fig 4] represented the Great Depression of the 1930s and Joe Rosenthal's iconic photograph of the American flag being raised during the battle of Iwo Jima [see Fig 5] is a definitive symbol of World War II [are both memorable images, but not recognised as manipulated images].

(Douglas, 2007, p. 42)

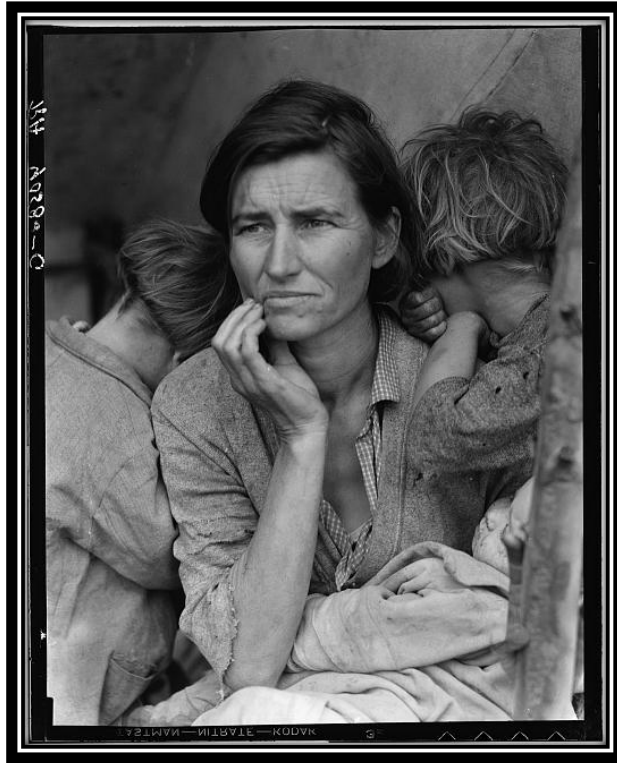


Figure 4: Lange, D. (1936) *Migrant mother*. Available at: <http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8b29516/> (Accessed: 11 September 2009).



Figure 5: Rosenthal, J. (1945) *Flag raising on Iwo Jima*. Available at: <https://www.learner.org/courses/globalart/work/215/index.html> (Accessed: 3 March 2012).

Literature suggests that photojournalists should take extra care when photographing daily events for newspaper publications because it is only through the belief of the audience which shapes the photojournalist's credibility (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Irby, 2004). Baradell and Stack (2008) highlight that by digitally going beyond "what is necessary to optimize the technical quality of the image" (Baradell and Stack, 2008, p. 3) could be deemed unethical; this may only include removal of scratches or dust spots and an occasional colour correction.

2.3 Photography's Power

With the invention of photography came a desire to collect data and images of non-western societies and by observing the images from the past, we discover more about western society than of the cultures that are actually recorded (Newton, 2001; Thompson, 2004). A photographer becomes a voyeur wanting to become invisible within the cultures that they are exploring or exploiting. This is perfectly illustrated by Weinberger (1994):

There is a tribe, known as the ethnographic filmmakers, who believe they are invisible. They enter a room where a feast is being celebrated, or the sick cured, or the dead mourned, and, though weighted down with odd machines entangled with wires, imagine they are unnoticed - or, at most, merely glanced at, quickly ignored, late forgotten. Outsiders know little of them, for their homes are hidden in the partially uncharted rain forest of the Documentary. Like other Documentarians, they survive by hunting and gathering information. Unlike others of their filmic group, most prefer to consume it raw. Their culture is unique in that wisdom, among them, is not passed down from generation to generation: they must discover for themselves what their ancestors knew. They have little communication with the rest of the forest, and are slow to adapt to technical innovations. Their handicrafts are rarely traded, and are used almost exclusively among themselves. Produced in the great quantities, the

excess must be stored in large archives. They worship a terrifying deity known as Reality, whose enemy is its evil twin Art. They believe that to remain vigilant against this evil, one must devote oneself to a set of practices known as Science. Their cosmology, however, is unstable: for decades they have fought bitterly among themselves as to the nature of their god and how best to serve him. They accuse each other of being secret followers of Art; the worst insult in their language is 'aesthete'.

(Weinberger, 1994, p. 3-4)

This narrative describes the nature of a documenter, the voyeur; similar to that of surveillance. Both Pinney (1992) and McQuire (1998) compare photography to being at the centre of the panopticon prison (hailed for its apparent balance of state and shunned for its possible misuse of power) an advocate of the misuse of power in authoritative positions. Therefore, as with the panopticon prison where the prison officers were able to monitor the prisoners without their knowledge; photographers can capture photographs without the subject knowing.

Photographs play a powerful role in the way that we remember. Photographs that we view which are related to events, experiences or knowledge stored in our memories are the photographs that we will more likely store in our long-term memory (Stoebel, Hollis and Zakia, 1980, p. 194). Personal connections that we make with a photograph, ones which evoke meaning cause us to remember them. It is easier for us to relate to photographs if similar images are already stored in our memories, giving the photographs meaning (Stoebel, Hollis and Zakia, 1980; Newton, 2001).

Photojournalists particularly rely on their own memory when they are composing

their photographs. Photojournalists can often visualise the photographs in their minds before capturing them with the camera (Stoebel, Hollis and Zakia, 1980, p. 44). Photojournalists use the compositions of their photographs to direct the viewer's gaze towards the subject in the photograph. We use personal filters to select what we view in the world and when we look at a photograph we are not only selecting the parts we want to see, we are also seeing what the photojournalist wants us to see; in a sense seeing through their eyes (Newton, 2001, p. 91). The photojournalist holds the power to choose what they want to show us in a photograph.

Photographs can also have a powerful hold on us because of our constant fear of losing our past and our history (Barthes, 1981, p. 110). Photography leaves no milestone left undocumented; photographs are evidence of our identity and security of our immortality; for when we are dead and gone we will not be forgotten because our photographs will remain (McQuire, 1998; Barthes, 1985). Memories also can be suppressed; however, photographs can have the power to restore them. Photographs evoke emotions and moods connected to the memories, yet it is uncertain whether or not the quality or intensity of those emotions or moods are altered from the original event, possibly omitting the events that occurred before or after the photograph was taken (Christianson and Safer, 1995, p. 227).

Perceptual defence is what suppressed painful events from our past, protecting us from unpleasant events, the ones we hideaway and suppress (Stoebel, Hollis and Zakia, 1980, p. 64). Photographs have the power to take us back to painful events, endlessly renewing the pain (Barthes, 1981; Sontag, 1977; Butler, 2009);

this urges us to rid or destroy them, leaving the photographs of only happy memories; creating a false history. Barthes (1981, p. 92) describes it as the death of a memory, the death of the past. The destruction of painful photographs helps to silence the past, to help suppress it into non-existence. However, when the photographs hold special meaning or of cherished memories, those photographs are revered and protected. As loved ones pass on, the photographs remain of them and are delicately cared for; damage to those photographs would be like losing them all over again (Tagg, 1988; Barthes, 1985). Photographs of those we have lost hold power over us; they deceive us, making us believe that we still hold a part of those we have lost, keeping them alive through our memories (Barthes, 1985, p. 75). They awaken our memories, rediscovering times forgotten and keeping the dead alive. Our attachment to photographs can be very powerful because of the emotion we attach to them.

Modern society is filled with photographs, idealised images of people and when compared with the images we have of ourselves we are intensely aware of our own appearance; creating an underlining social pressure (McQuire, 1998, p. 80). In the newspapers, we see alongside the news photographs, advertising photographs creating juxtaposition between reality and fantasy. Advertising photographs entice us to buy products which claim to enhance our appearance; an idealised creation which does not exist in reality. The pressure to live up to the standards of these photographs is unrealistic. Photographs appear everywhere; newspapers, magazines and larger than life as we pass them in the street, tempting us to spend, however never delivering (Berger, 2005, p. 7). It is not the product itself that appeals to the viewer; it is the desired result that the product will

apparently create; which is displayed in the photograph.

In a way, photographs have become a weapon against us distorting our view of the world (Damisch, 1980; Sontag, 1977). Photographs are all around us; we see so many photographs that we become detached from them, dismissing them as we go by and not taking the time to engage with them. Only photographs that shock or move us to stop and notice; the real thing is no longer exciting (Sontag, 1977, p. 11). It is when authoritative figures in powerful positions exploit the power of photographs to influence people that photographs can become a dangerous weapon against us (Damisch, 1980; Neri, 2006). Michel Foucault (1992) and John Tagg (1988) both agree that policies must be established to free photographic truth from controlling influence; in order to restrain the misuses of photographs for influential means. In order to fight the social pressures of our image-dominated society, we must learn to read photographs for what they are; an interpretation of the world created by the photographers and publishers. Photographs are extraordinarily powerful, and if used in particular ways, they can be dangerous.

2.3.1 Newspapers: Text and Photographs

Rarely do photographs appear in publications without being accompanied by text in some form; be it a title, a caption or an article (Barthes, 1977, p. 15). Text can either aid or hinder the interpretation of photographs. Barthes (1977, p. 25) describes text as being parasitic to images, essentially draining the life out of the image; diluting the meaning of a photograph.

There are some instances where the text can aid the photograph; when a specific

meaning of a photograph is intended for the viewer to understand, the text can provide an exact translation of the intended meaning of that image (Barthes, 1980; Martinec and Salway, 2005). Captions on photographs help us to direct our gaze and to focus our attention on certain aspects of the scene in order for us to understand a photograph's meaning. On the other hand, text can have the opposite effect on the viewer. The presentation of text can change a viewer's idea or feeling towards the subject or subjects represented in the photograph.

Newspapers may also use photographs to fit their editorial agendas based on the text in the written story. In addition, the same photograph can take on very different meanings in different newspapers (Bynum, 2011). The meaning of the photograph changes by the way it is used, and the text can change that meaning.

2.3.2 Interpreting and Reading Newspaper Photographs

Photographs that appear in newspapers are the interpretation of a news story, a representation of reality. The photograph represents the photojournalist's interpretation of what they believe has truly occurred, in turn creating a subjective reality determined on an individual basis (Seelig, 2005, p. 166). The viewers of newspaper photographs put their trust in the photojournalist's professional judgments of what they determine is the visual reality (Seelig, 2005; Irby, 2004). With wavering credibility of news photographs in recent times, readers are now beginning to question the truthfulness of photographs, wondering if they too are manipulations (Kornmiller, 2002; Irby, 2004; Rasmussen, 2002).

A viewer of a photograph sees through individual personal filters based on their

experiences, influences, class and cultural truths. Newton (2001), Foucault (1992), Metelerkamp (2001), Collins and Lutz (1994) all agree that in order for a viewer to develop an understanding of a photograph they must have prior knowledge and imagination to help them interpret its meaning and to make a photograph significant to the viewer because it establishes a relation between the photograph and the images in our minds.

Reading, interpreting and understanding photographs is not an inherent trait; we must learn the skills to read photographs, such as the blurring background in a photograph suggests movement, as with the example in Fig 6. In some cases,



Figure 6: Baumgartner, M. (2006) *Early morning speedy*. Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dreamer7112/albums/72157600157197649> (Accessed: 24 March 2014).

specialist training must be acquired in order to accurately perceive images, such as medical or scientific photographs (Wright, 1992; Sontag, 1979; Stoebel, Hollis and Zakia, 1980).

Every photograph offers the viewer three areas which help them analyse the image; a linguistic message, a coded iconic message and a non-coded iconic message (Barthes, 1981; Flusser, 1983; Sweetser, 2000). The linguistic message offering the viewer an interpretation of the photograph using words and language; the coded iconic message that is hidden from the viewer, which takes additional information to lead the viewer to discover its meaning; and a non-coded message, which is obvious and straightforward to the viewer, the surface image.

Photographs are often metaphorical in nature. Metaphors are used when the full explanation of something is lengthy and confusing. Metaphors break down a complicated idea into something that can be more easily interpreted (Douglas, 2007, p. 42-43). Research on metaphors consists of the idea that metaphors often create an idealistic, manipulative view of the world (Tilley, 1999; Olsen, 2003). This can also relate to manipulated photographic images; however, this does not stop us from using metaphors or creating manipulated photographs.

2.3.3 Reality and Truth in Photographs

Reality is the state of something that actually exists, something that is experienced or seen which previously only exists in one's mind. Reality is something that is understood, observable or can lead to contradictory analysis.

In relation to truth in images, Plato's *Cratylus* (Plato, 2008) states that in order for something to be understood there must be set fixed objects or forms; nothing must be added or subtracted and if objects are added or subtracted then it is no longer an image. Objects in photographs help a viewer understand the essence of the

subject expressed in the photograph. When given the example of having an image of something and the actual object Socrates points out that the image of that thing can never become the match of what it represents (Plato, 2008).

Literature establishes that the camera is a social instrument, one which is used to document joy, interests or concerns. "Aristotle said that the pleasure of mimetic recognition was fundamental to the satisfactions of art - the sense that in the presence of a "true" picture (or drama) one is able to achieve that "aha" experience" (Metelerkamp, 2001). It is this self-recognition that makes photographs socially engaging and satisfying. Reality in photography is not absolute because of the acknowledged presence of the camera and the perspective of the photographer. Capturing a photograph is not just a mechanical creation; it also creates a social and physiological observation of the viewer and its creator (Metelerkamp, 2001).

A photograph is an impression of something that was once placed in front of a camera. The photograph becomes a representation of an object or event which was once there, but now no longer exists in the same essence; making it an interpretation of the 'real' (Plato, 2008; Sontag, 1977; Tagg, 1988). Despite the fact that photographs are only an essence and only a personal interpretation of a scene, we still interpret images by relating them to our own personal realities and experiences. Tagg's (1988) interpretation of the 'reality' of an image is one which consists of how a photograph is taken of the ordinary, yet out of that 'ordinary' presents something that is much more complex.

What lies 'behind' the paper or 'behind' the image is not reality - the referent - but reference: a subtle web of discourse through which realism is enmeshed in a complex fabric of notions, representations, images, attitudes, gestures, and modes of action which function as everyday know-how, 'practical ideology,' norms within and through which people live their relation to the world. It is by the routes it opens to this complex sphere that the realist text trades with that generally received picture of what may be regarded as 'real' or 'realistic' - a picture which is not recognized as such but rather presents itself as, precisely, the Reality.

(Tagg, 1988, p. 100)

To determine that an event is a true experience, more than one person must agree that the situation occurred and that is when a true experience is likely formed. Having more than one witness to an event, stating that it occurred, makes it more believable to a collective or group. When a group of people believes something is true, it does not guarantee that another group of people will not have a contradictory truth. Different communities, societies, and cultures have entirely different concepts of truth and reality of how they perceive their outside world. When someone persuades someone else to accept something else as truth it is considered perspectivism, a philosophical term developed by Friedrich Nietzsche (Nietzsche, 1990, p. 4). Some photographs use perspectivism to persuade viewers that they are depicting something that is true without giving the viewers all the information involved in creating the image.

Photographs are powerful tools that can be used as an establishment of truth creating a communication that society often accepts as truth. Tagg (1988, p. 4) suggests that photography can state the opposite; creating a contradiction to political and social propaganda that could influence change depending upon how

the photographs are used.

Absolute truth does not exist (Bradley, 2011, p. 190); truth exists on a personal level based on our personal perspectives and truth is subjective to us individually. Even when two photojournalists witness and photograph the same event, the way they capture the situation will be different due to how they perceive the event. Photographs are just records or interpretations of the subject depicted, not a true substitute. Nothing can replace the three-dimensional experience. A photograph is only a two-dimensional still representation which is a subjective interpretation of an event and it cannot be a trustworthy record of the original scene or event (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 163).

2.4 Concerns and Future of Photojournalism

Professionals concerned with publishing photographic images are under demanding pressures according to Lester (1991), Newton (2001), Collins and Lutz (1994). According to Neri (2006), it is only by educating photographers and others working within print publications, that false or deceiving photographs can be controlled; without specialist training, deceptive images will still go to print. She also stresses the fact that there is currently no training for those managing photographic material. Neri (2006) is very explicit about the lack of material on training for photographers and those who deal with photographic publications. There is "no training provided for the personnel who have to manage the photographic material: there are no schools for picture-editors, or for filing personnel or for iconographic research personnel" (Neri, 2006). Seelig (2005) however disagrees, photojournalists are trained in;

[K]nowing how to use the camera, handle photos, crop and size photos; what makes a good picture; how to frame a news event, select pictures, and use pictures in layout and design; how to be creative with photography; how to use photography as a means of communication; and most important, how to decide what is visually newsworthy. These skills are acquired through formal training, hands-on experience, common-sense knowledge, and attending workshops and seminars.

(Seelig, 2005, p. 171-172)

Photojournalists have the ability to think on their feet and an understanding of how to tell a story in a single image; yet training should also be concerned with ethical principles not only aesthetic concerns (Lester, 1989, p. 13).

Exploiting digital photographic technologies rather than ignoring them, stops new digital tools becoming misused according to Neri (2006). In 1979, Uelsmann (1979, p. 75) urged for the need for a change to the photographic teaching in the 1970's because they needed to embrace the rapidly changing medium and if it was rapidly changing in 1979 than it is even more so today.

The pressure for a photojournalist to get a photograph at any cost may help to answer why a photojournalist may risk their career to make a photograph stand out digitally in order to be chosen by a newspaper publication (Johnston, 2003). There is a great demand for visual coverage of news events from both web-based and print media. Not only are photojournalists expected to take the perfect photograph, but they are also expected to have knowledge of multi-media and have the ability to multi-task (Sloan, 2007, p. 78).

Photojournalists need to be multi-skilled in order to get the job, as well as compete with other photojournalists to get published; only the best photographs get published (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Quart, 2008). There are amateur photographers and citizen photojournalists that just happen to be in the right place at the right time willing to have their photographs published in newspapers for little or no pay which in turn heightens the competition for photojournalists. Sloan (2007, p. 79) fears that there is little to distinguish between trained photojournalists and non-journalists on the streets with digital devices. Photojournalists may be suffering financially, but newspaper photography is benefiting from vast arrays of information.

Citizens around the world can cheaply photograph and distribute images of their own countries and cities, places like Dhaka and Freetown...we will have amateur photographers some lucky people at the right awful place at the right awful time (Nigerians who are at the next explosion of a pipeline, say).

(Quart, 2008, p. 16)

It could be argued that the rise of the amateur or the citizen journalist is of great value to news photography bringing forth issues that may otherwise be overlooked.

2.5 Ethical Awareness in Photojournalism

Although the subject of manipulation has been addressed by many people, Wheeler (2002), Irby (2004) and Newton (2001) to name a few, there still does not appear to be any universal ethical code followed by professionals, professional bodies or academics dealing with news photographs. Literature suggests there

needs to be an organised coherent model for photojournalists and those working with images to follow when faced with ethical dilemmas and utilising manipulation techniques (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Newton, 2001).

While ethical decisions have long played a central role in the business of news gathering, journalists have never been governed by formal ethical standards. This is a key reason that journalism, by definition, is actually not a profession. You can't be disbarred or lose your license as a journalist.

(Baradell and Stack, 2008, p. 2)

The absence of any governing ethical body for photojournalists appears to trouble most writers that discuss the topic of photo manipulation in newspapers and also seems to give weight to arguments surrounding speculation of unethical practices within the field (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Wheeler, 2002; Irby, 2004; Newton, 2001).

Researchers in the area of photojournalism are particularly concerned with guidelines for the use of photographic manipulation. Newton (2001) calls for an individual ethical system for photojournalists based on six points:

1. Think in terms of ecology of the visual that increases awareness of the impact of visual behaviour on everything else humans know and do.
2. Require visual training from preschool through higher education as a significant part of the general preparation of a free, self-reflective person who can participate consciously, appropriately, and research that focus on respect for others, respect for oneself and respect for the process of interacting with others.
3. Increase the opportunities for communication professionals to become aware of the

relationship between images and visual truth via journalism and mass communication education based on integrated visual and verbal curriculum.

4. Extend research into perception and visual communication across disciplines and into the forefront of priorities.
5. Extend the appropriate use of visual methods throughout all research processes.
6. Continue to extend the photojournalist eye wherever needed while respecting the privacy of an individual wherever possible.

(Newton, 2001, p. 181-182)

This guideline is suggested for photojournalists and professionals involved with photographic media. In the United States of America, The National Press Photographer's Association sets out a code of ethics for their members, yet it is not a governing body (See Appendix E). While the NPPA has an ethical code, this code applies to American photojournalists and members and does not govern photojournalists as a whole, worldwide. This code tries to put forth suggestions, in order to promote thought and discussion, but not dictate with firm actions and consequences (Long, 1999). While Long (1999) expresses that new technologies create new ethical challenges for photojournalists, he does not believe that the ethical issues addressed are anything new:

We are not dealing with something brand new. We merely have a new way of processing images and the same principles that have guided us in traditional photojournalism should be the principles that guide us in the use of the computers. This fact makes dealing with computer related ethics far less daunting than if we had to begin from square one.

(Long, 1999)

In the UK, ethical codes of conduct include the National Union of Journalists (See

Appendix E) and the British Press Photographers Association (See Appendix F) and similar to the NPPA are suggestions rather than enforcement;

[T]en clauses that sum up how we should behave rather than a set of absolute rules. This is important because we live in an age where there are lots of blurred lines and where each of us may well be doing a wide range of work for which each of these clauses will have greater or lesser significance.

(The BPPA, 2015)

BPPA set out these standards in light of Leveson Inquiry, which was published in 2012; a finalised version of their code was published in summer of 2015 (See Appendix F).

The Leveson Enquiry (The National Archives, 2012) has thrown speculative light onto journalists and photojournalists ethical practices. The ethical practices of photojournalists were particularly highlighted during the enquiry, actor Hugh Grant noted that photojournalists were “being ‘increasingly recruited from the criminal underworld’, while he depicts staff photojournalists as not too bad, as they ‘occasionally show a modicum of decency’” (Handford, 2011). Even though the initial inquiry was intended to focus on the ethics of the press, it quickly turned their attention to the photojournalists and photographers.

The reporting of the inquiry has muddled the distinction of the paparazzi and working press photographers, calling everyone a press or news photographer. The BPPA made an application to become a core participant to balance out the extremely one sided evidence which was given, but sadly has been rejected from doing this.

(Terakopian, 2011b)

Photojournalists feel that they are being vilified and that the Leveson Inquiry gave the public an impression that “being a press photographer in this country is wrong and the devil’s work” (Terakopian, 2011b).

After the BPPA was initially rejected they submitted a second attempt, which included eighteen page document, they were allowed to give as evidence. Speaking of the day they spoke at the Inquiry, officials from the BPPA said;

[A] lot of reading and an awful lot of discussion came down to a 34 minute appearance at The Leveson Inquiry today (Tuesday 7th February) afternoon. Was it worth it? Right here, right now the answer has to be a truly resounding ‘YES’. Our case has been outlined before; we wanted to impress on the world that there can be a huge difference between a professional press photographer and a bloke with a posh camera.

We really cannot talk about today in terms of winning and losing but it seems that we have made our point and we know that Lord Justice Leveson himself said that:

‘Mr Turner, thank you very much indeed. Responsible photographers, like responsible journalists, are not part of the problem and they do need to be part of the solution. Thank you very much.’

If, after today, the industry takes us more seriously and if, after today, we are allowed a voice on issues that directly affect the lives, careers and reputations of professional press photographers then maybe, just maybe we can think in terms of a (small) victory.

(Dg28, 2012)

At the conclusion of the inquiry, Lord Leveson (Douglas, 2012) suggested;

- Newspapers should continue to be self-regulated - and the government should have no power over what they publish.
- There had to be a new press standards body created by the industry, with a new code of conduct
- That body should be backed by legislation, which would create a means to ensure the regulation was independent and effective
- The arrangement would provide the public with confidence that their complaints would be seriously dealt with-and ensure the press are protected from interference

It is implied from these suggestions that actions by the media should be governed by law, however governing the countless photojournalists that make up the authors of the photographs sent to every publication, seems unmanageable. In turn, such suggestions may, in future produce a set of recommendations, but this is yet to be seen. As long as there is money to be made, photographs will be shot.

2.6 Ethics: Theory and Context

Life is full of choices; small choices and more complex ones. Mistakes are often made and from our mistakes, we learn, we learn how to do things better through examination and self-awareness. The importance of this is that we can avoid making mistakes if we take time to identify our own personal values and ethics. One of the first discussions of ethics was made during the 4th century BC in Athens by Aristotle. The Nicomachean Ethics, which was based on his lectures, is considered the most significant works of moral philosophy (Crisp and Saunders, 1999, p. 109). This early take on ethics did not include modern ideas on ethics such as duties, obligations, responsibilities or rights; however, it discusses the idea of obtaining personal happiness.

The word ethics, long since used and studied, finds itself placed in the forefront of discussion in modern society; in areas such as business, health and media, just to name a few.

It should be pointed out, however, that increasingly ethics has come to be associated with the proper and expected way of doing a certain profession, such as, the ethics of anthropological research or medical ethics or business ethics.

(Zigon, 2008, p. 3)

According to Oxford Dictionaries (2015), ethics is defined as "moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or conducting of an activity". Therefore, ethics provides us with the building blocks of what action to choose in a situation or the means in which to analyse past actions to determine whether or not we should have acted in a certain way. Although ethics give us the building blocks to begin to unravel the grounding of our actions, ethics is far from simple and require considerable reflection and analysis. Within the definition of ethics it mentions both morals and principles, therefore in order to fully understand ethics, it is important to understand both these terms separately.

Although ethics and morals are both the consideration of what is considered 'right' and 'wrong' behaviour and often times used interchangeably, it is important to note the distinction between the two. Both words have similar root meanings;

[E]thics has its origins in the ancient Greek word ethos, meaning way of life or custom and habit, and morality comes from 'mos', which is simply the Latin translation of ethos.

(Zigon, 2008, p. 3)

It is also important to note that there have been over 2,000 years of debate and

discourse; these words cannot be viewed so simply.

Morals refer to each individual's own personal principles which guide them in determining 'right' and 'wrong'. These personal principles are not given by an outside source but live entirely within each individual. Although an individual may adopt ethical principles to help guide them, an individual's moral may change over time if their belief changes; therefore morals are flexible within the beliefs of the individual. Ethics, on the other hand, are principles which are provided to an individual by an external source.

The term moral is taken to refer to generally accepted standards of right and wrong in a society and the term ethics is taken to refer to more abstract principles which might appear in a code of professional ethics or in a textbook in ethical theory.

(Alavudeen, Rahman and Jayakumaran, 2008, p. 46)

It is also possible to describe the difference between morals and ethics as defining what a person is and what a person does. A person may or may not be moral in mind and thought, and may or may not act ethically.

Both morals and ethics are made up of principles which are followed.

Your values are what you consider important, literally what you 'value'. Principles are what allow you to live a life consistent with those values. Principles connect your values to your actions; they are beacons that guide your actions, and help you successfully deal with the laws of reality. It is to your principles that you turn to when you face hard choices.

(Dalio, 2011)

Principles are driven by values, whether it is individual values (moral principles) or

values of a group (ethical principles).

By directing our attention to ethics we consider how we should act in any particular situation whether it has to do with how we live our lives or work with others. As I stated above, there are no simple answers in considering the ethics of a situation, however with considerable reflection, not just by philosophers, but by each individual, the groundwork for assessing situations can begin to take shape. This thesis discusses the ethical decision-making for professional photojournalists, therefore it will focus on normative ethics which attempts to study the actions individuals take when making ethical decisions. The next section will briefly discuss the three most important parts of normative ethical theories; values, duty and consequences.

2.6.1 Values, Duty and Consequences

Values

Values are one of the key driving forces of ethics; values are convictions in which we strive for, such as, happiness, charity or justice. In essence, values give meaning and direction to our individual existence. In analysing our values we begin to unravel not only what we ought to do but give a grounding to understand why we choose to do things in a particular way. According to Christopher Hodgkinson, values are, "concepts of the desirable with a motivating force" (Hodgkinson, 1983, p. 36). He uses this concept to understand behaviour in organisational contexts. From his definition, it implies that our behaviour is directed solely by our values because it is this which motivates us in our decision-making. Fennell and Malloy (2007) suggest that there is a values hierarchy divided

into four separate levels:

At the base level, we value something because we simply like it. Little cognitive thought is present in this instinctual level of preference... The next level incorporates the preferences of the collective or consensus...The third level is much more robust in its cognitive activity. Here's one's values are the consequence of valuing. In other words if, through a rational/logical assessment of the outcome of valuing X, I determine that it has a positive benefit for society or the environment, then I will value it - otherwise I will not...At the highest level of valuing I base my behaviour not upon what I like, or what others like, or what science tells me, but upon a trans-rational and authentic principle.

(Fennell and Malloy, 2007, p. 109-110)

Both ethics and values are closely intertwined with one another. The values in which we hold as more important are ones which we are more likely to make. In addressing the hierarchical levels of valuing, argued by Fennell and Malloy (2007), values become complex, in that our behaviour influences not only ourselves but all that we interact with. What we value not only drives our actions, but also our perceptions of those around us. Those that value the same things as we do, we aspire to be like and those that do not, we create negative perceptions of them. It is clear that values influence what is determined ethical, "however, values are our measures of importance, whereas ethics represent our judgments about right and wrong" (Shockley-Zalabak, 1999, p. 438). Although ethics and values are closely inter-related there is still a distinction between the two; importance and judgments.

Duty

Duty is viewed by how a person perceives their actions with a responsibility to themselves, another person or a group of people;

Ethics has to do with duty - duty to self and duty to others. It is private and personal, although it is related to obligations and duties to others. The quality of human life relates to both solitude and sociability. We do right or wrong by ourselves in the private or inward part of our lives where we are acting and reacting in a context of others. This duality of individual and social morality is implicit in the very concept of ethics.

(Gordon *et al.*, 2011, p. 2)

Within modern society, duty is often translated into codes of conduct or ethical principles shared by a group. In joining a group or organisation of people it is assumed that individuals will choose to adhere to the responsibilities accepted by that association. A further explanation of this concept will be discussed further in this chapter when I discuss Deontology, which is an ethical position that makes moral judgments of the actions of an individual based on how those actions adhere to their duties.

Consequences

More often than not, it is the examination of the outcomes of the actions which someone chooses to make which comes under scrutiny. The consequences of one's behaviour are less concerned with the duty of the action than it is concerned with the outcome of that action. When looking at a situation from this perspective we consider the moral reasoning behind our actions and try to predict what will happen before we act.

A typical way of considering morality is to think of actions as having good and bad consequences. Consequences are the effect or results of what people do. According to this way of looking at ethics, a moral action is one that brings about good consequences,

and an immoral action is one that causes bad consequences.

(Bredeson and Goree, 2011, p. 17)

Therefore, one assesses the risks associated with the outcome of an action. One may assume that a 'good' act will produce a desirable result and would be less likely to produce an outcome which would produce undesirable consequences. However, it is not always assured that the measurement of 'goodness' would create an outcome which would be most beneficial to the greatest number of people; therefore care must be taken when predicting what will result from acting on an ethical presumption.

2.6.2 Ethical Theories Contextualised

When assessing complex ethical decisions, it is often difficult to know how to proceed and what action to take. Providing some guidance, ethical theories gives us possible viewpoints from which we can begin to assess which action to take. Each theory highlights different points in decision-making in both style and rules, for instance assessing the best outcome of an action or following a duty to serve others in order to make a decision about what an individual sees as ethically correct (Copp, 2009). Initially, it is important to understand that not everyone makes decisions in the same way because everyone may base decisions on different information or apply different rules in decision-making. Therefore, to further understand ethical theory there must be an understanding of a common set of objectives or ethical foundations individuals consider when faced with difficult ethical decisions. Gill's (2004) associates ethical principles with the game of American football;

Players could, of course, compete in games only by improvisation; they could make up plays in the huddle or in the middle of action. If they played in this unplanned way, they would probably have a real adventure and their personal self-determination would be fully respected. However, they would almost certainly be soundly defeated by the opposition! Learning ethical principles and rules is like learning life's playbook.

(Gill, 2004, p. 24-25)

Four ethical principles in 'life's playbook' include beneficence, least harm, respect for autonomy and justice; I will now discuss each in turn.

Principles of Ethics

Beneficence

The principle of beneficence steers individuals to make decisions which are 'right' and 'good'.

[T]he notion is broad, but it is understood even more broadly in ethical theory to include effectively all forms of action intended to benefit or promote the good of other persons.

(Beauchamp, 2008)

This principle is also closely related to the principle of utility, which suggests that individuals should aim to achieve the greatest 'good' rather than 'evil' for individuals in a group or society. It is this principle which is mainly correlated with the utilitarian ethical theory, which I address further in this section.

Least Harm

Closely related to beneficence, least harm addresses situations in which there seems to be no benefit or any choice presented, therefore an individual will make

a decision based on which action will do the least amount of harm to the fewest number of people (Alavudeen, Rahman and Jayakumaran, 2008, p. 39). It would make sense that individuals would aim not to cause harm at all to themselves or others because the consequences of harm are painful and destructive, however, situations can arise which one may justify harm to some, for the benefit of more. For example, if a photojournalist was taking photographs of a car accident in which a person died and in turn, if those photographs were published in newspapers and it distressed the family of the person that died, however having those photographs published may result in fewer car crashes in the future, then this act has done 'less harm'.

Respect for Autonomy

The principle of autonomy argues that consideration should be first applied to the individual's ability to be self-governing and to make decisions which apply to an individual's life (Buss, 2014). Therefore, individuals should be able to make their own decisions because they are the only person who knows and completely understands how something will affect their life or how they choose to live their life. Individuals deserve the respect of others because only they have experienced the things that have made up how they have chosen to live and only they are truly in touch with their own emotions, capabilities and motivations. This concept does not only apply to individuals;

When people living in some region of the world declare that their group has the right to live autonomously, they are saying that they ought to be allowed to govern themselves.

(Buss, 2014)

Essentially, this principle is a branch from the ethical principle of beneficence because an individual who is independent would usually prefer to have complete control over their life in order to maintain the way in which they enjoy their life.

Justice

Lastly, the principle of justice states that individuals should weigh their actions based on whether or not their actions will be fair to other individuals involved. Justice leaves an individual to consider the distribution of risks and benefits within a situation without having biases and maintaining fairness to all. For instance, the right for individuals to be treated fairly when receiving health care; however extenuating circumstances may occur which can cause a justification of inconsistency in decision-making. Gillon (1994) underlines that justice means more than merely creating equality amongst individuals because people can still be treated unjustly even when they are treated equally;

Equality is at the heart of justice, but, as Aristotle argued so long ago, justice is more than mere equality - people can be treated unjustly even if they are treated equally. He argued that it was important to treat equals equally (what health economists are increasingly calling horizontal equity) and to treat un-equals unequally in proportion to the morally relevant inequalities (vertical equity). People have argued ever since about the morally relevant criteria for regarding and treating people as equals and those for regarding and treating them as un-equals. The debate flourishes in moral, religious, philosophical, and political contexts, and we are no closer to agreement than we were in Aristotle's time.

(Gillon, 1994, p. 186)

Justice is a principle which seeks to promote the treatment of individuals with fairness and equality. If not, individuals must then determine whether the

difference in treatment is justified. Seemingly, this principle appears to be simple, however applying justice to a large population is challenging and requires constant consideration and examination so that the intentions of this principle are upheld.

2.6.3 Types of Ethical Theories

The ethical theory an individual employs for making decisions about their actions is important to that individual because the guidelines of that particular theory may lead them to an ethical resolution based on that theory. However;

[t]here is great diversity of social norms and rules, and there seems to be significant disagreements from one culture to the next about what is right and wrong. Further, ethicists often disagree among themselves about what is right and wrong, and ethical theories often gives conflicting answers to the same moral problems.

(Giersson and Holmgren, 2000, p. 1)

There are four broad categories of ethical theory; deontology, utilitarianism, rights and virtues. These theories, although diverse, help to guide individuals with moral problems through careful analysis.

Deontology

Deontology is “the study of duty” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017). It refers to a general ethical category which defines that the right action is dependent on an individual’s duty; regardless of the results of the action (Bunnon and Yu, 2004, p. 228).

Deontologists are more concerned with the rightness of the action an individual takes in an ethical situation; therefore even if the right action results in something unpleasant or receives disapproval from others, that result is not considered. For

deontologists, the moral action ends at the point of action, beyond this point it is not in question and there is no obligation for those actions to lead to any moral outcome.

There are two main deontological ethical theories; the work of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and derived from his theory, came W.D. Ross (1877-1971); each, in turn, laid the foundations of deontological study. Both views on deontology vary significantly; therefore it is important to discuss each in more detail.

Developed first by Kant, deontology was framed on 'categorical imperatives'; "a procedure for determining the morality of any course of action" (Pojman and Frieser, 2009, p. 128). He asserts that individuals should adhere to their duties and obligations when making ethical decisions;

Now I say that the human being, and in general every rational being, exists as end in itself, not merely as means to the discretionary use of this or that will, but in all its actions, those directed toward itself as well as those directed toward other rational beings, it must always at the same time be considered as an end [and]... the existence of things insofar as it is determined in accordance with universal laws, thus the universal imperative of duty can also be stated as follows: So act as if the maxim of your action were to become through your will a universal law of nature.

(Kant, 2002, p. 45-46)

A maxim, which Kant refers to, is a type of test when deciding on a plan of action. An individual should be able to support the "universal" acceptance of the plan or purpose of the action. Kantian deontology firstly denies any connection to consequentiality because he rejects that the rightness of an act has anything to do

with the consequences and that some acts such as lying is always considered wrong. Secondly, his theory is structured by his use of the categorical imperative test which aides in determining the validity of an act. Lastly, if an individual fails to act in accordance with the outcome of the test, then they would be deemed irrational human beings. According to Kant, practical reason grounds this principle and our duties are developed from the things that are common to all of us as rational human beings; separating us from mere animals (Louden, 2002, p. 115-116). The moral principle, therefore, should be devised, not to maximise one's personality or interests, but in order to appreciate the value of an individual. In order to do this, individuals must correspond to their dignity; Kant asserts human beings have dignity because of our ability to think rationally and the rules governing our actions are universal (Kant, 2002, p. 45).

Kant's view is widely accepted and respected; however, it is not without question. It could be questionable for Kant to reduce the morality of the actions of individuals down to an emotionless, rigid and inflexible decision, based on the maxims. It could be argued that it is emotions that make us human beings in the first place. By making ethical decisions without emotion; are we not de-humanising ourselves? Another questionable argument is the idea that an individual can never lie because Kant believes this would be a violation of the categorical imperative and it would be treating an individual as a means to an end. This could prove problematic in certain circumstances, such as if someone were hiding a friend from a murderer and the murderer came to them and asked where their friend was; then according to Kant they must not lie, they must tell the murderer where their friend is hiding (Kagan, 2002, p. 139). Kant suggests that it is always wrong

to lie, therefore you have done nothing wrong; however, this justification appears to be problematic. Kant suggests that rules which are rejected by rational society should be omitted; however, how is one to determine what rational individuals would determine as objectionable? Therefore, a universal moral code would not work because each ethical situation an individual faces may be different and every individual has a different personal identity, yet Kant is stringent in his assertions that the right course of action should remain right and not be determined individually.

Kantian deontology appears to be too narrow and does not justify any other ethical considerations, ultimately trying to place ethical decision-making into a rigid and unmovable framework. Given these questionable qualities of Kantian deontology, I would like to now turn to the views of W. D. Ross; a form of deontology which introduces *prima facie* duties.

In the 1930 book, *The Right and the Good*, British philosopher W. D. Ross takes another view of deontology; one which suggests that our ethical duties are not immovable with absolute laws (Ross, 1930, p. 29). Parting from the traditions of Kantian deontology, Ross (1930, p. 19) proposes that there are a set of duties one should consider in ethical situations and these actions are necessary whether they produce a right or wrong outcome. He calls this set of duties *prima facie* duties, from the Latin, 'first', 'face'; these duties are taken into consideration when a situation is first presented to an individual. Ross's (1930, p. 21) seven duties are as follows; a duty of fidelity, a duty of reparation, a duty of gratitude, a duty of nonmaleficence, a duty of justice, a duty of beneficence and a duty of self-

improvement. It is not until an individual is faced with an ethical situation that they know which *prima facie* duty to choose.

These duties, according to Ross are instinctive within individuals' personal awareness and when an ethical situation arises an individual will just 'know' the duty that 'fits'. In some occasions, more than one duty may apply, however in these cases each individual must judge for themselves which duty would carry more weight in order to resolve the situation. The dilemma of measuring which duty is surmountable over another lies in an individual's personal moral standing because Ross does not create a hierarchy among the duties and Ross does not offer any general method for resolving conflicting duties.

When I am in a situation, as perhaps I always am, in which more than one of these *prima facie* duties is incumbent on me, what I have to do is to *study the situation as fully as I can* until I form the considered opinion (it is never more) that in the circumstances one of them is more incumbent than any other; then I am bound to think that to do this *prima facie* duty is my duty *sans phrase* in the situation.

(Ross, 1930, p. 19)

Ross's theory, therefore, offers a way of addressing complex interpersonal ethical situations where duties may compete and there is no clearly defined dominant duty to act upon. In order to decide which duty should be followed, an individual must consider all aspects of the situation and balance each one against another, not by determining which one would have the more beneficial outcome, but through an individual's intuition.

I would contend that in principle there is no reason to anticipate that every act that is our

duty is so for one and the same reason. Why should two sets of circumstances, or one set of circumstances, *not* possess different characteristics, any one of which makes a certain act our *prima facie* duty?

(Ross, 1930, p. 24)

Therefore, Ross asserts that individuals already have adequate reason to do their duty, purely because it is 'right'. In real-world situations, as Ross points out, there are often competing circumstances and when this occurs individuals must trust their own instincts and choose the duty which would be appropriate. Ross's deontology appears to be efficient in offering individuals a more satisfying process to assess ethical situations than Kantian deontology. Where Kantian deontology is stringent in stating that lying is absolutely wrong, even if it is beneficial to do so; Ross allows for consideration if there is significant, benefit to do so.

Although both of these deontological approaches base ethical decision-making on duties and do not take into consideration the moral outcome of an action; the differences are significant. They both suggest that the outcomes of the actions come secondary to the actions themselves, the main consideration is on the actions themselves and considers the 'goodness' and 'rightness' of the action (Boucher, 2002, p. 106). Ross, however, rejects Kant's notion that basic principles rely on a common foundation. Instead, he asserts that there is no test that principles must pass in order to remain a duty. When choosing between these two deontological theories one might consider that;

- Kant's theory is extremely ambitious, whereas Ross's is relatively moderate;
- Kant offers a test that aims to show that acting in an immoral way is irrefutably irrational, while Ross states that there are moral reasoning and for an individual to ignore this

would show the individual's moral thoughtlessness rather than a failure to reason;
→ Kant insists that there are certain acts, such as lying, that are entirely unacceptable morally in any situation, yet Ross places no strict rule on ethical decision-making because he sees each ethical situation is considered independently.

One may suggest that a stricter theory would be more favourable because there is less room for justification of immoral behaviour; however, it would be wrong to suggest that an individual needs specific justification or a theory should give indisputable guidance for every ethical situation. It is my view that the simplicity of Ross's theory is a strong point, rather than a weak one because the very nature of life is not absolute and rigid; it can be unpredictable and chaotic.

Utilitarianism

Ethical theories that are utilitarian based, focus on an individual's ability to consider and predict the consequences of an action.

The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness

(Mill, 1863, p. 9-10)

For the utilitarian, the decision which will benefit the greatest number of people is the one that is ethically correct. The two main types of utilitarianism are the act utilitarian and rule utilitarian. The act utilitarian is an individual who adheres directly to performing acts which will benefit the most people, regardless of the feelings of individuals or the laws of a society (Smart and Williams, 1973, p. 9). The rule utilitarian adheres to the law; although they aim to find the actions which

will benefit the greatest number of people, they also strive for this by considering justice and fairness for the people. With rule utilitarianism, both principles of beneficence and justice are included in the decision-making process.

There are disadvantages to both act and rule utilitarianism; they rely heavily on the predicted outcomes by individuals and although an individual can consider their personal experience to assist them in their predictions, no one can be completely accurate in predicting the outcomes of any situation. It is through this uncertainty which may lead to unexpected outcomes resulting in possible unethical outcomes because in certain situations the outcome may not benefit the greatest number of people as predicted by the individual. A utilitarian also makes decisions which make assumptions about what others may deem 'good' for them, such as material gain or emotional gain. When act utilitarian makes decisions their ultimate goal is to achieve the maximum good, however, the rights of individuals may be affected in order to benefit the greatest number of people. Therefore, an act utilitarian is not always concerned with the principles of beneficence, justice or autonomy because if they feel that they need to impede an individual in order to result in a solution that benefits the greatest number of people then they will choose that action.

Another challenge that an act utilitarian faces is when they are in a situation which changes unexpectedly or suddenly. When this occurs they may face a change in the original decisions which they have made, for instance they may have to choose to like someone one moment and then change completely and need to dislike them because ethically it will benefit a greater number of people. With rule

utilitarian, they may also face a possibility of conflicting rules. For a person who wants to be on time to work, let's suppose that he is a manager at the company and he believes that it is ethical for him to be on time because this would benefit his staff and in turn benefit society. However, he may face a conflict if he is running late because he also believes that speeding is breaking the law and therefore would not benefit the greater good of society if he were to break the law. In this situation there appears to be no ethically correct decision he could make.

Rights

The ethical theories which base their ideals on rights solely believe that it is the protection of the rights of society which should take highest priority in decision making. Rights are considered ethically acceptable because a society or large group have advocated them. Individuals may also endorse rights onto another person if they have the ability or authority to do so. For instance, if someone lends someone else a camera for a day, then that person has the right to that camera for the day. The main obstacle of this theory is when it refers to a large number of people, like a society and determining the particular aspects of a right within a society. A society has to decide the rights that they want to abide by, however to do this the society must first determine the ethical goals and priorities it wants to achieve.

Therefore, in order for the rights theory to be effective, it must have a connection to another ethical theory which will explain the objectives of a society, for example, the right to freedom of speech. Mark Harmon's (1991, p. 152) essay on Hate Groups and Cable Access highlights the similarities of freedom of speech to John

Stuart Mill's (1959) utilitarian discussions. Harmon's analysis demonstrated "that the most prudent, responsible, and ethical course is to permit outrageous speech and counter it with positive messages" (Harmon, 1991, p. 146). The right of freedom of speech ultimately stems off of the utilitarian ethical theory, "the 'free expression as utilitarian'" (Harmon, 1991, p. 152).

Virtue

The last of the broad ethical theories is virtue. This theory judges an individual's personal character rather than by the actions that they may take, which may not be in their regular behaviour.

The concept of a virtue is the concept of something that makes its possessor good: a virtuous person is a morally good, excellent or admirable person who acts and feels well, rightly, as she should.

(Hursthouse, 2013)

Therefore, an individual's past reputation for moral behaviour will be taken into account when judging an act which may be deemed unethical. An example of this is if a photographer were to take a photograph and manipulate it which was then published, however, is later discovered by a colleague who is acquainted with him and knows the photographer's character; they would judge him based on his knowledge of the photographer's normal character. If the photographer normally follows the rules and has a good standing within his profession, the colleague may judge him with lenience, suggesting he may have been under extreme pressure. On the other hand, if the photographer has a reputation of conducting his work in a similar way in the past it would be more likely that he would be judged more

firmly, considering their past unethical behaviour.

The one instability of this theory is that it does not take into consideration if an individual has a sudden change in character. Therefore, if a photographer has made a mistake in the past, but truly thought their photograph was acceptable, his mistake would not be considered because of his past behaviour. Similarly, a good standing photographer may suddenly decide to act unethically, yet be forgiven unless strong evidence was to be discovered about their true intentions.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviews the literature with regards to the issues that relate to the aim of this research. The influences of issues related to the ethical practice of photojournalism are complex because there are many aspects of photography and ethics to consider, and they are often complex and subtle. Photographs on the surface seem simple and straightforward; however on closer inspection photographs are complex and multi-layered. The role of newspaper photojournalists has changed considerably over the years, and this has been reflected in the text (Lester, 1991; Newton, 2001; Collins and Lutz 1994).

