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Telling stories to a different beat: Photojournalism as a “Way of Life”

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Telling stories to a different beat: Photojournalism as a “Way of Life”

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**A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**School of Media and Communication
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
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Abstract

This thesis presents a grounded theory of how photojournalism is a way of life. Some photojournalists dedicate themselves to telling other people's stories, documenting history and finding alternative ways to disseminate their work to audiences. Many self-fund their projects, not just for the love of the tradition, but also because they feel a sense of responsibility to tell stories that are at times outside the mainstream media's focus. Some do this through necessity. While most photojournalism research has focused on photographers who are employed by media organisations, little, if any, has been undertaken concerning photojournalists who are freelancers. This thesis focuses on the stories and experiences of freelance photojournalists to develop a theory that accounts for the ideological, moral and value-based foundation of photojournalistic practice. Using a grounded theory methodology, I conducted 23 in-depth interviews with photojournalists and other industry members to discover what their stories revealed about the freelance photojournalistic way of life.

This thesis examines definitions of photojournalism and establishes that photojournalism is defined not so much by who commissioned it or where it is published, but rather by the ideology, values and morals that underpin the genre. The way that photojournalists see their role and speak about it reveals that witnessing and documenting history is underpinned by key ideals, values and responsibilities. In order to witness and document history, photojournalists face significant challenges – financially, physically and psychologically. However, these challenges do not deter photojournalists because they believe in the ideals, values and responsibilities of witnessing and documenting history and are motivated primarily by these and other internal rewards, rather than externally based financial rewards and accolades. This study establishes that being a freelance photojournalist is more than an occupation – it is a way of life that is ideologically and morally driven and governed by the ideals, values and responsibilities that are seen as inherent in the tradition of photojournalism.

Understanding what drives the photojournalistic way of life enables photojournalism and photojournalists to be viewed holistically rather than separating the practice from the product. Thinking about photojournalism as a way of life rather than as an occupation, an approach to image making or a product, places photojournalists' intentions, ideals, values and responsibilities at the forefront of enquiry and furthers the understanding of photojournalistic practice.

Statement of original authorship

This thesis is submitted to Bond University in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. This thesis represents my own original work towards this research degree and contains no material which has been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at this University or any other institution, except where due acknowledgement is made.

Name: Naomi Verity Busst

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Naomi Busst', written over a faint, light-colored rectangular stamp or watermark.

Date: February 2, 2012

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1. Introduction

Photojournalism is often a romanticised occupation seen as exotic, thrilling, dangerous and alluring. However, behind this rose-tinted view of the photojournalist is a deeper set of values and qualities that underpin their “Way of Life” – it is this, which is the focus of this thesis.

Using a grounded theory methodology, a total of 23 in-depth interviews with Australian and international elite individuals were conducted on the topic of photojournalism. A list and short biography of the interviewees can be found in appendix 9.5. The interviewees were predominantly photojournalists or documentary photographers. However, a number of interviews were elite individuals who, while not photojournalists or documentary photographers themselves, were involved in photojournalism. I also attended six photojournalism related events, seminars, symposiums, exhibition discussions and press conferences. Additionally, I drew on a number of informal conversations where I discussed key concepts identified in the data with other photojournalists. These conversations, however, were not considered as data. The data from this research produced a wealth of material that could have easily been pursued, however, the most predominant and interesting were the values and qualities that underpinned the photojournalists’ “Way of Life”. Hence the guiding question throughout this thesis is: **what do the stories of photojournalists reveal about their way of life.**

This chapter will provide an overview of the research area and its relevance before briefly outlining the methodology, aims and purpose of this research. The chapter will conclude by giving a summative outline of the thesis structure.

Before proceeding it is necessary to distinguish the differences between photojournalism and press photography for the purpose of this study. While the first analysis chapter, Chapter 3, is dedicated unravelling photojournalism definitions, briefly distinguishing between the two terms at this stage will avoid possible confusion or misunderstanding. Photojournalism is not a new term, however, finding an up-to-date precise definition is not a simple task. When trying to find an all-encompassing definition of what photojournalism actually is, there appears to be no consensus. Photojournalism has been used to describe candid photography –

meaning anything where people have not been posed, a style of wedding photography, anything printed in a newspaper and or magazine, paparazzi imagery, to name but a few. There could be a plethora of reasons that account for imagery being classified as photojournalism or a photographer being called a photojournalist, for example a rural newspaper might use the term to denote a hybrid, one-man journalist come photographer for industrial relations purposes. Another possibility might be that over the past few decades there has been an inflation of terminology in an attempt at professional elitism. Despite these possibilities, it appears that in some countries the terms are used interchangeably while in others they denote different occupations and photographic styles.

The United Kingdom's Sector Skills Council for the Audio Visual Industries state on their website ("Press Photographer or Photojournalist", n.d.) that: "Press photographers work mainly for provincial or local newspapers, where much of the work involves recording local events and news stories" (§4) whereas, "[p]hotojournalists often provide words as well as pictures, but generally work for magazines rather than newspapers" (§5). The situation in Australia is not far from this observation. During a 2004 episode dedicated to photojournalism in the Radio National series *Cultures of Journalism* (McLachlan, 2004) the difference between photojournalism and press photography in Australia was clearly articulated by Earle Bridger. Bridger (McLachlan, 2004) said that:

In Australia, photojournalism means something quite different to what it does in the United States. Here, most people would believe you were speaking about news photography. They would call that news photography ... Photojournalism in Australia usually tends to indicate a person who's not working full-time for a newspaper; a person who is skilled in both text and photography and can freelance and supply their stories almost as complete picture stories to publications.

However in the United States, the National Press Photographers Association's (NPPA) Code of Ethics (n.d.) used the term 'photojournalist' when speaking about both freelance photographers and staff photographers who worked for newspapers and/or magazines. However, the code of ethics (NPPA Code of Ethics, n.d) focused on the qualities and values that guide behaviour, not on the actual role of a photojournalist. Internationally, most academic discourse on photojournalism defined photojournalists as those who worked for

newspapers, news magazines, wire services and photographic news agencies, and who covered news related subject matter. Hence, any imagery taken by these photographers and published in these forums is typically considered photojournalism. However, not all photographic imagery published in these forums could be considered photojournalism, for example, imagery in the real estate section and advertisements.

The vast majority of Australian research focused on press photography, and the terms 'press photography' and 'photojournalism' were used interchangeably. However, there are signs that researchers saw a distinction between photojournalism and press photography that extended beyond semantic terminology usages. Griffin (1991, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1997) preferred the term 'press photographer' as he felt that: "In Australia the transformation of press photographer to photojournalist has not yet occurred" (Griffin, 1991, p.76). Whereas, Craig (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) randomly interchanged the terms 'press photographer' and 'press photography' and 'photojournalist' and 'photojournalism'. Craig (1992) attempted to explain his reasoning behind this confusing tactic when he said:

I acknowledge that the preferred terms in Australia are press photography and press photographer rather than the American terms photojournalism and photojournalist, but I have used the latter terms as well as the former in this paper to revive the 'journalistic' component of press photography. (p.115)

Griffin (1995b) believed that press photographers were not photojournalists because they did not write stories to accompany their photographs. Griffin (1995b) appeared to apply the term 'journalist' literally, meaning that for press photographers to become photojournalists they must, in fact, produce words and images. However, Davis (2005-2006) did not specifically distinguish photojournalism from press photography, but it did seem clear that he thought there were differences in the practices and approaches to image making as well as the types of stories and images produced. In Australia where there appears to be a separation between press photography and photojournalism, approaching this research area in an all-encompassing manner does not address the fundamental differences or nuances of either practice. Unlike Australia, there does not appear to be a definitional divide in the United States or parts of Europe which can be attributed to the fact that press photography evolved into photojournalism through professional development and the maturing of the occupation

(Hardt, 2002; Panzer, 2005). Additionally, photojournalism in the United States is inextricably linked to the photo documentary tradition (Hardt, 2002; Rosenblum, 2007), which is deeply rooted in imagery that is not posed, set up or manipulated.

Nevertheless, while there is a disparity in terminology used internationally to describe press photographers and photojournalists who work for mainstream media organisations, the vast majority of freelance photojournalists appear to identify with and operate under a similar code of ethics that is closely aligned with definitions used in United States. This is because a significant number of photojournalists are freelancers and as such not tied to one particular mainstream media organisation. Additionally, there are conventions and practices inherent in photojournalism that transcend a place of employment and where a photographer's work is published. Thus, the basis for examining photojournalists and their "Way of Life" appears to lie in separating the principles, ideology and philosophy that underpin photojournalistic practice from the end product and the employers.

Interestingly, as the data collection for this thesis drew to a close an article by Julianne Newton (2009b) was discovered in which she re-examined the definition of photojournalism in the twenty-first century and the profession's future. Of particular note, Newton (2009b) said: "Photojournalists distinguish their images from others in part by intention: the purpose of making and distributing the images is to show the truth," (p.234). This article and in particular the previous quote in many ways re-affirmed that the focus and direction of this thesis was an original and important contribution to the photojournalism field.

1.1 The research area and its relevance

Research in the area of photojournalism has focused predominantly on photographers employed by print media organisations or imagery and events that are visually depicted in the mainstream news media. However, little if any research has been undertaken concerning freelance photojournalists, those who are part of a self-directed agency or who produce photojournalism outside the boundaries of their primary form of employment, such as a staff photographer who works for a media organisation. The lack of research undertaken in these areas is assumed to be due to the print media's historical role as disseminators of

photojournalism. But, as the impending death of the print media has been globally prophesied along with many claims that the publication of photojournalism has declined, it seemed looking outside the traditional area of print dissemination was increasingly important. By taking a step sideways from traditional areas of inquiry and focusing on the photojournalists themselves rather than the end product or their role as part of the larger news production, this research is able to fill the above-mentioned gap in photojournalism research and add to the greater body of knowledge.

The importance of focusing on freelance photojournalists is also highlighted when industry dialogue is taken into consideration, particularly within Australia. There appears to be a strong belief that the level of visual literacy within Australian newspapers is low and conservative (Griffin, 1994b; Davis, 2005-2006); and that the majority of photojournalism employment comes from overseas (Griffin, 1994b) and not necessarily from within the print media (Hancock, 2000). Thus it can be argued that there is a disjuncture between photojournalism and press photography, particularly in Australia, and that both are performing different functions with different ideologies, values and goals. These ideologies, value and goals are key elements in understanding the photojournalistic “Way of Life”. The divide between press photography and photojournalism was clearly highlighted in an interview with the members of *Oculi*, an Australian based photo agency, which was published *PhotoReview Australia* (PR Staff, 2005).

The criteria for who we invited was that they had to be prolific and committed, and feel the same dissatisfaction with what was happening to photos in the media that we did. We'd been maturing in our craft and wanted to progress photography, but felt our industry wasn't keeping up with that progression. Editors were still looking for contrived and literal images while we'd moved on. (¶4)

Additionally, in an article published in *The Australian* on April 29, 2006 (Smee, 2006) the decline in publication of photojournalism was openly acknowledged. “Fewer magazines and newspapers even bother to publish serious photojournalism anymore” (Smee, 2006, ¶13). It emerged from the data collected for this thesis, however, that while there are significant challenges faced by photojournalists, including dissemination, they are resilient and find ways to tell other people’s stories. This raised an important question: when the risks outweigh the

benefits for freelance photojournalists, what keeps these individuals dedicated to their chosen profession and telling stories? The emergent answer: the importance and value they place on their “Way of Life”. This is the substantial theory that this thesis will detail and which underpins freelance photojournalistic practice. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, the use of press photographers will denote staff photographers who are employed by media organisations and the term photojournalists will indicate photographers who are freelancers or part of a self-directed photo agency.

1.2 The research strategy and methodology

While the methodology chapter will detail the methodological principles and practices that underpinned this research, an overview of the procedures are presented here to set the context.

A grounded theory methodology was chosen for this research not only because of its inductive nature, but also because it “describes and explains the system or behaviour under study and consequently is a methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed” (Cutcliffe, 2000, 1477). Grounded theory is a general process of comparative analysis that aims to arrive at a theory, which is grounded in data rather than *priori* assumptions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The aim of grounded theory is to discover and understand the processes and patterns, which underpin peoples’ experiences, reality and interactions (Stern, Allen & Moxley, 1982). This process fitted well with the study of photojournalism and was appealing to me.

The original founders of grounded theory, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss parted ways after their seminal book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967) was published. Individually, Glaser and Strauss continued as proponents of the methodology, however, since its original inception grounded theory has subsequently diverged into two different and distinct approaches (Stern, 1994; Walker & Myrick, 2006). Strauss published *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (1987) and teamed up with Juliet Corbin to write *Basics of Qualitative Research* (1990), which was seen by Glaser to be a completely different methodology (Stern, 1994; Walker & Myrick, 2006) and cemented the two separate approaches to grounded theory. While the Glaserian and Straussian (Stern 1994) versions of

grounded theory are the main approaches, more recently Kathy Charmaz has also offered guidance in the methodology's application in two books, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2006) and *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory* (Byrant & Charmaz, 2007). It was Charmaz's (2006) approach to grounded theory that was the method used to guide this research. Essentially, Charmaz (2006) was chosen because she advocated approaching grounded theory research as "a set of principles and practices, not as prescriptions or packages," (p.7).

Although there are guiding procedures and principles that underpin grounded theory, these are not conducted in a linear process (Charmaz, 2006). Generally, grounded theory starts by entering the field, gathering, coding and analysing data, then as concepts and categories emerge from the analysis. The researcher then re-enters the field and repeats the process – this cyclical process continues until a saturation point is reached (Charmaz, 2006). Throughout the process, the researcher writes notes and memos to help explore and develop ideas based on the emergent findings (Charmaz, 2006). Once the emergent theory is saturated the actual writing-up process that focuses on the analysis of data begins and the literature review phase commences (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1998). Conducting the literature review at this stage in the research process is in contrast to the majority of approaches (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1998). However, conducting the literature review in the final stages of theory development ensures the grounded theory is only reflective of the data and not influenced or prejudiced by outside sources (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1998).

While the majority of the above mentioned grounded theory procedures were followed, it is the last – only conducting the literature review in the final stages of theory development, where this research significantly differed from the typical grounded theory method. An initial literature review was conducted to provide background on the history of photojournalism, general themes, developments and issues. The initial literature review was conducted using scholarly research and popular sources such as books, magazine articles and industry dialogue. The initial literature review proved to be an important step in the development of the research area as the above mentioned disjuncture between press photography and photojournalism was discovered. However, in accordance with the grounded theory approach,

during the final stages of data analysis, I returned to the literature and conducted in-depth reviews surrounding the themes, categories and concepts that were identified in the data. This additional literature review was woven into the analysis chapters to add richness to the analytic tapestry presented.

1.3 Thesis overview and chapter outline

Overall, there are seven chapters in this thesis, plus references and appendices. Throughout the four analysis chapters, discussion of the data and relevant literature are woven together, which is in keeping with the grounded theory methodology, and as such a separate literature review chapter was not included. The role of the literature review is discussed in detail in next chapter. Below is an overview that provides an outline for each chapter:

Chapter 2 – “Methodology” provides an overview of the grounded theory method and procedures, the research procedures undertaken and the areas of research that were outside of the scope of this thesis and limitations of the study.

Chapter 3 – “Muddy waters: unravelling photojournalism definitions” is the first of the analysis chapters and examines the definitions of photojournalism directly and indirectly noted by interviewees.

Chapter 4 – “The role of photojournalism: witnessing and documenting history” builds on chapter 3 and examines how photojournalists’ see their role in society – as custodians who witness and document history. The concept of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ is discussed in light of the ideals, values and beliefs noted by interviewees and how these influence their practice.

Chapter 5 – “Challenges of freelance photojournalism” builds on the ideals, values and responsibilities that photojournalists see as integral to ‘witnessing and documenting history’ and examines these in relation to the motivations behind choosing to freelance.

Chapter 6 – “Photojournalism as a Way of Life” builds on the motivations for choosing to freelance in light of the challenges that photojournalists face. This chapter ties all of the previous analysis chapters and concludes with a grounded theory conceptualisation of

photojournalism as a “Way of Life”. As this chapter is the culmination of the previous analysis chapters, it also serves as the conclusion to this thesis.

Chapter 7 – “Areas for further research” discusses potential areas that would benefit from further research.

2. Methodology

While all research can be designed, approached and executed in a multitude of ways, this does not mean every method will get to the heart of the subject or phenomena under study. From the outset I was interested in social nuances and participants' experiences rather than testing a scientific hypothesis. Such interests dictated a qualitative methodological design. As noted, a grounded theory methodology was chosen to guide my research and the analysis of the 23 in-depth interviews and six public events that were my primary sources of data.

Denzin and Lincoln defined qualitative research as “multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret, phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p.3). Any number of qualitative methods could have been used to explore the area of this enquiry – photojournalism. For example, a feminist researcher may have asked: “Does gender influence assignment allocation or how an event is covered?” This approach might focus the researcher's data collection and analysis toward uncovering the underlying power structures, gender differences and experiences, race, class and political issues. A researcher using phenomenology may ask participants: “What is your experience of working as a photojournalist?” The researcher would collect and analyse data seeking to understand participants' subjective experiences and the way they construct and perceive meaning. While these approaches all have their merits and offer a wealth of potential knowledge, none of these approaches would have enabled me to stay open to a research problem defined by the data to the extent that is possible with a grounded theory method.

While research into photojournalism in Australia has focused on press photographers and the practice of press photography in print news media, international inquiries are more diverse and substantial. To illustrate, some of the research surrounding photojournalism and press photography that international scholars have focus on are: History (Brennen, 2010; Brennen & Hardt, 1999; Langton, 2009; Panzer, 2005; Rosenblum, 2007); profiling newspaper photographers (Bethune, 1984); the psychological effects of witnessing and post-traumatic stress disorder (Feinstein, 2006; Newman, Simpson & Hanschuh, 2003); assaults on

photojournalists (Sherer, 1987, 1991); image selection and gatekeeping (Barrett & Barrington, 2005; Bock, 2009; Wanta, 1988; Wanta & Roark, 1992 – 1993); technological advancement, ethics and digital manipulation (Becker, 1991; Becker, 1995; Brown, 1987; Carlson, 2009; Lester, 1999; Newton, 2001, 2009b; Reaves, 1987, 1989, 1992 – 1993, 1995; Ritchin, 1990; Schwartz, 1992, 2003); public opinion (Sherer, 1989); the power of visual images (Domke, Perlmutter & Spratt, 2002); the effects of news photographs (Mendleson, 2004; Pfau, Haigh, Fifrick, Holl, Tedesco, Cope, Nunnally, Schiess, Preston, Roszkowski & Marktin, 2006); attitudes and perceptions (Fahmy, 2005; Zillmann, Gibson & Sargent, 1999); photojournalism and foreign affairs (Perlmutter, 2005, 1998); photojournalism and the tabloid press (Becker, 1992); and themes of prize-winning news photographs (Greenwood & Smith, 2007; Kim & Smith, 2005;).

In sharp contrast to the range of photojournalism and press photography research undertaken internationally, Australian research does not have the same range or depth. Except for a few lone voices such as Grahame Griffin (1991, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 1995b, 1997, 1998) and Geoffrey Craig (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) who have published the majority of research on press photography and photojournalism, research into press photography and photojournalism in Australia is limited. Both Griffin (1991) and Craig (1993) drew attention to the lack of research into Australian press photography and photojournalism. Even historians who have examined the history of Australian newspapers and journalism as a whole have largely neglected press photography. Craig (1993) noted that the lack of research in Australia when he said, “There are however, remarkably few texts that critique the practice of press photography ... photojournalists and press photography remain on the periphery” (1993, p.103). Griffin (1994b) said that typically “press photography must be associated with some form of trickery before it rates a mention” (p.47). This is not to suggest that there are no other Australian academics that are currently or have at one time or another undertaken research into press photography or photojournalism. Rather that, apart from Griffin and Craig, few researchers published in this area.

Research into press photography and photojournalism has centred around the use of images to accompany the reporting and portrayal of mental illness (Blood, 2002), representation of subjects and the practice of photojournalism (Davis, 2005-2006), societal

attitudes and historical usages of photographs in illustrated newspapers and magazines (Quanchi, 2004), depictions of females, Aborigines and Asians in newspapers photographs (Lacey, 1993), images of political party leaders in newspapers (Stockwell, 2000), ethics (Elgar, 2002; Green, 1995), digital cameras and industrial problems (Green & Radford, 1993), and early usages of photography in print media (Pares, 2002). While not research per se, *The Australian Photojournalist*, which is an international journal published by Griffith University is of exceptional quality and incorporates contributions from a range of international and Australian photojournalists, industry elites and academics.

However, little, if any research has been conducted that has sought to understand freelance photojournalism and photojournalists' experiences. It was this area that became the focus of my thesis. A general review of literature surrounding photojournalism also revealed that most studies were highly descriptive. The benefit of using a grounded theory method was that it went beyond qualitative descriptions to theoretical development.

This chapter details the grounded theory method informing this research and the procedures taken. Section 2.1 provides a general overview of the three grounded theory proponents and their epistemological assumptions. Section 2.2 outlines the developments that led me to choose a grounded theory methodological approach and the impact this had on the evolution of the research question. The data collection and analysis procedures are detailed in light of the chosen grounded theory approach and any variations from the espoused method are discussed in section 2.3. This chapter concludes with section 2.4 where the limitations of this study are discussed.

2.1 General overview of three grounded theory approaches

No matter what grounded theory method is adopted, all variations offer a creative, flexible yet structured approach to collecting and analysing data in order to develop a theory that is closely situated to and explanatory of the phenomena under study (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). *Oxford Reference Online* ("Grounded theory", 2009) generally defines grounded theory as "[a] theory built up from naturalistic observations of phenomena, generally reflecting the participants' own interpretations, rather than being introduced or

imposed by the investigator”. While abstract or formal theories are developed from carefully formulated hypotheses tested against observations, a grounded theory approach develops theoretical ideas based on what is observed in the data (Scott & Marshall, 2005). Grounded theory has often been applied to health care and nursing research (Bellali, & Papadatou, 2006; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Schreiber & Stern, 2001, to name but a few). However, due to its appeal as a general methodology its usage has spread to other disciplines such as psychology (Baik & Bowers, 2006), advertising (Christy, 2006), teaching and education (Ching & Merry, 2006), public relations (Dutta-Bergman, 2005), internet chat rooms (Becker & Stamp, 2005), business studies (Holland, 2005), hospitality and tourism (Hansen Jensen & Gustafsson, 2005), journalism (Pearson, 1999) and photojournalism (Dunleavy, 2004).

The grounded theory data collection and analysis process is rigorous. The analysis phases are intertwined and iterative (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In general, grounded theory is an inductive method (Charmaz, 2002), meaning it is open and exploratory in the beginning stages of the research process and narrows as concepts and categories are discovered in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Strauss and Corbin (1990) offered a more detailed description of grounded theory when they said:

A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship to one another. (p.23)

However, depending on the grounded theory approach used, the actual procedural steps postulated by the individual proponents differ. Additionally, the epistemological and ontological assumptions inherent in the various methods reflect the belief systems underpinning the individual practitioner’s approaches. Nevertheless, the strengths of grounded theory lie in the data analysis and collection procedures that provide a guiding structure to refine analytical ideas, study the basic social and psychological processes and actions, in order to create mid-range theories (Charmaz, 2002). The aim of the grounded theory procedures is to enable the researcher to produce a theory that closely fits and provides an abstract, enlightening and understandable account of the phenomena to the subjects under study (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Turner, 1983).

There were a number of aspects that appealed to me when choosing to use a grounded theory approach for this study. Firstly, grounded theory enabled me to capture the experiences and meanings of the participants. Secondly, I valued the flexible procedures that could be used as a guiding structure for the data collection and analysis process while allowing for adjustments and variations if needed. Thirdly, the ability to blend grounded theory with other methodologies was appealing as it allowed for greater freedom in the application and mixture of these in contrast to other methods of inquiry. Kathy Charmaz (2006) said, “Grounded theory guidelines describe the steps of the research process and provide a path through it. Researchers can adopt and adapt them to conduct diverse studies” (p.9).

Grounded theory was developed because the two original founders, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, wanted to re-emphasise theory building among sociologists who were fixated on positivist research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The authors felt that the relegation of qualitative research to a “precursor to rigorous quantitative research” (Charmaz, 2002, p.6397) overlooked the benefits of qualitative research and argued that it was possible for it to be scientific and rigorous. However, Glaser and Strauss (1967) did not just want to ignore the benefits of positivist inquiry, thus they strove to combine the elements of qualitative inquiry with the rigour and significance of quantitative study.

Since the seminal work *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967) was published, the philosophical underpinnings and application of the method as proposed by the authors have differed; each has extended and refined the method individually (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Stern, 1994). Glaser sought to keep a strong hold on empirical validity with what could be described as a rigid set of procedures (Charmaz, 2006). These procedures while simple in design include: the ways the researcher should achieve theoretical sensitivity, how data is collected and analysed, how and when a literature review should be conducted, and how to ensure concepts are not forced, but rather emerge, from data. Glaser (1978) claimed grounded theory was a flexible and creative methodology, which could be used to study phenomena, and “arrive at relevance, because it allows core problems and processes to emerge” (p.5). He asserted that the research problem would emerge from the data without the influence of researcher or any philosophical underpinning (Glaser, 1992; Kelle, 2005). Although grounded

theory is not a quantitative method, nor is it proposed as such, Glaser appeared to align the method closer to the quantitative rather than qualitative tradition.

While Glaser thought ‘classic’ grounded theory was being eroded, Strauss felt it was simply evolving (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Strauss claimed grounded theory “ha[d] not changed form since it was first introduced in 1967, [but] the specificity of its procedures has been elaborated in some detail as the method has evolved in practice” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.5). While the Strauss and Corbin model of grounded theory initially appears complex and structured, it has an enormous amount of flexibility and creativity. The authors encouraged the adaptation of the methodology for individual studies and for researchers to invent different procedures in order to meet the requirements of their studies. Strauss and Corbin (1990) openly acknowledged that their epistemological and ontological underpinnings derived from pragmatism and symbolic interactionism, but also explained that, “one need not subscribe to these philosophical and sociological orientations to use the method” (p.5). This appears to be a major difference between Glaser’s ‘classic’ grounded theory model and Strauss and Corbin’s model. Glaser took a positivist perspective that “reality is out there to be studied, captured and understood” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p.9). Whereas Strauss and Corbin took a postpositivist perspective, which contends that there is no universal truth or reality, that truth and reality are subjective.

More recently, Kathy Charmaz (2006) has been a prominent proponent of further developing the grounded theory method, specifically in light of 21st century methodological assumptions. Charmaz (2006, 2005) believed that while the grounded theory processes themselves were neutral, how researchers used or enacted these processes and the assumptions they brought to their inquiry were not. The constructivist approach that Charmaz (2006, 2005, 2002) advocated emphasised the phenomena, rather than the methods used to study it. Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006) suggested that a constructivist approach to the method was a natural progression and that grounded theory’s evolution could be seen as a spiral of methodological approaches, which started with the original work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). They suggested that throughout the evolutionary spiral of grounded theory the various epistemological and ontological assumptions of each proponent could be pinpointed (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006).

This study adopted Charmaz's approach to grounded theory, which focuses on the voices and experiences of participants, making these a prominent factor in understanding individual basic social and personal processes within the larger social process under study. Charmaz's (2006) model of grounded theory advocated using grounded theory as a set of methodological tools that could be used without adhering to a "prescribed theory of knowledge or view of reality" (p.178). She also promoted discovery through active interaction, rather than relying on the rigid application of methods. Charmaz (2006) stated her position in the following points:

- ❖ The grounded theory research process is fluid, interactive, and open-ended.
- ❖ The research problem informs initial methodological choices for data collection.
- ❖ Researchers are part of what they study, not separate from it.
- ❖ Grounded theory analysis shapes the conceptual content and direction of the study; the emerging analysis may lead to adopting multiple methods of data collection and to pursuing inquiry in several sites.
- ❖ Successive levels of abstraction through comparative analysis constitute the core of grounded theory analysis.
- ❖ Analytic directions arise from how researchers interact with and interpret their comparisons and emerging analyses rather than form external prescriptions. (Charmaz, 2006, p.178)

Charmaz (1990) also researchers must not be wed to concepts. "This stance implied a delicate balance between possessing a grounding in the discipline and pushing it further ... when wedded to concepts in their disciplines, researchers may neither see beyond them nor use them in new ways" (Charmaz, 1990, p.1165). By asking questions and looking for patterns in the data, the researcher must not become attached to concepts, themes or categories unless they are present in and validated by the data. To keep hold of any concepts, themes or categories that are not present in and substantiated by the data would cause the researcher to force these notions, which would intern create a disjointed theory. Charmaz (1990) encouraged researchers to integrate additional philosophies and paradigms into their grounded theory approach and use the inherent concepts and assumptions as sensitising concepts. "Sensitising concepts alert researchers to central issues to tap without committing them to reproducing the initial set of concepts" (Charmaz, 1990, p.1165). This is done in

order to remain open to a variety of possible themes and meanings, reducing the chance of forcing the data into unsubstantiated categories.

2.2 The developments which led to the choice of a grounded theory methodology and the research question evolution

Before starting this thesis, I prepared a PhD proposal, which required a significant amount of research. Once accepted into the program, I began my doctoral journey like many others before, by initially surveying the field. While still on the same subject area, these readings led to a number of different variations of the original PhD proposal being developed. While informally reviewing the literature my interests focused in on a theme that kept appearing in the readings – the overarching use of the term ‘photojournalism’ for almost all photographic imagery in newspapers and magazines - with the exception of advertisements and classifieds. The one-size-fits-all use of the term was in contrast to my prior photographic employment and educational experiences.

I was also exploring the influence of various qualitative methodologies on research design and development at this point. The areas and nature of phenomena I was interested in examining naturally impacted my research design. I initially considered a number of methodological approaches and the implications of how these would affect my subsequent research question and design. The top contender, which I was leaning toward, was ethnography. However, until I had developed the question guiding the exploratory pilot study, I did not seriously consider grounded theory. The eventual choice of grounded theory was made for two reasons. First and most importantly, grounded theory seemed to fit the research question and area of inquiry more naturally than ethnography as it focuses on the participants’ reported experiences rather than my observations of behaviour and events. Secondly, the methodological procedures of grounded theory provided more structure than those of ethnography – I also did not have the funds to enable the long-term fieldwork and observations needed.

In order to investigate whether I had in fact identified a gap in the research during my initial readings, a pilot study was devised as an exploratory exercise. My goal in conducting

this pilot study was twofold - to practice the grounded theory procedures and to explore the definitional differences between photojournalism and newspaper photography. It was not my goal to develop a substantial theory. The pilot study confirmed my suspicion that in Australia photojournalism and press photography were at the extreme two different genres, but that there were grey areas when photojournalism was published in newspapers. More information on this pilot study a conference paper, which was presented at the Journalism Education Association's annual conference, can be found in section 9.1 of the appendix.

My pilot study findings prompted me to redesign my PhD proposal and develop the guiding research question, "What do the stories of freelance photojournalists reveal about the role of photojournalism in society?". Again, as the research question indicated, I was interested in pursuing a qualitative methodology and again grounded theory proved to be the best approach. In some ways the refined research proposal felt like a natural progression from the pilot study as it was not all that dissimilar to the iterative process and development which happens when conducting a grounded theory study.

The research question, "What do the stories of freelance photojournalists reveal about the role of photojournalism in society?", was indeed fruitful – too fruitful in fact for a single PhD. After the first few rounds of data collection and analysis had taken place, I had identified around 500 categories, around 200 of which were substantially developed. I was aware that if I continued with my current research question and design, my thesis would only touch superficially on all of the categories and concepts. While my research design, processes and procedures are discussed in Section 2.3.2, for the moment the above example serves to illustrate that I needed to refocus my research. After going through every category, there were a number that had the potential to standalone as individual areas of research. However, out of the potential categories that could have been pursued, what really interested me was the category, "Way of Life". The "Way of Life" category was developed to cater for the interviewees' references to and explanations of why they chose to pursue and continue with their practice of photojournalism despite the difficulties they faced. After careful evaluation of the "Way of Life" category, it became apparent that by refocusing my research question, quite a few of the other substantially developed categories were integral to delineating the photojournalistic "Way of Life". While the research question evolved, the actual grounded

theory process remained the same. Hence the final research question was developed - “What do the stories of photojournalists reveal about their way of life?” The study’s evolution was very similar to the earlier mentioned progression from the pilot study to the research undertaken with the question, “What do the stories of freelance photojournalists reveal about the media and society?” Yet again, this felt like a natural progression of grounded theory’s iterative process and development.

2.3 Data collection and analysis procedures undertaken and the grounded theory approach

This section first examines the espoused procedures of approaches to grounded theory, in section 2.3.1, and then discusses the actual research procedures undertaken. Section 2.3.2 starts the discussion of the procedures undertaken by providing a detailed explanation of the sources of data used in this study and a visual key to understanding and easily identifying the different types of data is outlined. As the data collection and analysis procedures are intertwined with one another and the subsequent theoretical sampling, all these are discussed together in Section 2.3.3.

2.3.1 Espoused grounded theory procedures

No matter what model of grounded theory is adopted there are general principles inherent to all: theoretical sampling, the constant comparative method, coding, categorising, and memo writing. However, the timing, conduct and additional procedures of these general principles vary depending on the grounded theory model used. Grounded theory aims to developing either a substantial or formal theory that explains social processes. This is in contrast to formal or abstract theory, which is developed by deducing hypotheses according to logical rules, which are then tested against observations (Scott & Marshall, 2005). A grounded theory approach demands researchers produce an inductive theory developed from the theoretical ideas and observations of the actual data (Scott & Marshall, 2005).

In the majority of approaches to research, conducting the literature review is considered a fundamental step that sets the foundation for the study (Charmaz, 2006; Cutcliffe, 2000).

However, conducting a literature review in the beginning stages of research in grounded theory is a contentious subject (Charmaz, 2006; Cutcliffe, 2000). Many scholars have advocated that the literature review be undertaken once the data analysis is complete in case the literature unduly influences the theory (Charmaz, 2006; Cutcliffe, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998 to name but a few). However, a number of scholars openly acknowledge that researchers have substantial background knowledge, drawn from prior experiences and academic and industry literature that they cannot remove from memory (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Cutcliffe (2000) suggested that when conceptualising a study, the researcher usually had not yet decided on the most appropriate method needed. He added that the literature review helped identify any gaps in knowledge and established a justifiable context for the research, even if in the end the most appropriate method was grounded theory (Cutcliffe, 2000).

Charmaz (2006) advised researchers to start with their formal requirements. By focusing on these Charmaz (2006) acknowledged that the researcher might end up conducting a literature review in the beginning stages of a study. But she countered that if this was the case, once the literature review was done it should be put aside until the final stages of data analysis so that the data was not influenced or forced into a theoretical framework but ground in the actual data (Charmaz, 2006). However, Charmaz (2006) and Cutcliffe (2002) asserted that even if an initial literature review was conducted, researchers need to go back to the literature, once the main categories, concepts, and relationships between these were developed and conduct a literature review that encompassed these notions, topics and any relevant established theories.

While Glaser (2002b, 2004) stated that ‘all is data’, many other grounded theory practitioners suggested the quality, usefulness, and relevance of data was not equal (Charmaz, 2006). There are many different types of data that can be collected and analysed in grounded theory, as is the case with many research methods. However, the key to grounded theory is collecting rich data that is focused, full and detailed (Charmaz, 2006). The main ways to gather rich primary data is by conducting interviews, personal verbal narratives and participants’ written accounts, as well as compiling field notes and observations (Charmaz,

2006). However, other types of data can also help enrich primary sources and the eventual grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

No matter the type of data, one of the key features in grounded theory is the cyclic process of data collection and analysis – each time data is collected it helps reshape and refine the focus of the subsequent data collection (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) said research participants might even give researchers information that causes a revision of their subsequent data collection methods. She encouraged researchers to think about the methods for data collection as flexible tools that could be used in a ‘pick and mix’ fashion and to use the tools that they found most helpful to their individual inquiry (Charmaz, 2006). She also advised researchers to consider the practicalities of how to find, access and collect the information they wanted (Charmaz, 2006).

If, for example, you wanted to learn how people conceal a history of illegal drug use, then you need to think of ways you can reach these individuals, gain their trust, and obtain solid data from them. If they want to keep their pasts secret, they may refuse to fill out questionnaires, or to participate in focus groups. However, people who define themselves as recovering addicts might agree to talk with you ... Certain research problems indicate using several combined or sequential approaches. If you aim to explore experiences of living with cancer, you might be able to join a local support or volunteer group, conduct interviews, engage in Internet discussion groups, and distribute questionnaires. In any study, questions may occur to you during the research that lead you to construct new data gathering methods and to revise earlier ones. (p.15)

No matter the grounded theory approach, once data collection begins so does data analysis; the process is iterative. Coding focuses on defining what is going on in the phenomena under study. Essentially the codes define the underlying processes, actions or beliefs of participants. “Coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data” (Charmaz, 2006, p.46). While there are phases to analysing data per se - which Charmaz (2006) called, initial coding, focused coding, axial coding and theoretical coding - these are not conducted linearly. Charmaz (2006) calls the first phase of the process is initial coding where data is analysed line-by-line or word-by-word and incident-to-incident.

When conducting initial coding, researchers need to be open to the data and explore all of the possibilities (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During the initial coding phase, researchers try to stay as close to the data as possible so they identify the category present rather than forcing the data into predefined categories. They try to code data as meanings and actions to allow for new ideas to emerge and to avoid making any analytical or conceptual assumptions that are not based in the data. Charmaz (2006) suggested that staying close to the data and coding for meanings and actions, helped researchers to learn about any gaps or holes in the data and to gather the needed data to fill these early in the research process. The codes developed during this phase are to some degree provisional; they can be discarded if they are not saturated, may be used as an example of an anomaly or renamed in order to enhance its fit and relevancy as the subsequent data analysis progresses.

After codes and categories are developed the researcher then collects additional data focused around what was revealed. Then the data analysis process begins again. The next phase in the data analysis process is focused coding, which purposefully develops and assesses the adequacy of the most significant or frequent initial codes formed (Charmaz, 2006). “Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely” (Charmaz, 2006, pp.57 – 58). However, this does not mean potential new codes are excluded. In keeping with the nature of grounded theory, unexpected notions emerge (Charmaz, 2006). When conducting focused coding, the researcher compares incidents, actions, experiences, and interpretations across various sources of data collected (Charmaz, 2006).

After you code a body of data compare your codes and data with each other. A telling code that you constructed to fit one incident or statement might illuminate another. An earlier incident may alert you to see a subsequent one with incisiveness. (Charmaz, 2006, p.59)

The final coding phase in the data analysis process that Charmaz (2006) advocated was theoretical coding, which was originally developed by Glaser (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). In 1978 Glaser attempted to clarify the concept ‘theoretical sensitivity’ in his book by the same name, and conceived the terms ‘theoretical codes’, ‘theoretical coding’ and ‘coding families’ (Kelle 2007). The three terms were coined “to describe a process whereby analysts have a

great variety of theoretical concepts at their disposal to structure the developing categories and the emerging theory” (Kelle, 2007, p.198). Theoretical coding identifies the possible relationships between the categories, somewhat like hypotheses that help clarify and explain the theory (Charmaz, 2006; Birks, Mills, Francis & Chapman, 2009). Theoretical coding is dependent on focused coding as this process draws attention to the types of theoretical codes that should be pursued.

The idea of theoretical coding is not to apply a preconceived, popular theoretical framework, or specific concept upon the developing theory, but to help clarify inherent concepts that have already been identified in the actual coding process (Charmaz, 2006). In *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory* (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007) various approaches to theoretical coding were discussed, such as Glaser’s coding families, Strauss’s coding paradigm, high empirical content categories, limited empirical content categories, sensitising concepts and common-sense categories. From this it seemed clear to me that the best way to approach theoretical coding was to utilise two of the various approaches – to use common-sense and sensitising concepts. Both of these approaches are considered heuristic. Coding for common-sense categories does not force a particular school of thought or theoretical framework on the data, but rather looks for empirically rich content based on topics of interest in the data (Kelle, 2007). The strength of this approach is its exploratory and interpretive nature.

Sensitising concepts can be used from a wide range of theoretical traditions (Kelle, 2007). However, sensitising concepts are not used to form a hypothesis that can be empirically tested, but rather as a conceptual frame that helps the researcher understand empirical observations in the data (Kelle, 2007). From conducting initial and focused coding I was aware that there were a number of concepts from various schools of thought and theories that could fit various aspects of the developing theory. Therefore, it seemed important to see these as sensitising concepts and code for these. It is important to note that sensitising concepts differ from definitive concepts. Herbert Blumer, who coined the two terms, suggested ‘sensitising concepts’ were abstract notions which only suggested where to look, whereas, ‘definitive concepts’ showed exactly what to see (Blumer, 1954; Kelle, 2007).

The hundreds of our concepts—like culture, institutions, social structure, mores, and personality—are not definitive concepts but are sensitizing in nature. They lack precise reference and have no bench marks which allow a clean-cut identification of a specific instance and of its content. Instead, they rest on a general sense of what is relevant. (Blumer, 1954, p.7, ¶4)

The pivotal link between data collection and writing up a draft of the theory is the memo writing process. This stage is considered the final step in generating theory (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2006). Like all of the procedures outlined so far in this chapter, memo writing is also an iterative process that takes place throughout the entire data analysis and theory development process. The actual process entails analysing ideas, whatever they might be, when coding and analysing the data (Charmaz, 2006). Constantly writing memos helps researchers to think about what is going on in the phenomena under study - it helps crystallise thoughts, formulate ideas, questions and directions to pursue (Charmaz, 2006). “Memo-writing provides a space to become actively engaged in your materials, to develop your ideas, and to fine-tune your subsequent data gathering” (Charmaz, 2006, p.72).

Charmaz (2006) emphasised maintaining participants’ stories and voices when writing memos, but going beyond individual cases. Charmaz (2006) recommended writing memos in any form that the researcher desired and gave free-writing, diagramming and writing full narratives as possible options. Charmaz (2006) said:

Methods for producing memos rely on making them spontaneous, not mechanical ... [w]e write our memos in informal, unofficial language ... do what works for you. Memos may be free and flowing; they may be short and stilted ... Keep writing memos however you write and in whatever way advances your thinking. (p.80)

Charmaz (2006) advised researchers that they needed to write quickly and fluidly so that their “memo[s] read as though written by a living, thinking, feeling human being rather than a pedantic social scientist” (p.84).

Before moving on to section 2.3.2 where the actual research procedures that I used will be discussed, it is important to look at two final, yet very important aspects of grounded theory – theoretical sampling and saturation. In general, qualitative and quantitative sampling strategies are employed for different aims and purposes. In quantitative inquiries, sampling

refers to the process or procedure for selecting participants in order to create a sample where the findings can be generalised to reflect a larger population (Babbie, 2001, 2008, 2011a, 2011b). In qualitative research, purposeful or selective sampling usually takes place. The aims of the two approaches are vastly different. Purposeful or selective sampling seeks to identify participants who have extensive knowledge and rich experiences within the topic under study (Babbie, 2001, 2008, 2011a, 2011b). Quantitative sampling, on the other hand, seeks to identify participants who represent a larger population (Babbie, 2001, 2008, 2011a, 2011b). The choice of sampling technique is dictated by a study's requirements and whether a qualitative or quantitative approach is taken.

Theoretical sampling is used in order to focus in on the key concepts in the data and explore questions with additional participants to fully saturate categories and develop a theory (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) suggested that researchers often mistake theoretical sampling for other forms of qualitative sampling strategies by trying to address some of the following as an outcome in itself: clarify initial research questions, echo population breakdowns, find negative cases or anomalies, or keep collecting data until no new findings emerge. Whereas, “[t]he purpose of theoretical sampling is to obtain data to help you explicate your categories ... in short theoretical sampling pertains only to conceptual and theoretical development” (Charmaz, 2006, pp.100 – 101). Charmaz (2006) suggested that there had to be a sampling starting point before theoretical sampling could take place, which she called initial sampling. Initial sampling is done to provide the initial theoretical categories and is not expected to provide theoretical elaboration or refinement (Charmaz, 2006).

Theoretical sampling goes hand in hand with memo writing as any incomplete categories or gaps are identified during the writing process (Charmaz, 2006). It is the need for additional data to fill the gaps and complete the categories, which drives theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) said, “Engaging in theoretical sampling prompts you to *predict* where and how you can find the needed data to fill gaps and to saturate categories” (p.103). This process helps identify the properties of the major categories and delineate them - elaborating on what they mean, the relationships, variables and gaps (Charmaz, 2006). However, it is important to note that theoretical sampling is a strategy dependent on the individual study and not an explicit procedure that can be applied in a one size fits all fashion (Charmaz, 2006).

“Theoretical sampling can entail studying documents, conducting observations, or participating in new social worlds as well as interviewing or reinterviewing with a focus on your theoretical categories” (Charmaz, 2006, p.107).

When theoretical sampling no longer yields new information, theoretical insights, or properties of the major categories, saturation has been reached (Charmaz, 2006). This does not mean the examples interviewees give must be identical, but that researchers must go beyond description as a result in itself and find the abstract or underlying theme present and theoretically sample until this is saturated (Morse, 2007). However, repetition in itself is not saturation as the characteristics of the patterns have not been conceptualised and compared. Categories and their properties are not saturated until the characteristics - what the incident, event, issue and experience means, how it occurs or is enacted – are identified (Charmaz, 2006). “Theoretical saturation is achieved through constant comparison of incidents (indicators) in the data to elicit the properties and dimensions of each category (code)” (Holton, 2007, p.265).

2.3.2 Data collection, analysis and theoretical sampling procedures

As already noted, when I first started my PhD journey, I initially reviewed literature in the field to assess and determine the merit of my general area of enquiry. However, at this stage I did not conduct a formal literature review, in keeping with grounded theory methods. Nor did I use the literature to formulate a precise research design. As noted, before finalising my research design I undertook a pilot study to further assess the merit of the general areas of inquiry and to practice the grounded theory method. In order to conduct the pilot study, I sought ethics approval from the university’s ethics committee.

After the pilot study and the general area of enquiry was established I developed a set of loose open-ended questions that I used as a guide for the in-depth interviews I planned on conducting (see Appendix 9.6). At this point I also compiled a list of high calibre photojournalists and others involved in the industry that I would like to interview as well as a list of the possible events and situations where I could conduct multiple interviews to maximise opportunities and my funds. The diagram below illustrates my PhD process.

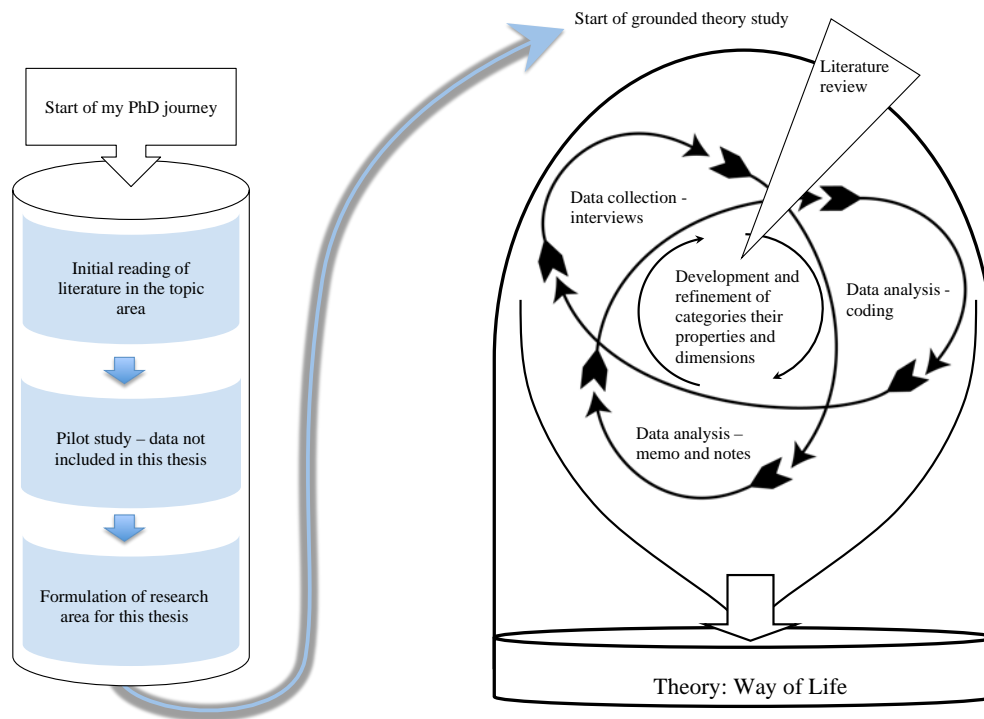


Figure 1.1 – Visual representation of the research processes undertaken

While I made an initial list of people I would like to interview and the places and situation I might maximise opportunities, these were more of a wish list than a form of sampling. Unlike many types of research design determining the sample size before embarking on the research is not possible, as grounded theory requires theoretical sampling to saturate categories and develop a theory. Therefore, as a starting point I identified a large photographic convention in Melbourne during 2007, as I knew this would increase the chance of a number of photojournalists being in one location at the same time. An additional ethics application – the first was for my pilot study – was submitted to obtain approval before the convention. The criteria I used for identifying potential interviewees’ was quite loose, the photographers had to identify with the term ‘freelance photojournalist’ or ‘documentary photographer’. Both terms were included because my initial literature readings revealed that the work that some people called documentary photography could equally be considered photojournalism, which made perfect sense since in many countries photojournalism stems from the documentary photography tradition. Additionally, I was not concerned about the capacity in which interviewees pursued freelance photojournalism – whether they were full-

timers, part-timers, pursued their photojournalistic work outside their full-time employment or simply undertook personal projects that they then tried to disseminate and sell. Before the event, I contacted a number of Victorian photojournalists (some were on my initial list, others were not) and arranged interviews during the week of the convention. This proved to be a successful approach as many had planned to be in town specifically for the event. Additionally, I attended the event and through various conversations was able to secure a number of interviews with others who were attending. In total I conducted seven initial interviews over a ten-day period. While I conducted seven interviews, in the end only four of these interviews were included as some were not relevant to the final adaptation of the research area and some interviewees no longer were practising photojournalists or documentary photographers. Nevertheless, the length of these initial interviews varied from two to six hours – the intended interview length was one and a half to two hours. Interviews only exceeded the intended time frame when interviewees said they had more that they wished to discuss. After each interview, I listened to the audio recording and made detailed notes so that I was aware of the key themes and could incorporate questions about these in subsequent interviews. In some instances, I was able to fully transcribe the audio recording prior to my next scheduled interview. At this stage, none of my initial guiding questions were excluded, but some additional questions stemming from the data gathered from previous interviews were explored in subsequent interviews.

After the initial interviews were completed I transcribed all of the audio, ensuring interviewee's comments were verbatim. However once I returned home, I discovered two of the audio files had somehow been corrupted in transit and were unable to be repaired. Thankfully, I had taken quite detailed notes during the two interviews and when listening to the files while in Melbourne. While the loss of these audio files meant that these interviews could not be formally included in my grounded theory study, I was able to use my notes to help further develop my questions so that areas and concepts stemming from the lost audio were discussed in future interviews. Once the remaining four interviews were transcribed, I started the data analysis process of coding. I chose to use the qualitative software program NVivo in the data analysis process. However, I primarily used the software as a storage and organisational device and did not consider NVivo a tool that would speed up the analysis

process or analyse the data for me. In fact, even though I used the NVivo software for coding, I also coded each interview transcript by hand and compared my results. While the use of the NVivo software was helpful in organising, storing and retrieving data, I preferred the process of analysing each transcript by hand as I found this process much more organic. Hand coding yielded more fruitful results as the process itself prompted me to think about the data in a different way. When line-by-line coding I would try to name the data in the sentence and highlight any phrase or *in vivo* term that might hold more meaning. Additionally, I wrote down any questions I had of the data or thoughts triggered from reading the data. An example of the line-by-line coding can be seen in the following sentence from an interview transcript:

I was always interested in documenting things in real life rather than staged portraits or landscapes like that, that style of photography has never interested me, I've always seen myself as someone who wanted to produce bodies of work about real life, rather than that stayed and staged imagery.

- Interest in real life;
- Knowing own interests;
- Aligning oneself with a photographic tradition and associated types of imagery;
- Stayed and staged imagery... what is stayed and staged?

Figure 1.2 – Example of line-by-line coding undertaken

After going through the transcript line-by-line, I looked at the entire transcript again and identified the main themes, and then using a fresh copy of the transcript I recoded the entire document for each of the themes using a colour-coding system. I used a similar process when coding data in NVivo. When coding the data in NVivo I created a number of 'nodes' based on my initial hand coding. Nodes are a term used by the NVivo program that are essentially folders where data from all different documents can be copied to and saved. I then used these 'nodes' to code the electronic transcriptions, first line-by-line and then again coded with more focus. However, while I established a few initial nodes based on my initial hand coding, I created a node for any new concept that I identified in the data. This was an important aspect of the coding process, as I wanted to ensure that I did not force the data.

When hand coding, once I identified significant and frequently used concepts and terms and before I focusing my coding, I reviewed the other interview transcripts to see if these were present then compared each noted incident to the other to see what it represented or what it might mean. This process helped me to refine codes and overtime assess their relevancy and

fit to the overall developing theory. When using NVivo, the process I used for focused coding was similar, but instead of having to look over numerous transcripts in order to compare each incident, the codes were all copied and saved into one document that could be printed out and compared in isolation from other data. At times I felt being able to see the codes in isolation was beneficial as I was not distracted by any other data or concepts and could focus on the specific code at hand. However, at other times, I found going through all the transcripts that I had hand coded more fruitful because I found contextual insight in words surrounding the specific section coded.

From my coding of the first five interviews, it became clear to me that I needed an international perspective before I started theoretical sampling. This was because many photojournalists interviewed said it was easier to get work and have work published overseas than it was here in Australia. For this reason I chose to conduct a range of interviews in London and in France at the annual premiere photojournalism festival in Perpignan – Visa pour l’Image. As many of the people attending the festival and could not guarantee they would have time in Perpignan, I was able to interview them in London beforehand. Additionally, the director of Visa pour l’Image was interviewed via phone three months prior to the festival, as he knew he would not have time during the event. For these interviews not only were freelance photojournalists targeted but also industry elite such as magazine editors, agency directors and people who fund photojournalistic projects. In total, nine interviews were conducted, but only seven were used as again one of the audio files was corrupted and other interviewee no longer considered himself a photojournalist. The length of many interviews was shorter than those previously conducted and on average lasted an hour. However, these interviews tended to be more specific and focused on the individuals’ areas of expertise. As with my previous interviews I listened to the audio after each interview and made detailed notes. When I arrived back in Australia, I transcribed all of the interviews then coded them by hand and in NVivo as already outlined. In addition to the interviews, I attended two panel discussion sessions and a press conference in Perpignan. Audio was collected from these three events, however, only the audio from one panel discussion and the press conference were transcribed as the other panel discussion was in French and I was unable to record the English translation. I took detailed notes from the English translation of

the panel that was in French. These transcripts and notes were kept aside until later in the data analysis process, as I did not want to use this sort of data as a basis for the category and concept development that the coding process enabled. I only coded these transcripts and notes once I had developed solid categories and concepts from my interview transcripts.

I found that including international perspectives to my initial interview data affirmed the data already coded. I had expected to find more differences internationally – but with hindsight, since I was looking at freelance photojournalism this should not have come as such a surprise. Especially since the nature of freelance photojournalism means there is no limit to where a photographer can find or sell work. This is not saying the interviews were not exceptionally helpful or fruitful; they indeed rounded out the developed categories and concepts by adding additional dimensions and properties.

At this stage, I felt that I needed to conduct a few more interviews, specifically with freelance photojournalists, to ensure I had enough data before employing theoretical sampling. With this in mind, I targeted the Foto Freo photography festival, as a number of prominent Australian photojournalists were attending. Because interviewees were committed to various festival events, I had to conduct my interviews over a two-day period. Such tight scheduling meant that I was not able to go through the interview audio recordings and make as many detailed notes as I would have liked between interviews. However, I was still able to note key ideas during interviews and incorporate questions based on these in subsequent interviews. In total, I conducted five interviews. Additionally, I attended two four-hour photojournalism symposiums, which I also recorded. Again, once I returned home I transcribed the four formal interviews and symposium audio files and then analysed the data. Again, I kept the symposium transcripts aside for later inclusion in the data analysis process.

It was at this point that I faced my first data analysis problem – I had too much data with over 250 possible categories. In my initial attempt to ensure that I had enough data to create a solid basis for my category development, I had in fact collected too much data and risked producing a thesis that would only superficially touched on all categories if I continued along this path. However, after careful consideration and much rumination I was able to narrow the focus of my study. There were a few substantially developed categories showing promise that

I could have pursued, but in the end, the categories that centred on “Way of Life” were chosen. The process that I undertook to narrow the focus of my study could be considered a form of grounded theory data analysis in itself – focused coding. “Focused coding means using the most significant and / or frequent earlier codes to sift through data. Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytical sense to categorize your data incisively and completely” (Charmaz, 2006, p.57).

While the “Way of Life” category itself was not as developed as a number of others, after looking at all the categories in detail and referring back to all the notes and memos I had written, it became clear that many of the categories that were substantially developed appeared to be integral to a photojournalist’s “Way of Life”. “Way of Life” was an overarching category, a link, which I had noted as a gut feeling on numerous occasions in my memos but was unable to clearly identify in the data until this point. While a number of other substantially developed categories would have also yielded an interesting study – in the end I had to choose something that I felt was relevant, promising and most of all interesting. This was the “Way of Life” category.

After narrowing the focus of my study, I needed to recode all my transcripts housed in the NVivo program in a new project, rather than simply delete the nodes that were no longer relevant. I did this to ensure that I did not accidentally delete any data and felt this was a good option so I could still refer to the previous project if needed. Additionally, I wanted to recode around the notion of “Way of Life” to see if any new or different categories and connections could also be seen in the data. I did this both using NVivo and by hand. This proved beneficial as while only a few of the initial categories developed were relevant to the “Way of Life” concept, new categories were identified and incorporated. I felt that the new focus of my study was more manageable and enabled me to really focus on a few specific categories in depth – a task that would have been impossible if I had not narrowed my focus.

I then sought to theoretically sample the rest of the participants based on various questions I had of the data and the concept of “Way of Life”. An additional four interviews were conducted over the space of two months. At this stage, the concept of “Way of Life” was firmly established and was on the way to being theoretically saturated. However, while

many of the other sub-categories of “Way of Life” were already theoretically saturated – other categories had been found to actually be only properties and dimension of larger categories. The main three subcategories were: ‘definitions of photojournalism’, ‘challenges’, and ‘witnessing and documenting history’. An example of how an initial category turned out to be a property of a sub-category could be seen in the following excerpt:

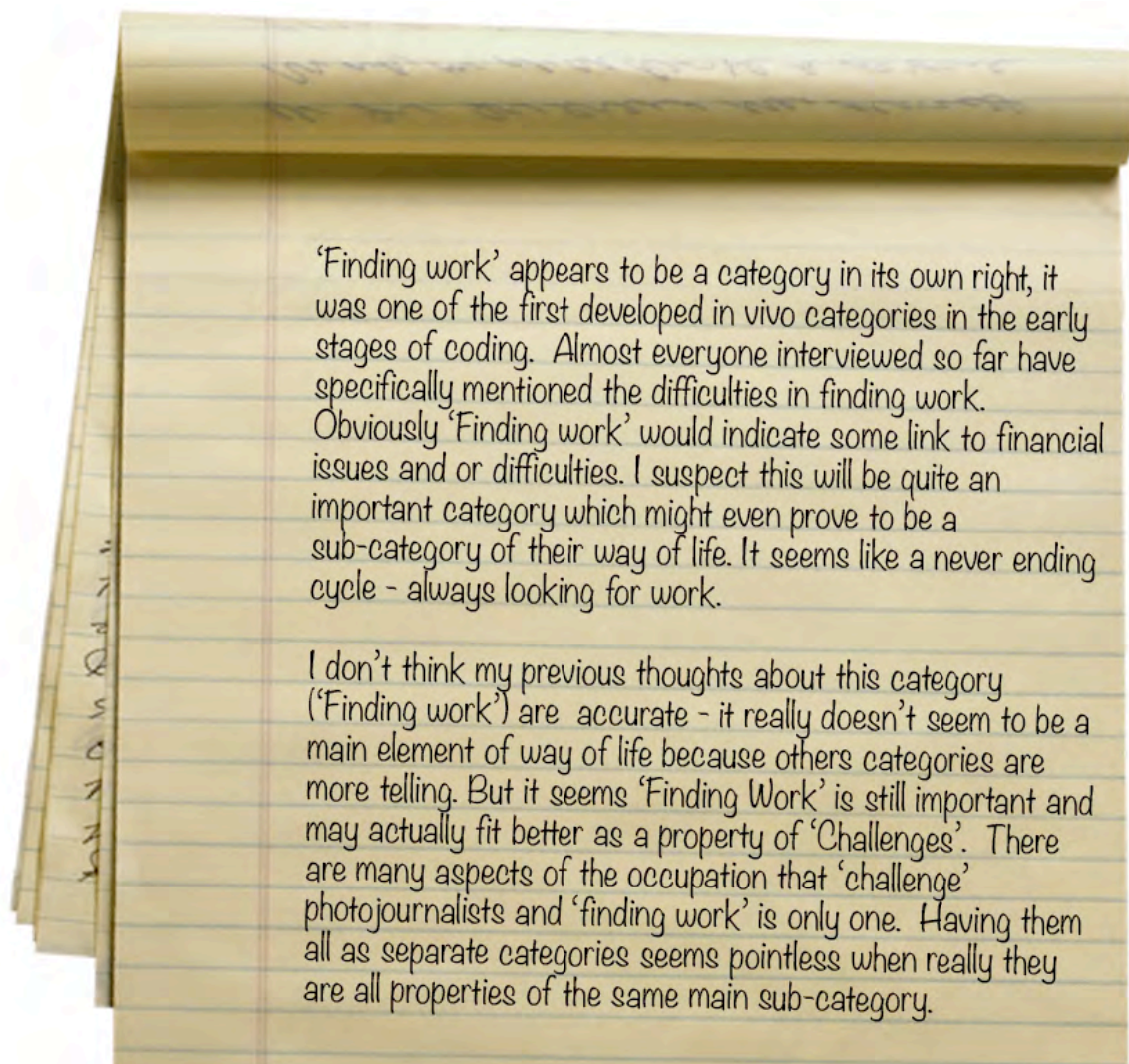


Figure 1.3 – An example of the memo writing process undertaken

It was at this point that I introduced the symposium data to the data analysis process. As earlier stated, I chose to keep any of the data that I did not collect from a personal interview out of the mix until the categories and their properties had been established. My rationale for

this was that I did not want this material to win a place in the developing theory unless it echoed the experiences and/or feelings of my interviewees. It must be acknowledged that this process was not done to restrict the subject matter of the thesis, but rather to safe guard the developing theory ensuring it was based on my in-depth interviews. However, as I did not want to ignore potential insights expressed during the relevant symposiums I attended I made notes about any potential topics that might be relevant to discuss with future interviewees. The symposium transcripts were coded in the same way as all other data - by hand and using the NVivo program.

As the “Way of Life” theory developed I also undertook a literature review, which specifically focused on the concepts inherent in the developing theory. Conducting a literature review at the end phase of the research process is in keeping with espoused grounded theory procedures (Charmaz, 2006; Cutcliffe, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Despite exploring the literature at the outset of my PhD journey, a more focused literature review was deemed necessary for two reasons. Firstly, the initial readings I undertook were merely exploratory, as I did not want to ignore the literature in these early stages as I felt they might have led to me overlooking a major area of importance. Secondly, as per the grounded theory method only once the main categories, properties and dimensions are developed, can a comprehensive literature review be conducted to specifically target literature surrounding these topics. Turning to the literature when the developing theory was nearing completion helped me to ask questions of the properties and dimensions of each category to aid in their further development.

This formal literature review incorporated academic, industry and relevant popular sources. It is important to clarify the types of popular literature which were considered appropriate I included interviews and or group conversations with freelance photographers which were published in a number of formats - online publications, blogs, podcasts, video recordings, radio programs and photo-enthusiast magazines. Charmaz supported the use of varied sources of literature. “Among those [extant texts] we might use are public records, government reports, organizational documents, mass media, literature, autobiographies, personal correspondence, Internet discussions, and earlier qualitative material from data banks” (Charmaz, 2006, p.37). However, while Charmaz was primarily discussing these

sources as types of data, which could be analysed alongside other methods of data collection, it could be easily assumed that the use of such material as part of a literature review would be acceptable. The literature review will not be presented in a separate chapter, but rather will be incorporated into the analysis chapters.

Once the development of the “Way of Life” theory had made significant progress, I attended a photojournalism workshop in India. The aim of this workshop was to informally discuss the developing theory with a number of photojournalists - both those who were mentors and those in the early stages of their careers. As I have worked primarily as a commercial photographer, I can still be considered in the early stages of my photojournalism career and was able to participate as a student at the workshop. Additionally, as part of the workshop I had to imagine I was on assignment and produce a photo essay. While I have worked as a freelance photojournalist, I have not formally analysed the process while on assignment. Thus, having to take on the role of a photojournalist and produce a photo essay enabled me to again experience firsthand some of the challenges mentioned by many of the photojournalists interviewed and clarify some of the connections I had made when analysing my data. While no data from the workshop was included in the data analysis, the discussions with those established in the field and in the early stages of their careers were invaluable.

Before moving on to the first analysis chapter it is important to establish a visual key to identify the various forms of material used throughout this thesis. As already mentioned I utilised numerous sources of data to complement the developed theory, its main categories and their properties and dimensions. While in some theses the use of such material may not need a visual key, in this thesis it is pertinent as the literature and primary interview data excerpts are presented side-by-side throughout all analysis chapters. The term ‘interview’ will denote data collected from personal interviews that I conducted and any other sources of data will be referenced accordingly. To help visually identify interview data from the literature, interviewees’ direct quotes are attributed to the participant by their name and interview number and their comments are italicised. For example: Sally Smith (int.no.1) or Smith (int.no.1) *“and the interviewee’s comments are italicised”*. If the quote presented came from a public lecture, it will be noted as such and the individual quoted will be attributed with the assigned data set interview number. For example: during day one of the Foto Freo seminar

Sally Smith (in int.no.21) said “*and the speaker’s comments are italicised*”. Any material used from industry or professional publications as well as any popular sources will be clearly identified by an introductory sentence which will state the source of said material, for example: a quote or information used from a radio program and posted on the internet will be specifically identified as such followed by the appropriate American Psychology Association (APA) in text citation - Photojournalist Tim Page discussed the positive and negative use of Adobe Photoshop in episode eight of the *Lifelong Learning: Cultures of Journalism* segment aired on ABC National Radio in 2004 (McLachlan, 2004).

Additionally, the key concepts developed from *in vivo* terms in the interview data and other significant concepts will be identified using single quotation marks, for example ‘witnessing and documenting history’. The core category “Way of Life” is identified using double quotation marks. Since the standard style for publication or broadcast names is italics, when interviewees’ quotes refer to such items these will also be identified using single quotation marks.

2.4 Limitations

All studies have some form of limitations, whether they are time constraints, financial or resource restrictions. Naturally, had I an infinite amount of time and endless financial resources I may have conducted the study in a different way. However, this was not the case. Nevertheless, it is important to discuss the limitations of this research.

While this study was not portrayed as a quantitative study and while it is based upon sound qualitative methodology – with the 23 in-depth interviewees and data from the six public events that was drawn upon – the fact remains that there will inevitably be other views about photojournalism and other practitioners who do not share some of the insights discussed in this research. Since freelance photojournalism has largely been overlooked in academic inquiries, I hope my research will fuel the interests of other researchers to focus on this area and further add to the body of knowledge.

Another limitation is that of time and resource constraints, which is a common challenge of any PhD study. With more time, this study may have ventured into some of the topic areas nominated for further research. With more resources such as those available to post-doctoral and funded research, more interviews could have been conducted and more international material could have been collected. That said, the study meets all the requirements of such a qualitative study and the number of participants interviewed are more than the sample size used in some qualitative and grounded theory studies (See for example, Charmaz, 1994; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Marshall, 1996 to name but a few).

A further limitation has been the other pressures on my time. Given the time constraints, all PhD studies have to end at some point. This one spanned approximately five years as I undertook teaching and various administrative duties in order to sustain a livelihood. Thus, I had to set parameters and establish an end point. There is no end point for the development of technology and a consequence was that during the writing up period – after the interviews were conducted – that social media took on the major momentum within both media and the broader community. This explains why there is little mention of social media in this study. Additionally, as the findings are grounded in the interviewees' responses, social media was not really on their radars at the time the interviews were conducted. I would prefer to see this as an opportunity than a limitation as it presents a natural topic for a follow up study to ascertain the impact of social media on photojournalism.



I guess photojournalism is what it says in that it's photography meets journalism if you want to be specific in its meaning. But I think there's so **many different interpretations** about photojournalism ... it really is about story telling. It's a form of communication, visual communication ... I think like **photojournalism comes under a broader umbrella of documentary photography**. For me it's not so much breaking stories but at least showing some new development within that story. The ideal of photojournalism is really documentary by nature. You're there, which is not to say you're capturing absolute reality, or objective reality. But, you're taking snapshots of **real things, of real incidences, real life**. If you say specifically photojournalism then you're specifically taking pictures that will tell a story and report on a situation. I mean you're disseminating information ... **it's its own genre, it's own separate entity**. There's **an earnest for striving for a truth** in a situation and an **integrity** to the photographs that's true to life and set against like advertising or other genres that **its role is to reveal** as opposed to represent. What photojournalism does better than any other medium really is that it **captures a moment** so I see my role as a **responsibility** to reveal something of an event or the lives of people. **Proper photojournalism is to see, to watch the world as it is and to show it**. Traditionally speaking ... if someone says I am a photojournalist it means **in the pure sense they are a documentary photographer**. They're going out, they're recording things as they are, **independently aware** ... I would hope that a photojournalist is **not going in there with preconceived ideas**. It can be about any subject whatsoever ... it usually has something to do with **humanity** not necessarily human condition, anything to do with humanity although there's no reason why it couldn't be about any subject at all. Traditionally you could say it was photography about social issues ... about **stories that matter**. ... I think it was at one time about making the world a better place. ... Now it is so diverse, I just think there are so many different aspects. ... **it is hard to give it a general definition** really. Perhaps what has happened is that it is broadening away from that kind of socially based concerned photography. Perhaps for me, it has become less something one does for the masses in a transparent, invisible way and more in **something that one does personally** as a response to how they feel about a situation.



Figure 1.4 – Muddy waters overview: interviewees' thoughts on photojournalism

3. Muddy waters: unravelling photojournalism definitions

The next four chapters examine the values, motivations and challenges associated with freelance photojournalism, which together will culminate in the final analysis chapter, “Photojournalism as a Way of Life”. In order to understand photojournalism as a way of life, it is important to first understand what photojournalism is to photojournalists. This chapter does not aim to provide an overarching definition that describes the physical nature of photojournalism in one all-encompassing sentence. Instead, the research will link the act of being a photojournalist with the creative output of photojournalism and argue that the people and their work cannot be separated when defining the genre (see figure 1.4 for an visual overview).

This chapter starts with section 3.1, which general discusses various photojournalism definitions, based on academic and industry literature. Section 3.1 introduces the complexities inherent in defining photojournalism while Section 3.2 examines these individually. Section 3.2.1 examines interviewees’ definitions of photojournalism. Section 3.2.1.1 looks at the nexus between photography and journalism. Section 3.2.1.2 examines the ‘blurring boundaries’ and difficulties in defining photojournalism. Section 3.2.1.3 examines the storytelling role of photojournalism. Section 3.2.2 examines what photojournalism is not, while Section 3.2.3 draws together the key points made throughout the chapter and offers some concluding remarks in relation to the muddy waters surrounding photojournalism definitions.

3.1 Introduction to the muddy definitional waters

The origin of the term ‘photojournalism’ has often been attributed Frank Luther Mott, Dean of the University of Missouri-Columbia’s Journalism School, in 1924 (Cartwright, 2007). However, while there are many definitions of photojournalism available, there does not appear to be one universally agreed-upon definition that incorporates the complexities of the genre and those who create the imagery. Many definitions of photojournalism provide an overarching description, a denotation of the physical nature of a photojournalistic image.

They either offer a narrow definition that does not fully encompass all occurrences, situations or works; or a broad definition, which is non-specific and general. For example, the definition: “the art or practice of communicating news by photographs, esp.in magazines” (“Photojournalism”, 2009) or “Journalism in which the written word is subordinate to pictorial usage” (Cartwright, 2007) is accurate in some circumstances, but not all photojournalism can be classified as portraying news nor is it always published or subservient to words. A broad definition of photojournalism is “the craft of employing photographic storytelling to document life: it is universal and transcends cultural and language bounds” (Irby, 1996, ¶2). While accurate, this definition appears to be intentionally broad so as not to pigeonhole the genre or practice. Despite many definitions of photojournalism being available, it appears that people from professional photographers to photography enthusiasts and those with a personal interest are still trying to define and redefine photojournalism.

Discussions and debates about what constitutes photojournalism occur across many platforms, from books and articles to industry LISTSERVs like the National Press Photographers Association to Flickr groups and blogs. When examining these dialogues, one thing was clear, no matter the definition adopted - it never incorporated the complexities of photojournalism and seldom did people agree. On his personal blog titled, *The Big Picture*, Dennis Dunleavy (2005), a photojournalist and academic, posted an entry titled, Photojournalism: A Definition, that said there were “so many ways people describe[d] photojournalism” (¶2). In this post, Dunleavy (2005) said that he had found a description of photojournalism that articulated the genre’s complexity and echoed his feelings toward the definitions for the last 25 years. The description of photojournalism to which he was referring was given in *The New York Times* regarding a diverse exhibition of photographic work that was all, in one way or another, defined as photojournalism:

Photojournalism throws everything that’s philosophically complicated about photography into relief. The medium can be used in what are intended as interpretively neutral ways to document life as it is. It can also be a vehicle for political, social and personal statements. In many cases, the lines between objectivity and subjectivity, fact and attitude, are impossible to disentangle. ... Are the links ... confusing? You bet. That's why photojournalism is the art it is. (Cotter, 2005, ¶1)

As Dunleavy (2005) suggested, the above quote captures the complexity of photojournalism. The interviewees who participated in this study also saw photojournalism in an individual way. Many of the Australian interviewees separated photojournalism from press photography, a distinction supported by my pilot study findings. In contrast, some of the international interviewees tended to include press photography in their definition. However, the tradition of press photography in the United States stemmed from the documentary tradition (Rosenblum, 2007), whereas press photography in Australia did not (Griffin, 1994b). Therefore, it was not surprising that many Australian interviewees saw photojournalism and press photography as separate entities – especially since Australian freelancers historically produced photojournalism and news organisations used press photography to illustrate rather than for storytelling (Griffin, 1994b). However, this practice was not unique to Australia – most publications around the world initially used photography for illustrative purposes. Panzer (2005) said: “As Gisele Freund explains it, ‘the task of the first photo-reporters was simply to produce isolated images to illustrate the story. It was only when the image itself became the story that photojournalism was born’” (p.13). So, while I asked all interviewees: “Can you tell me what photojournalism is and how it differs from other genres of photography?” – the focus of each response was different. Some participants defined the output, some defined the qualities, and some defined photojournalism by what it was not. No matter their response to the actual question, the participants spoke about what photojournalism was throughout their entire interview.

3.2 Introduction to ‘defining photojournalism’ and ‘what photojournalism is not’

This section examines two key concepts, ‘defining photojournalism’ and ‘what photojournalism is not’. When trying to ascertain how the interviewees defined photojournalism, it became clear that this would not be a straightforward task. Many of the interviewees themselves struggled to define photojournalism. Some interviewees’ spoke about the word meanings, while some spoke about how photojournalism has changed since its heyday, others spoke about the ideals and some listed criteria. When coding the participants’ interview transcripts, it was evident that all of the descriptions set forth by the interviewees could be classified in two ways – definitions and comparisons. Participants attempted to

define photojournalism both directly and in a roundabout way and compared photojournalism to other genres of photography to establish what it was not. Therefore, Section 3.2.1 examines the participants' definitions of photojournalism, incorporating specific attempts to offer a definition as well as indirect comments, which I identified as definitional. Section 3.2.2 examines interviewees' notions of how photojournalism differs from other types of photography. These comparisons include the interviewees' concepts surrounding the nexus between photojournalism, documentary photography and press photography.

3.2.1 'Defining photojournalism'

While there are a number of available definitions of photojournalism in addition to the above examples, most, if not all of these definitions define photojournalism in a similar and to some degree denotative way. However, as already mentioned in the Introduction, a precise definition, which incorporates the nuances and complexities of what makes a photo considered a photojournalistic image is elusive. This idea is supported by Panzer (2005) who said, "'Photojournalism' is a term most people understand, but it has thus far defied precise definition" (p.9). The aim here is not to deduce a current definition for photojournalism, but rather explore the muddy waters that cloud the definitional debate. Wading through the definitional complexities provides a rationale for why a semantic or denotative approach to defining photojournalism does not fully capture the essence of the genre. This in turn establishes the need to look at practitioners and photojournalists' "Way of Life" in order to explain 'the tradition' of photojournalism.

When asked to define photojournalism and when talking about photojournalism, many of the interviewees prefaced their definitions with comments such as - "*It is a very personal take*", "*I can only speak from my own experiences*", "*all I can talk about*", "*well for me*", "*in my own interpretation*", "*in my opinion*", and/or "*in its specific meaning*". These prefaces highlighted the fact that the definitional nature of photojournalism is multidimensional and that there is something more to the definition rather than its precise linguistic interpretation. Interestingly, even when giving specific or personal definitions, many interviewees' comments also indicated that there was something 'more' that needed to

be considered when defining photojournalism, which supported the multidimensionality of the genre. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) encapsulated this when he said:

I guess photojournalism is what it says, in that it's where photography meets journalism, if you want to be specific in its meaning. But I think there's so many different interpretations about photojournalism and I think it crosses [into other genres] - it really is about storytelling.

Not only did Dupont preface his definition, he also highlighted three important aspects. Firstly, on the surface photojournalism could be defined purely by its specific denotative or linguistic meaning, “*where photography meets journalism*”. Secondly, having a specific meaning did not preclude people from identifying the genre in their own way or by gauging the genre on, or against, other markers. These variations and the markers used to identify and determine the genre inevitably impact on definitions of photojournalism. Lastly, Dupont’s remark that “*I think it crosses*”, referred to other genres of photography, drawing attention to the ‘blurring of boundaries’ between photographic genres. The ‘blurring of boundaries’ between photographic genres implies that while the specific meaning of photojournalism is “*where photography meets journalism*”, journalism is not something that belongs solely to one genre of photography - or distinguishes it from other genres that also engage journalistic uses of photography. Dupont’s pause and clarification that photojournalism is “*really about storytelling*” also supports the notion of boundary blurring between genres. But storytelling in itself does not preclude other genres of photography, such as fashion or art that at times use narratives or stories to underpin or add an extra dimension to the imagery.

3.2.1.1 Where photography meets journalism

Two interviewees – Stephen Dupont and Jack Picone – specifically spoke about the relationship between photography and journalism when defining photojournalism. However, almost everyone interviewed either implied this relationship or mentioned it in relation to other elements, such as, changing news values, publication opportunities and issues they faced. Considering the denotative meaning of the word photojournalism, it can easily be suggested that many interviewees did not feel the need to specifically articulate the link

between journalism and photojournalism. Nevertheless, it is important to analyse and discuss this relationship.

Jack Picone (int.no.14) noted the link between photography and journalism when he said:

For me, photojournalism is essentially a visual medium of journalism. You're still telling stories, you're reporting on something. If you say specifically photojournalism then you're specifically taking pictures that will tell a story and report on a situation. I mean, you're disseminating information and it's different from other genres in that [it has] ... that specific kind of brief to it. It's not lifestyle photography or food photography or something like that. It's its own genre - it's its own separate entity. The easiest way I can define it is that it's like written journalism.

In essence, photojournalism is visual journalism and as the journalism aspect is an important characteristic it is important to first look at this definition. However, while journalism and photojournalism share many important principles, motivations and values, these will be discussed where relevant through the thesis.

The *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language* (“Journalism”, 1998) defines journalism as, “The enterprise of producing newspapers and magazines (including reporting, writing, editing, photographing, and managing) as well as the styles of writing used in such publications”. Interestingly, this definition not only includes photography, but also stipulates that the work is found in publications – specifically newspapers and magazines – which means it is disseminated to a larger audience. But this definition does not mention radio, television or internet forms of dissemination. As the internet was largely untapped as a platform for online news delivery in 1998, this is understandable. But, the exclusion of radio and television in the above definition is unusual, as news has been broadcast via these media since their introduction. The above definition, like the definitions of photojournalism offered in the introduction of this chapter, only scrape the surface and focus on the act and dissemination product. This can also be clearly seen in the way in which journalism is defined in more recent dictionary editions, such as “the activity or profession of writing for newspapers or magazines or of broadcasting news on radio or television” (“Journalism” 2005).

Blair (2006) said that it was possible that the journalistic community struggled to effectively define journalism because it included other practitioners involved in the dissemination process such as photographers and editors. Barbie Zelizer (2004, 2005) suggested that there were numerous definitions of journalism all of which were subjective to the goals and interests of the individual. She said: “The various terms of news, the press, the news media and information and communication themselves suggest profound differences in what individuals consider journalism to mean and what expectations they have of journalists” (Zelizer, 2005, p.66). Even looking at journalism in its most simplistic form, the act of disseminating news provides little help in exploring a more specific and helpful definition. Tom Bettag (2000) offered a number of interesting examples of news definitions when discussing their evolution such as: “news is what we say it is” (p.105), “news is what people say they want to know about” (p.105) or “[n]ews is what makes money” (p.106). Zelizer (2004) also reported similar responses, such as “news is what sells papers” (p.26) and “news is what raises eyebrows” (p.26). However, Michael Oreskes (2000) noted the difficulty in defining news, suggesting a common response was “I know it when I see it” (p.102). Oreskes (2000) suggested that the focus should not be on defining news but on explaining journalism. By explaining journalism one would concentrate on the role, which would reveal more about the process of journalism and production of news. All of which is equally applicable to photojournalism. Oreskes (2000) described journalism as:

Journalism is a way of watching the world, the events, the ideas, and the incidents that shape us. Journalists gather up this raw material and make it into news for presentation in their newspapers, their websites, their broadcasts, or their magazines. What most of us think as “news” is actually this refined product, the world as presented to us by journalists. ... A journalist applies professional standards in gathering and presenting the news. That gives us some common basis for using that news – some ability to have faith in its accuracy, its fair-mindedness, its balance and thoroughness. ... Human interest. That, of course, is the entire point. Journalists strive to present a version of the human saga each day. (pp.102 – 103)

Like the quote above, Adam (1998) also described journalism by focusing on the qualities of the role.