Photographs can convey powerful messages to society and to truly understand their power one must look closer to reveal their deeper meanings and when photographs are manipulated their meaning becomes even more complex.

Technology has helped shape photojournalism, and the literature suggests that the shape of its future is a subject of concern by many professionals (Rios, 2004; Lester, 1991; Quart, 2008).

Previous studies have explored ethics of digital manipulation, including Parker (1988) and Lester (1989); however these studies are over twenty years old and because photographic and digital technology evolves quickly, consideration of these technologies and new ways of thinking about newspaper photojournalism must be taken into account. It is necessary to examine past and present texts in order to consider the active role of writers of texts within ethics and photojournalism. Though much has been written about applying ethics to photojournalism in relation to the newsroom (Parker, 1988; Lester, 1989), very few researchers have applied these theories directly to the photojournalists. While ethics of digital photo manipulation analysis is a rapidly growing area of academic research and more is available online daily, most studies are directed away from studying the thoughts and views of photojournalists, which is what my research highlights.

More recent studies include Huancy (2001), Lowrey (2003) and Seelig (2005). Huancy's (2001) study surveyed the reader's views of digital photo alterations using graded questionnaires. Lowrey's (2003) study focused primarily on interviewing journalism managers and conducting a telephone survey of newspaper design directors about their views of how the subgroups in a newspaper environment work with digital photographs and Seelig's (2005) study focused entirely on the decision making of photo editors for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. My study has gathered new and up to date data specifically looking at photojournalists and digital photography within UK national newspapers.

The study of ethics helps us make choices and decisions in our life. Experiences,

both good and bad, give us the building blocks for self-study and examination. Considering ethics directs our attention to both 'good' and 'bad' behaviour in order to justify or determine our actions. There is no simple conclusion in ethically complex situations; however ethical study begins to create a framework of assessing ethical decision-making. The focus of this thesis is on the ethical decision-making for professional photojournalists and attempts to study their actions.

This literature review suggests that manipulation of photographs in newspapers is a growing trend and is left uncontrolled by formal ethical standards (Baradell and Stack, 2008; Newton 2001). Unlike some studies (Parker, 1988; Lester, 1989; Seelig, 2005), which have an interest in the practices of the professionals on the publishing side of newspapers, I make the practices and concerns of the photojournalists the central focus of my research. The next chapter details the methodology and methods used in this research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I explain the methods and procedures used in this research to give an understanding of how photojournalists ethically work with digital photographs that are published in UK national newspapers. This research was carried out in the UK with the intention of interviewing photojournalists who have published digital photographs in UK national newspapers. Photojournalists who have published in UK national newspapers have a unique perspective regarding their field of practice and have experience working with newspapers as well as taking and working with digital photographs.

Throughout this chapter, consideration is given to issues surrounding reflexivity or judgement values because I am closely linked to the research data collected and analysed (King and Horrocks, 2010, p. 23). Reflexivity or judgement values means self-referencing and it has allowed me to consider my own personal biases.

Therefore, although being a professional photographer myself, I made sure that my own experiences in the field of photography did not cloud my understanding and interpretation of the research data. Similarly, I reflect on ethical issues throughout this chapter because there are ethical issues to consider at all stages of this research project.

3.1 Research Design

This research focuses on photojournalists' ethical interaction with digital photographs, photojournalists' views of digital photo manipulation and the implementation of ethical codes by photojournalists concerning digital photography. This study identifies how photojournalists ethically interact with their

photographs and their views regarding digital photo manipulation. It examines how ethics is involved in the creation and submission of digital photographs to UK national newspapers. The results of this study could be used to enlighten those working with newspaper photographs and those studying in relevant fields. Therefore, it does not only focus on photojournalism and digital photo manipulation but also deals with issues of ethics faced by photojournalists that have photographs published in UK national newspapers.

When considering the research methods, this research design contained the following research stages:

- **Stage 1:** Identifying photography, digital manipulation and ethics by means of a systematic review of the literature:

In order to systematically review the literature surrounding my research topic, I gathered and reviewed books, journals and websites. Through my systematic review of the literature, I found gaps and realised that no research study focused its attention on the specific views of *photojournalists* regarding ethics, photography and digital photo manipulation in UK national newspapers. This is discussed in Chapter Two.

- **Stage 2:** Establishing the target demographic for the semi-structured interviews:

The target demographic was determined to provide me with participants that would help answer my research questions. This chapter discusses my target demographic.

- **Stage 3:** Preparing semi-structured interview questionnaire:

I developed a semi-structured questionnaire based on my research questions. For the interview questions I chose four main topics; newspaper assignments, photojournalists at work, post-production and ethics in photojournalism. These main topics helped me organise my questions for the photojournalists so that I could adequately answer my research questions. In this chapter, I discuss more about preparing and developing the semi-structured interview questionnaire.

- **Stage 4: Collection of data through semi-structured interviews:**

In total, I interviewed twenty-five photojournalists for my data collection. These twenty-five photojournalists represent the views of newspaper photojournalists for the five newspapers. Five photojournalists were interviewed from each newspaper; exploring their motives, experiences, opinions and reasoning which resulted in obtaining quality data which answered my research questions; as discussed in Chapter Four. A detailed account of my data collection is discussed in this chapter.

- **Stage 5: Data analysis and results:**

The last stage of my research design was to evaluate the data collected by transcribing, interpreting and analysing the data collected. From the collected data I created main themes and sub-themes, conceptual index, thematic charts and finally interpreted and analysed the data (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003). A detailed account of my analysis and evaluation methods are thoroughly discussed in this chapter and results are reported in Chapter Four of this thesis.

These five stages above outline the research design that forms the foundation of my research. Below, I describe how the research was conducted, beginning with the chosen epistemological standpoint.

3.1.1 Epistemological Standpoint

For this research, I formulated questions regarding the views and opinions about the ethical practices of photojournalists. These questions make up the ontology of this research. Ontology is “the nature of the social world and what can be known about it” (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 1). Therefore, with ontology, we have a question, and then we research to find an answer, which is epistemology. In order for me to answer these questions about photojournalists I needed an epistemological standpoint. Epistemology is the “nature of knowledge and how it

can be acquired” (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 1). Epistemology is closely linked to ontology because they both are interested in knowledge; one is about acquiring knowledge and the other is about what can be known. Spencer (2000) makes another relevant link between ontology and epistemology:

for any theory that we have about what knowledge is, we must have a presupposition about what the world is like. That is, we must assume that the world exists in such a way that it makes our theory of knowledge possible. There is no escaping having a theory of ontology; it is only a question of whether or not it is consciously acknowledged and studied or whether it is left as an implicit presupposition of one's theory of epistemology.

Therefore, in Spencer's opinion, ontology comes before epistemology in order for knowledge to be logically generated from their close link. They both often merge in research as reflected by the writings of Guba and Lincoln (2000, p. 108); “for example, a ‘real’ reality is assumed, then the posture of the knower must be one of objective detachment of value freedom in order to be able to discover ‘how things really are’ and ‘how things really work’”. Epistemology is involved with providing bases for what kinds of knowledge are possible and if the knowledge is of an adequate and legitimate standard (Fieser, 2008). Many different epistemological standpoints can be chosen for research such as social constructivism, grounded theory and discourse analysis; to name a few. However, the appropriate epistemological standpoint selected for this research is social constructivism, and my justifications for this choice are discussed later in this section.

Social Constructivism is derived from Classical Grounded Theory methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 1) which is “the discovery of theory

from data". Grounded theory suggests that a researcher aims to uncover something in the data that already exists and is waiting to be discovered. Over the years researchers have adapted this classical approach to "fit with a variety of ontological and epistemological positions such as constructivism" (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006, p. 2) because some researchers felt that there was more to understand from research data than merely what is directly uncovered in the data. Charmaz (2006) for example introduced a social constructionist adaptation of grounded theory which suggests that theories are not uncovered in data but rather the researcher constructs theories through their interactions with the data. In this version of grounded theory, the researchers' "actions shape the analytic process... [r]ather than discovering order *within* the data, we create an explication, organization and presentation *of* the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 140). It is a combination of the researcher's questions, decisions, use of a method, personal background and beliefs which form the way the research is conducted and fundamentally the findings are concluded. Therefore, the findings of the research are derived from one individual's interpretation of the data rather than the only truth found from the data.

Even though there are major differences between Classic Grounded Theory and Social Constructivism; it is important to first look how they converge in relation to the foundations of Grounded Theory, which Social Constructivism adopts and supports. In Glaser and Strauss' (1967, p. 28-29) book, they clearly outlined that in the beginning stages of research, a researcher should not make predeterminations about the entire processes of collecting data, however, a researcher should only look at how they will gather data in the beginning. They

assert that predeterminations about data collection cannot be made because in later stages of the research the data collected will uncover the need for more data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 41). This principle still remains fundamental to social constructivism because it asserts that research cannot be predetermined, however, should be theoretically led (Charmaz, 2000, p. 512).

Classic Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 16) created an accurate approach to how researchers analyse data. Line by line, collected data is thoroughly reviewed, analysed and coded. Codes are then grouped into many categories representing the construction of higher-level ideas. Glaser and Strauss' theory maintains that the act of collecting, coding and analysing research data should be done while continually making comparisons and "should blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation to its end" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 43). This aspect of Classic Grounded Theory remains an important principle in Social Constructivism (Charmaz, 2006) because it helps the researcher to accurately produce a theory that is assured to be "integrated, consistent, plausible" and closely linked to the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 103).

In addition to this process of analysing data, Classic Grounded Theory also incorporates memo writing which helps the researcher keep notes of their thoughts throughout the analytic process. This process "provides an immediate illustration for an idea" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 108). When a researcher is ready to generate a theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) specify that all of the memos taken during this process (which are divided into the categories created

from the coding process) should help provide the researcher with significant illustrations of each idea so that the process of theorising the data can be substantiated. At the final stages of writing, a researcher can utilise the memos to make a road for the researcher to follow to express the path in which they took in conceptualising the data, struggling with difficulties and in the end developing a theory. Therefore, the act of memo writing is essential to Classic Grounded Theory and continues to permeate Social Constructivism (Charmaz, 2006, p. 72).

These areas of similarity show the standard characteristics of Classic Grounded Theory that remain in Social Constructivism. These processes are intertwined within Social Constructivism, and as a result, Social Constructivism has a close resemblance to Classic Grounded Theory. Even though Classic Grounded Theory and Social Constructivism share basic and essential views, they are not alike in all areas and cannot be interchangeable.

Classic Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and Social Constructivism (Charmaz, 2000; 2006) are innovative research methodologies that have similar basic techniques but have diverged so significantly that neither one are uniformed or interchangeable methodologies. They contrast by a conflicting direction in methodological techniques and their different philosophical frameworks. The areas in which there appears to be the greatest demarcations are the differing coding practices, philosophical positions and their use of literature during the research process. These three areas of debate amongst the authors of these two methodologies are the quintessential differences, which I will now discuss below.

Classic Grounded Theory's coding process suggests that there will be a natural surfacing of a theory from the data which will be discovered by the researcher and a researcher should "trust that emergence will occur" (Glaser, 1992, p. 3-4). When analysing data, researchers may unintentionally tend to apply personal interpretations and biases; however, Glaser asserts that if researchers remain careful during the coding process, adhering to the recommended guidelines will "correct for bias and to make the data objective" (Glaser, 2002). On the other hand, Charmaz (2006), a former student of Glaser and Strauss, took a new approach to Classic Grounded Theory coding. She suggested that coding did not need to be so restrictive and rule-bound; arguing that by doing so it suppresses and suffocates the creativity of the researcher. Rather than a highly restrictive approach, Charmaz created a flexible coding process giving researchers the freedom to have an "imaginative engagement with data" (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, p. 25). With this approach, researchers become interactive with the data and construct codes. Charmaz asserts;

We construct our codes because we are actively naming data-even when we believe our codes form a perfect fit with actions and events in the studied world. We may think our codes capture the empirical reality. Yet it is our view: we choose the words that constitute our codes. Thus we define what we see as significant in the data and describe what we think is happening.

(Charmaz, 2006, p. 47)

Contrasting with Classic Grounded Theory, Charmaz (2006) devised a way of coding that is much more intuitive, interpretive and impressionistic resulting in an interpretation rather than an explanation of the data.

Not only do these two theories differ in the way they code data, but they also have differing philosophical positions. According to Bryant (2002) and Urquhart (2002), Classic Grounded Theory remained reluctant in answering questions regarding its philosophical position and remains ambiguous, which has brought about much debate. Glaser and Holton (2004) state that, Classic Grounded Theory “stands alone as a conceptual theory generating methodology. It is a general methodology”. It is due to this ambiguity that researchers such as Moore (2009, p. 11) find that Classic Grounded Theory has “contributed to the inconsistencies in understanding and the application of this approach”. Charmaz (2000) also noted this ambiguity; however she suggested that despite Glaser refusing to fit Classic Grounded Theory into a philosophical stance, his theory has distinguishing characteristics that link to positivism. “Glaser’s position often comes close to traditional positivism, with its assumptions of an objective, external reality, a neutral observer who discovers data, reductionist inquiry of manageable research problems, and objectivist rendering of data” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 510). Despite Glaser’s strong criticisms of Charmaz’s Social Constructivism and treatment of Classic Grounded Theory, he never contested her associations of positivism with Classic Grounded Theory (Glaser, 2002). Glaser’s criticism was contained to her concept of Social Constructivism and reinvention of Classic Grounded Theory but avoided challenging the positivist classification of Classic Grounded Theory. This may suggest that his silence on the challenge is an acceptance of this classification.

Charmaz (2000, 2006) clearly defines Social Constructivism’s philosophical stance as relativist. "Constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities,

recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understandings of subjects' meanings" Charmaz (2000, p. 510). She highlights that her philosophical stance explicitly supports both the researcher and the participant's construction and interpretation of knowledge and meaning, resulting in an interpretation of the research data Charmaz (2000). "A constructivist approach to grounded theory reaffirms studying people in their natural settings and redirects qualitative research away from positivism" Charmaz (2000, p. 510). These opposing philosophical positions between these two theories are clearly defined and lie on opposite ends of the spectrum; one rigid (positivism) and the other flexible (relativism).

The last area of distinction between Classic Grounded Theory and Social Constructivism is their use of literature. Classic Grounded Theory suggests that the researcher should not consider any prior knowledge from literature or experience. By doing this, the researcher is freed from prior influences leaving them open for new information. This idea encapsulates the positivist stance which suggests that a researcher should be removed from the research. In addition to this, Glaser affirms that it is necessary for the researcher to be free from reviewing relevant research because it "runs the risk of clouding the researcher's ability to remain open" and could be "a waste of time and a derailing of relevance of the [Grounded Theory] Study" (Glaser and Holton, 2004). Glaser suggests that literature should only be used at the end of a research study through "constant comparisons" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 110).

On the other hand, Charmaz (2006, p. 165-166) suggests that a researcher

should consult literature by creating a detailed literature review in addition to weaving the literature throughout the chapters of the thesis. To ward against losing creativity by immersing entirely in the literature, Charmaz recommends that the full write-up of the literature review should happen after the data analysis stage of the research. She argues that the literature review “can serve as an opportunity to set the stage for what *you* do in subsequent sections or chapters. Analyze the most significant works in relation to what you addressed in your now developed grounded theory. *Assess and critique* the literature from this vantage point” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 166). Therefore, the literature review serves the researcher by assisting with the language of the academic field, strengthening the researcher's stance and authority of their argument, as well as helping to justify researchers' explanations. Balancing this approach to the literature helps support the research and strengthens the arguments without stifling creativity.

By looking at the similarities and differences between Classic Grounded Theory and Social Constructivism I have been able to position my research within Social Constructivism while still realising its roots in Classic Grounded Theory. The chosen epistemological standpoint for this research is social constructivism, which asserts that knowledge is acquired not by discovering within the data but constructed from the data (Charmaz, 2006). The researcher themselves become fundamental to the construction of the findings in that their own experiences aid in shaping the outcome of their research.

The research questions of this study shape the choice of methodology, and because photojournalists' professional practices are mostly hidden from view, it

was my view that a constructivist methodological approach was appropriate as it allows for the views and opinions of the participants to be revealed. My role as the researcher was to be a traveller in which knowledge is not given but is created and negotiated (Kvale, 1996, p. 4). As a social constructivist researcher, I was able to, as articulated by Kvale (1996) become a traveller, travelling through the experiences and stories of my research participants and gaining an understanding of this unique social group through my interpretations of their experiences. I chose a social constructivist methodological approach in addition to the framework method introduced by Richie, Spencer and O'Connor (2003) as discussed further in this chapter. This was an appropriate method in which to address my research questions because they seek the ethical views and opinions of photojournalists at the particular point in time at which this research was conducted.

The overall design approach was decided by my ontological perspective, which supports the idea that social groups construct knowledge based on shared meanings (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 132). This underpinned my desire to reveal the views and opinions of photojournalists regarding ethics using a social constructivist research methodological approach. I bring a social constructivist viewpoint to this research through my belief that in the search for understanding of a social reality of a group of people; researchers construct, "social realities through individual and collective actions...what people at a particular time and place take as real" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189). In this research, the 'people' are professional photojournalists and the 'time' is 2009 and the 'place' is the United Kingdom.

This study acknowledges the subjectivity within the analysis, theoretical

development and the reflection of the role of the researcher plays in the construction of data. Charmaz (2006) reminds us that taking a social constructivist approach to research means acknowledging that this subjectivity applies to the researcher as well because they are only able to interpret interpretations and construct constructions provided by the participants. She argues that the researcher brings their histories, theories, values and ideas to the process of generating theory from data. Thus, consideration must be given to both researchers' and participants' backgrounds, when data is collected, selected and analysed. Furthermore, she emphasises the need to keep returning to the research data to constantly check, compare and contrast data between individual cases, to make sure that the themes are developing in ways that reflect the experiences of those the researcher is interested. The essence of Charmaz's (2006) contribution to this methodological approach could be said to be the acknowledgement that no theory is objectively created because a researcher's historical, social and cultural context influences their research.

With the appropriate method of social constructivism, I began to pay attention to the act of collecting and working with the data. I initially thought that the process would be straightforward and methodical; however, I found that it was a lengthy process full of revisiting and revising; "like a camera with many lenses, first you view a broad sweep of the landscape...[s]ubsequently, you change your lens several times to bring scenes closer and closer into view" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 14). By negotiating the methodological stumbling blocks that I faced during my research journey I was able to overcome the difficulties I had not foreseen during the initial phase of my research. In the next section, I will discuss how I had initially

considered another epistemological approach, instead of social constructivism for my research methodology.

3.1.2 Alternative Approaches

When I first began to research about different methodologies that I could use for my research, I initially considered using Discourse Analysis rather than Social Constructivism. Discourse Analysis primarily is concerned with language and how “language is viewed as a social performance or a social action – it is productive and constitutive (...both creates social phenomena and is representative of social phenomena)” (Morgan, 2010, p. 1). I thought by analysing the data I received from the participants using Discourse Analysis would have been fascinating, considering the type of language often used by photographers, such as; shoot, take, capture, expose etc. That language, although common, is also quite hostile and I started to wonder why they would use such hostile language when talking about something they love so much. However, although this would have been fascinating to uncover, I felt that to get a grasp of photojournalists’ views and opinions of ethics and digital photography I needed a methodology that would help me to dive much deeper into their social world and Social Constructivism was much better suited. Discourse Analysis has evolved over the years with different approaches. According to Morgan (2010, p. 1), there are six traditions of Discourse Analysis; Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Discursive Psychology, Critical Discourse Analysis Bakhtinian Research and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. In this section, I will be discussing Discourse Analysis generally, rather than focusing on any one of the six traditions. The merits of Social Constructivism against Discourse Analysis in this particular study

are; ease in studying a social group, pushing beyond exclusively language-based analysis and methodological rigour. I will now discuss the comparison between Discourse Analysis and Social Constructivism.

Social Constructivism is more suited than Discourse Analysis because by employing the Social Constructivist approach allows for ease in studying groups. This study focuses on researching a social group of photojournalists to get a snapshot of photojournalists' views and opinions regarding their ethical practices at the particular time of this study; acknowledging that views and opinions can change over time. Social Constructivism, unlike Discourse Analysis, is grounded in the idea that knowledge is formed from society or group, not individually. Social Constructivism suggests that it is nearly impossible to solely study individuals or one particular individual using Social Constructivism. In order to establish the sources of knowledge of the individual, a researcher must eventually look outside the individual and towards society or group. Social Constructivism aided me to relate participants' role or impact on the broader social community of photojournalists. A Social Constructivist approach can be seen as an overall worldview, an accurate reflection of the observed world (Murphy *et al.*, 1998, p. 18). From this vantage point, the researcher can see and understand all of the different perspectives of a particular issue, thus opening up many other doors during the research process.

A Social Constructivist approach makes it easier to form an agreement because all members are a part of the same general social group which produces the research data, not analysed individually. As Parker (2005, p. 53) suggests,

Discourse Analysis, like Social Constructivism, may also use interview techniques where participants are invited to "externalizing the problem" (White and Epston, 1990, p. 38) or analysing the ways of talking about a certain issue on an individual basis, not as a social group. Although Discourse Analysis and Social Constructivism identify individuals' explanations as an important factor, Social Constructivism argues that individuals rely on the actions and experiences of others to construct meaning and therefore, identifies a connection between verbal responses and social interactions as well as realising the effect of perspectives on understandings (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 112). Therefore, the use of Social Constructivism for this research is relevant because it reflects the views of photojournalists based on their understanding of issues related to their profession.

With the use of Discourse Analysis, data is looked at through the examination of rhetoric (Billig, 1996, p. 20) and conversation analysis; a conversation or piece of text will be transcribed and then deconstructed. The researcher will try to identify ideas, views, themes, categories, and roles within the text itself. This is similar to Social Constructivism; however, the aim of Discourse Analysis is to identify commonly shared patterns of talking. Since this study does not solely look at language, speaking or conversation analysis, Discourse Analysis was not deemed appropriate and Social Constructivism was a better fit. According to Parker and Burman (1993, p. 284) Discourse Analysis gives consideration to how language can "encourage authors to describe research in neat, objective, detached and sterile fashion, ignoring inevitably messy or subjective aspects"; however Willig (2001, p. 103) argues that "since language is constructive and functional, no one reading can be said to be 'right' or 'valid'".

Discourse Analysis appears to lack methodological rigour of data analysis as the consensus of outcomes differs and is not grounded in a specific framework. Discourse Analysis is seen as a complementary tool of qualitative research because it provides an in-depth analysis of the current discourses present in our lives, but only as a tool, not a methodology. Indeed, rather than giving a particular method, Discourse Analysis offers researchers a way of approaching and thinking about a problem. Discourse Analysis is often described as a theoretical perspective rather than a method (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 2). Morgan (2010, p. 1) highlights that Discourse Analysis is a philosophy, “a way of being”, rather than merely a methodology, it can stand alongside the various epistemological standpoints making it too flexible. By not having specific methodological techniques for researchers to follow has been noted as an obstacle for Discourse Analysis. According to Widdowson (2004, p. 92), Discourse Analysis theoretical foundations are quite tangled in many cases, and the use of concepts and categories may seem to be inconsistent, which does not encourage the production of a systematic theory. Thus, Charmaz’s Social Constructivist approach seemed to be most fitting with this particular conceptual approach. This is because Social Constructivism allows for a structured, yet flexible methodological approach. Charmaz (2006, p. 9) emphasises the need for “flexible guidelines, not methodological rules, recipes and requirements”.

In addition to the three merits of Social Constructivism over Discourse Analysis discussed above, critics also believe that there are limitations to Discourse Analysis. Burr (1995, p. 172) criticises the way that Discourse Analysis “has a tendency to become little more than the labeling of everyday commonsense

categories". From this point of view, Discourse Analysis may be criticised for reproducing the same structures they are trying to challenge in the first place when identifying a discourse (Burr, 1995, p. 182). According to Willig (2001, p. 101), this is problematic because it fails to provide a framework on how to analyse "private manifestations of discourse such as thought and self-awareness", in that discourse analysts give more validity to the role of texts and language than to subjectivity or psychological. Another criticism is that there are too many options to consider among the range of traditions. "[T]he array of options available through the various traditions can render issues of methodology problematic, as each tradition has its own epistemological position, concepts, procedures, and a particular understanding of discourse and discourse analysis" (Morgan, 2010, p. 4). This was another drawback when deciding if Discourse Analysis would be an appropriate research method to choose. I wanted flexibility, but structured flexibility and Social Constructivism offered me this flexible structure.

Social Constructivist techniques were identified as relevant to this research project due to the determination of this study to build theory around how the views and opinions of ethical practices are socially constructed within a photojournalist social group. Through the use of Social Constructivism, I was able to gain insight about photojournalists as a social group without focusing merely on speech and language or cultural influence as found in Discourse Analysis. Therefore, because this research is not primarily concerned with the language that photojournalists use in relation to their practice, Discourse Analysis is unsuitable. Social Constructivism is a more suitable method than Discourse Analysis for this study because the main ideas for this study concerns exploring experiences of

photojournalists, their interactions with digital photographs and their views on ethics and digital manipulation.

Concerning my research agenda, I use the Social Constructivist standpoint in conjunction with the framework introduced by Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor (2003, pg. 220) because the research topic is so deeply rooted in a social group of photojournalists. I am aware that if a researcher puts on 'Social Constructivist glasses,' there will be some things that you will be able to see that you could not through a different pair of 'glasses', yet you are also blinded to some things because of the glasses you are wearing. A researcher cannot see everything, only the area of focus. I am also aware that whichever 'glasses' a researcher decides to wear shapes the outcome of the research. By doing so, this research data could be analysed in many different ways by many different people. Alternative strategies might alter the perspectives of this study resulting in new and exciting theories or results. For example, my data could be married with similar data from the corporate side of photojournalism which could highlight the significant clash between the humanist (photojournalists) and capitalist (newspapers) side of the industry. However, this study focuses entirely on revealing the voices of the photojournalists and does not view the voices of the newspaper/business/management culture. A comprehensive survey of the clashes between these two social groups would be advantageous in future studies to provide a more complete understanding of the use of an 'ethical eye' by the two groups. There is no right or wrong answer in the choice of methodological position only one which aids in addressing the questions asked by the researcher and in this case I chose Social Constructivism to aid in answering my research questions.

3.1.3 Reflexivity

As described in section 3.1.2, one of the key principles of social constructivism is the involvement of the researcher's interpretative engagement with the interview data; in which the researcher's stance is accepted to be implicated in the analysis of research data. "Thus, constructivism fosters researchers' reflexivity; about their *own* interpretations as well as those of their research participants" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131). I remained aware of the subjectivity of this study, in that; this research involves human subjects' thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and opinions that govern their interpretation of the world. Therefore, as a researcher, I worked towards neutrality, objectivity and also reflected upon areas in this research where bias may appear based on their beliefs or backgrounds (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 20). "Without engaging in reflexivity, researchers may elevate their own tacit assumptions and interpretations to 'objective' status. Our assumptions, interactions and interpretations; affect the social processes constituting *each* stage of inquiry" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 132). Photojournalists have passionate views about their profession, and their experiences play heavily on their views (Kobré, 2008, p. 204); therefore I was transparent in the way that I interpreted the data by identifying possible biases that I might bring to this research. Reflexivity, in research terms, strives for transparency and adds validity to the contextualised data. It can be seen as an interactive process between the researcher, participants and analysis. Furthermore, reflexivity creates a middle ground between subjectivity and objectivity so that vague areas of our experiences are explored (Etherington, 2004, p. 125). Thus, throughout this research, I adopted and maintained a reflexive approach. To fully explore the experiences of the photojournalists interviewed, I adopted and maintained a reflexive approach

throughout this research.

3.1.4 Validity

Assessing the value of qualitative research has been a topic of discussion for many years; as Strauss and Corbin (2007) express;

The notion of judging the quality of research seemed so clear before postmodernist and constructionist thinking pointed out the fallacies of some of our ways. Now I wonder if findings are constructions and truth a 'mirage', aren't evaluative criteria also constructions and therefore subject to debate?

(Strauss and Corbin, 2007, p. 297)

Thus, the debate over the validity of qualitative research continues. Central to this debate is the idea that different researchers may have differing views on reality which may be equally valid and questions may arise as to which view to use when accessing the quality of qualitative research. As it is impractical to include every researcher's perspective, the idea of establishing general criteria to obtain the validity of qualitative research is necessary (Klenke, 2008, p. 139).

This research integrates both qualitative and quantitative research methods; combining both methods "involve[s] the collection, analysis, and integration of quantitative and qualitative data in a single multiphase study" (Hanson *et al.*, 2005, p. 224). Quantitative research is more associated with positivism because positivism is an approach which clarifies its findings by referring to logical structures by determining problems in hypotheses that the researchers address themselves (Bryman, 2003, p. 41). There is a suggestion that in order to gain

complete understanding in research, a researcher must compare “numbers and narrative, measurements and meaning, calculations and interpretations” (Shweder, 1996, p. 176). Therefore, this mixed-method approach (both qualitative and quantitative methods) has advantages such as conveying a sense of rigour of this research and it helped me clarify my intentions and endeavours (Creswell, 2003, p. 211) by supporting this statistical data. Another reason for using both methods is to obtain a complete understanding of the research questions which is reflected by the development of a mixed-method approach; which made it possible for me to “seek the results from one method to help...inform the other method” (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989, p. 259). This was true because the participants’ thoughts were supported by the quantitative data gained from this research, thereby, helping to support, inform and validate the qualitative data collected.

When assessing the qualitative research, Yardley (2016, p. 295) advocate the use of four fundamental principles when assessing the validity of qualitative research. The first is sensitivity to context, which emphasises the importance of drawing on relevant theoretical and empirical literature and also showing sensitivity towards the perspective and social-cultural context of the participants at all stages of the research process. Sensitivity to context was adopted and used throughout this research in the way that I interacted with the participants and interpreted the data. In choosing social constructivism as the methodology for this study, sensitivity has been demonstrated through engaging closely with individuals (Klotz and Lynch, 2007; Klenke, 2008) during the interview stage.

Through researching literature on qualitative research; I was able to remain sensitive to the context of this research because the literature helped guide me in the way that I should conduct myself during the interviews (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). Before, during and after the interviews I negotiated a continual process of engagement with the participants in order to explore their experiences and views which were then analysed. Through the use of prompting and probing for more information from participants during the interviews, it was possible for me to engage with them to fully understand their experiences. Finally, during the analytic process, I remained sensitive to the data by thoroughly working through each participant's experiences and views. I interpreted the data collected through the use of verbatim extracts (word for word), rather than putting the accounts in my own words. I found this was crucial to my data analysis because I often found myself revisiting the research data to support my findings.

The second criterion suggested by Yardley (2016, p. 295), is that a research study should be able to demonstrate commitment and rigour. In social constructivism, commitment can be shown adequately through listening and engaging with the participant through the interview process and in investing fully in the analytic process (Tierney and Clemens, 2011, p. 74). During the data collection and analytic process, I kept these aspects of commitment in mind and where possible, attending carefully to what each participant was articulating; often listening to the interviews over and over again in order to correctly interpret the meaning behind what the photojournalists were saying. The act of using rigour concerns the thoroughness of the study in terms of the sample employed in relation to the research questions, quality of the interview and the care taken over the analysis

(Tierney and Clemens, 2011, p. 76). This research used a consistent sample in order to adequately address the research questions so that the variations between experiences were not too great.

Thirdly, Yardley (2011, p. 296) emphasises the importance of transparency and coherence throughout a research process. An enhanced transparency and coherence approach was adopted throughout this study; providing a detailed account of the research process and an on-going process of reflexivity. Finally, validity can be assessed in terms of the impact and importance of the study. The importance of this study is to gain new knowledge about the ethical practices of photojournalists and allowing the voice of the photojournalist to finally be heard. In addition to this, the research findings in Chapter Four show the importance and impact of this research.

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Sampling and Participants

Sampling

For this research study, I chose to use purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is defined as selecting a sample based on the knowledge of a research population, its elements and the purpose of the research study (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003, p. 107). It was appropriate in this context because it enabled me to locate participants who would be suitable in addressing the research questions for this study, i.e. those who had experience working with digital photography and experience publishing with the selected UK national newspapers (The Sun, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Daily Express). It also helped

to maintain a consistent sample, ensuring a richness of data. Purposive sampling was the most appropriate method to develop insight in the participants selected (Merriam, 2009, p. 77). In considering other sampling methods, specifically simple random sampling; the act of obtaining participants through statistical computations, assigning a single number to potential participants and then the numbers are used to select at random which participants would be included in the sample (Merriam, 2009, p. 77). However, I discovered that it would not have been the appropriate sampling method for my research. Firstly, random sampling requires that a full list of possible participants is available, but for this research there is no complete list of all of the photojournalists that have published in UK national newspapers. Secondly, in order for me to answer my research questions, I needed to speak to photojournalists that had specific experience working with digital photography and ones that worked for specific UK newspapers. Therefore, purposive sampling was employed.

This study had a small number of participants; twenty-five photojournalists participated in this research. A small sample enabled me to adequately examine the participant's experiences and views (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003, p. 107) whereas a larger sample would have been overwhelming and I would not have been able to analyse my research data as vigorously as I have done. I used a sample size of five participants for each newspaper because I felt that this would give an adequate understanding and representation of what the larger population reflects; resulting in a sample of twenty-five interviews in total. Considering that this research is for a doctorate level thesis and the research process is time-consuming, this number was considered suitable.

Participants Inclusion / Exclusion Criteria

In order to maintain consistency within the sample selected; without considerably reducing the chances of recruiting participants (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003, p. 99), it was necessary for participants to be professional photojournalists; ones which have published digital photographs in UK national newspapers because their experience would help me answer my research questions. The five UK national newspapers I selected in this study include; The Sun, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Daily Express. I chose these newspapers because they have the highest circulation rate amongst the UK national newspapers (Guardian, 2009); the reason for this is that the photographs in these newspapers are seen by the largest number of the viewing public. Participants were required to have worked with digital photography and have published in at least one of the chosen five UK national newspapers. By selecting participants who had published at least one digital photograph in one of the selected newspapers, it was hoped that they would have significant familiarity with the topic of interest to be able to speak in depth about their experiences (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003, p. 88). In the end, I found this to be the case with the photojournalists interviewed and to an even higher quality than I had expected.

Furthermore, by focusing on photojournalists with experience of working with digital photographs for newspapers, rather than photojournalism more generally, I was able to keep the sample as consistent as possible. Photojournalists utilise a range of approaches to their photographic practice; however, any photojournalist that had not published in the selected five newspapers or had not worked with digital photography was excluded from the study. By doing this, it ensured that

participants had adequate knowledge and expertise within the areas addressed by the research questions, which maintained consistency in the sample (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003, p. 96).

Recruitment

Before the recruitment process, I sought for the appropriate ethical permissions which were approved (see research ethics section below). When I began my recruitment process to find photojournalists, I first tried to contact photojournalists directly through the newspapers, which I found to be entirely unsuccessful. I found this quite discouraging; however, it made me consider other possible avenues to establish contact with relevant photojournalists. I then began by compiling a list of photojournalists from the NUJ (National Union of Journalists), BPPA (the British Press Photographers' Association) and the EPUK (Editorial Photographers United Kingdom and Ireland) websites, cross-referencing them with each photojournalist's business websites to confirm their compatibility with my research criteria. After I compiled my list of possible participants with their contact details I proceeded to make telephone calls and emailed the photojournalists my information letter (See Appendix A). At first, I was worried that I would have the same result as when I tried to telephone the newspapers, but I soon found that nearly all of the photojournalists were pleased with my phone calls and interested in my research. One photojournalist even was kind enough to place a brief announcement on the EPUK website requesting photojournalists to contact me via email or telephone if they met my research criteria and if they were interested in the research.

The positive response that I received from photojournalists showing interest in

participating in this study was encouraging; those interested were sent further details of the study through an email inviting them to contact me if they fit the study criteria and were interested in being interviewed. The time between agreeing to take part and completion of the interview varied from participant to participant, between one day and one month, depending on the availability in their schedules. In total twenty-five photojournalists were interviewed.

Participants' Demographics

While considering the size of this project, it was a bit daunting; photojournalists live, travel and publishes their photographs all over the world. For these reasons, I decided to limit the research to photojournalists that had published in the selected five UK national newspapers. There are hundreds of newspapers over many different countries and for this reason; it is difficult to investigate the differences between photojournalists' cultural differences between different countries and different newspapers during a limited PhD study period. Therefore, I have focused this research on UK national newspapers and not any other country.

The demography of the participants focuses on participants' experience of working with UK national newspapers and digital photography. The participants had between two and forty years' experience working as a professional photojournalist; with twenty-one being male and four being female. In order to protect the confidentiality of each of the participants, pseudonyms were used in place of the participants' names. The demographics for each of the twenty-five participants are outlined in Fig 7:

Participant	Gender	Professional experience working with digital photographs (Years)	Professional experience working as a professional photojournalist (Years)
SU1	M	3	7
SU2	F	12	27
SU3	M	12	12
SU4	M	6	8
SU5	M	10	32
ST1	M	4	4
ST2	M	7	10
ST3	M	9	40
ST4	M	3	2
ST5	M	9	12
DE1	M	12	33
DE2	M	12	16
DE3	M	9	30
DE4	F	12	32
DE5	M	10	22
M1	M	9	12
M2	M	12	40
M3	M	10	16
M4	M	9	18
M5	M	6	6
DM1	M	10	20
DM2	M	10	25
DM3	F	9	9
DM4	F	8	8
DM5	M	5	36

Figure 7: Participant Demographics

3.2.2 Materials

The materials used in this study are listed below:

- Research Information Letter (Appendix A)
- Participant Informed Consent (Appendix B)

- Interview Schedule (Appendix C)
- Digital Recorder (For recording telephone interviews)
- Voice Recording Cable (For recording telephone interviews)
- Telephone (For telephone interviews)
- Encryption Software (For data protection)
- Encrypted USB Stick (For data protection)
- Personal Computer (For data protection)
- Printer (For interpretation and analysis)
- Document Scanner (For interpretation and analysis)
- Software (Microsoft Word, Microsoft Excel and Internet Explorer)
(For interpretation and analysis)

3.2.3 Data Collection Methods

During my initial readings for social science data collection methods, I discovered that the method must be flexible and aid the acquirement of data, keeping the explanations and experiences of the individuals involved in the research as its primary focus (Lewis, 2003, p. 58). Therefore, methods such as questionnaires or structured interviews were considered incompatible for this type of analysis because they are too restrictive (O'Leary and Miller, 2003, p. 255). A number of data collection methods have been identified by methodological researchers, which allows the researcher to sneak and glimpse into the world of individuals; such as focus groups, first-hand observations or diaries (Phillips and Stawarski, 2008, 23).

The most powerful method in qualitative research is the semi-structured interview

because participants can answer in any way that they choose; providing a richness of data (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p. 236). It was for this reason I chose and used the semi-structured interview questionnaires as my data collection method. My semi-structured interviews consisted of questions that were prepared in advance and was designed so that the answers would be open-ended and with considerable flexibility so that I could further query the participant when I needed to investigate further.

Due to the flexible nature of the semi-structured interviews, there were opportunities to include close-ended questions producing quantitative data, which added to the validity of my research (Bryman and Bell, 2007, p. 262). As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011, p. 179) points out; it is unlikely that any research is completely valid; “[i]t is impossible for research to be 100 per cent valid: that is the optimism of perfection”. However, my research was strengthened by the way that the quantitative data was collected and analysed and how the qualitative data collection assessed participants’ thoughts and opinions (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p. 179). Using interviews as a method of gathering data was influenced by Ely *et al.* (1991, p. 4), who maintains that "qualitative researchers want those who are studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions." Dawson (2002, p. 27) argues that the semi-structured interview is perhaps the most widespread type of research method used in qualitative research. In this type of interview, the researcher pre-determines a set of questions to gain information about specific issues and sometimes identify new issues that were not originally part of the interview. It is characterised by its flexibility in which the researcher can add or remove questions from the schedule

based on the results of each interview. Also, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007, p. 312) indicate that the researcher is not required to follow a specific order of questions, but can vary the order depending on the flow of the conversation. Walsh (2001, p. 66) highlights a number of areas in which semi-structured interviews take an advantage over other methods, such as, enhancing empathy and understanding between the researcher and the participant, which I found to be the case because the richness of the descriptions of the photojournalists' experiences were extensive, resulting in interviews lasting between thirty and ninety minutes.

The benefits I gained from using semi-structured interviews were that I was able to obtain the participants 'real' views because they were able to talk more freely. This freedom often led to unexpected or unforeseen areas of discussion relating to the research, such as detailed accounts of experiences participants had with newspapers and with digital photography. Semi-structured interviews were useful because they provided highly specific data which I obtained in a short space of time, providing a general overview of photojournalists' thoughts, views and opinions. In contrast, however, the disadvantage of using this method was that semi-structured interviews were a bit difficult to manage because there were times that the interviewees would talk about other topics not relevant to the research and I needed to bring them back to the original questions asked. The unstructured nature of questions associated with semi-structured interviews allows for free responses producing results that are more difficult to analyse. As a point of caution concerning the use of semi-structured interviews, Busha and Harter (1980, p. 78) stress that the researcher must be well prepared before starting the

interview and should not just know the questions to ask, but also the order of the questions and the method of recording the data. Semi-structured interviewing is influenced by the level of awareness and the emotional state of the participant, therefore Patton (2002, p. 349) warns that there is a possibility of distortion of the data if the participant was anxious or annoyed at the time of the interview. May (1997, p. 135) suggests that in order to avoid having biased data, researchers should maintain their own knowledge regarding the topic and let the interviewee speak without interruptions. Conducting the semi-structured interviews was time-consuming and they were difficult to analyse because of the amount of data which was obtained, however, the benefits greatly outweighed the disadvantages.

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule consisted of twenty-nine closed-ended questions, and twenty-seven open-ended questions, making a total of fifty-six questions. At first I was concerned that I included too many questions; however the photojournalists interviewed were pleased to answer all of the questions and did so with rich detail. The interviews aimed to address the main research questions regarding the views and experiences of photojournalists who have published digital photographs in the selected UK national newspapers, producing both qualitative and quantitative data. The schedule was developed using general questions to allow the participants to feel at ease, followed by more detailed and probing questions. The interview schedule was also divided into four topics based on the research questions; to help group the questions into related ideas.

In order to generate the interview schedule, I went through a sifting process of

possible questions, disregarding any that did not address my research aims adequately, until I felt it would satisfactorily answer my research questions. The interview schedule was also discussed with my academic supervisors prior to the pilot study. The schedule was used during the interview to guide me and was flexibly used with each participant. By having a flexible structure to the interviews, they were able to talk freely, and this allowed me to probe and prompt other topics as they arose. Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003, p. 143) point out that the aim of a semi-structured interview is one which is led by the participant; allowing for the participants' experiences and narratives to develop freely. Flexibility in the interview schedule also helped me to explore participants' motives, experiences, opinions and reasoning which resulted in obtaining quality data that helped to answer my research questions.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted before conducting the interviews to ensure that the questions in the interview schedule were appropriate, determine levels of reliability and validity, estimate the length of the interviews and develop new questions or investigations (Collins, 2010, p. 164-165). During the pilot stage of this study, I collected data from a participant using a semi-structured interview. This pilot study gave me the opportunity to assess the interview schedule and examine the data collected from the pilot study. The interview was then transcribed, briefly analysed and I identified potential themes. From this analysis, the questions were modified accordingly with only minor changes made to the wording of the questions. Overall the pilot study clarified any doubts I had about conducting an interview, and I was pleased with its successful outcome. Due to the fact that the analytic process and

ethical considerations for the pilot study did not differ from the other interviews, I, therefore, was able to use the pilot study as part of my research data.

Interview Process

Twenty-five interviews in total were conducted over the telephone and were digitally recorded, each one lasting between thirty and ninety minutes. At first I considered interviewing the photojournalists face to face, however, with several attempts to arrange times to meet with the photojournalists, their schedules were difficult to predict. I found that conducting the interviews over the telephone allowed me to conduct interviews even at short notice. At the beginning of each interview, I read the information letter which contained how the interview would be carried out, assured them of anonymity and confidentiality, their right to withdraw at any stage and gave each participant the opportunity to ask any questions. The semi-structured interview schedule was used for each participant. There were some variation between the prompts and probes used depending on the responses given; however this did not affect the interview process because the data collected remained consistent.

During and immediately after the interview, I made notes on the interview schedule to assist with the analytic process and my reflexivity. I found this useful because if I had any connecting thoughts about what the photojournalists were saying I could write them down during the interview and then refer back to them later. I transcribed all the interviews myself, although it was time-consuming, it allowed me to follow the data in a way that would not have been possible if I had them professionally transcribed. I listened to each recording of the interviews

several times and extremely slowly to ensure that the entire interview was transcribed accurately, word for word. A sample or copy of my interview schedule can be seen in Appendix C.

3.2.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical Approval

Ethical issues such as gaining consent, confidentiality and storage of data have been strictly adhered to by using pseudonyms to replace the participants' names, using encrypted software, encrypted USB sticks and locked storage for all raw materials. As with all research studies which involve human subjects, I believe it is important to consider the ethical implications of this research from the planning through to the final write up because the participants shared specific details concerning their lives and work.

Ethical approval for this research was granted by the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, London Metropolitan University research ethics panel. During this research and whenever I had any questions regarding the ethics of my research, I referred to ethical guidelines including; the 1998 Data Protection Act (Legislation, 1998); the 2010 Economic and Social Research Council framework for research ethics (ESRC, 2012); as well as London Metropolitan University's own guidance on ethics (London Metropolitan University, 2009). In this brief section, I underline the main ethical issues that are not addressed elsewhere in this chapter.

Participant Welfare

Briefing and Informed Consent

Before the interviews, I provided adequate and appropriate information to participants through the Research Information Letter (See Appendix A), email and telephone correspondence (Seidman, 2006, p. 61-62) in order to ensure that participants understood the independence of this research, the nature of their involvement and the potential benefits of their participation. Prospective participants were emailed the Informed Consent Letter (see Appendix B) before agreeing to take part in the study; allowing them to give fully informed consent. The Research Information Letter outlined: the purpose of the research, what was involved when taking part, assuring confidentiality and the opportunity to withdrawal at any time. Potential participants also had the chance to ask questions regarding the research before they decided to take part, which they did through telephone conversations or email correspondence.

Before I started interviewing the participants, I discussed the Research Information Letter again with them, as well as requested verbal consent. The information sheet and the verbal consent gave the participants the chance to be fully informed, understand the research and enable them to make an informed decision about participating. This proved useful for photojournalists because this gave the photojournalist the option to opt out for any reason.

Debriefing

Before, during and after the interviews, participants were given the opportunity to discuss any issues, concerns or questions that arose regarding the issues brought about by the study; this ensures that participants had a chance to clarify anything

that was discussed during the interview, possibly prompting further discussion (King and Horrocks, 2010, p. 20). Both my contact details and my supervisors were provided to the participants so that if any question arose, they could communicate with either my supervisors or me.

Confidentiality / Anonymity

Participants have the right to privacy; for this reason, I provided a clear statement of confidentiality which reassured the participants of the anonymity of data (Seidman, 2006, p. 69). The personal details and information given by the participants during the research process remained confidential at all times. The interview transcripts were made anonymous with the use of pseudonyms and any other identifying material were changed. All data was either stored on an encrypted computer or in a locked storage cabinet; with the key safely stored.

All research data was stored safely and carefully, and it was also emphasised to the participants that due to the nature that the research is a doctoral study; the information would be shared with the academic staff of London Metropolitan University with the intention that it would be published. It was also noted to the participants that the University would keep the data for up to five years and afterwards would be safely and securely destroyed.

Researcher Declaration

Prior to the start of this research study, I did not have any connection or contact with any of the participants or newspaper organisations; the first time I contacted the participants was over the telephone or by email.

3.2.5 Data Analysis

The analytic process of this study made it possible to engage with both qualitative and quantitative data in an interpretive way in order to explore and obtain meanings from participants' motives, views and experiences (Ritchie, 2003, p. 41). This section describes the data analysis process for this research.