Journalism is comprised of reports, story-telling and commentaries in the public media about events and ideas as they occur. Its principal elements are:

judgment – broadly speaking, news judgment – and reporting, language, narration, and analysis. Its meaning and utility are grounded in our notions of democracy and human interest – in politics and literature. (Adam, 1998, p.73)

While both Adam's (1998) and Oreskes's (2000) definitions note the publication aspect of journalism, they go beyond the previously cited definitions incorporating a number of news values such as subject matter and timeliness; the role, reporting, storytelling and commentary; ideals, standards and ethics. This is supported by Zelizer (2004) who noted that the question "what is news", often prompted answers that listed qualities that characterise news. Zelizer's (2004) observation resonated for me as many of the participants interviewed for this thesis responded in the same way when asked to define photojournalism. Many of the elements offered in the above definitions can, to a certain degree, be easily applied to photojournalism. Naturally, there are differences specific to the practice of journalism and photojournalism, but as these two definitions highlight, looking to descriptions of the role, motivations and values associated with the production provides greater insight into the genre and photojournalism as a "Way of Life".

David Dare Parker added insight into the relationship between photography and journalism when discussing how he saw his role as a photojournalist. Parker (int.no.13) said:

I know a photograph has a lot of impact but you have to make sure the image is credibly backed up by as much information as you can provide. That is why I tend to see myself as a photojournalist rather than as a photographer. You have to take on that role of gathering information so that there is some substance attached to the image. People can interpret the image any way they can, but if we provide the right information there is no mistake - that is one of the responsibilities I think. I think it is dangerous to just go out there and see great imagery. I think you actually have to back it up with a sense of journalism.

While Parker highlighted a number of important ideals and qualities associated with photojournalism, what is directly important to understanding where photography and journalism meet is the notion of backing up imagery with "a sense of journalism". This concept of "sense of journalism" embodies the information gathering and fact checking aspect of journalism – contextualising an image to avoid misinterpretation. Furthermore, the importance that photojournalists place on a "sense of journalism" could partly explain why

they gather other material and are more readily multi-skilled, more so than many other types of journalists, in order to tell stories across multiple journalistic platforms. While section 3.2.2 examines what distinguishes photojournalism from other genres of photography, it is important to briefly address this here in relation to the concept “*sense of journalism*”.

Based on the earlier examples of news, illustrated by Zelizer (2004) and Bettag (2000), a sense of news or “*sense of journalism*” could be applied to anything, but this was not what Parker was inferring. Traipsing down this line of thought would mean that photographic principles and values embraced by photojournalists could be deemed irrelevant. Doing this would equate certain types of photography for example, paparazzi photography, with the same “*sense of journalism*” or news values as that of conflict photography. Nonetheless, based on the broad definition of journalism from *The Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language* (“Journalism” 1998) paparazzi photography could easily be considered a type of news media photography as it appears in some newspapers and magazines. Indeed, paparazzi photography is at times perceived as a subset of press photography (Mendleson, 2007), despite many vehement rejections of the practitioners (Gifford, 1997; Rowland, 1997), the practice and its newsworthiness (Mendleson, 2007; Sonenshine, 1997).

In reality, these are two separate genres of photography, separated by approach, ethics, values and motivations - even though paparazzi are considered to be media practitioners (Mendleson, 2007) and their imagery newsworthy, since it is often featured in news publications. In fact, some paparazzi consider themselves journalists (Howe, 2005). Mendleson (2007) suggested “paparazzi are possibly the most despised media practitioners” (p.170). Yet they both document something as it happens. Albeit a paparazzo often documents from far away, stereotypically from behind a bush or garbage bin and is motivated by money (Howe, 2005; Mendleson 2007), rather than journalistic motivations such as upholding the role of the Fourth Estate. But despite paparazzi imagery being a prominent feature in news publications, Mendleson (2007) reported that many journalists saw paparazzi and celebrity content as something other than journalism. This idea was supported by Scharrer, Weidman and Bissel (2003) who said the news media were often seen as a “heterogeneous collection” (p.93) with vastly different functions rather than as a solidified group of practitioners working as a whole for the one function – news. As such, the inclusion of paparazzi and celebrity

content in various news publications also supports the previously mentioned notion that where the imagery is published does not define it as photojournalism. Even though photojournalism and paparazzi imagery may appear in the same news outlets there is a distinction between types of news and associated assumptions about quality. Scharrer, Weidman and Bissell (2003) noted this distinction and said:

Implicit distinctions are drawn between those “serious” journalists whose function is to inform the public of important information related to their health and well being and those producers of popular media who allegedly instead jeopardize public health by irresponsible practices ... This notion of irresponsible practices can be seen in the condemning tone in newspaper coverage that discusses the paparazzi in the case of Princess Diana’s death. (pp.93 – 94)

The separation between paparazzi photography and photojournalism is similar to the debate between quality and tabloid journalism. This concept of “*serious*” journalism and photojournalism was echoed in a number of interviewees’ comments – it was also at times referred to as “*real*” photojournalism. The above example serves as illustration only. A more detailed exploration of what photojournalism is not and the concept of “*real*” or “*serious*” photojournalism will be provided in the next section, which explores how photojournalism can morph into other genres of photography.

3.2.1.2 The ‘blurring of genres’ and difficulties in defining photojournalism

Almost all interviewees spoke about a ‘blurring’ of what was considered photojournalism and many noted, directly and indirectly, the difficulties of defining photojournalism. Interviewees’ comments about the ‘blurring of genres’ usually started with a discussion of photojournalism in relation to documentary photography, which then often led to them mentioning the transition between these genres and art photography. For example, Jason Edwards (int.no.6) said, “*I struggle with not so much the definition of photojournalism in my own interpretation but I struggle to accept what a lot of other people call photojournalism*”. Adrian Evans also mentioned the difficulty in defining photojournalism, but attributed this difficulty to different reasons.

Now it is so diverse. I just think there are so many different aspects. I would say it is hard to give it a general definition really. Perhaps what has happened is that it is broadening away from that kind of socially based, concerned photography. (Evans int.no.7)

The concept of “socially based” or “concerned photography” is a fundamental aspect of photojournalism pertaining not only to the values of the photographer and underpinning the genre, but what many interviewees saw as the primary role of photojournalism. Almost all interviewees spoke about this concept at one point or another. Chapter 4 will discuss values and their relationship to the role of photojournalism. However, because these concepts are intrinsically linked to the definition of photojournalism they will also be briefly addressed here.

Jesse Marlow suggested there was a shift in what was considered documentary photography. Marlow (int.no.12) distinguished photojournalism from documentary photography as “*more news based, especially now because of the shift in what is documentary, because documentary has just become so broad and pretty much all the work you see now has a documentary base to it*”. While Marlow highlighted the “news” aspect, which relates to the subject matter and content of a photojournalistic image, it also indicated that photojournalism, like other photographic genres stem from documentary photography. This shift in genres was also echoed by Jon Levy who suggested it was because photojournalism and documentary photography had adapted and evolved. He said: “*I think there is also a transition between press photography, photojournalism which is a very broad all-encompassing word and documentary photography, they are very difficult to define. I think people define them for themselves*” (Levy, int.no.10). Marlow also thought the difficulty in defining photojournalism was because of a shift in people’s perceptions about the style of the genre. He suggested what was once considered photojournalism was now considered documentary photography. “*But now there’s this real shift ... there is a lot of people who would have been working in that traditional photojournalistic style, [who would be considered] working more in the documentary style now*” (Marlow, int.no.12).

Despite the difficulty in defining photojournalism it is important for clarity’s sake to start at the beginning and focus on the relationship between photojournalism and documentary

photography – especially as many interviewees noted this relationship. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) succinctly articulated this relationship in its simplest form when he said, “*The ideal of photojournalism is really documentary by nature*”. Dean Sewell (int.no.3) expanded on this relationship saying:

I think that documentary photography is a broad umbrella. Photojournalism fits into that. Documentary photography you can break down again into like social documentary and then other types of documentaries. ... [L]ike Matthew Sleeth ... he started off as a photojournalist and then went into documentary, now he's gone right into the arts spectrum of documentary.

These two interviewee comments underline the notion that while photojournalism sits under the broad umbrella of the documentary genre, there are no clearly defined lines. Coleman (1998) said “those overlapping forms we loosely call ‘documentary’, ‘photojournalism’, and ‘press photography’ – are very much in flux” (p.35). Influences impede on creative practice which gives rise to movement between genres. These comments highlighted the overlap of photographic genres – that there are various forms of photojournalism, which could be plotted along a spectrum and reveal the relative relationship and degree to which the style of imagery centres around the photojournalistic axis. This concept is a similar to one I identified in my pilot study where Australian newspaper photographers held a clear distinction between photojournalism and press photography, but the two genres blurred on the rare occasion when photojournalism was published by mainstream media outlets (See Appendix 9.1).

Since photography’s invention there has been a divide over the nature of photography, whether it was art or science (Rosenblum, 2007). Despite early renaissance painters using the camera obscura to aid their artistic endeavours, some artists rejected photography considering it a mechanical realism with no artistic merit (Newhall, 1934; Osterman, 2007; Ostrow, 2007; Rosenblum, 2007). Newhall (1934) said “there is hardly an artist practising today who does not consider the photograph as a mechanical debasement of his art – anti-art – void of all creativeness” (p.24). Some scientists thought photography was artistic and held no scientific merit, yet there were others who adopted photography and used the medium for artistic and scientific purposes (Newhall, 1934; Ostrow, 2007; Rosenblum, 2007). The concept of ‘mechanical realism’ or ‘mechanical reproduction’ was the basis for photography being

considered an accurate representation of a subject and the photograph as a truthful document. A photograph was considered an exemplary form of documentation because of the camera's ability to capture light falling on a subject that was unaltered (Rosenblum, 2007). Howells (2003) highlighted people's perception of the reality that exists in a photograph and said:

Photography indeed, had a special relationship with reality, which persuaded people that when they looked at a photograph, they were looking at reality itself ... It is like a Xerox machine or a security camera, which simply duplicate that which is already in front of us or points a repro-graphic finger at something that is already out there. (p.158)

Before photography's invention, there were no such debates – art was always a subjective representation. Even if the artwork was a precise rendition of a subject or scene it was still an interpretation of reality and the elements depicted always purposefully included. Equally any elements not included in a depicted scene were purposefully excluded. According to Bazin and Grey (1960), “[n]o matter how skilful the painter, his work was always in fee to an inescapable subjectivity. The fact that a human hand intervened cast a shadow of doubt over an image” (p.7). However, while photography is a mechanical representation, it is not exempt from artistic subjectivity. No matter the type or genre, the scene that a photographic image depicts is selected. The photographer chooses what subject to photograph, how that subject is framed in the camera and how much of the subject is and is not included. The captured image is an isolated fragment, uncontextualised and removed from the wider events in which it happened (Cartwright, 2007). For example, an image of the D-Day landing taken by Robert Capa (1944) and an image created on the set of Stephen Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (“Saving Private Ryan”, 1998) may look very similar, but they are also very different. The image taken by Robert Capa (1944) is a fragment of the actual events – reality. But the image taken on the set of *Saving Private Ryan* (“Saving Private Ryan”, 1998) is a constructed reality created to replicate and illustrate the historical moment and to be used not as a document of the events but as promotion for the film and possibly as a document of the filming process. Yet despite the different contexts in which the images were created, both represent the scene in front of the photographer. Thus, the intention of the photographer that is of utmost importance.

It could be argued that while many types of photography are recognised as photographic genres in their own right, on some level the ‘blurring of boundaries’ still evident today stems back to this art versus document divide and the alignment or photographic approach of the individual photographer. In fact at the most basic level the photograph is itself a document. Beaumont Newhall (1938) highlighted the fact that since photography’s inception one of its chief values was its ability to provide accurate records. Rosenblum (2007) said that: “As a ‘form divorced from matter’ but mirroring truth, documentary photographs were believed to be such accurate catalogues of fact that they were surrogates of reality” (p.155). This accuracy was something everyone was able to agree on despite their disagreements about photography’s artistic merit (Newhall, 1938). Photographs are still considered a document today and they are often used as evidence, for example forensic photography (Spring, 2007).

Additionally, the *Oxford Companion to the Photograph* suggests “all photography not intended for artistic expression might be considered ‘documentary’, the photograph a visual document of an event, place, object, or person, providing evidence of a moment in time” (Schulz, 2005). But, as Robert Capa’s D-Day landing and *Saving Private Ryan* examples above show, a photograph may be a document of what was actually happening in front of the camera, but this does not make an image a photojournalistic or documentary photograph. According to Wells (2004): “Photojournalism and documentary are linked by the fact that they claim to have a special relationship to the real; that they give us an accurate and authentic view of the world” (p.71). Furthermore, it can be argued that while the boundaries between photojournalism, documentary photography and the art world have blurred, it is not the intrinsic nature of a document that has changed, but that the forums for dissemination have evolved. Panzer (2005) attributed the ‘blurring of genres’ to the rise of photographic art galleries and art photographers who defined their work “in opposition to the narrative, representational work” (p.25). Panzer (2005) also noted that while few photographers worked in both the ‘art’ and ‘journalistic’ world “the view that photography could either be art or journalism, but not both, became dominant. It would be another quarter-century before these lines began to blur again” (p.25). Additionally, the merger of photojournalism and documentary photography into the art world can be seen as an evolution of photographic

practice and genres. Just like other art movements or schools of thought that flourish for a certain period of time, they are eventually adapted or replaced by another.

Beaumont Newhall (1938) noted that one of the first uses of the term ‘documentary’ in connection with photography was by John Grierson in 1926 who described Robert Flaherty’s film *Moana* as documentary. The term ‘documentary’ was used to describe cinema based on factual elements but “presented in an imaginative and dramatic form” (Newhall, 1938, p.3). This quote highlights the fact that even though the term ‘documentary’ is linked to factual depictions, this link to real events did not preclude artistic presentation of the information. However, Levy suggested the adoption of photojournalism and documentary photography by the art world was because of the connection to reality. Levy (int.no.10) said:

Documentary, which I would see as maybe being the kind of backbone to some of the art world we see today and I think the art world is vigorously trying to borrow the integrity from documentary work and photojournalism as a whole to give some of this conceptual art an underlying meaning.

Levy highlighted the associated integrity of photojournalism and documentary photography. By integrity, Levy (int.no.10) was not referring to the objectivity versus subjectivity alignments within photography debates, which was evident when he said, “*so it is not as objective or I don’t think there is as much value in this kind of quiet objectivity as there perhaps used to be as the standard of press photography*”. The integrity that Levy was referring to was the underlying nature of photojournalism, its intention and role. Adrian Evans on the other hand noted the ‘blurring of boundaries’ between genres in relation to the types of photojournalistic and documentary imagery being created.

I think there is some quite interesting photojournalism going on, moving away from traditional straight down the line photojournalism and moving more into documentary and documentary well what does that mean, well it’s broad, but it isn’t just very dramatic images, there is a lot of quiet stuff going on, but there are also a lot of quite conceptual things using some of the techniques of the art world and then re-importing them into the sort of whole photojournalism genre and changing it. (Evans, int.no.7)

Evans referenced the ideals and practices associated with photojournalism. The term ‘straight photography’ was adopted to describe photographers who embraced photography’s

ability to capture accurate records as opposed to the pictorialism movement, which sought to emulate early 20th Century painting (Johnston, 2005; Kingsley, 2005). While straight photography strove to accurately document reality, the photographers wanted their images to have the same status as paintings and often hung them in galleries (Wells, 2004). The term ‘straight photography’ is still at times used today, usually in reference to documentary photography and its many subsets for example, photojournalism, war photography or ethnographic photography, which emphasise the factual documentation of a naturally occurring situation.

The blurring between documents and art as mentioned by Evans and the adoption of art techniques when creating photojournalistic imagery can be clearly seen in by David Dare Parker’s comment about the work of Philip Blenkinsop. Parker (int.no.13) said:

Philip he’s theatre art. He is a wonderful character and I think as a humanitarian, his heart’s in the right place. He does some incredible work and he crosses over that bridge – he was one of the first to really take hard reporting into the art world. He’ll put pig’s blood around the pictures and he’ll write beautifully around it with people’s comments so they have their words delivered to it. So it becomes a commentary or social comment beyond photojournalism, but it is still photojournalistic.

Parker clearly articulated the ‘blurring boundaries’ between photographic genres. Additionally, he noted the aesthetic use of ‘mixed media’ in Blenkinsop’s imagery – via the use of pig’s blood and writing on his imagery. ‘Mixed media’ is an artistic term defined as, “works of art composed of a variety of different materials” (“Mixed media”, n.d). The use of mixed media clearly aligns Blenkinsop’s work with contemporary art practice, but because of the photographer’s values and intent when creating the imagery the work is still considered photojournalism.

Parker’s use of “*humanitarian heart*” indicates the importance of a photographer’s intent when creating images and how a humanitarian value system governs photojournalists. Additionally, his use of “*the first to really take hard reporting into the art world*” reinforces the ‘blurring of genres’. Hard news reporting is typically associated with objective reporting

of facts using the inverted pyramid – where a story is structured from the most important information to least important and provides an unemotional, fair and balanced account.

Photojournalistic objectivity was rooted in the notion that photojournalists were there to document the happenings in front of the camera as if they were a ‘fly on the wall’ (Cartier-Bresson, 1952) and that their presence did not impact or influence the situation (Lester, 1999; Perlmutter, 1995). Additionally, photojournalistic practice was thought to occur in isolation, as a form of pure documentation where the imagery was a fair and balanced representation of events – free of judgements or social comments (Newton, 2001; Perlmutter, 1995). Other areas of photography, such as art, were considered the domain for things like social commentary and aesthetics, where there were no rules or ethical parameters to adhere to. However, over time the pillar of photojournalistic objectivity has collapsed. As Panzer (2005) said: “Without fanfare, photographers, publishers and audiences alike have agreed to abandon sharp distinctions between art and journalism. The blur between personal expression and reportage also influences the formal characteristics of work today” (p.32).

Additionally, Dean Sewell and Nick Moir also noted photojournalism’s shift into the art world. During the interview Sewell and Moir bounced off each other, adding to and extending on each other’s comments. Moir (int.no.3) said, “*but also photojournalism and like art photography lately, we’re being really blurred at the moment isn’t it, in some ways*”. To which Sewell (int.no.3) added:

But yeah, I think you were saying, how they’re becoming a greater ‘blurring of the boundaries’ of art and photojournalism and that is because a lot of it is becoming more interpretive and that’s how the blur is occurring. You know – it’s completely – it’s really interpretive of a situation instead of a real complete factual document of what had actually occurred there.

Sewell suggested interpretive responses to situations were predominately an artistic approach and was once something that could help distinguish photojournalism from art photography. While much art has been created in response to real situations, events and happenings among other more abstract muses, these are also photojournalists’ fodder. Richin (1990) suggested, that as Tom Wolfe proposed in his book *The New Journalism*, that just as journalists use the techniques of novelists to overcome limitations – photojournalists and art

photographers have borrowed from each other's approaches. However, with photojournalists having extended creative parameters to produce work that has more room for interpretation; the values, motivations and ethics that underpin the role of photojournalism comes to the forefront again as an important distinguishing feature.

Moir (int.no.3) summed up the ramifications associated with the 'blurring of boundaries' between art and photojournalism when he said: "*That's where your ethics and objectivity are going too, like they're being questioned and stuff like that. I mean the only people who think about this sort of stuff are other photographers and artists*". While Moir highlighted the ethics and objectivity associated with photojournalism, his comment indicates that the 'blurring of boundaries' between art photography and photojournalism are intrinsically linked to the questioning and decline of ethics.

However, Jason Edwards said despite the 'blurring of boundaries' photojournalists had to document what unfolded in front of their lenses and not direct situations. Edwards (int.no.6) said:

Traditionally speaking photojournalism is to me, if someone says I am a photojournalist it means in the pure sense they are a documentary photographer. They're going out. They're recording things as they are, independently aware – I would hope. I would hope that a photojournalist is not going in there with preconceived ideas.

Edwards illustrated his point by giving a hypothetical example of a photojournalist who was religious and was documenting missionaries who had brought diseases into South American tribes. He suggested that the photojournalist would still document the tribes dying from the flu and not overlook what was actually happening because of his or her personal beliefs. The heart of Edward's example comes back to the fundamental principles associated with photojournalism – the values, ethics and approach to image making.

However, Edwards and a few other interviewees also noted that there were strategic reasons behind the 'blurring of boundaries' between photojournalism and other genres of photography. Edwards (int.no.6) said:

Whether you call it photojournalism or documentary photography or you call it street photography or whatever ... It's one of those scenarios that I think a lot of people have modified the term from my definition or to fit themselves into the market place so that obviously has a negative connotation and the reason it does from my perspective is that I think that there is a lot of work out there at the moment that isn't worth being out there.

The disdain evident in Edwards's comment was particularly aimed at the degradation of the truth – specifically that caused by digital image manipulation. This can be clearly seen when Edwards (int.no.6) said, “*as soon as there is manipulation done to an image beyond the absolute basics of what should be done ... for me it is no longer documentary photography, it's not photojournalism, it's not anything, it's art*”. However, Edwards (int.no.6) did not class digital manipulation as the only form of deterioration taking place as a result of the ‘blurring of boundaries’ between photographic genres, which was clear when he said “*people have modified the term from my definition to fit themselves into the marketplace*”. Thus, it seemed evident that Edwards was not only talking about digital manipulation but was also including anything that was not in keeping with the principles and values of ‘reportage’; a term he sometimes referred to as ‘photojournalism’ and other ‘documentary’ forms. Fitting into the market place, implies that photographers are ‘blurring the boundaries’ between photographic genres for financial and dissemination purposes.

However, Moir (int.no.3) indicated another reason why photojournalism transcended into other photographic genres when he said:

I think it's quite interesting, photojournalists [are] becoming like artists. They have to struggle for grants and things like that. Whereas it used to be a paid thing, it's [now] becoming where it's only a personal passion. So I mean in some ways the advantage is [the] only ... stuff you might possibly see is going to be really good because they're the ones who are really passionate go into it willing to lose money. I mean we all – it just costs us money. It's all just our own passion. It cost me close to \$10,000 to go to the United States and chase [storms] – I made it up in the end through doing my tax back and selling it [images from his Storm Chaser body of work] and stuff like that. But no, it's out of the goodness of their heart that we record the world actually in an artistic and ethical way.

Moir highlighted a few important aspects about the field of photojournalism. Firstly he said that photojournalists are becoming like artists, that they have to struggle for grants.

Secondly, that photographers are only producing work because of their passion for photojournalism itself or the stories they cover. Thirdly, because of their passion, photojournalists are willing to lose money in order to tell a story. All of these points come back to photojournalism being about something bigger – the values, principles and approach of the photojournalist.

Evans also discussed the financial and dissemination aspects associated with ‘blurring of the boundaries’ between photojournalism and other genres of photography.

By reinventing themselves, they can actually find new ways of supporting themselves as well, particularly by moving into the gallery environment. These people, the reason why they say, ... “I am not a photojournalist” is because photojournalism is a dirty word within the art world. Photojournalism means getting your hands dirty – doing a proper days work – and art is not supposed to be about that. ... If you wanted to get money from the Arts Council, don’t go there and say you’re a photojournalist, say you’re a documentary photographer. But I think the lines are completely blurred between the two and that more and more photojournalists are moving into documentary because then not only can you get yourself stuff on the page but then you can also put it in the gallery. (Evans, int.no.7)

All of the strategic reasons behind the ‘blurring of boundaries’ mentioned here, such as passion, funding and dissemination, will be discussed in detail throughout the rest of this thesis.

3.2.1.3 Storytelling

The story aspect of photojournalism is covered in two main sections of this thesis – here and in Chapter 4 – but the storytelling aspect of photojournalism is discussed throughout the thesis. Section 4.3 specifically deals with ‘telling stories’ as opposed to ‘storytelling’. It may sound like semantics, but many interviewees used the terms in different capacities. The term ‘storytelling’ was often used when speaking abstractly about the act of storytelling and when defining photojournalism. ‘Telling stories’, however, was predominately used in relation to values and responsibility, when interviewees spoke about seeing photojournalists as the conveyors of other people’s stories. Most interviewees noted the storytelling aspect when defining photojournalism, which is the focus of this section. Interestingly, storytelling appears

to be intrinsically linked to other things, such as passion, values and ethics along with other qualities of stories themselves such as their depth and immediacy and the fact that photojournalists feel that some stories need to be told.

When defining photojournalism, Stephen Dupont said despite the many interpretations of and blurring of boundaries, photojournalism is essentially about storytelling. Dupont (int.no.5) clarified this statement when he said, "*It's photography that tells a story. It's photography that usually is journalistically based, as in it's real life situations; it's documentary*". Jack Picone (int.no.14) echoed Dupont's remarks when he said, "*photojournalism is essentially a visual medium of journalism. You're still telling stories, you're reporting on something. If you say specifically photojournalism then you're specifically taking pictures that will tell a story and report on a situation*".

At photojournalism's most basic level – as a form of visual communication – visual story telling is not a new concept. One only has to look at early cave paintings to see the history of depicting information visually. This link between the real and what is portrayed in an image can also be seen in the first photography book commercially published, titled *The Pencil of Nature* ("Book of the month", 2007), or that photography is sometimes referred to as nature's pencil. The historical use of imagery as a means to document stories and pass them on can be seen in the quote below.

If one hunts through the ancient records, one can find something that looks like a primitive means of recording disturbing changes in the environment and spreading the information about, often by archaic signalling systems and ordinary speech and in storytelling forms we today find primordial or merely curious. (Carey, 2007, p.6)

The webpage *Getting Started in Photojournalism* (McNay, n.d.), on the National Press Photographers' Association website, the word 'story' and the derivatives 'storytelling' and/or 'storytellers' were used 42 times. The term 'storyteller' is even used interchangeably with 'photographer', for example, 'photographer/storyteller', which reinforces the fact that photojournalists are visual storytellers. Additionally, a whole section of The Poynter Institute's (<http://www.poynter.org/>) website is devoted to visual journalism. The Poynter Institute incorporate all visual media under the one banner – all united by journalistic forms of

storytelling. There are also many references to photojournalistic storytelling in popular, industry and academic literature, mostly used in the same way as the interviewees' comments above – referencing 'the story' part of photojournalism.

Michael Amendolia used the term 'storytelling' when defining the genre but also gave a more detailed account of the actual 'story' aspect of photojournalism. Amendolia (int.no.1) said: "*Photojournalism the way I interpret it is storytelling through photographs backed up with caption material that gives a context to what the photographs are all about. The actual communication is in the photographs themselves either singly or as a group*". Amendolia (int.no.1) suggested that photojournalism does not necessarily have to be a narrative, but that there is usually a theme that "*links the whole communication ... the way it differentiates from other photography is it really should be representationally as accurate as possible.*" While he said the story could be about anything, it usually had something to do with humanity and the plights of mankind.

Before going any further, it is important to stop and briefly explore the history of storytelling and man's penchant for fact-based-stories or more commonly – news. Many researchers have said humans are essentially storytellers (Abrahams, 1981; Fisher 1984; Fisher 1985; Woodstock, 2002). "Storytelling is one of the oldest art forms in the world" (Barkin, 1984, p.28) – and stories, are suggested to be one of the oldest forms literary forms (Bird & Dardenne, 1997; Stein, 1982). Additionally, orally articulated stories were a way of preserving history and cultural heritage passed down from generation to generation (Stein, 1982). Stein (1982) said, "Historically, the story was used to preserve the culture of a civilization. Often the only available records of a society were the oral stories passed down from generation to generation" (p.489). At the most basic level, stories – whether disseminated orally, textually or visually – convey information. Stories can be used for many forms of informational instruction, entertainment and persuasive purposes. While stories can be fiction or non-fiction, it is only non-fictional stories that are relevant to this thesis. The goal then of factual stories is not for entertainment purposes per se, but this does not prohibit it occurring as a by-product.

News can be considered a category of information – and – most languages appear to have a term for this category of information (Stephens, 1997). Long before communicating via the written word people found ways to exchange information, specifically news (Madden, Bryson & Palimi, 2006; Stephens, 1997). Carey (2007) wrote that: “News and reporting are eternal, for no sentient creature, let alone society, can survive without some kind of monitoring and signalling system, however, primitive, whereby threatening changes in the ambient world are recorded and disseminated,” (p.5).

Historically, some people went to great lengths to communicate news, such as the Athenian messenger who, in 490 BC, is said to have travelled 250 kilometres on foot in two days to ask for help after the Persian landing at Marathon (Knowles, 2006). However, the information people communicate is not always welcome and terms such as ‘don’t kill the messenger’ or ‘don’t shoot the messenger’ have been traced back to a saying of the ancient Greek dramatist Sophocles’, which was ‘No man loves the messenger of ill’. The colloquialism ‘don’t shoot the messenger’ indicates the perils of delivering news in person (Blair, 2006). However, there is also an element of risk attached to collecting news, depending on the situation – this will be discussed in Chapter 5. However, despite the risks associated with collecting and reporting news, not having this information could have a greater detrimental impact on society as is illustrated in the quote below.

One cannot imagine a people surviving if they failed to report and take account of earthquakes and other natural disasters, war and other approaching mayhems, successes and failures in the economic struggle for survival ... We also have sufficient examples of extinct communities that failed to adapt to changing environments or become enamoured of practices that cut down on their ability to monitor and respond to critical shifts in the world around them. (Carey, 2007, pp.5 – 6)

The most important visual storytelling aspects, which the quote above refers to, lies in photojournalism’s relationship to the real and the passing on of this visually-captured news. For society to function and mankind to prosper the exchange of information is paramount and as such storytelling is the primary method utilised. As Kirtz (1998) said: “Storytelling is the oldest and best way to reach readers” (¶2).

One intrinsic quality not specifically mentioned by the interviewees – which is inherently implied within the word storytelling itself – is the communication or dissemination of the photojournalistic story. The act of communication – whether visual, oral or written – is an integral part of storytelling and implies three essential parts. The storyteller who is the messenger, the audience who is the receiver and the actual story being communicated – the message (Georges, 1969). One important aspect that is not included is the people that the stories are about. There are many important ethical considerations that could be explored in relation to the relationship between a storyteller and subject/s of the story, and while this will be explored to some degree in Chapter 4, it is not the primary focus of this thesis.

What is of relevance to this particular section is that by defining photojournalism as visual storytelling, what the interviewees highlighted is the actual communication aspect – that photojournalism has to be shared with some sort of audience. Photojournalism, then, is not something that can be produced purely for the sake of documentation or archival purposes. This is not to say work cannot be considered photojournalism if it is not disseminated. Nor is there a time constraint in this dissemination. Additionally, Amendolia's comment that photojournalism usually contains a theme or narrative (which is also a key aspect of stories and storytelling), fortifies the photojournalism-storytelling relationship.

There are also many other aspects of storytelling that can be easily applied to photojournalism, such as that the storyteller picks and chooses what to tell (Tirrell, 1990). There is also something to be learned from the story – whether it is a moral or information – and the fact that stories help people understand themselves and the world (Bradt, 1997; Tirrell, 1990). All of which are applicable to photojournalism. As Bradt (1997) said, “story is not just an art form but an epistemology, a technique or way of knowing the world, the self and the other. Story as way of knowing shapes our ways of interacting and relating” (pp.3 – 4). Thus, photojournalism is the practice of knowing and being in the world – it's an epistemology, an ontology that underpins the methodology of photojournalists.

News as a storytelling medium and the journalist as storyteller are both well established as being synonymous. But, the difference between a reporter and a photojournalist or visual journalist is the focus on facts (Barkin, 1984). As Barkin (1984) said: “Reporters are trained

in cause-and-effect reasoning. Facts that cannot be attributed are unlikely to appear in print or on the air” (p.29). Additionally, Barkin (1984) suggested that while storytelling performs an explanatory function, there is also a place for the inexplicable through the use of symbols. Just as written journalism can use symbols to explain difficult to define situations or phenomena, so too, can photojournalism.

The study of signs and symbols in order to understand what these signify is best explored through semiotics (and the various approaches as delineated in the classic works of Charles S. Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure). While semiotics offers a wealth of knowledge that aids decoding ideas contained in both written and visual texts, it is not my intent to explore this approach. Rather, it is my intent merely to illustrate that there is typically less ambiguity in written texts than photographs because language offers the ability to clearly articulate and explain. So, while photojournalists can use symbols in their imagery, these symbols need to be decoded by the viewer. Unlike oral or written journalistic forms these symbols cannot be explicitly explained in an image itself. An explanation of symbols and other contextualising information contained in the visual image, can however, be articulated in a caption. Since photojournalism shows a fraction of a raw reality and contains elements that could be interpreted in numerous ways, contextualisation is important.

Many interviewees noted the importance of ensuring context in caption information so that an image is not misrepresented or misinterpreted. Parker clearly illustrated the importance of caption information in ensuring an image was viewed in the correct context. Thus, a clear delineation of the cause and effect relationship of an issue or topic is outside the bounds of photojournalism – or any image’s – inherent visual language. However, photojournalism can visually tell many stories about many different things and help viewers understand many aspects about the world and humanity. On some level, there are many things outside the bounds of language, such as emotion, that can be more easily communicated visually. Parker said photojournalists struggled with situations that were not clear-cut cause and effect relationships and relied on captions to ensure contextualisation. To combat this, Parker (int.no.13) said he tried to provide detailed caption information.

Megan Lewis noted the need to spend time with the subjects or story in order to tell it with integrity. She said: “Photojournalism to me is telling a story through your photographs and my case, through my book [which] is also using words. But the focus is the pictures within – telling a story with an integrity, spending time” (Lewis int.no.11). Most interviewees mentioned the importance of “integrity” a concept they said photojournalists, their practice and their work should embody. “Telling a story with integrity” and “spending time” are interrelated conditions – that telling “a story with integrity” means, “spending time”. Which again, like earlier concepts discussed in this chapter, leads back to values – personal and occupational. These two concepts are also intrinsically linked to why many photojournalists choose to freelance. Nevertheless, the meaning of Lewis’s use of “integrity” is threefold – integrity of the photojournalist, and integrity of and to the story. Integrity implies honour, honesty, reliability, truthfulness and faithfulness, to name but a few – all of which are underpinned by values.

Integrity essentially underpins all forms of journalistic storytelling. It implies a commitment to accuracy and the ideology of the Fourth Estate. While accuracy is a competence or a skill that implies expertise or proficiency, it also implies ethics in the concern for the level of care that needs to be taken to ensure it is achieved. Driving these ethics and practices are values. However, the importance of a storyteller’s integrity is not unique to journalism. For example, storytellers have historically ensured the integrity and accuracy of the message when transmitting a story.

Most researchers tend to regard storytellers as carriers of specific stories or kinds of stories and conceive the principal duty of the storyteller as reproducing or re-creating as “accurately” as possible, individual stories he has heard from other, while those who hear these stories from him will in turn “pass them on,” again as “accurately” as possible to other. Implicit in this concept are the notions that the stories themselves remain relatively stable and static as they are “handed down” or “passed on” from individual to individual and that most “changes” occurring from one telling to another are accidental, unconscious, or unavoidable. (Georges, 1969, p.323)

While the above quote does not specifically discuss integrity, it is implied in two ways: firstly, through the duties and responsibilities associated with the role of a storyteller and secondly, through the importance placed on accurately transmitting a story. All of which

implies that there is integrity associated with the role of a storyteller, that it is important for storytellers to uphold the veracity of the original event or situation. However, this notion of integrity in terms of upholding a story's accuracy has no bearing on the story's claim to a real or imaginary origin. In the quote, integrity lies purely in the transmission or storytelling process rather than the actual validity of the story to begin with. But in relation to photojournalism, "integrity" does not pertain purely to the transmission process. In photojournalism, veracity is equally important to storytelling forms and transmission of the story.

While truth is a fundamental subject in philosophy (Glanzberg, 2006), in journalism truth and objectivity are closely linked. Truth and objectivity have deep-seated-roots in journalism and together were the two pillars on which journalism ethics was founded (Ward, 2009). However, objectivity or the notion of a singular objective truth has been battered by contentious debates not only in philosophy (Burgess & Burgess, 2011; Glanzberg, 2009; Kirkham, 2001; Lynch, 2001) but also other disciplines such as journalism (Ettema, Whitney & Wackman, 1997; McNair, 2005; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005; Ward, 2009) and photojournalism (Chapnick, 1994; Perlmutter, 1995; Newton, 2001; Schwartz, 1999). Such thoughts about objectivity are not unique to the academe. Michael Amendolia (int.no.1) articulately highlighted this when he said:

[Photojournalism] really should be representationally as accurate as possible. I wouldn't say the truth, but as accurate to the perceptions of most people as possible. ... It isn't necessarily the truth, but has a truthfulness to it and the core essence of it is that it is telling a story.

As did Parker (int.no.13) when he said: "You are trying to deliver something that represents the truth of a situation, but the world's a lot more complicated than that". For Parker the fact that photographs can have a huge impact means he needs to provide credible information to back up his work.

Rejecting objectivity but using the same concept of 'truth' is also evident in another journalistic genre – creative non-fiction. Therefore, in terms of storytelling, it can be suggested that photojournalism is more akin to creative non-fiction than other forms of

journalistic storytelling because both are at the creative and artistic end of the spectrum. Definitions of creative non-fiction, like photojournalism, are varied. Blair (2006) offered the following definition of creative non-fiction:

Creative non-fiction is a genre of artistic writing which uses fiction writing techniques to tell true stories which engage readers. These techniques include the use of theme, action oriented scenes, dialogue, evocative description, character development, and the inclusion of the writer's point of view. Writers of creative non-fiction strive to produce works of high quality which reach the emotional truth of the story and utilise creative structures. (p.254)

Just as creative non-fiction overlaps with hard news or more traditional forms of journalism – using and valuing different techniques and approaches for telling a story – so does photojournalism. Blair's (2006) interviewees "recognised creative non-fiction's links to art, its pursuit of high quality and factual and emotional truths which touch readers" (p.253). So while the techniques and approaches used may be unique to a genre, what they all share is their relationship and focus on the real and similarity between the ethics underpinning the individual storytelling approach (as figure 1.5 and figure 1.6 illustrate). Interestingly, and of greater consequence to this thesis is that Blair's (2006) interviewees were all freelance creative non-fiction writers. The fact that both Blair's (2006) and my interviewees were freelancers is significant because it suggests there is little support for or value placed on creative in-depth work by media organisations. The lack of value or support given to such creative endeavours could stem from a number of factors, for example, the time it takes and the financial costs associated with the production of such work. The fact that photojournalists need to freelance in order to uphold their professional values and practice is a reoccurring theme throughout this thesis.

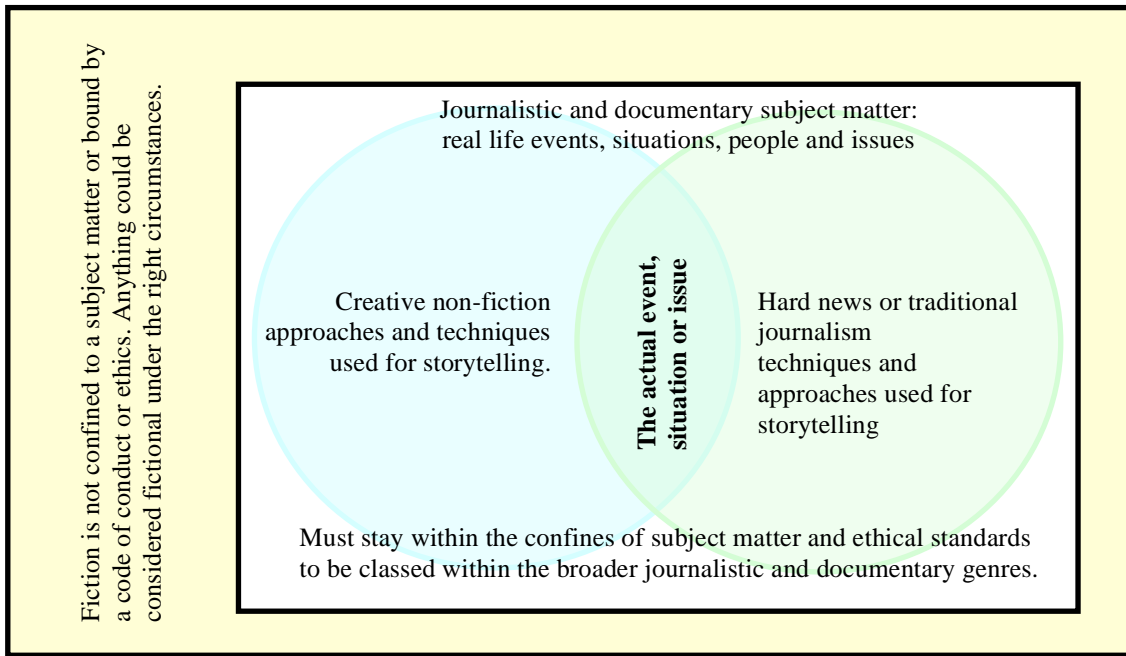


Figure 1.5 – Illustrates the intersection of creative non-fiction and traditional journalism against fiction.

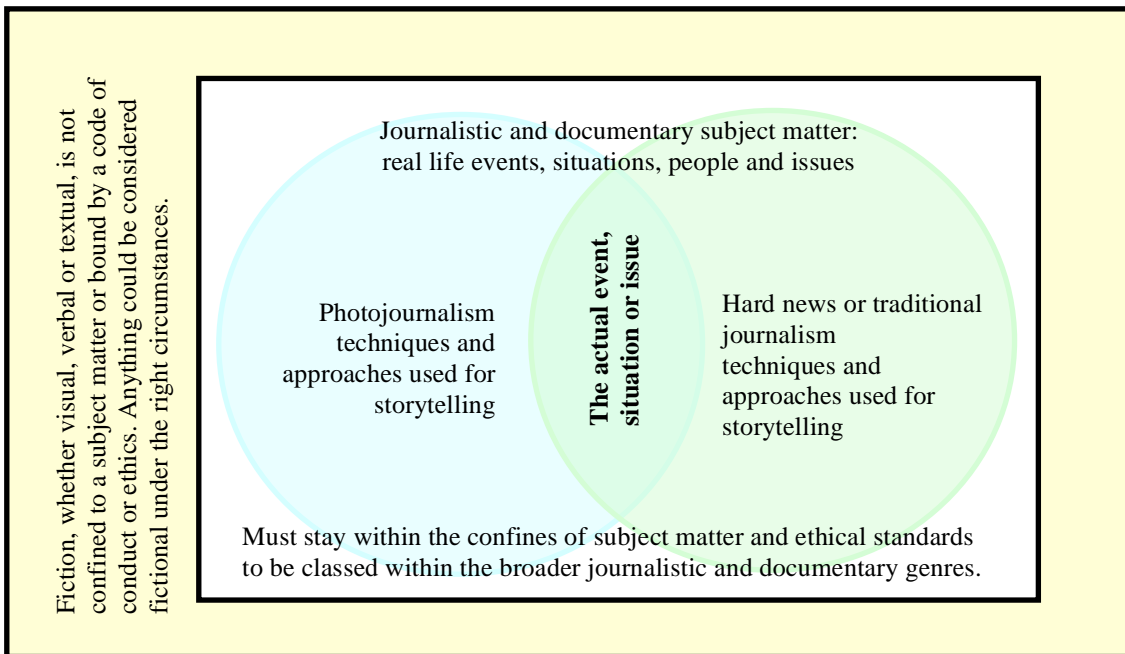


Figure 1.6 – Illustrates the intersection of photojournalism and traditional journalism against fiction.

While photojournalism and creative non-fiction at first glance are poles apart – one is visual the other textual, on deeper examination there are significant similarities. Both photojournalism and creative non-fiction are variations of the traditional or hard news model of journalism; some may even argue that they are the poor cousins of the mainstream media – fringe dwellers (as figures 1.5 and 1.6 illustrate). They both strive for depth, they both focus on the humanity of a story, and they both trade on their ability to elicit a salient emotional currency. Most importantly, they both use creative approaches and techniques, and as such it can be suggested that the majority of arguments against such work stems from similarly identified issues relating to truth, objectivity and ethics (as figures 1.5 and 1.6 illustrate). It can be argued that many of the issues raised by critics, while important discussions that should be undertaken by any occupation or profession, stem from the use of creative approaches and techniques and natural progression of genres. This natural progression could be suggested to be partly influenced by individuals who see an improved storytelling potential by adopting creative approaches and techniques to aid them in telling a story and helping them to attract new and larger audiences.

However, despite all the similarities mentioned above, both photojournalism and creative non-fiction are produced by individuals who do so within the confines of the overarching journalistic parameters and their associated ethics. It is important to note that while many professions and occupations have set parameters and ethics, individuals will act outside these and cross accepted lines. There have been numerous, often high profile, cases of journalists, photojournalists and creative non-fiction writers who have strayed outside the accepted journalistic ethics and code of conduct.

In addition to Lewis's comments about "*integrity*", "*spending time*" and "*depth*", she also suggested three more concepts in relation to storytelling, which can also be applicable to creative non-fiction. Lewis (int.no.11) said:

As a freelance photojournalist I think people go out, they look for their own stories. That's the difference. It doesn't have to be a hot story at the time. It doesn't have to be a sensationalist news story. It's something that people spend time and record. So the difference is, I guess, that the photographer is making their own mind up about what they're doing and they aren't doing it for somebody else's agenda unless they've been assigned to do it. And, if they've

been assigned to do it, it usually means the publication knows what sort of work they do.

The three concepts indicated in the above quote deal with the news value ‘timeliness’, having a photographic style or voice, and independence. Firstly, unlike hard news or traditional journalism, where the news value ‘timeliness’ is a fundamental force, it is not an essential component in photojournalistic storytelling, or creative non-fiction for that matter. For photojournalism the news value of ‘timeliness’ is much more loosely applied than in a hard news setting because what is photographed is happening in front of the lens so it is always timely. This of course is not applicable to historical images. Nonetheless, because photojournalism is disseminated in various ways, through books, galleries, magazines and online platforms etcetera, ‘timeliness’ is relative and takes a back seat to other important values such as depth and accuracy. In fact, telling stories in-depth was a way for photojournalists to distinguish themselves from wire photographers and compete with wire service dissemination speeds (Panzer, 2005).

Photojournalists seek out their own stories based on their own interests. Usually this process means that they work on projects that are current, but does not preclude them from working on historical stories or retrospectives. Additionally, because photojournalists work outside media organisations, they are not subject to set news agendas. This can be seen when Lewis said, “*they look for their own stories*”. However, this is not to say photojournalists can’t or won’t take on assignments or tell stories about things that are ‘timely’. Secondly, Lewis indicated that like writers, photojournalists have their own photographic style and voice. This photographic style and voice can be applied to the types of stories usually undertaken, the photojournalist’s storytelling approach and how the story is told. Finally, underpinning Lewis’s comment is the notion of ‘independence’. The concept of ‘independence’ will be examined in detail in Chapter 6. However, it can be surmised here that independence underpins what types of stories photojournalists undertake, the storytelling direction and the depth.

The most important factor that guides and distinguishes various forms of journalistic storytelling from other genres – apart from the subject matter being about the real – are ethics.

While there are many countries with professional journalism organisations that have formed a code of ethics, this practice is not universal. In Australia, the Media and Entertainment and Arts Alliance have a Code of Ethics that applies to all journalistic practice. However, a number of countries have various national and regional professional associations for press photographers, such as the British Press Photographers' Association, The Danish Union of Press Photographers and the Press Photographers' Association of Greater Los Angeles. The most prominent association internationally, is the National Press Photographers' Association. Therefore, The Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance Code of Ethics and the National Press Photographers' Association Code of Ethics and Digital Manipulation Code of Ethics are included in the Appendix.

3.2.2 'What Photojournalism is not'

Some of the differences between photojournalism and other forms of photography have already been discussed, however, these pertained only to the intersection of art, documentary photography and photojournalism. Many interviewees when trying to define the genre, whether inadvertently or not, often described what photojournalism was by talking about what it was not. For example, when Picone distinguished photojournalism from lifestyle and food photography saying photojournalism was its own genre with its own requirements.

I have already spent considerable time in this chapter discussing the overarching subject matter of photojournalistic imagery and approaches underpinning image making, such as how photojournalism is about real life situations and issues. This section will at times briefly recap concepts discussed in earlier sections, drawing them together and then extending on these in relation to what photojournalism is not. This approach will help clarify why the intentions of photojournalists are important, what photojournalism is and how the various nuances of reality focused photographic genres cloud definitions. Therefore, the first part of this section will briefly discuss photojournalism in relation to other types of imagery before examining the nuances that distinguish photojournalism, press photography and other genres of photography that focus on the real – real life, real things, real incidents and real issues.

When attempting to define photojournalism a number of interviewees pointed out the approach to image making and the qualities of the genre. For example, Tamara Dean spoke about the qualities inherent in photojournalism while contrasting these and photojournalism's role, against what was being printed in news based publications.

I guess in photojournalism there's an earnest for striving for a truth in a situation and an integrity to the photographs that's true to life and set against like advertising or other genres. That its role is to reveal as opposed to represent. The ultra-stylised work that borders on a style of advertising imagery that's out there, that's what gets legs these days. (Dean, int.no.4)

Dean also noted that what might pass as photojournalism today would not have been the case 10 years ago, and that this could be slightly attributed to the 'blurring of boundaries', but also what was getting into print. Thus the 'blurring of boundaries' could also be influenced by what the mainstream media publish. Many interviewees echoed these points.

Ben Bohane (int.no.2), said "you're dealing with, as much as possible, shooting the reality of what you have found in front of you, as opposed to constructed or studio photography, or art photography". Both Dean and Bohane highlighted the fact that photographic messages that were constructed or representational were not photojournalism. The concept of 'construction' or 'representation' can be applied twofold to photojournalism, firstly to the story and secondly to the actual approach to image making. Specifically, that photojournalism is not a constructed story nor does the story represent something other than what unfolds in front of the camera without direction. In contrast, other genres of photography, with subject matter that lies outside of actual real occurrences, issues and situations, is about constructed imagery that is designed to depict or represent a desired message or creative expression as defined by the photographer.

As established the 'real' intrinsically underpins both the photojournalist's approach to image making and the photographic genre. However, there are other types of photography closely associated with photojournalism, such as press photography, wire photography and documentary photography that at times morph and at others stand resolutely apart. For example, Jesse Marlow defined himself as a documentary photographer, despite being one of 12 photojournalists selected in 2006 to attend the prestigious World Press Photo Joop Steward

Masterclass. During our interview, Marlow spent quite a long time talking about how he defined photojournalism. An example he gave from the masterclass particularly underscored the link between photojournalism, wire and documentary photography, and illustrates how he separated the genres. Marlow (int.no.12) said:

We were called photojournalists but it was 12 of us handpicked from around the world. We all turned up and seeing [the] different approaches and styles we had was remarkable, you had some that worked for the newswire agency AP [Associated Press] in London, then you had others who worked on really long term projects, but we were all working under the banner of photojournalists, but I suppose some of us saw ourselves being more documentary than on the spot news.

However, Marlow saw a separation between photojournalism and documentary photography, saying:

What I am trying to say is documentary, to me, has a got a more in depth, long term feel to it. Photojournalism's got that very, World Press Photo, spot news, a car blows up and someone's going to get a great picture. To me, that's what photojournalism is.

While a number of interviewees noted the 'news' aspect of photojournalism, very few if any, defined the differences in the same way as Marlow. Nevertheless, Marlow linked photojournalism to immediacy, a concept he later spoke about in relation to wire agencies.

Dean Sewell also expressed a sense of immediacy as a defining characteristic of photojournalism. Sewell (int.no.3) said:

Like all photojournalism, there is an immediacy attached to it. I think it's generally either topical or breaking event or issue. But that issue can stay around for years, like decades or whatever. So it's a form of communication, a visual communication to get across the essential issues.

However, Sewell's concept of 'immediacy' does not appear to be specifically time related in terms of the situations or issues occurrence and the quickness of the story's dissemination. This point reinforces the earlier discussion of 'timeliness' which noted that while an important news value, it is much more loosely applied in photojournalism than hard

news reporting. Additionally, ‘timeliness’ often takes a backseat to other fundamental photojournalistic values.

Sewell’s concept of ‘immediacy’ appears to underscore two interconnected meanings – the angle taken and what is currently happening. For example, a photojournalist working on a story today, documenting how Sumatran families had rebuilt their lives after the 2004 tsunami. This example is not of an immediate story in the sense of time, nor would it be covered in the same way as it was on December 27, 2004, nor during the few months that followed. The construction of timeliness or immediacy is not limited by proximity to the original occurrence per se, but rather extends to the current state of affairs stemming from the original occurrence. So, while Sewell said that photojournalism had “*an immediacy attached to it*”, that it was usually about a “*topical or breaking event or issue*”, it appears that he also meant this in the sense of what was ‘new’ or happening ‘now’. As Sewell said the issue could pervade time, what really makes it immediate is the current state of affairs, whether it is a new take, perspective or development of an old situation or issue that has retrospective significance, or is new.

Sewell’s meaning of immediacy also appears to refer to the idea that it is the issue or situation that is of immediate consequence, whether it is something happening now or that has been happening for a long time. This concept of ‘immediacy’ also implies, to a certain degree, discretion on the photojournalist’s part as it is up to the individual to decide what they cover. The discretion for a photographer to pick and choose what he or she covers is not applicable to all situations and is dependent on who they work for, themselves or a media organisation. Because the news media as a whole is a homogeneous group, even though journalists work for specific media organisations, there is a level of inter-media agenda setting that takes place among these organisations (McCombs, 2005). Journalists alike are focused on knowing what the competition have, getting the story and not being scooped. Therefore, the ability to choose what they cover is somewhat constrained by their organisation’s agenda as well as an overarching inter-media agenda. This constraint is partly what separates photojournalists from press photographers and wire photographers.

While there are many similarities between ‘photojournalism’, ‘documentary photography’, ‘press photography’ and ‘wire photography’ – and any other related terms used, for example, ‘editorial photography’ – there are also differences. It appears that these terms are used somewhat interchangeably. However, most interviewees saw these terms as describing different and separate types of work. Despite the fact that many terms are used interchangeably, the terms ‘photojournalism’ and ‘newspaper photography’ or ‘press photography’ appear to be the most commonly interchanged in public forums such as websites and blogs. Whether this is because of the ambiguity surrounding definitions, a lack of knowledge about the genres, or because of the nationality of the authors, is unknown. Because of the different ethos underpinning the different traditions from which press photography emerged, some countries’ press photography can be considered photojournalism. A consequence of these varying historical roots, an author’s nationality could impact on what he or she calls either news or press photography and photojournalism.

Nonetheless, Marlow suggested that using the term ‘photojournalist’ instead of press photographer was status related. He said, “I think a newspaper likes to call their photographers photojournalists just because it sounds better than newspaper photographer” (Marlow, int.no.12). This concept was reiterated Nick Moir who works as a newspaper photographer and is also a photojournalist, but follows his photojournalistic pursuits in his own time, outside employment obligations. Moir (int.no.3) said, “most people think of photojournalists as newspaper photographers. It’s just not being done. I mean overseas it might but not here”. Moir was specifically referencing the state of press photography in Australia, and that what is produced is not photojournalism. This concept was noted by a number of interviewees and was also supported in my pilot study, where many of the photographers interviewed – who worked for newspapers – said photojournalism was not practiced in newspapers, often describing their photographic practice as “meat and three veg”. These pilot study interviewees saw photojournalism as a long-term in-depth body of work in the classic sense of a photo essay, which was also a common view among participants interviewed for this thesis. Additionally, it could be suggested that the development of photojournalism in Australia did not stem from the documentary tradition as it did in America or some European countries. In Australia, the most common early uses of photography in

newspaper and magazines were to document social gatherings, so it is not surprising that the illustrative rather than documentary tradition developed within news organisations (Griffin, 1994b).

Purely looking at photojournalism, press photography and wire photography, wire photography is situated in the middle of the spectrum. In the following example, Megan Lewis articulated the relationship between these types of photography, linking the difference back to values and principles.

With newspaper photography you've been told what to do and it is still a form of photojournalism because you're telling a story but you're usually telling it with a slant because you have a publication that has a particular agenda and wants to know something. They send you out to do something even if it's a protest and there's five people there, they still want you to get a photo out of it. Whereas, wire photographers are closer to photojournalists than newspaper photographers because if it doesn't make a picture you don't take it and no one has an expectation of you to do something that isn't real. You can't set it up – you're not allowed to set it up. (Lewis, int.no.11)

Lewis revealed an important difference, that it is the storytelling nature of press photography that unites it with photojournalism. But the two differ when it comes down to how the story is covered, for example through 'agendas' and 'setting up', which are essentially values and approach to image making. The fact that a truthful documentation of events, issues or situations as they naturally occur does not necessarily underpin press photography practice helps identify and reinforce the differences. An example that Davis (2005-2006) gave illustrated this point. Davis (2005-2006) was asked by a newspaper editor to run a seminar for staff photographers to motivate and encourage them to be "photojournalists, not just photographers" (p.61). At the start of the seminar, Davis (2005-2006) asked the press photographers to describe their typical day and was horrified by their responses – not because they faced dangerous working conditions, but because the work they were doing had very little to do with the type of journalistic practice to which they aspired. Davis (2005-2006) said:

[T]heir days are spent photographing supermarket products for the advertising pages of their newspapers. 'This is our bread and butter' they said to me with a sense of despair. 'If we don't do this our paper will fold'. If they were lucky

they moved out of the studio to photograph used cars, or perhaps even some real estate, again for the ads. And if they are really lucky they are assigned to photograph a local sporting contest. This was about as close to photojournalism as any of them were ever likely to get. (pp.61 – 62)

As the above quote illustrates, Davis (2005-2006) felt that the practices and types of press photography undertaken in many newspaper environments were not photojournalism. When Davis (2005-2006) asked an editor why the press photographers were not used for more journalistically based assignments, even if they were more community orientated, he said the editor “looked at me, shrugged his shoulders and replied ‘that sort of stuff doesn’t sell newspapers’” (p.62). Additionally, anecdotal accounts, and from my own experiences, Australian press photographers, usually cover a number of stories a day, some even around eight to 12 depending on the publication. Covering a large number of stories each day leaves photographers with little choice other than setting up images to illustrate stories, with the exception of live events, such as sport. Chapter 6 discusses the time constraints in conjunction with the attitudes and values that underpin the daily workflow of press photographers.

However, it would appear that the structuring of press photographers’ daily workflow to maximise the number of stories illustrated is not specific to Australia. Jon Levy, who worked as a press photographer and wire photographer in the United States before returning to his home in United Kingdom, highlighted this commonality. Whether Levy’s comment is indicative of a larger international journalistic cultural trend or whether the fact that the many Australian media outlets were historically modelled on those in the United Kingdom is another question. While not of direct relevance to this thesis, these divergences are worth of further research.

Levy saw separations between press and wire photography as well as photojournalism. Levy (int.no.10) said:

I also kind of respect the wire and news photographers ... there is a great satisfaction that you can do a job one day, wash your hands of it and move on to the next ... rather than being emotional and drawn into the story, they just make it function.

Levy's comment not only reinforces the separation between the three types of photography, but also highlights the fact that photojournalism has much more depth than press and wire photography. Panzer (2005) explained that in order to separate themselves from the wire photographers who were producing high quality imagery that was distributed quickly, photojournalists had to distinguish themselves by increasing the depth of the stories they told and develop their individual storytelling style. This separation also comes down to purpose, whether it be "*just make it function*", where there is an element of 'get-in-and-out' then 'be done' with the story – in the case of the press or wire a photographer. Or whether, as in the case of photojournalism, more time and energy is spent trying to tell a deeper story or show a fuller picture.

Levy contrasted the types of photography against each other. The fact that photojournalists are "*emotional and drawn into the story*" reveals that their practice of telling stories could be considered quite consuming, if not all consuming, and thus potentially takes its toll on them. This does not mean that press and wire photographers see less confronting things in the course of their jobs, which will naturally impact on their emotional and mental state. However, it is possible that because they cover something for a much shorter period of time they may not develop the same level of personal involvement and may be able to somewhat distance themselves from the stories. In addition to the depth of story being told, the contrast between "*do a job one day, [then] wash[ing] your hands of it and move on to the next ... rather than being emotional and drawn into the story*" reinforces the subjective nature of photojournalism. Being drawn into a story and becoming emotionally invested in it and the subjects creates the depth that helps define and distinguish photojournalism from other genres. It is inevitable that this relationship will influence photographers and that they will develop strong opinions and tell the story from a perspective. But, interlinked with this is the sense of responsibility to the story and subjects, which would be increased because of this emotional investment.

The anthropological or ethnographic term 'gone native' seems apt in many ways albeit it still holds some residual negative associations. The negative associations of 'going native' have ethical and reliability overtones (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000). The debates about 'going native' are salient as photojournalism can be described as a form of visual

ethnography. One only has to look at Edward Curtis, an ethnographer and photographer, who spent 30 years documenting Native American tribes and produced a 20-volume anthology titled, *The North American Indian*, to see the convergence. Incidentally, Curtis's work was quite controversial as he had no formal ethnography training (Vizenor, 2000), and it was said that he staged and paid for some ceremonies (Bohane, 2007). There is much literature surrounding the work of Edward Curtis, critiquing his practice, ethics and work – all of which is outside of the scope of this thesis. However, what is relevant about the Curtis example is that while there are critics of his approach and work, others have re-examined his work and found value in 'going native'. This is important as Curtis's work was often discarded in its entirety because it did not fit with scientific objectivity. The connection between being "*emotional and drawn into the story*" and 'going native' can be seen below.

However, newly sensitized by postmodernist theories, some of us have become quite comfortable with the idea of blurring conventional boundaries between reality and imagination. ... In light of such innovative theoretical perspectives, coupled with additional research information, it is perhaps time to reconsider earlier dismissive verdicts about Curtis's oeuvre and reexamine his amateur outsider status as a visual ethnographer. (Prins, 2000, p.892)

It is important to note, that 'going native' is a concept that originally referenced that a researcher was too close to the subject and that this in itself was to some degree unethical. Using the term 'going native' did not signify that an ethical or immoral infraction had definitely occurred. I am not saying that setting up photographs or other ethical breaches in photojournalism are acceptable or warranted, but rather that 'going native' or being "*emotional and drawn into the story*" is not necessarily unethical. Being "*emotional and drawn into the story*" can also take a toll on the photographer in a number of ways. Incidentally, the toll on Curtis was significant; he suffered divorce, bankruptcy and a mental breakdown (Jacknis, 2000, p.89).

Levy (int.no.10) further clarified his definition of press photography in relation to photojournalism when he said:

I would see press photography as that daily news production, where you really are working on assignment for someone else and you know the publication, you know the readership and it is very much a practical response needed. I think

that is an extremely skilful job. But it is as much in the delivery and the knowing how the pictures are going to be used and being part of the whole kind of machinery. Then there is photojournalism which I would see has the individual's view, who do stories and really try and write their article into their pictures or article with pictures, put a whole package together.

Levy highlighted the difference in approach to image making in terms of the designed usage and how this in part separated the genres. Additionally, the idea that photojournalists put “*whole package[s] together*” is not a new concept. However, industry dialogue and literature surrounding this topic is increasing. Furthermore, such dialogue has exponentially increased as multiplatform, multimedia and other digitally mediated story delivery methods have advanced.

Levy highlighted another very important aspect – that press photography was “*part of the whole machinery*”. It is clear that Levy was talking about being part of a larger collective force, that press photography is a small part of the much bigger media production and dissemination process – bureaucracy and the industry of media production. His comment also implies that photojournalism is not part of this – that it is essentially autonomous. But while photojournalism often exists outside the mainstream media, it can also be amalgamated into the fold for dissemination purposes. This concept is additionally supported by the interviewees who said photojournalism was an “*individual's view*” that was outside the production and philosophical agendas of media organisations. This “*individual's view*” is similar to how Panzer (2005) said that in order for photojournalists distinguished themselves from other forms of journalistic photography they had to develop their own style and way of telling a story in-depth.

Additionally, Megan Lewis extended on her earlier noted comments about “*agendas*” and press photography when she said:

If you're a photographer for a newspaper [there are] the ups and downs. The downs are the boring, mundane things, that recycle and recycle and having to do stuff that you've been told to do, that you really don't believe in, just to fulfil some corporate ... or fill space.

Michael Amendolia expressed a somewhat similar concept in relation to working as a press photographer, contrasting it against the approach of a documentary photographer. Amendolia (int.no.1) said:

Of course, most respectable publications would want to know a little of the other side of the story but usually it will come from one angle, most stories come from some sort of angle. That's where the documentary photography differs in some respects because it almost goes in without a perspective. It's just simply coming in and photographing almost without emotion, almost without impartiality in some respects. I get the feeling that could be a way of [defining] photojournalism versus documentary perhaps.

Amendolia's comment that "most stories come from some sort of angle" does not necessarily imply an "agenda". Rather most stories are told from a point of view or perspective regardless of any agendas that might be at play – though of course some perspectives could support certain agendas. While in non-visual forms of journalism a story can be balanced relatively easy by including comments from parties with differing views, for photographers – whether photojournalist or documentary, press or wire photographer – it is hard to include an alternative perspective without the story becoming disjointed, confusing or possibly even misleading. Firstly, because it is impossible to be in two places at once and secondly, it is visual so it is not possible to provide the same clearly attributed balance. For example, a written journalistic piece about displaced people could provide perspectives and individual thoughts on the situation from official government sources, aid or charity organisation staff on the ground, displaced people and the average citizen. The ability to balance out a story is possible in photojournalism – more so than press photography where only a single image is typically used to illustrate the story – especially in light of interviewees' comments that photojournalists also try to write a story to accompany their images.

However, the difference between working for a publication and documentary photography that Amendolia suggested, appears to lie in the photographer's approach. Whether the photographer is telling a story or merely documenting what is happening in front of the camera. The lack of perspective and dispassionate nature that Amendolia described is in sharp contrast to the concept of "being emotional and drawn into the story" and reinforces

earlier discussions surrounding his remark. But, it is clear that Amendolia is not postulating an absolute by his pre-clauses of “almost” and “in some respects”. Essentially, Amendolia is referencing the ‘fly on the wall’ historical view about an objective approach to image making, documenting what is in front of the lens without impacting on or participating in the situation that has been briefly discussed at various points. However, in terms of definitional characteristics this ‘fly on the wall’ or separation between a subjective and objective approach to image making does little to help distinguish one genre from another.

Adrian Evans appeared to support a similar concept which helps show the differences between photojournalism and documentary photography. When speaking about the ‘blurring of boundaries’ between photojournalism and documentary photography, Evans (int.no.7) illustrated his point by talking about Simon Norfolk:

He will tell you that he stopped being a photojournalist in 1994 or something and then he started to do [other] things – they are still about big issues. He did one big book called something like “for this I have no words” all about sites of genocide. So it would include pictures like the steps in one of the buildings in Auschwitz that are worn down ... it is by association telling stories and you can use your imagination to think about how or what has happened there. ... There is a lot of use of the idea of memory, landscape and memory. Going to places where things happen, not when they happen, but quite a long time afterwards and then photographing them. ... Again when we talk about photojournalism, people photographing not what’s there but what’s not there ... there is a lot of that now. Now, sometimes I think that’s just lazy photography cause anyone can go out and take pictures of things rather more easily than they can of real situations and people interacting. But there is a place for what he does ... He is at the left field end of photojournalism and he wouldn’t say he was a photojournalist, he would say he was a documentary photographer. But I think that maybe that is the difference, maybe documentary you are just documenting rather than actually trying to say something specific or take a stance on something. That could be the difference, it’s the dispassionate nature of it. So it is just like saying look at this rather than this is what is going on maybe you didn’t realise.

Evans provided a number of rich ideas that not only help distinguish documentary photography from photojournalism, but also shed insight into genre’s evolution while reinforcing earlier interviewees’ comments. His comment that it is “still about big issues” reiterates earlier interviewee remarks defining photojournalism as being about humanity and illustrates the typical subject matter associated with the genre. Being about “big issues” has

nothing to do with the style in which the issues are photographed, but is rather purely about subject matter itself. In terms of what photojournalism is not, Evans's comment reinforces that photojournalism documents current issues, events and situations, but this alone does not preclude something from being photojournalism. This idea comes back to a photographer's approach to image making, again not the style in which the issues are photographed, but rather the values that underpin the approach. However, the line here is somewhat blurred because photographing something retrospectively has stylistic implications.

Nevertheless and most importantly, a photojournalist's choice to document things retrospectively could possibly say something about his or her approach and dedication to the story. This idea was evident when Evans said taking pictures of things was easier than photographing real people in real situations and that this was at times lazy photography. This concept of ease and laziness appears similar to what Jean-François Leroy said about portraits not being "real" photojournalism. For Leroy, using one technique limits the depth of the story and is akin to a journalist writing a story with only one source, who is relevant and can speak with authority about the subject, but who was coached to give the desired quotes to save time. Leroy (int.no.9) said:

So many photographers are just doing portraits for everything ... it doesn't tell me anything ... People like the information, like we do in Iraq, you make portraits of American soldiers and then you make a portrait of Israeli soldiers, then portraits of Palestine militia, then so what, so what. I want some real photojournalism and portraits are not photojournalism. You can mix some portraits in addition to something ... I am a journalist, I believe in real photojournalism ... but now we just do this and it is no more journalism.

Google the name Leroy, portraits, and photojournalism, and a wealth of commentary is available. Some are critical, and some praise him for speaking what is on everyone's minds but no one wants to say. Of relevance is an Editorial Photographers United Kingdom and Ireland (EPUK) article titled *Dear Portrait Photographer, Thank You For Your Submission, You Suck* (Squeegee's blog, 2007). What is of relevance is that despite the author's observations of his colleagues' reactions to Leroy's comments, it highlights the importance of the approach to photojournalistic image making in relation to the depth of the story. The author (Squeegee's Blog, 2007) wrote on his or her blog that:

The first reaction of many of us here in EPUK Towers to a document which one recipient described as ‘astounding’ was to roll on the floor with hilarity. Dig those crazy Frogs! Perhaps some element of J-F’s thoughts had been lost in translation: logic, for instance. But once the laughter died down some of our more thoughtful members seemed to agree with J-F: “I think it’s a fascinating rant, and is really about the death of philosophy, of political ideology. Bland postmodernist imagery gives nothing away about the photographer’s point of view, and that is commercially advisable if it is to coexist with rate card advertising. It means nothing; it’s all surface, eye candy, freak show. Photography and art in general have become castrated and enlisted to the status quo, when their real value was always to oppose, undermine and challenge. So yeah, I think Leroy here opens an important debate. ¶3)

What both Evans and Leroy’s comments also highlight is that the act of “*witnessing*” is fundamentally linked to telling the story and what could be considered “*real*” photojournalism – especially in terms of ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism. As the above quote from the EPUK blogger indicates, intrinsic to the act of “*witnessing*” and “*real*” photojournalism is the photographer telling a deeper story and having a point of view about what they are witnessing and transmitting this through their imagery. Additionally, the “death of a philosophy and political ideology” (Squeegee’s Blog, 2007) reiterates the point that underpinning photojournalistic practice is a philosophy and tradition making it a way of creating imagery with a purpose. In fact, a number of interviewees specifically spoke about “*honouring the tradition*” and “*witnessing*” in terms of values that underpinned their approach and practice. The concept of “*witnessing*” is so crucial to photojournalism that the entire next chapter will be dedicated to examining this concept further.

Additionally, the distinction between photojournalism and documentary photography that Evans’s noted comes back to the approach and purpose associated with each genre. This distinction was clear when he positioned the ‘dispassionate nature’ of documenting something against taking a position or stance. This idea supports Amendolia’s earlier comment that the act of photographing in the documentary genre could lack emotional investment. However, Amendolia also said the act of photographing in the documentary genre could be “*almost without impartiality*”. At first glance, “*almost without impartiality*” could be perceived to contradict the idea of emotional investment – as if someone who is “*without impartiality*” is prejudiced or biased. However, it appears what he actually means is that a documentary photographer would not weigh up all the facts as say a judge would when trying to assess

something impartially – that they would just document what they see in front of the camera. Which is in sharp contrast to a photojournalist “*being emotional and drawn into the story*”.

To illustrate this point, I examined Simon Norfolk’s website (www.simonnorfolk.com), specifically his work *For Most of it I Have No Words: Genocide, Landscape, Memory* (Norfolk, 1998a). I purposefully did not read the preface to this work until after viewing the imagery, then after reading Norfolk’s introduction (Norfolk, 1998a), followed by Michael Ignatieff’s (Norfolk, 1998b) introduction to the book version of the project I viewed the imagery again. I chose to approach viewing Norfolk’s work in this way so I could observe how I read the images and if there was a difference depending on the contextual information provided. At first the images were quite obvious in terms of the content – human skulls and other artefacts or remains – but as I went through the images, the obvious symbolism dissipated, and turned to more to abstract references – such as a statue, sand dune and other landmarks and scapes. There were six obvious images where the human skulls were evident and one image of two disfigured men sitting on a rug outside, then 17 abstract images of landmarks and scapes. The caption information for each photograph was simple, but some were much more effective than others as the very words in context of the project title evoked an emotional response though historical knowledge. For example, the caption for the photo of the two men said: “Vietnam: Nguyen Cong A and his brother Ta whose father was sprayed with Agent Orange during the war” (Norfolk, 1998, photo 7).

An example of an abstract image was the tenth photo in the project, which was of a pond taken on a dark rainy day. The photo was taken in a way that looks like the photographer was standing and had tilted his camera down to capture more of the pond than the surrounding landscape. The image was composed to capture the dark elongated shadows of the trees reflected on the water, very little of the tree line was shown, emphasising the rain drops hitting the pond’s surface. The caption reads: “Auschwitz: Ash pond” (Norfolk, 1998, photo 10). The name Auschwitz tells the viewer everything they need to know, their emotions are primed and under this construct, the dark elongated shadows take on human-like features. The shadows look like face-less people and the raindrops falling on the pond’s surface look like their tears. But without the priming word, ‘Auschwitz’, this could just be a beautiful moody photograph of a pond taken on a rainy day – anywhere. It became clear that the title set the

tone and context for the way in which the images are viewed and how the viewer reads the symbols presented in the imagery. The symbols presented in the first seven photos were obvious, the human remains left little to the imagination and with the priming project title it is unlikely the viewer would read the images in any other way than genocide. Additionally, without the obvious symbols presented in early images to reinforce the project title, viewers might not look for or read the abstract references to genocide in the later images of landmarks and landscapes. The priming effect increased when I read both Norfolk's (Norfolk, 1998a) and Ignatieff's (Norfolk, 1998b) introductions to the project.

In terms of photographic style, Norfolk has dispassionately photographed the scenes and the images, while aesthetically pleasing, are somewhat emotionally cold – that is until the context in the form of the captions and project title is taken into consideration. The images themselves could not really be considered emotionally charged – there is no action occurring in the images, they are still, apart from one image where a lone dog was captured walking across a court yard or roofless room with a pile of human bones in the distance. There is only one image depicting life – the brothers whose father was sprayed with Agent Orange – all of the other images are devoid of living human existence. After reading Norfolk's (Norfolk, 1998a) introduction my observations appeared accurate. Norfolk (1998a) said the pictures were of the landscapes and places where genocide has occurred.

I have been trying to make pictures that portray the deathly emptiness that one encounters at these sites ... And I have attempted to make pictures that whilst they are not 'documentary' in the traditional sense, they are documents like forensic traces at a crime scene. (Norfolk, 1998a, ¶4)

Interestingly, Norfolk (1998a) sees this project as not being “documentary in the traditional sense” (¶4), even though some, like Evans, might consider his work at the left end of photojournalism. Additionally, while Norfolk (1998a) was documenting the sites dispassionately, “like forensic traces at a crime scene” (¶4) it is clear he held his own views and was quite passionate about the subject of genocide. These views could be seen in Norfolk (1998a) and Michael Ignatieff's (Norfolk, 1998b) introductions, the sites deemed to be the places of genocide (including Vietnam, Dresden and the Ukraine), and the title of the project. But, while it is clear Norfolk (1998a) has strong views, these are not really evident in the

photographs themselves nor do these views drive a visual narrative. In fact, the project does not visually tell a story from a perspective or side per se. In relation to Evans's and Amendolia's earlier comments, it may be that the difference between photojournalism and documentary photography they expressed is that photojournalists are emotionally invested and tell stories from a specific perspective which is evident in their imagery – despite them overlapping or being considered to be different ends of the spectrum of the same genre. Norfolk's project reiterates these ideas. Additionally, like the example of Philip Blenkinsop in the previous chapter illustrates the nexus between documentary and art photography and how such work can be considered photojournalism. Evans's example of Simon Norfolk conversely demonstrates that it is not purely subject matter that precluded something from being considered photojournalism, but that it is also at times the approach to image making and photographic style. This notion was echoed in many other interviewees' comments.

3.3 Muddy waters: unravelling photojournalism definitions conclusion

Wading through muddy waters may stir the silt, sediment and other particles, but in this cloudy state, the elements interact, they mix, these once individual parts unite, transforming into something more. Together, they create mud. Stripping back these individual elements may clean the water and make it palatable, but it is no longer mud. Mud is not clean; it's not rigid or hard. It is adaptable and malleable, it is made up of seemingly separate parts – it is in flux. Like mud, photojournalism is the sum of all its elements. At first glance, one may not see much in muddy waters and might be deterred by the lack of clarity, but they will miss the many organisms that live in such environments and the world that they inhabit. This chapter was not designed to filter the metaphorical water, but rather explore the particles and nuances that muddied photojournalism's definitional waters.

As this chapter highlighted, photojournalism, is many things to many people. Thus, it is in a constant state of flux making definitions muddy and confusing – even to those professionals who practice photojournalism. The fact that some interviewees struggled to define photojournalism does not mean they do not know what it is that they do, nor is it a sign of ignorance. But, that they use more than a denotative benchmark to define themselves and their work. In the case of photojournalism, the denotative meanings may be technically

correct, but these don't even begin to encompass the connotative meanings that people ascribe to the word and practice. This is not meant to undermine the importance of the two words that make up the term 'photojournalism' – the denotation is very clear and serves the genre well; but, to understand photojournalism, is to embrace the nuances, the messiness and complication – and at times its inherent paradoxical nature.

Photojournalism is a chameleon, but can also be clearly seen. At times photojournalism is called many different names, 'humanistic photography', 'concerned photography' or 'humanitarian photography'. It is also at times art, at others a historical document or evidence. At other times photojournalism can be street photography, documentary, social documentary, wire or press photography. It flits between types and genres of photography – almost as much a living organism as those who create it. At times photojournalism sits squarely as its own genre; at others it blurs boundaries and can cross into multiple genres, even sub-genres. Not all photojournalists, or photographers for that matter, agree that the boundaries between photojournalism and other photographic genres are negotiable; some believe this blurring means the work is no longer photojournalism. Others believe the work is still photojournalism, but that this blurring devalues the practice; especially because viewers are already sceptical about what is real and what is not.

A photojournalist captures what happens in front of his or her lens, the reality of a situation, issue or event – that is as long as what happens wasn't staged, set-up or manipulated. But a photojournalist's presence at a situation potentially alters the situation, to what degree one can never truly know, thus it changes the situation being documented – in a way manipulating events. A photojournalistic image does not capture the absolute truth of a situation, yet it is truthful. The physical nature of a photograph is a manufactured representation of situations, subjects and issues captured mechanically and artistically. But its role is to reveal rather than represent or manufacture an event, situation or issue – to do so would preclude it from being photojournalism.

Photojournalism is essentially the nexus between photography and journalism. But, it is no longer just still images, it is visual journalism, and text, audio and video are commonly incorporated. Despite the relationship to journalism, which is fundamentally the organised

process of collecting and disseminating news usually via an established media outlet, photojournalism does not need to be published in any of these forms for it to be photojournalism. It can hang in an art gallery, on someone's wall, in any non-news related environment. But dissemination to a wider audience is the aim. In actuality when a photojournalist functions as a small cog, illustrating journalists' words, within the larger media process, the work they produce is no longer considered photojournalism in its purest form – within Australia at least. Photojournalists can be subjective, they can be *'emotional and drawn into the story'*, make their own deadlines, well, when not on assignment. All of these are desired hallmarks and considered as contributing factors in producing *'real'* photojournalism.

There are many similarities between photojournalism and journalism, but there are also many differences. In many ways, photojournalists can be selective about what they borrow from journalism, which they can adjust depending on many factors. The one thing that is an unwavering constant between the two is storytelling. Photojournalism is usually a visual narrative and although there doesn't have to be a narrative, there is usually a theme that unites the images. More like journalism and less like news photography, photojournalism needs to be representationally accurate – truthful. Unlike most forms of journalistic storytelling, photojournalists usually spend much more time working on a story in order to get the needed depth. Photojournalistic stories aren't usually told for aesthetic reasons alone, but rather for informative and educational purposes. This, however, does not preclude photojournalism from being aesthetically pleasing but if some subjects appear too aesthetically pleasing the images run the risk of invoking criticism that the work is gratuitous, which shadows the informative and education rationales.

Photojournalism is where creativity and reality collide – much like creative non-fiction – and tenuously shares the outer edge of mainstream journalistic practice and traditions. In this collision the ethics, values, motivations and other personal qualities of the creator and practitioners as a whole come into focus and not only govern, but also help explain photojournalism.

“

Photojournalism is also known as ‘**engaged photography**’. You have to be **engaged with your subjects**. We become a **witness of our time** and that **witnessing** is so critical ... [it’s] **documentation**. On one level it’s an **amazing way to experience the world** ... on the other level you’ve got that **social responsibility** and that desire to tell stories and the desire to **help the world**. You need to be humble enough to understand that **there’s responsibility, real responsibility** that comes [with telling stories]. Photojournalists – they’re people who are **humanitarians, but their vehicle is a camera**. There’s a range of **virtues** ... [it’s] **about who you are as a person**. [But] it is **more than just having a good heart or a humanitarian eye**, you **actually have to deliver the goods**. A good photojournalist is someone who **takes time** to know the subjects. **Takes time** to know what the real issues are. We tend to get drawn into **long-term projects**. ... [We] really **want to make a difference**. In order to **make that difference, you need to spend a lot of time** on something. It’s not going to make a difference for the whole world but if it **makes a difference for one person, my role is achieved**. **People don’t want to see it**, but at the same time **it’s a valuable, historical record** as well and **sometimes these things have impact**. Photojournalists ... cannot change the world ... **but they can make the world aware**. [It] **can change their world**. So sometimes if you **change one person’s life, you’ve done everything**. I think it’s **important to the people** that we photograph. I think it’s **important that they’re not forgotten**. You’re **acting as a bridge for other people** who aren’t in a position to tell their story to have their story told. **It’s not about money**. **It’s about telling their stories**. Their **stories deserve to be told**. Whereas it **used to be a paid thing**, but it’s becoming where it’s only a **personal passion**. I’m not driven by any overriding ambition ... in this business there’s no point **you don’t get rich or famous**). It goes back to the **philosophy of ‘we have a responsibility’**. ... If you don’t take that responsibility ... [then] **you shouldn’t be a photojournalist**. The credibility issue, the ethical issues, all these things that we’ve struggled to retain, if we can’t **enforce it legally, we do it morally**.

”

Figure 1.7 – Witnessing and documenting history overview: how interviewees saw the role of photojournalists and photojournalism.