Quantitative data is equally as important as qualitative data because quantitative data is based on statistical data aiding to the validity of the research (Cohen, Maion and Morrison, 2007, p. 146). I analysed the quantitative data for this research using Microsoft Excel so that I could display my interpreted data reflecting the participants' demography, which aids in supporting my interpretation of my qualitative data. The analysis of the qualitative data utilised the analysis method framework derived by the National Centre for Social Research (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003, p. 220). I could have used computer-aided software programs, like NUDIST, but I chose to manually create the thematic framework because it allowed me to work more closely and familiarise myself with the data. I was also able to see my data as a whole, which allowed me to adjust and move the data to make comparisons and connections. I achieved this easily through making copies of the data, tagging themes and moving the data in different ways before working more systematically with the data using Microsoft Excel on the computer; therefore a manual approach was more suited for this study and the use of NUDIST and other software packages were rejected. Although some software packages are useful for sorting and shifting data, the act of developing themes from the data is a creative process carried out by the researcher, not a computer (Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont, 2003, p. 153). I found that by doing this

process myself manually instead of using a software package, I was able to include ideas or topics that may have been lost if I had used a computer program.

I chose the framework method, introduced by Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor (2003, p. 220), because my qualitative data was voluminous consisting of hundreds of individual interview transcript pages which were cumbersome and unmanageable and needed to be reduced. With the help of the thematic framework I was able to organise and categorise my data using my own conceptual analysis; the process of the thematic framework I created consisted of the creation of a conceptual index, tagging the data, creating numerous thematic charts, descriptive analysis and categorisation.

To start my analysis, I created a distinctive conceptual index (see Fig 8) by identifying the main themes and subthemes. By reading and re-reading my transcripts, I was able to familiarise myself with my data and identify the reoccurring themes; from the reoccurring themes, I built a list of main themes and subthemes which I used as a general reference that is unique to my data. From my list of themes, I created a conceptual index divided into seven main themes and thirty-three subthemes; each of which has numbers assigned to each distinct theme and subtheme (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003, p. 222). After creating numbered themes and subthemes, I was able to understand the topics that the photojournalists were interested in speaking about and which one of the topics would require further investigation. Creating the conceptual index was important because it allowed me to familiarise myself with my data and thereby laying the foundation for this research.

Next, I used the conceptual index to tag my data (see Fig 9). Before tagging my data, I read my transcribed pages again and I then applied the conceptual index to the transcribed data. Before applying my index to the sections in my transcribed data, I had to ask myself, 'what is the photojournalist saying?' in order to determine what theme or subtheme to apply to each section. I applied the index with its varying subthemes and corresponding numbers to each interview by tagging each theme that was mentioned within the data (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003, p. 224). Some areas of my transcribed interviews were emotional descriptions of the photojournalists' working life; in those instances, there were important themes that were mentioned in close proximity to each other. For example, one sentence made by a photojournalist in a transcribed data may contain more than one theme, and I needed to be careful not to miss any of those themes.

There were some areas of the data which were multi-tagged (see Fig 10) because a section of the data referred to more than one theme which indicates an interconnection between themes. I could have chosen to skip this tagging stage entirely (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003, p. 225) and go straight to sorting and synthesising my data, but my interview transcriptions were complex and tagging my data helped me to organise my data and quicken my analytic process. Tagging my data also gave me a systematic overview of the scope of my transcribed data, and I was able to retain the links to my original transcribed data and revisit them as needed.

After I tagged all of my transcribed data, I created thematic charts (see Table 1); this helped me to bring together all of my data on a specific theme or subtheme

and start to refine them for interpretation. I created thematic charts using Microsoft Excel. In order to create a thematic chart, I took each one of my themes and its related subthemes and placed them on a separate Excel document. Each subtheme was allocated a separate column. Also, each section of my transcribed data was plotted under their subtheme and linked to their location on the transcribed data by question number and page number (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003, p. 230), thereby giving me the ability to refer back to the original raw data as needed. By organising and displaying my sorted data using excel, I was able to spot the connections and interrelationships in the subthemes, which are difficult to see in my raw transcribed data. By sorting the data systematically using thematic charts, I was able to break down my data into logical and clear sections without missing content in the data. Charting allowed me to bring together all of the data about a specific theme before I systematically synthesize them.

Moving from the thematic charts, I then created a chart of my descriptive analysis (see Table 2) which consists of three columns; A: Data Charted, B: Elements/Dimensions Identified and C: Categories/Classes. By looking at each subtheme in turn, I reviewed and sorted the data; looking at the participants' views, perceptions and experiences; then refining key elements within the subthemes and creating new categories. This process enlightened me by giving me a new understanding of the data by describing and categorising it. I was able to see how the subthemes were interconnected; flowing from one subtheme to the next. Column B of the descriptive analysis retains a resemblance to the original data so that specific elements could be seen across the columns, yet even at this stage, I began to notice the initial clarifications of new categories emerging. In the

last column (C), I interpreted the data in a conceptual way.

After I charted the descriptive analysis, new categories were identified, links were determined, and repetitions and connections were reviewed and identified. This framework method gave a deeper understanding of the collected data and in turn, I found links, connections and patterns between the sets of data. I verified the patterns and connections I detected by checking the number of occurrences and asked why it might be occurring in each instance. By establishing why the links within the data were occurring brought me to my research findings, which I discuss in Chapter Four.

This process took a considerable amount of time, but it was productive because I was able to organise my detailed data into appropriate groupings so that I could see corresponding data together in order to analyse what different photojournalists had to say about the same topics. This framework method helped to organise and reduce my transcribed data; making it manageable. By analysing the data, I was able to work closely and familiarise myself with the data, pay more attention and understand the data; thereby giving me vital insights into my research.

I realised that there are also ethical issues that must be noted in relation to the write up of the research before I conclude this chapter. The writing up of research is not a neutral act, and considerable care was taken when representing the voices of the participants (Doyle, 2007, p. 84). There is a possibility that the researcher may assume a position of 'knowing a truth' in some way with regards to the voice of the participant and it must be noted that research data can mean

many different things depending on who is interpreting the data (Dey, 1993, p. 65). For example, I had to be careful of making assumptions about what I thought the photojournalists were trying to say. Considering the 'standpoint' or position of the researcher and how this influences the production of writing up the text is important because this could possibly change the outcome of the results. Lindlof and Taylor (2011, p. 283) also point out that the findings in qualitative research are never 'final' there is always room to expand and revisit it. I can see many different possible areas of future exploration resulting from this research. Some topics could include: economic struggles of photojournalists, law in relation to photojournalism, how newspaper staff view photojournalists, how future changes in technology will continue to shape photojournalism and to analyse the distinction between photojournalists (paparazzi, field trained photojournalists, university graduates, etc.) and how their range of views affects the conclusions regarding the construction of an 'ethical eye'.

3.3 Conclusion

Conducting this research has been challenging at times, but incredibly enlightening. I found that in the beginning it was difficult to find participants directly through newspapers; however, once I was able to speak to photojournalists directly, they were warm and receptive to my inquiries. Through speaking with photojournalists and contacting photojournalist organisations, I was able to receive recommendations. I discovered that even though photojournalists 'speak' through their photographs, they have a wealth of information to offer.

If I were to do this research, again I would have liked to interview editors and newspapers staff in order to get their own side of the story to collect more

balanced data to reveal if they use an 'ethical eye'. I also believe that it would have been useful to see the working environment of photojournalists first hand, rather than relying solely on the words of the photojournalists, therefore an ethnographic study may prove helpful.

This chapter has detailed the methodology of this research; multiple research methods were adopted to achieve the research goals at different stages, which include; empirical case study, systematic review, analytical frameworks and finally evaluation.

Chapter 4: Research Analysis and Findings

This chapter describes the analysis of my data, my research findings and the answers to my research questions. In this chapter, I highlight the major findings: the original theoretical contribution of this study. I reflect on the main findings of the research in terms of its contributions to: the key ethical issues faced by photojournalists, gaps within the research raised in the literature review, the methodology of the framework applied to these issues and the conceptualisation of the ethical eye and its link to deontology. The latter two are noteworthy aspects of my contribution to knowledge because they are original contributions; therefore these theories shall be the focus of attention in this chapter.

It appears that ethical decision-making with regards to photojournalism is more complex than the literature conveys and by examining the voice of photojournalists, it was discovered that there is a link to deontology in their ethical decision-making. An understanding of the complexities and nuances of the different experiences of the photojournalists was fundamental in illuminating how ethical decision-making is understood, practised and spread socially; including how it evolves and diversifies depending on different situations and dispositions of photojournalists. In order to understand these complexities and nuances, data was collected and analysed to identify, describe and explore the relationship between ethics and professional practices of photojournalists that publish in UK national newspapers. This was done by analysing the research data using the framework method introduced by Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor (2003), the data analysis process is discussed in the next section.

4.1 Research Data Analysis

The management of my data was the first important stage in my journey to construct my findings. My data came in the form of interviews which I transcribed verbatim. After reading through my interviews several times, I began to formulate a list of potential themes and subthemes. I used post-it notes to group and regroup potential themes until I was happy with a working structure. With further review, I narrowed my list of themes to construct a manageable conceptual index. My final conceptual index with my decided themes and subthemes can be seen in Fig 8.

Conceptual Index for Study of Ethics and Digital Photography in UK National Newspapers	
1. Photojournalists Working Life	
1.1 Working Process	
2. Newspaper Assignments	
2.1 Taking Photographs	
2.2 Thinking of Ethics before and while looking through the lens	
3. Post Production	
3.1 Thinking of Ethics while working with digital photographs	
3.2 Editing/Alterations	
3.3 Reasons for changing a digital photograph	
3.4 Digital enhancements, alterations and Manipulation	
3.5 Control	
3.6 Submission	
3.7 Changes made by the newspapers	
3.8 Experience publishing newspapers	
4. Photojournalist Views	
4.1 Personal Values	
4.2 Difficulties	
4.3 Training	
4.4 Concerns/pressures	
4.5 Future/changes	
5. Ethical Issues	
5.1 Ethical awareness and ethical views in newspaper photojournalism	
5.2 Ethical conflicts in photojournalist	
5.3 Ethical codes or policies	
6. Digital Photography in Photojournalism	
6.1 Digital Preference	
6.2 Technology and Photojournalism	
6.3 Benefits of digital photography to photojournalism	
6.4 Disadvantages of digital photography to photojournalism	
7. Miscellaneous: Other Relevant Issues	
7.1 Internet and social networking	
7.2 Comparing with film	
7.3 Law	
7.4 Public Awareness	
7.5 Power of newspaper photographs	
7.6 Interpreting photographs	
7.7 Financial	
7.8 Paparazzi	
7.9 Personal experiences/examples	
7.10 Citizen journalists	

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Figure 8: Conceptual Index for Study of Ethics and Digital Photography in UK National newspapers

With my conceptual index in place, my next step was to use this index to tag my transcribe data (see Fig 9). By doing this, it helped me to see where in the data the subthemes were mentioned. As I read each sentence, I determined where the subtheme might fit. I did this by printing out the transcribed interviews and noting the index number in the margin next to the corresponding data. This process was systematically applied to all twenty-five transcribed interviews. As I was indexing the data, I found out that many of the major themes were showing up within a small area of data. The photojournalists gave answers which were so rich with detail and emotion that several subthemes were covered in a short amount of time. Not only did themes occur near each other, but on several occasions, two, possibly three indexes would overlap and weave within each other suggesting that there was an interconnection between the subthemes. This aspect gave me an early indication that in future data analysis, this may be a factor. Fig 9 shows that photojournalist ST5 was describing 'challenges' with finding work and subsequently affected him sustaining a 'sense of self'; so it was not unexpected to find that the indexes: 4.1 personal values, 4.2 difficulties, 4.4 concerns/pressures and 7.7 financial are interconnected. The way these topics were interconnected suggests that this influences the ethical decision-making for this participant in whether he may take a particular assignment or manipulate an image. In this particular passage it can be seen that the photojournalist's financial strains and employment struggles have been mentioned in close proximity of each other, this connection was significant because I found that several other participants had similar, common multiple links.

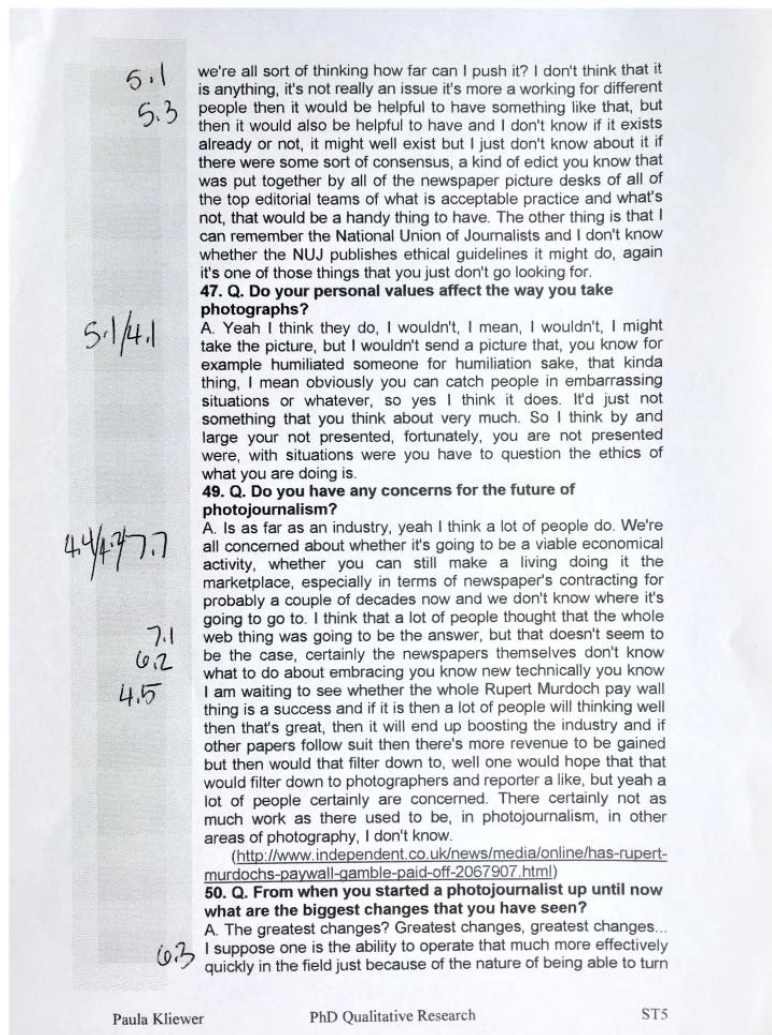


Figure 9: Tagging the Research Data for Participant ST5 p. 7

In addition to the interconnectivity of the indexed subthemes, I also paid close attention to brief remarks to other subthemes that may have been lost had I not been reviewing the data closely. Fig 10 shows that participant ST5 referred to disadvantages of digital photography to photojournalism (6.4) and concerns/pressures (4.4), as well as a passing remark regarding the helpfulness of the internet and immediacy of news, loosely connected to submission (3.6). Although these remarks were brief, they were important in this phase of analysis because these links proved useful in later analysis. Although this was an early

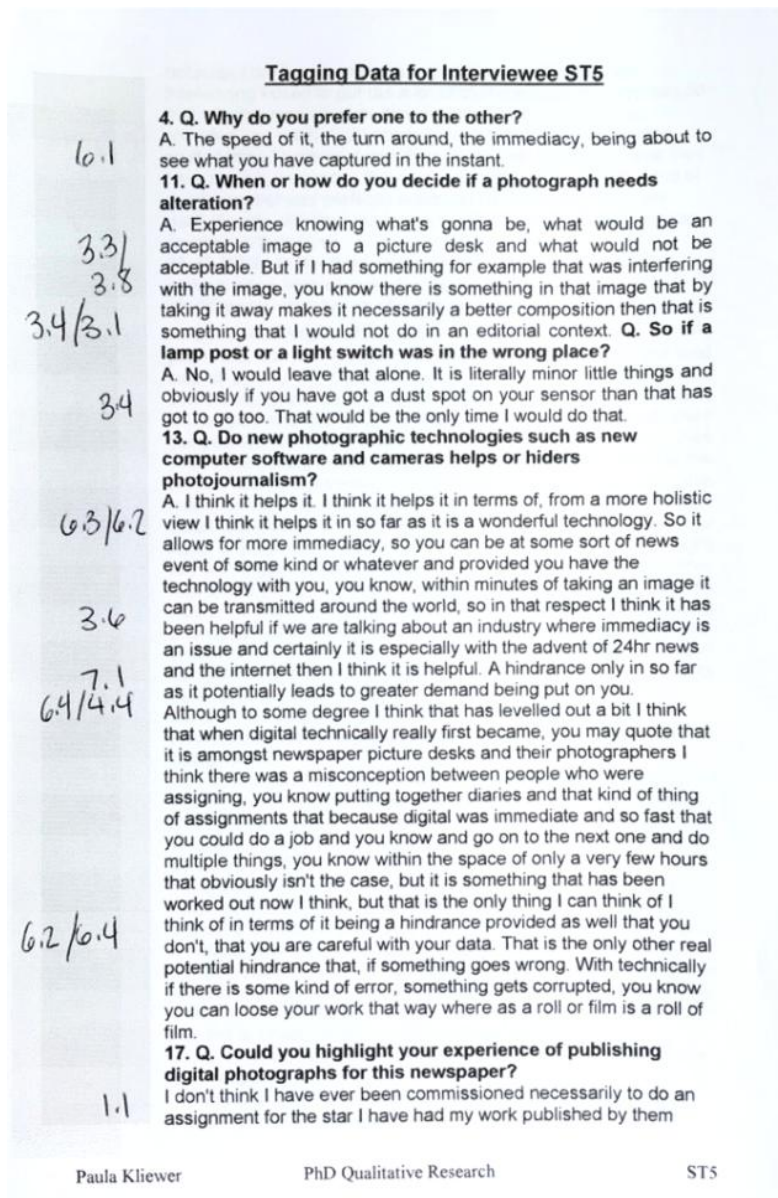


Figure 10: Tagging the Research Data for Participant ST5 p. 1

stage of my analytic process, indexing my data this way helped me to flag areas of my data that needed refinement for further analysis. I deemed this process of systematically sorting my data highly rewarding, and it created a strong foundation for my future analysis by familiarising myself with the words of the photojournalists.

The next stage in analysing my data was to begin to sort and organise my data so

that similar data with similar subthemes were put together to form thematic charts for participants (see Table 1). By doing this, I found that I was able to see all the

Thematic Chart for Participant SU1 and SU2

3.1	Thinking of Ethics While Working with Digital Photographs Yeah, it comes in especially so far as people are concerned, if someone has marks on the skin, if it is a close-up photo of someone q.44 p.3	3.2	Editing/Alterations things that were very technically challenging for film are now considerably easier with digital and there is more scope for it being not quite so right to start with, but you can be a lot more reactive, if something happens then you can literally just grab your camera and take a picture and do whatever you want with it later q.14 p.1 Basically the photograph has to be cleaned up and at any rate I have to do for them names and location and then hang it up to any contact information that I got to have with it for myself or the historian as my position that has to be passed on to someone else. q.25 p.3 Usually it is a check of the overall level of the photograph making sure highlights aren't blown out if it has been used with flash etc.	3.3	Reasons for Changing a Digital Photograph We know our printing presses, we know that our end product is going to look like, so we know roughly where the levels should be before we even before we start q.11 p.1 things that were very technically challenging for film are now considerably easier with digital and there is more scope for it being not quite so right to start with, but you can be a lot more reactive, if something happens then you can literally just grab your camera and take a picture and do whatever you want with it later q.14 p.1 Basically the photograph has to be cleaned up and at any rate I have to do for them names and location and then hang it up to any contact information that I got to have with it for myself or the historian as my position that has to be passed on to someone else. q.25 p.3 Usually it is a check of the overall level of the photograph making sure highlights aren't blown out if it has been used with flash etc.	3.4	Digital Enhancements, Alterations and Manipulation The technical ones like the light levels are pretty much as given, you can tell straight off if something is too dark or too light and once you know the printing process of the newspaper, q.13 p.1 things that were very technically challenging for film are now considerably easier with digital and there is more scope for it being not quite so right to start with, but you can be a lot more reactive, if something happens then you can literally just grab your camera and take a picture and do whatever you want with it later q.14 p.1 Basically the photograph has to be cleaned up and at any rate I have to do for them names and location and then hang it up to any contact information that I got to have with it for myself or the historian as my position that has to be passed on to someone else. q.25 p.3 Usually it is a check of the overall level of the photograph making sure highlights aren't blown out if it has been used with flash etc.	3.5	General Surprisingly, usually it's self-selecting q.27 p.3	3.6	Submission If you are out in the field it means that photographs can be transmitted directly to the newsdesk, not instantaneously, but almost instantaneously q.13 p.1 Mostly you bring it back within the day into the office, but it could be done if it was really needed in a tight deadline q.13 p.1 we are pretty much left up to our own devices to choose which ones to submit, unless entirely unexpected q.43 p.3	3.7	Changes Made by Newspapers Not massively surprised, no... Cropping on one was slightly odd into the World of the World, it wasn't entirely unexpected q.43 p.3	3.8	Experience Publishing in the Newspaper We know our printing presses, we know that our end product is going to look like, so we know roughly where the levels should be before we even before we start q.11 p.1 things that were very technically challenging for film are now considerably easier with digital and there is more scope for it being not quite so right to start with, but you can be a lot more reactive, if something happens then you can literally just grab your camera and take a picture and do whatever you want with it later q.14 p.1 Basically the photograph has to be cleaned up and at any rate I have to do for them names and location and then hang it up to any contact information that I got to have with it for myself or the historian as my position that has to be passed on to someone else. q.25 p.3 Usually it is a check of the overall level of the photograph making sure highlights aren't blown out if it has been used with flash etc.
Participant Reference No.															

Table 1: Thematic Chart for Participant SU1 and SU2

data with similar subthemes together in one place and I was able to see my data in more detail. I organised my thematic charts manually by using a matrix system which placed each subtheme along the top of my page and the corresponding participant along the left-hand margin. During this process, I realised that I needed to place duplicates of data under different subthemes in order to facilitate the overlapping of data seen in the tagging stage. In this research twenty-five participant thematic charts were created consisting of thirty-three subthemes. As Table 1 shows, each participant was assigned a row of the chart, while each subtheme was given a separate column. Table 1 shows a small section of the much larger chart, but illustrates how the data was organised. Thematic charting helped me to summarise key points in the data without losing the 'voice' of the photojournalists and was a key stage in the analysis process. I worked carefully to retain as much detail so that I would not have to return back to the original transcribed data; however, if I needed to revert back to the original interview data, a note was made referencing the page for each piece of data quoted. As I reviewed each piece of data, I extracted 'meaning' from the original data, my interpretation of the data and what the participant was trying to convey. I used this process to bring similar data together to construct meaning so that I could have a good understanding and familiarise myself with the data. Therefore, I began to define insights into a visual picture of what may emerge with future analysis through descriptive analysis and categorisation.

After organising the data under each subtheme next to each participant, I moved on to the descriptive analysis stage which is divided into three columns;

- Column A: Data Charted
- Column B: Elements/Dimensions Identified
- Column C: Categories/Classes

By looking at all of the participants' views, perceptions and experiences within a subtheme, I sorted and refined the key elements within the subthemes, and I then created categories that distinguished between different indications from the data. The process of describing and categorising the data enlightened me with a new understanding of how the data was interconnected and flowed from subtheme to subtheme. In column B of the descriptive analysis I retained a similarity to the original data so that the specific elements could be seen, however, I was still able to make initial clarifications of the categories that began to emerge at this stage. Further to this, in column C, I interpreted the data in more complexly and conceptually. For example, 'true to themselves' has been re-categorised as 'retaining their identity'. I also began to notice that the categorisations that I used appeared in multiple participants' data, even though the descriptions in column A were different. Participant SU1, DM1, DM3 and DM5 all mentioned situations which have been categorised as 'retaining their identity'; participants SU2 and SU5 both mentioned 'values being an eyewitness' to the stories that they photograph (see Table 2). In addition to this, other categories began to emerge with similar conceptualisations which were later collectively described under a larger heading. For example, I could see that 'facing challenging decisions of ethics' (ST3, ST5) and 'struggles taking care of subject' (SU1, SU2, ST5 and DM3) could be made broadly categorised as 'Challenges'.

Descriptive Analysis – SU1, SU2, ST3, ST5, DM1, DM3, DM5		
Column A	Column B	Column C
Data Charted in Subtheme 4.1 Personal Values	Elements/Dimensions Identified – in Order Identified in the Chart	Categories/Classes
SU1: I think you would apply your own moral code especially in situations when you are dealing with the nature of some of the stories you just have to think, how I would feel if it was me in the photograph. p.4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -own moral code -put in subjects shoes -stay true to themselves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -self governed -struggle taking 'care' of subject
SU2: but generally I am not out to kind of make people, like get them at a bad moment, kind of thing. p.3 there is often an attitude to get a picture, any picture no matter what you do and I completely disagree with that, I had come from Africa and [newspaper] just started abusing me because I refused to take certain pictures, I didn't get the picture. If I am on a job and I think, no, people are just harassing this person then I won't, I just stop. q.47 pg.4 Every photographer brings his or her different personal belief systems to a story. p.5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -don't want to catch subject in a bad way -every PJ brings different personal beliefs to story they witness -stay true to themselves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -struggle taking 'care' of subject -no compromise for newspapers -retaining their identity -eyewitness to story through their eye -values being an eyewitness
ST3: the images are so needed and you do not have a chance to think of what is sort of wrong with that picture or is that picture going to upset certain people, you know everything happens so quickly. q.36 pg.2 I think every photographer has different views on what they consider would be ethically correct, what I might think is not a right picture to take another photographer would quite happily want that picture, I don't know how you would, you could, stop them from taking that picture. p.3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -have to submit too quickly, no time to question what's wrong or may upset -PJs have different ethical views -one PJ may think it's not right another would do it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -challenges of time in considering ethical situations -face challenging decisions of ethics and personal values
ST5: I think its experience really more than anything, basically what it boils down at the end of the day is whether I feel, that I'm still holding true to what I was trying to do when I took the picture, not a situation where in an edit you	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -comes with experience -truth of what they eyewitness -may take but not submit -humiliation for humiliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -values being an eyewitness -no compromise for newspapers - face challenging

<p>might discover that you had something that you perhaps you didn't know you did if you went ahead and made alterations to it, which I think is the problem p.5 I might take the picture, but I wouldn't send a picture that, you know for example humiliated someone for humiliation sake, I mean obviously you can catch people in embarrassing situations. p.6</p>	<p><i>sake</i> <i>-heavy considerations of ethics</i> <i>-stay true to themselves</i></p>	<p><i>decisions of ethics and personal values</i> <i>-don't want to catch subject in a bad way</i> <i>-struggle taking 'care' of subject</i></p>
<p>DM1: if I did genuinely feel uncomfortable about taking the photograph then I would say, no, I'm not taking that picture. p.4</p>	<p><i>-if uncomfortable, will refuse</i> <i>-stay true to themselves</i></p>	<p><i>-no compromise for newspapers</i> <i>-retaining their identity</i></p>
<p>DM3: to be artistic and compositionally good and all those kinds of things and to be sensitive to the person that you are photographing, my personal thing is that I have my own style of photographing people and a style of lighting as well, but yeah whatever subject you approach you have to have that in you too, I think that's very important to have that p.6</p>	<p><i>-stay true to themselves artistically</i> <i>-own style</i> <i>-sensitive to the subject</i></p>	<p><i>-retaining their identity</i> <i>-struggle taking 'care' of subject</i> <i>-retaining their identity</i></p>
<p>DM5: if it is something that interests me then there's every chance I will look into it beyond the brief, but I would always make sure I covered the brief that was required by the client, but through personal interests I might look into it, so I suppose, yes, my personal values affect the way I take photographs. p.8</p>	<p><i>-stay true to themselves artistically</i> <i>-own style</i> <i>-challenging tasks</i></p>	<p><i>-retaining their identity</i> <i>- face challenging decisions of ethics and personal values</i></p>

Table 2: Descriptive Analysis – SU1, SU2, ST3, ST5, DM1, DM3, DM5

Table 2 only shows data from seven participants out of the twenty-five total participants interviewed; therefore out of all of the subthemes and all of the data from the participants, hundreds of components were reviewed for descriptive analysis and categorisation. However, it became apparent that after investigating the data thoroughly that a number of repetitions and connections in the components reviewed were identified.

After I charted all of the descriptive analysis, numerous categories were identified, and links were determined between the categories; after thoroughly reviewing the list of categories I then grouped them and further categorised them as shown below:

- Eyewitness to History
- Challenges
- Identity

During the process of descriptive analysis, a collection of over a hundred aspects were described, categorised and then grouped into three main classes creating a clear conceptual structure. This level of analysis brought me to establish a deeper understanding of the participant data and in turn found links, connections and patterns between the categories, so much so that the established connections formed the foundations of the representation described in Fig 11.

It was not enough to detect patterns and connections, but I needed to verify this through checking the number of occurrences and why it appeared to be occurring; this was done by checking the occupancies throughout the charts, numbering as I went through the data. By establishing why the links within the data were occurring brought me to a realisation that photojournalists do ethically view their professional practices. The correlation with ethical decision-making resulted in my theory of the 'ethical eye' and the corresponding links with being an eyewitness to history, facing challenges and maintaining their identity. From this, came the representation for conceptualising the role that ethics plays in connection to the way photojournalists practice in their profession (see Fig 11).

4.2 Ethical Eye: Conceptualising the Application of Ethics by Newspaper Photojournalists

This section outlines a representation I developed to conceptualise the role that ethics plays in connection to the way photojournalists practice in their profession. Throughout this study, I was interested in how the photojournalists interviewed applied ethics to their work; and questioning if this was self-directed or directed by outside forces.

Fig 11 below shows the representation I developed based on the interview data. The concept is very 'fluid' (as indicated by the overlapping of the quadrants). While interviewing photojournalists, a discussion might start within the quadrant of



Figure 11: A Representation for Conceptualising the Role that Ethics Plays in Connection to the way Photojournalists Practice in their Profession

'photographic identity', focussing on the passion a photojournalist has for their profession and within the next moment the conversation would turn towards the 'challenges' their profession has on their 'photographic identity'.

In the next few sections, I aim to discuss each of the three quadrants (challenges, an eyewitness to history and photographic identity) in turn. I will then discuss how each of the quadrants converge and overlap (Eyewitness/Challenges, Eyewitness/Photographic Identity and Photographic Identity/Challenges) and finally, I will discuss how all the three quadrants come together to form the 'ethical eye'.

Challenges

Photojournalists are faced with situations in their working practice that in order for them to be successful, require great mental and physical effort which tests their professional abilities as a photojournalist. The challenges quadrant (see Fig 12)



Figure 12: Challenges Quadrant

represents these challenging situations. Challenges faced by photojournalists were also identified as being a significant factor in ethical decision-making in their professional practice. The research data revealed that the challenges faced by photojournalists cover all areas of their profession such as; preparing to take

photographs, during the act of taking photographs, while editing, selecting and submitting photographs for publication. The research data also shows that photojournalists face challenges such as safeguarding subjects they photograph, dealing with a lack of communication with the newspapers and surviving in a technologically driven profession.

Chapter Five shows that there are occasions when photojournalists *do* question whether or not to take a photograph based on ethical grounds, such as safeguarding the subject. Photojournalist ST3 asks; “[w]hether I should be there, am I intruding, if it’s a moment of grief or sorrow...should I be here, am I contributing to the scene being worse”. This shows that photojournalists are well aware of how the photographs they take may affect the subjects; taking account of how the subjects are feeling and when someone should be left alone. In this instance, photojournalist DE3 saw a photograph and thought; “it was very unkind and yes it did show the anguish...in that woman's face, but it was so unkind”. Other participants (DE5, DM3, DM2 and M1) used words such as ‘sensitive’, ‘respect’, ‘empathy’ and ‘dignity’ when speaking about the subjects they were photographing. Therefore, although, Sontag (1977, p. 11) suggests that there is a complete disconnection between the photographer and what they are witnessing. My research shows that this is not the case; my research shows that photojournalists take extra ‘care’ with subjects during difficult situations such as stress, tragedy or death.

Further to this, most interviewees for this research said there is little to no communications with the newspapers which publish their photographs, which I

discuss in more detail in Section 5.5. The lack of communication and teamwork between the photojournalist and the newspapers' staff leaves photojournalists disconnected from their photographs and ostracised from editors, designers and writers of the newspapers.

If I phoned them up and said, 'hey you altered my picture', they would laugh me out the building and my reputation there would be as a laughing stock.

(Photojournalist M5)

This type of intimidating situations are challenging and can lead to practices that separate editors, designers, writers and photographers from each other which could be detrimental to the future of photojournalism. Participants in this research hope for a brighter future where they will not "play second fiddle", but allowing for "photographers [to] have more of a voice in reporting around the world"

(Photojournalist M1). It was found from the research data that the lack of communication creates complications when scheduling assignments because the newspaper staff are unaware of how much time it takes to complete a job, as expressed by photojournalist ST5; "there [is] a misconception between people who [are] assigning, [and] putting together diaries...because digital is immediate and so fast that you could...do multiple things...obviously, this isn't the case".

Therefore, it is a challenge for photojournalists to work when those they are working for have little understanding of what is involved with completing an assignment.

Photojournalists help to support and improve the quality of the newspaper because what would a newspaper be without its photographs. However,

unrealistic deadlines due to technological advancements have created challenges for photojournalists in balancing their workloads. Section 6.2 notes that there is a concern about individual workloads and that the pressure placed on photojournalists is due to the lack of understanding by newspaper staff regarding the role photojournalists play within the structure of the newspaper. Expectations put on photojournalists from the newspapers are idealistic because, as one participant noted; newspapers “seem to think that you can do things that really you can't...everything needs to be faster; everything needs to have been done yesterday” (Photojournalist SU1). Similarly, according to photojournalist DE3, pressures on photojournalists have steadily increased over the years because the speed of the job was not always so demanding;

In the old days, you do a job, and they'll say, 'can we have the pictures in the next couple of days?' 'Yeah, no problem'...then it became, 'can we have the pictures tomorrow?' 'Yes, no problem, I'll get them processed tonight and I'll send it special delivery, and you'll get it tomorrow'. Now it's a case of, 'can we get it today, can we get it before twelve o'clock?' Say you're doing a job at ten, 'can we have the pictures by half ten?' It's almost, 'can we get the pictures as you're taking them'.

My research data clearly illustrates the pressures photojournalists feel when shooting an assignment and suggests that shooting with digital for newspapers has created increasingly shorter deadlines. Equally photojournalist DE2 feels uneasy pressure from the newspapers;

[t]he pressure is immense to get the job done and get them wired back to whoever wants them. I mean sometimes they ring me up on a job and say, 'where's the pictures' and I'm

like, 'the job hasn't even started yet, how can I take a picture when there's nothing to take a picture of' and they're like, 'get on it, get on it' and I'm like, 'well sometimes you can't'.

As reflected in the data, photojournalists are overbooked with assignments, pressurised by unrealistic deadlines and laughed at when they make suggestions which create challenges and pressures that they must endure to stay in the business.

Advancements in technology bring benefits to photojournalists; however, technology has also placed challenges on the profession. One challenge is that almost anyone has access to professional quality cameras; "more and more people can do it now...it might put [photojournalists] out of a job eventually" (Photojournalist SU4). It is "killing [the photojournalism] business" because there are "some enthusiastic amateurs that's happy to have his photograph printed just for the by-line" without getting paid (Photojournalist DM1). These challenges are due to more competition within the profession from amateurs; so much so that newspapers such as the Sun-Times in Chicago have recently fired all of their staff photographers;

Laying-off the entire Sun-Times staff probably isn't necessary, but it's convenient...the Sun-Times didn't necessarily make the right choice in dismantling its photography department. The belief that a print journalist with an iPhone will suddenly understand how to use photography to tell a story, not to mention comprehending the ethics of photojournalism, is naive at best.

(Murabayashi, 2013)

A participant such as photojournalist DM3 has seen that there; "is slightly less

opportunities;” suggesting a fear of job loss and making a suitable living because technology has made it much easier for anyone to submit photographs to newspapers. Photojournalist ST3 admits that it’s “difficult to make a living out of being a photojournalist”. This shows participants feel disheartened by the changing landscape of their profession in both work and earning a living, yet the research data also revealed a glimmer of hope.

Despite the challenges that photojournalists face, the research data paints a favourable view; “I’m positive about the future, and I think it might be a bit of a roller coaster at the moment and we’re at the top of the roller coaster” (Photojournalist ST3) and it “still has to go down before it can come up. I’m pessimistically optimistic, if that exists...it’s up to us, photographers, to utilise ways...to survive, make these stories and have them seen” (Photojournalist M3). I found that the research data expresses hope for the future of photojournalism and although photojournalists admit they are facing challenging times, they have faith that their passion for their profession will prevail through tenacity and resolve. Although the research data expresses a recognition that their profession will continue to change and that with those changes, challenges are sure to follow; they will, with determination, adapt to the changing market because their passion and commitment to their profession will remain.

Challenging ethical decisions that photojournalists make in their professional practice can happen at any time; such as during framing and choosing what or if to photograph a scene; safeguarding the subjects they photograph; how or if a photograph should be manipulated or changed; and whether or not a photograph

should be submitted to the newspaper for publication. Moreover, some of the participants (for example SU1, M5 and ST2) emphasised the challenges they face day in and day out are just what keeps them going and makes them want to continue to bring the world the photographs that inform and make history.

The relationship between the challenges quadrant and the eyewitness to history quadrant (Eyewitness/Challenges) and the relationship between the challenges quadrant and the photographic identity quadrant (Photographic Identity/Challenges) are discussed later in this chapter.

Eyewitnesses to History

The eyewitness to history quadrant (see Fig 13) is characterised by the urge for photojournalists to tell stories. This research revealed that when the

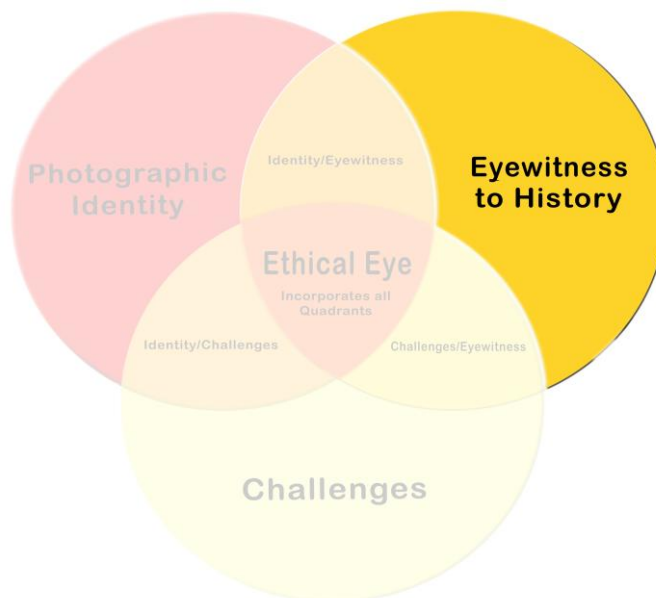


Figure 13: Eyewitness to History Quadrant

photojournalists interviewed spoke about telling stories, they spoke about the responsibility to 'witness and document' stories and that they had a responsibility

to tell the world about these stories. The research data revealed that photojournalists realise that sharing the stories that they eyewitness is a privilege and an act that is to be respected, protected and have a responsibility to maintain. Being an eyewitness to history cannot be separated from the values that drive photojournalists. Evidence of the values the participants hold in being an eyewitness to history is reflected by the words used to describe their profession and experiences. The participants repeated the words, 'respect', 'empathy', 'honesty', 'sensitivity' and above all; 'responsibility'; the responsibility of being an eyewitness to history. The research data also showed that the photojournalists felt responsible in telling the subjects' stories with respect and express the extent in which they would go to tell the stories to preserve history truthfully.

The respect for the subjects involved in the events photojournalists were eyewitnessing was fundamental to giving subjects a voice, sharing their stories and providing the world with important information, which may have otherwise been hidden from history. The research data shows that photojournalists ensure the stories they tell are truthful and go to great lengths to achieve this because they believe that the world and society need to be informed. Photojournalists do worry about the truthfulness of the stories they present to society; not wanting to show anything that "wasn't true" or "misinformed" (Photojournalist M3 and DE4). They do not see themselves as means of change; however, they see themselves more as a vehicle for change, that by telling stories that are important, they can inspire others to act, and together they can make a difference; even to just one person would be an achievement.

The importance photojournalists place on the responsibilities of being an eyewitness to history is so high that they are willing to sacrifice financial gain or security to tell stories that they eye-witnessed. Especially for the stories that were not being told because of financial restraints from newspapers, causing photojournalists to be “worried that many stories are not going to be told (Photojournalist M3); thus, photojournalists will often self-fund stories they believe are important to tell. Some photojournalists are so dedicated to telling the stories abroad that; “[t]hey do the bread and butter stuff so they could go off for a couple of months and photograph a story” (Photojournalist DM5) and “are quite willing not to get paid” (Photojournalist ST3). This suggests that the passion and dedication that some photojournalists have for their job goes beyond a pay-cheque. They are not driven by the promise of financial prosperity, fame or awards. Photojournalist M3 echoes this sentiment; “[W]e want to make the stories to communicate, we don’t want to do it just to win contests or be seen by our colleagues or peers...we are journalists, so we want them to be seen by thousands”.

While photojournalists feel that it is their responsibility to tell these stories, they also feel the responsibility of the potential implications and ramifications for the subjects of those stories. Therefore photojournalists not only feel a responsibility to the story, but also to the subjects because the subjects of the stories they tell may not be aware of the risks or implications involved. Photojournalist DM3 noted the importance of creating a safe place for subjects that are vulnerable and go to great lengths to get her stories witnessed; “you have to be very sensitive towards them when you are actually taking the picture...because they need to know that they can trust you as a photographer”. Photojournalists engage with the people

whose stories they tell and to a certain extent are emotionally invested.

Photojournalists invest not only their time and money but also their emotions. They understand that there are responsibilities that come with the privilege of being an eyewitness to history, not only to the subjects but also to society. Photojournalists try to be self-aware, ethically aware and continually reflecting on their intentions and actions throughout the process of being an eyewitness to history. They engage in this process of self-awareness and self-reflection because they care about the stories and the subjects of those stories.

Photojournalists interviewed felt responsible in telling the subjects' stories with respect; "many of [photojournalists] have the same thoughts, a principle of conveying stories with honesty and respect" (Photojournalist ST3). The act of "conveying stories with honesty and respect" means that photojournalists understand the value of the photographs they take and the potential the photographs have on the emotions of the subjects. Participants DE3, SU2, M3 and DM3 emphasised the responsibility and 'care' they felt in 'doing justice' to the story in a variety of ways; however, there was an underlining sense of respect for the story being told.

The relationship between the eyewitness to history quadrant and the challenges quadrant (Eyewitness/Challenges) and the relationship between the eyewitness to history quadrant and the photographic identity quadrant (Eyewitness/Photographic Identity) are discussed later in this chapter.

Photographic Identity

Being a professional photojournalist does not guarantee money or fame; however, this research shows that they are not driven by what they get, but driven by dedication and passion for collecting histories and sharing those histories with the world. The research data suggests that there was something much deeper which grounds photojournalists in their professional position; their dedication to telling stories has become their identity. The photographic identity quadrant (see Fig 14)



Figure 14: Photographic Identity Quadrant

shows that being a photojournalist is an identity rather than a job, profession or any other form of professional title; every aspect of a photojournalist's life is dedicated to this purpose. Thus, by seeing photojournalism as an identity, any obstacles that come their way are just a part of life. Many participants called photojournalism an 'identity', a 'calling', 'in their blood' (Photojournalist ST3, DE4 and M2), that it is a part of them. These descriptions imply that being a photojournalist is fundamental to the way they are and cannot be separated from their characteristics or personality traits.

Having a photographic identity means weaving elements of one's life rather than separating them; it means living and breathing photojournalism. For those who live and breathe photojournalism, being a photojournalist is crucial to their sense of identity, it is not something that can be separated from who they are and how they see themselves.

I always have a bag pack; it sits right at my front door, I can see it as we speak...if I get the call, day or night; I grab the bag and go. The boundaries between life and work start to blur. It's more than a job for me.

(Photojournalist DE4)

This highlights the 'blurring of boundaries' between life and work which they fuse together and "start to blur". Her comment indicates that there is a certain amount of fluidity between her personal life and work life; that to be a photojournalist she, "always have a bag packed", implying that she feels that being a photojournalist requires great dedication and that her work is not separated from other aspects of her life. The blurring between boundaries of life and work was a common theme during interviews with the participants. Similarly, photojournalist ST2 articulated this in his interview, which was conducted during an assignment, when he said: "I wouldn't even call it a profession. It's more my identity; it's my life". This does not mean that photojournalist ST2 did not think photojournalists were professionals. What photojournalist ST2's comment highlights is that photojournalism is more than just a professional practice, which links in with photojournalist DE4's view that, "It's more than a job for me". In this respect, living a photographic identity cannot be separated from other aspects of a photojournalist's life. The passion for being a photojournalist was all-consuming; it permeates every aspect of their lives.

Those who have a photographic identity are committed to their identity as photojournalists and can be seen as a source of motivation, especially if they feel they were “born to be a photojournalist” or that it is in their “blood” (Photojournalist M2). Being “born to be a photojournalist” or seeing it as in their “blood” implies that being a photojournalist is in their genes, essential to who they are, a defining characteristic that is deeply embedded in their identity. In having a photographic identity, photojournalists appear to feel that they have found their place in the world, which provides them with a sense of belonging. It also implies they are living their life in accordance with the responsibilities and values that they see as fundamental to their identity.

The melding of a profession and personal life is characterised by the way photojournalists are socialised and by the passion that drives them every day shaping their identity. Developing a sense of community is also a form of socialisation (see Section 6.4) into the ‘traditions’ of photojournalism. The way in which photojournalists are socialised into the ‘traditions’ of photojournalism make up a large part of how their personal life becomes so deeply embedded into their professional world that it becomes their identity. Socialisation is an important aspect of photojournalism; it provides a network or community of like-minded photojournalists who support and encourage each other in positive and constructive ways. The use of the words ‘community’ or ‘family’ (Photojournalist DE4 and M5) was also communicated by the participants as a way to identify the importance photojournalists place on connecting with others who are also dedicated to the history and ‘tradition’ of photojournalism. Similar to family

structures, the communities and relationships that photojournalists form with one another are complicated, multifaceted and aid in forming an individuals' identity.

For the most part, photojournalists are like-minded individuals who share a connection not only through their commitment and desire to be part of photojournalism's long history but also through their experiences. Photojournalist DE4 felt that the strength of commitment came through shared experiences; "We are proud as photographers...international photographers, who can communicate with each other on a daily basis, sharing our experiences" (Photojournalist DE4). Thus, photojournalists support each other; by creating vital support networks. They relate to one another; they rely on one another; they often consider each other as family, members of smaller networks that form part of more extensive network of photojournalists dedicated to the 'traditions' of photojournalism. Photojournalists take on the responsibility of helping mould, mentor and educate younger generations; socialising them into the 'traditions' of photojournalism. The passion of the 'traditions' of photojournalism also makes photojournalists feel they belong to something bigger. This passion of the 'traditions' of photojournalism helps build communities that become as close as family, motivating photojournalists to support and help each other develop. It can also be suggested that socialisation is a continual process that helps fortify photojournalists' commitment to the 'traditions' of photojournalism, the practice and each other; forming the foundations of their photographic identity.

With dedication and passion, some careers become a life; the experiences that the photojournalists have are interwoven into the fabric of their lives, and the two

are rarely separated. Their experiences of living a life of photojournalism help to construct and shape their identities and therefore are inseparable from the person. Their photographic identity, the bonded nature of photojournalists' professional and personal lives, contributes to the ethical decision-making they make in their professional practice. The ethical decisions they make in their professional lives are determined by the ethical values which they maintain in their personal lives. Some of the participants felt they were 'born' to be a photojournalist, while others develop an interest first and then become socialised by the 'traditions' of the profession.

The relationship between the photographic identity quadrant and the challenges quadrant (Photographic Identity /Challenges) and the relationship between the photographic identity quadrant and the eyewitness to history quadrant (Eyewitness/Photographic Identity) are discussed later in this chapter.

Eyewitness/Challenges

The connection between the challenges and the eyewitness to history quadrant (see Fig 15) is evident through the challenging impact of technology and job-loss for newspaper photojournalists. The research data suggests that both of these challenges have a dire effect on the ability for photojournalists to maintain being an eyewitness to history. However, despite the challenges they face they continue to forge new ways to adapt to their changing landscape and continue to be eyewitnesses to history.

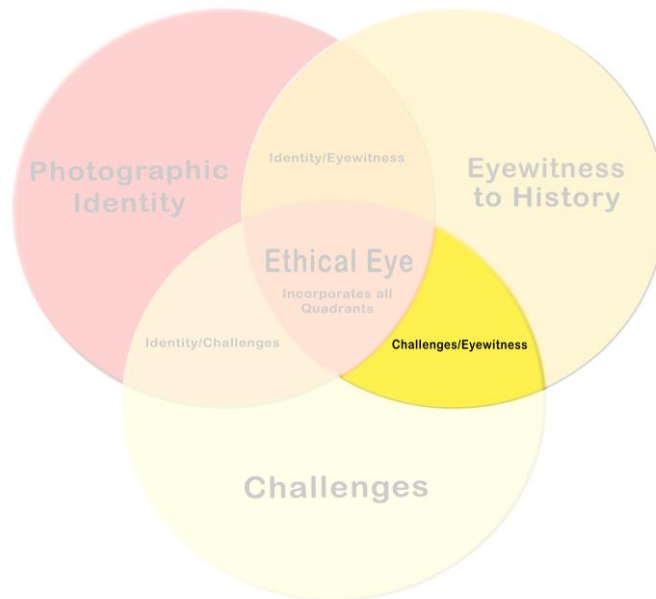


Figure 15: Link between Eyewitness to History and Challenges

Here, I wish to discuss in greater detail a few examples from the research data in terms of the way the eyewitness to history and challenges quadrants converge. When I asked photojournalists DE5 if he was concerned about the future of photojournalism he stated;

I am concerned that the internet, far from informing us all and keeping us up to date is actually allowing people to choose to look at...not coming across by accident things that may be of interest to them...I think an essential part of photojournalism has always been, that you are trying to stop someone in their tracks...you're trying to say, 'yeah, I know you're interested in that, but while you're there, guess what, this might also interest you'... so photojournalism, has in many ways, been the gatekeepers of the funnel that brings readers in... the Internet is...allowing us to research things much more straightforwardly and easily, but it is also allowing them to be lazy...allowing them to become progressively more ignorant because they don't accidentally come across the things that they would have otherwise accidentally come across.

This is a valid concern, not only about the impending 'ignorance' of the viewing

public but a complete degradation of the role of photojournalists as a 'gatekeeper' for bringing readers to the histories they eyewitness. While the internet offers photojournalists space and freedom to self-publish, there are concerns about how photojournalists will be able to secure viable income (Photojournalist ST1, SU5 and ST5), and protect their photographic copyright (Photojournalist DM4). "[T]he internet has changed everything" (Photojournalist DM2) and photojournalists thought "that the whole web thing was going to be the answer" to rejuvenate photojournalism, "but that doesn't seem to be the case" (Photojournalist ST5). Concerns about the impact of the internet and other technology have made it increasingly difficult for photojournalists to remain an eyewitness to history.

Many of the photojournalists interviewed in this study seemed to relate to how technology is altering their profession (Photojournalists DE5, SU3, ST4, DM3, ST2, DE3, DM2 and ST5) and in addition to this, job shortages and loss have affected photojournalists trying to eyewitness history and bring the stories to the attention of the public. Photojournalists face hardships as a direct result of technology; "it is a much harder game than it was ten years ago, just because, realistically, because of the technology" (Photojournalist DE2). Photographs can be taken by amateurs and submitted directly to the newspapers; in turn, this may strip photojournalists of their jobs. Anyone can "just pick up a camera and think they're photographers" (Photojournalist DE1); they "are taking pictures and emailing them to newspapers" (Photojournalist DE2). As can be seen above, photojournalism appears to be taking a turn and is facing challenging times, which is evident by the data collected in this research as well as stories reaching headlines of the reduction of full-time photographic staff at national newspapers

(Montgomery, 2013; Lang, 2011; Worstall, 2013). These job-losses and shortages have been a great challenge and have demoralised many photojournalists who still believe in the power of being an eyewitness to history.

However, it is indicated by the research data that despite the challenges facing them in being an eyewitness to history, photojournalists still find ways to travel and seek interesting photographic stories to tell, even though it may not be a financially viable option (Photojournalist M3; DM4; ST3). Some photojournalists have another 'fulltime job' to fund their attempt to eyewitness history (Photojournalist DM5). Despite the challenges, the driving force for photojournalists to tell stories still remains; "[photojournalism] will still be a strong medium for telling stories" (Photojournalist DM4); "it's up to the photographers to find ways to survive, make these stories and have them seen" (Photojournalist M3). They do not let challenges deter them from continuing to be an eyewitness to history because their dedication to the 'traditions' of photojournalism weighs heavier than any other obstacles they may endure. The resilience of the photojournalists interviewed is evident in the data; notwithstanding the challenges of technology and the decline of jobs which restricts their income.

Eyewitness/Photographic Identity

The relationship between the photographic identity and eyewitness to history quadrant (see Fig 16) can be seen between the experiences and interactions

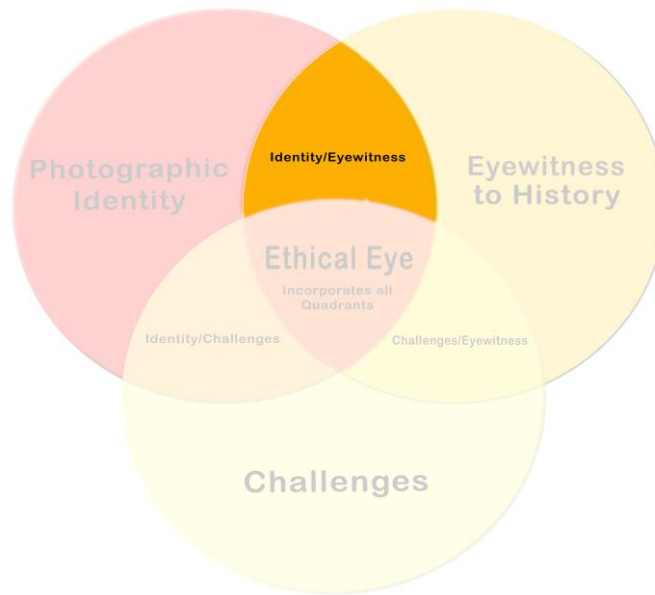


Figure 16: Link between Eyewitness to History and Photographic Identity

photojournalists have while eye-witnessing history, which shapes their photographic identity. The research data reveals that the rewards that photojournalists receive are not necessarily ones given by external sources, but are internally gained through the experiences and interactions they have while eye-witnessing history. In addition to this, the motivations to go out and continue to be an eyewitness to history is self-motivated; driven through self-awareness and enhanced through self-reflection, ultimately gaining self-fulfilment and, in turn, enhancing their photographic identity.

The experiences and interactions photojournalists have while eye-witnessing history is in itself a substantial reward for photojournalists and plays a significant role in moulding their photographic identity. Photojournalist DE3 spoke about the importance of the professional experiences which made her life so rewarding and meaningful. Photojournalist DE3 said:

All of the experiences I have as a photojournalist have given me a full life. I can truthfully say that if I were to be gone tomorrow, I'd die happy. I've seen so many things both good and bad, and it has been an exciting journey. I believe everyone tries to live life to the full. It is about letting yourself be exposed to the realities of life. And not being afraid of seeing the lows and the highs in peoples' lives... and telling the important stories along the way. It has been rewarding on both a personal and professional level. Ambition doesn't drive me...you do it no matter what...if you're only out there to get rich and famous, then there's no point, because that is not what this game is all about.

For Photojournalist DE3 the experiences and interactions of eye-witnessing history are fundamental for her to feel like she's lived a 'full life'. These experiences and interactions are often intense, rich, complex, diverse and sometimes profoundly intimate; as expressed by the experiences and stories told by the participants interviewed (Photojournalist DE3, DE5, DM4, ST1 and DE3). Such experiences and interactions of eye-witnessing history are both professionally and personally fulfilling for photojournalists; as well as seen as aiding in shaping them as individuals, which in turn influences how they work professionally. To photojournalists that see photojournalism as their identity, being an eyewitness to history is not a choice, it is a part of who they are. Being an eyewitness to history and telling important stories is what photojournalists do. It doesn't matter if a newspaper has assigned them or if they have sought out the story themselves because they know that it is important and something they will "do it no matter what". The work that they do, telling stories and being an eyewitness to history, is a manifestation and expression of the photojournalists' photographic identity; guided by the self-governing parameters of their professional practice. Also, photojournalists also see their role as something larger than themselves; this has

an implication on how they construct their identity and how that translates to their photographic identity.

Photojournalists are not always motivated by outside forces; however, it is dependent on the passion and dedication of the photojournalists, and the strength of that is reflected in their photographic identity. Photojournalist ST2 noted these sentiments when he said: “We have many young photographers and they are completely self-motivated. They are driven purely by their own desire to tell stories”. By living with a photographic identity and being an eyewitness to history, photojournalists tell stories they believe are important and by doing so, photojournalists may make a difference to the subjects whose stories they tell and ultimately may influence society through their photographs. Photojournalist DE5 said it was the experiences and interactions of being an eyewitness to history that were the most rewarding part about being a photojournalist. Photojournalist DE5 said:

I've had an amazing career! I mean, what other profession allows you to travel all over the world and puts you so many different situations...not many people have been so lucky to have gained so much on a human level from their career...Certainly, if I had chosen another career I may have gained more on a material level, but you can't have everything. ...If I had decided to go into a career that was more at a corporate level, I may have had a nicer house or a flashy car, but I would have missed out on all of these amazing experiences with so many different people that had added so much to my life.

Photojournalist DE5 highlighted that the personal rewards from living a life dedicated to photojournalism was more important to him than any external rewards or wants; the experiences and interactions of being an eyewitness to

history exceed financial and material gains. Material gains may be nice, but for many photojournalists, the rewards of maintaining their photographic identity and being committed to something bigger than themselves take precedence.

In many ways, photojournalists see themselves as custodians and gatekeepers who bring stories to society; showing them a small part of the joys and heartaches of the world. Photojournalist ST2 stated:

There are many reasons why I do this job. On a personal level, it is an amazing way to experience the world and meeting new people and developing a connection with them. It's like an adventure. Yet, on the other level, you feel a responsibility to society, but the passion to tell the stories and share them with the world is self-gratifying. So, I guess everything is tied together.

Photojournalist ST2 highlighted how both personal life and professional life 'tied together', there are aspects of their job that they find personally rewarding and self-fulfilling; yet there are responsibilities that govern their professional practices.

Perhaps if the photojournalists didn't have the experiences and interaction in their professional life, their development of the 'self' that governs their professional practices would not be as developed as it is. Thus, photojournalists' photographic identity can be considered an evolving process. In the beginning they may be driven more by the passion of being an eyewitness to history and the importance of telling the stories; however, it is through their interactions and experiences of eye-witnessing history which give weight to their professional practices which they then reflect upon; developing ethical parameters from which they act. A number of

interviewees described the need to balance personal needs with the responsibilities of being an eyewitness to history (Photojournalist DE4, M5, SU2, ST5 and SU5). In particular, Photojournalist SU2 summed it up when she said:

The way I see it is that you are driven because you know that you are acting as a point of safety and a vessel for people to tell their stories, stories that may not have been told otherwise. Not to say that we don't enjoy the adrenaline of the job because I would be lying if I said I'm not addicted to the excitement of it, but we also can feel the weight of responsibility on our shoulders.

Photojournalist SU2 said that she believes that photojournalists are driven by the excitement of the profession, in turn, cultivating their identity. This is an important personal reward especially because of the many challenges they face because it is suggested that without the personal rewards driven by passion, the motivation to continue to eyewitness history may significantly decrease. This is not to say that the responsibilities they have to eye-witnessing history are of lesser importance to their personal rewards, but they are 'two sides of the same coin'; not combating each other, but fluidly interweaving. In addition, although their responsibilities to the traditions of photojournalism aids in governing their professional practices, this does not mean that the actions of photojournalists' reactions in any situation would be the same or predictable. For this reason, photojournalists appear to place a great deal of importance on self-awareness and self-reflection because the responsibilities of being an eyewitness to history are so important to them.

It is through the experiences, interactions and connections with like-minded people that photojournalists can pursue their passion and desires; aligning their

professional responsibilities and personal identity; creating the photographic identity. Their photographic identity, which is shaped by the experiences and interactions they have while being an eyewitness to history and their personal values, aids in governing the ethical decisions they make in their professional practice. The passion that photojournalists have for the ‘traditions’ of photojournalism, being an eyewitness to history and their photographic identity overrides and grounds photojournalists in the pursuit of their professional desires.

Photographic Identity/Challenges

The correlation between the photographic identity and the challenges quadrant (see Fig 17) is evident through the challenging financial burdens they face which



Figure 17: Link between Photographic Identity and Challenges

put strains on their personal and professional lives. This research also shows that in addition to the financial burdens they encounter, acquiring new skill sets and increased workloads have an impact on photojournalists’ photographic identity. Regardless of these challenges, photojournalists continue to find new avenues of

work to sustain themselves, as well as finding ways to adapt to their changing environment in order to combat unrealistic work expectations; in turn, forging an even deeper connection to their photographic identity.

Financial challenges are something that photojournalists continually struggle with, and these are not just linked to making a living, but may also significantly impact their ability to maintain their existence in their professional field (Photojournalist M5, DE4, SU5 and ST5). In some instances, newspapers will not send photojournalists to do assignments abroad; however, they will publish the story if the photojournalists tell the story on their own, using their own funds (Photojournalist M5). Hence, for photojournalists, finances are an area that is a constant source of uncertainty and to varying degrees of unease; I discuss this further in Section 6.1. However, despite the financial uncertainty and insecurity that comes in this profession, photojournalists (for the most part) don't surrender to these challenges.

Photojournalists are also wary about how they could earn a living from embracing new technology to produce work, such as multimedia, video and the internet. There was little to no reluctance among the interviewees regarding the evolution in the production of their work, many were excited to adopt additional or mixed media with the traditional still photographs and believed that it could aid the stories they tell and make these more accessible to audiences (Photojournalist ST4, DM3, SU3, ST5 and DM2). However, what was of significant concern was the challenges they face in order to earn a living and continue telling stories while having to take on a substantial amount of additional work (Photojournalist ST3,

M5, DM3, DE2 and DE3). Photojournalist SU5 notes this struggle;

[A] lot of still photographers at the press association, they have to do both [stills and video], which is ridiculous because they are two independent jobs for a start, two different skills and again I would need to go on a course if I were to do video, it doesn't mean I can't do it, I could, but you need to know the technical aspects.

Photojournalists find themselves having to find new ways to produce their work by adding new skill sets to their practice, yet are not compensated for doing so because they are still being paid at the same rate. It can be seen as a daunting development in addition to the already challenging nature of their profession. Photojournalists enter into their profession often times unaware of the realities of their job and the hardships they may face, yet this is their identity. Thus, by seeing photojournalism as an identity the challenges that photojournalists face are just a part of life. For many photojournalists, the challenges are part of the ups and downs of living a fulfilled life; which is embedded with a responsibility to the traditions of photojournalism and of telling stories. Photojournalist SU5 noted the importance of the 'tradition' of photojournalism and community in easing the challenges that photojournalists face. Photojournalist SU5 said:

We all struggle with challenges in this profession. When we get acknowledgement for what we do, it's nice, but when you are in the thick of it, it's not important. However, having a community of photojournalists is important in keeping spirits high. There is little separation between personal and professional life. Carrying the traditions of the greats of the past is a great burden, but an honour.

Photojournalist SU5 articulated that the challenges faced by photojournalists are

considerable and many photojournalists 'struggle' with them. Even though this 'identity' is a path that is individually chosen, unregulated and fraught with challenges, there are commonalities among those who answer the call to become a photojournalist. So, the connections they have with other like-minded individuals is important to them, despite the fact they are competitors, they still understand the challenges, have an understanding of the 'traditions' of photojournalism and the passion which makes them feel that it is worth facing the challenges.

Upholding the 'traditions' of photojournalism is about embodying a photographic identity; not only having an understanding of photojournalism's past, the responsibilities involved, but also about living a photojournalistic life. There is an inner strength that is fundamental to photojournalists that helps to get them through any challenging situations they may face. Challenging experiences can be transformative and aids in the development of one's identity and when those experiences are linked to one's profession, such as photojournalism, a bond is created; linking personal and professional life. Photojournalism becomes a photographic identity when a photojournalist prioritises the experiences and interactions involved with eye-witnessing history over physical rewards because personal rewards far outweigh any challenges they may come across. Thus, internal rewards are primarily more important than external rewards.

Photojournalist M2 noted how passion helps to maintain the motivation to live a photojournalistic life despite the significance of the challenges they face.

Photojournalist M2 said:

It is a lifestyle; it's not like a job. I don't see it as a job. ... You have to be passionate about it and if you're not passionate, [if] you don't live and breathe photojournalism then you wouldn't survive. It's like we're born to be photojournalists, and it really is in your blood and

it really is the most important thing in your life.

Photojournalist M2 highlighted that photojournalists are not necessarily motivated by external elements such as awards or accolades, but rather internal rewards such as experiences and interactions were much more motivating. Being part of the 'traditions' of photojournalism is about being part of something bigger, it is about an 'identity' that may be exciting and challenging, but it is also about a deep commitment to telling stories in an attempt to make a difference. This, in turn, inspires individual photojournalists to help each other, even if they are competitors.

Despite the rationales that interviewees gave, attributing the decline in their photographs being published and, in turn restricting their income, they did not let this debilitate them or deter them from telling the stories that they felt were important. Just as the challenges we face in life makes us stronger, it is evident that the challenges that photojournalists face make the connection to their photographic identity stronger. This research confirms that photojournalists are resourceful, continually looking for new opportunities or ways to adapt. Adapting by becoming multi-skilled in other areas besides photography; partly out of necessity and partly because of a desire to tell stories in new and innovate ways. In spite of the many challenges that come with maintaining their photographic identity, photojournalists keep telling stories they feel are important. In addition to this, the research data supports that the values that photojournalists maintain in their personal life aids in how they ethically govern their professional practices and ethical decision-making. Photojournalists may not like the challenges they face,

but they believe in the power of photojournalism. In order for these challenges to be deemed surmountable, there must be something much more powerful motivating photojournalists. For these men and women who chose photojournalism, it is a calling, their 'photographic identity'.

4.3 Ethical Eye

The ethical eye quadrant is formed by the intersecting quadrants of challenges, an eyewitness to history and photographic identity. When all three quadrants converge, that is when the concept of the ethical eye starts to emerge (see Fig18).



Figure 18: Ethical Eye

When photojournalists are eye-witnessing history, they may face challenging ethical decisions. In these ethical situations, photojournalists are guided by their personal values (shaped by their photographic identity) to aid in their ethical decision-making. When all three of these areas come together, this is when the use of the 'ethical eye' can be seen. The research data suggests that 88% of photojournalists are faced with ethical decisions in their professional practice (see

Appendix D), and 82 % of photojournalists' personal values have an effect on their decision making (see Appendix D). The photojournalists interviewed all appeared to show the use of an 'ethical eye' when discussing challenges, being an eyewitness to history and maintaining their photographic identity within their professional practice. This section describes in greater detail the 'ethical eye' in relation to photojournalists' professional practices.

Photojournalists follow numerous routines in their daily work. The routines appeared to be designed to allow photojournalists to manage their workflow efficiently and rapidly produce photographs in order to distribute them to various newspapers and agencies. Overall, similar systems of management were used by photojournalists interviewed for this study. The most prevalent issue for all the photojournalists was making efficient use of time while creating and distributing photographs to the newspapers. At first sight, these routines may appear monotonous and tedious, yet with closer examination great 'care' is taken at every stage. Chapter Five shows that photojournalists take 'care' in their professional practice; ethical thinking gives shape to part of this 'care'. Photojournalists interviewed stated that special 'care' was taken while framing, capturing, selecting and editing their photographs after they were taken.

Firstly, when a photojournalist considers an assignment, he or she decides to accept that assignment or decline it. Some may take an assignment because they believe it is ethical to do so because that story *needs* to be told; however, another photojournalist may take an unethical assignment because the personal accolades or financial gain are too high for them to decline. While a photojournalist is on an assignment, the photojournalist looks at a scene they are

going to photograph and in turn makes ethical judgments. The photojournalist may choose to continue to take photographs or put their camera down and either tries to help in the situation or turn and walk away because they feel the situation is unethical. Those that choose to continue to take photographs may decide that being a 'witness to history' is more important than walking away because if they help by informing millions to what they are witnessing, they are doing more good than if they merely just stopped and helped. Situations such as these could prove challenging for photojournalists because of the ethical implications of their actions.

This is where the 'ethical eye' of the photojournalist comes into play. The photojournalist is 'looking' at something and determines whether it is right or wrong for them to take a photograph; at this point, the photojournalist is beginning to use an 'ethical eye'. It is the reasoning and thinking behind what they actually see on the surface with their eyes; through their camera or at the photograph they have taken.

However, there may be instances where a photojournalist may not be able to use their 'ethical eye', such as within nature, sports or war photography for newspapers because the action is happening in front of them too quickly, and they may not have time to think using their 'ethical eye'; therefore they may use their 'ethical eye' when working with the photographs after they have taken them.

I'm there because I am sent there. I'm just going to photograph what I see in front of me, and I'll get out of there as quick as I can after I've gotten some images and get myself safely out.

Photojournalist SU5

Photojournalists may also use their 'ethical eye' while looking at their photographs after they have taken them. They initially decide which photographs they believe are acceptable for the newspaper, possibly for aesthetic reasons, but also for ethical reasons. Once a photograph is deemed acceptable for the newspaper, then a photojournalist may decide whether the photograph needs technical alterations done on it before submitting it to the newspaper; again reaching another level of using their 'ethical eye'. Their 'ethical eye' is constantly questioning; if I make these changes does it alter the photographs meaning or how will the public interpret this if I alter the photograph in this way?

It is also possible that two photojournalists may view a photograph or a scene and interpret it in an entirely different way. Therefore, each photojournalist's 'ethical eye' is different and personal. Their 'ethical eye' is made up of personal values of the photojournalist; based on individual beliefs, training and experiences and is not duplicated from one photojournalist to the next, this could also be considered their photographic identity.

I think that every photographer has different views on what they consider would be ethically correct, what I might think is not a right picture to take, another photographer will quite happily want that picture. I don't know how you would...stop them from taking that picture.

Photojournalist ST3

Yet, once a photograph is submitted to a newspaper, all of the photojournalists' work and 'care' using their 'ethical eye' may become superseded by the newspapers' decisions because it is the 'ethical eye' of the newspaper staff which

receives the photograph that makes the final ethical decisions before publication. The 'ethical eye' of newspaper staff is a subject that merits further investigation.

By looking at the 'ethical eye' in more detail, the 'ethical eye' starts to appear more complex. The 'ethical eye' itself can be broken down even further because it has a deontological link. In exploring this link further, I constructed and created a concept which I named The Deontological Ethical Eye. The following sections of this chapter will discuss these findings.

4.4 Deontological Ethical Eye

In accordance with deontological theory, individuals are morally obligated to act with regards to certain principles and rules regardless of the outcomes.

Deontological theories and duties have existed for hundreds of years. Religious deontology stems from religious groups that abide by principles that come from divine commandments or religious laws; these laws help them accomplish their moral obligations, such as not to lie, not to kill and not to steal. In 1788, Immanuel Kant formulated a deontological moral theory (Bhala, Yen and Bhala, 2016, p. 278).

From Kant's deontological moral theory, in the 1930's, Ross formulated a deontological moral theory because he was not completely satisfied with Kant's theory. Ross's theory combined aspects of both Kantian thinking and Utilitarianism; suggesting that individuals naturally know through intuition that fundamental duties are guiding them, he called these duties *prima facie duties* (Ross, 1930, p. 19). Ross's theory states that the correct moral principles are

expressed in seven duties. However, after studying my research data, I was not completely satisfied with Ross's theory because I believe different moral duties govern and guide ethical decision-making for photojournalists. From my research data, I was able to formulate a deontological moral theory called The Deontological Ethical Eye with five *prima facie duties* (duty to the subject/ story, duty to society/public, duty to their profession, duty to the newspaper and duty to self), which were not included in Ross's *prima facie duties*.

The Deontological Ethical Eye theory could be helpful for photojournalists to understand basic moral principles that apply to their ethical decision-making in their professional practices. It could prove useful for photojournalists to know that *prima facie* moral principles apply to their professional practices so that they could be more confident when faced with challenging ethical decisions.

By applying a deontological standpoint to the analysis of the practices of professional photojournalists, I aim to assess the obligations which photojournalists deem important in their working practices. I establish that they have a number of obligations in which they categorise based on what they believe has higher importance. In this section, I will discuss the deontological link to my data and each of the *prima facie duties* I developed for The Deontological Ethical Eye. Additionally, I will demonstrate that my research confirms that photojournalists *do* consider their duties when making ethical decisions; however, the categorisations of the importance of the duties are different from one photojournalist to another.

Christians (2007) and Borden (1995) both link Ross’s theory to journalism in that it is a compelling model in which individuals in this professional field can consider when faced with moral decisions. I too have seen this link, however in the case of the photojournalists interviewed for this research, they appear to consider their duties based on each ethical situation presented to them, and their duties directly reflect their profession; therefore Ross’s link doesn’t entirely fit; however, ethical duties do apply. My research suggests that photojournalists make ethical decisions based on their duties, which include; duty to the subject/ story, duty to society/public, duty to their profession, duty to the newspaper and duty to self. It also appears that each individual photojournalist does not have a set hierarchy for the duties they consider. I envision that Fig 19 below would be a type of rotating



Figure 19: Deontological ‘Ethical Eye’ (Decision-Making Model)

system in which it is a constantly revolving spinning wheel within the mind of the photojournalist, continually shifting in importance until they take action.

The dominance of the duty appears to be connected to how they ethically consider

each situation they are faced with, suggesting that the importance of a duty would change depending on each situation. I will now discuss each duty in the Deontological 'Ethical Eye' Decision-Making Model which a photojournalist considers when making ethical decisions.

Duty to the Subject/Story

Photojournalists have a duty to the story they are telling and the subjects they are photographing (see Fig 20). Photojournalists interviewed spoke extensively about



Figure 20: Deontological Ethical Eye (Duty to Subject/Story)

telling the visual story and ensuring that the subjects of the photographs were treated with dignity and sensitivity; therefore this duty weighs heavily on their ethical decision-making.

Storytelling is a fundamental role of a photojournalist and for one photojournalist interviewed it was the main reason they wanted to get into this profession.

Photojournalist ST4 says, "I first got into journalism because I liked telling stories

and telling stories of people and news events”. They are storytellers, eye-witnessing history and capturing images which capture and preserve cultural histories. It was not just one photojournalist that mentioned storytelling as an essential aspect of their profession, but several (Photojournalists DE2, DE3, DE4 and DM4). Telling stories through photographs is a unique practice and one which photojournalists strive to accomplish often times in a single image, as described by photojournalist DM5 and DE2; “in photojournalism, you are generally looking for one image that tells the whole story...you're looking for a single picture to tell that story”. It is through one photograph that a photojournalist pushes to convey an entire written story; this is what makes a professional and is not easily accomplished. Photojournalist DE3 expresses how;

You [can] get two people looking at the same scene and they take an image, one is just a boring scene and the other one, wow. It has to do with understanding what the story is about.

It is through this understanding that the professional ‘storyteller’ is born, professional photographs are not taken by luck, it is not always about being in the right place at the right time; professional photojournalists calculate, analyse and study a scene before capturing an image. It may happen in an instant, but the professionals have the instinct.

The desire to tell stories goes beyond financial gain; photojournalists “are quite willing not to get paid for” their photographs, suggesting that the passion and dedication that some photojournalists have for their job goes beyond a paycheque. Some photojournalists are so dedicated to telling the stories abroad

that;

They do the bread and butter stuff so they could go off for a couple of months and photograph a story, but gone are the days you could actually make a living out of doing it.

(Photojournalist DM5)

The passion for seeking out stories is underappreciated, yet the passion lives on through dedicated individuals, for example;

[m]ore and more photographers are trying to do self-funded projects... because newspapers and magazines won't commission these anymore, so my concern is that there are less and less room for...photojournalists. I think I'm worried that many stories are not going to be told.

(Photojournalist M3)

Losing the story is what photojournalist M3 is most concerned about, not money, but the story.

Not only do photojournalists want to tell stories, but in doing so, they strive to protect the individuals depicted in the stories. The duty they feel towards the subjects is strong amongst the interviewed photojournalists. They used such words as 'dignity', 'fair', 'sympathetic', 'respect' and 'sensitive' when discussing working and photographing individuals (Photojournalists DE1, DE3, SU2, M3 and DM3). Photojournalists find themselves in difficult situations, photographing death and grief; in such situations, they take great 'care' to consider the vulnerability of the subjects when telling the story. In one instance, photojournalist DE3 felt that a photograph published in a newspaper was inappropriate;

the picture of the mother, the father, the brother and the sister together, and the mother was crying, she was in anguish, well that image was published in several newspapers, and everybody agreed, this is going too far, it was very unkind and yes it did show the anguish, but you can argue from a photographic point of view, that was an incredible photograph to show the anguish in that woman's face, but it was so unkind. And I thought this is going too far.

Although photographs can depict the story and convey the pain of the event, if it could harm the subject then a photojournalist may reconsider submitting those photographs; as was the case with photojournalist M2, "I don't send it out to a publication, if it humiliates somebody or embarrasses them; it's just a question of human rights". Although photojournalists don't always come into direct contact with the subjects they photograph, they are aware of how the photograph may affect the subject if they see it; therefore in this instance duty to the subject takes precedence.

Providing storytelling and context for photographs is a major motivation for a photojournalist; pushing them to give a voice to the subject they are photographing, as well as giving themselves a 'voice' by retelling the stories they encounter. The photojournalists' duty to the story and the subjects are important because they are dealing with important stories that need telling while still protecting and safeguarding the individuals they photograph.

Duty to Society/Public

This research also shows that great importance is placed on 'benefit for the

greatest good' which may suggest a utilitarian approach; however, I suggest that this stems from a duty to society (see Fig 21). My research, also suggests that photojournalists see this as their duty, an obligation to society to be an eyewitness to history and document historical events and preserving it for future generations. The duty photojournalists have towards society, and the readers of the newspapers seem to be directed at a need to encourage society to view their



Figure 21: Deontological Ethical Eye (Duty to Society/Public)

work. Additionally, they strive to create work which will not upset the public or mislead them about the story they are telling.

With a quick glance at a newspaper, the first thing that tends to draw the eye is the photograph. The photojournalists interviewed stressed the importance to draw the readers through the use of their photographs. Photojournalist DE5 describes photojournalists as "the gatekeepers of the funnel that brings readers in"; urging viewers to buy and read a newspaper. Not only do they want people to see the

photographs, but also inform them.

Photojournalism is...often able to bring something to that story that would encourage people to read [and] also inform them something about it even if they chose not to read all the way to the end.

(Photojournalist DE5)

He also describes newspapers as an “atomic bomb of information”.

Photojournalists want the largest amount of people to see their images.

Photojournalist M3 wants “to have people see [the photographs] because this is the main target” he continues by saying;

[W]e want to make the stories to communicate, we don't want to do it just to win contests or be seen by our colleagues or peers...we are journalists, so we want them to be seen by thousands.

Not only do photojournalists want to present photographs to as many people as they can; they also want to present it sensitively, without misleading the viewers.

Even if a photograph is brilliant, it may not be appropriate because the context of the photograph may be too sensitive or graphic to show the public. An example of this comes from photojournalist DE1;

I covered the tsunami in 2004, 2005 and I was in Sri Lanka and I was actually there doing a completely different job and I had been commissioned by the Daily Mail and on the second day the picture editor phoned me up and said, ‘look, I know there are lots of bodies there, can you stop sending pictures of bodies because we can't use them’, I'm not sure

that's ethics, but that's just going to upset the readers.

Photojournalists may have plenty of subject matter to photograph, but if it does not appeal to the readers, then the newspaper will not consider it because it will not sell newspapers.

Photojournalists want to tell the truth and leave no room for misleading the public about the story they are trying to tell. Photojournalist M3 says, "We have to make sure we don't take out anything that is important to the story that...will misinform [or] we give the wrong information". An example of this comes from photojournalist DE5;

So, for instance, you've got a picture that says 'Ilesha, Baghdad, London, No More Bombs', if you crop it in such a way where it says 'London, No More Bombs', then it is going to mean something different.

Photojournalists are careful about how their photographs are interpreted and take 'care' when cropping their photographs because this simple act can lead to misinterpretations. It is important to photojournalists that the photographs they present give the public a true impression of the events they eye witnessed;

[Y]ou can take pictures that give certain impressions, and I certainly would not take a photograph that would give an impression to the public that was not the truth.

(Photojournalist DE4)

Photojournalists are aware of the power that photographs hold and how photographs if misinterpreted, could have devastating implications to people and

the society.

The duty photojournalists feel towards society, or the readers could take precedence over the other duty's they consider when they are concerned with attracting readership or presenting the photographs to the readers truthfully. One of the main purposes of photojournalism is to get people to view photographs and inform society about important stories occurring around the world. To maintain that readership, they must preserve the trust they receive from the public by correctly informing them about events in society.

Duty to their Profession

The interviewed photojournalists convey a duty to maintain a positive reputation of their profession as a highly skilled and reputable industry (see Fig 22). The



Figure 22: Deontological Ethical Eye (Duty to Profession)

socialisation of photojournalists also strengthens this duty by creating connections

between photojournalists, which seems to drive them to produce work which would meet the approval of their working peers.

With the mainstream use of digital photography, the quality of photojournalism is under threat according to the photojournalists interviewed, for this reason; photojournalists are worried about the integrity of their profession. The photojournalists stated that with the introduction of digital, “a lot of the professional skills have gone out the window...it’s slightly deskilled the industry” (Photojournalist SU5 and DE3). In addition to the loss of highly skilled professionals, photojournalists believe that;

in order for [readers] to invest their time to see [a] photograph, it has got to look good; it’s got to look professional; therefore you need to pay the money to make it look professional.

(Photojournalist DM5)

However, according to photojournalist DE4, the professional skills of photojournalists are not valued; “very talented photographic people are not valued anymore, and the value of photography is at rock bottom”. Photojournalists are aware that it can take only one photojournalist to tarnish the reputation of all photojournalists and in turn causing the public to distrust the authenticity of newspaper photographs. Photojournalist SU2 understands that there could be ramifications if she manipulated photographs; “people that have manipulated photographs...have never worked in photography again” because anyone who has been caught manipulating a photograph has ruined their professional reputation. The desire for photojournalists to maintain their professional reputation is not only important to them but to their peers as well because they are all

connected through 'socialisation', which I discuss in detail in Section 6.4.

Amongst the community of professional photojournalists, there appears to be comradery and accolade when their peers recognise their photographs.

Photojournalist DE4 recalls seeing the photograph of Prince Charles and Camilla, Duchess of Cornwall photographed by a colleague;

We are proud as photographers. We have...Facebook...its international photographers, who can communicate with each other on a daily basis...and most of us were very happy for our colleague to take that picture because it was taken by a professional photographer and not a member of the public, so there's still hope for us all.

Social forums such as the one photojournalist DE4 mentions above, helps photojournalists stay connected over vast distances and maintains a professional 'socialisation' amongst photojournalists.

When photojournalists do have an opportunity to work within a group, photojournalist DE5 says;

They will show each other pictures and say, what do you think? And what do you think if I crop it like this? Will it be better or worse? ...it is those collaborative things [that tend] to have a positive effect on the ethical output of a photographer.

This suggests that the positive influences that professional peers have towards one another are hugely beneficial and it is through these strengthened bonds that creates a community dedicated to a positive output of photographs.

The photographers...are making a stand at contributing to the debate in a way that informs other photographers and creates a peer pressure around other photographers not to overstep the bounds and in many ways this is the most effective way of doing it...the most that we can hope out of it is the respect of our peers and all photographers are probably going to be, to one extent or another, swayed by the opinions of their peers more than they are by those they consider their management.

(Photojournalist DE5)

The loyalty that photojournalists feel towards their profession can weigh heavily on their ethical decision-making because they know that there are ramifications connected to their actions that will not only affect their own career but the reputation of the entire profession. Through these examples of professional socialisation, there appears to be a strong connection between the photojournalist and their professional peers; this has a dramatic bearing on their duty to their profession.

Photojournalists are not merely a silent producer of photographs; it is clear that they have strong opinions with a desire to maintain the integrity of their profession. Their duty to their profession is important to them, especially when a photojournalist sees their profession tarnished by careless individuals. It is through socialisation that photojournalists can shape a community of professionals dedicated to maintaining a trustworthy and reliable profession.

Duty to the Newspaper

Taking photographs that can be published in newspapers is one of the main objectives of a photojournalist; they are doing this for the newspaper because this is what they are employed to achieve and it is their duty (see Fig 23). Not only is it

their job, but they also must adhere to the aesthetics of the newspapers they are



Figure 23: Deontological Ethical Eye (Duty to Newspaper)

targeting; otherwise their photograph may not be chosen for publication.

The duty which photojournalists make towards the newspaper is one which appears to shield them from the subject matter they are photographing, such as when photojournalist DE2 states;

I'm just there to do a job, if somebody asked me to go and photograph something, whether I believed in it or not I would go and do it, that's my job.

It's their job; their job is to photograph what is in front of them no matter what the subject matter. This, in a sense, justifies any instance which may be under question because as three photojournalists (ST3, M4 and SU5) remark;

If it was an honest news picture, even if it may upset the people who are in the picture, then I would still take it because I'm a newspaper photographer, I'm just showing what is there in front of me.

(Photojournalist ST3)

If you're working for a newspaper, you should be there just recording things.

(Photojournalist M4)

I'm there because I'm sent there, I'm just going to photograph what I see and what's in front of me.

(Photojournalist SU5)

The duty in which these three photojournalists follow is for the newspapers and for them, it appears that no other duty would take a higher priority; it's their job and nothing more. Specifically, photojournalist DE1 admits, "My policy has always been no matter what paper I'm working for; my first loyalty is to the newspaper".

In addition to completing a job, photojournalists are aware of the aesthetics the newspaper adheres to in order to fulfil this duty to that newspaper. Photojournalist ST2 states that he considers the overall 'feeling' of the newspaper or agency because photojournalists have no manual to follow in order for them to determine the aesthetics of a specific newspaper; they have to determine it purely by their own intuition and previous knowledge of what types of photographs a newspaper may choose over others. The duty they have to the newspapers secures their employment and keeps the newspapers satisfied. Photojournalist ST5 also works towards a specific aesthetic or style that a newspaper has, for instance;

to a certain extent, you are trying to conform to the newspaper's particular aesthetic...if it doesn't fit into what their aesthetic is or their style or shape or whatever then, it is not that it is pointless doing it, [but it will not be published].

This suggests that photojournalists may take their duty for the newspaper over

what a photojournalist may think is a nice photograph; it's about what they know is appropriate for the newspaper. Photojournalist M2 also refers to the aesthetics of a newspaper as the "house style" of a paper;

[Y]ou know the 'house style' of particular newspapers you know the house style of various newspapers, but for your own satisfaction you might shoot it a slightly different way, which doesn't quite comply with the sort of 'house style'.

This also suggests that they may shoot images which fulfil their own aesthetic needs but are not images that they would submit to the newspaper.

Photojournalists' duty to the newspapers appears to be quite straightforward; they record what is in front of them and send in photographs that appeal to each newspaper, without questioning why or if they should be capturing those images. It is also implied that photojournalists understand that if they do not conform to the style of those newspapers or agencies, then they run the risk of not being published or even worse, not considered by that newspaper or agency for future work. This suggests that their duty to the newspaper also fulfils the duty to self, which I discuss further in the next section.

Duty to Self

If a photojournalist chooses to make ethical decisions based on their duty to 'self', they find importance in seeking new skills to strengthen their skill-set, maintaining their integrity and seeking out work (see Fig 24). Additionally, photojournalists'



Figure 24: Deontological Ethical Eye (Duty to Self)

strong personal connection to their work drives how they make decisions within their profession.

A duty to self drives individuals to seek out knowledge to better themselves and gain new skills. Throughout the years, right back to the beginning of photojournalism, photojournalists have had to constantly adapt themselves to new technologies thereby gaining new skills as new technology becomes available. It is no different now; photojournalists still must continue to explore new skills.

Photojournalist DM3 speaks about new skills in this statement;

[W]e will be looking at being more flexible in what we're able to do, as in film and not taking photographs, but doing both film and photographs, we will be expected to do a lot more and even perhaps being expected to be writing stories as well. We're doing it without a lot of reporters as well; we've lost a lot of reporters in the last few years so as photographers we are expected more and more to find stories ourselves.

Becoming a multi-skilled photojournalist is a burden that is becoming heavier for photojournalists to bear; not only because they have to balance a number of different tasks, but also because they are not compensated financially for their efforts. However, for photojournalists to maintain themselves within their beloved profession, they must adapt to professional changes.

To maintain their personal integrity, photojournalists may decide to take action based on their own considerations first. "My own considerations are given priority", says photojournalist M3; he was adamant about making sure that he was not deceived into taking photographs that were untrue. Photojournalist M5 is also aware that his actions can create legal trouble for him and he says, "It's not worth it, it's not worth crashing the car, causing criminal damage, it's not worth being arrested by the police for harassment". Photojournalists can have considerable pressure on them by the newspaper to complete the job no matter what and instead of being under pressure from the newspaper photojournalist SU2 adheres to his own personal duty to self and does not give in to the pressures:

There is often an attitude to get a picture, any picture, no matter what you do and I completely disagree with that...I had come from Africa and [the newspaper] just started abusing me because I refused to take certain pictures.

Although the pressure on photojournalists to get the pictures desired by the newspaper is strong, they are still able to maintain their personal integrity by making decisions which adhere to their personal values.

To sustain themselves within their chosen profession, photojournalists must also

struggle to get work and make money; this also weighs on the duty they have to self. Jobs for professional photojournalists have gone into decline since the introduction of cheap, high-quality digital cameras and as photojournalist DE4 says, photojournalists have “got to push, [they’ve] got to shoot for nothing and then people will then see [their] work...[They] have to go out and look for it, but it's getting scarcer and scarcer”. The interview data suggests that photojournalists are dedicated to their profession, yet struggle to make a living. The duty to self includes the ability for photojournalists to create a livelihood as well as the ability to express themselves through their work.

Photojournalists have a close bond to the work that they produce and hope that the newspapers will appreciate and maintain that connection through to publication. Even though a photojournalist knows what the newspaper will want, they will also give them photographs they feel strongly about because they hope that the photograph will be appreciated too, as photojournalist DM4 discusses;

[A]s a photographer obviously you're sitting there saying, 'oh, that's a shame', because you want them to use the picture that looks just impressive, so you send them what they need, and also you might want to use as well.

It is this hope which a photojournalist clings to because it is those photographs which reflect them personally the most. Photojournalists are also aware that the bonds that they often feel towards their photographs can be misguided because of the circumstances which they found themselves in when taking a photograph. As an example, photojournalist DE5 says;

a photographer usually attaches meaning to things that were enjoyable to them or was hard and sometimes you think, 'that picture, oh, it was so hard to get' and sometimes you invested so much in trying to get it, that it blinds you to the fact that it probably wasn't all that great.

However, this does not stop photojournalists fighting for their work to be seen whether it is in newspapers, in galleries or online. They feel a duty to self to get their photographs seen by as many people as possible. The fact that photojournalists have genuine opinions about their work makes photojournalists knowledgeable about the stories they are telling.

The duty a photojournalist places on 'self' is one of sacrifice. When this duty is chosen they put their career at risk because the lack of financial reward for these actions are limited, yet their passion to stay true to themselves takes hold, and they are driven to better themselves. They better themselves through knowledge and improvement of professional skills.

These five duties came to fruition when the ethical eye was examined more closely to reveal the deontological link. The duties which form the Deontological Ethical Eye are a culmination of the discussions with the photojournalists interviewed for this research. The data collected from the discussions with photojournalists and the research findings above helped to provide answers to my research questions which I discuss in the next section.

4.5 Photojournalists: Ethical Codes, Ethical Interactions and Judgment Values

Three research questions guided this study: do photojournalists apply newspapers' ethical codes concerning photo manipulation to the production of their digital photographs; how do photojournalists ethically interact with their digital photographs; and what are the judgment values and acceptances of photojournalists towards digital photo manipulation? The answers to these questions were obtained from the research data and are discussed below in this section. These questions were created with the aim of exploring the thoughts, views and opinions of photojournalists with the hope that their experiences would open a window into the world of photojournalists' ethical decision-making.

When I first embarked on this journey of discovery, I wanted to uncover whether or not photojournalists were given ethical codes regarding photo manipulation from UK national newspapers. Yet, each and every photojournalist I interviewed for this research said that they were not given *any* ethical codes concerning photo manipulation by the newspapers they publish in. Therefore, early on in the analysis of the data, it was clear that photojournalists do not apply newspapers' ethical codes concerning photo manipulation to the production of their digital photographs. Nonetheless, through deeper investigation of the research data, I did discover that photojournalists see their profession as their identity and appear to be self-governed in relation to ethical decision-making; based on ethical duties as indicated by the deontological ethical eye.

My research findings highlight how photojournalists ethically interact with digital

photographs before, during and after they take news photographs.

Photojournalists take 'care' when they interact with their photographs, as indicated in my research data; this relates to ethically questioning photographic situations, working with subjects, self-preservation during assignments and questioning requests from newspapers. The experiences and interactions photojournalists have with those who they photograph, quickly instils an enormous sense of responsibility among them regarding the way they conduct themselves professionally. This is particularly emphasised by the photojournalists' duty to the subject/story, as well as duty to self and duty to the newspaper. Photojournalists are aware that even though they take great 'care' while ethically interacting with their photographs, that 'care' may not extend beyond their hands because once the photographs are submitted, they have no more control. They are careful in the possible interpretations of their photographs, the narrative quality of the photographs and are aware that their photographs are powerful in the way they may influence the viewing public. While editing their photographs, photojournalists interviewed conveyed that digital photographs have the power to persuade or evoke emotion; therefore, editing is an important process which also requires 'care'. Therefore, in order to protect their professional reputations, my research data argues that photojournalists are cautious when interacting with their digital photographs.

The judgement values and acceptances that photojournalists interviewed felt towards digital photo manipulation is that they would avoid photo manipulation that 'crossed ethical boundaries', however, would consider manipulation which brings the photograph back to how the original scene looked. Many of the

photojournalists interviewed also suggest that the process of taking and submitting their photographs is far too quick for significant changes to be done to their photographs. The risk of job loss or tarnished reputations are too great for the photojournalists interviewed because they believe if they were to manipulate their photographs then they would not be employed in British media. Photojournalists are socialised in their professions; therefore the data suggests that they would not like to be seen unfavourably in the eyes of their professional peers, therefore would not manipulate their photographs; this is indicated by their duty to profession. There are some manipulations such as; cropping, sharpening, burning and dodging, which appear to be acceptable to the photojournalists interviewed because these types of manipulations do not detract from the context of the photograph and are ones which were employed in the darkroom. Those types of manipulations are merely enhancing what is already there or compensating for what the camera did not capture correctly. Adhering to the 'traditions' of their profession and being an accurate and truthful eyewitness to history, aligns with their duty to their profession and duty to society/public. The research findings suggest that photojournalists use digital technology to construct their photographs; creating a balance between technically altering a photograph (which is deemed 'acceptable') and altering a photograph excessively (which is deemed 'unacceptable'). The findings also revealed that the way in which photojournalists perform their jobs influences their values and the digital photographs they produce; forming a link to their photographic identity.