4. The role of photojournalism: ‘witnessing and documenting history’

As part of the definitional exploration in the previous chapter, many of these examinations led back to the role of photojournalism and the values articulated by numerous interviewees. This chapter will now examine the role of photojournalism and the values that photojournalists see as underpinning this role (see figure 1.7 for a visual overview). This discussion is important especially in light of what was established in Chapter 3 – that while there are fundamental defining characteristics of photojournalism, the genre essentially hinges on the values and motivations of photojournalists and their approach to image making.

The role of photojournalism cannot be isolated from the values that drive photojournalists to ‘witness and document history’. The entrenchment of values in the role can be seen clearly in the value-laden language that interviewees used to describe their field and experiences. For example, interviewees regularly used words like ‘honourable’, ‘respect’, ‘integrity’, ‘empathy’, ‘honesty’, ‘compassion’, ‘patience’ and ‘fairness’. The term most commonly used, by all interviewees, was ‘responsibility’. The term ‘responsibility’ was used in a few different ways. They used it to discuss their role, which they saw as a responsibility to ‘witness and document history’. When they spoke about telling stories, they spoke about the responsibility to ‘witness and document’ people’s stories and that they had a responsibility to tell people others’ stories. When they spoke about the people whose stories they told they also spoke about the responsibility they had to them as people. The lengths to which photojournalists said they would go in order to tell people’s stories were because of the responsibilities they felt.

Since the language of interviewees was so value-laden, it would be remiss of me not to discuss the nexus between values and the role of photojournalism. Therefore, Section 4.1 examines this nexus to see how values guide photojournalists in seeing ‘witnessing and documenting history’ as a responsibility. Section 4.2 examines the sense of responsibility that photojournalists see as a fundamental aspect of their role and the various forms this takes, chiefly the responsibility of telling stories. Section 4.2.1 extends on the responsibility of

telling stories and how, by doing so, photojournalists try to make a difference. Section 4.2.2 examines how the sense of responsibility outweighs any financial rewards or accolades. This chapter concludes with Section 4.3, which draws together all the elements of the chapter.

4.1 The role and values nexus: ‘it’s about the person you are’

When asked what made a good photojournalist, all of the interviewees spoke about qualities inherent in the person rather than precise skill sets. This is not to say that the interviewees did not discuss skill specific sets. However, these skills were predominately mentioned in relation to how photojournalists conducted themselves within the specific values espoused. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) encapsulated this sentiment when he said:

Fundamentally, I think you need to be a fairly stable and secure person in yourself. You need to know a little bit about the reality of who you are. You can’t be too delusional about who you are and what you’re there to do because it’s a pretty tough job. I can mention a range of virtues from courage and tenacity, to patience. Patience is a very important one. You need to have a sense of compassion. There’s a range of virtues that you would hope would be somehow embodied in your work and that’s about who you are as a person rather than necessarily developing your skill. I think, if you are someone that has some of those sorts of qualities and you get drawn to this work, then that’s what you do. It’s not like you pick up your camera and then develop compassion or develop courage or whatever. I think somehow in those of us who do it, it’s already there and somehow this is just a way it can be manifested.

Bohane highlighted five important concepts. Firstly self-reflection; that in order to be aware of who one is as a person and be ‘secure’ and ‘stable’ in that knowledge one must be involved in some level of self-reflection. This concept of ‘self-reflection’ was mentioned by a number of other interviewees, again specifically in relation to values. Section 4.2 examines self-reflection. Secondly, Bohane noted the difficulties associated in choosing to be a photojournalist. The difficulties that photojournalists face are important considerations that are examined in Chapter 5. Thirdly, Bohane delineated a few of the “*virtues*” that he associated with being a photojournalist. These virtues are integral to this section and will be examined throughout the chapter, but it is not my intention to dissect each virtue or value espoused by the interviewees. While these values are integral to this thesis, examining each

espoused value in a detailed way would prohibit me from tying together broader elements that establish photojournalism as a “Way of Life”. Therefore, it is more important to establish the way in which the role of photojournalism is formed by these values, how these values are the foundation on which the profession stands and how they unify individuals. It should be mentioned here, however, that while these values are paramount in forming the beliefs, attitudes and actions of photojournalists, the manifestation of these values take various forms among individuals and their work.

The fourth concept that Bohane mentioned, and the most significant to this section, was the embodiment of “*virtues*” and the importance of “*who you are as a person*”. Finally, Bohane highlighted that people who have similar values are drawn to photojournalism rather than other genres of photography.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that I am not suggesting that photographic skill and proficiency are irrelevant. These abilities are indeed essential for a photojournalist as values or intentions alone do not make someone a photojournalist. Without a well-developed skill-set and technical expertise, an individual would not be able take images of acceptable standard, let alone navigate the terrain in which photojournalists work. Nor am I suggesting that the interviewees saw photographic skill and proficiency second to values, but rather that the need for a well-honed skill-set and technical expertise were a given assumption since all of the interviewees were established photojournalists. However, two interviewees specifically mentioned the need for a well-developed skill-set and technical expertise, particularly in relation to the concepts that will be examined in this section. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) summed this up when he said:

You have to have some sort of technical side to you to make sure that the images have impact. You have to understand your equipment. You have to understand the technicalities of being a photographer. So it is more than just having a good heart or a humanitarian eye, you actually have to deliver the goods at the same time.

Parker also referenced the “*virtues*” to which Bohane referred when he used the phrases, “*having a good heart*” or “*humanitarian eye*”. In fact, the vast majority of interviewees used the term ‘humanitarian’ frequently during their interviews. Megan Lewis echoed both Bohane

and Parker's sentiments when she said being a photojournalist was not only about recording images, but rather that "*It's about the person that you ... really are*". What Lewis was emphasising was that it was the 'kind' of person who was holding the camera and taking images that was of utmost importance – that someone being somewhere and photographing something as it happens was not the defining characteristic of photojournalism nor was it the most important aspect.

4.1.1 'Humanitarians, but their vehicle is their camera': the humanistic foundation of photojournalism

Lewis extended on the notion of personal values and further clarified what she meant when she said being a photojournalist was about the "*person that you ... really are*". She said, "*Photojournalists – to me, they're people who are humanitarians, but their vehicle is a camera,*" (Lewis, int.no.11). While 'humanitarian' as an adjective can be defined as someone who is "concerned with or seeking to promote human welfare" (Soanes & Stevenson, 2008, n.p.), the noun can be defined as a "philanthropist, altruist, benefactor, good Samaritan, social reformer, do-gooder" (Lindberg, 1999, n.p.). The word 'humanitarian' comes with its own set of associated values and qualities. *The Oxford American Writer's Thesaurus* (Lindberg, 2008) defined the act of 'humanitarianism' using qualities such as being "compassionate, humane, unselfish, altruistic, generous, magnanimous, benevolent, merciful, kind, sympathetic". Lewis's comments highlight that the values and motivations of photojournalists are at the heart of their practice, they drive the "*vehicle*". The use of the term 'humanitarian' further clarifies the types of values and motivations ingrained in a photojournalist. Dupont (int.no.5) reiterated this belief when he said:

I think W. Eugene Smith summed up in many ways what the photojournalist should be and that is, photojournalists should be humanistic photographers. I think humanistic is a wonderful word and that – that philosophy – should really come into play in every photojournalist. You should be humanistic in every way possible.

The concept of a 'humanistic photographer' is integral to the value system that underpins photojournalism. In fact, most interviewees mentioned the concepts 'humanistic', 'humanism', 'humanist' and 'humanitarian' – directly and indirectly – in terms of qualities

associated with being a photojournalist. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) reiterated the importance of values to photojournalistic practice when he said, “*You are a human being first and a humanist hopefully rather than just a mechanic*”. Therefore, it is essential to examine these terms and their various usages to ensure clarity. The term ‘humanistic’ could easily be seen as a reference to humanism as a philosophy or world-view. However, while photojournalism and humanism intersect, the term ‘humanistic photography’ does not appear to be a perfect fit with a humanistic world-view. Additionally, humanists’ subscribe to an atheist world-view that rejects the supernatural. This rejection precludes humanism from being an overarching philosophy underpinning photojournalism, as it does not account for photojournalists who hold religious views. *The Oxford Companion to the Mind* (Gregory, 1987) states:

Contemporary humanism is a morally concerned style of intellectual atheism openly avowed by only a small minority of individuals (for example, those who are members of the British Humanist Association) but tacitly accepted by a wide spectrum of educated people in all parts of the Western world. (¶2).

This definition does not account for non-western photojournalists – of which there are many – or those who are not deemed ‘educated’. Further, ‘educated’ could take on many different meanings dependent on the criteria. Additionally, philosophy Professor John Searle (2008) interviewed Andrew Copson, the then Director of Education and Public Affairs at the British Humanist Association (Copson was appointed as Chief Executive of the association in 2010) about what it meant to be a humanist. Copson (in Searle, 2008) said, humanism is:

[A] non-religious worldview entailing a belief in reason and evidence as the ways of understanding reality, in human welfare and fulfillment as the aim of morality, and in the capacity of humanity to make meaning and purpose for itself in the absence of any 'ultimate' meaning or purpose to the universe. (¶4)

Copson (in Searle, 2008) said there was confusion surrounding the meaning of humanism, which at times stemmed from various languages’ translations. Copson (in Searle, 2008) said, “Sometimes the confusion is comparatively innocuous, arising because we are translating out of another language, for example, French or Italian where the word may be used to mean just a general spirit of humanitarianism” (¶6). He added the confusion also stemmed from earlier uses of the term, during periods such as the Renaissance, and more

recently the term being adopted by many organisations and religious associations to denote the focus on human beings (in Searle, 2008). However, ‘humanistic photography’ has more than just a focus on human beings. While it is not my intention to delve into a theological debate, it is important to make the distinction between contemporary humanism and the ‘humanistic’ ideals that underpinned the development of photojournalism and social documentary photography.

To understand the term ‘humanistic photographer’, in terms of Dupont’s comment, one must look back to the early forms of documentary photography – as this is where the seeds, fertilised by the ideals of social reform, industrialisation and urbanisation, were sown. Those who adopted this style of photography aimed to improve the disparity between social conditions at the time. This style of photography – that focused on social issues with a social purpose – was dubbed ‘social documentary photography’. Rosenblum (2007) said, “With their focus mainly on people and social conditions, images in the documentary style combine lucid pictorial organization with often passionate commitment to humanistic values – to ideals of dignity, the right to decent conditions of living and work, to truthfulness” (p.341). Cookman (2009) supported these values when he said photojournalists’ attitudes overlapped with humanism in three ways:

The belief that, at an essential level, every subject is on an equal plane with the photographer; the belief in the dignity of and worth of each individual and in the person’s right to self-fulfillment; and the belief that photography can help achieve a world in which every person is allowed to realize her or his dignity and self-worth. (p.224)

The concept of ‘humanistic photography’ really stems back to Lewis Hine, Jacob Riis and the Farm Security Administration photographers, though there were earlier photographers who could be also considered social documentary photographers. Hine, who was a trained sociologist and schoolteacher, used photography for social reform by turning his camera to the plights of the underclass (Rosenblum, 2007). The work Hine produced for the National Child Labour Committee was instrumental in helping to change America’s child labour laws (Rosenblum, 2007). In contrast, Riis was a police reporter in New York who adopted photography to provide evidence for his words as well as to show the relationship between

poverty and social behaviour to influential people (Rosenblum, 2007). Rosenblum (2007) said that the early social documentary photography arose because:

[T]he need for accurate visual documentation in support of programs for social change was a matter of ideology rather than technology; it was not until reformers grasped the connections between poverty, living conditions, and the social behaviour of the work force (and its economic consequences) that the photograph was called upon to act as a “witness” and sway public opinion. (Rosenblum, 2007, p.342)

Rosenblum’s (2007) comment can be broken down into two key concepts – ‘ideology’ and acting as a ‘witness’ – that to this day underpin photojournalistic practice. The concept of photojournalists as ‘witnesses’ is deep-seated, ingrained in the ideology that drives the practice, practitioners and ‘tradition’.

However, other scholars have taken a slightly different approach to understanding humanism photography, for example Bill Jay (1978, 1979) who compared naturalistic and humanistic photography. However, Jay (1978) said that there were problems associated with the two terms because of connotations from other associations. Nevertheless, Jay (1978) defined ‘naturalistic photography’ as “what is” and ‘humanistic photography’ as “what could or should be” (p.649). It could be argued that photojournalism is the nexus between “what is” and “what could or should be” (Jay, 1978, p.649). Photojournalism documents “what is” with the intentions of exposing the reality of a situation, issue or event while at the same time drawing attention to “what should or could be” (Jay, 1978, p.649). Jay (1978) likened the difference between naturalistic and humanistic photography to the pre-Renaissance worshipper to whom it did not matter if the images of Jesus that they worshipped were accurate representations or not. What was of utmost importance were the ideals that these images represented (Jay, 1978).

And here is the essence of humanistic photography. In order to make photographs that transcend “what is,” the photographers must make value judgments; in order to make value judgments he must have an all-pervasive personal code of values or ethics; in order to use this code of values he must make choices; in order to make choices he must be aware of the alternatives; in order to understand the alternatives he must have a sure knowledge of, and be constantly involved in, the nature of self. The humanistic photographer has a philosophy or attitude to life based on his personal relationship with reality.

This is the real subject of his photographs, not the material objects as they exist; even though they might appear to be *of* something, they are *about* the photographer as a transmitter of messages through metaphor. He deals with the ideal, not the *is*. To exaggerate the position, the naturalist acts as a passive acceptor of facts, and is prone to a deterministic view of life (at least while photographing), while the humanist acts out of volition, towards change. (Jay, 1978, p.654)

In Jay's (1979) book *Negative / Positive: A Philosophy of Photography*, he offered further insight into 'humanistic photography', which is in many ways accurate. However, the emphasis Jay (1978) placed on 'humanistic photography' being more about the photographer and the act of photographing than the subject, appear to be somewhat overstated in relation to photojournalism. While this emphasis was somewhat mildly stated in the above quote it was more clearly articulated in the following:

The humanistic photographer is less concerned, no matter how much he lies, with the specific event or object, but more with his own value system, integrating and incorporating personal volition, value judgments and the generalized relationship of himself as a human being with the real world. (Jay, 1978, pp.655 – 656)

Indeed, a few interviewees said that at times, viewers learn as much about a photojournalist as they do the subjects and issues photographed. David Dare Parker specifically mentioned this when he spoke about the varied approaches photojournalists might take in relation to their values and trying to have work published.

[W]e consistently redefine what we do and occasionally reinvent ourselves because it is a competitive field. Sometimes you will learn as much about the photographers as you do the subject with some photographers and others it is providing some sort of historical record or evidence of an event. So there is all these different facets we have to bring into play when we are doing what we do. (Parker, int.no.13)

On one hand, Jay (1978) provides valid, insightful and important observations. For example, a photojournalist may abhor war and feel that all acts of violence are atrocious and so purposefully seek out situations to photograph that show these atrocities. However, the fact that Jay underplayed the value and concern photojournalists have for their subjects – which assumes a debasement or indifference toward the subject on the part of the photographer –

should not be overlooked. While the level of concern a photojournalist has for his subjects is discussed here, it is examined in more detail in Section 4.2 as interviewees often noted the concept in relation to telling others' stories.

In terms of photojournalism, the importance Jay (1978) placed on these driving elements as a defining characteristic of 'humanistic photography' does not seem congruent with any of the other interviewees' comments. Nonetheless, Jay's (1978) emphasis on 'humanistic photography' being a value-driven moral act and the fact that much 'humanistic photography' is concerned with society, is exceptionally important as it underpins photojournalistic practice. These concepts can also be seen in the *Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* (Peres, 2007) entry on W. Eugene Smith the photographer to which Dupont referred in his earlier comment:

Forming an ideology of social responsibility and humanism during his years as a WWII photographer in the Pacific, Smith returned from the war to produce picture stories for LIFE that resonated with depth, optimism, and a belief in the human spirit. His moral and visual standards have had a lasting impact on today's photographers. 'My principle concern is for honesty, above all honesty with myself ...' He eventually left the constraints of magazine work to pursue personal projects of greater depth and scope. ("Smith, W. Eugene", 2007, p.287)

In many ways W. Eugene Smith embodied Jay's (1978) concept of 'humanism'. Anyone who has read even the briefest of biographical material on Smith could discern that he was a humanistic photographer as described by Jay (1978): "A photographer who, work[ed] from a deep-rooted sense of self, pervade[d] his work with his own value judgments[was] a moral act, not just a method of gathering facts" (Jay, 1978, p.661). Here it is even more clear that the lack of emphasis that Jay (1978) placed on a 'humanistic photographer's' value and concern for the subjects does not truly capture the meaning of 'humanistic photographer', especially in light of Smith's work, particularly his last project on Minamata. While there is a wealth of material available on Smith, one example illustrates this point.

Looking at Smith's photo of *Tomoko Uemura in her Bath* (Smith, 1972), produced with his then wife Aileen Mioko Smith, the level of value, concern and compassion for Tomoko, her family and their situation is clear. These become even more evident in light of the fact that

Aileen Smith and Tomoko's family decided to remove the image from circulation and transfer the copyright to Tomoko's family. Jim Hughes (2000) said:

But although Gene and Aileen had become close to the family – had even babysat for the child – he was, after all, a working photojournalist. And in photojournalism, a certain amount of intrusion is unavoidable, especially when documenting people in crisis. Although he wanted a photograph that would clearly show Tomoko's deformed body, Gene told me it was Ryoko Uemura, the mother, who suggested the bathing chamber. Certainly, she gave the photographer and his young wife permission not only to take, but to use the photograph for purposes she believed could benefit the villagers, and similarly victimized people the world over. (¶7)

Here it becomes clear that the moral act is not purely an egocentric or utilitarianism endeavour nor is the value and care that the photojournalist has for the subject something that can be glossed over. Smith is commonly quoted as saying, "Humanity is worth more than a picture of humanity that serves no purpose other than exploitation" (Cohen, n.d. ¶1; Lane, 2006, ¶10). This statement means that the values and motivations of the photographer are crucial and that these can taint the end product. In fact, in some circumstances, the value placed on 'humanity' could even be greater than any other motivation. The values and intentions as fundamental motivations were said to be key to Smith's photojournalistic style.

It was, however, the very grandiosity of Smith's intentions that underlay his unerring instinct for the creation of humanist icons, whether images of the beauty and innocence of childhood, the dignity of the poor, the pathos of the mad or the ill, the compassion and dedication of doctors, or the like. (Solomon-Godeau, 1981, p.41)

This can also be seen in a response Smith gave in a 1977 interview when speaking about Tomoko and the *Minamata* project. Smith said he wanted to show the beauty, courage and strength of people who were fighting the government and the company responsible for the poisoning (Hill & Cooper, 1988).

Every time we went by the house, we would see that someone was always caring for her. I would see the wonderful love the mother gave. ... But it was the courage I was interested in. Courage is romantic too. I wanted somehow to symbolize the best, the strongest, element of Minamata. ... I wanted to show a picture in which Tomoko was naked so we could see what had happened to her body. I wanted to show her caring for the child. ... I found it emotionally

moving, and I found it very difficult to photograph though my tears. (Hill & Cooper, 1988, p.441)

In contrast to Jay's (1978) concept of 'humanistic photography', Peter Hamilton offered a slightly different definition. Hamilton's (2001) definition was specifically regarding French Humanism. Hamilton (2001) said that the simplest answer to the question, "What then is 'humanism' in photography?" (p.179), could be found in a statement made by Cartier-Bresson, in French. Cartier-Bresson's statement was made in relation to what he and his colleagues thought was the most important subject matter, "*l'homme, l'homme et sa vie, si courte si fragile, si menacé*" (Hamilton, 2001, p.179). This roughly translates as "man, man and his life, so short so fragile, if threatened" ("Translation", 2010). Similar beliefs were noted by a number of interviewees. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) expressed a similar sentiment to Cartier-Bresson when he said:

The message is always going to be the same. It's about either man's inhumanity to man we're reporting on or man's resilience and surviving awkward situations, natural disasters or disease or poverty or starvation or you know autocratic societies or corruption. The stories we are reporting on are always going to be the same stories. It is about human endeavour, it's about human frailties. This is why we choose to do what we do.

An additional comment Parker made parallels part of Jay's (1978) concept of 'humanistic photography', that it was about the "generalized relationship of himself as a human being with the real world" (pp.655 – 656). Parker (int.no.13) said, "*it's like ancient man scratching things on a cave wall. It is the same endeavour for us to try and understand what it is we are doing here, our place in the universe or our place on this planet*". However, while Cartier-Bresson and Parker's (int.no.13) comments highlight the emphasis photojournalists place on understanding man, they do not indicate a lack of care for the event, issue, situation or the subjects. In fact, it can be argued that the desire and act of witnessing and documenting humankind includes an all-embracing concern for people and the situations, issues and events that they face. Additionally, with such an overarching concern for humanity, it is highly improbable that photojournalists see their subjects just as a means to an end. In reality, it is much more likely that this overarching concern fosters emotional investment on the part of photojournalists with the situation, issue or event, and the subjects. This care for the people who experience these issue, events or situations, drives photojournalists to see the act of

witnessing and documenting as a responsibility and most likely helps drive them not only to do this work, but also to tell people's stories to the world. This responsibility takes two forms, firstly to the people whose stories they are telling, and secondly to tell these people's stories so that they go into the public domain and are not forgotten.

This is supported by a quote from Cartier-Bresson, who was a founding member of Magnum, on the agency's website, which says, "Magnum is a community of thought, a shared human quality, a curiosity about what is going on in the world, a respect for what is going on and a desire to transcribe it visually" (Cartier-Bresson, n.d. ¶1). Similar sentiments to that of Cartier-Bresson's description of Magnum could be seen throughout most of the interviewees' transcripts when the participants spoke about photojournalistic practice. These sentiments are integral to freelance photojournalism. They articulate the values, ideology and "Way of Life" that underpin the genre and practice, making them defining characteristics of the profession. Interestingly, Hamilton (2001) observed that "[h]umanist photographers were mostly freelance" who often produced work "off their own back", which supports this thesis.

Commonly interchanged with the terms already discussed are the terms 'concerned photography' and "concerned photographer" (Capa & Whelan, 1992, p.11), coined by Cornell Capa. In the introduction to Capa's self-titled 1992 book, *Cornell Capa Photographs* he said "I have always thought of myself not as a reporter, but as a commentator ... I have aimed to be a credible witness, one who cares about the world he inhabits" (Schudel, 2008, ¶19). Linking back to Dupont's comment about W. Eugene Smith, it is these sentiments to which he is referring when he said that 'humanistic photography' was what photojournalism should be and that it should be the driving philosophy of photojournalists. In fact Smith, it was said, would often refer to three key values within himself – integrity, compassion and concern for humanity (Solomon-Godeau, 1981) – which have become synonymous with photojournalism.

Therefore, the usage of the term 'humanistic photographer' or 'humanistic philosophy' is in keeping with the innocent confusion that Copson (in Searle, 2008) said occurred during translation from French or Italian, where the word 'humanism' can be used to "mean a general spirit of humanitarianism" (¶6). Ben Bohane (int.no.2) observed that: "*in France and other places, photojournalism is also known as engaged photography. You are engaging. You*

have to be engaged with your subject". Additionally, being a 'humanistic photographer' is not an egocentric approach to image making or where the subject matter is inconsequential to the photographer. But rather, 'humanistic photography' is a balancing act between the photojournalist, the issue and story being told, and the subjects. This balance is in a constant state of flux. At various points the balance may not be evenly distributed. For example, one element may temporarily take precedence over another, but whichever this element is, it is still essential to the act of 'humanistic photography'. This importance of the care that photojournalists have for their subjects was evident throughout the interviewees' comments.

As Howard Chapnick so eloquently wrote in the foreword of *Eyes of Our Time: Photojournalism in America* (Fulton, 1988):

Photojournalism is rooted in the consciousness and consciences of its practitioners. The torch of concern, a heritage of humanistic photography, has passed from generation to generation, lighting the corners of darkness, exposing ignorance, and helping us to understand human behaviour. (p.xii).

Chapnick (Fulton, 1988) highlighted two important concepts integral to this thesis, the first of which is that photojournalism is ingrained in the values that photojournalists embrace. The use of the words 'consciousness' and 'consciences' comes back to values and moral judgements. 'Consciousness' could be argued to take three forms in this context – awareness of oneself, awareness of 'the tradition', and awareness when documenting of the overall situation and what is happening in front of the lens. In contrast, 'conscience' is the moral compass that can be argued to guide a photojournalist's practice in relation to his or her values. However, there is also strong overarching moral judgement about what is right and wrong in the world. Chapnick (1988) also noted 'the tradition' of photojournalism and the process by which this is passed from one generation to another, both of which are important concepts to this thesis and will be examined in Chapter 6. Hence, Chapnick's (1988) words reiterate the fact that being a photojournalist is more than just the act of 'witnessing and documenting history'. Ideals and values drive a photojournalist to pick up a camera and use it in a way in which these values can manifest – the camera is the tool in which these ideals and values transcend from 'consciousness' and 'conscience' into a tangible consumable form.

4.1.2 The role and responsibilities at the core of a ‘humanistic’ photographer

Stephen Dupont reiterated the emphasis that photojournalists placed on the people they worked with, and articulated that respect and awareness were the keys to photojournalists understanding their role in society. Awareness, in fact, helps govern them. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

I think that a good photojournalist is someone who really respects where they are, what they're photographing and who they're photographing. I think respects the dignity of the subject. I think that you have a very important role and I think that in order to be a great photojournalist you need to understand that role. You have and then obviously make strong honest pictures. ... A good photojournalist is someone who's really conscious about their role in society and how they project their photography, in what should be an honest, powerful, original [way] if possible. All of these kinds of things come into play.

Dupont articulated the nexus between the underlying values and application of these in relation to the role. While Dupont did not specifically delineate the role of photojournalism, his comment revealed how value-based attitude underpin the role. The values that help form attitudes towards practice and how photojournalists see their role can be argued to be an active process involving constant reflection and self-evaluation. The words Dupont used also emphasise these values – ‘respect’, ‘dignity’, ‘important role’, ‘understand’, ‘conscious’, ‘honest’, and ‘powerful’ – and reinforce that photojournalism is much more than taking photos, that it is the value system that defines and unifies the practitioners and genre.

Jason Edwards (int.no.6) echoed and added to Dupont’s sentiments when said, “Photojournalism should do something. It should be the art of creating images. If you’re a photojournalist, to me, you should be contributing something back to the greater good”. While “the art of” implies a skill or expertise honed through study, observation or practice, giving something back reiterates that to photojournalists their work has an important role and purpose in society. Edwards was essentially referencing moral philosophy when he used the phrase “contributing something back to the greater good”. However, the statement did not appear to be a general overarching reference to utilitarianism in the hedonistic sense per se – where ‘good’ is defined as whatever brings about the greatest happiness and / or best outcome for the most people, no matter what promises or commitments have previously been made

(Warburton, 2004). Nor did Edwards appear to mean that a photojournalist's actions were right if they instilled happiness or achieved the best outcome for the vast majority of those involved (subjects, viewers and the photojournalist). Additionally, it can be argued that since not all photojournalism is published and the outcomes of the work cannot be definitively measured, it cannot be an exclusively utilitarianism endeavour. Achieving overarching happiness or the best outcome for all involved is clearly not always, if ever, possible – nor is everyone's definition of happiness or the best outcome the same. Edwards's use of the phrase is essentially about responsibility, commitment, duty and morals.

Jesse Marlow also mentioned the concept of 'giving back' in relation to events that developed as a response from a body of work he published as a book – *Centre Bounce: Football from Australia's Heart* (2003). Marlow (int.no.12) said:

A touring arts body saw the work and wanted to set up a touring exhibition to take back to the communities in central Australia, so on a whole that has been really fulfilling to see my work go back to the people who are in the pictures and for them to be able to see themselves in the pictures. Then there was another group ... called the 'Industrial Magpies' and they read an article about the work and set up a Coterie group affiliated with the Collingwood football group, which now sponsors an Aboriginal player from central Australia.

However, the concept of 'giving back' is only one of many that come back to the values – responsibility, commitment, duty and morals – that underpin photojournalism. Most interviewees, who used various phrases to express their sentiments, also mentioned the responsibility, duty and morals seen in Edwards's comment. Megan Lewis said wire photography was a good training ground for photojournalism as the ethical parameters were clearly defined, which was not the case for press photographers. Lewis (int.no.11) said, "*Reuters has really strong ethics. It's about recording a story and not setting up stuff, so you have a lot of respect for the work. It's all about being accurate and getting it right, so it's very good training*". Lewis's comment hinges on responsibility, the responsibilities that come with "*recording a story*", "*being accurate*", "*getting it right*" – in other words, ethics. However, Lewis also noted that the respect for the work itself is intrinsically linked to emotional investment and values.

An important value underpinning the importance photojournalists place on their role as a witness was highlighted by Dupont (int.no.5) when he said:

Being a photojournalist, you become a very important witness of our time and that witnessing is so critical. It's kind of like being a private detective in some ways. It's being in that situation where you are maybe the only one there and that's when you're faced with that responsibility to be honest and true. Because you are a witness to big things and small things, a witness is a good word.

The majority of interviewees echoed the concept of ‘witnessing’ and the importance of witnessing to a photojournalist’s role. There have been a number of books dedicated to witnessing, for example, *Bearing Witness: The lives of war correspondents and photojournalists* (Leith, 2004) and *Witness in Our Time: Working lives of documentary photographers* (Light, 2000). Dupont’s comparison between a photojournalist and a “private detective” calls attention to visceral qualities of the role, such as getting one’s hands dirty. There are also other implied character traits such as keen observation skills, an adventurous nature, purposeful pursuit and most importantly the desire to expose ‘the truth’ of a given situation. These qualities are not dissimilar to that of an investigative reporter who follows the trail of circumstantial crumbs, sifting through rumours and innuendos, to unravel ‘the truth’ and disseminate findings. All of this comes back to a sense of responsibility, a desire for the reality of a situation to be exposed and values, which innately imply some sort of a moral code or sense of right and wrong. Therefore, on some level whether directly or indirectly, there is also the possible desire for justice or some form of action to be taken that results in accountability or change.

Dupont’s comment could be misinterpreted to mean a photojournalist only has to be “*honest and true*” when they are the only witnesses to a situation, event or issue. However, it is doubtful that he meant photojournalists became lackadaisical toward their responsibilities or ethical boundaries if there were other witnesses. Nor is it likely that he meant that these values only reluctantly kicked in when they had to. Rather, it is much more likely that Dupont meant that there is a greater need to ensure the situation is covered in an “*honest and true*” way, if there is a chance that the photojournalist is the only witness. In conjunction with Dupont’s earlier comparison with the private detective, he could mean that when a photojournalist is the only witness, he or she has a heightened responsibility to find out what

is actually going on and make sure that the events, situations or issues are recorded. This is not to say that a lone photojournalist could document every possible aspect of something with unwavering objectivity and independence. However, it may also mean that because a photojournalist is the only person witnessing something, the way photojournalists see their role and responsibilities reduces any propensity they may have for a creative response. This is not to say that photojournalists are not creative in their image making or that they do not focus their efforts on one aspect of a situation, issue or event. But rather that in such times of isolated witnessing they are aware that the stakes are higher and the values that underpin how they see their role as a responsibility kick into overdrive. When there are multiple photojournalists covering an issue, event or situation, the role of the photojournalist does not change, but more views are presented. This means that if individuals choose, they can work on the micro rather than macro level of a given story aspect because the sole responsibility of disseminating what is happening does not fall on one photojournalist's shoulders. Therefore, the level of *'honesty and truthfulness'* of the photojournalist's coverage does not change.

However, there may well be some apathetic photojournalists who view their role as a witness somewhat reluctantly and see ethics as a hindrance. This is not unique to any profession. Nevertheless, Tamara Dean (int.no.4) echoed Dupont's sentiments when asked if there were any values that underpin photojournalism when she said:

I guess all those things about motivations ... I'd just come back to honesty and respect for your subjects. But obviously there are going to be photojournalists who don't have the same code of ethics but I suppose most would work within a certain code of ethics.

Dean was not referencing any specific established code of ethics, such as those articulated by the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance (Media Alliance Code of Ethics, n.d.) in Australia, or the National Press Photographers' Association (NPPA Code of Ethics, n.d.) in the United States – all of which can be found in the Appendix. This point, Dean (int.no.4) clearly articulated in her response to a follow up question:

No. The [Sydney Morning] Herald took on an ethics policy, but I guess it's just common sense. But not everyone has common sense. If someone lets you into their home, you respect them and their world. People are very generous with

themselves. So I guess it's just keeping that in mind and trying to be responsible with it.

While many organisations and associations have their own codes of ethics – varying in their particulars and parameters – it is significant that countless photojournalists are freelancers and do not have to adhere to any such code of ethics. Additionally, while photographers may work for organisations and adhere to the code of ethics in place within a workplace, the code of ethics in place may not coincide with how they conduct themselves when working on their own photojournalistic endeavours. An example of this is the use of staging or setting up shots, which is common practice among Australian press photographers, and which is not specifically prohibited in the MEAA Code of Ethics (Media Alliance Code of Ethics, n.d.), but considered an ethical transgression by most photojournalists. Additionally, constructing, setting up or staging of imagery does not appear to be in keeping with the spirit of the NPPA Code of Ethics (see Appendix 9.3).

It can be suggested that in this respect, at least in Australia, photojournalists set their ethical standards higher than those of media organisations. This is not to suggest that media organisations are unethical or, by proxy, so too are the journalists and photographers that work for these outlets. Instead, while photojournalists and media organisations both see themselves as witnesses, photojournalists must always witness firsthand due to the nature of image making. It could be suggested that media organisations potentially see their role of a witness more akin to that of a news aggregator. Additionally, with changing news values and increased supply and deadline demands of 24-hour news cycles most media organisations are increasingly relying on press releases, media conferences, talking heads, wire service stories and other time saving opportunities. They only send their employees to witness firsthand when deemed absolutely necessary or in specific instances when they employ a jump-in jump-out tactic, such as the coverage of major disasters or civil unrest. A number of interviewees noted similar sentiments and these concepts are discussed in Chapter 5.

Dean (int.no.4) said, “*I suppose most would work within a certain code of ethics*”, which is important because it highlights the fact that photojournalists are not forced to subscribe to an ethical framework. However, as Dean was interviewed specifically about her freelance

work, not about her work for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, it is safe to assume she is referring to freelance photojournalism. Photographers would quite naturally have to adhere to their media organisation's stated code of ethics – though as many famous cases have highlighted, even when an organisation has a code of ethics, ethical breaches still occur. Secondly, the comment underlines the fact that the vast majority of photojournalists subscribe to a similar code of ethics and choose to work within these parameters. The commonly shared code of ethics to which photojournalists freely subscribe is value driven and is not only the bedrock of their practice, but is also intrinsic to how they see their role in society. Additionally, as countless photojournalists are freelancers, the importance of them as individuals freely choosing a similar code of ethics to underpin their practice is especially significant.

Jack Picone echoed Dean's sentiments regarding the importance of ethics, as did all the interviewees. Picone (int.no.14) said: "One of the most important things – the core of a good photojournalist – is integrity and responsibility and subscribing to ethics in practising photojournalism". It can be argued that this nucleus of values and principles is paramount to being a photojournalist. This 'core' separates those who are photojournalists and those who will fall by the wayside for various reasons (personal, financial, lifestyle or work for example) – because it is what drives the practice and is fundamental to the "Way of Life". This is not to say those who chose a different career or cease to practice photojournalism do not have these values or that every photojournalist is driven by these values. Values are intrinsic and cannot belong to any one group or person. Many individuals have values that are the same as those that underpin photojournalism and values drive many occupations. However, for photojournalists it is likely that without these values underpinning their practice the risks, challenges and sacrifices would be prohibitive – which is in part what makes their occupational commitment their "Way of Life".

During my interview with Nick Moir, Dean Sewell and James Brickwood, the trio appeared to have strong rapport. Moir and Sewell consistently added to what the other had said and often used the other's comments as a springboard for their own. Moir made a significant observation that reiterated the importance of values and ethics as defining characteristics in photojournalism when he said:

The most dangerous photographers are the ones who are actually really skilled at getting good pictures naturally, but are willing to make that extra leap and cross the [ethical] line between really a good picture and an awesome picture. If they're willing to cross that line and add something in, they're the ones that are really dangerous because ... it's really hard to pick.

Moir suggested that photographic proficiency alone was dangerous without the values and principles underpinning photojournalistic practice. His comment also reiterated the importance photojournalists place on the values and principles that underpin how they see their role and the ethical parameters to which they subscribe. In this instance, Moir was not specifically referencing digital image manipulation – something that did come up in many interviews – but rather was discussing the practice of “*constructing imagery*” a term which Sewell previously mentioned. The term “*constructing imagery*” emerged though a discussion about young photographers trying to emulate what they saw in newspapers “*and palming it off as photojournalism*” because this was all they were exposed to and it was how they thought photojournalism was done. “*Constructing imagery*” is essentially creating the image, whether by staging, setting up, or directing, rather than witnessing and documenting what is happening in front of the lens. Additionally, Sewell (int.no.3) said that “*you look at a lot of stuff and think, well that would be hard to be real*”, the word “*real*” gets to the heart of one of the fundamental aspects of photojournalism – it is about reality.

Dupont also said that the responsibility of a photojournalist was not limited to capturing reality, it also included maintaining context and how the work was disseminated. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

There must be a respect and a responsibility and accountability of what you're photographing and how you project or show that photography. What I mean by that is, I feel that, photojournalism is generally something that is not manipulated or set up in any way. It's capturing the moment, it's capturing reality. It's capturing things in a natural, as natural way as possible, it's you know, capturing real things happening in front of the camera.

All interviewees raised the concept of ‘dissemination’, however, in almost all instances interviewees discussed these in conjunction with other overarching concepts. Therefore, while dissemination and the associated challenges will be examined in Chapter 5, it will only be briefly discussed elsewhere in relation to the relevant overarching concepts. Closely linked,

but not solely dependent on the image being disseminated, is the importance of maintaining contextual accuracy – which was also noted by all interviewees. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

Being honest about, explaining in a caption, what is taking place in that photograph ... We're often dealing with very sensitive situations and I think it's very important to be very clear about writing down or presenting the right information that goes with the photographs.

Dupont does not appear to be suggesting that the level of honesty or accuracy depended on what a photojournalist photographs, but rather that images present only a small slice – a moment – of a larger situation and can easily be taken out of context or used for purposes not intended by the photographer. However, providing contextual caption information with a photograph does not guarantee that it will be disseminated with the photograph or that the photograph will be used in the way the photojournalist intended.

An example of this is the image, taken by Nick Ut, of the naked girl running down a street in South Vietnam after a napalm bomb was dropped on her village. The image and information surrounding this photograph is well established; an American bomber dropped a napalm bomb on a village where Viet Cong were suspected of hiding. It is speculated, however, that the Northern Vietnamese and their Viet Cong allies had already withdrawn when the bomb was dropped (Faas & Fulton, 2000). The actual usage of this image varied in Vietnam and the United States. The usage of this image was aligned with differing ideological viewpoints and purposes – in the United States it was used to illustrate the atrocities of the war and American involvement, in Vietnam the image was used to show the evils of capitalism and Americans (Chong, 2001). Nothing in the image itself changed (the image was cropped but this is not relevant to this particular discussion), but it is unknown if the caption information provided was changed or if it was always used. However, through providing detailed and accurate information, a photojournalist can provide the viewer with information about what they witnessed so that viewers can develop informed opinions (this is of course depends on whether the image is disseminated with this caption information).

A few interviewees spoke about Nick Ut's image, David Dare Parker referenced this image to illustrate the impact a photograph could have and photography's ability to instigate

change. The key here is that photojournalistic imagery is often a chronicle, a visual logbook of history, and the fact that a photojournalist's image can be used in this way engenders an enormous sense of responsibility. This sense of responsibility underpins the values and practice of 'witnessing and documenting history' and can be seen in Dupont's (int.no.5) comment that:

[B]ecause you have that responsibility – and a part of that maybe a part of history – you want to make sure that you've got it right and you want to make sure that you're being true; not only to yourself but you're being true to the public in what you're showing.

Dupont also referenced the long established beliefs in photojournalism surrounding "being true" and how this underpinned their values.

John Kaplan (2007) also noted the same sentiments as Dupont in a piece published in the *Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* (Peres, 2007, p.446). Kaplan (2007) said ethical photojournalism means more than not setting up or contriving an image. That it means, "being true to yourself and true to your community too" (Kaplan, 2007, p.448). Kaplan (2007) said, "In fact the modern photojournalism movement was founded ... [on] the publication of photographs that cried for a halt to injustice and the move toward social change" (p.448). These comments illustrate how the idea of "being true" is seen as a responsibility.

The idea of photojournalists being true to themselves and the public may sound somewhat like an oxymoron in that someone being true to themselves is only guided by internal motivations with no sense of responsibility to any external ends. However, Dupont and Kaplan's (2007) use of the phrase 'being true to yourself' did not appear to imply focusing only on meeting internal needs and forsaking the professional ideology of photojournalistic practice. Internal needs are, for example, creative expression, career advance or achieving validation through awards. However, there may be some who disregard the values and principles of photojournalism just like any other profession and place personal aspirations above any other code or ethic. In the contexts in which the phrase was used by Dupont and Kaplan (2007), the term appeared to signify an individual's moral compass surrounding the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism in relation to the

individual's practice during a given situation – checking and questioning one's actions and motivations, essentially self-awareness. Therefore, this nexus is not as precarious as it first might seem. They are not competing masters so to speak, but rather a delicate coexistence between professional ideology and personal experiences that all comes back to the ideals, values and responsibilities that underpin photojournalism.

While Moir and Sewell's comments highlighted the credibility issues surrounding setting up, staging or constructing imagery by directing people in order to get a desired image, Edwards specifically spoke about the impact of digital manipulation on professional practice. Edwards (int.no.6) said:

I don't care what anyone says, photographers are inherently artists and do not for the most part hold themselves back from pushing their images beyond where they should be pushed. That's the death nail for true photojournalism as far as I am concerned.