While the quest to find the answers to my research questions did not conclude with definite answers, the journey brought about the construction of two entirely

new theories; the Ethical Eye and the Deontological Ethical Eye. What *is*, however, clear is that the newspapers did not give photojournalists who were interviewed for this research any ethical codes concerning photo manipulation, yet despite this lack of institutional or corporate governance, photojournalists appear to maintain strong views and opinions surrounding the topic of ethical practice in their profession and are found to practice with an 'ethical eye'.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter supports the idea that photojournalists are engaged with practices which incorporated either a conscious or unconscious connection to ethics in the construction of their photographs for newspapers. Whilst my data highlights that photojournalists deem their profession as an 'identity', they have incorporated their personal ethics and woven that into their working ethics aiding in the creation of the 'ethical eye'.

In order to comprehend these connections within the structure of the professional photojournalist, I outlined a representation (see Fig 11) that conceptualises the role that ethics plays in connection to the way photojournalists practice in their profession in terms of four quadrants; challenges, eyewitnesses to history, photographic identity and finally 'ethical eye'. This representation was developed in order to facilitate a consideration of the practice of professional photojournalists who publish their digital photographs in UK national newspapers. In developing this representation, I emphasised its fluid nature in recognition of the movement of discussions between subjects and connections between them as seen within the interview data. The overlapping of the quadrants represents the fluid nature of the

research data, thus creating a link between: Eyewitness/Challenges, Eyewitness/Photographic Identity and Photographic Identity/Challenges; sparking areas of future debate and research. This, I hope, would also be useful in generating future ethical discussions with consideration of the current socialisation of photojournalists and with consideration of all areas of the photojournalists' life which is touched by the 'ethical eye'.

When looking at the ethical eye in more detail, I realised that there was more to the ethical eye than I previously thought. The ethical eye has a deontological link which shows that photojournalists follow a set of duties in connection to their ethical decision-making. The profession of photojournalism is built upon making appropriate ethical decisions before, during and after taking photographs. The data in this thesis suggests that photojournalists take a deontological approach to their ethical decision-making. This theory helps to explain why a photojournalist chooses to act in a particular way based on which duty dominates their decision-making. Deciding which duty to consider, although complex and varied, is reliant on the values of each individual photojournalist.

The findings presented in this chapter are an original contribution to knowledge and aims to promote discussion and future research into the ethical practices of photojournalists. The following chapters will aim to support these findings and give readers a deeper insight into photojournalists who have published in UK national newspapers.

Chapter 5: Ethical Interactions: Photojournalists and the Newspaper

In the previous chapter, I examined how photojournalists ethically assess and view situations in their professional practices, resulting in the original findings of this research. This chapter further explores the notion of ethics in relation to photojournalists' practice, locating the issues within a broader umbrella of the ethical concerns surrounding the manipulation of newspaper photographs due to advancing technologies (Wheeler, 2002; Irby, 2004; Kobre, 2008; Newton, 2001 and Neri, 2006).

Before discussing the research data, it is important to contextualise the debate about photographic ethics in an age of digital technology. Hughes (2012) warns that advancing technology such as the internet and the rise of social media could have a greater impact on the photographs which are ethically sensitive, such as those that have been manipulated because anyone can take a photograph, edit it and publish it on the internet. The ease of distribution of photographs creates ethical debates surrounding privacy (Levy and Swan, 2012) and subject sensitivity (Lester, 1999). In this sense, a balance must be made between avoidance of possible breaches of privacy and fulfilling the demand for visual documentation of world events because although the public demand for photographs is high, invasion of privacy still remains a concern (Levy and Swan, 2012).

To elaborate further Kobre (2008, p. 389) argues that photojournalists have no sole arbitrator or guideline of what is considered ethical or not. Even if there were guidelines, the subjective nature of ethics would cloud this judgement because

each ethical principle or philosophy comes with entirely different determinations of what is considered ethical, as discussed in Chapter Two. However, alongside this, photojournalists' power to exercise ethical choices within their profession grows as the knowledge of publicised ethical debates increases, particularly debates that surround the professionals themselves such as; should the photograph have been taken or has this photograph been altered too drastically?

This research shows that photojournalists take 'care' while constructing or editing their photographs for newspapers because they are aware that photographs have an ability to shape the understandings and opinions of viewers. Lester (1995) notes:

[I]mages evoke almost immediate emotional responses among viewers, pictures have tremendous impact. With well-chosen words, visual messages combine to educate, entertain and persuade, but the flip side to such visual power is that images can also offend, shock, mislead, stereotype and confuse.

Besides the informative qualities of photographs, they also have an effective component; photographs make information more touching than purely verbal messages (Burgoon, 1980; Meyrowitz, 1985; Lewis, 1984) by having the potential to generate powerful emotional responses, such as joy sorrow or sympathy (Biocca, 1991; Graber, 1990). Culbertson (1974, p. 80) found that highly emotional photographs can affect viewers' judgment about subjects and news events. If it is indeed the case that emotional judgments can be influenced by photographs, then it is not far off to suggest that photographs may influence ethical judgments as well.

This chapter will now examine the understanding and awareness about ethics that emerge through the interviews with photojournalists in relation to constructing and publishing photographs for UK national newspapers. I have grouped the data under the following headings; ethical awareness in newspaper photojournalism, ethics through the lens, thinking of ethics while working with digital photographs, ethical conflicts in photojournalism and finally, out of their hands: changes made by the newspapers.

5.1 Ethical Awareness in Newspaper Photojournalism

In this section, I aim to establish how the awareness of ethics amongst the photojournalists interviewed is significant in the way that they take 'care' while interacting with their digital photographs and working in their profession. Taking 'care' may relate ethically to questioning photographic situations, associating with subjects, self-preservation during assignments and questioning the requests made by newspapers. This is significant because even though photojournalists may not follow strictly governed ethical guidelines, they are still self-governed in their practice by ethically questioning photographic situations as discussed in Chapter Four. Taking 'care' while working with newspaper photographs is necessary because photographs are powerful in the way they may influence the viewing public and if misused, photographs may strongly affect the judgements of those who view photographs in newspapers; for instance, if a photograph depicts a person or groups of people in a negative way, then stereotypes or biases may occur. Although Perlmutter (1998, p. 110) argues that photographs, particularly those of an iconic nature, do not influence public opinion. Other researchers, (Hariman and Lucaites, 2007, p. 7-8) on the other hand, challenge this notion

suggesting that photographs have a decisive impact on the views of individuals and perhaps even influence political action or inaction based on visual media; such as photographs taken during war times.

Newspaper photographs have the ability to shape the perceptions we have of our cultural histories; for example, war photographs could have the power to sway public opinion positively or negatively and perhaps even influence those in powerful positions towards wartime decision-making. Elliott and Lester (2000), Berger (2005) and Bolch (2002) all note that when discussing photojournalism it is difficult to separate the power that photographs possess without discussing the ethics surrounding creating and publishing the photographs. Past research suggests that moral judgements, arousing consciences and sparking social change are all linked with the power of photographs (Sontag, 1977; Barry, 1995); this links to the recognition that the ethics of creating and distributing photographs must be considered because of the acknowledgement that photographs have the power to influence the moods and actions of newspaper viewers. Iconic photographs, such as Joe Rosenthal's *Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima*, see Fig 6, or Huyuh Cong UT's *Napalm Strike*, see Fig 25, hold such power, significance and have the ability to not only to shape the way that we perceive significant cultural events but also sway public opinion for or against them. Hariman and Lucaites (2007, p. 7) also argue that this may be the reason photographs of the Vietnam war still raise heated debate about the war, or a photograph of a man standing in front of the tanks in Tiananmen Square (Jeff Widener's *Tank Man*, see Fig 26) is still banned in China. The responsibility and 'care' of photographs that appear in newspapers rest on the shoulders of photojournalists and those that publish them

in their newspapers (Newton, 2009, p. 234).



Figure 25: Ut, N. (1972) *Napalm girl*. Available at: <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/headlines/2012-/06/the-historic-napalm-girl-pulitzer-image-marks-its-40th-anniversary/> (Accessed: 6 April 2014).



Figure 26: Widener, J. (1989) *Tank Man*. Available at: <http://cmbonham.wordpress.com-/2012/10/16/conveying-emotion/> (Accessed: 6 April 2014).

Photographs that hold power and create great resonance have continued to grace the front pages of newspapers worldwide. Two photographs which have recently stirred the emotions of viewers globally are Daniel Etter's photograph of desperate migrants arrive on the beach in Kos, see Fig 27 and Nilufer Demir's photograph of the dead Syrian boy on that same beach, see Fig 28. One photograph is of immense relief and the other of devastating horror and heartbreak. Both of these



Figure 27: Etter, D. (2015) *Untitled*. Available at: <http://www1.theladbible.com/images-/content/630w/55d4df739601d.jpg> (Accessed: 28 October 2015).



Figure 28: Demir, N. (2015) *Untitled*. Available at: http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/nilfer-demir-interview-876 (Accessed: 28 October 2015).

photographs brought a glimmer of hope in shedding light on the migrant crisis affecting Syria and other neighbouring countries.

As they spread, and as individuals and organizations faced the decision of whether and how to publish them, those pictures have ignited a new kind of conversation about the crisis.

'The reason we're talking about this photograph is not because it's been taken or not because it's been circulated, but it's because it's been published by mainstream media,' says Hugh Pinney, vice president at Getty Images, a distributor of news images. 'And the reason we're talking about it after it's been published is because it breaks a social taboo that has been in place in the press for decades: a picture of a dead child is one of the golden rules of what you never published.'

What is unique about this case, however, is that many news outlets' decisions to publish the images followed a public outcry on social media. 'We got to this point because individuals have had the balls to publish the pictures themselves on social media,' says Pinney. 'I think that gave the mainstream media the courage and the conviction to publish this picture.'

(Laurent, 2015)

If not for the internet, this photograph may not have been published by mainstream media. The power of this photograph was so overwhelming and spoke to so many that they have now been ingrained into many of our memories. Once again the power of a photograph has defined a moment in history.

Sontag (1977, pg. 57) suggests that photographers become disconnected; however, that does not mean the photojournalists don't find themselves facing emotionally difficult situations including war or famine (Kim and Kelly, 2014; Day, 2006), photojournalist DM5 says;

The reason you're there is to show the rest of the world what's going on, so that means you photograph whatever is in front of you, you are there to record and report, you are not there to intervene.

Therefore, for photojournalist DM5, the primary journalistic goal is to be a detached observer, “a tourist in other people’s reality” (Sontag, 1977, p. 57) and to record the story. However, when faced with life threatening situations, such as at the scene of a car accident or attempted suicide, the preservation of human life supersedes that of the journalistic commitment. Marion and Izard (1986) offer these ethical recommendations:

It is with these considerations in mind that some version of the following statement is recommended for inclusion in existing codes:

Journalists have a primary responsibility to cover and report newsworthy events as impartial, detached observers. It is recognized, however, that journalists might find themselves at emergency situations in which fellow human beings are in need of help. Under these circumstances, considerations of human life must supersede the journalist's commitment to impartiality. In such life-and-death situations, and only when emergency personnel have not yet arrived at the scene, journalists should render appropriate assistance. It is with such action that journalists may fulfil their high duties as members of society without compromising their equally high ideal of journalistic impartiality.

(Marion and Izard, 1986, p. 67)

Photojournalist Kevin Carter was faced with a particularly difficult ethical dilemma during his 1994 assignment of the Sudan famine;

Seeking relief from the sight of masses of people starving to death, he wandered into the open bush. He heard a soft, high-pitched whimpering and saw a tiny girl trying to make her way to the feeding center. As he crouched to photograph her, a vulture landed in view. Careful not to disturb the bird, he positioned himself for the best possible image. He would later say he waited about 20 minutes, hoping the vulture would spread its wings. It did not,

and after he took his photographs, he chased the bird away and watched as the little girl resumed her struggle. Afterward he sat under a tree, lit a cigarette, talked to God and cried.

(Macleod, 1994)

Kevin Carter won a Pulitzer Prize for the photograph in 1994; see Fig 29, only to take his own life two months later at the age of 33, of carbon-monoxide poisoning.



Figure 29: Carter, K. (1993) *Struggling Girl*. Available at: <https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/vulture-little-girl/> (Accessed: 13 August 2009).

It is unknown whether his death was due to the circumstances of this photograph or perhaps other personal factors. What this example suggests is that photojournalists who are faced with these types of ethical dilemmas face incredibly difficult decisions. In the movie documenting the life of photojournalist James Nachtwey (Frei, 2001), Nachtwey spoke about how photojournalists are accused of exploiting the tragedies of others to advance their careers. To justify his actions, he said the following:

The worst thing is to feel that as a photographer I'm benefiting from someone else's

tragedy. This idea haunts me. It's something I have to reckon with every day, because I know that if I ever allow genuine compassion to be overtaken by personal ambition, I will have sold my soul. The only way I can justify my role is to have respect for the other person's predicament. The extent to which I do that is the extent to which I become accepted by the other. And to that extent, I can accept myself.

(Frei, 2001)

Therefore, for Nachtwey, he justifies his actions of recording tragedy by placing himself in the subjects' place and respecting them and in doing so, gains the respect from his subjects (Frei, 2001). This idea also seemed to haunt Carter through all of the negative attention the photograph received;

With the Pulitzer, however, he had to deal not only with acclaim but also with the critical focus that comes with fame. Some journalists in South Africa are reported to have criticized his winning of the prize a 'fluke,' alleging that he had somehow set up the tableau. Others questioned his ethics. 'The man adjusting his lens to take just the right frame of her suffering,' said the St Petersburg (Florida) Times, 'might just as well be a predator, another vulture on the scene.' Even some of Carter's friends wondered aloud why he had not helped the girl.

(Macleod, 1994)

The photograph of the Sudanese girl shows that some photographic situations are difficult to judge ethically. My research suggests that sometimes ethical questions don't arise until after the photojournalist takes the picture; photojournalist DM5 says that he "might decide to delete or not put through an image". Yet, photojournalist DE4 suggests that photojournalists have little time to think of the ethics of a photograph and "most photographers shoot, send and think about it afterwards". She also suggests that the camera acts as a sort of filter allowing

“you to take photographs of things that if you were to see, you would probably turn your back on and close your eyes” (Photojournalists DE4), the camera allows you to detach yourself from the scene acting as a shield from the tragedy, danger and grief (Sontag, 1977, pg. 57).

In addition to being careful about the photographs photojournalists submit, photojournalist M1 and DM2 also say that it is important to be diplomatic and sensitive in whatever situation you're in by having “empathy for the subject matter” and not “monster someone, where they just surround someone” to take their photograph. When dealing with delicate subject matter, such as female victims, photojournalist DM3 emphasises that;

you have to be very sensitive towards them when you are actually taking the picture, which is very important and to be another understanding female is very, very important ... because they need to know that they can trust you as a photographer.

Photojournalist DM3 suggests that it is also important to consider the gender of the photojournalist who is photographing subject matter which is sensitive, especially when the subject is a woman in distress because a female photojournalist is perceived as less of a threat than a male photojournalist (Foy, 1998, p. 42-43).

When taking photographs of the bereaved, many of the photojournalists interviewed for this research said that they find this type of tragedy quite difficult; questioning “when you're grieving, do you want to be photographed”. For example photojournalist DM4 was asked by a woman;

to speak to another photographer...just to lay easy on it, and that's when you're getting really close to somebody's life at a really bad time and you can get really close to somebody at a really good time, but ethically I questioned it, I think ultimately it's [up to] the newspapers.

This suggests that photojournalists question the necessity of taking such distressing photographs; distressing for the subjects, the photojournalist and for the viewers. However, it is also suggested that the photojournalists will leave that decision to the newspaper to decide whether or not to publish the photograph.

According to photojournalist M4;

if you're a photographer you should slightly be a mirror, you should be photographing what you see, and the decision on how the pictures are used should be down to the picture editors because they are removed from the scene.

This suggests that photojournalists recognise a need for an outside figure that can view the photographs they submit without the biases of how the photojournalists felt when taking it, which may cloud the judgement of whether it is acceptable for the newspaper to publish. Agreeing with photojournalist M4, photojournalist M5 thinks that it is not the responsibility of the photojournalist to make ethical decisions about what to publish;

I don't think it is necessarily your job to make those calls, those calls are made by your picture editors, he is paid to do that and the photographer isn't. As a photographer, it is not your job to question things too much, apart from legality. You should never do anything that's illegal, but on an ethics level it's not your job if ethics struck a chord for me personally I think most photographers shoot it, maybe edit it later, but obviously, that job is done by somebody higher up... not only to edit the photos but they also decide which ones

are suitable for publication. Very rarely would I self-edit a picture.

This photojournalist sees his job as one of just taking photographs and not deciding whether the photograph should be published in a newspaper, shifting the ethical responsibility away from him and onto another. However, some photojournalists question leaving the judgement to the newspapers because as photojournalist DM4 says, “nowadays newspapers feel the need to show everything”. My research indicates that photojournalists seem concerned with the way that newspaper photo editors and those that work at newspapers conduct themselves ethically; suggesting that the ethical standards are questionable and newspapers will publish photographs believing that it will help sell more newspapers.

Some actions by photographers, invasion of privacy, for instance, are questionable, such as taking someone’s photograph without their knowledge or permission. However, photojournalist DE3 is concerned that if strict privacy laws were ever introduced;

you won’t be able to photograph in a football field because somebody in the far end of the field says, ‘hey, I’m in that shot, I don’t want to be photographed’.

In conclusion, my research reveals that photojournalists are aware of ethics and utilise their ethical knowledge through making decisions regarding taking and interacting with photographs. This section confirms that photojournalists question how photographs are read by the public, whether the subjects are portraying the truth and whether or not they should remain a detached observer or one which

considers the feelings of the subjects photographed. In the next section, I will explore in more detail the ethical conflicts photojournalists may face within their professional working practices.

5.2 Ethical Conflicts Faced by Photojournalists

This section aims to address ethical dilemmas that photojournalists have struggled with in regards to the newspapers' requests for taking photographs and selecting photographs to publish. In addition, it addresses the ethical decisions photojournalists made; either by refusing to take an assignment, choosing not to submit a photograph to a newspaper or completing the assignment despite their personal reservations over the situation they found themselves.

Rössler *et al.*'s (2011, p. 415) research argues that the editorial decision-making regarding the selection of the photographs published by the newspaper is motivated by; a need to attract consumers to buy the newspaper, evoke emotion (happiness, sadness, empathy etc...) from the viewers or entice viewers to read the accompanying newspaper article. More specifically, Rasmussen (2002, p. 68-69) notes that when publishing photographs in a newspaper which depicts violence, there are six main aspects of a photograph that attract the viewers' attention; photographs published on the front page, colour photographs, peak action of violence, evidence of violence (i.e. blood), scenes of strong emotion (i.e. grieving family) and a perception of favouring one side of a conflict. Yet, Galician and Pasternack (1987, p. 88) argue that, "Professionals unconcerned or unaware of potential risk to their clients cannot pretend to be practicing morally", therefore even though the aspects described above by Rasmussen (2002, p. 68-69) are

perceived as favourable for the selection of photographs published in the newspaper, it does not necessarily make the practice moral due to the potential risk the photographs may have on their clients or subjects. For the purpose of my research, past research seems to relate to the way in which the photojournalists interviewed describe ethical dilemmas or conflicts with newspapers regarding taking and publishing their photographs. The research data suggests that there are times when photojournalists have disagreed with the requests or decisions made by the newspaper.

Nine out of the twenty-five photojournalists interviewed for this research stated that they had not faced any ethical dilemmas with the newspapers (See Appendix D). Although, photojournalist ST4 suggests that although he has no personal experience with ethical conflicts, he is aware that there is a problem with ethical conflicts with newspapers;

I haven't actually personally. I am one of the lucky one so far. I am sure that other photographers can tell you of ones they have, but I haven't had any problems with newspapers taking things out of context at all or miss representing my photos ... but as I said it is still early days.

When deciding to take an assignment from a newspaper which may involve undercover work, invasion of privacy or putting themselves or others in danger, the research data suggests photojournalists will consider their actions. Photojournalist DM1 says that if he ever had an ethical conflict with a newspaper regarding taking a photograph, he would not take it; "If I genuinely feel uncomfortable about taking the photographs I would say no, I'm not taking that

picture". Equally, photojournalist M3 remarks that;

There have been cases in the past [newspapers] were putting some pressure on me to do something dangerous or ask somebody to do something dangerous, and I was firm to...decline, and there was no problem...so they might say, we need some pictures of some Israeli military situation, and I would say it is very dangerous to send somebody there and...I refuse to cover it.

Photojournalists put themselves in dangerous situations; such as at war or riot situations, yet for this photojournalist above, the risk was too great to himself and others around him to take those types of photographs; adhering to the duty to self and duty to subject/story.

Photojournalists covering war are not only at risk of attack but may also risk being kidnapped and killed which occurred in summer of 2014 when photojournalist James Foley was beheaded by ISIS (Seymour, 2016). Photojournalist Lynsey Addario reflects how the threats to her life have affected her work:

According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, 70 people in my profession were murdered in 2013 "as a direct reprisal" for their work. Of those, nearly a quarter were photographers. I wanted people to see through the eyes of the suffering so my photos might motivate the international community to act. It is what has driven me for years now, and what continues to drive me every day. Doesn't a photograph have the ability to change the world? Fourteen years and the deaths and maiming of numerous friends, the loss of two drivers, and two kidnappings later, I'm more aware than ever of my mortality.

(Addario, 2014)

My research indicates that while some photojournalists will do their job (duty to the

newspaper) no matter what is involved, be it danger, intrusion or humiliation, while others will make exceptions and refuse to do the job entirely (duty to self or duty to subject/story) or refuse to submit the photograph for their own ethical reasons.

This, again, reflects that there is a variation of choices made amongst photojournalists when faced with ethical dilemmas, as discussed in Chapter Four. Some photojournalists have strong ethical convictions, and they will not do any job that will contradict their personal beliefs. However, some photojournalists will still choose to complete an assignment even though they may not think it's ethical and later regret completing it.

After deciding to accept an assignment, photojournalists have control over whether or not to submit their photographs to a newspaper for publication.

Photojournalist DE4 gives two examples of how photojournalists face ethical conflicts when deciding whether to submit photographs to a newspaper;

[S]omething failed on his car and he basically drove into the circuit, I'm not going to describe what happened to him and two photographers got within a reasonable amount of distance to what happened to him and they both took pictures and they both decided...to erase those images, so those photographs were never sent anywhere. I am also aware of colleagues that received images of Princess Diana in her car crash...before she was removed from the car and those pictures exist...[T]here were some photographers at that scene that decided not to take those and there were those photographers that took them and decided not to send them.

Therefore, even though there are photographs that photojournalists know will sell newspapers, they still decide not to submit the photographs because of their graphic or sensitive nature (duty to society/public). Before accepting an

assignment, photojournalist ST1 says there are times he is ethically conflicted whether or not to take a job; for example:

I've done something I really didn't want to do basically when the newspaper was doing an undercover...they were making it out really that the newspaper was covering an event, it was a modelling thing, but really what they were doing was that they needed to get pictures of... the organiser of the event, who was involved in making porn movies and that was on the border-line for me really whether or not I would do it really, but I kind of did that one...but at the same time I wasn't really happy with it. It is a dilemma.

In this case, although this photojournalist was uneasy about what he was asked to do, he decided to do the job anyway, despite questioning the ethics of the situation. Therefore, perhaps other factors or duties were outweighing his decision not to do the job, as discussed in Chapter Four. Similarly, photojournalist DM5 has been in situations that “didn't sit too well” with him and he was uneasy about completing the assignment because for him it pushed his ethical boundaries too far:

I was doing my time with the Daily Mail, and there were...situations like escapes, drug dealing, knocking on doors trying to get information, to have to pretend to be representing a rich person that's interested in buying their home, of a celebrity in order to get a viewing of their home.

Yet, the situations that these photojournalists agreed to and completed the assignments for the newspaper; despite any reservations, there may have been other ethical duties which weighed heavier on their decision-making. Similarly, photojournalist M4 points out;

As a news photographer, you are making money out of peoples suffering. You can sort of stand here and sort of say that it's about informing the world and all that kind of stuff and I'm not that pious. Sometimes I think well you took a picture of that bike, and I was just walking past, and I thought that, if that's the first person to be killed on the mayors' bike, then it's a news story. I don't know if they were killed, but when you think about it, you're only going to get a hundred quid for a picture because somebody died. And that is just a moral problem with being a news photographer, it's not like I want that person to get killed so I could make 100 quid, but again what do you do?

This photojournalist seems to be conflicted because he has a duty to the newspaper; however, when outside that 'job' they would not consider taking a photograph like that. However, when tragedy strikes, we cannot help but look passing a car accident and slowing down just to catch a glimpse. There is a curiosity which needs fulfilling and this is what newspapers feed on, and the photojournalists provide the photographs of tragedy which the public desires to view.

When tragedies such as: war, famine or natural disasters occur, the selection of photographs which appear in the newspapers become under question by photojournalists. Four separate photojournalists mentioned the biases they have seen in the photographs published. Photojournalist M4 labels newspapers as "hypocritical" and "racist" because of the way that they are selective about the photographs they portray of those that are suffering:

A newspaper would never publish pictures of dead bodies in this country basically, but the newspapers are quite happy to publish pictures of dead bodies from Africa, of Africans,

they won't really publish pictures of white people...if a white person was killed, if an English person was killed in Africa and their body was baking out in the sun they wouldn't publish it, if a black person's dead in Africa baking out in the sun they'll publish it and ethically what's the difference?...I'm not sure they would do it in Europe, but as soon as you get to Africa, they're being completely racist as soon as the skin colour changes.

Photojournalist M5 also questions this in regards to the coverage of the Sri Lanka tsunami in 2004;

If that [tsunami] had happened in Britain, you would have never seen the pictures that you saw because those are people's brothers and sisters and mothers and papers are very happy to show you pictures of...dead Asian people...I don't ever see any of dead westerners, so there's an ethical shift there.

Photojournalist DM5 feels the same way as photojournalists M4 and M5, that newspapers are quite biased when it comes to selecting photographs of tragedy in another country;

When it's another country, it seems to be acceptable, but I think that it would be based on the reaction you would get from the public. So if there was a natural disaster in the UK like in a suburban area, I think that you would have a backlash from the public, the kind of reaction that you don't get in underdeveloped countries.

Photojournalist DE3 also agrees with photojournalists above, that newspapers will show the suffering in remote countries, but not close to home. He questions;

Is it okay to show an African child screaming in anguish because he's hungry...I mean every person that is killed in war, every person that dies of hunger, every person that dies

in a bomb blast, they've all got brothers, sister, mothers, fathers, uncles, aunties, grandparents, you know, and they are important to those people, but they are remote, the fact that we knew that women in the image is disturbing.

It is also interesting to note that this topic was not highlighted as an interview question in this research; however, this is a topic which four separate photojournalists chose to discuss at great length. This suggests that this is a concern that photojournalists have regarding the choices that newspapers make when publishing sensitive photographs of devastation across the world and the biases of the coverage that photojournalists can see occurring. This would prove an interesting topic for further exploration.

This research reveals that photojournalists face ethical conflicts with newspapers when asked to do things they may otherwise question because they may feel uncomfortable for ethical reasons, such as putting themselves or others in danger, trespassing or lying to get a photograph. Photojournalists also expressed their opinions over the ethical decisions a newspaper takes in publishing a photograph, such as publishing photographs which are too graphic, embarrassing to the subject or biases when covering war, famine or natural disasters.

5.3 Ethics through the Lens

In this section, I explore, more specifically, the ethical considerations photojournalists take before and during the act of looking through the lens to take a photograph. For example, the photojournalists interviewed for this research place emphasis on how they interact and treat the subjects they photograph, how ethics plays a role in completing newspaper assignments and that ethics is 'built-

in' or inherent to photojournalists within their ethical practice.

In moments where a subject is under tremendous distress, such as grief over the death of a loved one, photojournalists take extra 'care' by making sure that the subjects are comfortable with their presence and don't feel a sense of intrusion into their privacy; adhering to their duty to the subject/story. Photojournalists ST3 questions:

Whether I should be there, am I intruding, if it's a moment of grief or sorrow...should I be here, am I contributing to the scene being worse.

(Photojournalists ST3)

This photojournalist also questions whether his presence alters the scene they are sent to capture. Meyer (2003) reflects these views by suggesting the newspapers often point fingers at the photojournalists, placing the blame on them by focusing the attention on the photojournalists' methods of operation rather than the way in which the story is told in the newspapers, in turn deflecting the negative views back on the photojournalists. Also, other research suggests that responsibility lies in the hands of the photojournalist because the photojournalist has a first-hand account of the scene and they photograph the story from all angles without biases (Loorbach, 2012; Jay, 1982; Linfield, 2010).

Sontag (1977, p. 11) identifies how the camera acts as a shield which protects the photographer from the actions that are occurring around them, separating them from the danger they are photographing; therefore, the photographer can witness tragedies without becoming personally attached to them. This is especially

prevalent in photographing in war or famine; these situations bring challenges for photojournalists because emotions can run high for them because they cannot always disconnect themselves from the atrocities. Yet, for photojournalists DM5, he feels that;

if you're in a situation where you are covering a war or something like that then the reason you're there is to show the rest of the world what's going on, so that means you photograph whatever is in front of you, you are there to record and report, you are not there to intervene.

Sontag (1977) also considers this in her writings;

The camera is a kind of passport that annihilates moral boundaries and social inhibitions, freeing the photographer from any responsibility toward the people photographed. The whole point of photographing people is that you are not intervening in their lives, only visiting them.

(Sontag, 1977, p. 41-42)

The camera becomes an invisible cloak surrounding the photographer, hiding them from responsibilities towards the welfare of the subjects photographed and allowing them to be free from obligations. Photojournalist M5 explains:

There are some things that I don't even flinch at, doing press stuff, you know, if I didn't trespass, any of the half decent pictures I had got wouldn't exist. A bit trespass of stuff isn't ethically...I'm sure some people might say something different ... I don't really want to break the law, but I will do anything else I can to get the picture ... I mean I've had to trespass, but trespassing isn't a criminal offence, that absolutely doesn't bother me. So yeah, you think of ethics, you know, I would never take ones picture without consent at

their home for example. If they were at the door of your house on their doorstep I wouldn't shoot it, but if I was on the pavement, and I ran up and rung the doorbell and ran back then I wouldn't have any problem whatsoever... I know that's a small distinction, but there's a difference between being on your front door and having photographer standing half a foot away from you holding a big black object and the flash going off and there being a photographer stood fifty feet away to get the picture. So yeah, I think I do self-regulate.

Some of the actions explained by photojournalist M5 may be questionable, such as trespassing or invasion of privacy; however, because he has a camera in his hand and he is a professional doing his duty to the newspaper, then what he does is acceptable in his eyes.

On the other hand, some photojournalists interviewed feel victimised and also think that the public judge them harshly when they believe they're just doing their job. In the eyes of the public, some of the acts of photojournalists do not seem ethical and as photojournalist DM4 further explains;

[The] public will come up to you, and you're a photographer, and because you're a photographer they think there's an ethical problem with what you're doing, but I'm not intimidated by that because I think that often they have no idea what you're doing.

Photojournalist DM4 suggests that the public does not understand that photojournalists are taking photographs to report the news and it's their duty. It would be interesting to consider whether a member of the public would have the same reaction to a reporter taking notes in a notebook next to a car crash because it would seem that in the eyes of the public the camera is a 'hostile' object like a gun to prey (Sontag, 1977, p. 14).

There are some occurrences where photojournalists are sent to an ordinary event such as a sporting event, and the unexpected happens; on these occasions, photojournalists have to make instant ethical decisions about taking photographs and submitting photographs; as described by photojournalist M2:

Take for instance; do remember the Hillsborough tragedy where ninety odd Liverpool fans were crushed to death? I know a few photographers that were there and of course you train all your life to do something, to be a good news photographer, when you are suddenly thrown into a situation where you're at a football match and you know, a weekly thing really and then suddenly you come by people who are being crushed to death, what do you do, you take pictures, or do you help the people? I certainly know a few photographers who, ...helped people pull people out of the crowd, put them on stretchers and did as much as they could to help and [also did] their job perfectly and professionally as well.

Photojournalists do have the choice to shoot photographs, help or balance both; they also have a choice to send in the photographs or not to send them in. It is in their hands to make these ethical decisions because they have control over their photographs up until they choose to send them to the newspapers for publication.

The research data shows that photojournalists appear to consider ethics as an important issue while taking photographs because of their discussions surrounding how they treat the subjects they are photographing, ensuring that their photographs are not misinterpreted and considering whether or not to send a photograph to a newspaper. However, with differing degrees of importance; some photojournalists consider many different ethical questions such as; are the subjects well looked after; are the photographs representing the story correctly or how will the public view or react to these photographs; while others keep ethical

considerations at the back of their minds; and give greater importance to shooting and delivering photographs to the newspaper to complete their assignments.

5.4 Thinking of Ethics While Working with Digital Photographs

Photojournalists make choices such as; where to point their cameras, the types of lenses or filters they use, what will be included or omitted from the scene they photograph, the way they edit their final work before they submit their photographs to the newspapers and may also decide whether the photograph is ethical or not. Each choice that the photojournalist makes helps to shape a photograph, one which may have powerful influences over the viewers; thereby, it is a difficult task to make a photograph objective because the research data suggests photojournalists have their own views and opinions about how a scene should be depicted.

In past research, such as Ricchiardi's (2007) work, focuses on the misuse of photo-altering technology in photojournalism. She argues that digital altering software, such as Photoshop, is astonishingly simple to operate and because of this ease, it is becoming increasingly tempting for photojournalists to dramatically alter their photographs. It is tempting for them because photojournalists are striving to get their photographs recognised; not only by the public but also by the newspapers that publish their work. Ricchiardi (2007, p. 43) gives the example of an award-winning photojournalist Patrick Schneider;

The award-winning photographer was fired...for an image of a fire-fighter on a ladder, silhouetted against a vivid sunlit sky... the original, the sky was brownish-gray. Enhanced with photo-editing software, the sky became a deep red, and the sun took on a more

distinct halo. In the judgment of his bosses, Schneider had violated the paper's rules.

When later interviewed by Kenny F. Irby, Schneider remarked;

I used the tools that for decades have been used in the darkroom, and now, in Photoshop, I do them with more precision. My goal is to bring more impact to my images, to stop the readers and draw their attention.

(Irby, 2003a)

Although considerable attention is brought to cases like this and are condemned, there are some, such as Schneider himself which seem to address the question, "So, what?" The techniques used by Schneider modify the photograph by darkening selected areas (burning) and lightening other areas (dodging). However, the photograph he created was a lie, and too many a lie is unethical and unacceptable.

Therefore, Irby (2003a) suggests, although the techniques employed with the use of programs such as Photoshop are revolutionary because they have brought about a complete change to the way that photographs are edited in post-production, there must be an air of caution employed with their use. Simple changes in programs such as Photoshop can have devastating repercussions as in Schneider's case. Irby (2003a) implies that a 'line' must be drawn for photojournalists and the newspapers that publish the photographs because when a photograph is altered to the point where the content is lost or destroyed, it's crossing the line.

For the purpose of this study, the topics above relate to how photojournalists ethically react to their photographs while working with them in post-production. In this section, I will discuss the consideration or lack of consideration of ethics by photojournalists while working in post-production and the important role ethics plays during this process.

Photojournalists ST3 and DM1 do not feel there is anything ethically wrong with making “minor tweaks” (Photojournalist ST3) such as “adjusting the light levels and colour levels” (Photojournalist DM1) of a photograph. However, it is when ‘minor tweaks’ become too excessive that consequences, such as those faced by Schneider, can occur. Photojournalist DM3 suggests that she is aware that there is a ‘boundary’ which she must be wary of when working on her photographs:

I think that if you want to do something really moody then you will darken it down, but yeah there certainly is an ethical thing involved and you're conscious of it when you're doing it...so most of the time I am conscious of how far you go with something.

This may be because she is aware that if she were to manipulate her photographs too far digitally, there is a possibility of repercussions, such as losing an assignment or her reputation could be damaged or destroyed. Similarly, an awareness of a ‘boundary’ is also suggested through the thoughts of photojournalist ST4:

As far as exposure and colour is concerned I think you sort of know what is too far. I mean, if you underexposed it slightly then bring the exposure up a bit that is fine I mean,...if you made it look very different to what it was, if you change a dark sky to a bright blue sky then that would be too far, but if you just bumped up the contrast just a little bit or the exposure

a bit just to give it a bit more punch than that is usually far enough. It is all sort of within reason.

The 'line' of acceptability of altering photographs is blurred; suggesting that some photojournalists deem dodging and burning acceptable whereas adding or removing objects as unacceptable, yet dodging and burning can also be considered as unacceptable if used too extensively. Photojournalist ST5, however, suggest that they know "what would be an acceptable image to a picture desk and what would not be acceptable", for instance, "if you have got a dust spot on your sensor then that has got to go;" and is deemed as acceptable. Removing dust spots from a photograph using a clone tool in programs such as Photoshop is considered cleaning up a photograph. Photojournalist SU1 says he will clean-up a photograph; "if someone has marks on the skin, if it is a close-up photograph of someone" because they feel the photograph would be more aesthetically pleasing. This suggests that photojournalists ST5 and SU1 will remove aspects, such as blemishes or dust spots, from the photograph if it does not meet with the aesthetics that they are seeking to achieve.

The human eye has an advantage over a still camera and is able to compensate for varying lighting, angle, viewpoints or focus on objects at a variety of distances. Therefore, photojournalists M3, DM3, M5 and DE3 indicate that some digital changes are necessary to bring the photograph back to how it looked in reality; in order to compensate for the variations between what the photojournalist sees and what the camera sees, as photojournalist M3 explains;

I try to relay reality as much as I can, that means if my picture is too blue due to a technical

fault of mine and the scene was more neutral I would correct it and bring it to neutral, do you see what I'm saying, but I will never make it blue because it looks sexier, that's what I'm saying, it is always to bring the image as close to reality as you can.

Photojournalist M3, DM3 and M5 will try and remember the way in which the scene looked when they saw it and then match that to the photograph they bring up on the computer by using levels or colour correction tools. Photojournalists believe by doing this; the photograph will become a true representation of the scene viewed at the time.

Photojournalists have the power to mislead, simply by cropping a photograph, depicting a scene which is not true. A photograph which is cropped is much more difficult to detect than any other manipulation (Wheeler, 2002, p. 94). When manipulation, such as cropping, occurred in the darkroom someone only needed to view the original negative to discover what had been done to it, however with a digital photograph there are no negatives and similar manipulations are much more difficult to detect (Wheeler, 2002, p. 94). Therefore, photojournalists that used the darkroom to develop their photographs may have been less likely to over manipulate their photographs because there would be the fear that the negative would be compared to the print and the manipulation would be discovered.

Photojournalists sometimes take photographs very quickly because the situation they are in is fast moving, like a riot or in war; therefore they indicated that it is necessary for them to sit back and select the correct photographs to submit after shooting. Photojournalist DE1 is "not sure", if he thinks "ethically" but he says;

I will take an image that is quite horrific, and I have no problem taking the picture, and then I'll get home and look at it, and it might be too horrific for newspapers.

This suggests that because of the fast-paced nature of photojournalism, this affects the ethical judgements that photojournalists may make while they are taking photographs in the field. Therefore, in order for them to look at their photographs with 'care', they may have to question a photograph ethically before submitting them. This allows them to step back away from the scene they were photographing and ethically look at the photographs during post-production.

In conclusion, it seems that photojournalists may view digital photographs submitted for publication in newspapers as having the potential to misinform and misrepresent subjects if not handled with 'care' in post-production. Although some photojournalists do not put ethics in the forefront of their minds while working with their digital photographs, others seem to recognise that there is a point where a photograph could be manipulated too much and are careful not to cross that 'line' while working on their digital photographs. However, this 'line' remains unclear and is not established through any type of universal guideline and because of this, some photojournalists such as Schneider do not know they have done anything wrong until external photographic bodies reprimand them. UK photographic societies such as NUJ (National Union of Journalists) and BPPA (British Press Association) have guidelines which are recommended for their members to follow; however, they are not mandatory or universal (See Appendix E and F). However, my research also suggests that photojournalists are also concerned with how newspapers choose to edit and publish their photographs after they have submitted them to the newspaper, saying that newspapers "need to show

everything” (Photojournalist DM4). They are concerned because after the photojournalist submits their photographs to the newspaper for publication, they have no control over whether the photograph is published or not or in what way it is published or how it is connected to the story. In the next section, I will discuss how photojournalists feel disconnected from their photographs once they have submitted them to the newspaper.

5.5 Out of their Hands: Changes made by the Newspapers

The control that photojournalists feel they have over the photographs they submit to the newspapers is deemed important to cultivate perceptions over ownership of photographs. In this section, I aim to demonstrate how photojournalists have control over their photographs up to the point of submission and how control is lost once the photographs are submitted to a newspaper.

Interviewed photojournalists in this research were mindful that the connection to their photographs was lost once submitted and are aware of the changes made to their photographs only after the photographs were seen in the printed publication. Thus, the control felt by photojournalists varied from having complete control to no control at all over their photographs; however what is clear from my research is that control over what happened or how their photographs would look in the newspaper once published is limited because of the lack of communication photojournalists have with the newspapers. Photojournalist DM5 says; we “don't even see it until it's published, so really I would say that you don't have very much control at all”. This suggests that newspapers do not notify photojournalists that their photographs were published and therefore it is the photojournalist's

responsibility to contact the newspaper to arrange payment of the photographs that were printed in the newspaper.

There are some photojournalists interviewed, such as DM1, SU1, ST2, M2 and DE4, that point out that they have full control over their photographs, yet from what these photojournalists said there was no indication that this control extended beyond the submission of their photographs. Photojournalist DM1 says he has “got total control” over his pictures and photojournalist DE1 agrees by saying, “I have 100% control.” Photojournalist SU4 says, “I take my own pictures it is me, there is no one really influencing me how to take it”. This highlights that while a photojournalist is taking the photographs for the newspaper, they have control over how and what they choose to photograph. As a freelance photojournalist, photojournalist ST2 sees himself as his own boss and says “it is entirely up to me. I decide what pictures go,” in other words, he decides which photograph he will submit. Therefore, he has the right to withhold any photograph he does not want to be published. This is precisely the point that photojournalist DE4 discusses in her response;

[P]hotographers always has total control...because what you see, you not always have to take and if you take it you don't always have to send it, it's a matter of each photographers conscience on the subject [and] anybody that says they have no control is just not right; you do have a lot of control.

Therefore photojournalists choose the photographs they want to capture and submit; however, they only have the control to select the photographs they deem suitable for publication in the newspaper, but not the final decision of which

photograph is published and how it will appear in the newspaper. However, other photojournalists interviewed indicate that there is a point where their control is lost; when the photograph is sent to the newspaper.

Photojournalists interviewed feel they have no control over their photographs, relating primarily to the point at which their photographs are no longer in their possession; “once they get a hold of it, it’s up to them what they do with it” (Photojournalist DE2). Therefore it is not up to the photojournalist to decide how the photograph will look in the newspaper. One of photojournalist M3’s photographs was “used for a campaign...but without [his] consent” and photojournalist M3 understands that “it is out of [his] control,” he may not have been happy that his photograph was used without his permission, but he also knows that once his photographs are submitted, he has little control over how they are used. This is especially true in an age where his photographs also appear on the internet; photojournalist M3 did not get payment or recognition for his photograph being used. Photojournalists DE5 confirms this idea, saying;

[O]nce you have sent [the photographs], the levels of control you have on them are zero, you have no influence, it would be considered somewhere between rude and insane for most newspapers to even call up and ask for a certain picture to be [published].

This comment implies that the level of communication between photojournalists and the newspapers have significantly declined; it almost seems that there is a fear of humiliation or intimidation that photojournalists feel over contacting and communicating with newspapers regarding their photographs. In Jock Lauterer’s (2005) book *Community Journalism*, he refers to a concept developed by Dr

Marco Garcia, in which the writer, the editor and the designer in a newspaper work closely together, referred to as W.E.D.; however, Lauterer (2005) takes that concept a step further, including the photographer;

With apologies to Mario Garcia, we'll call it the W.P.E.D. concept because really without the input of the photographer, the project will fall flat. And while we're on the subject, don't be treating photographers like pizza delivery boys. ('Hey boy! I wanna extra-large veggie, hold the anchovies, and I want it now!')...

(Lauterer, 2005, p. 237)

For Lauterer, the photographer is a vital addition to Garcia's concept and believes that there is a synergy which is created when journalists and editors work closely with photojournalists; however, the good intentions of this concept are lost amongst the photojournalists interviewed for this research. The photojournalists interviewed have not indicated that they spend much time, if any, with the editors of the newspapers. Benefits would no doubt be achieved by this type of close working relationship utilising the W.P.E.D concept; however, it does not appear to be readily achievable in practice according to my research.

The lack of communication and teamwork between photojournalists and newspaper staff leaves photojournalists disconnected from their work once it is in the hands of the newspaper and although photojournalist M5 says;

[U]ltimately you have full control because you don't have anyone telling you what to do, you don't have anyone looking over your shoulder, but at the same time if you start sending them pictures they don't want, then the phone isn't going to start ringing, you have to deliver a product that they want.

Therefore, a photojournalist may feel that they possess full control over what photographs they take, however, if they deliver a photograph to a newspaper and it is not what the newspaper wants or expects, then they may be out of a job with that newspaper. Photographs fill the pages of the newspapers, and the research data suggests that photojournalists are aware that the newspapers are interested in certain types of photographs to fill those pages; “if you don't capture what the newspapers need, then you won't be working for them again” (Photojournalists DM4).

Photojournalists M3, M1 and DE3 agree that their control remains while they are taking photographs and working on their photographs, but once photographs are submitted that is where their control ends:

[M]y control lies only in the fact that I choose to shoot these pictures, and I choose to send these pictures and that's about it...by the time that the pictures are on the wire, you have no control.

(Photojournalists M3)

[O]nce [they're] sent, it is over; I have no control whatsoever.

(Photojournalists M1)

[Y]ou have full control, once it leaves you; you have no control whatsoever.

(Photojournalists DE3)

From what the photojournalists above have described, the newspapers have the power over the photographs and designing the end product to their needs. My research suggests that photojournalists acknowledge and accept that the

newspapers control their photographs and even though they express their annoyance of how their photographs are handled, none of them makes any indication that the process needs to change; “it’s up to [the newspaper] if they want to highlight something” (Photojournalist SU5). For photojournalist DM1, he is not interested in whether or not a newspaper has changed his photographs because “at the end of the day they’re paying [him]”. This suggests that it is more important that photojournalist DM1 gets paid for his work rather than how his photograph looks in the newspaper.

Previously it was noted by the photojournalists interviewed that the most commonly used alteration was cropping and this also appears to extend to the newspapers as well. Photojournalist SU1 says he has not seen massive changes to his photographs except that the “cropping on one was slightly odd”, but for photojournalist SU1 cropping “wasn’t entirely unexpected”, suggesting that photojournalists are aware that the newspaper edits photographs. Photojournalist ST3 and others agree that newspapers will crop “or cut out a part of the picture...to work on the particular page and make the page look better”; this is an aspect that photojournalist ST3 “goes along with...fully.” Newspapers will crop or resize photographs “into the shape and sizes on a page, they might not be able to put [the] whole picture on a page” (Photojournalist SU5). There are times that newspapers may crop a photograph to fit a page, however, sometimes they remove important details in the photograph that needs to remain in the photograph in order for there to be a full understanding of the photograph’s context, which photojournalist DM3 explains:

[T]here was this one with the floods where there was this horse riding past this sign and the sign was quite important because it was the flood in the road and they printed it the next day, and they cropped it down so you couldn't see the sign anymore, because then it just feels a bit pointless then, that when you just think, why would they do it this way.

In this case, the editor did not have the specialised knowledge to correctly read this photograph because they did not make a connection that if the signpost were to remain in the photograph it would give the viewer a sense of the scale of the devastating flood. Photojournalist DM3 feels this has to do with budget cutbacks at newspapers, resulting in the multitasking of staff and according to photojournalist DM3, “papers are kind of struggling now” because one person now does tasks that used to take several people to complete. Photojournalist ST2 agrees that the reason that newspapers crop photographs is to “make them smaller to save money on what they have to publish”. Cropping is also another way that newspapers save money because they will “crop...and focus on just the person to save money, so that they could publish it in compact form and it will cost them less” (Photojournalist ST2). Newspapers are facing significant financial restraints because of decreased sales of newspapers due to the increased popularity of digital news via the internet (Sexton, 2010).

Photojournalist M2 has also noticed that the newspapers have “changed the context of [an] image” he submitted, and he believes that “picture editors...should be aware of these problems”; although, in this instance, it is implied that the photographs’ context was altered to fit the political agendas of a newspaper;

It was of the chancellor on the evening of the spending cuts...I was shooting pictures of

George Osborne the chancellor in his office for the Times and the assumption was that the picture would go out to all the papers and the Independent ran it on their front...they made it black and white and they sort of put a red hue to it.

(Photojournalist M5)

Even if the photojournalist decides not to alter or change anything in the photograph, the newspaper may decide to and without notifying the photojournalist, as photojournalist M5 explains:

I would never have done that to that picture; you know, turn it black and white and add the red hue to it, because it's not me making political thoughts about the chancellor. They can put a red hue to picture if they want to.

The change of photojournalist M5's photograph to red was so drastic that the photojournalist himself hardly recognises it and "had to actually pull it up on the computer just to check" that it was actually his photograph. Eighteen out of the twenty-five photojournalists interviewed were surprised about how their photographs looked in comparison to how they looked when they submitted them originally; this indicates that their photographs are altered by newspapers after submission (See Appendix D). Even though photojournalist M5 was not happy that the newspaper had changed his photograph, he is aware that;

If I phoned them up and said hey you altered my picture, they would laugh me out the building and my reputation there would be as a laughing stock.

This suggests that a photojournalist could feel a level of intimidation from the newspapers and a sense of power the newspaper holds over photojournalists. Also as photojournalist DE5 mentioned earlier in this section that "it would be

considered somewhere between rude and insane for most newspapers to even call up and ask for a certain picture to be [published]”.

Sometimes something as simple as auto levels (making the photograph darker or lighter) can drastically change a photograph, as explained by photojournalist M4:

[I]t had something to do with Halloween and there is this guy and he's in a graveyard and he was lit with this flash and it was all sort of dark and he was correctly lit, but the graveyard was quite dark, and they hit the auto levels, so they had blown him out, so he was far too light, and the graveyard was far too light...and it just looked like I couldn't take a picture.

This photograph was clearly meant to be dark because it was taken at night, but when auto levels was used on the photograph the computer automatically alters the photograph to look as it would if it were taken during the day. Therefore, the main reason photojournalist M4 was not happy with the changes to his photograph was because it reflected poorly on him as a photojournalist and his professional skills.

The following are further examples of photographs altered by newspapers without the photojournalist's consent. Photojournalist ST5 had one experience when his photograph was made into a composite using two of his photographs of a police incident;

There was an image of a policeman in the foreground; there was content related to the incident in the background and... because there was such a distance between them, it was impossible to have both the policeman and the incident in the background in focus so I

must have submitted one where the policeman was in focus and one where the incident behind was in focus...and what they did was lift the sharp policeman from one frame and stick it on the sharp background frame of the other one.

In this example, a composite photograph was made with the two photographs photojournalist ST5 submitted by cutting out part of one photograph and placing it on top of the other photograph. It is suggested that the use of composites by newspapers is not uncommon because another photojournalist, M4, had a similar experience. Photojournalist M4's photographs, taken in Kenya, were also made into a composite:

[T]here was a weird one where I did my picture there, and they had done this interview with this girl, woman, and there was this portrait of her, but on the way back there was this burning road block that I had photographed and they had done a montage and to my eye it was obvious they had done a montage, one side of it, it was like a double page spread, on one side there was the portrait, and I think she was on a black background and it was dark anyway, and it was all merged into this picture of this burning roadblock, and to me it was just this picture, like a montage, a composite of the two photographs. I mean for me it was obvious it wasn't her standing in front of the roadblock. Literally it was just the head and shoulders, and I showed it to a friend of mine, she wasn't a photographer, and she was like, how did you get her to stand in front of that roadblock and it was so obvious that it wasn't, you know what I mean, and it was so obvious it was two photographs, and she was like how did you...so there you go. So the problem is that a lot of people don't really look at the photograph, you know to me it was obvious.

The example above shows that the interpretation of a photograph is different depending on the knowledge someone has of photography which may be missed by the general public. The viewing public may not examine a photograph long

enough or close enough to see the alterations because they do not have the specialist knowledge of photography. One of the most extreme cases of manipulation by a newspaper comes from an example by photojournalist DM5, where legs were added to the subject he was photographing;

I was sent on an assignment to cover a feature in Brighton on and I got talking to a young guy that plays saxophone and they were looking for a general feature; they were looking for a nice picture that illustrated, that was centred around music, to stop the reader from turning the page. I got this saxophone player to pose for me on Brighton Beach. I don't know if you know Brighton beach, but it is a pebble beach, it has troughs on the beach, so when you look down the beach there is a big dip, and then it comes up and then it drops down again, so it's an undulating beach and I photographed this saxophone player in between the dips. It was a half-length shot on the beach. There was a dip, and you can't see his legs because they are hidden by the foreground. It's a half-length shot because he is in a dip on the beach, and you can't see his legs because they're hidden. And it was ridiculous, they had actually painted in some legs to make it look like he was kneeling on the beach and that was probably the most horrendous, somebody thought it didn't look right and added some legs on it.

Yet again, the specialist knowledge that was needed to read this photograph was not known by the person editing the photograph at the newspaper, and because of that, extreme alterations were made to the photograph.

My research suggests that the newspapers, in particular, are altering photographs without the knowledge or permission of photojournalists; twenty-three out of the twenty-five photojournalists interviewed for this research said that they were not informed about changes made to their photographs by the newspaper before they were published (See Appendix D). In addition, there is a lack of research

surrounding changes made on newspaper photographs by newspaper staff; an important area of future research. However, my research data does suggest that this is a common occurrence for photojournalists, however, despite photojournalists' disapproval of this practice, there does not appear to be any photojournalists going public and speaking out against changes made to their photographs by newspaper staff. Indeed, it is indicated from the research that photojournalists have a close personal connection to their photographs, and a sense of violation is felt by photojournalists when photographs are altered by newspapers without the knowledge of the photojournalist. Photojournalists seem reluctant to report alterations of their photographs by newspapers because they are afraid of not getting future work published; effectively blackmailing the photojournalists into submission and silence. However, although there is a sense that photojournalists are displeased and not in control of the editorial process; this research data shows a sense of acceptance of the editorial process by the photojournalists interviewed.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that ethics is acknowledged by photojournalists; however, it is subjective and complicated because each photojournalist makes their own ethical decisions and each ethical situation is different. Asserting authority over ethical decision-making is emphasised by the research data in relation to the lack of authority through ethical codes. All the photojournalists interviewed for this research conclude that no ethical codes or guidelines were given to them by the newspapers they publish in regarding digital photo manipulation.

Photojournalists are not entirely to blame for the suspicions the public have concerning the credibility of newspaper photographs because this research shows that it may be more likely that the newspaper may have made changes to photographs without the knowledge of photojournalists. However, in this chapter, I also highlight the complexity of photojournalists' working practice surrounding the control over their photographs. Thus, photojournalists do not always have power over their photographs and are 'disconnected' from their photographs once submission is complete. In addition, photojournalists seem to make judgments about their photographs once they are published, wishing their work was presented differently; suggesting a desire for a closer connection with how their photographs are handled after they have reached the newspapers. Furthermore, previous research reveals that newspapers gave the lowest level of importance to ethical considerations when considering photographs for publication (Fahmy, 2005, p. 161).

Digital photography has created new doubts from the public about what happens to the photograph from camera to publication (Wheeler, 2002, p. 41). Viewers are not only consuming photographic news media electronically, but they are also actively participating in news gathering by using mobile phone cameras. 'Citizen Journalists' are seeing their work published in newspapers next to photographs by professional photojournalists, which has had a dire effect on the lives of professional photojournalists. In the next chapter, I aim to explore the significance that the digital revolution has made to photojournalism, focusing on the profound changes it has made to the working practices of photojournalists (Rios, 2004; Kobre, 2008; Lester, 1991).

Chapter 6: Photojournalism: Future, Challenges and Socialisation

News photographs are powerful because they communicate to the world in a unifying way, yet photojournalists know that the photographs they capture and submit have the power to misrepresent as well as inform. They are aware that their professional practice is something which should be handled with 'care'. They aim to balance the way in which their photographs draw and entice viewers to purchase a newspaper. This chapter addresses the views and opinions of photojournalists regarding the future and changes of photojournalism; challenges they face and the way in which they are socialised into their profession.

Photojournalism as a profession is constantly evolving, and photojournalists have to be on the pulse of the profession to be able to adapt and survive as a professional. The future will continue to create challenges for photojournalists in aspects of economics, technology and professional dynamics; yet through it all, photojournalists demonstrate resilience in the face of anything that comes their way and continue to strive to bring the public stories they eyewitness. The community of photojournalists span the globe, and it takes only one click of a mouse or swipe of a finger to stay connected to their fellow colleagues; thus despite the lack of an office-based setting, photojournalists are socialised into their profession. Their socialisation is global; providing guidance, knowledge and maintaining the traditions of photojournalism for current and new photojournalists.

Section 6.1 examines how new technologies are reshaping photojournalism and how photojournalists are adapting to these changes. Section 6.2 investigates the

concerns, pressures and challenges faced by photojournalists. Section 6.3 establishes that formal training is uncommon and how the 'socialisation' of photojournalists is central in maintaining cohesion between photojournalists.

6.1 Changes and Future of Photojournalism

This section explores the specific aspects surrounding photojournalists' views of the way that photojournalism is changing due to new technologies and their views of how these technologies are reshaping their profession. Here, the focus is directed towards the changes of photographic technology, the speed of production, pressure caused by citizen journalism, financial difficulties and the effect that the internet has had on their profession. My research data suggests that photojournalists adapt to their changing profession; "I just think that we will need to adapt", says photojournalist ST4. Yet, they also appear to have uncertainties about the direction their profession is heading. "God knows what's coming, but it's going to be dictated by technology" (Photojournalist ST2). "I don't know where we are going; it's up to us, it's up to the photographers to find ways to survive, make these stories and have them seen" (Photojournalist M3).

Photojournalism is drastically changing as a result of complex interactions between the digital revolution, the distributions of photographs and the expectations and desires of publications and the viewers (Chaplin, 1994; Frosh, 2003). Therefore, it is not surprising that the photojournalists interviewed have noted significant changes which they have witnessed with regards to their profession. When asked about the greatest changes in photojournalism, photojournalist SU5 says;

It's quite obvious; the digital invention and...photography was the same since 1840 up until ten years ago when, well longer than that, the late 1990's that changes photography forever.

Photojournalist M2 highlights other changes that occurred before digital cameras became common;

When I was just starting it was black-and-white, most press photographers used a roll effects camera which was, of course, a square camera...that was the size of the negatives...then quickly changed to 35mm, which gave you versatility, but it was still in black-and-white, and it didn't change to colour until mid to late '80s, and then it quickly moved on from there to scanning colour negatives and then to the instance of digital photography. So the amount of technical changes that I've seen have been quite a lot, they've certainly come a lot quicker in the last 10 to 12 years than they have in the past years. I don't know that it will change again, the technology is always changing, so there's no doubt it will change.

The digital world, including cameras and computers, is not static because it is continuing to experience very rapid development as highlighted by the photojournalists interviewed and past research (Kobré, 2008; Ritchin, 1999). Not only have there been significant changes to photographic technology over the past 150 years, but there are no signs of this slowing down (Kobré, 2008, p. 389).

There has also been a change in the way that photojournalists transmit and submit their photographs, as photojournalist DE4 describes;

Before I switched to digital and then scanned the images and then transmitted them via the internet that was very, very slow those days, we didn't have broadband we had a program

called microphone, and it took ages to send an image, and it also locked up your telephone line, but that was revolutionary...now I have three computers, and I could have things going on each one at the same time.

This suggests had photojournalists are working more and producing more than ever before because of the speed at which they can process and submit their photographs.

Technology has allowed photojournalists to work faster and stay later in the field taking photographs because they no longer have to spend time processing their film (developing negatives and printing photographs in a darkroom). The speed in which photojournalists work has increased as photojournalist SU1 comments;

The speed of turnaround needs to be faster; everything needs to have been done yesterday. The time scales and the things coming in needs to be considerably quicker.

From the comments of this photojournalist, there is a sense of urgency in which they must complete their assignments. Photojournalist DE2 has also seen the demand for photographs speed up;

[T]hese days I am even being asked to email my pictures so that people can whack them straight on the website and things like that before they even appear in the newspaper the next day they want the instant access to them on the internet, straightaway.

With internet sites such as Facebook and Twitter, the news is delivered almost instantly, and the newspaper internet sites are quick to follow this trend as the above photojournalist suggests. In the future, photojournalist DE2 thinks that the

demand for quickly submitted photographs will be even greater, saying;

[What] I can see is that technology is going to make things even faster...so obviously that is the way that it is moving in the last couple of years.

The advancements of technology have dominated the changes which have occurred in photojournalism since its beginning and as my research shows, photojournalists learn to adapt to their changing environment in order to compete in the changing market.

My research suggests that photojournalists not only have to compete with other photojournalists and submit their photographs quicker, they also have to work longer hours and this is a change that occurred with the advent of digital technology. Photojournalist M3 says that a major change is that;

nowadays we stay at the story until late, and we sit down with our laptops, send a couple of pictures, using a satellite phone. If we're somewhere where there is no civilization...then [we can] stay at the story until late, until all day you don't have to leave anymore.

This suggests that some photojournalists do not have a fixed working environment, an office to go back to; their office can take the form of a car, a coffee shop, the pavement or any remote location they may find themselves in. Technology has eliminated the need for them to leave their location to develop and print their photographs. Photojournalist DE3 also admits that a photojournalist's working hours have increased, saying that;

[S]port used to be three o'clock on a Saturday afternoon; every team would play at three o'clock, now sport is made to meet television transmitting times. So if a Saturday newspaper wants to run a story it usually gets put together in mid-afternoon, so if the football match is on at five, it won't be done before the best part of seven and that's too late, they want those images in the first half and they have to be transmitted as soon as possible, so they are literally transmitting from the field.

My research indicates that with the advancements of technologies, photojournalists have been able to work quicker and with more efficiency; however, the demands of a changing media market, which now includes the internet, have pushed photojournalists to seek skills beyond just still photography.

Besides the “technical advancements”, photojournalist ST4 says the greatest change he has seen is the “move more towards a multimedia platform”, which includes both still photographs and video. Ten other photojournalists interviewed shared photojournalist ST4's opinion that photojournalism is moving into multimedia facets with the use of both still and moving images. This is discussed in the following interview excerpts:

- you will always need new photographs. Where ever you go and that kind of thing, but a lot of photojournalists are turning to multi mediums really, not just taking pictures, but you're filming and doing all that sort of thing as well. We're expected to have a wider range really and not just want to be in one small area, so it's constantly a more competitive world that we're living in.

(Photojournalist DM3).

- there seems to be this desire to present stuff in video rather than stills as well.

(Photojournalist SU3)

- I just think that we will need to adapt I mean it is already happening now with the latest professional cameras, something called break video, photojournalists are moving more multimedia doing both video and stills and even doing some writing as well so it is moving towards the multi-skilled journalists. It is becoming harder, I mean is definitely still possible, but it is becoming harder to be a pure photojournalist. I think you have to at least have skills in I mean basic skills in video and especially web-based skills as well.

(Photojournalist ST4)

- predictions only in so far as what I am hearing from other people in the industry. What people think of the sort of, sort of trendy topics within it, it will become more a multimedia, part of a multimedia product rather than not necessarily the supply of single still images that either have editorial value on their own or as part of a narrative story of some kind. So, for instance, a lot of us are being told that we need to embrace video; I have, especially as one seems to think that the web is where it is all going to end up. That potential for multi-media content of some kind whether it is video or whether it is still presented in slide-show format or is it a combination of both stills and video. That's where it seems to be where everyone thinks we're headed. I don't know if I necessarily believe in that, I guess to see it happening, but as I said I think it's still very much up in the air.

(Photojournalist ST5)

- I definitely think you have to have a broader range of skills to survive in that market; you need to be able to do a wider, especially when you're starting off.

(Photojournalist M5)

- It's leaning more towards videography, moving images; I think there'll be more restrictions on you.

(Photojournalist DM2)

- We will be looking at being more flexible in what we're able to do as in film and not taking photographs, but doing both film and photographs; we will be expected to do a lot more and even perhaps being accepted to be writing stories as well.

(Photojournalist DM3)

- [It] will be the norm to use and with the internet now you find all the newspapers and when I go along they have the video clip come along as well. So you can then view it online as video. That's another enhancement and a lot of still photographers at the press association they have to do both, which is ridiculous because they are two independent jobs for a start, two different skills and again I would need to go on a course if I were to do video, it doesn't mean I can't do it, I could, but you need to know the technical aspects.

(Photojournalist SU5)

Even though this last photojournalist is reluctant about having to learn new skills to remain marketable because he feels that he would be doing the work of two people; this data also suggests that if it were necessary, then he would do it. Although the traditional model of photojournalism of capturing and selling photographs to newspapers seems to be dying, it does not mean that the profession is dying as a whole. The dedication and passion that photojournalists demonstrate towards photojournalism means that they have not put their cameras down and admitted defeat, instead they have adapted to the changes and challenges of their profession by embracing new ways to publish their work in order to make a living; whether it's adding video or publishing their work on the internet. This does not mean that photojournalists have lost hope in printed media outlets such as newspapers; they have however chosen to survive in their profession by evolving their practices and being flexible with new video trends in

their field. Additionally, it is important to note that although photojournalists have found different outlets via the internet and have adapted to alternative multimedia outlets such as video, does not mean that their professional drive has diminished. Despite the changes faced by photojournalists; “[photojournalism] will still be a strong medium for telling stories...perhaps the outlet for that may change” (Photojournalist DM4).

There appears to be a resonance of uncertainty amongst the photojournalists interviewed for this research surrounding how they would be able to earn a living from embracing multimedia, video and the internet to distribute and publish their work. The research data also shows that there was little to no reluctance among the interviewees regarding the evolution in publishing their work; many seemed positive about how adopting additional or mixing media to a photograph could aid the stories they told and make these more accessible to viewers. However, what was of significant concern was the way they could earn a living while continuing to tell stories outside of printed news media such as newspapers. While the financial uncertainty of being a photojournalist is known from the outset, photojournalist ST3 admits that it’s “difficult to make a living out of being a photojournalist”; this shows photojournalists have found it challenging and daunting to find new ways to publish their work and earn a living because of the changing landscape of their already challenging profession.

High-end photographic equipment is accessible to almost anyone at relatively low cost; this has allowed many more people to submit photographs to newspapers and this raised concerns for many of the photojournalists interviewed.

Photojournalist DM1 expressed concern for the future of photojournalism saying;

It's going down the 'crazy'. It has become too easy for people who aren't trained in the business just to send a photograph in; I can't see it getting any better.

Jobs for professional photojournalists are scarce, and photojournalist DM3 has seen that there;

is slightly less opportunities for people to get into the newspapers because they are using fewer photographers and more members of the public to get the news photographs.

Therefore, this suggests that jobs are taken away from professional photojournalists because photographs are being supplied to the newspapers through the public; the citizen journalist. My research suggests that this is more profitable for the newspapers because they get photographs at a reduced cost or no cost at all. It is because of the ease at which anyone can access high-quality photography that "more and more people can do it now" and because of that "it might put [photojournalists] out of a job eventually" (Photojournalist SU4). There is a fear of job loss because of the ease at which anyone can submit photographs to newspapers. Technology, such as mobile phones with high-resolution cameras and video capability, with direct access to the internet, allows anyone to become a citizen photojournalist; they "are taking pictures and emailing them to newspapers" (Photojournalist DE2). Basic digital cameras are cheap and "a great percentage of people in this country do...carry cameras; either they're on their phone or an ordinary digital camera" (Photojournalist M2), therefore anyone can "just pick up a camera and think they're photographers" (Photojournalist DE1).

Not only can anyone become a citizen photojournalist, with the access of the latest equipment, “basically anybody now with a digital camera and a laptop, with access to email is a photographic agency”; however, photojournalist DE1 thinks that “it’s cheapened photography”. This suggests that although the demands for photographs are being satisfied by amateurs, the quality of the photographs supplied has significantly decreased. This idea is also reflected in photojournalist SU1 and DE3’s comments. Photojournalist SU1 believes that because of financial cuts “the papers are accepting any kind of picture from anyone and [he] think[s] the quality has gone down”, and Photojournalist DE3 also sees that “the quality will decline” because more photographs are being used that have been taken by amateurs, which suggests that newspapers are cutting costs by choosing the cheaper amateur option. Photojournalist DE2 reflects on this as well, commenting;

it's getting tougher out there; defiantly it is a much harder game than it was ten years ago, just because realistically because of the technology and because of the other people that are allowed into our world...I mean, ten years ago I never walked around with cameras. I didn't have a phone with a camera, and mobile phones didn't exist...now people are taking pictures all day and every day. And posting them all over the web, Facebook [and] it does affect the way that photographs are taken and how they receive them.

These photojournalists clearly express a financial struggle with the increased usage of photographs by amateurs in the newspapers. There is also further evidence of this trend continuing; in November 2011 Jack Womack, CNN's senior vice president of domestic news operations announced;

Consumer and prosumer technologies are simpler and more accessible. Small cameras

are now high broadcast quality. More of this technology is in the hands of more people. After completing this analysis, CNN determined that some photojournalists will be departing the company.

(Lang, 2011)

In 2013 *The Chicago Sun Times* laid off all of their full-time photojournalists and through a staff memo it is suggested that it is now “training its journalists in iPhone camera work to replace its staff photographers, who were all laid off last week” (Worstell, 2013). Similarly, in 2014 Johnston Press announced that staff photographers in the Midland region would no longer have employment, claiming this decision was based on “the way photographic content is generated” (Greenslade, 2014). Commenting on this announcement, Roy Greenslade, a professor of journalism at City University stated:

This move is no surprise. In fact, the surprise is that it hasn't happened sooner. Relying on freelancers - and, of course, a citizen with smartphones - to provide pictures is far cheaper than having photographers on staff. No event occurs - fires, fetes, road accidents, cats up trees, whatever - without someone being on hand to snap a picture. In the real sense of the word, newspaper photographers are therefore redundant. But they must surely recognise that their fate is due to a combination of the digital revolution and newspaper economics. It does make sense.

(Greenslade, 2014)

Photojournalist Edmond Terakopian fired back with the following comments:

Firstly, many more people write than take photographs, so by your frankly idiotic reasoning, newspapers should certainly get rid of all writers as the public could just write what they want. Secondly, a photograph is the only unaltered truth from a story. Putting

aside the importance of photographs that communicate the story well, you also need to think through that press photographers are journalists who check the content of the image and make sure it's accurate to the story. Proper press photographers are also non-biased. For accuracy of pictures, any paper, even a local (and again, an idiotic stance to say only cats on trees and fetes are all that happens, as all news happens in a locality!), a properly trained and experienced photographer is essential ...Lastly, how many people remember "great" articles that they read? Almost all though remember a great photograph that moved them and made them think.

(Greenslade, 2014)

This suggests that what has been indicated by my research data is true; photojournalists are losing jobs and are being replaced by a more economical source. However, according to Terakopian and the photojournalists interviewed for this research, they both feel that this will be to the detriment of photojournalism and the quality of the newspapers.

Not only are newspapers accepting photographs from members of the public, but they will also try to get these photographs for free. My research suggests that the public will send in photographs "just for the by-line" (photojournalist DM1) and without pay, which could contribute as an economic threat to photojournalists (Brennen and Brennen, 2017, p. 68). Photojournalist DM1 believes that amateur citizen journalists are "killing our business" because there are "some enthusiastic amateur that's happy to have his photograph printed just for the by-line" without getting paid. However, my research also suggests that financially, newspapers are finding it tough and if "newspapers really get strapped for cash, then they will search for images that people will give for free" (Photojournalist DM3); which has already started to happen according to the photojournalists I interviewed.

It is becoming increasingly popular for newspapers and news websites to request that viewers send in their photographs “and they use pictures for free”, whereas “if it was a professional they would have to pay for them” (Photojournalist SU5). With the introduction of digital photography, photojournalist SU3 says there are a lot more;

people turning up to events with cameras and as I say being willing to give images away rather than charge for them, so digital photography has been a double-edged sword.

Therefore, although photojournalists have thrived with the advancements of digital photography, they have also faced hardships from this technology because of the ease in which photographs can be taken by amateurs, in turn stripping them of their jobs.

In order for professional photojournalists to compete with amateur photographers, my research suggests they must look beyond the obvious when taking photographs; their photographs must appear different and unique. Photojournalist ST2 strives to look beyond the obvious when taking photographs by saying, “I try to do something that is completely different...as a professional you see things that others don’t see in a scene;” this allows photojournalists to stand out from the mass amount of photographs transmitted to the newspapers every day. Citizen journalists may be able to take; “a technically good image, [but] that doesn't make them a photographer, it doesn't make them a great artist, it doesn't make them a great photojournalist” (Photojournalist DM5).

Photojournalist DE4 agrees and argues that citizen journalists are not

professionals;

[E]verybody now is a photographer, well they're not a photographer, their pointing a little box and pushing a trigger, they're not thinking about composition, they're not thinking, 'Is there any interesting foreground? Is there anything standing out? Is there anything obtrusive in the background? Oh, I'll get rid of that with Photoshop', well that is not photography.

Photojournalists consider a multitude of different aspects when capturing a photograph, whereas my research data suggests photojournalists believe that amateurs just point and shoot. Time will tell whether or not newspapers will choose to seek the 'eye' of the professional or if they would rather give up quality to save in their budgets. *CNN* and *The Chicago Sun Times* and UK media group Johnston Press have taken this route in order to save costs; it will be interesting to reflect on this in years to come to see whether this was successful for them or not (Greenslade, 2014; Lang, 2011; Worstall, 2013). What is interesting to note is that since the announcement in January 2014 by Johnston Press (Greenslade, 2014) to release their photographers, their share price has plummeted; could that decision have had an effect on their share price or were they already in financial trouble? It's difficult to say.

The positive side to photographs produced through citizen journalism is that it can provide valid newsworthy information when professionals, who make their living based on their credibility as a witness, are not present to provide visual documentation of an event as it unfolds. News can happen at any time, suddenly and unexpectedly, it;

can happen any time, an explosion, a terrorist attack, an underground train accident. It can happen at any time and the people that, are most likely to get the most immediate pictures from a situation like that are anyone who carries a phone with a digital camera...there is far more chance of somebody, a member of the public, to be closer to one of these incidents happening than a news photographer [a photojournalist]. People through these social networking networks and their groups can get the pictures out very quickly, just post it on Facebook.

(Photojournalist M2)

Social networking allows for members of the public to spread news instantly, which in terms of journalism and delivering news to the public, it is a good thing. With the introduction of digital photography there has been a “democratisation of photography” according to photojournalist M3;

[W]e have more and more people taking pictures which is actually a good thing, so we have more and more newsmakers, as we call them, to take pictures. We see pictures from places that we've never seen before because professional media weren't there.

Photojournalist DM3 sees both the good and the bad aspects of citizen journalists;

[I]n certain situations it's good because you know some members of the public, if something happens like a massive lightning storm or a hurricane or whatever it is, there's always a person with a camera to take that, capture that picture or things like that because otherwise, photojournalists can't always be in the right place at the right time. At the same time, a lot of members of the public are dying to get their pictures in the paper, so there's competition with local photojournalists with members of the public who have cameras, and they're sending in their pictures for nothing...the competition certainly has got tougher, very much tougher because of that.

The increase of photographs supplied by citizen journalists has affected the

working life of the photojournalist; something they did not face before. The ability for citizen journalists to thrive with the aid of digital photography “has been detrimental in terms of income and the day rates because it means the demand and supply dynamics have changed completely”, yet despite this, photojournalist DE5 is also optimistic, saying digital photography;

has meant that new voices have entered photojournalism, which would previously not been able to or who would have never thought of it. So it has had an overall beneficial effect, even if it is much harder to make a living being a photojournalist than it used to be.

The introduction of photographs from the public delivered to newspapers has been positive for mainstream media; allowing for re-structuring and re-evaluation of their role in society (Berry, 2008, p. 41), however, my research suggests that it has had a detrimental effect on the livelihoods of photojournalists.

Citizen journalists may be at the front lines of newsworthy events and are eager to share their photographs with the world; however, my research suggests that photojournalists are worried that the ethics of these photographers may not be as high as the professionals. Anyone is a “potential photojournalist” and according to photojournalist M2, this may be a problem “because...people who aren’t photographers, that haven’t been brought to appreciate...the ethics involved in sending a picture in a particular way, manipulating it too much”. Although issues surrounding the credibility of the witness and the citizen journalist’s knowledge of the ethical practices of photojournalism come into question (Leigh, 2007), including contextualisation and manipulation of photographs. It is not necessarily an issue of content of a photograph from a citizen journalist that is problematic, but

rather the larger impact that photographs sourced in this way impacts the working life of the photojournalist.

Photojournalist DE4 highlights that in many professions, rates increase over the years to counterbalance inflation, however within photojournalism;

rates have gone down or if not stayed the same for about ten years, so that is one of the biggest changes that the value of what we do in terms of return financially has gone down definitely.

There are significant challenges faced by photojournalists; such challenges all appear to derive back to the business priorities of newspaper organisations and the need for these organisations to cut costs and their overarching perception of the importance of news photographs. Photojournalist DE4 highlights many changes in the value of photojournalism;

Circulations dropping, newspapers changing in shape, so, the photographs are no longer quite as important. Generally, for instance, the *Independent* newspaper is over 20 plus years, and when it first started it very much focused on photography, sadly for a number of recent years that has not been the case, photography has not been highlighted. And yeah the value of what we do has changed in a rates point of view and the amount of equipment that we take, the quantity, the volume. Obviously when I started we would only have cameras, we wouldn't have a mobile phone, and we would not have a computer, and we would go on assignment and take our photographs and then come back to the office, so the amount of equipment that we have to take...So the equipment is heavier, the quantity of the equipment is greater. And...if you're London based the quantity of the traffic, the time it takes to go on jobs. The way that photographers are treated and certainly Diana's death was watershed, but certainly the watershed of all was September the 11th the world

changes and certainly as a photographer, you are security checked, you are regarded as a suspect, you are very much regarded as someone that is not neutral anymore and that goes from a news photographer doing a riot, to a sporting event, where sport is about business and they want the image rights to belong to them, they see you as someone that can make them an awful lot of money. So those are a few of the changes. I can't think of too many good ones.

Photojournalists are looking beyond the camera to entice employers to hire them; looking towards video and writing their own articles. Photojournalist M5 says that the only way to survive in the market is “to have a broader range of skills...because budgets are tighter”, suggesting that newspapers are expecting photojournalists to cover more and more areas without getting paid for it;

[N]ewspapers would never pay you to spend time processing your images and at the same time, editing film, editing video footage will not be paid for and herein lies the problem. The people that will display this content on websites and other platforms are not prepared to pay, so there's going to be an issue with being able to devote the kind of time that you would need to, on these kind of projects because you would need to have the money available to make it worthwhile.

Therefore, there is a concern amongst photojournalists whether the amount of work they would have to achieve would be financially viable for them to keep themselves in the photojournalism profession. Despite the rationales that the photojournalists interviewed gave attributing to the decline of their work being published and restricting their income, they did not let this deter them from telling the stories that they seek to tell because their passion and dedication for their job weighs heavier than any other obstacles they endure.

Before computers and the internet dominated photojournalism, photojournalists had more face to face communication with colleagues and employers.

Photojournalist M1 looks back to the way things were when he started;

I can think back to when I graduated, and I don't think they even had the internet at all then, or if you did, then it was very small. You used to take your portfolios around to picture editors and things like that, and it was a bit more of meeting people, you've got these computers, and it is less meeting people it's all just by e-mail and things like that.

Although photojournalists have lost direct communication with newspapers, my research suggests the photojournalist community has become stronger creating a socialisation of photojournalists. The internet has helped the photojournalist community stay in communication; photojournalist DE4 shares one such community, on “Facebook, a group called SNAPAWARE and its international photographers, who can communicate with each other on a daily basis if they want to”. The socialisation of photojournalists is a topic I discuss further in section 6.3 of this chapter.

As I touched upon earlier in this section; photojournalists are finding it more difficult to make a living on producing still photographs alone, “a lot of photojournalists are turning to multi-media...not just taking pictures” because of the increased use of e-books, smart-phones and tablets and as photojournalist DM3 says “everything is on screen, so less and less people are reading newspapers”. Newspapers are making a slow transition “web-based”.

Photojournalist DE1 thinks “newspapers will die because it will cost them too much money to run”. Therefore this research data suggests that photojournalists believe

that newspapers in paper form will no longer exist; however they will thrive virtually. Looking towards the future, photojournalist SU5 predicts;

automation will take over, and it's a lot more accessible to everyone now, the media, I think newspapers don't have a lot longer to go either. I think in many years to come people will be viewing [online] rather than the printed version, it will be a long time down the line, but all newspapers are suffering.

Similarly, photojournalist DE5 also predicts that in the future;

there will obviously be a lot of online sites. Online is a great way of publishing your work and the growth of devices like LiveWire and the iPhones, people could see things much more easily than they could do when they didn't have a computer terminal [and] now engage with journalism wherever they are in ways that people didn't ten years ago because very few people want to pull out a laptop and set up a connection to the internet and now a lot of 3G people will be able to consume it, to be able to engage with it a lot more.

Declarations about the death of photojournalism started as early as the 1950's (Burgess, 2010). However, it is not that photojournalism has died; it has just evolved, embracing new mediums to help tell news stories. Very little photojournalism is being produced, published or funded by mainstream media organisations and it is often asserted that the pay rates have barely, if at all, changed in recent years (Burgess, 2010). My research data suggests that,

If it carries on as just a business of running newspapers, as opposed to kind of the journalist, then there is an issue of free press, I don't think that it exists anymore really, in this country it just seems like a dying profession.

(Photojournalist SU2)

Although a few photojournalists spoke of the death of newspaper photojournalism, many photojournalists interviewed seemed optimistic for the future of their profession, noting that the revolution of their profession will spark new opportunities. Photojournalists are “trying to find new ways to tell stories and new ways to publish them and distribute them and to have people see them because this is the main target” (Photojournalist M3). They are exploring new ways of telling their stories creatively in order to spark interests. Photojournalist ST3 says;

I'm positive about the future and I think it might be a bit of a roller coaster at the moment and we're at the top of the roller coaster where everybody's going out and buying digital cameras, but then I think they realise it is actually quite hard work to continue taking pictures and making good pictures that they might come down the roller coaster a little bit and the marketplace will even out and we will retain still some good photojournalism and those that can tell a story.

Photojournalist M3 predicts that photojournalism;

still has to go down before it can come up. I'm pessimistically optimistic if that exists. I think we still have a process of identifying what the new process will be...I don't believe it's going to die because all those people would like to see, it's up to us, photographers, to utilise ways that we continue to do so...don't know where we're going, it's up to us, it's up to the photographers to find ways to survive, make these stories and have them seen.

My research data expresses hope for the future of photojournalism, and although photojournalists admit they are having a hard time at the moment, they believe that in the future the value of photojournalism will return as long as they continue to have a passion for telling stories in a visually creative way.

Hopes for the future of photojournalism appear to remain bright; however, photojournalist M1 says that his greatest hope is that photojournalists will have more of a voice in the future;

Photography has always played second fiddle to the kind of infrastructure of the newspaper and putting it together, and I think that letting photographers have more of a voice in reporting around the world is definitely something to consider in the future. I always felt that this misguided element where the writer is of such a huge importance, where the photographer is there merely to subservient, so I think working together is fine...I think having, giving more control to photographers is definitely a way forward.

My research shows that photojournalists care deeply about the stories they are covering, providing insight into the story that a written journalist may have missed. Having the specialist knowledge of both the journalist and the photojournalist can only make a story better.

It would seem from this section that photojournalists are struggling and they face pressures and difficulties when maintaining their professional careers. However, from my research data, despite the uncertainties of the future of photojournalism; photojournalists also seem to have hope for a better future of their profession. All photojournalists interviewed appeared to believe that the profession of

photojournalism will continue to change and photojournalists will continue to adapt to the changing market because of their passion and commitment to their profession drives them to do so.

6.2 Challenges: Pressures, Concerns and Difficulties

The concerns, pressures and difficulties presented in this section were the most commonly noted by the photojournalists interviewed; challenges such as financial difficulties, increased expectations from employers, facing dangerous working conditions and battling to get their voices heard. However, this section in no way articulates all of the possible challenges that photojournalists face, despite those presented in this research being wide-ranging and highly significant. This section highlights the challenges faced by the photojournalists interviewed; however, when examining all of the challenges facing photojournalists, some may argue that the challenges outlined in this section may outweigh the rewards gained, yet for the interviewees, these challenges are not a deterrent. This section uncovers the thoughts of photojournalists as they face an ever challenging and changing profession.

As highlighted in the previous section, financial worries are at the forefront of the minds of the photojournalists interviewed. My research data suggests that photojournalists have little hope about the increase in their pay in order for them to sustain a living purely as a photojournalist. Photojournalist ST1 is concerned that “financially, photographers are suffering” and photojournalist SU5 is concerned that “the pay...has deteriorated and it will never get better”. Researchers, such as Nicoli and Nuccio (2012, p. 1) argue that the decline of photojournalists’ salaries is

directly connected to the digital revolution because digital photography has oversaturated the market with photographs which, in turn, bring the price of photographs down, which dramatically impact the income of professional photojournalists.

Declining prices of digital technology together with internet diffusion have boosted the creation, storage and circulation of images. The oversupply and commoditization of images had mechanically pulled down the price of images and consequently the salary of professional photographers. The financial crisis affected the newspaper industry pushing to the adoption of cost reduction strategy. This process dramatically cut the main source of revenues of photojournalism.

(Nicoli and Nuccio, 2012, p. 1)

My research reflects a similar notion; photojournalist ST5 says,

We're all concerned about whether it's going to be a viable economic activity, whether you can still make a living doing it in the marketplace [because there's] not as much work as there used to be, in photojournalism.

With the decrease in funding and lack of apparent interest from newspapers to fund long-term photographic stories; photojournalists such as M3 are concerned important stories will not be explored, whereas in the past they would have been.

Nobody will send someone to India to do a three story on Mumbai slums, so a photographer has to find his own way, his own funding to go to the slums and maybe find a local NGO that will give him a room to stay for two weeks and then he will find a gallery that will make an exhibition and give him £500, you see what I'm saying? So more and more photographers are trying to do self-funded projects like that just because

newspapers and magazines won't commission these anymore, so my concern is that there are less and less room for photographers and photojournalists. I think I'm worried that many stories are not going to be told.

(Photojournalist M3)

As previously noted in this chapter, digital technology has increased the speed of photojournalists work and has also raised the expectations of those that employ them to complete the jobs. Although digital technology has allowed photojournalists to complete jobs more quickly, the photojournalists interviewed stated that sometimes the expectations for what they can achieve are unrealistic. Photojournalist SU1 was put under pressure because "people tend to think that you archive everything and that is not the case" and "people seem to think that you can do things that really you can't". My research suggests that shooting with digital for newspapers has created increasingly shorter deadlines and therefore, photojournalists must now deliver photographs fast and accurately. Photojournalist SU1 states that he is under tremendous pressure because of "the speed of turnaround everything needs to be faster, everything needs to have been done yesterday". The need to produce photographs quickly has forced photojournalist SU3;

to minimise my workflow as much as possible to reduce the number of steps and time involved in going, from pressing the shutter and clicking the button, to sending it to the agency...not wanting to spend a huge amount of time working on images as much as anything else.

Even as I was interviewing photojournalist ST2 he was busy working; "hold on one sec (click...click...click, sound of the camera). Hello, yeah, I can hear you now,

sorry". This photojournalist multitasks through his day, taking photographs while talking on the phone.

When photojournalists are scheduled for assignments they are not given enough time for each job because the people that are making up the schedule do not know how much time it takes, photojournalist ST5 says;

there [is] a misconception between people who [was] assigning, you know putting together diaries...because digital is immediate and so fast that you could do a job and you know and go on to the next one and do multiple things, you know within the space of only a very few hours that obviously isn't the case.

Digital photography is much more involved than many people imagine; my research suggests that those that work with photojournalists have little understanding of what is involved with completing an assignment. Photojournalist DE2 feels pressure from the newspapers;

the pressure is immense to get the job done and get them wired back to whoever wants them. I mean sometimes they ring me up on a job and say, 'where's the pictures' and I'm like, 'the job hasn't even started yet, how can I take a picture when there's nothing to take a picture of' and they're like, 'get on it, get on it' and I'm like, 'well sometimes you can't'.

When taking photographs, photojournalists have to wait for many different factors before they can take a photograph; therefore it is not as instant as some may think.

According to photojournalist DE3, pressures on photojournalists have steadily

increased over the years because the speed of the job was not always so demanding;

In the old days, you do a job, and they'll say, 'can we have the pictures in the next couple of days?'; 'Yeah, no problem'...then it became, 'can we have the pictures tomorrow?'; 'Yes, no problem, I'll get them processed tonight, and I'll send it special delivery, and you'll get it tomorrow'. Now it's a case of, 'can we get it today, can we get it before twelve o'clock?' Say you're doing a job at ten, 'can we have the pictures by half ten?' It's almost, 'can we get the pictures as you're taking them'.

Speed is expected from photojournalists because, not only is it expected from the photojournalist, but my research also suggests speed is expected from the picture editors on the other end of the wire;

[I]f there's a protest, any big protest at five o'clock and the papers want to get released by seven, especially in London, they want those images and say the Sunday Times doesn't get that image on the front page and the Independent and the Telegraph and all the others get it, well then the editor will be sacked and it's a really important image, you know. So, speed is of the essence, and you can't do this without digital.

(Photojournalist DE3)

All of the newspapers are competing for the same photographs; therefore if one newspaper fails to deliver that photograph, then someone will take the blame.

In order to cover all areas surrounding a story, more than one photojournalist should be shooting because a photojournalist cannot be everywhere at once. A photojournalist could be shooting one thing, and something entirely different could

be happening around the corner and as photojournalist DE3 highlighted above, that when a defining photograph happens, the newspapers are expected to have it, however, one photograph cannot cover everything. Photojournalist DE5 is aware that when he is taking photographs during high action, for example during a riot or protest, it is difficult to capture all the action “by the very nature of the fact that it's got a box around it means you are going to miss other stuff, there could be other stuff”. Therefore, there is a need for several photojournalists to be there to cover the entire story. Photojournalists face an expectation of speed in their profession; therefore digital photography and quick computer transfers are essential.

As previously discussed, photojournalists are constantly battling against financial insecurities, with the added stress connected with irregular work and potentially dangerous working conditions. Not only do photojournalists face increased expectations, but they also face dangers as photojournalists. Photojournalists that are sent to cover war, face tremendous dangers and occasionally dying to do their jobs far from home (Addario, 2014). The photojournalists interviewed for this research also revealed dangers closer to home. It is not only the pressure of the job but also the physical danger that concerns photojournalist DE3;

Football matches, they can be quite scary because the people behind you are the fans and some of them can be pretty nasty. You can have darts, and sharpened pens and that flying onto the crowd and those things are dangerous you know. So if you're there with a laptop as well, trying to take pictures and you never know when that ball is coming straight for you, you don't want to get hit by a football travelling who knows how many miles an hour, it would hurt you, probably knock you out.

Therefore, photojournalist DE5 points out;

[Y]ou have to keep one eye open, so you don't get hit in the head, you got to have both eyes open, but you're always concentrating on the one, the eye that is looking through the lens.

However, there have been situations when a photojournalist will refuse an assignment because they felt it was too dangerous. Photojournalist M3 says;

[T]here have been cases in the past where people were putting some pressure on me to do something dangerous or ask somebody to do something dangerous, and I was firm to decline.

This research also reveals that photojournalists struggle to have their voice heard by those that employ them. At least three photojournalists interviewed expressed concern over the fact that their voices were not heard or taken into account by newspapers. Photojournalist DE5 says that as a freelance photojournalist it is difficult to have any say and he also realised many years ago that there was a great difference between the role of a written journalist and a photojournalist, yet “they are two sides of the same coin”. Photojournalists also feel that their voice has been lost within the newspaper structure. Photojournalist M1 believes that photojournalists “always have to play second fiddle” to the writers on newspapers, which suggests a hierarchy within the newspaper structure (Seelig, 2005, p. 164). Newspapers put the writers on a pedestal, and photojournalists get lost in the infrastructure of the newspapers. Photojournalists M1 also believes that photojournalists deserve to have more of a voice and should work more in

partnership with writers; this concept mirrors that of the concept suggested by Lauterer (2005) previously noted in Chapter Five of this research. Lauterer (2005, p. 237) notes the importance of working in a team environment to complete assignments; consisting of a team including editors, writers, designers and photojournalists creating a creative synergy.

Despite many of the challenges that photojournalists face while ‘eye-witnessing and documenting history’, photojournalists continue to record and tell the stories they believe are important. Although they face increasing pressures and concerns tied to their profession, my research suggests that they still adhere to the ‘traditions’ of photojournalism. Photojournalists are continually willing to undertake challenging roles, yet are deemed surmountable through their motivation and drive to tell visual stories.

6.3 Socialisation and Photojournalism

This section seeks to establish that photojournalists’ options for training are limited or unknown to photojournalists. In addition, I will argue that the ‘socialisation’ of photojournalists is one of the main sources of guidance and knowledge available to photojournalists regarding their profession and the ‘tradition’ of photojournalism. According to Gamson *et al.* (1992, p. 373), socialisation refers to the process by which people learn the expectations of a particular role. Photojournalists begin with a similar set of skills and knowledge of the technical mechanics involved in taking photographs. Socialisation moves beyond technical aspects of taking a photograph and explores how to conceptually ‘see’ photographs in a way that is distinct to a photojournalist.

Traditions are typically defined as customs, beliefs and practices that are passed from generation to generation, thus they are carried from the past and are maintained or adapted in the present (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016). Traditions may also give people a sense of belonging; a knowledge that they are a part of something bigger than themselves to which others before them have belonged historically. In general, socialisation is the process of formally or informally indoctrinating those who seek group membership or a specific role by instilling associated values and behaviour (Rosow, 1974, p. 34). Through this process, the dominant values and behaviours are eventually internalised so that participants conform to the shared expectations, norms, values and behaviours of the group (Rosow, 1974, p. 32). Practices, traditions and inspirations for photojournalists are earned from the work of other photojournalists in their field. However, I will also discuss that photojournalists seem to have a desire for further training, but are restricted due to time and financial restraints; yet their socialisation aids indirectly in their professional training.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the skills of photojournalists are constantly changing; however, there is no set route which a photojournalist must follow to become a photojournalist. It is not mandatory for a photojournalist to attend college or university or have any formal training, although such courses are available. The photojournalists interviewed for this research discussed their training options; photojournalist SU1 said he had “training through the British Institute of Professionals and...photographic societies and [he] got a lot of tips” such as “the photograph should tell a story”; whereas photojournalist ST4 is aware of courses;

The NUJ does some and...in America the NPPA does... [courses] are around, it is just, I imagine that the majority of people don't attend the courses.

This suggests that even though courses may be offered, photojournalists do not attend them. Photojournalist DE1 also says;

To be honest there's hardly any training. Obviously there are schools and things, but I think the NUJ courses are gone now, the National Union of Journalists, I think that's disappeared. That is how I was trained and brought through, but I think people now just pick up a camera and think they're photographers.

It is clear from my research that in order to become a photojournalist one must learn these skills from somewhere, however from the above comments, there is a sense of scepticism towards the intentions of new photojournalists and their loyalty to the 'tradition' for photojournalism.

Since many photojournalists are freelance photographers, essentially working for themselves and have not directly worked for newspaper organisations as employees, the typical process of formal work environmental socialisation suggested by previous research cannot be universally applied (Bauer and Green, 1998; Cooper-Thomas and Anderson, 2006; Saks and Ashforth, 1997; Schein, 1971; Shibutani, 1962). In addition, the increased tendency for photojournalists to submit their photographs through agencies bypassing direct contact with the newspapers and avoiding the typical socialisation process in a workplace, which all suggests that they cannot be socialised. Yet, my research suggests that despite the lack of traditional socialisation environments, photojournalists are still

socialised through their own professional community.