While Edwards's quote does not directly reference digital manipulation per se, but it was a common theme throughout our discussions. Digital manipulation has been identified a number of times so far. However, it is not my intention to delve into the ethics surrounding digital manipulation. There is a substantial body of literature surrounding the adoption of digital technology and its impact on photojournalism ethics (for example, Carlson, 2009; Fahmy & Smith, 2003; Johnston, 2003; Reaves, 1987; Schwartz, 2003; Russial, 2000) and many researchers have devoted whole theses (for example, Bersak, 2006; Dunlevy, 2004; Elgar, 2002) and books (for example, Lester, 1999; Newton, 2001; Reaves, 1989; Ritchin, 1999) to the topic. Therefore, the discussion of digital manipulation will be limited here to the ideals and values that underpin photojournalistic practice and the role of 'witnessing and documenting history'.

Edwards's comment illustrates the fervour surrounding issues that impact on the values and principles of "true photojournalism". As mentioned in Chapter 3, terms such as "real", "serious" or "true photojournalism" were used by a number of interviewees to distinguish between types of photojournalistic practice. These concepts and ways in which they are used to imply a commitment to photojournalistic practice and the associated quality issues will be

discussed in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, Edwards's comments contain additional elements that relate back to the values that underpin photojournalism and the role of 'witnessing and documenting history'. Firstly, even though photography is a creative endeavour and photojournalists have chosen to work toward a certain end within the bounds of an ethically driven framework, there is still a strong inclination toward creativity and aesthetics. Edwards was not suggesting that photojournalists were not creative or had to remove all creativity from their photographic practice. Rather, that the inherent artistic characteristics that called an individual to choose photography as an outlet for their creative expression could also impair their photojournalistic practice. This means that photojournalists need to be aware of their innate propensity for creativity and artistic expression – and temper this impulse with the ideals, values and responsibilities that are at the core of photojournalism. The need to counterbalance artistic endeavours with the ideals, values and ethics fundamental to the practice of photojournalism is relevant to all forms of manipulation. Whether done digitally after an image was taken or done in order to take the image; setting up, staging, constructing or manipulating imagery impacts on the integrity of the photojournalist and casts doubt over professional photojournalistic practice.

The concepts discussed above and throughout this chapter stem back to the ideals and values that underpin photojournalism and which photojournalists personify. While photographs can be manipulated in many ways and the adoption of these techniques are more than acceptable and in many cases encouraged within other photographic genres – this is not the case in photojournalism. Photojournalists are not necessarily troglodytes per se, shunning the adoption of technological advances in digital photographic equipment and workflow options. Instead, their deep-rooted commitment to the ideals and values that underpin photojournalism far outweigh universal adoption, especially when it comes to digital manipulation capabilities.

The adoption of digital equipment and certain workflow advances such as image browsing and editing programs are relatively innocuous and their use is widespread among most present day photographers, photojournalists included. However, the extent to which digital image editing programs are used varies depending on the photographic genre. Unlike commercial photographers, photojournalists rarely use digital image editing programs to the

full extent of their capabilities. There are notable exceptions where photojournalists have used editing programs to alter their imagery and were subsequently fired or blacklisted, such as Brian Walski who was fired from the *L.A. Times* for altering an image (Irby, 2003); Pulitzer prize finalist Allan Detrick who was fired from the *Toledo Blade* for altering images – it is believed Detrick submitted 79 altered images during his career (Romenesko, 2007; Winslow, 2007); Reuter’s freelance photojournalist Adnan Hajj who was fired for altering an image (Seelye & Bosman, 2006; “Altered Images Prompt Photographer’s Firing”, 2006), freelance photographer Marc Feldman who was fired by Getty for altering a golf photo (Getty photographer dropped over altered golf photo, 2010) or Patrick Schneider who was fired from the *Charlotte Observer* (Romenesko, 2006; Meyer, 2003).

The acceptable use of editing programs to manipulate imagery comes back to the ideals, values and responsibilities underpinning a particular photographic practice and genre. In the case of photojournalism, using these programs in any way which could compromise the integrity of the image – the truthfulness of what was witnessed the moment the photograph was exposed or captured – violates the ideals and values so important to the genre. Thus, violating the ideals and values that underpin photojournalism has significant ramifications for not only the photographer but also the genre. Wire agencies appear acutely aware of these issues as many have since implemented detailed acceptable usage guidelines.

Stephen Dupont also spoke about manipulation in relation to the ideals and values that underpin photojournalism. His remarks transcend the mass media dissemination of photojournalism, which he was speaking about, and are generally applicable to the ideals and values that underpin photojournalistic practice. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

I think it's what it's always been, it's a very powerful message and it's a message of reality, I hope. I think the role it has is that it sends the message. It tells the story. It is there to be a witness of our time, it's there as a documentation. I guess what I'm trying to say is the photograph doesn't really lie. I mean of course you can manipulate things and you can change things by how you write the captions and so forth. But if you're doing your job right, and you're taking care of your responsibility, then the photograph essentially doesn't lie.

How photojournalists see the role of their work is clear in the words “*very powerful message*”, “*message of reality*”, “*witness of our time*” and “*documentation*” that Dupont used. Dupont (int.no.5) extended on these saying: “*Photographs are very powerful messages and they help shape our world. People remember photographs*”. Because photojournalists regard their images in this way they see their role of image creation as one of great responsibility. In “*doing your job right, and taking care of your responsibility*” photojournalists are adhering to the ideals and values to which they choose to subscribe. Hence, photojournalism is a philosophy and the ideals and values of this philosophy underpin the genre and guide the actions of photojournalists in all aspects of their professional practice. As Dupont (int.no.5) passionately said,

I think it goes back to the philosophy of ‘we have a responsibility’. We have a responsibility to tell the truth and regardless of the outcome if you don't take that responsibility and tell the truth, then you shouldn't be in the industry, you shouldn't be a photojournalist.

While there were few interviewees that specifically delineated photojournalism as a philosophy, it was clear numerous interviewees share this belief. This was clear in the way that they spoke out photojournalism, what it meant to be a photojournalist and the qualities and attributes associated with both.

It was commonly noted among interviewees that taking images was only a small fraction of what it meant to be a photojournalist. Michael Amendolia expressed this when he spoke about what made a good photojournalist. He said,

I think there are two things; one is the creative aspect and the other is the journalist aspect. The journalist aspect is to do with how the individual, who is the photojournalist, relates to other human beings and how they're able to blend themselves, make connection with the subject. It might also be to do with their news sense perhaps, not that it's a news job but they have some sense of what makes a story and what parts of it are interesting. Then how they can go to the core of the story and then relate with the subject to the point where they're given the access by the subject to then be creative, use the creative element. So, a lot of the qualities of the photojournalist are not actually using the camera. The camera comes afterwards in some respects and that's when the creative aspect of it comes into it. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

Amendolia explained what he considered the key qualities of a photojournalist and these were primarily about interacting with the subject. Even when Amendolia noted the journalistic elements, such as identifying a story, his comment hinged on the photojournalist connecting with the subject in order to, not only identify, but also gain access to and tell the story. For Amendolia it is the personal characteristics of the photojournalist, the way he or she, “*blend[s]*”, “*connect[s]*” and “*relates to other human beings*” that enables them to be a good photojournalist. Without the qualities that enable a photojournalist to form a bond with the subjects to accompany their journalistic and photographic skills, they would not be effective story tellers. All of these aspects he suggested came before the camera is used, which is understandable since photojournalism is intrinsically linked to witnessing and documenting and telling other people’s stories. However, the creative aspect that Amendolia noted did not appear to mean creativity per se, but rather that the image creation, the photographic part of the process was the creative aspect of being a photojournalist. This is by no means meant to suggest that photojournalists are not or cannot be creative. An image does not have to be imagined, designed, constructed – set up, staged, created from many images, or altered in the editing process – in order to be considered creative. Creativity in itself does not mean the values and ideals of photojournalism are forsaken. Photojournalists can be as creative as they like, as long the execution of their creativity stays within constraints of their ideals, values, ethics and responsibilities.

Tamara Dean (int.no.4) noted the bond between photojournalists and their subjects highlighting three important concepts “*social responsibility*”, “*a desire to tell stories*” and a “*desire to help the world*”. As already mentioned the concepts of responsibility and storytelling are paramount; however, Dean’s use of “*social responsibility*” echoes the discussion of humanitarianism and humanism earlier in this chapter and reinforce the idea of photojournalism being a philosophy. The term “*social responsibility*” was until now only mentioned once in this chapter, in the description of W. Eugene Smith (Peres, 2007). Dean’s use of the term “*social responsibility*” can be argued as essentially referencing the same meaning in which it was used to describe Smith, especially since, Smith’s “moral and visual standards have had a lasting impact on today’s photographers” (“Smith”, 2007, p.287). That “*social responsibility*” is a fundamental aspect of photojournalism and that embodying “an

ideology of social responsibility and humanism ... to produce picture stories ... that resonated with depth, optimism, and a belief in the human spirit” (“Smith”, 2007, p.287) is part of the philosophy of photojournalism.

The two other elements that Dean mentioned were a “*desire to tell stories*” and a “*desire to help the world*”, which are also intrinsically linked to the ideals and values – in affect the philosophy of photojournalism. As discussed the “*desire to tell stories*” is a fundamental component of photojournalism, something that photojournalists feel drawn toward, and which they feel a responsibility to undertake. The “*desire to help the world*” echoes the sentiments of ‘humanitarianism’, ‘humanism’, ‘concerned photography and the endeavours of early social documentary photographers. This “*desire to help the world*” is also analogous with Edwards’s comments about giving back to the greater good.

This desire to help takes many forms and is not something that occurs in an easily distinguishable or measurable form. But what underpins this desire to help is the knowledge and belief that “*photographs are powerful messages*” and they “*help shape our world*”. One only has to look at the public outcry for photographic proof of Osama bin Laden’s death and sea burial (even though these images were not taken by photojournalists and could easily have been set up, staged or digitally manipulated) to see the power people associate with still imagery and how they linger in the public’s conscious. Photographs of real events, issues and situations, photographs that ‘witness and document history’ have a power unto themselves. And since the products of photojournalism are powerful, by association photojournalists, as the creator of these images, are powerful. Hence, being a photojournalist comes with a responsibility to uphold the ideals, values and ethics of the role they have chosen. So while photojournalists may not affect large scale change with one image (though there have certainly been images which have influenced action and change) their images do have a power to “*help shape our world*” – to influence people, whether that be to seek more information, to question and critically evaluate, to inspire action or to influence change, even if on a micro level.

There is a diverse range of responsibilities that photojournalists see as part of their role but not all of these responsibilities are omnipresent. Just like any cross section of society or

occupational group, there is diversity among these individuals and just like people who are drawn together by common interests or values, they face individual circumstances, stressors, and influences. So, while photojournalists may not all feel the same responsibilities, or place the same value on the responsibilities, there are fundamental elements that they all see as responsibilities inherent in their role. When speaking about the myriad of issues associated with practising photojournalism in an ethical way, Tamara Dean (int.no.4) said, “*photojournalism is something that has you constantly assessing and reassessing those boundaries and a sense of personal responsibility*”. Dean was not talking about a specific ethical issue, but rather the role of photojournalism as a whole – essentially, the responsibilities that come with telling stories, ‘witnessing and documenting history’, the “*desire to help the world*” and the “*social responsibility*”. For a photojournalist to ethically navigate this fraught terrain, it takes constant self-awareness of the implications and ramifications associated with the story telling process, not just in terms of what needs to be done to tell the story, but also in terms of the people whose story the photojournalist is telling. This reiterates the importance of the subjects and the sense of responsibility that photojournalists feel toward their subjects and their subjects’ stories.

Thus, in order to maintain the ideals, values and ethics that underpin photojournalism, photojournalists need to constantly engage in self-reflection. This does not mean photojournalists who are self-aware and who assess their actions are immune from violating the ideals, values and ethics to which they have chosen to subscribe, but that this level of constant evaluation helps prevent such breaches and helps them navigate this tumultuous terrain. But, like Jack Picone (int.no.14) said:

[L]ike in any profession, you know you'll get a doctor who does malpractice, you'll get a photojournalist who's you know, unethical or you know, but generally speaking the ones that I've met, we've got, you know very high ideals and very great integrity [sic].

These ideals and values are so important to photojournalists that those who transgress the philosophy of photojournalism face serious consequence such as exclusion, not from practising since there is no formal regulation or accreditation, but socially and financially via a form of self-regulation.

4.2 The responsibilities of telling stories

This section examines the sense of responsibility that photojournalists see as a fundamental aspect of their role and the various forms this takes – primarily the responsibility associated with telling stories. As discussed, storytelling is a fundamental aspect of photojournalism and the responsibilities that are associated with storytelling are rooted in the ideals and values that photojournalists hold dear. Also mentioned the term ‘storytelling’ was often used when speaking abstractly about the act of storytelling and when defining photojournalism. Whereas, the term ‘telling stories’ was predominately used when referring to values and responsibilities and when photojournalists spoke about seeing themselves as the conveyors of other peoples’ stories. All of the interviewees spoke about the responsibilities of telling stories. The way they spoke about telling stories was imbued with the values and ideals that they saw as a cornerstone underpinning these responsibilities. Jack Picone (int.no.14) noted the ideals and values when he said, *“a lot of the people I know have the same idea, an ideal of telling a story with integrity and feel a responsibility for it”*.

While interviewees articulated the responsibility that they felt toward telling stories in a variety of ways, the essence these various forms took were linked to the ideals and values, whether called a moral code, an ideology, or a philosophy, that underpin photojournalistic practice. The act of *“telling a story with integrity”* means that photojournalists are acting in accordance with the ideals, values and ethics that they profess. As integrity was examined in earlier sections, I will leave this discussion here. Picone also revealed the responsibility that photojournalists feel toward the general act of telling stories. Most interviewees echoed this sentiment – that the act of telling stories in and of itself is a responsibility. Dupont (int.no.5) said, *“you’re in a very fortunate position of responsibility. You are holding a piece of machinery, which is a camera, that has the potential to make history”*. While Dupont noted the responsibilities of being a photojournalist, he also said that it was a privileged position. The meaning of *“make history”* could be twofold; that of literally taking images that become historical records and that of a making a personal mark in history – having their memory immortalised. It appears that Dupont (int.no.5) meant both, which was clear when he said: *“You have the potential to show that photograph to a lot of people and that photograph may be around, you would hope, for longer than your life time”*. Dupont implied that his work was

his legacy, and by association a historical record of himself and other people and their issues, and of the situations and events that he witnessed.

Dupont (int.no.5) emphasised the significance of photojournalists ‘witnessing and documenting history’ when he said, “I think it's important to the people that we photograph. I think it's important that they're not forgotten and I think that's a really important thing to know. Without photography there's no record”. Hence, a photojournalist’s responsibility is not one-dimensional, but multi-dimensional. In this regard, Dupont’s comment can be seen to highlight that telling stories holds two functions – to the people and to society as a whole in the form of a historical record. The act of photojournalists telling stories is important to the people whose stories are being told so that they feel their experiences are being acknowledged and that their mark is also preserved. Because photojournalists see ‘witnessing and documenting history’ as a position of privilege, they feel they have a responsibility to the subjects and to society. They have a responsibility to tell people’s stories and to provide society with these stories. Performing their role with integrity means photojournalists are credible witnesses who provide accounts that can be trusted – a privileged position that is not taken lightly and is also seen as a responsibility to uphold.

Jason Edwards (int.no.6) noted the responsibilities that came with holding the privileged position of telling stories when he said:

Whether ... through educating people about global warming or whether it's telling a story about women in the Sudan who are being raped and plundered and killed and things like that. Whether it's just telling a beautiful story about say Cradle Mountain, you should be contributing something back because ... 99.999999 percent of people, and it doesn't matter how much air travel there is, of the planet these days will never get to see what you see. So, what's the point in doing it if you aren't contributing something back to those that can't see it? Four fifths of the planet don't have running water let alone a camera in their hands.

Edwards highlighted that very few people would see firsthand what most photojournalists witnessed and documented. Therefore, there is a responsibility to pass on what has been witnessed and documented to those who were not present. Most interviewees expressed

similar sentiments; that they had a responsibility to share what they witness. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) said:

I guess what photojournalism does better than any other medium really is that it captures a moment. So, I see my role as a responsibility to reveal something of an event or the lives of people. A lot of the work I do is basically events related; I will go to an event, tell the story of that and try to get the images out in front of the public. So, in some ways you have some sort of influence over public opinion and make people aware of what is happening in other parts of the world.

Parker also said that it was his “*responsibility to reveal*” in other words share what he witnessed. The use of the word “*reveal*” also indicates that the people, the subjects, are sharing part of themselves and their experiences. Parker and Edwards’s comments reiterates the dual functions associated with telling stories evident in Dupont’s comment. This can be seen in the way Parker described the process that he saw as a responsibility of his role, “*to reveal something of an event or the lives of people ... tell the story of that ... try to get the images out in front of the public ... make people aware of what’s happening*”. However, he also said that in “*some ways*” photojournalists have “*some sort of influence over public opinion*”. A concept congruent with “*photographs are powerful messages*” and they “*help shape our world*” because photojournalism, in some ways, helps facilitate dialogue in the public sphere.

Photojournalism tells a story about an issue, event or situation to others who do not necessarily know what is going on in the world, thus bringing these to the forefront of public awareness. There is not a minimum quota that an issue, event or situation must meet in order to warrant covering, all stories are significant and every one covered adds to the existing body of knowledge. Jesse Marlow (int.no.12) expressed this when he said:

I am not trying to do big you know photo essays on the famine or hunger. ... I am picking up on small projects that have gone unnoticed or haven’t been told that I think should be told and try and do it and tell, and show.

Marlow highlighted that photojournalists often focus on stories outside mainstream coverage, which are not the focus of everyday dialogues or at the forefront of public consciousness. However, this is not to say that photojournalists do not cover stories already in

the public's conscious or mainstream media agenda. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that photojournalists become passionately involved in telling stories, especially those "*that have gone unnoticed*" and that this stems from the responsibilities they see as part of their role.

Most interviewees expressed similar sentiments as above; that telling stories was all-important, a responsibility, especially those that were not being told. Jack Picone said that in many instances photojournalists were the only people witnessing and documenting issues, events and situations. He said,

[I]n a lot of those situations people were crying out to tell the story about the injustices and horrific things that were being wreaked upon them. ... They deserve to be given a voice, so it's about storytelling and I guess what I'm saying is I just feel it's really important to tell people's stories because otherwise we live in an information-less world. (Picone, int.no.14)

Picone noted the importance of providing people with a voice, to tell their stories and provide information by 'witnessing and documenting history'. These responsibilities – giving people a voice, telling others' stories and providing the world information – are seen as fundamental aspects of the role of photojournalists. Lewis also spoke about this when she discussed what prompted her to witness and document the lives of the Martu people and publish the book *Conversations with the Mob* (Lewis, 2008). Lewis (int.no.11) said:

I just went out there because I saw something that I didn't think the rest of the world was seeing and I thought it was so important to see it because otherwise it's a part of the story that's not being told.

What Lewis appeared to mean was that there's a stereotypical and superficial approach to telling stories of Aboriginal life and culture and she wanted to go beyond this sort of storytelling, to provide a well-rounded, balanced and in-depth story that was true to the people. Lewis like most interviewees – felt that it was a responsibility to provide this level of coverage.

Ben Bohane extended on the responsibility to tell stories noting the risks people took in order to tell their stories. He said,

In general, [people] want to have their situation highlighted. Because they're often ... living and suffering under some pretty harsh regimes, and they will often go to extraordinary lengths to get that message out. They want to have their story highlighted in the international community. (Bohane, int.no.2)

It can be suggested that because the subjects themselves “will often go to extraordinary lengths to get th[eir] message out” and want their experiences “highlighted in the international community” that photojournalists see themselves as responsible for being a conduit for these people’s stories. Additionally, it is likely that because the subjects are often at risk, photojournalists feel a responsibility to listen as well as witness and document their experiences. This process of engaging could heighten the sense of responsibility photojournalists feel toward the people and telling their stories. Jack Picone (int.no.14) can be seen as emphasising this sentiment when he said, “a lot of really good photojournalists have a very strong kind of social issue orientation. They feel very passionate about telling stories about people who are compromised in the world or oppressed or whatever”.

So while photojournalists may be drawn to telling stories that the world is not seeing so that society is informed – both of which are seen as responsibilities associated with the role – the way in which they carry out this role of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ is also seen as responsibility. And all of this is underpinned by humanitarian values and ideals. The humanitarian ideals and values that underpin photojournalists’ approach to telling stories are clearly articulated in David Dare Parker’s (int.no.13) comment below:

I tend to think the story is the all important thing for me ... I think about what it is I am trying to say with the pictures that I am taking, whether it is about the resilience, often it's not it's about the strength of character, not just seeing people as victims but seeing them as fighters. I don't mean that in a rebellion kind of sense, I am talking about people fighting to survive to put a patch of roof, a makeshift shack piece of plastic to stop the rain coming in, to finding food. Photographing a beggar is not to photograph a beggar. You have to have a reason to photograph the man; show the life, why are they doing this, how do they live, how does it affect their family. You have to go beyond that to tell the whole story so it is not just a visual cliché, or ticking off all points to what a good photojournalism piece should be or a photo essay. It is actually revealing something of the people you are working with, having some connection that gives you an insight into the way they are living and why they are living like they are and how these conditions came about.

Parker highlighted that the work is about the human connection, going beyond stereotypes and visual clichés and actually telling the story of the human beings involved. This reiterates the importance and respect that photojournalists place on their subjects. Ben Bohane spoke about the personal challenges and consequences that photojournalists face – as did most interviewees – noting that despite these, telling people’s stories and giving them an opportunity to be heard was rewarding. Bohane (int.no.2) said, “*You’ve got to come from the motivation that you’re acting as a bridge for other people who aren’t in a position to tell their story to have their story told. It’s not about my story. It’s ultimately about theirs*”. Bohane said photojournalists see the stories they tell as belonging to the people whose experiences they are sharing, that they do not see the stories they tell as their stories per se. This concept also weakens Jay’s (1978) theory that humanistic photography is more about photographers and their views than the subject. This is not to say a photojournalist can’t feel strongly about a situation, but that he or she also feels strongly about giving the subjects a voice, acting as a conduit for them to share their stories with the world. Many interviewees echoed these sentiments.

A few interviewees explained that at times telling a story was a collaboration between the photojournalist and the people whose stories they were telling. Most tended to describe the collaboration process as trying to gain some level of insight into others’ experiences, similar to what Parker mentioned above; to be involved and experience for themselves on some level in order to gain insight. Naturally, no one can ever fully experience the same thing as another since people’s experiences are individual. Nor is someone choosing to experience something ever the same as someone who does so without choice – a photojournalist can leave at any time and the people whose stories they tell most often cannot. In part, this concept of ‘collaboration’ can be seen as an acknowledgement of the fact that by being somewhere, ‘witnessing and documenting history’ changes the situational dynamics. Of course there is no way of knowing how the photojournalist being somewhere changes or impacts on the course of events, situations and outcomes, but in some ways being a participant observer is also an acknowledgement of this impact. Nevertheless, Joao Pina said that at times the boundaries between the photojournalist, the people, and the story were non-existent. Pina (int.no.15) said:

It depends on the stories; ... the stories that I really involve myself with I'm usually part of it, I really get involved. I'm there as a participant observer, I try not to change the story because I'm there but I need to feel what they're feeling in order to tell people what there is. So it's not that I'm going to Afghanistan shooting drug addicts and I'm going to shoot heroin to feel how it is but I try to be as close as possible, I don't really have a boundary.

Whether a photojournalist sees him or herself as a collaborator, participant observer, distant observer or any other label that they choose to use, their approach to image making does not change the ideals, values, ethics or responsibilities of their role. The approach is a variable, a variable that is situational and story-related. It does not change the way in which photojournalists see the fundamentals of their role and the responsibilities of 'witnessing and documenting history'. But, it is a measure of sorts that indicates the level of engagement that photojournalists see as happening between themselves and the people whose stories they are telling in a given situation. This is not to say there is a value judgment inherent in the approach taken, that the photojournalist is judging the people whose stories they are telling. It is simply a reflection of the interaction. I am not suggesting that photojournalists are immune from making value judgments but only that the type of interaction when telling a story is not necessarily a reflection of any value judgment. Just like doctors would hopefully help someone they saw choking in a public place even if the person was someone they did not like or thought ill of, a photojournalist would still tell the story in a way which upheld the ideals, values, ethics and responsibilities of 'witnessing and documenting history'. As Lewis (int.no.11) said, "*the highlights for me are the people you meet through the work and knowing that whatever you do carries a big responsibility because people trust in you, so even if they're not such nice characters they're still trusting you*".

Lewis noted that the human connection, the people, was the most enjoyable and significant part of 'witnessing and documenting history'. She also spoke about the trust that people place in photojournalists and that because photojournalists are in a position of trust that they have a responsibility to the people whose stories they tell. For photojournalists, maintaining this trust is paramount, as without some level of trust, people would not let photojournalists into their worlds and to share their experiences. Trust is not something that is automatic, but rather a process that gradually builds and photojournalists, like any other people forming a relationship, have to earn the others' trust.

Ben Bohane (int.no.2) spoke about the importance of building and maintaining trust with the people whose stories he tells when he said:

I get access there [in the Pacific] because people know my work, and they trust me. Different rebel groups will let me go in and not let others go in because I've been able to build up a level of trust ... in the region.

Because at times sharing a story is a risk, not just for the photojournalist but also for the people whose stories they are telling, there needs to be trust that the photojournalist is who they say they are and a belief that the images will be used in the way the photojournalist says they will. The people have to believe and trust in the integrity of the photojournalist. This of course comes back to the 'kind of person' the photojournalist is and the ideals and values to which they subscribe. However, just because a photographer says they are a photojournalist does not mean that people will automatically assume they subscribe to these ideals and values – in fact they may not even know what ideals and values underpin photojournalism – or give them access right away.

Nevertheless, photojournalists see people sharing their stories and being granted access to witness and document as a privilege, something that needs to be respected and protected – something that they have a responsibility to uphold. Many interviewees used the term 'respect' in relation to the responsibilities of telling stories and the act of 'witnessing and documenting history'. This concept of 'respect' can take many forms. Stephen Dupont spoke about the respect for the subject's world, respect for the subjects themselves, and respect for the dignity of the people who they photograph. Dupont (int.no.5) said,

Just having sort of a respect, and having patience, and reading the situation. Respecting the people that you're photographing. We go into so many streams, and we throw ourselves into people's private lives, and we often don't ask for permission. We are there to document what's going on around us, so in that situation I think you have to be aware of your surroundings and you have to have a certain amount of discipline and respect for what you're seeing and how you're photographing. Honouring who you're around, it's being human you know, I mean you have to be human.

Dupont emphasised a number of important elements associated with respect. The issues, situations and events that photojournalists document have differences and not always are

photojournalists able to or wanting to focus on the story of a specific individual or group. Further, not always is it possible or necessary to ask permission to photograph something or someone. For example, if a photojournalist were in an area documenting the impact of war on civilians when a gunfight broke out in the street where he or she was taking photographs, it would not be expected – or even plausible – for the photojournalist to ask permission. However, whether they ask permission or not, they still must remember they are documenting their fellow man. They are not documenting some other species – neither the people nor the photojournalist is removed from the reality of human existence, neither is in a clinical environment where people can be dispassionately observed or documented. Life is messy and issues, situations and events are rarely black or white but rather more commonly shades of grey. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) articulated these sentiments when he said:

Sometimes things are clear and there is good and bad, and sometimes they are not so clear. I have seen people who think they are decent men do very dreadful acts; they find ways of justifying it. People are consistently trying to justify war, so it is very grey. I mean it is confusing for us too, you are trying to deliver something that represents the truth of a situation, but the world's a lot more complicated than that, so that is something we have to struggle with.

A photojournalist captures what is happening in front of the lens as it happens; there are no staging images, posing people or setting up situations or shots. Hence, it is no wonder that many photojournalists are passionate about humanity and have a “humanitarian” approach – because they engage and stay connected to humanity, the people and their experiences.

The words that Dupont used “respect”, “patience”, “reading the situation”, “respecting the people”, “aware of your surroundings”, “discipline”, “respect for what you’re seeing and how you’re photographing”, “honouring who you’re around” and “being human” are value-laden. They are some of the ideals and values that underpin photojournalism and guide photojournalists’ actions. To honour something or someone acknowledges that witnessing and documenting is a privileged position, that photojournalists are in a privileged position, and it means that their intentions, actions and overall conduct should uphold this and reflect what is morally right. This means showing respect not only in terms of considering the feelings, wishes, rights and or traditions of the people facing a given issue, situation or event but also by showing this through one’s actions and conduct. It means maintaining a level of self-

awareness and reflection to avoid harming or interfering with the feelings, wishes, rights, and or traditions of the people whose story is being told.

Megan Lewis (int.no.11) also noted the ideals and values in the way a photojournalist approached telling stories when she said:

A good photojournalist is someone who gets to know the subjects. Who knows themselves reasonably well ... we can never be completely objective because we're always bringing ourselves along. So, I think ... you have to recognise where your own faults ... weaknesses and your own strengths are so that you can see that it's very easy to subconsciously manipulate a story without really knowing you're doing it, just because the way you view the world. But at the same time that's what gives individual character to photos and strength to it ... you're giving other people an opportunity to see it the way you do. It's an absolute grey area but I think the clearer you are in yourself the better pictures you take.

Lewis acknowledges the subjectivity of photojournalists, but heeds that this does not preclude them from responsibility. In fact Lewis contends that because people are subjective and interpret things through their past experiences and general view of the world, photojournalists must be vigilant, self-aware and consistently involved in self-reflection so as to not unknowingly force their own preconceptions and interpretations on the people or story they are telling. However, she also recognises that the individual photojournalist's take on an issue, situation or event is valuable as it adds richness and diversity to the existing fabric of information available. Additionally, Lewis (int.no.11) observed that photojournalists do not just have to guard against their own preconceptions and interpretations but also others influencing their views and how they tell a story when she said:

A good photojournalist is someone who takes time to know the subjects. Takes time to know what the real issues are ... they don't listen to what the newspapers have been reporting or what everybody else is saying or seen. You go in there and you find it for yourself. ... Whether you're right or wrong, you still think, well here's another aspect, this is another way of looking at it.

Finally, Lewis spoke about the importance of time, that in order for a photojournalist, or anyone for that matter, to understand who the subjects are and the issues they face, takes time. Stephen Dupont, like many other interviewees, explained the importance of spending time in

relation to telling stories during a public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective in 2006. Dupont, (in int.no.20) said:

I think like many of us here, we tend to get drawn into long-term projects, I think that's why we are all here – we're ... photojournalists that really want to make a difference. In order to make that difference, you need to spend a lot of time on something.

Time is also one of the reasons many photojournalists choose to freelance, which will be examined in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, all of these elements come back to the ideals and values of photojournalism, the way in which they honour and respect, and the responsibilities they see as fundamental to their role. Because photojournalists try to stay open-minded, try not to pigeon hole people or issues by focusing on what is happening, take the time to know people and their issues, develop trust by showing respect and honour in their approach and actions, and act with integrity; they gain the trust and respect of the people whose stories they tell, which enhances their ability to tell their story and have that story disseminated. Ben Bohane said that developing trust was paramount in gaining access. He highlighted that the stories that photojournalists tell were not their own, that they were 'bridges' for others to tell their stories. He also noted the links between gaining people's respect, the access they provide and the responsibility to tell their stories. Bohane (int.no.2) said:

You need to be humble enough to understand that there's responsibility, real responsibility that comes [with telling stories]. You can't just go somewhere and take your shots and listen to people's story. Particularly if they're suffering, under whatever circumstances, you feel like there is an obligation then to make sure the story gets published and exposed and somehow you highlight their trouble, and as far as possible keep yourself out of the story. You get the respect because people know that you've been there, and you got the shots, and you provided the story. But, that's enough. You don't need to make too much of the fact that it's you there, and that's the difference, I think, with a lot of other media. In a way, a lot of mainstream media operates more... sometimes it's more about the journalist than the story.

Bohane said that 'witnessing and documenting history' was a privilege and part of the responsibility that accompanied this privilege was disseminating the story to inform as many people as possible. Most of the interviewees spoke about the need to disseminate people's stories, ideally to as many people as possible, in a similar way to Bohane. Significantly,

Bohane indicated that when photojournalists tell someone's story they are somewhat invested in people's experiences because they are engaged. This engagement heightens the responsibility they feel to have the story exposed and in the public's conscious. The way in which Bohane spoke about focusing on people's stories, keeping the story as the prominent element and not making themselves, the storytellers, the story, reinforced the concept of photojournalists being a 'bridge' and the belief that it was not about the photojournalist's story, it was about other people's stories. This could be seen in the way Bohane spoke about the respect that came with being a conduit for people's stories and not from the fact the photojournalist was somewhere or witnessed something.

Bohane's comment could be interpreted to apply on three fronts – in the interactions with the people whose stories photojournalists tell, the way in which they tell the story, and in their interactions with the people who disseminate the story. For photojournalists, keeping the ideals, values and responsibilities in mind and having them for the basis of action, helps photojournalists gain access, helps tell the story and helps the process of disseminating the story. It can be suggested that this is the context that Bohane meant when mentioning being “*humble enough to understand that there's responsibility*” – the humility in understanding the ideals and values of photojournalism and the responsibility that comes with the role. Further, Bohane observed that in many forms of reporting, the focal point of the story is the journalist being somewhere and witnessing something. While journalists making themselves the story may be interesting and indicative of larger issue and changes in news agendas, coverage, and demands, for the most part these issues are outside the scope of this thesis.

Stephen Dupont also spoke about the mainstream media's approach to telling stories during a public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective. Dupont (in int.no.20) described how he came to cover Afghanistan in 1993 saying:

Afghanistan was not getting coverage ... the war in Bosnia was just taking off at the time. Everyone was heading there to cover that and I felt, I always had this feeling of wherever the circus, the media circus was going, I'd go the other way. ... It wasn't fear of competition it was really just that we are living in a global society, where there is a whole world out there, why just focus on the one story? And for me Afghanistan was this forgotten war and it was more ferocious than any other conflict around at the time.

Like other interviewees Dupont spoke about the desire to tell stories that were not being told and were not on the mainstream media's agenda. The fact that Dupont saw the mainstream media as omitting important stories, providing limited coverage and in this respect failing their fundamental watchdog role, was clear by his use of the term 'media circus', which is known for embodying these criticisms. This supports Lewis's comment that knowing the subjects and real issues takes time and that taking this time was a responsibility that came with their role.

While Dupont (int.no.5) did not specifically note the same sentiments as Lewis, this inference can be made from his comment that, "*I felt [it] needed some sort of a voice to tell the story and that began what has now been a 15-year journey for me and I have been going back to Afghanistan pretty much every year since 1993*". It can also be suggested that the responsibility that photojournalists feel toward telling stories and the engagement that takes place means they forge a strong affinity with a region, the people and individuals – and that the ideals, values and responsibilities cultivate this rapport. This is an interconnected process that helps photojournalists gain access and helps them tell people's stories. Additionally, because photojournalists see their role as 'witnessing and documenting history', Dupont and Lewis's comments also indicate an extended period of coverage.

In fact, most interviewees have spent a significant amount of time dedicated to telling a story. This does not mean that they only tell one story throughout their career or that they don't disseminate any aspects of the story until the end. It is inconsequential to delineate what constitutes an extended period of coverage as it varies from story to story and photojournalist to photojournalist. Of course no one could spend an extended period of time covering every story undertaken, this would be implausible. Nevertheless, because photojournalists tend to spend time in order to tell a story, they tend to keep going back to the people, issue or situation in order to tell a story that captures the people's experiences and the issues they face. But like everything that happens over time, change occurs. So, while photojournalists may tell many stories, these smaller stories, over time, tend to form a body of work that is a larger more detailed story and historical record. And this larger body of work reflects the nuances of the changes that occur over time – provide a historical record of the evolution of an issue, situation or event and associated spinoffs that manifest as a consequence. So while

photojournalists tell many stories about many different things, they also tend to be known for the work they do in a particular region, an issue or situation. They develop a specialty. What appears to often draw a photojournalist to a specialty is the passion they feel toward an issue or situation that they feel is not being exposed. Bohane (int.no.2) expressed this when he said:

What I've been drawn to, I mean, my specialty and what I'm known for, I guess, primarily these days, is for my work covering conflict and custom in the Pacific. I came to that because no one was covering the Pacific in any substantial way. You had a lot of unreported conflict, and a lot of it was going on very close to Australia. So, as an Australian I thought, you know if I don't do it, who will? The region's not being covered. So, over the years, I've built up a fairly large body of work in the Pacific.

Bohane's observation of unreported stories and his subsequent self-questioning really highlights the sense of responsibility photojournalists feel toward telling stories, particularly those they feel an affinity toward. Bohane's self-questioning, that "if I don't do it, who will?" tie into the concepts of 'self-awareness' and 'self-reflection'. These concepts underpinned a number of interviewees' comments. For example, Lewis spoke about how 'self-awareness' and 'self-reflection' were a way for a photojournalist to avoid letting their own and others' preconceptions influence the story. Additionally, even though Tamara Dean did not directly reference these concepts when she said that photojournalist have to constantly assess and reassess their responsibilities, they can be seen as implied, since she was discussing the thought processes that photojournalists engage in when telling stories. Dean was speaking about what aspects of the story they do and do not tell, what is the right thing to do in a given situation that honours and respects the person and their story, and how to maintain integrity – all of the concepts associated with the responsibilities of telling stories. Thus, 'self-awareness' and 'self-reflection' have crucial implications for the way photojournalists conduct themselves with integrity; they are integral to maintaining and upholding the ideals, values, responsibilities and ethics that photojournalists hold dear. Hence, photojournalists truly care, not just about the story, but also about the people and all aspects associated with telling stories and 'witnessing and documenting history'. Jack Picone (int.no.14) expressed this when he said, "I think one of the ideals is probably having a conscience. I think really caring. I mean a lot of photojournalists are really caring. It's not this thing where a lot of people say photojournalists are voyeurs and exploit people".

While Picone mentioned the perceptions that people have of photojournalists, his comment highlighted the caring nature of photojournalists and their self-awareness, awareness of others and awareness of the potential impact and ramifications of their work. Having this awareness comes back to the ideals, values, responsibilities and ethics of photojournalists and the people who they really are. Maintaining awareness and constantly reflecting helps photojournalists navigate the “*sensitive situations*” and keep a check on how their actions, values and ethics correlate. Jason Edwards (int.no.6) spoke about the impact that can come from telling people’s stories when he said:

You have the potential to alter something that may actually make things worse for those people. It makes you look great, but destroys or makes things tougher for them. ... Photographers just come to a site and leave; the vast majority of photojournalism is done that way. Very few people set up a base in a country and stay there for years, so they don’t see what manifests when the world sees the story and they don’t see that suddenly those people are exploited or whatever and maybe they were under the radar before but they are not now.

Edwards highlighted two important points. Firstly, that photojournalists need to be aware that by telling a story they could potentially make the situation worse for people – individuals or a group. Secondly, that the amount of time photojournalists spend telling a story is somewhat linked to their understanding of the issues and ramifications people face as well as the impact that may come from having their story told.

There is no doubt that there are possible repercussions that come with telling people’s stories. One only has to look back to what happened to the people who were photographed or interviewed regarding the Tiananmen Square incidents in 1989. The cautionary story of Xiao Bin is well known; he was sentenced to 10 years in a labour camp for speaking to ABC journalists covering the Tiananmen Square incidents (Barba, 2009). A TV producer working with ABC News crew in Beijing during the protests, Alisa Barba, heard Xiao Bin shouting, “the tanks ran over students”, and interviewed him for a story that aired on *ABC World News* in the United States (Barba, 2009). Two days after the story aired in the United States, the raw footage appeared on the Chinese nightly news with a super saying the man was a “counterrevolutionary rumor-monger” and that if seen he should to be turned in to the Public Security Bureau (Barba, 2009). Barba (2009) said, “The next day he was shown on national

TV on his knees, crying, asking forgiveness for his crimes. He was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp” (¶5). Barba said in an *NPR* story that:

We watched that TV footage in our hotel rooms. It felt very personal. It felt like the Chinese state, its vast security apparatus, had come right into our rooms, into our faces and said, ‘We will hurt the people who talk to you, and we will silence you’. (Barba, 2009, ¶6)

The second point Edwards noted was the ‘fly-in-fly-out’ approach to telling stories, which he linked to the potential risks people faced if their story was told. However, he also mentioned that there were a few photojournalists who make a long-term commitment to telling stories and lived in communities with the people whose stories they told. Not all photojournalists want to or are able to live among the people whose stories they tell, but this does not reduce the level of care or responsibility they feel toward the subjects. Additionally, as many photojournalists tend to spend an extended period of time with people in order to tell their stories, it is clear they are trying to see what the impact and ramifications of the issues are – but this appears to typically be in order to tell the story before it is disseminated. Edwards, however, was noting the risks and ramifications for people once their story was disseminated. Photojournalists are not oblivious to the potential impact of telling a story and they do tend to keep in contact, revisit and expand upon people’s stories to see how the issues and situations change. It is important to note however, that a number of the interviewees also commented that not always were the people whose stories they told aware of the implications and ramifications of having their story told. Megan Lewis (int.no.11) expressed this when she said:

There’s a lot of times that I sat down and saw the most extraordinary things happen in front of me. And I thought, if I took a photograph of that, yeah great I’d get an award, but would this help these people, would this help this story, would this make a bigger difference? Because people would focus in on that and they would lose sight of what the whole picture is. So a lot of the times I’ve sat there with the camera beside me and didn’t take a picture. ...[S]ometimes words need to say that. ... [I]f you take the picture then maybe not always the best thing to do is to use it. You have to sit back and think what is the bigger picture here, what are you really trying to say. And maybe if you do take the picture, maybe down the track it’ll be worthwhile to use, but right now it’s not part of the story because it will sensationalise stuff and people will miss the point.