Many of the interviewees implied that there is a 'tradition' of photojournalism and this is linked to how they learnt to be a photojournalist. As a young student, photojournalist ST5 was inspired by great photojournalists of the past, and he thinks that;

[A] student starting out might not even be aware that that work ever existed, so it will be interesting to see what will then be inspiring them to want to be a photojournalist and I think that type of work is what inspires people like me and others to go into the industry in the first place.

Photojournalist DM3 warns new photojournalists that;

if you're fresh out of college, unless you're extremely talented, it's very hard to get into, and maybe there is slightly less opportunities for people to get into the newspapers because they are using less photographers and more members of the public to get the news photographs.

From my research, there is a sense that photojournalists are worried for the future of young photographers entering into photojournalism because not only do they lack knowledge of the history of photojournalism, but they are also unaware of the financial burdens photojournalists face in their profession.

In addition to reviewing the works of other photojournalists for inspiration and knowledge, photojournalists interviewed also stressed the importance of the technical histories of the medium.

[Photojournalist DE3's] personal view is that you will never learn photography properly unless you've worked with film and in a darkroom...what you are doing is seeing a scene or subject...and recording that into the camera. Now whether you are doing that by burning silver nitrate on a plate, by exposure or by recording that on a chip it's academic really, you're doing the same thing. But I think to understand the process of photography you've got to learn and understand that basic process of why that image is stored on that plate or on that negative, and it is the same thing really.

It is all the same process of collecting and capturing light. In addition, photojournalist DM4 admits that a digital camera can be a great training tool in understanding light, by saying that;

I see the benefits from learning with digital especially...if you're using up lighting, flashes and off camera. [You] are benefited from being able to look at exactly what [you] got and [understanding] the [resulting] lighting immediately.

Being a photojournalist is a constant learning curve, just when they think that they have mastered a level, new technologies emerge creating new areas of knowledge to explore.

However, my research suggests it is not just the quality of photographs being produced that photojournalists constantly aspire to, but also the quality of the practice. Photojournalist DM1 agrees that being a photojournalist is "a learning process, so you learn from other photojournalists". Photojournalist DE5 finds that with avenues such as Photo Forum, which is an online discussion group for photojournalists that also holds informational talks, helps create debates about current subjects affecting the profession, as well as adds to their knowledge of the

profession;

[S]everal times a year somebody will do a talk about ethics in digital retouching and in the way that we approach our subject. So the photographers themselves are making a stand at contributing to the debate in a way that informs other photographers and creates a peer pressure around other photographers not to overstep the bounds, and in many ways, this is the most effective way of doing it.

This highlights the socialisation of photojournalists which not only helps them educate each other but also serves as a governing system of peer pressure. Therefore, it is not just the process of looking up a photojournalist and reading about them for inspiration; it is also by having direct communication with fellow photojournalists, through online forums and blogs. There are many forums, such as the one mentioned above, allowing photojournalists to communicate through great distances. These types of experiences allow aspiring photojournalists to learn more about the historical traditions of photojournalism and the current issues they deal with today.

Professional training courses for photojournalists regarding ethics seem to be desired by the photojournalists interviewed; however, they find that not having the time or financial backing prevents them from pursuing it further. Photojournalist SU5 says it's difficult to find time for courses or training, "you have to pay for them, and you need to have the time off to do them, so really it's not really an option", and he thinks more photojournalists;

would go on loads, but there's two things here; you'd have to take the time off work, and

you don't get paid. Secondly, you have to pay for it, so it's a double whammy, you lose the money for not going to work...And they've all got mortgages, loans for cameras, cars, families to run and you know you can't physically do it if you're a staff photographer you could.

Agreeing with photojournalist SU5, photojournalist ST1 says that training is “definitely” something photojournalists would be interested in, however “freelancers pay themselves; really it is a cost thing”. This is one of the reasons photojournalists seek training and guidance from their fellow professional peers, rather than professional courses because it's free. The importance of the knowledge that they obtain from fellow professionals appears from the research data to be more valued than that from outside sources.

Whilst the vast majority of photojournalists interviewed in this research agreed that there was a lack of training for photojournalists in the area of ethics, it is also indicated that where training may be possible for photojournalists the ability for them to attend such courses would be difficult because of loss of revenue while attending the courses. Whereas it is also denoted that photojournalists rely on their ‘socialisation’ with other photojournalists to guide their practices and ethical actions. Thus, photojournalists assist one another and often serve as a support network for each other. A desire for photojournalists to seek the approval of other photojournalists implies that there is a ‘tradition’ of photojournalism that is sought to maintain. It can also be suggested that the ‘socialisation’ of photojournalists is a continual process which helps to fortify photojournalists’ commitment to the maintenance of positive ethical practice.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that photojournalism may not be easily definable or easily identifiable, but this is not due to the death of the profession, which has been proclaimed by many. It is not the outlet, organisation or publication of photojournalism that defines photojournalism; rather it is photojournalists' passion and dedication which defines the profession. It is photojournalists' commitment to the 'tradition' of photojournalism and their 'socialisation' that helps to guide photojournalistic practice.

Thus, it is not driving towards financial rewards or accolades which motivate photojournalists to seek out visual stories to show the world, but an inner purpose and a passion that defines them as a person creating their identity.

Photojournalists eyewitness and document the histories of people and the world, so they are not forgotten. Although they face many hardships, they still remain diligent in telling visual stories because they are aware of the power held by their photographs.

Photojournalism is not dead; it is evolving. Photojournalists are still telling stories; it is just that they are doing it in a different way, adapting to a new photojournalism model, one that is not limited by the still image. This research shows that photojournalists have not given up their commitment, but have found new ways to practice their craft.

From this research, it is clear that photojournalists take on the financial burdens in order to eyewitness and document the stories they photograph, but it is also clear that they are willing to lose money while fulfilling their passion. When it comes

down to the choice of not documenting stories or taking on some of the financial burdens in order to tell a story, those photojournalists who see photojournalism as an identity don't see it as a choice, they see it as what is necessary because to these photojournalists telling stories is fundamental.

The final chapter, which follows, concludes this research and draws together some key themes that have emerged from the data; in doing this, I will discuss further some recommendations for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

As meaning is 'caught' within a photograph created in a millisecond, frozen within a flat surface; the power of the photograph lies in the 'care' of its construction.

Therefore, the ethical practice involved in the construction of newspapers photographs (inspected in this thesis) suggests that there are a multitude of forces which govern how photographs are captured and distributed to UK newspapers, yet are hidden far beneath what the photographs depict. Forces such as; what the photojournalists chooses to capture (when, where and why), how photojournalists interact with digital photographs and their ethical decision-making. The perceived reliability of news photographs makes photojournalism a significant component of visual communication and the construction of social meaning. Photojournalists' work is affected by the complex culture of newspaper organisations, in that each newspaper has their own target audience and visual aesthetics.

The importance photojournalists place on their subjects as well as the issues, situations and events that they face should not be overlooked. By capturing peoples' stories, photojournalists are representatives of the visual world, making sure that stories are not forgotten or go unnoticed. This research journey did not find definite answers to the research questions which were designated at the beginning of this research; however, this research shows that photojournalists do not apply ethical codes regarding digital manipulation to the production of their digital photographs because newspapers do not give them any to follow. This study also highlights that photojournalists interact with their digital photographs with 'care' at every stage of producing their photographs. Finally, the research data suggests that photojournalists judge some digital manipulations as

acceptable and others unacceptable based on the extent of the manipulations done to the digital photograph; technically altering a photograph (which is deemed 'acceptable') and altering a photograph excessively (which is deemed 'unacceptable'). In addition to this, although the research questions did not give me definite answers, the research questions did assist in exploring the thoughts, views and opinions of UK photojournalists regarding their ethical practices and also laid a foundation in the construction two new theories.

As mentioned above, I constructed two new important theories from the analysis of my research data: the ethical eye and the deontological ethical eye. These two theories are original contributions to knowledge and they both aim to contribute to the ethical thinking of photojournalists, educators and other professionals regarding ethical decision-making.

This research indicates that being a photojournalist is their identity. While being an eyewitness to history photojournalists face many challenges; from concept, to creation, to submission, to finance. On the one hand, during the interviews, photojournalists are quick to discuss the hardships they face and the hardships their profession faces as a whole. However, on the other hand, photojournalists are also ready to rectify these challenges and brushing them off as just another casualty of the job; emphasising that this is their identity. As previously mentioned, being a photojournalist is an 'identity', and the challenges they face while being an eyewitness to history are ones they must endure for their profession to survive.

This research shows that photojournalists learn within their practice by doing and observing others; unquestionably, experience gives photojournalists the opportunity to stretch their visual abilities in both ethical and unethical situations. For this reason, photojournalists exercise their 'ethical eyes' as they increase their experiences and begin to recognise and understand the ethical decisions they make. They have the power to decide the types of news photographs they allow to be seen by the newspaper and ultimately by the public because they may choose to submit or not submit to the newspapers.

Thus, in order to conceptualise photojournalist practice in relation to ethics, I developed a representation (see Fig 11) for conceptualising the role that ethics plays in connection to the way photojournalists practice in their profession in terms of how their 'ethical eye' interacts with being an eyewitness to history, their photographic identity and the challenges they face. I emphasise the fluidity of the representation to encapsulate ways the data involving ethics moves within the model with regards to the working practices of the photojournalists from one moment to the next. The photojournalists interviewed all appeared to show the use of an 'ethical eye' when discussing their professional practices regarding the challenges they face, being an eyewitness to history and maintaining their photographic identity.

In delving deeper into the understanding of the ethical eye, rather than just remaining on the surface of this idea; the data in this research also suggests that photojournalists take a deontological approach to their ethical decision-making leading to the creation of The Deontological Ethical Eye (see Fig 19). This theory

helps to explain why a photojournalist chooses to act in a particular way based on which duty dominates their decision-making. Photojournalists take photographs; however, it is not only the photographs they ethically consider but also the situations they find themselves in. Deciding which duty to consider, although complex and varied, is reliant on the values of each individual photojournalist. My research suggests that photojournalists make ethical decisions based on their duties, which include; duty to the subject/ story, duty to society/public, duty to their profession, duty to the newspaper and duty to self. It also appears that each individual photojournalist does not have a set hierarchy for the duties they consider; suggesting that the importance of a duty would change depending on each ethical situation they face.

The findings of this study show that photojournalists perform their jobs in dynamic and complex work environments often utilising a variety of working spaces, such as offices, cafés, cars or even the street. Despite their lack of workplace, photojournalists are socialised into the system through the influences and actions of peers and professional organisations. This research also shows that the lack of communication between newspaper employees and photojournalists hinders photojournalists' ability to perform their jobs and meet their professional goals. Photojournalists appear to struggle to be considered equals with journalists that write the articles for the newspaper.

This study emphasises the lack of communication between photojournalists and the newspapers. Thus, when further considering the idea of the socialisation of photojournalists, the findings of this study indicate that photojournalists long for a

connection amongst likeminded individuals (including the people that publish their photographs in the newspapers); thereby seeking a socialisation platform where everyone's opinions are recognised. However, the notion of the socialisation of photojournalists is also useful in considering how, at a micro level, individual photojournalists become inspired into particular ways of practising their craft and ethically behaving while taking and working with photographs. It is my belief that it is only when all newspaper professionals work closely together without areas of 'grey' that ethical practice truly will come under control.

Outside the scope of this research, yet still of significant importance, some research data revealed that several of the photojournalists interviewed said that journalism schools do a disservice to students by not teaching them the realities of the profession and the role ethics plays within their practice. These photojournalists believed students entering the field should be provided better information about what newspaper photography is like as a long-term career. They spoke of disappointment while learning because the classes they did attend focused on photographic essays, which has been little help to them during the daily routine of newspaper assignments. Greater understanding of these issues, through further study, could be useful for both practising photojournalists and educators.

The information provided by photojournalists during the study suggests areas for further research. Future research involving in-depth ethnographic study focusing on individual influences may help identify additional characteristics of the photojournalists. Of particular interest would be the extent to which the opinions of

peers in the newspaper photo department and professional organisations influence photojournalists' ethical values. Peers and professional networks also impact photojournalists' decisions when selecting and evaluating their photographs. Therefore, a better understanding of the influences of the newspaper organisations and professional networks may lead to greater knowledge about how visual reality is constructed and communicated.

My findings also suggest areas of further study in which quantitative research techniques could be used to define influences and opinions about photojournalists better. Studies of this type might include evaluating photojournalists' goals and measuring the extent to which editing processes are used. A survey of upper management views of the role of photojournalists and photojournalism within the newspaper also could provide useful information for photo department managers and photojournalists.

Also in light of the recent governing changes, such as issues brought about through the Leveson inquiry, with regards to the production of news photographs in conjunction to personal privacy; it may be advantageous to look in detail at the impact of these changes concerning photojournalists' daily routine and practices.

Thus, below I have chosen to put forward some questions for photojournalism practice; to further confuse, rather than provide 'easy' answers to what I believe are complex issues raised in this study:

1. To what extent are photojournalists' actions valued? By society? By newspaper staff?
Are they seen as secondary to writers?

2. To what extent are the practices of photojournalists ethically questionable? How does this compare with other aspects of their work?
3. Would everything that a photojournalist does have to be monitored? Are practices associated with the creation of newspaper photographs too sceptically viewed by the public? If so, why? Moreover, would their knowledge of their practices help their scepticism?
4. Does the emphasis on being a 'role model' to future and fellow photojournalists lead to photojournalists behaving in ethical ways?
5. Is photojournalism viewed as a hostile or voyeuristic act by the public? How much is the public aware or concerned by the construction of newspaper photographs? Do they care?
6. When do the risks outweigh the benefits for photojournalists? What keeps photojournalists dedicated to their profession?
7. Does gender influence how a story is ethically considered?
8. What do the stories which are covered by photojournalists say about society? What does it say about the photojournalist?

A possible criticism of this research is that whilst I concentrated attention on photojournalists, the voices of newspaper photo editors and newspaper staff are largely absent. However, as my focus was on the ethics surrounding the creation of digital photographs for publication in UK newspapers, it is the views of the photojournalists that are deemed more important because they are the 'creators' of the photographs.

Another possible criticism of this research is that it is a snapshot of the views and opinions of photojournalists publishing in UK national newspapers in 2009. Some may suggest that the findings are deemed irrelevant because the research was conducted in 2009; however, I would argue that the importance of this research is

that it is a foundation for other future research. In addition, this research also contributes to the greater body of knowledge in the area of photojournalism and ethics.

In concluding this thesis, I am conscious that I may be adopting my position, given the anxieties that prevail in relation to ethics in photojournalism at the current time. It may, for instance, appear that I am promoting the idea that ethics in photojournalism should focus purely on the present, which could be construed as taking the view that it is only *now* that photojournalists are showing signs of unethical behaviour and need reining in. This would be wrong. I am advocating that current practices of photojournalism are changing so quickly that it is even hard to detect these changes, especially for those that do not know the field of photography. I am advocating that photojournalists look again at some often taken for granted aspects of their profession and reflect upon ideas which could make ethics be considered more readily and in a more collaborative way. In thinking about the implication of guidelines or policies, I am not suggesting further targets and monitoring. In a sense, I am calling for something quite different, possibly an appeal for awareness.

To put some of the ideas contained in this thesis into practice requires bravery at the current time; promoting discussion. This would not only require bravery but time and money which are two things that photojournalists don't have. This has implications for photojournalists because it suggests the need for awareness is critical in order to reflect upon their photographic practices; would photojournalists be willing to lose money to gain insight? It is difficult to ask photojournalists to give

up something which sustains their 'identity', but perhaps through their reflective practices they could train and refine their 'ethical eye'.

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Appendix A: Research Information Letter

Research Information Letter Digital Photo Manipulation within UK National newspapers

Dear Photojournalist:

I am a research degree student in the Faculty of Applied Social Sciences at London Metropolitan University. My research is about the ethics of digital manipulation in newspaper photojournalism. As part of my final year dissertation it will be helpful for my research to interview photojournalists who have published digital photographs in UK national newspapers: The Sun, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Daily Express.

I am interested in exploring the experiences of photojournalists who have worked or are working with digital photographs. My interview will enquire about your views on the possible positive and negative aspects of digital photography; how photojournalists ethically interact with digital photographs, as well as the use of ethical codes for digital manipulation within UK national newspapers. This study has been approved by the Faculty's research ethics committee. Confidentiality and anonymity of participants will be ensured and maintained and you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time.

The anonymised data will be shared with my dissertation supervisors with summarised findings shared with the research student progress group members of our Graduate School. The dissertation that results from this work will be published in hard copy, which will be held at the London Metropolitan University libraries. If you would like a copy of this research when it is completed, this can be arranged.

If you would like to participate in this study, I would be very grateful to arrange an interview that will last for about 25 to 45 minutes or if you have any questions you may contact me on 07553 792 989, or via my email at pak0231@londonmet.ac.uk. Alternatively, if you are unable to arrange a face to face interview, I would be very happy to talk with you by phone.

Thank you for your time and for considering being part of this research. I look forward to your reply and to interviewing you in the near future.

Kind Regards,

Paula Kliewer, BA (Hons), MA
PhD Research Student
London Metropolitan University
Faculty of Applied Social Sciences

Supervisor:
Georgie Parry-Crooke
Associated Director, Centre for Social and Evaluation Research
Email g.parry-crooke@londonmet.ac.uk

Re: Photojournalism – Paula Kliewer

Appendix B: Informed Consent

Informed Consent Digital Photo Manipulation within UK National newspapers

Dear Photojournalist:

I am a postgraduate student in the Faculty of Applied Social Sciences at London Metropolitan University. I would like to invite you to participate in a research project about the ethics of digital manipulation in newspaper photojournalism. I am interested in exploring the experiences of photojournalists working with digital photographs for newspapers.

I would like you to help by taking part in an interview lasting between 30 and 60 minutes. What you tell me will be confidential and you will remain completely anonymous. On stored information your name will be protected using a pseudonym. Written documents will be identified only by number and not name and data will be password protected and secured in locked storage.

The anonymised data will be shared with my dissertation supervisors with summarised findings shared with the research student progress group members of our Graduate School. The dissertation that results from this work will be published in hard copy, which will be held at the London Metropolitan University libraries. If you would like a copy of this research when it is completed, this can be arranged.

I appreciate your giving time to this study, which will help me learn more about working as a photojournalist and the use of digital photography. You can of course withdraw from this research at any time. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at 075 5379 2989 or via e-mail at pak0231@londonmet.ac.uk.

Kind Regards,

Paula Kliewer, BA (Hons), MA
PhD Research Student
London Metropolitan University
Faculty of Applied Social Sciences

Supervisor: Georgie Parry-Crooke
Associate Director, Centre for Social and Evaluation Research
g.parry-crooke@londonmet.ac.uk

Please sign below if you are willing to participate in the dissertation research project outlined above.

Signature _____

Print Name _____

Date _____

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

Photojournalists Research Questionnaire/Interview Schedule

Hello my name is Paula Kliewer; I am a PhD student at London Metropolitan University.

This questionnaire has been developed for my PhD research regarding ethics of digital manipulation among photojournalists who has published in The Sun, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Daily Express.

In order for me to gain consent, may I interview you? Yes / No

Thank you for taking the time to take part in this telephone interview. Is it okay if I record this interview? Yes / No

I will keep your answers completely confidential.

Are there any questions you would like to ask me before we start the interview?

Are you happy for me to begin the interview? Yes / No

Research Reference: _____

A. Digital Photography

1. How many years have you worked as a photojournalist? _____

2. While working as a photojournalist for a newspaper have you used a digital camera?

Yes

No (If no go to question 4)

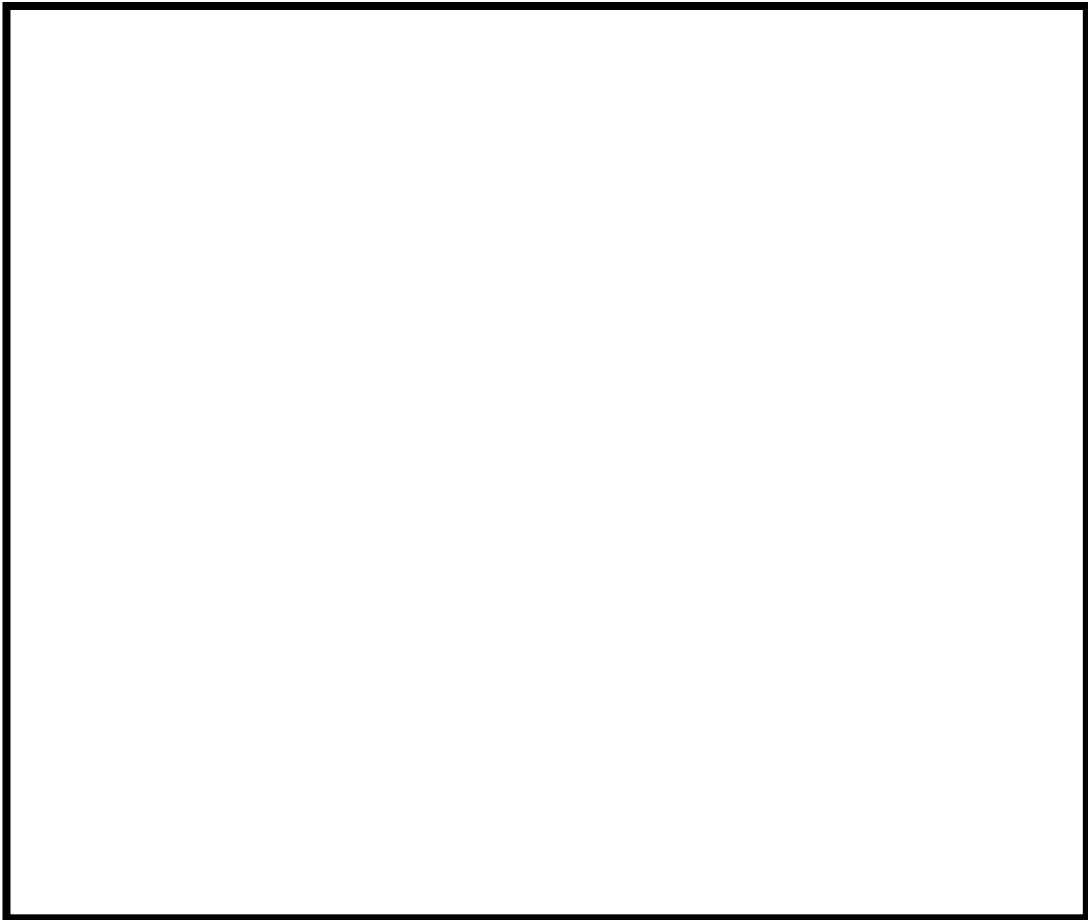
3. How many years have you worked with digital photography? _____

4. Do you prefer digital to film cameras?

Yes

No

Why do you prefer one to the other?



5. Do you use digital alterations on your photographs?

Yes

No

6. Have you altered a digital photograph for work before?

Yes

No

7. Do you think that it is okay to digitally alter a photograph?

Yes

No

8. What types of photographs would you use digital alterations for?

- News Photographs
- Feature Photographs
- Illustrations
- Others (Please specify) _____

9. What types of digital images alterations do you use?

- Technical
- Content
- Composites
- Others (Please specify) _____

10. Which digital imaging alterations do you believe are acceptable for publication in newspapers?

- Technical
- Content
- Composites
- Others (Please specify) _____

11. When or how do you decide if a photograph needs alteration?

12. Do you think that readers should be informed that a photograph has been digitally altered?

- Yes
- No

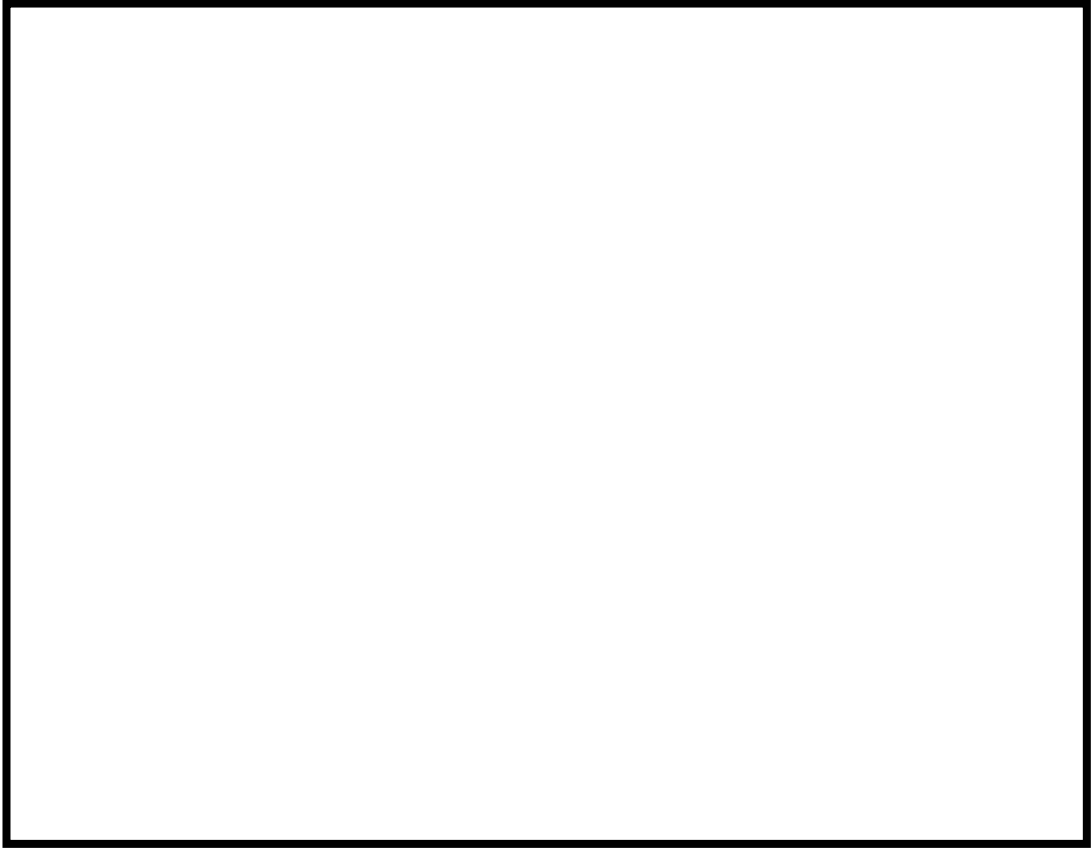
13. Do new photographic technologies helps or hidens photojournalism?

- Helps
- Hinders

How?

14. What are the benefits of digital photography to photojournalism?

15. What are the disadvantages of digital photography to photojournalism?



B. Newspaper Assignment

16. Have you submitted photographs to UK newspapers for publication?

- Yes
- No

17. Which of UK national newspapers have you been published?

Prompt and probe using the following questions

You mentioned you have published in the _____ (if not published digital photo in the one mentioned, name another). Have you published digital photo in this newspaper _____ (if not mention another newspaper).

Do you mind if I ask you a few questions about your digital publication for the _____?

Yes / No

Could you highlight your experience of publishing digital photographs for this newspaper?

Did this newspaper make you aware of their ethical policy on digital manipulation?

Do you think newspapers should inform you of their ethical policy on digital manipulation?

After you submit your photo to this newspaper are you informed or aware about the process that your photo undergoes before it's published?

If any changes are made to the photo by this newspaper are you likely to be informed by them before it is published?

18. Are you commissioned by the newspaper to shoot a story?

- Yes
- No

19. After being commissioned by a newspaper what is the next step?

20. Do you pitch an idea to a newspaper for publication?

- Yes
- No

21. Do you work through an agency?

- Yes
- No

22. While on assignment how do you communicate with the newspaper?

- E-mail
- Telephone
- Face to Face
- Through an Agency
- Post

Other Please Specify _____

C. Photojournalists at Work

23. About how many photographs on average do you take for a scene?

- 10-50
- 51-100
- 101-150
- 150 or more

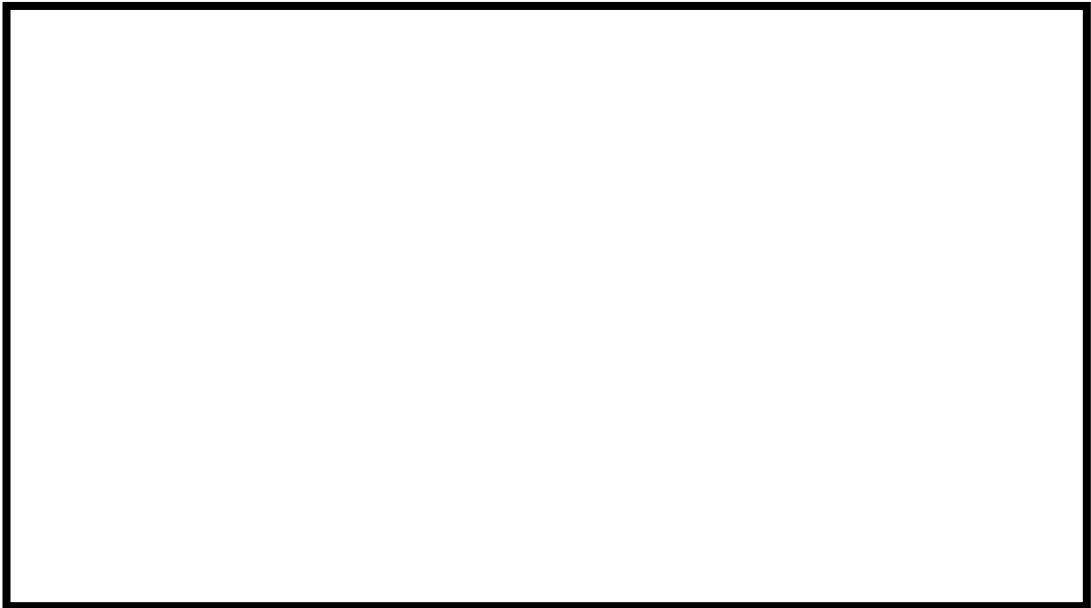
24. About how many photographs on average do you take for an assignment?

- 10-50
- 51-100
- 101-150
- 150 or more

25. While in the field, while looking through the lens to make a shot, how do you decide the right scene to photograph?

D. Photojournalism: Post Production

26. What steps do you take before submitting your photographs to newspapers?



27. How do you decide which digital photos to send to the newspaper?

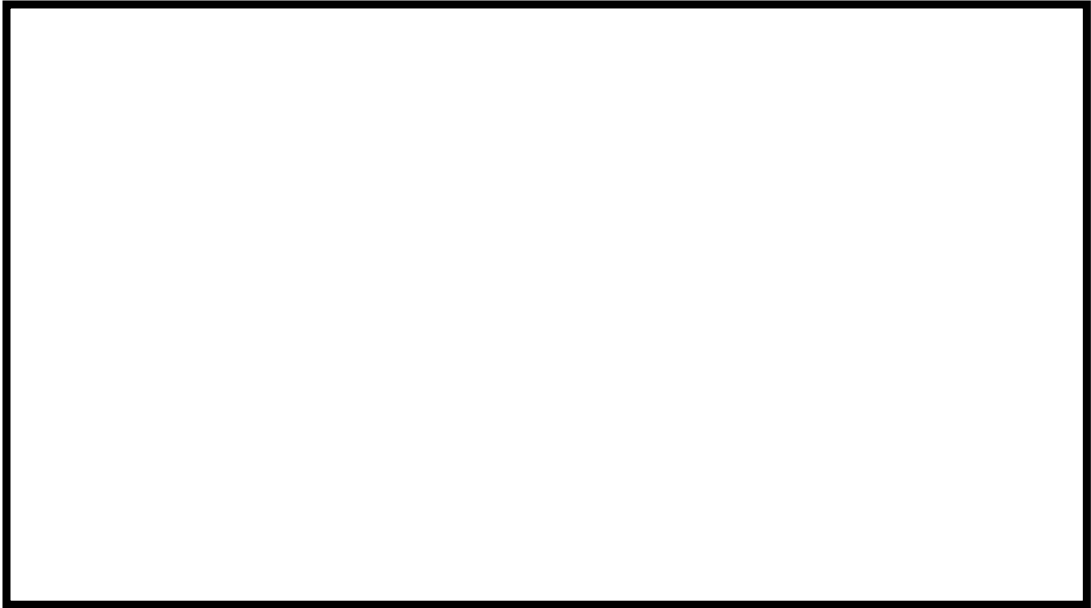


28. Do you edit your photographs before they are sent?

Yes

No

29. How do you edit digital photographs before you send them to the newspaper for publication?



30. How much control do you have over the content of the photographs you submit to a newspaper?



31. How do you submit digital photographs for publication?

- E-mail
- Post
- Other (Please specify) _____

E. Ethics and Photojournalism

32. Is there any ethical policy or guideline that addresses digital manipulation or altering for UK national newspapers?

- Yes
- No

33. Do newspapers inform you of their ethical policies?

- Yes
- No (If no go to question 36)

34. How do newspapers inform you of their ethical policies?

- E-mail
- Telephone
- Post
- In your Contract
- Other (Please specify) _____

35. Do you follow your own ethical policy?

- Yes
- No

36. Have you ever had a conflict between your ethical policy and the newspapers ethical policy?

- Yes
- No

37. Do you think of ethics when you are shooting in the field?

- Yes
- No

38. When do you think of the ethical implications of a photograph for an assignment?

- Before Shooting
- After Shooting
- Never
- Sometimes
- Other (Please specify) _____

39. While in the field taking photographs do you view each scene ethically before pressing the shutter?

- Yes
- No

40. How do you ethically view a scene you want to shoot?

41. While viewing photographs after shooting do you ethically decide which photographs to submit?

- Yes
- No

42. How do you ethically view photographs for selection?

43. Have you ever submitted a photograph to a newspaper and were about surprised about how your photograph look in comparison to the one you had submitted?



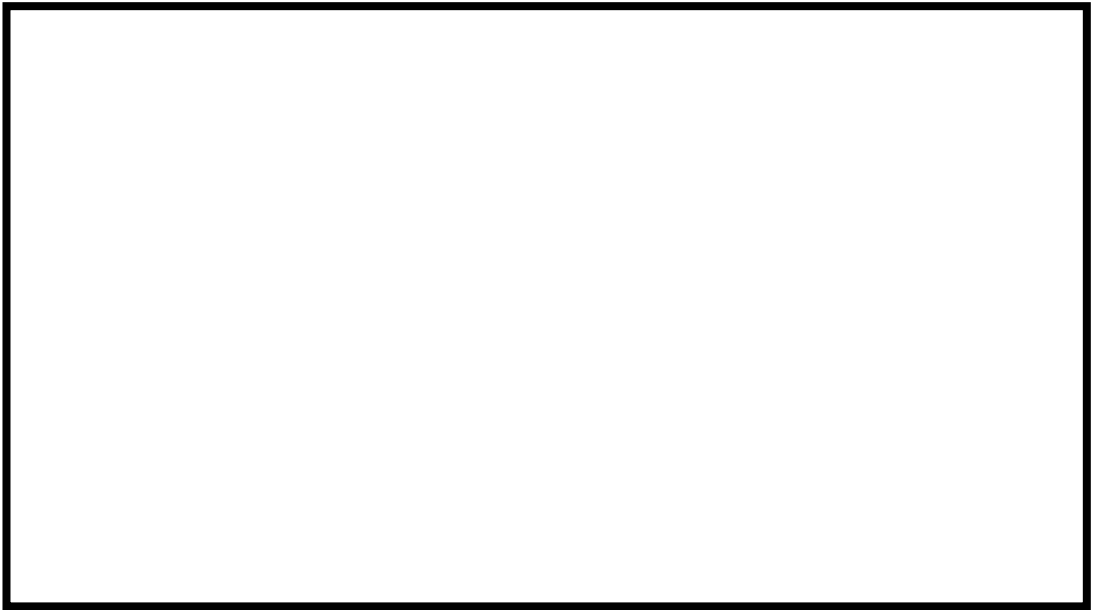
44. While making changes to a photograph; how do you ethically alter or manipulate a photograph?



45. Do you think there is enough training on ethics of digital photo manipulation for photojournalists?



46. Do you think there is enough training on ethics for photojournalists?



47. Do your personal values affect the way you take photographs?

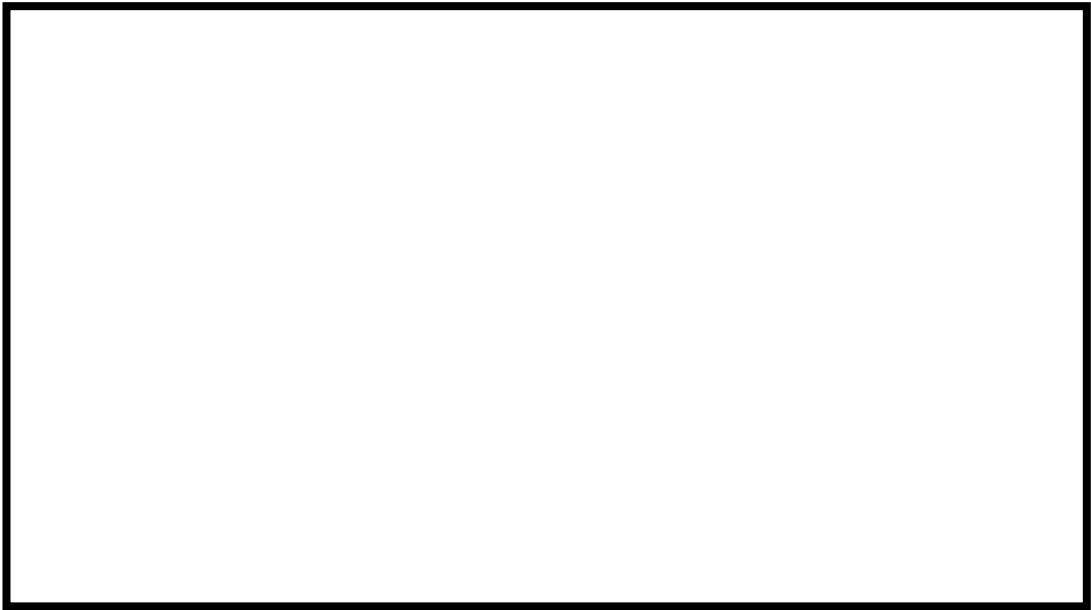
Yes

No

If so, how?



48. Do you have any concerns for the future of photojournalism?



49. Have you seen any changes to photojournalism while you have been a photojournalist?



50. What are your predictions about the future of photojournalism?



51. Is there anything else you would like to add that may help this research?



52. If I have any other questions regarding this research is it okay for me to contact you?

- Yes
- No

I would like to thank you very much for your time that has been most interesting!

Appendix D: Quantitative Data

Photojournalists Survey

The intention of this survey is to provide information on the present situation of the Photojournalists and Photojournalism in relation to ethics and digital manipulation within the Photojournalism industry in the UK. Photojournalists that have published in the following five UK national newspapers were used for this survey: The Sun, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Daily Express.

The survey was divided into 5 sections:

- **Digital Photography**
- **Newspaper Assignment**
- **Photojournalists at work**
- **Photojournalism: Post Production**
- **Ethics and Photojournalism**

The graphical representation of the survey response appears on the following pages.

Table AA. Survey Participants

Participant	Gender	Professional experience working with digital photographs (Years)	Professional experience working as a professional photojournalist (Years)
SU1	M	3	7
SU2	F	12	27
SU3	M	12	12
SU4	M	6	8
SU5	M	10	32
ST1	M	4	4
ST2	M	7	10
ST3	M	9	40
ST4	M	3	2
ST5	M	9	12
DE1	M	12	33
DE2	M	12	16
DE3	M	9	30
DE4	F	12	32
DE5	M	10	22
M1	M	9	12
M2	M	12	40
M3	M	10	16
M4	M	9	18
M5	M	6	6
DM1	M	10	20
DM2	M	10	25
DM3	F	9	9
DM4	F	8	8
DM5	M	5	36

Table A. Number of Photojournalists / Gender

Gender	Number of Photojournalists Interviewed
Female	4
Male	21

Figure A

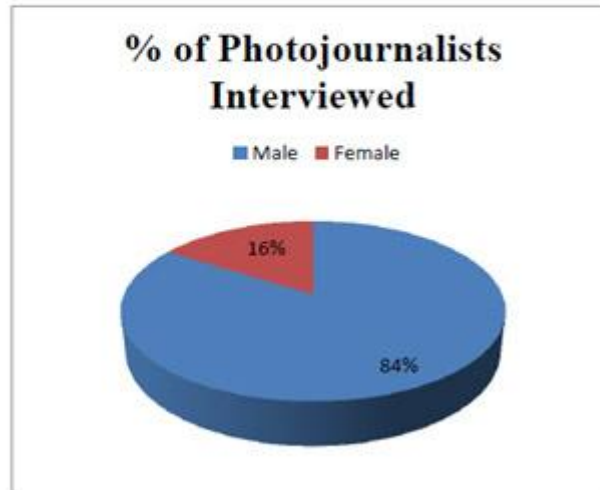
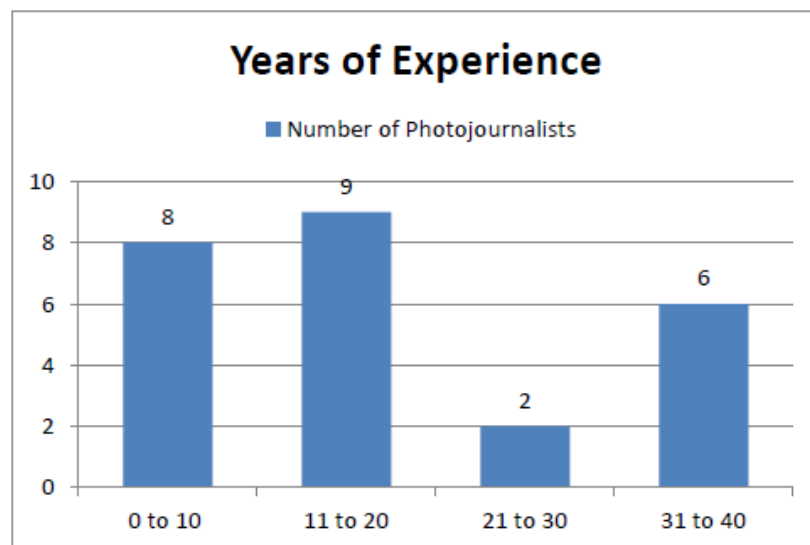


Table B. Experience as Photojournalist

Years Worked as a Photojournalist	Number of Photojournalists
0-10	8
11-20	9
21-30	2
31-40	6

Figure B



1. Digital Photography

Table 1.1 Do you use digital Camera for work?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	25	0	0

Figure 1.1

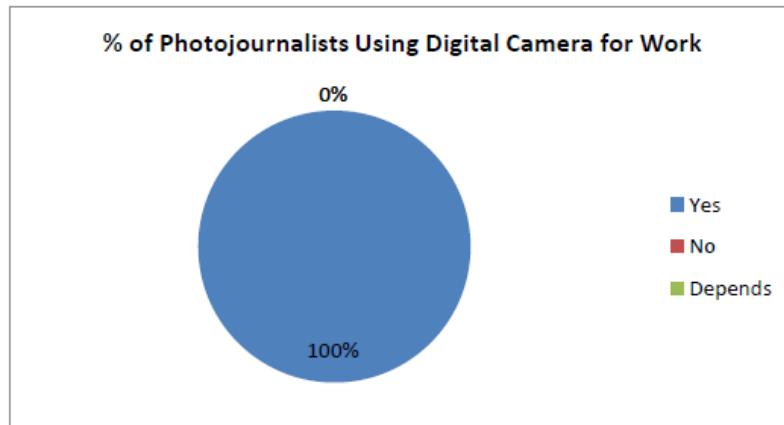


Table 1.2 Do you prefer digital to film Cameras?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	18	1	6

Figure 1.2

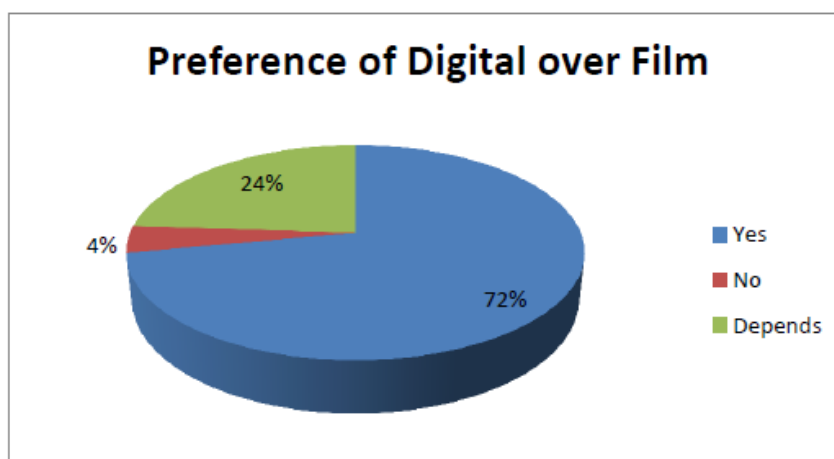


Table 1.3 Photojournalist using Digital alterations

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	21	4	6

Figure 1.3

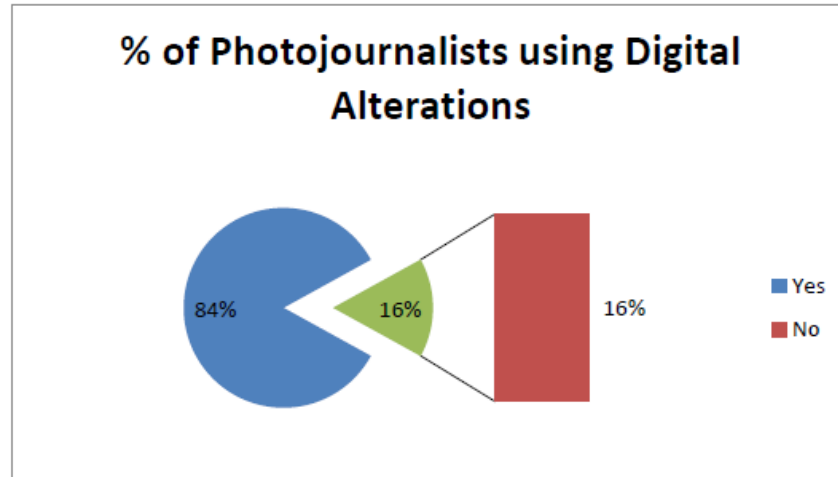


Table 1.4 Photojournalist using Digital alterations

	Yes	No	Depends
Photojournalists who has altered digital photographs for work	24	1	0

Figure 1.4

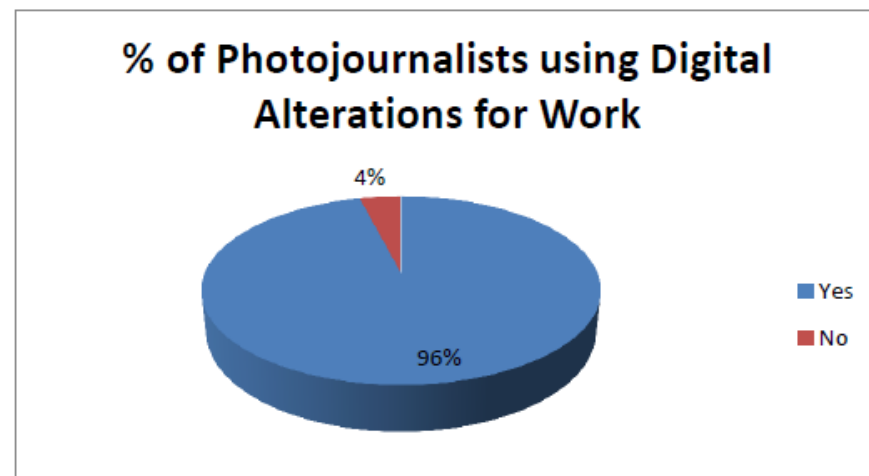


Table 1.5 Do you think it's ok to alter digital Photographs?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	6	15	4

Figure 1.5

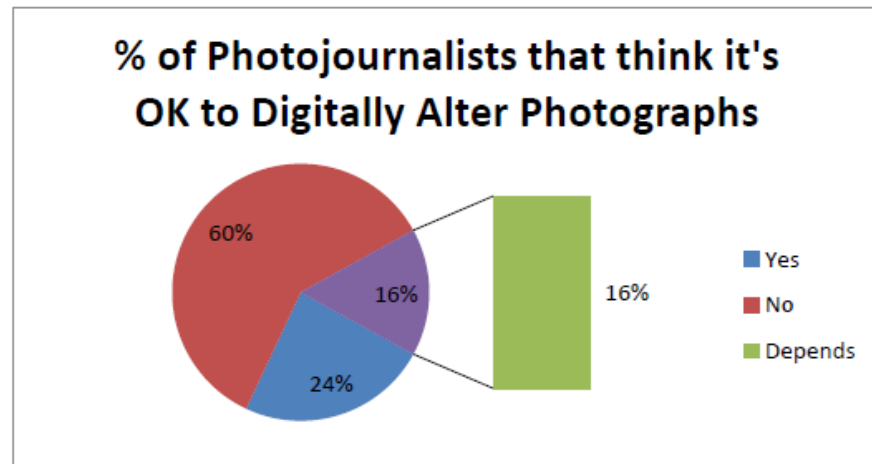


Table 1.6 % of photographs Photojournalist alter?