Lewis highlights three important elements, firstly, that awards and other accolades come second to the story, a concept that will be examined in Section 4.2.2. Secondly, how one image has the potential to become symbolic and sensationalise a story, which could potentially over-shadow the nuances of the situation and associated issues being seen as a whole. What photojournalists aim for is synergy, telling a complete story with images that are individually strong, but when put together as a group encapsulate the nuances and tell a stronger whole story. Basically, telling a story in a way that upholds the ideals, values and ethics rather than focusing on key elements that would spark the public's attention, win them awards and in other words sensationalise the story. It is not that sparking the public's attention or winning awards are harmful or indicate deplorable or nefarious actions and intentions, but rather that these are not worth it if they are achieved at the expense of the more comprehensive story. All of which comes back to the responsibilities, the responsibilities inherent in upholding the ideals and values that photojournalists see as fundamental to their role. Thirdly, Lewis noted the awareness and self-reflection that photojournalists need to engage in to ensure their motivations and actions uphold the ideals, values and responsibilities of their role – and part of this is what is best for the story and the people. Tamara Dean's (int.no.4) can be seen as extending this when she said:

We do need a conscience ... I mean, certainly when you're photographing people who are not as well off as yourself, myself, you need to go into the situations and understand what they're giving you. For instance, Dean [Sewell] and I spent a while out in a couple of communities in Western Australia. I was documenting this 15-year-old girl who had a baby and a boyfriend and she allowed me to photograph her smoking bongos and completely off her face and stuff like that. But, I never showed those photos regardless of the fact that she'd allowed me to take them. I knew deep down that she didn't understand my world and where those photos could go and what those photos represented. So I took the personal responsibility, encouraged by Dean, to not show those photos. And I guess it's just really keeping track of your own sense of responsibility when you're dealing with people in environments that they obviously don't understand your avenues and where the images can end up.

Dean's use of the term 'conscience' calls attention to photojournalists' moral compass, their views of right and wrong, their ethics, in how they interact with people and present their stories. Dean spoke about the importance for photojournalists to safeguard not only the

people, but also the story and its integrity. Photojournalists have to understand what they are witnessing, how their images might be used and how viewers might react. In other words, they have to understand the broader implications and ramifications of telling any aspect of a story even when the people whose story it is do not understand. Thus, just because photojournalists witness something does not mean they should document it or disseminate it. At times, this may mean they withhold aspects of the story. This does not mean that they self-censor per se since they are not withholding aspects of a story in order to conform to the views of gatekeepers in media organisations or are doing so out of fear of some sort of reprisal, rather they are doing so to maintain the integrity of the people and their story. While they may withhold some images, it can be argued that this is not to the detriment of the story. It is just that photojournalists look for a way to tell sensitive story elements – that have the potential to sensationalise, create or reinforce stereotypes, or mislead – in a way that is contextually accurate, captures the nuances of the real issues and maintains the integrity of the whole story. It is not that they are choosing to leave something out, cover something up or downplay the facts. They are trying to avoid people forsaking the forest for the trees – they are trying to show the forest and the trees in the context of the ecosystem. Jason Edwards (int.no.6) highlighted these concepts when he said:

I've got a story at the moment which I've been trying to get off the ground ... the people are really concerned because NGOs are finally starting to maybe help these people and they need the story told, but if I tell it exactly how it is then the governments will most likely pull back and these people will be screwed again.

Photojournalists' choices come back to the responsibilities of telling a story – the responsibilities to the people, to the story and the responsibilities of being a fellow human being – and the ideals and values to which they subscribe.

However, there does seem to be a line in terms of photojournalists' responsibility to people. While photojournalists would like to help the people whose stories they tell, they usually do not pay to photograph or offer personal advice regarding the subject's actions or life choices, but of course this is not an absolute. The longer a photojournalist engages with someone, the more they are “*emotional and drawn into the story*” the more likely this line is to be blurred. For example, Jessica Dimmock (2009) revealed the intimacy that develops

between the photographer and the subjects as well as the blurring of this line. She mentioned that at one point during the years she spent documenting the lives of a group of heroin addicts that one of the women she had become friends with was about to relapse again after being clean for some time. Dimmock (2009) recalled a fight they had in a bathroom where she was trying to convince the woman not to use and flush the drugs down the toilet, which she did. Nevertheless, Dean also highlighted the constant self-reflection that photojournalists have to engage in during the process of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ and dissemination. This self-reflection, questioning of their motives and intentions, is not something photojournalists save for after they’ve captured the images, but something they do every step of the way; when taking photographs, when putting the story together, and when disseminating the story. They see this reflection as part of their responsibilities to not only the people and the story, but also to the viewers and to history. Megan Lewis (int.no.11) summed up the moral compass, which guided photojournalists when she said: *“But at the end of the day, whatever you do, you just have to trust your gut, or trust your intuition of what’s right to do”*.

It is also important to note that photojournalists’ concern for the people whose stories they tell extends to the people who help them to gain access and tell people’s stories. During our conversation, Mathias Heng revealed his concern for a fixer with whom he regularly worked. Not only did he mention his concern, he was visibly worried about the whereabouts and safety of the man and his family. A more recent example of the level of care and responsibility photojournalists – and others involved in similar types of storytelling – feel towards the people who help them tell others’ stories is the Pastor Marrion Fund. Pastor Marrion, dubbed the ‘Oskar Schindler’ of the Congo, is a one-man ministry who has helped many in the war torn region (Mealer & Krauss, n.d.). To help fund his mission, he worked as a fixer and translator for most of the world’s news agencies and freelancers reporting in the Congo (Mealer & Krauss, n.d.). Pastor Marrion nearly died in 2010 of acute renal failure and needed a kidney transplant (Mealer & Krauss, n.d.). Journalist Bryan Mealer, photojournalist Marcus Bleasdale and filmmaker Taylor Krauss started a fundraising campaign to pay for the Pastor’s transplant, which took place on May 26, 2011 (Mealer & Krauss, n.d.). Their help was not only financial; they also helped organise Pastor Marrion’s pre-and post-operative care, including finding a location for him to stay for a month after the surgery to recover

(Mealer & Krauss, n.d.). Thus the sense of responsibility that photojournalists bear and the depth of care they feel toward the people they work with to tell stories, are fundamental to the role. The responsibilities that come with the privilege of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ are fuelled by the humanitarian ideals and values that underpin the genre.

4.2.1 Making a difference though telling stories

Part of the ideals and values that drive photojournalists to tell stories is their desire to make a difference not only to the people whose stories they tell, but also society as a whole. The way in which photojournalists make a difference is varied and they tend to see their role not so much as agents of change but as potential catalysts. The previous section highlighted the potential risks to people whose stories were told, specifically the problems for the people that could arise from having their stories told. Edwards extended on these risks and the process of consideration that photojournalists engage in when weighing up the potential benefits of telling a story. Edwards (int.no.6) said:

You think to yourself, ‘well I don’t want to make things tougher on these people who have it tough already, but does that outweigh the world’s right to know that these people are being exploited?’ ... If there was enough force it would make it better for them. So you would overcome that hurdle of them going backwards and you’d get into the positive terrain. But then, you’d really be relying on human nature to do the right thing and a lot of photographers make the mistake that if they get the story out there that it will make a difference for the positive. Most of the time people in the western world are apathetic. So you can’t really rely on the fact that your story [will] all of a sudden have a million people in America with lots of voting power and money in the bank that can put some funds toward, I don’t know, calling up the Ethiopian government and saying help these people out. Having some actual vote winning powers so therefore congress says you should help these people out or whatever, the chances of that happening? It doesn’t happen often.

Edwards underlined the fact that telling a story does not mean that it will make a difference to the people facing an issue or situation and that photojournalists need to evaluate the potential problems and benefits. It also highlights that photojournalists primarily affect some sort of change by inspiring others to act by calling attention to the issue, situation or event, rather than by doing so directly. This of course is not to say that photojournalists cannot affect change or make a difference themselves. Rather that they usually attempt to

bring together the masses, as together, they have the potential to yield greater influence which in turn improves the chances of them making a difference by actual change occurring. However, Edwards also observed that for the most part viewers were apathetic and that because photojournalists aim to inspire others to action, apathy potentially hinders the viable impact and outcome for the people whose stories they told. So while photojournalists would like to make a significant difference, they do not typically believe that they can achieve this on their own. Jon Levy said photojournalists tended to hedge their bets when it came to the impact their work could have in changing the world. He said,

I do have a certain faith in its ability ... to be something that you can become quite emotionally connected to as well as educated by, stopped in your tracks, surprised, excited, entertained. ... The more I see, the more I might know and that's it really a means to experience things through a medium. ... I think we perhaps do sit on the fence a little bit, half putting it forward as being very functional and useful and important to the world. And half saying, well it's just my take on it and I won't try and proclaim it for everyone else, but it works for me. So, we can always resort to that if it doesn't change the world. A lot of times, I really do, every day, come in and say what's this all for? It's really not helping anyone and I don't think photographers who say they're going to take photos to change the world are going to change the world and that's very frustrating. (Levy, int.no.10)

Levy illustrated the power of an image and how this power lies in its ability to, for example, inspire, outrage, inform, excite and surprise viewers. It can be suggested the power of some images, particularly photojournalistic ones that focus on the plights, could be a form of George Herbert Mead's process of 'role taking' and development of 'self'. 'Role taking' is a symbolic process where one momentarily projects oneself into "the perceptual field of the other" (Coutu, 1951, p.180) imagining they are in another's place to "get an insight ... into other person's "point of view" so that he can anticipate the other's behaviour and then act according" (Coutu, 1951, p.181). I am not suggesting that viewers could every truly feel for themselves what someone else feels simply by viewing an image. Additionally, Mead's process, while cognitive, is about someone engaging in 'role taking' to gain insight and empathy to inform their own actions, not purely as a way to gain understanding. Obviously, someone pretending to be another in their own imagination is fraught with problems, for example, someone 'role taking' experience is based on their own perceptions of the other. So while not a perfect fit, the important element applicable in Mead's concept is that through the

process of 'role taking' viewers cognitively identify and feel with those depicted (Coutu, 1951). This concept can also be seen in a comment made by Michael Amendolia, however, he also said that this was not always achievable.

What I hope to achieve when I do those sorts of things is for the photographs, and they may not achieve this it's not for me to say really, is to create an emotional response in the subject when they look at the photographs, for them to feel the emotions of the people that I'm doing that story on. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

However, Levy also highlighted that photojournalists hedge their bets when seeing their work as potentially changing the world. He indicated that photojournalists temper their expectations, that if their work affects change, great, but if not, they see it as adding to the existing body of knowledge. In terms of setting goals, aiming to change the world is a lofty endeavour, one that can't really be definitively defined or measured. It can also be suggested that anyone whose goal was to change the world could quickly become disillusioned. It is great to aim high, and to make the world a better place is a noble ambition, but when one's aim is so high, the achievement of this goal may feel insurmountable. Therefore, it makes sense that photojournalists would need to temper their expectations, still aim high, but break their aims down into smaller, more achievable parts, in order to maintain stamina. It can also be suggested that they focus on smaller changes in order to achieve a larger change and that the small changes photojournalists make are accumulative throughout their careers and as a collective genre they achieve larger changes. This premise was evident in many interviewees' comments. Jack Picone (int.no.14) said:

In some way photojournalists, journalists, any form of the media cannot change the world and that's not a cynical thing, I don't think they can change the world. But they can make the world aware and sometimes in a micro way, things can change. I've personally been involved in things like that, where things have been changed [for the] better for a group of people or a community of people through telling their story and taking their pictures.

Picone emphasised that, by making people aware of issues, situations and events, change is possible. This micro way of instigating change was also evident when Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) said, "*hopefully the work will actually have some sort of profound effect on humanity and changes and also have some impact on changing our ways of thinking. I'm not*

talking about changing the world or anything like that of course". It is clear that photojournalists want to make a difference to humanity by telling others' stories and that making a difference can occur in many ways – but they focus on the smaller changes rather than changing the world. David Dare Parker said that the pressure of taking on the responsibility to change the world would be unbearable. Parker (int.no.13) articulated his role was *"to reveal something, provide some sort of historical record, or evidence of an event. Really simple things. ... [I]t contributes something as part of the whole, but I can't think beyond that otherwise I would go insane"*. Therefore, to avoid disillusionment with not changing the world, photojournalists hedge their bets. While photojournalists would love for their work to change the world, they focus on more realistic achievements. By focusing on the micro level they have more chance of seeing the impact their work can achieve. If they cannot directly see the impact or change that occurs as a result of them telling others' stories, they at least know that they have highlighted people's issues and situations, recorded these in history and made others aware. By knowing that they have recorded something and made others aware they have hope, hope that change is possible.

The actual ways in which photojournalists see their work making a difference is varied, but at the heart of making any difference is making others aware of what is happening and what photojournalists' witness. Photojournalists are drawn to the profession because they care. They do not want to only preach to the choir, so to speak, they want to disseminate what they have witnessed and documented to those outside of the genre or photographic world. Jesse Marlow expressed this when discussing how he kept his focus at the micro level. He said,

If you can achieve something from it outside the photographic world, if you can bring awareness to a topic or a subject, that's great. ... I am not setting out especially to do, say, solve the water problem in Australia, or do a series on AIDS or hunger or famine. I am just doing little projects that can serve their purpose. (Marlow, int.no.12)

Marlow's practice of focusing on small projects that *"serve their purpose"* highlights that he sees his work as a useful aid, but not a solution in and of itself. Additionally, Marlow said that if he was able to bring awareness to an issue or subject outside of the photographic world he was happy. The way in which photojournalism can be an aid, a catalyst for change,

comes from its power to inform and question at the same time. As Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) said, “*if photography can make you stop and make you think ... then it can change history, I mean photography has that potential*”. Dupont’s comment is similar to Levy’s in that both suggest that photography’s power lies in the emotional currency generated by viewing; that by the viewer imagining how it would feel to be in the position depicted, change is possible. David Dare Parker said that for the most part it was when people joined together en masse after engaging in the ‘role taking’ process with multiple accounts that change was really possible.

If we are not out there photographing things, for example, if there weren’t people going out there and reporting on the issues of East Timor in the 90’s and the human rights abuses, we wouldn’t have gone in there on force. There would not have been a peacekeeping operation there, it would have been ignored and left to just rot. So of course it plays a part and I don’t know if the individual plays a part. We get famous pictures like Nic Ut’s Napalm girl. ... They’re iconic images which certainly initiate change. Eddie Adams’s picture of and Neil Davis’s footage of the assassination of the Viet Cong suspect, they do influence public opinion. So the images can certainly have power, but I think it’s getting back to the same thing about of getting as much information as possible to the public so they can actually look at all this information and somehow find the truth in it. So, I think it is more a collective conscience or a collective delivery of information that is really important. A great single image can actually stop you dead in your tracks and make you think about wanting to know more. It is not there to tell you, [to] reveal everything, it is telling you to take stock and to sit and to actually make an effort, you know it is like a trigger. (Parker, int.no.13)

Elements of ‘role taking’ can be seen in Parker’s comment, suggesting that engaging with imagery asks viewers to make a moral assessment about the issues, situations or events depicted. In this sense, a moral assessment implies the formulation of opinions as to whether something is right or wrong – implying that essentially humankind share basic values and morals. From this moral assessment and the associated emotional response, viewers are prompted to learn more about what is depicted, and the more informed they are the more likely they will feel compelled to act. Moral judgment is an important element as it implies belief and care, which is the antithesis of apathy. It can be suggested that through the “*collective delivery of information*”, photojournalists aim to not only add to the existing body of information for the sake of veracity, but also to increase the issue’s saliency and need for people to pull together and act. In the end, however, it comes down to the viewers and their

inclination to act. Bohane said it was the photojournalist's responsibility to be honest and realistic about the impact of telling other people's stories – both with themselves and with the people whose stories they told. Bohane (int.no.2) said,

There's all kinds of disillusionment can set in ... I mean, you hope that somehow what you do is going to highlight their issue in a way that may contribute to some kind of resolution of their situation. That can happen in a variety of ways, ... sometimes one image can change things. But, you can't be delusional enough to think that what you do can really make a difference. You need to temper your expectations, and they need to have theirs tempered. But at the same time, I wouldn't be doing this if I didn't think that I wasn't making some little contribution to helping to resolve some of these things by highlighting them.

Bohane noted the hope for the people whose stories they told, a hope that the result will be positive. But, he also said photojournalists needed to be realistic about the potential impact and share this with the subjects so that they did not have unrealistic expectations. This is particularly important since people will “often go to extraordinary lengths to get that message out” and since they are willing to share their stories, sometimes at great risk, it is a responsibility for photojournalists not to misrepresent the actual change they can achieve as individuals and by telling stories. While photojournalists telling others' stories can make a difference on many levels, by focusing on the fundamentals, that they are ‘witnessing and documenting history’, they are keeping expectations low. They do this not with a sense of apathy, but rather by not suggesting or promising something that cannot be delivered. Bohane (int.no.2) revealed the importance of being realistic about what photojournalists can actually achieve when he said:

The danger sometimes for us is that you don't want to make it appear that you can be a change agent, or that you can really affect the outcome of their lives. You have to be very careful to explain to them the limits of what we do so that you're not building up hope, or you're not building up false expectations about what can be achieved. But, to be honest, in a lot of these situations, it's just the human contact for them that's often really important. If they feel like they've been isolated, and the rest of the world doesn't care Sometimes, just having your presence there can be reassuring for them, that the international community is somehow engaged. You are somehow a representative of the rest of the world.

While Bohane spoke about the limits of what photojournalists do and the importance of not “*building up hope*” or giving “*false expectations*”, he noted another way that they can make a difference – just by being there and acknowledging what the people are experiencing and that somehow they are showing that there are people who care. But, photojournalists are not agents of change; they cannot fix the problems themselves or broker solutions for others. However, by telling people’s stories, they connect on a human level and show compassion and empathy. They watch and listen, which can by itself make a difference to the people whose stories they tell. Joao Pina also said that micro accomplishments mattered when discussing a project that had made a difference to a small group of soldiers in Afghanistan and their families back home. “*It's not that it's going to make a difference every day. I can tell a story but it's not going to make a difference for the whole world. But if it makes a difference for one person, my role is achieved*” (Pina, int.no.15). Most interviewees said if telling others’ stories made a difference to even one person, this was an accomplishment. Pina acknowledged that not every story a photojournalist told would make a difference, nor would every story make a worldwide difference. His comment reinforces the suggestion that photojournalists keep their expectations low rather than thinking the stories they tell could change the world. They focus on the human elements and the difference human connection can make, even if only to one person.

Jack Picone also highlighted that by telling people’s stories it might change people’s opinions on a subject, issue or situation; that viewers might connect to the humanness in a story and engage in ‘role taking’. Megan Lewis (int.no.11) echoed these sentiments when she said:

Even if the story doesn't really change the world, but sometimes just with the subject, by having a person working with them in a different way, actually interest in their stories can change their world. So sometimes if you change one person's life, you've done everything.

Lewis highlighted the micro difference photojournalists could make, but also that there was hope for a larger change. However, Lewis did not appear to be suggesting that by making a difference to one person, “*chang[ing] their world*” involved fixing the issue or situation, but rather the impact being somewhere, listening to someone and telling their story could

make on an emotional level. I am not suggesting that photojournalists offer personal advice, act as counsellors per se, or that they believe their presence is healing in an arrogant way. Rather that that by going somewhere, taking the time to watch and listen, showing they care – all of the responsibilities that they see as inherent in ‘witnessing and documenting history’ – they feel they make a difference to the people whose stories they tell.

So while being somewhere, engaging with people and ‘witnessing and documenting history’ can make an emotional difference to the people whose stories photojournalists tell, there are other ways in which photojournalists can make a difference. Jack Picone recounted a way that he was able to make a difference. He said,

... [T]here's a tribe caught between the Islamic north and the Christian south who are fighting high in the mountains. It's called the Nuba Mountains. ... They took me in [when] ... I got malaria and I almost died and weeks later I was strong enough to walk back out. ... [W]hen I ... walked down the mountains, I walked through another area and the whole village was wiped out by malaria and people were dying everywhere. When the plane came in to pick me up and to take me back to Nairobi ... I went to MSF [Médecins Sans Frontières with] ... an aerial map and I told them exactly where the village was. ... They immediately flew in there and took in malarial drugs and treated the whole village and saved a lot of people. (Picone, int.no.14)

Picone highlighted the way in which being somewhere can make a tangible difference to the people photojournalists encounter. It also highlights the generosity of people, which can be seen in Picone’s account of being taken in and cared for when sick.

Jason Edwards (int.no.6) noted the impact that could occur as a result of telling stories, for example, individuals saying “lets turn the lights off at night because it is affecting turtles hatching on the beach” or people donating money to causes. Edwards (int.no.6) said,

[T]hree or four of my stories have been the largest fund raising stories that Australian Geographic has ever done, they've raised tens of thousands of dollars. That money goes straight back into those research projects, so some of the stories I have done have funded research projects for years to come. So that's a good thing; know[ing] I am directly contributing back or being the catalyst I guess for people being generous.

Edwards highlighted the way in which telling stories can be a “*catalyst*” for other projects that have the potential to make a difference. It also highlights the way in which photojournalism can incite people to act. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) also noted the way in which photojournalism could make a difference on a social level, saying:

You could have some profound changes ... [it] could be anything from, the fall of a government, to [a] change of policy, or who knows. I mean lots of things, a tribunal, getting someone arrested and tried for human rights. I think photography has that power.

These types of changes are by-products of photojournalism rather than direct consequences per se. Photojournalism is the catalyst. Because photojournalists ‘witness and document history’ and do so in a way that upholds their ideals, values and ethics, because they take the responsibilities of their role and the potential impact seriously, credibility is bestowed. This is not to say that just because a photojournalist captures an image showing someone doing something illegal it will result in the person standing trial, but that it may incite others to find more information and act if warranted.

Additionally, while there may be a certain amount of doubt surrounding the veracity of imagery, for the most part people still tend to believe what they see as true. For example, when seeing the iconic photo of Kim Puc naked after a napalm bomb was dropped on her village, President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger wondered if the image was real, deciding that it could have been faked (Collins, 2002). On the other hand, one only has to look at the Abu Ghraib photos and the then Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld’s comment to a Senate committee to see how imagery can have more emotional saliency than words. “It is the photographs that gives one the vivid realization of what actually took place. Words don’t do it” (Shapiro, 2011). The Red Cross had reported the Abu Ghraib abuses (Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross, 2004) just over a year before the photos received media attention. However, Rumsfeld tried to explain to the Senate that he and President Bush only became shocked and horrified when they saw the photos in May, over a year later.

The words that there were abuses, that it was cruel, that it was inhumane, all of which is true, that it was blatant, you read that and it’s one thing. You see the

photographs, and you get a sense of it, and you cannot help but be outraged. (Buttigieg, 2004, ¶5)

Furthermore, the public outcry to see images of Osama bin Laden's corpse as proof of his death has been phenomenal and prompted fake images that were broadcast on Pakistani television which were subsequently run in numerous British newspapers (Hill, 2011). United States politicians who were shown the images of bin Laden's corpse by the Central Intelligence Agency described some of the photos (AFP/Telegraph, 2011), yet just as Rumsfeld explained in 2004 words don't have the same saliency as images (Buttigieg, 2004). So while people may be sceptical about the veracity of images, they still turn to these when they want the truth, proof, and to see for themselves. Thus images have an emotional saliency that can be a powerful catalyst for people to act or call for action, and this can make a difference and it can bring about change.

Adrian Evans noted the lengths that some photojournalists go to in order to draw attention to a story, using a term he called 'direct action', which is also known as 'activist photojournalism'. Evans (int.no.7) said 'direct action' was "*not just printing a piece about what is going on in Darfur and saying isn't this awful and trying to sensitise them to get them to start doing something about remedying the situation*" but rather using photography in creative ways that affect change. To illustrate 'direct action' and the creative ways bring about change, Evans spoke about Marcus Bleasdale's work on gold deposits fuelling conflict in the Congo. Evans (int.no.7) said,

There were mines and those mines were financed from outside the Congo, from Europe. And those mines were actually fuelling conflict because ... [they] were being controlled by those who were fighting in a civil war. [This] meant that they were also funding the civil war indirectly and other things including environmental degradation etc. So what he did was he produced this body of work and ... deliberately exhibited it in the foyer of a bank in Switzerland. He knew that that bank was the bank of two companies who were investing in these particular mines. ... He also invited people from these companies to the show to try to lobby them to realise what the effects were of what they were doing and get them to change their policies and to get them to disinvest and that is what they did.

Marcus Bleasdale (2010) spent time documenting the conflict associated with access to gold deposits in eastern Congo. He focused on how the gold that was mined in the region was shipped through Uganda to Europe and Asia and payments for the “gold enabled the purchase of more weapons, which prolonged the war that was terrorizing those living in the region with the brutality of rape and pillage” (Bleasdale, 2010, ¶1). Bleasdale collaborated with Human Rights Watch (2005) to compile a report, *The Curse of Gold*, which examined the purpose and consequence of what was happening. In this report Bleasdale (2010) said:

Since those financing the war – the gold merchants – lived on other continents and were dependent on the continuation of this trade for their wealth, it was difficult to connect the pieces and harder still to make what was happening on the ground matter to those whose actions could make a difference. (¶2)

Aiming to bring the story to the attention of those who could make a difference – the gold traders – Bleasdale and Human Rights watch organised an exhibition and invited people from the companies involved, which resulted in them halting their companies’ purchase of Congolese gold (Bleasdale, 2010). Despite the success, Bleasdale (2010) said that “the war in the Congo migrated to other regions of the country as other minerals and metals grew in value” (¶5), highlighting that just because photojournalists can achieve change, it does not mean they solve the fundamental cause of an issue or problem. Nevertheless, “[t]his experience convinced [Bleasdale] that combining visual awareness with thorough research, like that done by Human Rights Watch, could create a powerful force for positive change” (Bleasdale, 2010, ¶4).

Evans also noted the ways in which photojournalists could coordinate their projects with other events in order to show work to a larger audience and increase the possibility of making a difference and influencing change. Evans (int.no.7) told the story below about how they worked with organisations to tell stories in public forums – not via the traditional mainstream media outlets – linking these with historical dates and government officials.

We did a show earlier this year and it’s about lining it all up really. ... This year happens to be the 200-year anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade, that doesn’t mean by other governments, but the British government. ... I thought we could do something about slavery say somewhere in India, Africa or somewhere other and people would be again a little bit ‘so what’ as in yes

we would expect there be slavery there. So we thought let's concentrate on slavery in Britain. We worked with a number of [organisations] ... to gain access to the women we wanted to photograph, the victims of the sex trafficking and put a show on in St. Paul's Cathedral. We wanted to highlight that it was going on here under people's noses ... and also to get people to lobby the government to sign this European Union convention about trafficking, ... which they did. ... We got one of the government ministers to come and open the show as well. They weren't interested in the beginning but in last week they suddenly realised that they were going to sign this thing so they wanted a piece of it, which is fine.

Evans made a number of significant points in his example above. Firstly, he mentioned that in order to maximise the impact of an issue, situation or event, photojournalists needed to think beyond disseminating their work through the traditional mainstream media outlets and align their efforts with larger symbols and collaborate with other organisations. Many interviewees also noted this. Additionally, while Evans did not specifically note it in the above example, it is beneficial for photojournalists to use mainstream media outlets to add to their attempts to tell others' stories. For example, by combining current stories with the 200-year anniversary of the slave trade abolition, photojournalists increased the saliency of the stories for the general public and the media. Hence, the more likely it was that their efforts would be highlighted and possibly even promoted by media organisation because of the larger symbolism that was associated with the stories photojournalists were telling. Add the involvement of a government officials and the potential of the media highlighting and promoting the work increases.

In Evans' example, the government ministers came on board at the last minute because of the decision to sign a convention. So, because the stories were told in conjunction with the anniversary – that they were hung on the back of the larger symbol, which the signing of the convention was also doing – they all were able to mutually benefit by collaborating. This may not have been the case had the stories been told under different circumstances, without the larger symbolism highlighting the relevance of the issue. Additionally, the symbolism is essentially saying that on this date, those before us did something – using this symbolism as a springboard to inform people of what is happening now – let's stand on the shoulders of those who stood up before and take another step. Therefore in this capacity a photojournalist becomes somewhat of an activist or lobbyist to increase the potential impact and outcome of

the stories being told. They do this by providing viewers with the stories, the information, and possible ways they can get involved to make a difference rather than by just showing imagery and leaving it up to the viewers to find ways to become involved.

It can be suggested that viewers who plan on acting may lose impetus in the process of finding ways to make a difference and by having information available and providing small ways in which they can act immediately decrease the attrition rate. Evans also said some people would always be indifferent to the stories photojournalists told; that for some the adage “ignorance is bliss” applies and they don’t want to know what is happening. Such rationales, of course, are not reason enough to stop telling stories. Just because some people may not want to know, that does not mean they will always not want to know, nor does it mean that others don’t want to know. Evans said photojournalists needed to go beyond telling others’ stories and carefully consider ways to increase the potential impact. For him, stories needed to be accessible to people who did not normally think about the issues, situation or events depicted. Evans (int.no.7) said,

With the millennium development goals, we deliberately did something that appealed to the ... person who knows nothing about third world development and it was deliberately aimed at that audience on behalf of a large group [of seven NGOs]. ... So they were getting their message out to the person who is on the number 73 bus, the person who doesn't normally think about these issues, which is important to us.

A number of interviewees said it was important to keep telling stories, even if they had been told before, until people took notice. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) said: “*I wouldn't hesitate to tell a story that has already been told ... if a story needs to be consistently told to get the message across then that is what you have to do*”. Parker reiterated the importance photojournalists place on making the public aware of others’ stories and the persistence needed. Jack Picone (int.no.14) can be seen as extending on this when he said:

Especially things to do with social issues and conflict and things that I find that the world needs to be told about, even when they don't want to be told about it, even when people say that they have compassion fatigue or they have visual fatigue or whatever. I mean I'm actually quite relentless in thinking that you should keep telling these stories because I've always, we live in an Orwellian

world and there is no information coming out of places where there should be information coming out of.

Picone highlighted photojournalists' passion for what is happening to other people and the need for others to take notice – that there is some sort of fundamental expectation of people to be informed and to care what is happening to others. He said compassion fatigue or visual fatigue was no excuse not to keep telling people's stories or for people not to be informed. At its most basic level compassion fatigue is defined as the "indifference to charitable appeals on behalf of suffering people, experienced as a result of the frequency or number of such appeals" ("Compassion Fatigue", 2010). Tamara Dean said photojournalists ceasing to tell people's stories would not prevent compassion fatigue. Dean (int.no.4) said, "*I don't think the answer is to stop doing the stories because I think at any moment in time sometimes you're open to hearing about things but other times you're not*". Dean's point reinforces the suggestion that just because someone may not want to know about an issue, situation or event, does not mean that this will be a permanent state or that people will universally not care.

Compassion fatigue is an important concept associated with telling stories and making a difference, so before proceeding it is important to pause and briefly discuss some of the associated elements. Susan Moeller's (1999) aptly named *Compassion Fatigue* is seminal. However, there are other significant works that examine compassion fatigue and associated elements, such as, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (Sontag, 2003) and *Body Horror* (Taylor, 1998). The causes of compassion fatigue are varied and can occur in many situations and circumstances. The nuances of compassion fatigue are complex and too wide-ranging to fully examine within this thesis. Nevertheless, generally in the context of photojournalism, a commonly attributed cause of compassion fatigue is the cumulative effects of highly emotive imagery, which makes viewers turn off. Regarding this, Taylor (1998) said, "Too many photographs of disgusting events are supposed to reduce audiences to indifferent voyeurs and produce 'compassion fatigue'" (p.19).

Susanne Moeller (1999) described the readers' reaction process each time they saw a highly emotive advertising campaign in a magazine. Moeller (1999) noted that compassion

fatigue came to the forefront of public awareness when Save the Children ran a series of magazine ads, which said “you can help this child or you can turn the page” (Moeller, 1999, p.9). This ad was not, however, the root cause or initial manifestation of compassion fatigue – identifying just one would be implausible. Moeller (1999) said that the first time the viewer saw the advertisement he or she was plagued by guilt and might make a donation. However, each time the viewer saw the advertisement the impact lessened and the cynicism increased (Moeller, 1999). The second time the viewer saw the advertisement he or she might read the copy and pause to absorb the image before turning the page (Moeller, 1999). The third time the viewer saw the advertisement he or she knew what it was about and usually turned the page without hesitation (Moeller, 1999). By the fourth time the viewer saw the advertisement he or she lingered again not to “wallow in guilt, but to acknowledge with cynicism how the advertisement is crafted to manipulate readers ... even if it is a ‘good’ cause” (Moeller, 1999, p.9). It should be mentioned here that compassion fatigue can occur with any sustained reporting of an issue, situation or event and, additionally, that compassion fatigue is often anecdotally attributed to shaping how news is covered, what news is covered and the public’s short attention span and apathy toward news (Moeller, 1999). Moeller (1999) expanded on these concepts when she said:

To forestall the I’ve-seen-it-before syndrome, journalists reject events that aren’t more dramatic or more lethal than their predecessors. Or, through a choice of language and images, the newest event is represented as being more extreme or deadly or risky than a similar past situation. Compassion fatigue tempts journalists to find ever more sensational tidbits in stories to retain the attention of their audience. Compassion fatigue encourages the media to move on to other stories once the range of possibilities of coverage have been exhausted so that boredom doesn’t set in. Events have a certain amount of time in the limelight, then, even if the situation has not been resolved, the media marches on. ... Compassion fatigue is not an unavoidable consequence of covering the news. It is, however, an unavoidable consequence of the way the news is now covered. (p.2)

There appears to be two vague schools of thought amongst interviewees regarding compassion fatigue – though all believe they should keep telling stories. On one hand, some interviewees appeared to believe that while compassion fatigue exists they should keep telling stories in the same way as they always have until people got the message. On the other hand, some interviewees also believed that while compassion fatigue exists they should keep telling

stories, but tell stories in new ways. It must be stressed here that these remarks are a general observation and not one that was discussed extensively with interviewees. Telling stories in new ways does not mean changing the ideals, values, ethics and responsibilities of photojournalism, or compromising these in any way, rather being more creative in order to increase viewers' engagement. Adrian Evans believed that photojournalists needed to find new ways to tell stories. Evans (int.no.7) said:

People talk about compassion fatigue, when they are constantly seeing the same images of I don't know, African poverty or something, but I think it is a photojournalism fatigue because it is the same pictures, and if you do something different and if you think of clever ways of doing it then people will bother to engage with it.

Evans's indicated that photojournalists needed to find new creative ways of showing people stories, in untraditional formats – outside the traditional mainstream media – so that viewers engage with stories. Thus once viewers are engaged, by the very definition of the word, they are somewhat involved and are no longer apathetic. This does not appear to mean that photojournalists would tell stories focusing on shock value or sensationalise a story in the same vein as Moeller (1999) described as a tactic to engage or retain viewers' interest levels. However, since compassion fatigue is typically an accumulative process, it may be that in order to keep people engaged or willing to re-engage with various stories, photojournalists need to consistently find new ways of reaching viewers. Therefore, the fundamentals of the story are the same, underpinned by the same ideals, values, ethics and responsibilities, but the “*clever ways*” photojournalists find to disseminate stories, their creativity and strategic prowess, can engage viewers to make a difference. Michael Amendolia noted the impact of compassion fatigue on activism and photojournalism, highlighting the dichotomy between the two. Amendolia (int.no.1) said:

Let's talk about compassion fatigue, I think there is a real problem ... I guess because of if you're activists, if you really want people to respond you have to take this human observation [compassion fatigue] into consideration and it might mean well, what do you want, what's the most important thing? Is it to move people to respond or is the most important thing that you keep the honour of your profession?

The questions Amendolia raised indicate that he sees the role of photojournalism and activism as mutually exclusive. It seemed Amendolia was inferring that the ideals, values, ethics and responsibilities of photojournalists were different to activists – that for activists the end result came before upholding veracity. For photojournalists, the ideals, values, ethics and responsibilities are imbued throughout the process of telling stories, which underpins their credibility as ‘witnesses and documenters of history’. However, photojournalists upholding these do not preclude their imagery from inciting emotional responses from viewers, nor does it hinder their ability to make a difference. Amendolia’s views are not that dissimilar to a number of other interviewees – in that they all want to uphold the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism, but they also want to find a way to make a difference without compromising these. Amendolia (int.no.1) said:

Of course you need to show people what's wrong in the world. I get the feeling these days it might be more effective to show what's possible and that's not denying the difficult scenarios. Of course I'm not dismissing that, but maybe, perhaps, finding that story that has this other element of we've got this problem, but there is some solution to it and if we all concentrated our energy on this we could actually possibly turn around the circumstances.

Photojournalists may have various views on how they can break through compassion fatigue to make a difference, but their commitment to the ideals, values and ethics that underpin photojournalism are paramount – they are the responsibilities that come with telling others’ stories. It can be assumed that people tend to develop compassion fatigue because of the number of issues, situations and events that they hear about and are shown. That people see the world and humanity falling apart at every turn; that problems exist to varying degrees on every continent, in every country and in every city, and exposure to these problems becomes overwhelming. At first people may feel strongly about the issues, situations or events depicted, but soon a level of helplessness sets in because it all seems too much for one person to change, especially when they see the same issues, situations and events over and over again. Viewers may end up devaluing themselves and the potential impact they could make. So it can be suggested that they turn in and focus on themselves because this is something where they can have an impact and see themselves reflected positively which aids their self-identity and level of interest. People turn off because they feel helpless, they can’t care for everyone or everything – it’s physically and emotionally impossible – and they feel

that all they can do is care for themselves and those closest to them. Therefore it becomes too hard to look at the issues and situations that others face as it reflects their feeling of helplessness and guilt in not doing something to help, and they may not like what they see reflected since it may challenge their concept of self. The process is cyclical. It could be suggested that with the advent of 24-hour news broadcasts, online news and the general increase in availability, compassion fatigue has accelerated. There are obviously other causes that contribute to compassion fatigue and this is not meant to oversimplify the issue.

Nevertheless, photojournalists see telling stories as a responsibility; a responsibility to keep telling stories until people engage; a responsibility to find new ways to tell stories to help people engage. Since the traditional form of disseminating stories is changing with the decline of magazines and the development of other new media outlets for publishing in-depth photojournalism pieces, photojournalists are seeking alternative ways to tell stories. Thus by simplifying sheer number of messages depicted rather than a message or story and by finding ways to disseminate stories outside of the mainstream media, photojournalists can potentially capture and hold viewers' attention longer. Telling stories becomes about the quality of the engagement rather than reaching the most people possible in a way that reduces their engagement – though, it is likely that the more people exposed to a story, the larger the potential engagement. Nevertheless, the ideal is to reach the greatest number of people in a way that engages them. Additionally, by working in “*clever ways*” and providing possible ways that viewers can make a difference increases the likelihood of self-identify reflection that is positive, which could counter the negative reflections conducive to compassion fatigue.

4.2.2 Financial rewards and other accolades come second to the other responsibilities of being a photojournalist

So far, this chapter has focused on telling stories and the responsibilities that photojournalists see as being fundamental to the ideals and values that come with the privileged position of ‘witnessing and documenting history’. These ideals, values and responsibilities are so ingrained in photojournalists that they outweigh financial rewards and accolades. It is not that photojournalists are martyrs; that they do not desire personal accolades or financial rewards,

but that if they have to choose between these and their ideals, values and responsibilities, they tend to choose the latter.

For many photojournalists, ‘witnessing and documenting history’ is a way for them to be creative and pursue their interests in the world and its people, but also for them to use their creativity in a way that gives back to humanity. So while different people are drawn to different forms of creative expression, photojournalists tend to be drawn to their photographic genre because the sense of humanitarian ideals and values echo their own. Thus, the personal accolades may be wonderful achievements that happen as result of photojournalists fulfilling their desire to ‘witness and document history’; but they are not the primary motivator. Additionally, as a rule financial prosperity was not a primary motivator for interviewees – in fact financial prosperity is atypical among photojournalists. Photojournalists tend to see financial rewards as secondary to their ideals, values and responsibilities; they make money in order to keep ‘witnessing and documenting history’. The desire to tell stories that photojournalists see as important is so strong that they find ways to finance these themselves – often putting stories in front of financial security. Megan Lewis explained the financial risks that photojournalists take in order to tell stories they feel are important. She said,

The difficulty is, it boils down for most people, is finances. It doesn't pay. I mean nobody does it for the money. ... [F]or me ... [I had] such an immense[ly] strong gut feeling that this story had to be told. So, whatever it took I had to do it and it was a huge cost to me. I had chronic fatigue before I went out there. ... I spent everything and more than I had because halfway through it you think I financially can't keep going and with my energy I don't know if I can keep going. But I have an enormous sense of responsibility to fulfil what I said I would so, so at all costs I had to get it out. (Lewis, int.no.11)

Lewis articulated that photojournalists don't tell stories because of any expectation of financial liquidity – that they put financial security and rewards behind other motivations, such as the desire to tell a story that they feel is important, the responsibility to tell some stories and the responsibility to the people to tell their stories. Lewis also illustrated how photojournalists find ways to fund stories that they feel are important. Almost all interviewees mentioned that they self-funded stories that were important to them. Joao Pina (int.no.15) noted this when he said: “*I make not so interesting work in order to get money to fund my own personal projects*”. By “*not so interesting work*” Pina meant that he was not passionate

about all of the photographic assignments he undertook. However, Pina also said that while the majority of assignments he took interested him, financially this was not enough to fund stories that he really wanted to tell. *“Most of the things that I’m really interested in doing, people pay me to do which is good. But still the money is just a little all the time, so you need to find other ways to fund it”* (Pina, int.no.15). In order to help fund the stories that he felt were important to tell, he tried to sell stories that stemmed from those he was passionate about telling. Pina (int.no.15) said,

At this point, I am working on personal project work; economically they’re a disaster. But it’s really what I want to be doing and I find in the same place some story that I can sell and make money and pay my bills and keep going.