Types of photographs photojournalists alter	News Photographs	Feature Photographs	Illustrations	Other	None
Number of Photojournalists	3	6	4	16	2

Types of photographs photojournalists alter	News Photographs	Feature Photographs	Illustrations	Other	None
% of Photographs Photojournalists alter	10%	19%	13%	52%	6%

Figure 1.6

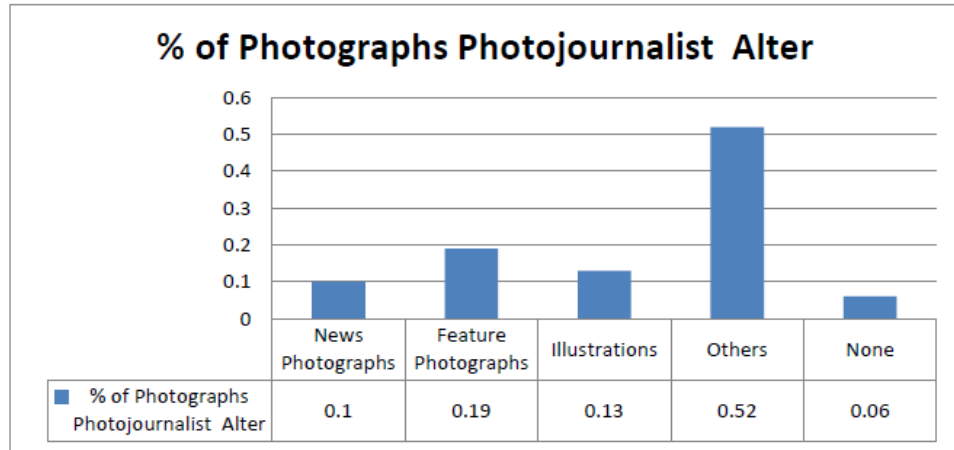


Table 1.7 What types of digital image alterations do you use?

Types of digital alterations	Technical	Content	Composites	Other
Number of Photojournalists	25	4	3	3

Types of digital alterations	Technical	Content	Composites	Other
% of Types of Digital Image Alterations used by Photojournalists	71%	11%	9%	9%

Figure 1.7

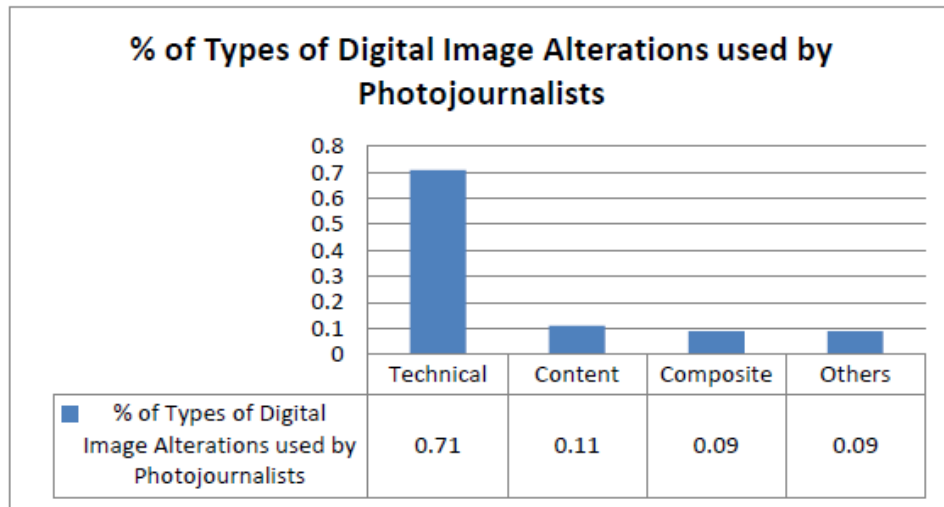


Table 1.8 What types of digital image alterations do you use?

Types of digital alterations	Technical	Content	Composites	Other
Number of Photojournalists	25	4	3	1

Types of digital alterations	Technical	Content	Composites	Other
% of Digital Image Alterations Photojournalists Believe are Acceptable for Newspaper Publication	76%	12%	9%	3%

Figure 1.8

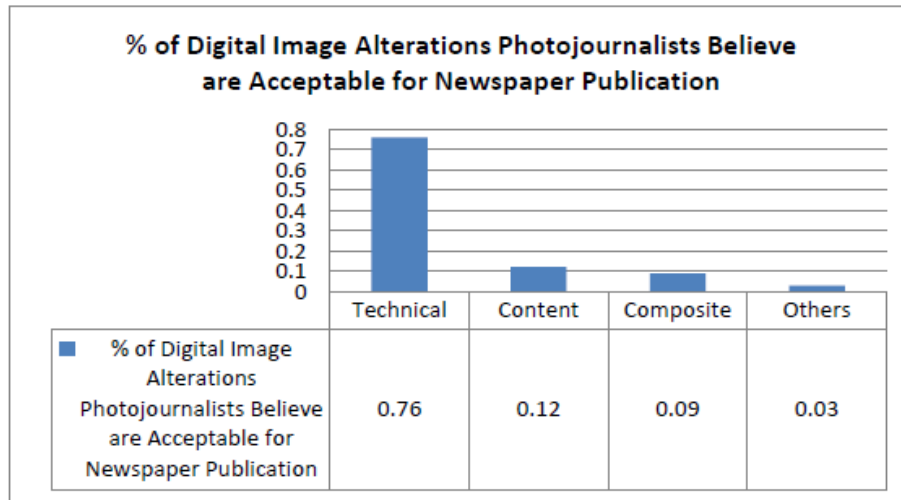


Table 1.9 Do you think that users should be informed that a photograph has been digitally altered?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	14	2	9

Figure 1.9

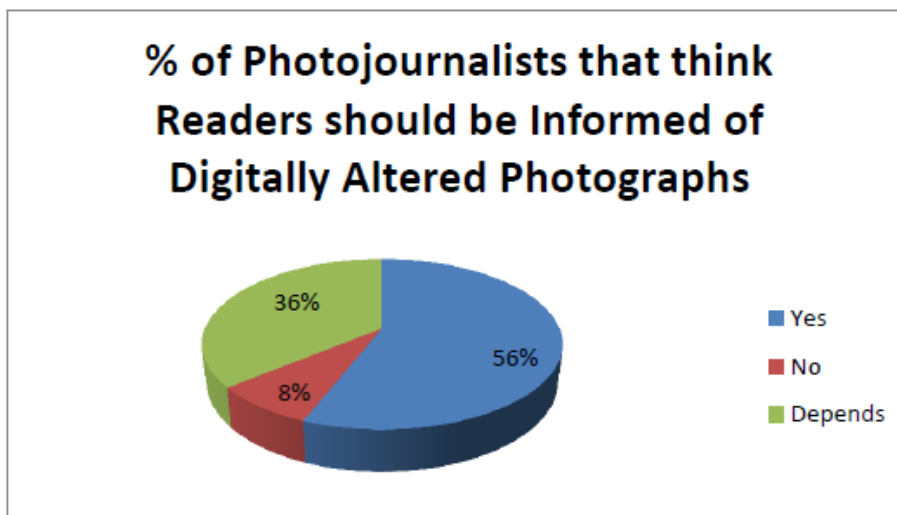
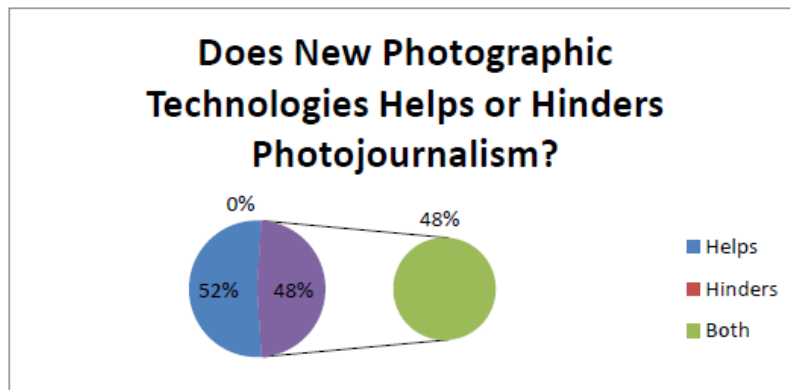


Table 1.10 Does New Photographic Technologies Helps or Hinders Photojournalism?

	Helps	Hinders	Both
Number of Photojournalists	13	0	12

Figure 1.10



2. Newspaper Assignment

Table 2.1 Does the Newspaper inform you of their Ethical Policy?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	1	24

Figure 2.1

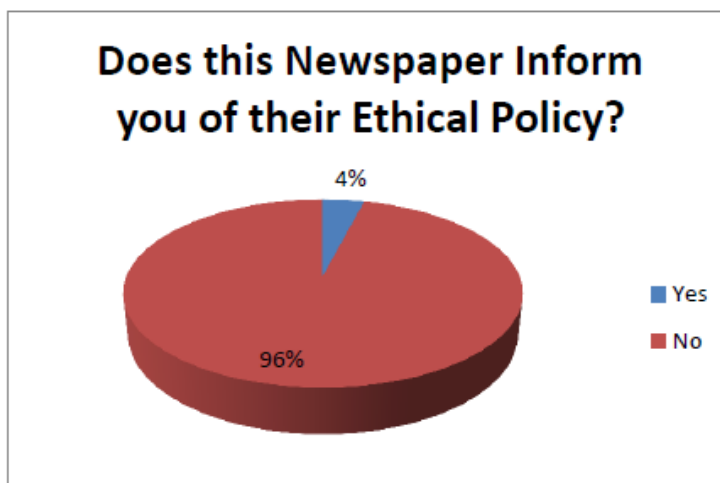


Table 2.2 Should Newspapers Inform Photojournalists of their Ethical Policy?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	21	4

Figure 2.2

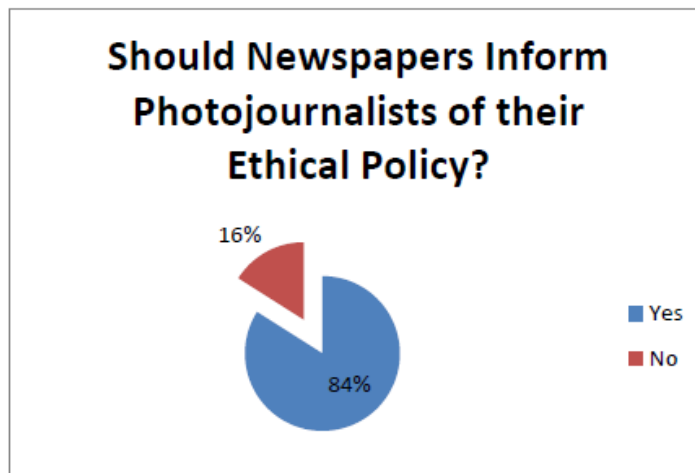


Table 2.3 % Photojournalists Informed of the Process their Photographs undergo before its Published

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	5	20

Figure 2.3

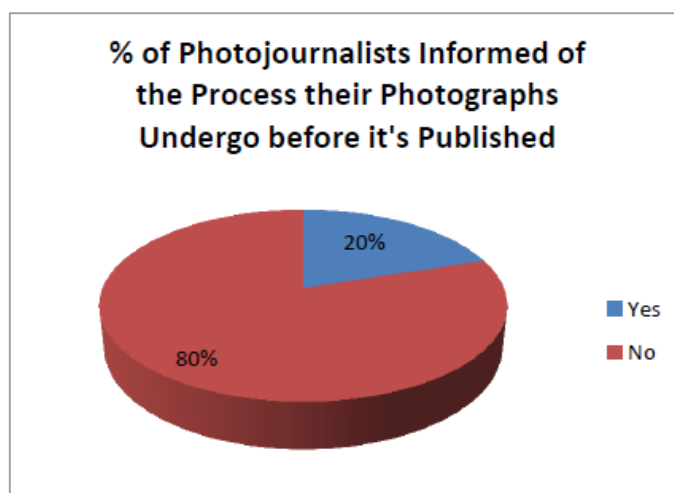


Table 2.4 % of Photojournalists Informed of Changes Made to their Photographs before it's Published

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	2	23

Figure 2.4

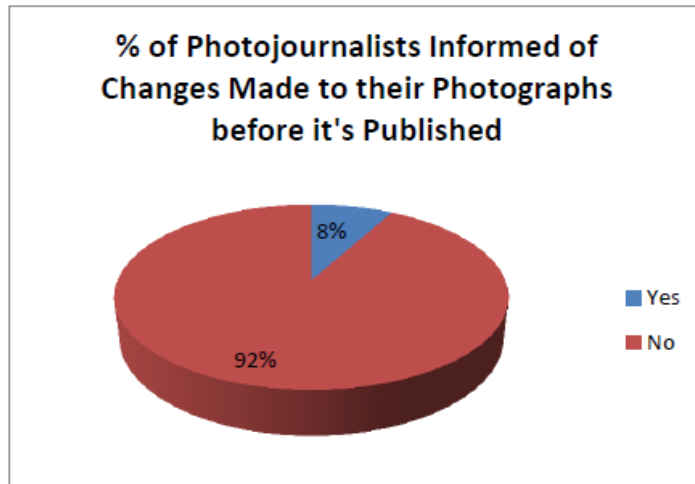


Table 2.5 % of Photojournalists / Ways of getting Assignments

	Yes	No
Commissioned	5	23
Pitch	14	11
Agency	16	9

	Yes	No
Commissioned (%)	80	20
Pitch (%)	56	44
Agency (%)	64	36

Figure 2.5

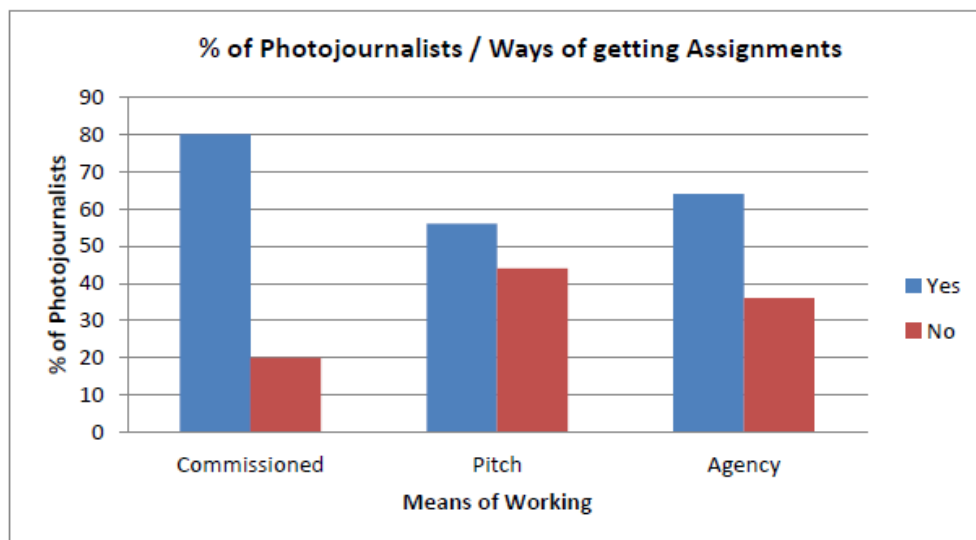
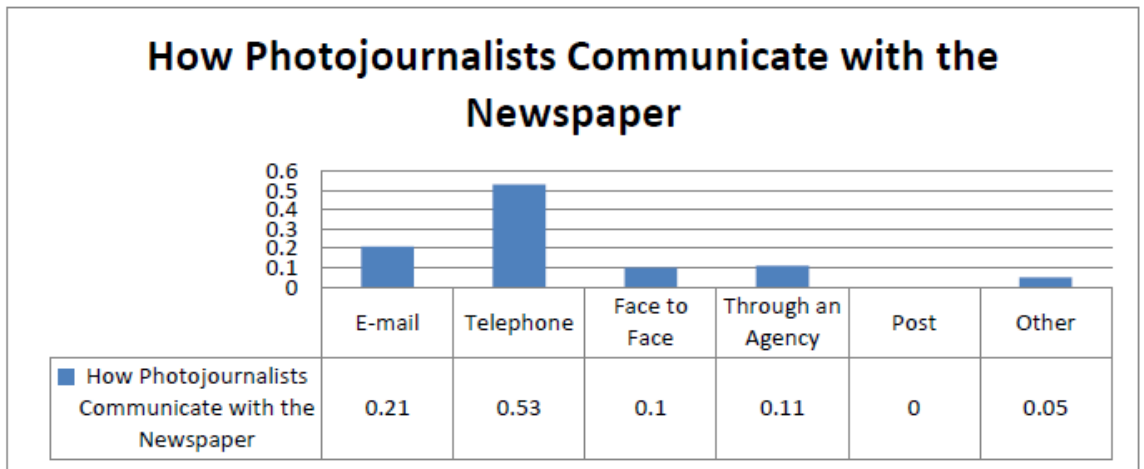


Table 2.6 While on assignment how do you communicate with the Newspaper?

Communication with Newspapers	E-mail	Telephone	Face to Face	Through an Agency	Post	Other
Number of Photojournalists	8	20	4	4	0	2

Communication with Newspapers	E-mail	Telephone	Face to Face	Through an Agency	Post	Other
Number of Photojournalists (%)	21	53	10	11	0	5

Figure 2.6



3. Photojournalists at Work

Table 3.1 Average Number of Photographs taken at a Scene for the Newspaper

Average Number of Photographs taken at a Scene	Number of Photojournalists
1 to 50	8
51 to 100	2
101 to 150	1
151 or more	5
Depends	9

Figure 3.1

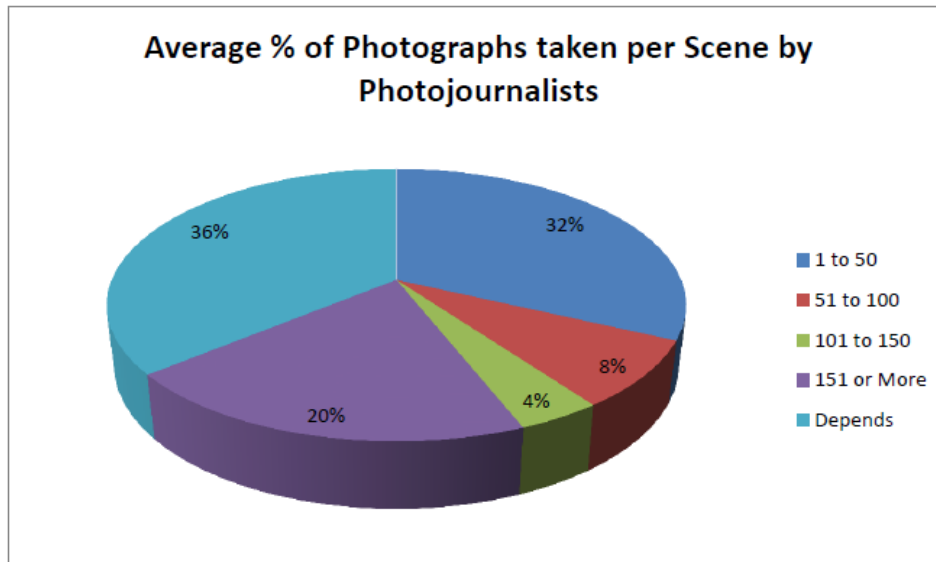
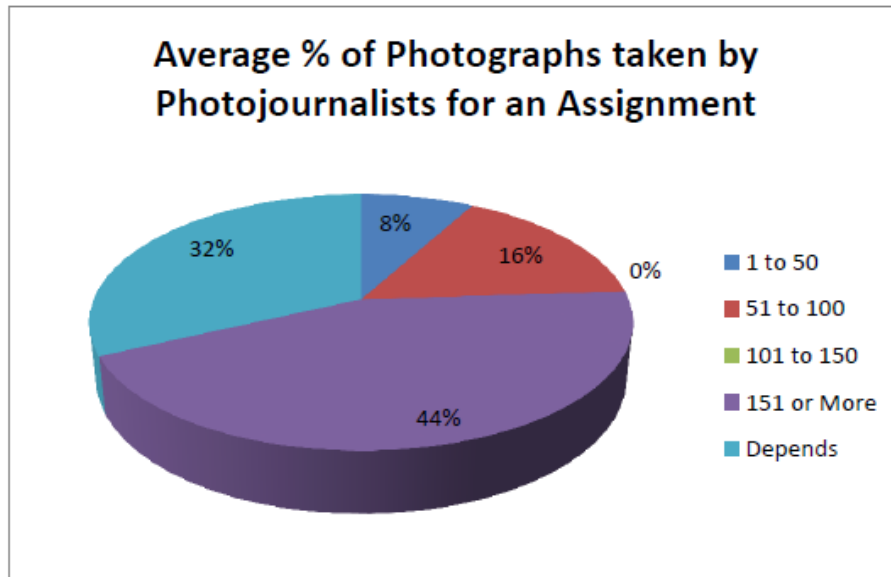


Table 3.2 Average Number of Photographs taken for an Assignment

Average Number of Photographs taken at a Scene	Number of Photojournalists
1 to 50	2
51 to 100	4
101 to 150	0
151 or more	11
Depends	8

Figure 3.2



4. Photojournalism: Post Production

Table 4.1 Do you edit your photographs before they are sent to newspapers?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	24	1

Figure 4.1

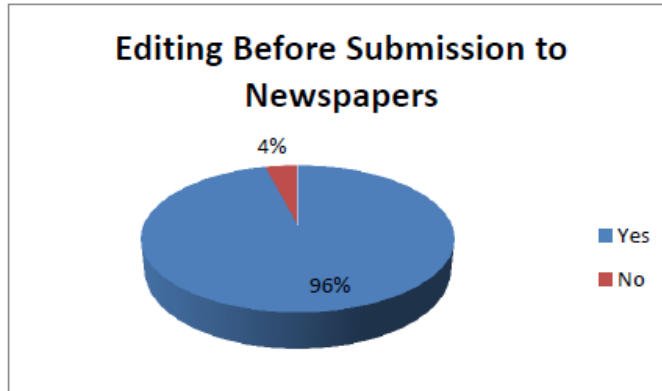
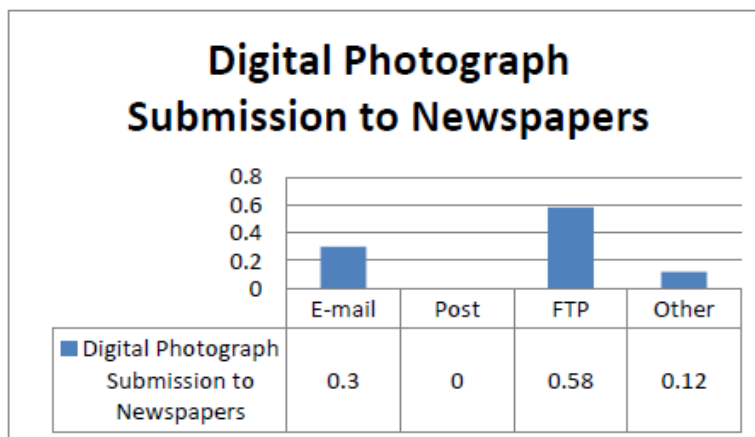


Table 4.2 How do you submit photographs to newspapers?

	E-mail	Post	FTP	Other
Number of Photojournalists	10	0	19	4

	E-mail	Post	FTP	Other
Number of Photojournalists	0%	53%	58%	12%

Figure 4.2



5. Ethics and Photojournalism

Table 5.1 Is there any ethical policy or guideline that addresses digital manipulation or alteration for UK national Newspapers?

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Number of Photojournalists	4	20	1

Figure 5.1

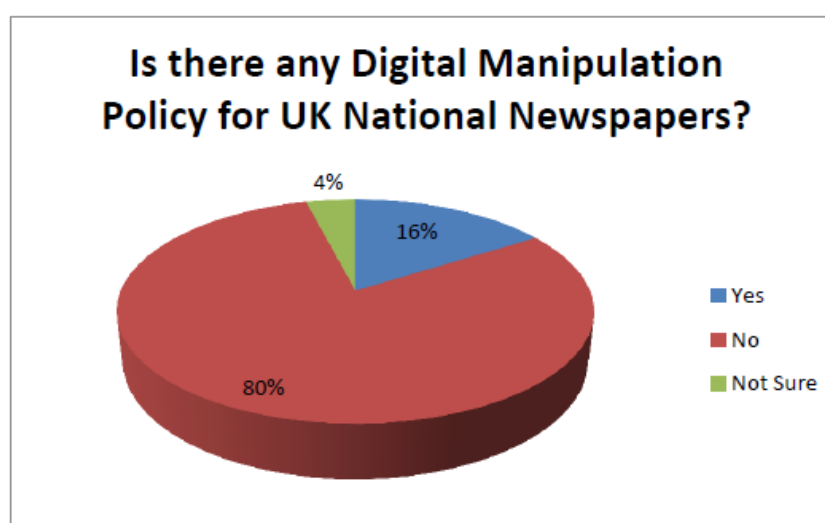


Table 5.2 Do Newspaper inform you of their ethical policies?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	5	20

Figure 5.2

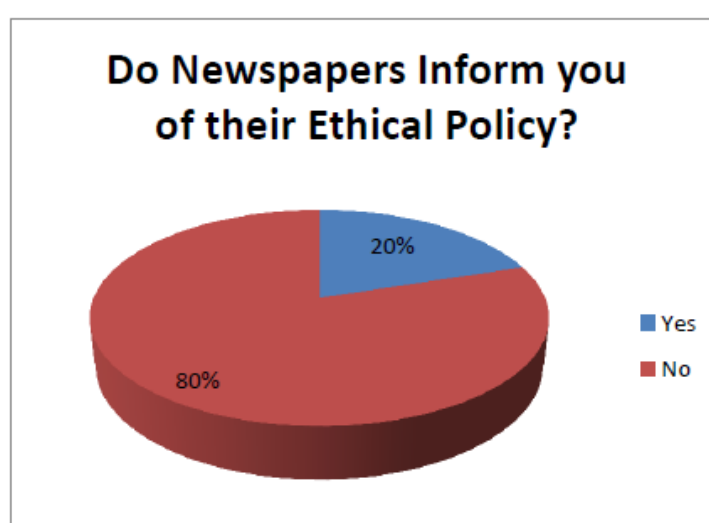


Table 5.3 How do Newspaper inform you of their ethical policies?

	E-mail	Telephone	Post	In Contract	Face to Face	Never Informe d
Number of Photojournalists	2	1	0	2	1	19

Figure 5.3

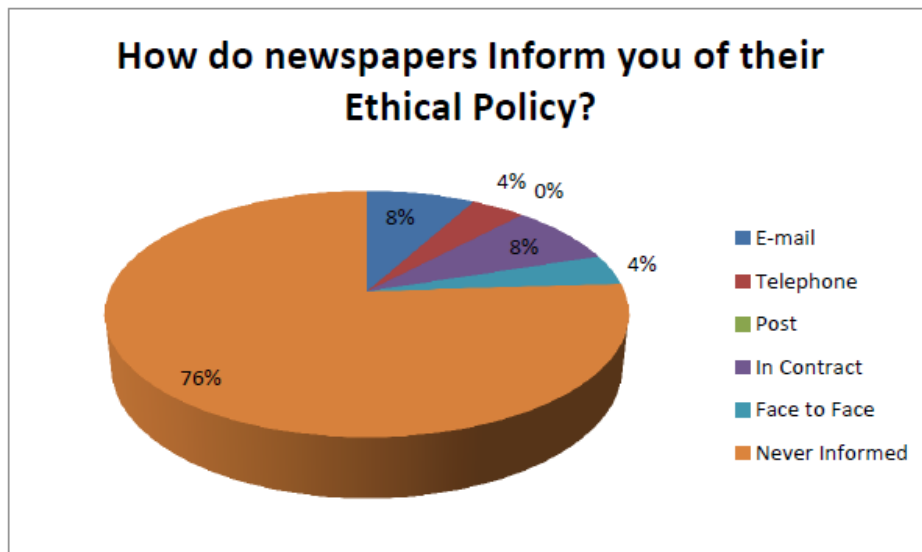


Table 5.4 Do you follow your own Ethical Policy?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	23	2

Figure 5.4

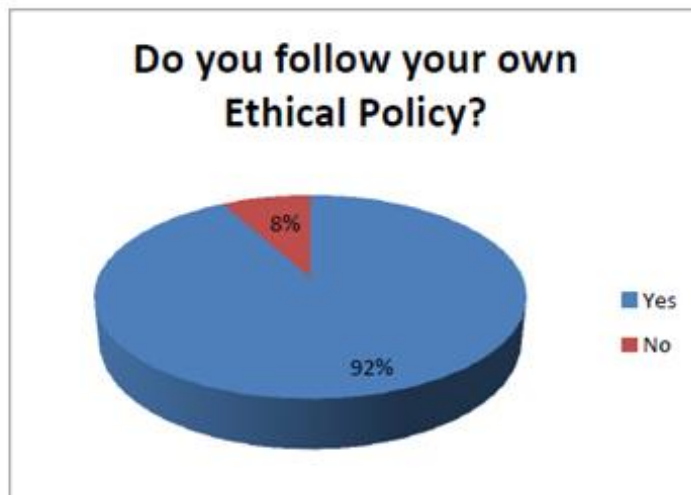


Table 5.5 Ethical Conflicts with Newspapers

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Number of Photojournalists	10	14	1

Figure 5.5

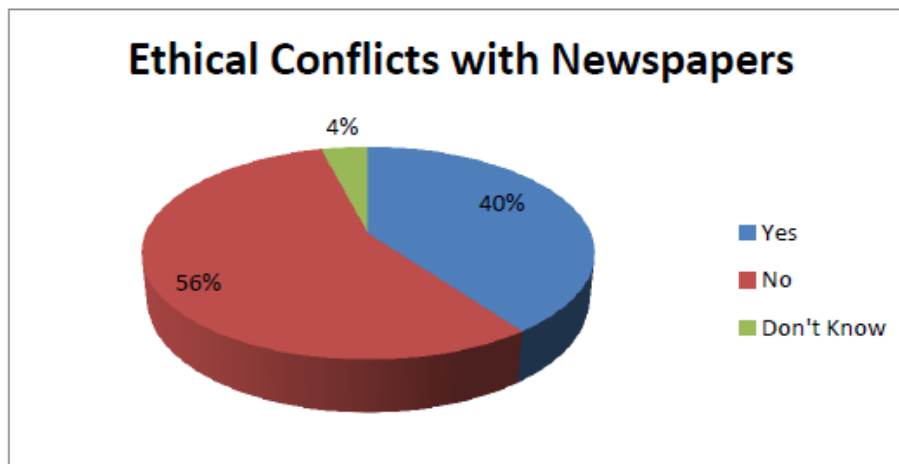


Table 5.6 Do you think of ethics while shooting in the field?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	22	3

Figure 5.6

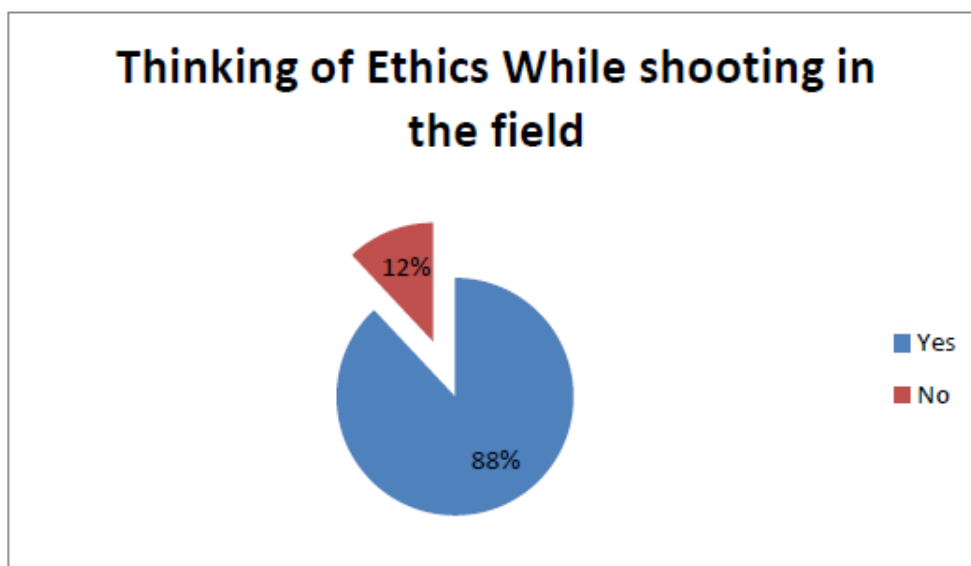


Table 5.7 When do you think of the ethical implications of a photograph for an assignment?

	Before Shooting	After Shooting	Never	Sometimes	During
Number of Photojournalists	12	13	1	3	13

	Before Shooting	After Shooting	Never	Sometimes	During
Number of Photojournalists	29%	31%	2%	7%	31%

Figure 5.7

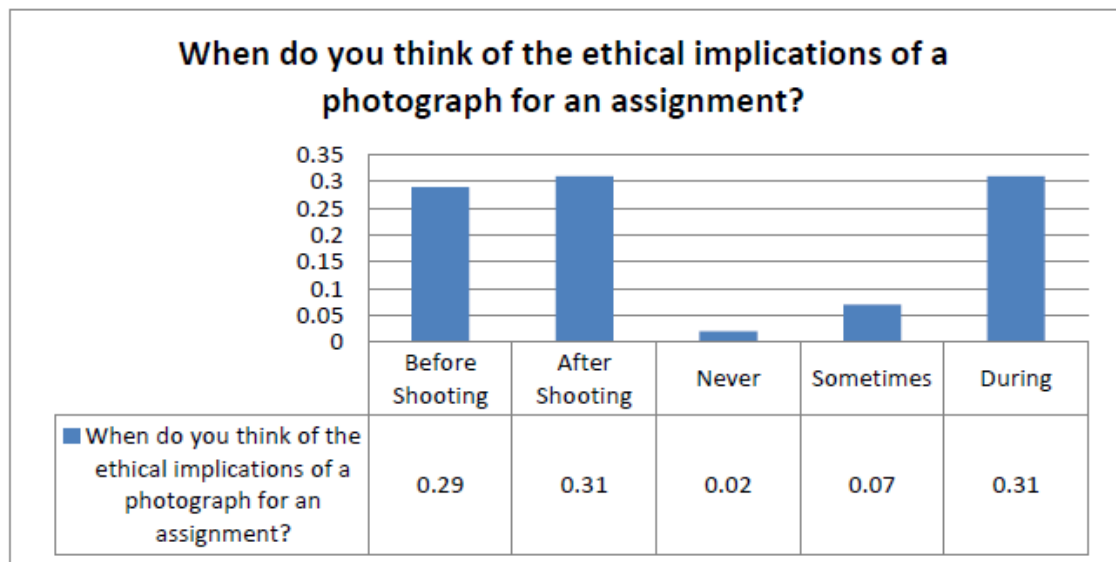


Table 5.8 Do you view Each Scene Ethically before taking Photographs?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	8	13	4

Figure 5.8

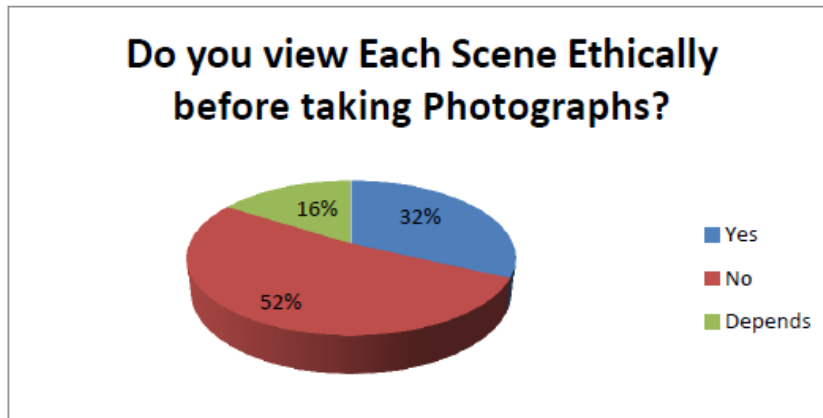


Table 5.9 Do you ethically decide which Photograph(s) to Submit?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	16	8	1

Figure 5.9

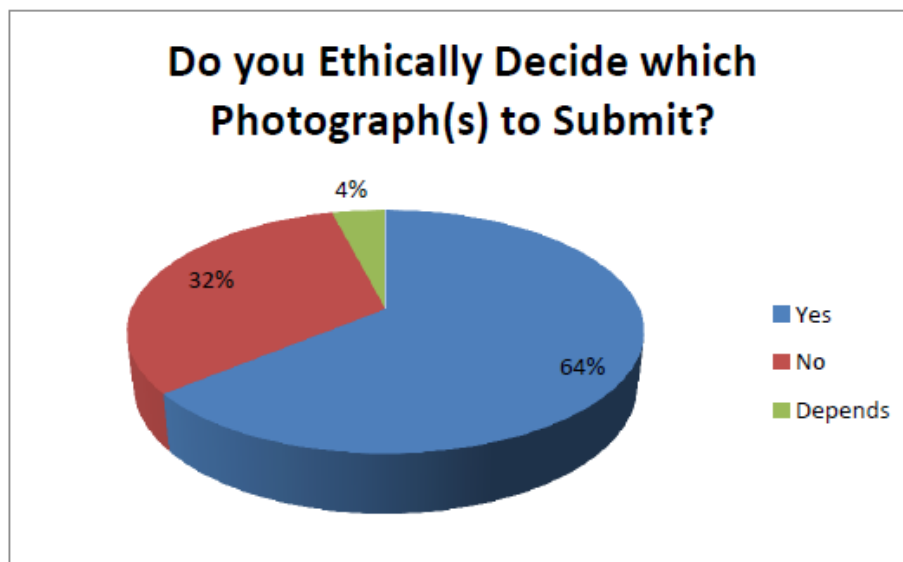


Table 5.10 Have you ever been surprised about how your photograph looked in comparison to the one you had submitted?

	Yes	No
Number of Photojournalists	18	8

Figure 5.10

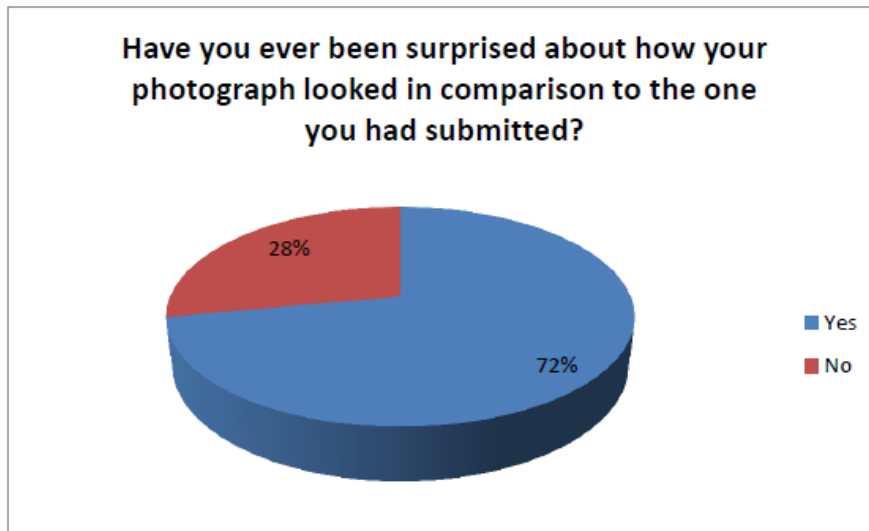
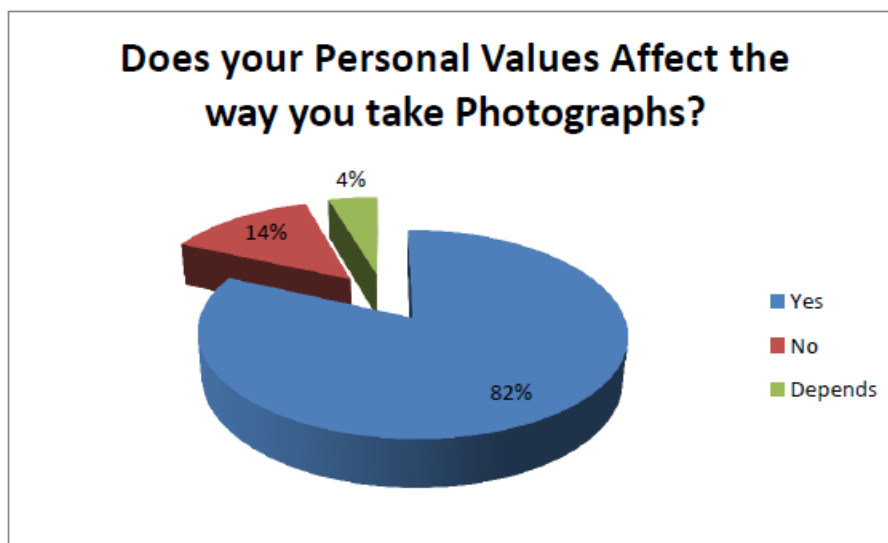


Table 5.11 Does your Personal Values Affect the way you take Photographs?

	Yes	No	Depends
Number of Photojournalists	18	3	1

Figure 5.11



Appendix E: NPPA

NPPA CODE OF ETHICS

Preamble

The National Press Photographers Association, a professional society that promotes the highest standards in visual journalism, acknowledges concern for every person's need both to be fully informed about public events and to be recognized as part of the world in which we live.

Visual journalists operate as trustees of the public. Our primary role is to report visually on the significant events and varied viewpoints in our common world. Our primary goal is the faithful and comprehensive depiction of the subject at hand. As visual journalists, we have the responsibility to document society and to preserve its history through images.

Photographic and video images can reveal great truths, expose wrongdoing and neglect, inspire hope and understanding and connect people around the globe through the language of visual understanding. Photographs can also cause great harm if they are callously intrusive or are manipulated.

This code is intended to promote the highest quality in all forms of visual journalism and to strengthen public confidence in the profession. It is also meant to serve as an educational tool both for those who practice and for those who appreciate photojournalism. To that end, The National Press Photographers Association sets forth the following.

CODE OF ETHICS

Visual journalists and those who manage visual news productions are accountable for upholding the following standards in their daily work:

1. Be accurate and comprehensive in the representation of subjects.
2. Resist being manipulated by staged photo opportunities.
3. Be complete and provide context when photographing or recording subjects. Avoid stereotyping individuals and groups. Recognize and work to avoid presenting one's own biases in the work.

4. Treat all subjects with respect and dignity. Give special consideration to vulnerable subjects and compassion to victims of crime or tragedy. Intrude on private moments of grief only when the public has an overriding and justifiable need to see.
5. While photographing subjects do not intentionally contribute to, alter, or seek to alter or influence events.
6. Editing should maintain the integrity of the photographic images' content and context. Do not manipulate images or add or alter sound in any way that can mislead viewers or misrepresent subjects.
7. Do not pay sources or subjects or reward them materially for information or participation.
8. Do not accept gifts, favors, or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage.
9. Do not intentionally sabotage the efforts of other journalists.

Ideally, visual journalists should:

1. Strive to ensure that the public's business is conducted in public. Defend the rights of access for all journalists.
2. Think proactively, as a student of psychology, sociology, politics and art to develop a unique vision and presentation. Work with a voracious appetite for current events and contemporary visual media.
3. Strive for total and unrestricted access to subjects, recommend alternatives to shallow or rushed opportunities, seek a diversity of viewpoints, and work to show unpopular or unnoticed points of view.
4. Avoid political, civic and business involvements or other employment that compromise or give the appearance of compromising one's own journalistic independence.
5. Strive to be unobtrusive and humble in dealing with subjects.
6. Respect the integrity of the photographic moment.
7. Strive by example and influence to maintain the spirit and high standards expressed in this code. When confronted with situations in which the proper action is not clear, seek the counsel of those who exhibit the highest standards of the profession. Visual journalists should continuously study their craft and the ethics that guide it.

[Lea el NPPA código de ética en español](#)



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Appendix F: NUJ

NUJ CODE OF CONDUCT

Members of the National Union of Journalists are expected to abide by the following professional principles

A JOURNALIST:

- 1** At all times upholds and defends the principle of media freedom, the right of freedom of expression and the right of the public to be informed.
- 2** Strives to ensure that information disseminated is honestly conveyed, accurate and fair.
- 3** Does her/his utmost to correct harmful inaccuracies.
- 4** Differentiates between fact and opinion.
- 5** Obtains material by honest, straightforward and open means, with the exception of investigations that are both overwhelmingly in the public interest and which involve evidence that cannot be obtained by straightforward means.
- 6** Does nothing to intrude into anybody's private life, grief or distress unless justified by overriding consideration of the public interest.
- 7** Protects the identity of sources who supply information in confidence and material gathered in the course of her/his work.
- 8** Resists threats or any other inducements to influence, distort or suppress information, and takes no unfair personal advantage of information gained in the course of her/his duties before the information is public knowledge.
- 9** Produces no material likely to lead to hatred or discrimination on the grounds of a person's age, gender, race, colour, creed, legal status, disability, marital status, or sexual orientation.
- 10** Does not by way of statement, voice or appearance endorse by advertisement any commercial product or service save for the promotion of her/his own work or of the medium by which she/he is employed.
- 11** A journalist shall normally seek the consent of an appropriate adult when interviewing or photographing a child for a story about her/his welfare.
- 12** Avoids plagiarism.

The NUJ believes a journalist has the right to refuse an assignment or be identified as the author of editorial that would break the letter or spirit of the code. The NUJ will fully support any journalist disciplined for asserting her/his right to act according to the code.

Appendix G: BPPA Code of Conduct



4th June 2015

The British Press Photographers' Association Code of Conduct

Members of The British Press Photographers' Association are professional photographers concerned with taking, editing and distributing news, feature, sports and other editorial photographs. Their work is predominantly for the British news media. The photographers take every care with their work, but it remains the responsibility of publishers to carry out checks concerning accuracy, damage to reputation, and the will of the Courts.

Press photographers should:

1. Observe the highest ethical, technical and creative standards. They should conduct themselves in a manner reflecting those standards and be aware that their actions, both positive and negative, reflect on the profession as a whole
2. Not materially alter their images, or edit them in such a way as to give misleading impressions of news events
3. Provide accurate and comprehensive caption information
4. Resist any offers of payment or other inducements from third parties involved in the story to change the way they approach the coverage of news events
5. Remember they are subject to the laws of any country they work in
6. Always be aware of the codes of conduct observed by their employers and clients and act appropriately when working on their behalf
7. Treat people they meet in the course of their work with respect and dignity, giving special consideration to anyone suffering the results of war, crime or other difficulty or hardship
8. Protect their own intellectual property and respect the property of others
9. Defend media freedom, and the right to work in a fair and unfettered manner
10. Feel able to refuse any work involving excessive or unnecessary risks to themselves or others

thebppa.com