So essentially, for photojournalists, as long as they can pay their bills and have enough money to tell the stories they feel are important, that is enough. Nick Moir noted the increase of photojournalists applying for various types of funding to help them tell stories. Moir (int.no.3) said,

I think it’s quite interesting, photojournalism is becoming like artists. They have to struggle for grants and things like that. Whereas it used to be a paid thing, but it’s becoming where it’s only a personal passion. So I mean, in some ways the advantage is ... the only stuff you might possibly see is going to be really good stuff because they’re the ones who are really passionately into it, [who are] willing to lose money. I mean we all – it just costs us money. It’s all just our own passion. It cost me close to \$10,000 to go to the United States and chase [storms] – I made it up in the end through doing my tax back and selling it and stuff like that. But no, it’s out of the goodness of our hearts that we record the world actually in an artistic and ethical way.

Moir highlighted a number of significant points. Firstly, photojournalists, somewhat like artists, can apply for funding in order to tell stories they feel are important. Secondly, there used to be more paid opportunities for photojournalists to tell the stories they felt were important. So while traditional outlets for selling work are still available, they have declined. Consequently, photojournalists have to find new ways to fund what they feel is their responsibility to ‘witness and document history’ – which they would not do if this was not something they were passionate about. Thirdly, photojournalists have to be willing to lose money in order to tell stories they feel are important and that this can be prohibitive. Thus, the number of stories told is limited. But, Moir said the upside to not as many stories being told

was that those that were told would be of high quality because the photojournalist must have felt that it was important to tell. So, unless photojournalists are driven by the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism – and are passionate about these – they will not be motivated to keep self-funding stories.

David Dare Parker explained the importance the ideals, values and responsibilities played in the longevity of a photojournalist's career and the impact this could have on the attrition rates. Parker (int.no.13) said,

Very few photojournalists last. You hear a lot of people say 'I used to be a photojournalist'. Very few can actually hack it. After a few years, they get burnt out. They all of a sudden have families and have to make a living and they compromise.

Thus those photojournalists who make photojournalism their career dedicate their life to telling stories. They do so despite all the challenges because to them the ideals, values and responsibilities are more important to them than these challenges. Joao Pina articulated that telling stories that “*deserve to be told*” outweighed any financial issues. Pina (int.no.15) said,

It's not about money. It's about telling their stories. I just have my book out, since April, and it was a project that took me three years to produce and three years to publish because I couldn't find sponsors ... I could find a publisher, they all requested you give money up front. So finally I got the publishers, I got sponsors and I managed. But it took me six years from the beginning. But in the end it is their stories deserve to be told that's what matters to me.

During a public lecture as part of the 2006 Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective, Michael Coyne also spoke about the potential difference telling stories could make as a result of photojournalists self-funding stories that they felt were important to tell. Coyne (in int.no.20) said,

It just reminds me of Anthony Suau, [who] many years ago ... [read about] a terrible drought somewhere in Ethiopia and couldn't convince anybody to assign him to do it. So, Anthony just gave up his job, picked up his cameras and gathered some money together and went and shot the drought ... It became a huge story when Geldoff got involved and Live Aid and all that happened because Anthony saw this tiny story and thought nobody in the world cares about the fact that all these Ethiopian people are dying and he gave up everything to do it. He took a gamble, a risk on that, and I think that's truly

important. Which goes on from what all these other people are saying, is that we give up everything [to go] into these places, we take huge chances, financially and physically. [We] go... into places where no one else really cares about or wants to know about, until we make a difference.

Coyne's example of Anthony Suau's conviction to cover Ethiopia is not atypical of photojournalists. In fact, it appears to be quite the opposite. Coyne articulated the passion and responsibility that photojournalists feel toward telling stories that they view as important. Additionally, Coyne noted the difference that photojournalists want to make, that they want to inspire others to care and act by telling stories that are not being told. What photojournalists are willing to sacrifice, they do so because of their fervency for 'witnessing and documenting history', the ideals and values of photojournalism, and the hope that they will make a difference. The by-products of photojournalists doing what they believe in, for telling stories they feel are important, may be accolades and to some degree financial gains, but these are to some degree just that, welcome by-products. Incidentally, Anthony Suau won a Pulitzer in 1984 and a World Press Photo award in 1987 for the stories he told of Ethiopia. He also received numerous other prestigious accolades. Photojournalists, of their own volition, often put telling stories above other priorities, such as financial rewards and accolades.

The fact that many photojournalists are freelancers, working outside the constraints of the mainstream media, means they are free to spend time telling the stories that they feel are important, in a way that upholds their ideals, values and responsibilities. Hence, photojournalists will find ways to tell stories, to 'witness and document history' and tell others what is happening, regardless of the costs or consequences. David Dare Parker (in int.no.20) noted similar sentiments, during the public lecture at the 2006 Degree South collective launch and exhibition opening, when he said:

I am more likely to get a call from a picture editor now [and ask] if I am going to a place, rather than a request to send me to a place, because they know that unlike most forms of journalism we are going to be doing it, no matter what.

Parker mentioned the importance that photojournalists place on telling others' stories and their dedication to 'witnessing and documenting history' in the hope of making a difference. Because of the constraints of the mainstream media, photojournalists often choose to

freelance. It seems that many photojournalists start out as press photographers working within mainstream media organisations, but outgrow the type of storytelling predominant in these environments. A number of interviewees said they left full time employment in mainstream media organisations because they felt they could not grow any further and the only way to do this was to freelance. Photojournalists who freelance often choose to do so that they can tell the stories that they feel are important in a way that upholds their ideals, values and responsibilities. They forsake the financial security of full time employment for story telling freedom. They choose to freelance because they see it as their responsibility to ‘witness and document history’, “no matter what”. Thus, for photojournalists what they do is a “Way of Life” – a concept that will be examined in detail in Chapter 6.

However, Parker also observed that photojournalists do question their choices, why they do what they do and whether they really make a difference, but they keep going. Nevertheless, it was also clear that mainstream media organisations call on freelance photojournalists when they need a story covered and cannot or are unwilling to pay to cover some stories themselves. This is how some photojournalists help fund telling the stories that they feel are important, by selling side stories, parts of stories or whole stories. But, in the same respect, photojournalists don’t forgo telling stories if contacts from mainstream media organisations don’t call. For example, when talking about the Martu people’s story, Megan Lewis noted the restrictions associated with working for mainstream media organisations saying:

You couldn’t possibly tell the story unless you spent the time. There’s no way newspapers could tell this story. How could they possibly tell this story and be on the ground for two hours, maybe two weeks, maybe two months. You still couldn’t because they’ve got an agenda and that’s where photojournalism for me is, the luxury would be for most photojournalists if you had the finances, independent income and you didn’t have to worry about making money out of what you’re doing, which most people don’t. They do their freelance stuff to make the money so that they can work on things that they feel really strongly about and that’s totally the difference because ... you don’t have an agenda, purely because you feel that’s an important story to be told.

However, Lewis also mentioned the luxury that came with being an independent photojournalist working on a story she felt was important because she was free of time

constraints and organisational agendas. Lewis contrasted how freelance photojournalists told stories with how press photographers told stories, specifically the time constraints that they face. As already mentioned, for photojournalists, spending time is integral to telling a story that upholds the ideals and values of photojournalism, and is a responsibility. Additionally, Lewis's remark that organisational agendas compromise a photojournalist's ability to tell a story does not necessarily suggest that mainstream media organisations are unethical, but that their structure does not allow for stories to be told in the way that upholds the ideals, values and responsibilities that are important to photojournalists. For example, Australian press photographers are regularly given a list of jobs each day with the subjects have usually pre-arranged and waiting. Press photographers often have limited time to complete each job and are often given a brief that indicates what the journalist wants them to illustrate in their image.

So while photojournalists may freelance partly because they can cover the stories that they feel are important, they also do so to tell stories in a way that they feel upholds their ideals, values and responsibilities. Even though photojournalists tend to tell stories in this way, this does not preclude them from selling their stories to mainstream media outlets for financial or dissemination reasons. Thus, while self-funding may mean financial insecurity for photojournalists, it also means independence. Independence for photojournalists is precious; they like to decide how long they work on some stories. They like to follow the story wherever it leads them, choosing the angle. They like to work on stories that they are passionate about. However, in order to self-fund stories, they also take on assignments with specified story angles, work to deadlines, and work within other constraints. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that since photojournalists are known for telling some stories, they are at times specifically chosen for assignments and given a relatively wide latitude to complete their work.

Jason Edwards noted the link between photojournalists' self-funding and their hope that telling a story would make a difference, when describing why he would self-fund some stories. Edwards (int.no.6) said,

Some people don't care whether they are contributing, whether they are doing anything with their work. They have other reasons for doing it, but making a contribution to the human race or to benefit a habitat or something is not part

of their modus [operandi] and I think that's just not who I am anyway. For that reason I will spend every cent I have, and then some unfortunately, on picking up projects and doing things off my own bat if I can't get them commissioned because I think the story needs to be told.

For Edwards and almost all interviewees, telling stories they felt are important is the be-all and end-all; and by telling these stories they hope to make a difference. However, Edwards also said he thought some photographers didn't really care if their work made a difference or if it contributed back to society. Edwards like many other interviewees said that he would “*spend every cent [he had], and then some*” telling stories that he felt needed to be told. David Dare Parker explained that typically photojournalists are willing to self-fund and deal with other challenges associated with freelance photojournalism because they believe in the genre and telling stories that they feel are important. Parker (int.no.13) said,

There is a misunderstanding about what it is that we do, that we make money off people's misery, which we know is not true because none of us make money. It has never happened. Very few photojournalists are able to make a decent living or a living out of this. So most the people I know they do it because they love the tradition of it and want to be a part of that or they have a need to tell stories.

Parker highlighted one of the common criticisms of photojournalism, that they “*make money off people's misery*” and the various forms that this may take, such as pornography of grief. While from the outside these comments may appear valid, it is clear from the way interviewees spoke about their ideals, values, and responsibilities, this is not the case. However, like all occupations there may be those who personify such criticisms associated with a profession. Parker also said, “*we know [it] is not true because none of us make money*”. Since photojournalists aren't wealthy – they barely make a living – there has to be other reasons why they ‘witness and document history’, and these reasons can be argued to stem from the humanitarian ideals underpinning the genre, “*the tradition*”.

4.3 The role of photojournalism: ‘witnessing and documenting history’ conclusion

As Chapter 3 established that the defining characteristics of photojournalism essentially emanated from the values and motivations of photojournalists. This chapter examined the

impact of the ideals and values on how photojournalists saw their role. As established in this chapter, the ideals, values and responsibilities are entrenched in all that photojournalists do, and how these underpin ‘witnessing and documenting history’. There is a connection between photojournalists’ ideals and values and the role of photojournalism, and these guide photojournalists to see ‘witnessing and documenting history’ as a responsibility. Thus, being a photojournalist is more about the ‘*kind* of person’ they are, the ideals and values that they hold, than technical proficiency alone. What separates photojournalism from other genres of photography may be the type of imagery that they make, but this does not reveal what drives photojournalists to ‘witness and document history’. It does not reveal the humanitarian principles, cares and hopes that motivate them to choose this often difficult yet rewarding career path. So while there may be criticism of photojournalists – for example that they are voyeurs who make money off people’s misery or that photojournalism is the ‘pornography of grief’ – these are only two perspectives or interpretations of who they are and what they do. Nor are they applicable to all photojournalists. Such perspectives do not account for the ideals, values and responsibilities that guide and drive photojournalists to tell stories – their ideology of social responsibility and humanism.

Photojournalism is also often referred to as ‘humanistic photography’ or ‘concerned photography’ because photojournalists engage with the people whose stories they tell. To varying degrees, photojournalists are emotionally invested. They care about people and want to make a difference because they are humanitarians at heart and their vehicles are their cameras. Photojournalists spend time getting to know people and their issues in order to tell in-depth stories with integrity, incorporating the nuances of the issues, situations or events. They invest not only their time and money but also their emotions. Thus, it is no wonder that photojournalists develop an affinity for a region, issue or group of people, often specialising and coming back to it throughout their career. They understand that there are responsibilities that come with the privilege of ‘witnessing and documenting history’, not only to the people whose stories they tell, but also to society as a whole and in order to uphold these, photojournalists choose to work within a certain ethical framework. To uphold their responsibilities and ethics, photojournalists try to be self-aware and constantly reflect on their intentions and actions throughout the process of ‘witnessing and documenting history’, which

includes dissemination. They engage in this process of self-awareness and self-reflection because they care, they want to ensure they are upholding their ideals and values, telling a story with integrity.

The importance photojournalists place on their ideals, values and responsibilities, is so high that they are willing to sacrifice financial security for the freedom to tell stories in a way that upholds these. Thus, photojournalists will often self-fund stories they believe are important to tell. They feel that it is their responsibility to tell others' stories in the hope of making some sort a difference. It is not that photojournalists see themselves as agents of change or that they feel they can change the world. They see themselves more as catalysts for change, that by telling stories they feel are important they can inspire others to act and together they can make a difference. Photojournalists are not, however, under the illusion that they can always make a difference or inspire the masses to band together to make a larger difference. Since trying to change the world or make a large-scale difference is quite a lofty goal, they keep their expectations and focus on the small differences they can make, feeling that making a difference to even one person is an achievement. Photojournalists believe it is also crucial to keep the expectations of those whose stories they tell low and not to overstate or misrepresent the potential impact that can come from telling their stories. They see this as part of their responsibilities, especially as there are risks for the people – as well as themselves – that come with telling stories. While photojournalists feel that it is their responsibility to tell others' stories, they also feel the responsibility of the potential implications and ramifications for the people whose stories they tell. People will often go to extraordinary lengths to have a story told that highlights the issues, situations or events they face. They are quite open and giving with themselves. So photojournalists not only feel a responsibility to the story, but also to the people because not always are the people whose stories they tell aware of or fully able to grasp the risks and implications.

At the heart of everything photojournalists do are the ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as inherent in their role of 'witnessing and documenting history'. Photojournalists see their interactions with people and the experiences that come with telling stories as rewards in themselves. They are not driven by the promise of financial prosperity, fame or awards since these are rarely achieved. However, by upholding their ideals and

values, other accolades may be bestowed. Thus, the ideals and values are what drive photojournalists to tell others' stories and they see this as a privilege and responsibility. The strength and importance of these ideals and values are further accentuated in light of the challenges that photojournalists face. When it comes down to it, if photojournalists were not motivated by a strong belief in the ideals, values and responsibilities to which they subscribe, the challenges that they face as freelancers would be prohibitive.

“

[P]hotojournalists take **great risks**. [They] go to places they probably shouldn't, So they do tend to **put themselves in harms way ... not all the time**, but there's definitely an **element of danger and risk**.

It is **not just physical risk** it is also the **emotional risk**. ... A major thing ... is **depression**. There's **post-traumatic stress disorder**. There's a **range of obstacles** ... from **visa issues**, to **government interference** ... to some **trigger happy** [kid] ... making sure any trip you do is **safe** for you and for the **people you engage** with ... because **we can always leave** ... [but] they cop whatever **backlash can come** from your stories. [Coping] with ... [not] **earning a living** when you are home. ... **Not having enough avenues to put your work** in ... Often you **don't recover** your **expenses**. You feel like the **story is not being told properly** and it is **affecting your home life**. It can often be a **very lonely road**. [A]re they **passionate**? Absolutely, it's the **core thing** otherwise **why would you do all this for so little...** [S]ome photojournalists have been able to prosper, but there's ... **more that don't**. Even for the best in the business, **it's always a struggle**.

But that's almost **part of the process** and **keeps you honest** ... If there was too much **money** and it was **too easy** ... it would be **full of people doing it**, and they wouldn't have anywhere like the same sort of **sense of dedication** that you get **from doing it under such challenging circumstances**. **Materialistically** ... I may have **lost out** but ... what you give away working non-commercially **you gain** [in] **human experience**. [P]eople have worked out that they can't rely on newspapers and the magazines. [T]he **industry is changing very dramatically**. **Unlike most forms of journalism we are going to be doing it, no matter what**. People are still working in photojournalism they are just **working in a different way**, finding **different ways of funding** what they do and **finding different outlets** for what they produce. The images have **no power if** they are **not published [or disseminated]**. [Photojournalists have] to **look for other ways to show their work** ... through the **galleries** ... **self-publishing** ... **books** ... the **internet** ... **blogs** [etc]. In Visa [pour l'Image] ... at least **95 percent of the images** you will see in Perpignan **were never published**. [News organisations] don't want to pay for photography, they **don't want to pay what's fair**, they don't want to pay what's right. The mainstream media that the **interests** have **shifted**. It's more **lifestyle** and **celebrity driven**, so they don't use photojournalism. If they do, **it's often 'but lets not lose advertisers'**. ”

Figure 1.8 – The challenges of being a photojournalist overview

5. Challenges of freelance photojournalism

In the previous chapter “The role of photojournalism: witnessing and documenting history” I examined the nexus between the ideals, values and responsibilities that photojournalists see as fundamental to their role. It was established that the spirit of humanitarianism underpins photojournalism, or as it is sometimes called, ‘concerned photography’ or ‘engaged photography’. Photojournalists feel a responsibility to the people whose stories they tell and society; that by telling stories they hope to make a difference. Thus, photojournalists are driven by the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism and do so in spite of the challenges that they face. As this chapter will highlight, the challenges of being a photojournalist, especially those of a freelance photojournalist, are significant and would deter most (see figure 1.8 for a visual overview).

This chapter starts with section 5.1, which examines the personal challenges photojournalists face, specifically in relation to the physical risks and emotional tolls that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Section 5.2 examines the financial challenges of being a freelance photojournalist and section 5.3 examines the challenges photojournalists face when disseminating their work. There is a certain amount of fluidity between sections as most of the interviewees spoke about the challenges in relation to others, for example, the physical risks that photojournalists face were often mentioned in conjunction with lack of financial security and dissemination concerns. The chapter will conclude with section 5.4 before moving on to Chapter 6 – “Photojournalism as a Way of Life”.

5.1 Introduction to the challenges of freelance photojournalism

Most interviewees tended to list off the challenges in general, however, the depth of these challenges could be seen in other comments and examples they gave during their interviews. Therefore, this section will start by providing a general overview of the issues and challenges that photojournalists face, then specific issues will be examined in more detail. Ben Bohane provided a good introduction to the many challenges photojournalists face.

There's a range of obstacles in front of you all the time that just have to be worked through, from visa issues, to government interference, to police roadblocks, to some trigger happy 12 year old conscript kid that you have to watch out for, to protecting your local fixer, and making sure that any trip you do is safe for you and for the people that you engage with along the way because we can always leave, we can always go, but the people that you talk to and deal with on the ground, they're there and they cop whatever backlash can come from your stories. And, so you need to make sure that they're okay. There's always financial pressures, and considerations. There's health issues. There's relationship issues. It's full of obstacles. (Bohane, int.no.2)

While Bohane provided an overarching run down of the challenges that photojournalists face, David Dare Parker extended on the wide gamut of issues in the field, at home and in the dissemination process.

The biggest issue is getting your work published and making a living. A major thing with photojournalists in particular is depression. It is something we don't talk about often, but it has to have an effect, I mean mental health. When you are working it is not just physical risk it is also the emotional risk. It is not just getting close to the stories, but beyond the actual access to stories, we tend to develop a feeling so we can live with that. But it is the coming back and having to cope with the fact that you are not going to be earning a living when you are at home. You have to be away otherwise you don't eat. It affects your family life. It affects all these things. They are the real emotional problems. Not having enough avenues to put your work in, so you are not really getting the story told. You can spend four or five weeks shooting something and maybe get one or two pages in a magazine if you're lucky. Often you don't recover your expenses. You feel like the story is not being told properly and it is affecting your home life because you still have a mortgage to pay, a family to raise, so they are probably the basic issues we deal with. (Parker, int.no.13)

Parker outlined many issues associated with freelance photojournalism as well as the way some elements are interlinked. He explained that there were physical and emotional risks to telling stories, that 'witnessing and documenting history' could be physically hazardous and that being in the field affected photojournalists' mental health. For the family and friends of photojournalists, the emotional toll and ramifications of having their loved ones potentially in harm's way is difficult. For photojournalists, being away from their loved ones, family, and friends for extended periods also affects them emotionally. Parker also said there were emotional effects associated with their home lives and their responsibilities; that meeting their financial obligations back home also affected their mental health. The process is cyclical – in

order to earn money, photojournalists need to be in the field telling stories, but in order to tell stories they need money. Being in the field comes with physical and emotional risks for photojournalists – and their family and friends – but not being in the field means that they are not earning money.

Parker also said there were emotional effects associated with trying to get stories published – that it was financially and emotionally challenging – and when published they were often done so in a way that did not tell the full story or did not honour the story and those involved. Thus, telling stories is a financial and emotional battle in itself that is exacerbated by the issues associated with dissemination. Ben Bohane echoed similar sentiments regarding the issues photojournalists face.

You face the full gamut of human emotion, political manipulation, personal joy and trauma. You live the whole spectrum of life doing this kind of work. There's all kinds of issues and it's not a pretty game. I wouldn't recommend this to anyone. But, if you have the compulsion to do it and you're a storyteller at heart, then, yeah, I can't imagine doing anything different. But you pay for it, in all kinds of ways, financially and emotionally. It's very hard to have relationships. You lose friends along the way. You worry when friends and colleagues, like Steve [Dupont], and others ... get hit. (Bohane, int.no.2)

Bohane said the “full gamut of human emotion” affects photojournalists, that the experiences associated with ‘witnessing and documenting history’ are emotionally rich, and include deep sorrows, joys and everything in between. While Bohane observed that the reality of being a photojournalist was “not a pretty game”, he also said that he wouldn’t do anything different. In fact a number of interviewees noted similar sentiments including that they would not recommend becoming a photojournalist but they personally wouldn’t choose any other occupation. Discouraging people from becoming photojournalists could be construed as an attempt to maintain their position within the market or industry, but this does not appear to be their intention as there is a strong tradition of mentoring emerging photojournalists without any requirement to do so or any remuneration.

Rather, it appears that photojournalists do not necessarily discourage but rather forewarn people for genuine reasons – a desire to inform others of the potential risks and impact associated with being a photojournalist so that if they choose this “Way of Life” they do so

with their eyes open. They appear to hope that if a person chooses to be a photojournalist knowing the potential risks and impact this choice may have on them and their loved ones, they are doing so because they truly believe in what they are doing, that they believe in telling stories, and to some degree enter the field prepared to meet the challenges. Bohane also revealed that in choosing to be a photojournalist, a person pays for their choice not just financially but also emotionally and personally.

Bohane also expressed concern for photojournalists' colleagues and friends when they are in the field. He specifically mentioned a close friend, Stephen Dupont, who had the night before been injured in Afghanistan when a 12-year-old suicide bomber detonated his explosive device (Dupont, 2008). While, Bohane mentioned the risks of 'witnessing and documenting history' in relation to the concern photojournalists feel for one another, he also noted these as issues in themselves at various points during the interview. Dupont also noted similar challenges that photojournalists faced when he was interviewed prior to his April 28, 2008 experience.

Let's go through the list, I mean it is a list. There's insecurity for sure because as a freelancer you don't have a regular income and so you are constantly dealing with that insecurity of living expenses and things like that. The risk factor of going out on your own when you're not on assignment and you're spending money and you're doing a story that you're not sure anyone else will give a damn about. And you might feel strongly about it but other people may not, magazines may not and whatever, and so there's more risk factor in that as well. There's your family, there's spending long periods of time away from your family, I think that comes into play and friends and things like that. I mean photojournalism, it's a very lonely profession. It's a very solo, independent sort of singular kind of lifestyle. (Dupont, int.no.5)

Dupont mentioned the financial insecurity that comes with being a freelance photojournalist and the impact this has on day-to-day living. However, he also noted the trend of photojournalists having to self-fund stories then trying to sell them in order to make a living, rather than rely on assignments. The trend of self-funding stories also highlights that in order for some stories to be told, photojournalists could not wait for or rely on assignments if they wish to tell them. Photojournalists tend to work alone. They are "independent" as and they spend long periods away in order to tell stories, thus it is a "lonely profession". Jack Picone (int.no.14) also highlighted the isolation of being a photojournalist saying, "[i]t can be

quite lonely ... it's a lot of travelling so it's lonely in terms of you leave your friends, your family and stuff like that”.

Photojournalists face challenges other than those already introduced, such as vilification, bureaucracy and other potential ramifications for telling stories. Joao Pina (int.no.15) said in some countries the restrictions on photographers were prohibitive:

The main problem, for example, to work in the US is bureaucracy. You need a permit for this, you need a release for that, you can't shoot this for security reasons so it's a lot of patience. Whereas in South America my big concern is always security so it varies a lot.

Pina highlighted the different challenges inherent in different countries and in telling different stories. In many ways, telling stories in western countries is just as difficult as in non-Western countries, but the difficulties are different. In Western countries, photographers are often vilified. For example, taking photographs in public is often deemed as ‘suspicious behaviour’.

Incidents of photographers being arrested in the United Kingdom under the now suspended Section 44 of the anti-terrorism legislation are well documented (“I’m a photographer not a terrorist”, n.d.; Lewis, 2010). However, numerous incidents have been reported about photographers in other countries, such as the United States (Honan, 2007) and Australia (Grubb, 2008; Palmer & Whyte, 2010), where photographers have been harassed under the guise of national security and anti-terror laws that define the photographing of buildings and landmarks as suspicious behaviour worthy of arrest (“I’m a photographer not a terrorist”, n.d.). However, other, seemingly more innocuous situations have also resulted in police attention. For example, parents have been banned from taking photographs at their children’s sporting matches (Markson, 2008), and police have told photographers on the beach that they cannot take photographs without people’s consent (McNicoll, 2006; Bode, 2009), being arrested for being too tall (Porter, 2009), or arrested for taking pictures of a brawl that happened outside a court house (Greenslade, 2011; Laurent, 2011, June 14), to name but a few.

Therefore, photographers face risks it seems in many environments under many guises. While, there are many bureaucratic risks associated with taking photographs, Ben Bohane explained that telling some stories could result in a photojournalist finding him or herself pitted against a government.

[I]n the case of West Papua they really thought the world had forgotten about them. This is a 30-year struggle for independence and 100,000 dead from 30 years of Indonesian occupation – spitting distance from Australia. Same story as East Timor, but just never really had the press. ... So it does raise these sorts of issues and access. The Indonesian government makes it very difficult to get access to these places, so I have had to cross borders illegally. ... [I]ronically the only times I have really had to deal with authorities and problems relating to my work have generally been Australian authorities coming in and out of some of these places. I am banned in Indonesia, so I can't go back there, but that's fine – that's one of the things you do if you feel strongly about telling a particular story as I was with West Papua. For me it was worth sacrificing further access to Indonesia. (Bohane, int.no.2)

Bohane illustrated the lengths to which photojournalists would go in order to tell a story, that they were willing “to cross borders illegally”; sneak in to places in order to tell stories they felt were important and risk being prevented from ever visiting a country again. This is also referencing the tradition of telling stories ‘from the other side’ exemplified by the likes of Wilfred Burchett or more recently Paul Refsdale or Ghaith Abdul-Ahad who reported from the ranks of the Taliban (“Life among the U.S. enemies,” 2010; Abdul-Ahad, 2010). Bohane also spoke about the potential problems associated with telling stories from the other side of governments. The risks associated with telling stories will be examined later in conjunction with other physical risks that photojournalists face.

It is important to note that despite all the challenges interviewees discussed, which were certainly not groundless grumblings, almost all of the interviewees subsequently said in the same breath that they found being a photojournalist personally fulfilling. The way in which they spoke about the challenges was with a certain amount of distance, stating them as facts and offering little elaboration. Yet they countered the challenges that they mentioned by talking about the things they found personally fulfilling with a sense of joy and hope.

5.1.1 Personal challenges: the physical and emotional tolls of ‘witnessing and documenting history’

Section 5.1 introduced the broader range of challenges that will be examined in this chapter. Despite the way that these difficulties are intertwined, they can also be unravelled for investigation, albeit with a certain amount of crossover. This section will first deal with the emotional tolls of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ before examining the physical challenges.

To begin, Stephen Dupont noted the solitary nature of photojournalism, that even though photojournalists frequently worked with people – since they were often the only person in a given situation who was ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Dupont (int.no.5) said, “*it can often be a very lonely road and I think that dealing with that also comes into play and just constantly being faced with extreme situations or non-extreme situations*”. The point that Dupont made was that while telling stories photojournalists were often secluded, even when the environment was bustling. Despite being engaged with others, photojournalists are still somewhat isolated because they are outsiders – no matter how much time they spend – and that they have to deal with constantly feeling alone and lonely. Additionally, Dupont highlighted that while there were challenges that arose from being in extreme situations, there were also challenges in the sedate, and that no matter the situation they were constantly engaged. These challenges range from the situations themselves to the emotional effects that can come from bearing witness. Dupont also mentioned the balance between family and work and the ways in which this equilibrium was itself a challenge.

I think photojournalists are often presented with many issues and challenges in the things that I've mentioned [the psychological and physical risks as well as the financial challenges], how do you balance your family with your work and all of that kind of stuff – and I think we're always being challenged by that and I think we always will be. (Dupont, int.no.5)

Dupont said photojournalists would always face challenges, that there would always be a tug-of-war, a precarious balancing act between witnessing and documenting, family and friends, and the other challenges that they encounter. However, he specifically highlighted the challenge of balancing one’s family and family life with witnessing and documenting,

suggesting that while all the challenges that photojournalists face are just that, difficult and challenging, balancing family and family life is just as significant as other more easily identifiable physical risks. This is not to imply that all the challenges are equal in their severity or consequence, but rather to emphasise to the importance photojournalists place on this particular challenge. This is particularly important since the risks that photojournalists face may not always directly impact their families in the same way as they do the photojournalist, but they do affect and impact them nonetheless. The greatest impact for all is when, heaven forbid, photojournalists do not come home, but even when they do come home this does not mean they leave the challenges they face behind, since photojournalists bear the scars of facing these challenges and bring these home. Tamara Dean spoke about the personal challenges associated with ‘witnessing and documenting history’ and the way these could manifest in home lives.

I've been sent over as a news photographer after big world events and had to respond to those [situations] and it is completely not a place that I feel that I should be because I'm too fragile. I didn't go into photography looking to get involved in the terrible events, and it's very affecting. ... It affected me most when I had my first baby and I was in hospital and I started getting ... not that it was that bad, but flashbacks to after the tsunami and just being around and there's babies crying everywhere, it was just a dark moment. But I know that particularly with Dean [Sewell] who went into [Banda] Aceh for instance after the tsunami ... and was exposed to just horrendous imagery around him. He just takes it on and seems to process it quite well. But then little things like his tolerance of say the kids' whinging about something because he's got such a huge polar experience to compare misery and suffering to. His empathy for smaller things is not as much as perhaps someone who hadn't been exposed to that. (Dean, int.no.4)

Dean specifically revealed that she felt she was “*too fragile*” to witness and document war or other disasters – which comes back to self-awareness. Despite never setting out to work in those environments, Dean said had been sent as part of role as a newspaper photographer. Dean’s work as a photojournalist tends to focus more on social issues, for example, a documentary project on motherhood she mentioned. Dean highlighted the emotional impact of witnessing when she spoke about “*flashbacks*” and “*a dark moment*” she had when her first child was born. Dean’s comment that her experience was ‘not that bad’ could mean just that, that it was a mild experience, but it could also be an attempt to minimise

the impact of what she witnessed, or possibly even some sort of comparison, that she felt that what she experienced was less severe than others. Whatever the reason, it does not diminish the fact that there is a level of trauma that comes with witnessing and experiencing.

While Dean said her husband Dean Sewell and colleague Nick Moir were also witnesses to the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami, she said that they appeared to be adept at handling the emotional experiences associated with witnessing. However, she also thought her husband's tolerance level for everyday occurrences was skewed because of what he had witnessed as a photojournalist. All of the symptoms described in Dean's comment are commonly associated with some sort of psychological distress. Almost all interviewees noted the psychological distress that could occur when 'witnessing and documenting history', specifically in relation to the challenges that they faced. Steven Dupont (int.no.5) spoke about the psychological challenges associated with being a photojournalist when he said:

There's also psychological issues, particularly if you're photographing in extreme situations. I mean there's post-traumatic stress disorder, there's the usual medical, psychological issues that soldiers and emergency workers face for instance. Because if you're out there photographing conflict or you're photographing any sort of major disaster or anything like that and you're seeing a lot of death and so forth, then it's natural as a human being that you're going to be faced with dealing with that kind of stress.

It is important to note that not all photojournalists witness and document the darker, tragic side of humanity – the heinous acts of humankind, disasters, accidents, war, unrest and other tragic issues, events and situations. However, these kinds of subjects are, in a significant number of cases, the main fodder of photojournalists. Not everything that photojournalists witness will cause them psychological distress, however, there is much that will. Additionally, the stress associated with being in some of these traumatic situations, not only that stemming from witnessing, but also at times from being in physical danger and uncertainty can affect photojournalists – and anyone else in these situations – and can take a toll on them emotionally and psychologically.

For a long time, society deemed all journalistic forms alike to be immune from the effects of 'witnessing and documenting history'; that what they witnessed could not crack their

publicly perceived professional objectivity and dispassionate nature (Feinstein, 2006; Frank & Perigoe, 2009; Keats, 2010; Ricchiardi, 1999). Additionally, while many journalists who witnessed traumatic issues, events and situations knew that it had significant effects on them emotionally, psychologically and at times physically, it was a taboo topic – except occasionally amongst those who were also suffering. To admit to such stress was deemed a sign of weakness (Feinstein, 2006; Ricchiardi, 1999). In many cases journalists did not even speak to editors or others in any managerial roles – even if they were freelancers – for fear of being seen as incapable; the threat of job security, career progression and a host of other paralysing apprehensions that kept their lips tightly closed (Bolton, 2009; Feinstein, 2006; Green & Sykes, 2005; Keats & Buchanan, 2009). However, today research into the effects of witnessing trauma amongst all journalistic forms and the somewhat openness of personal accounts and experiences are more commonplace. Nevertheless, the psychological scars that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’ are entrenched in the minds of many photojournalists. During a public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective held at the Powerhouse in 2006 Michael Coyne shared one of the experiences that haunted him.

The Iranians ... sent the young boys across the minefields and the young boys would run across the minefields and clear the minefields before the soldiers went in. So to see anything like that and to see the results of something like that, is something that I will live with until I die. I can't shake it out of my head. It is always there somewhere. (Coyne in int.no.20)

There is not the space or focus in this thesis to examine the psychological impact of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ with the care and honour this important topic deserves. The seminal work of Anthony Feinstein (2006), Professor of Psychiatry, member of the Dart Center’s advisory council, and author of *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*, provided an extraordinary account of the psychological problems that came with ‘witnessing and documenting history’. It is also important to mention the Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma (<http://dartcenter.org/>), whose members have been instrumental in researching and educating people about how to report on violence, conflict and tragedy ethically. They also provide resources, tools and support to deal with the effects of working in such situations. Nevertheless, it is important to discuss the psychological impact on

photojournalists in the course of telling stories as these are an important element of their “Way of Life”.

While Feinstein’s (2006) work particularly focused on the trauma of covering war among all journalistic forms, it has more recently been acknowledged, in part by the efforts of those involved with the Dart Center, that reporting on other issues, situations and events, for example, accidents, disasters, homicides, rape, robberies, massacres, fires, riots etc, can be traumatising to journalists (Frank & Perigoe, 2009; McMahon, 2001; Newman, Simpson & Handschuh, 2003). However, it is not only the impact of witnessing firsthand that can have psychological implications. Journalists who witness the distress of others recalling their experiences of traumatic issues, situations or events can also be traumatised (Frank & Perigoe, 2009; Keats & Buchanan, 2009; Ochberg, n.d.). In terms of psychological consequences for photojournalists – and all journalists alike – the four most common and debilitating afflictions associated with experiencing life-threatening events and situations and disasters are post-traumatic stress disorder, major depression, substance abuse and dissociative disorder (Feinstein, Owen & Blair, 2002; Newman, Simpson & Handschuh, 2003). In fact, Feinstein (2006) noted that while war journalists had witnessed a multitude of traumatic issues, situations and events, and faced peril themselves it was at times empathy for the survivors that caused them significant trauma.

After a decade or more in combat zones there was much to tell, but every journalist had, in his repository of literally hundreds of traumatic memories, a particular event that stood out with an eidetic quality. Most of these fell into one of two categories. The first, applicable to the majority, involved near-death experiences: getting wounded, or being shot at, or having their plane shot down. What intrigued me, however, was the second type of response. Here the event (and it was seldom more than a single event), did not necessarily involve anything life-threatening. Nor did it involve witnessing scenes of mutilation or wide-scale destruction. Rather, it centered on the survivors of war, the victims who, through some peculiar twist in fate, had been spared death only to confront a shattered existence. It was the plight of the distraught – people who had lost their children, families, livelihood, homes, and communities, overtaken by events often not of their making, devastated by the magnitude of their loss – that shocked the journalists’ sensibilities, outraged their morality, and triggered compassion and pity. (Feinstein, 2006, p.21)

The term commonly used to describe the symptoms of psychological distress stemming from various forms of traumatic experience is ‘post-traumatic stress disorder’ (PTSD). This condition is characterised by a triad of responses to an event that someone has been involved in or witnessed, in which they felt terrified, horrified or helpless (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006; Newman, Simpson & Handschuh, 2003). For a diagnosis of PTSD to be given, one must have a number of symptoms from all three categories of the responses – intrusion, avoidance and arousal – and the symptoms must last for at least one month (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006). The symptoms of intrusion refer to someone experiencing recurring and involuntary dreams, flashbacks, thoughts or distressing imagery from a traumatic event or situation (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006). The symptoms of avoidance refer to someone avoiding external activities, places and people or repelling thoughts, feelings and conversations which are associated with the traumatic event or situation, or that causes them to recollect the event (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006). Symptoms of avoidance also include difficulty recalling aspects of the trauma, a restricted range of emotions and feeling detached or estranged. The symptoms of arousal refer to a heightened startle response, hypervigilance and difficulties sleeping, controlling anger or concentration (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006).

The more someone is exposed to traumatic issues, situations and events, the more likely he or she is to develop some form of psychological distress during their lifetime, but this is not a predictor in and of itself (Feinstein, 2006). Research indicates that the lifetime prevalence of PTSD amongst war journalists is 28.6 percent, which is higher than the suggested 7 – 13 percent for police officers, and is recommended as comparable to the rates of combat veterans (Feinstein, Owen & Blair, 2002). Additionally, those who witness traumatic issues, situations or events, face peril themselves, or deal with those who have experienced traumatic issues, situations or events tend to have higher rates of depression, anxiety and at times social dysfunction (Feinstein, Owen & Blair, 2002; Feinstein, 2006; McMahan, 2001). As Feinstein (2006) noted:

It would be misleading to convey the impression that war journalists are riddled with PTSD-type psychopathology. There is no doubt that the risks they expose themselves to are astonishing by any standard ... [b]ut what is perhaps more extraordinary is that more than 70 percent of them do not have PTSD. Every account of unwanted intrusive thoughts, nightmares, startle responses,

and emotional withdrawal was matched by stories of journalists taken to the brink of death in the most perverse and sadistic fashion, yet reacting with an equanimity that rivets the attention. Certain individuals appear immune to the long-term adverse psychological consequences of repeated exposure to life-threatening danger. This is not to say that they never experience fear, but rather that their threshold for it is raised. (p.39)

Thus there are consistencies among the ways in which individuals react to traumatic experiences. Nevertheless, PTSD manifests in a variety of ways and the impact this has varies. “PTSD has not only a variety of dimensions and components, but vastly different effects and implications” (Ochberg, n.d., ¶24). Additionally, just because someone does not have all the necessary symptoms for a diagnosis of PTSD does not mean that they are not affected to varying degrees by individual or various combinations of symptoms (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006); “Thus, even those journalists without PTSD experience isolated, persistent, and at times disturbing intrusive symptoms” (Feinstein, 2006, p.31). Incidentally, Feinstein (2006) also found that emotional distress and symptoms of PTSD were the higher among photojournalists than other journalistic forms. Feinstein (2006) said, “A notable observation here was that PTSD symptoms were differentially distributed according to the type of journalism practised. Symptoms were more frequent and intense in still photographers, followed by cameramen, and then print reporters and producers” (p.29). It can be suggested that in order for photojournalists to carry out what they see as their responsibilities, they tend to get exceptionally close to the people and the issues, situations and events they face. Hence, it is not surprising that photojournalists’ face a greater risk of emotional distress than other journalistic forms – especially with the increased trend of journalists reporting from the newsroom rather than in the field.

Going back to Dean’s comment, elements of the psychological tolls that come with being a photojournalist can be seen. Thus the “*flashbacks*” that Dean mentioned are one of the intrusive symptoms of PTSD and other emotional distresses (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006). Additionally, Dean’s use of “*a dark moment*” to reference her emotional distress and melancholy after witnessing is consistent with research that suggests that these reactions are elevated among journalists compared to the general population (Feinstein, Owen & Blair, 2002; Frank & Perigoe, 2009) and highlights the impact that the experiences of being a photojournalist can have on an individual.

This is not meant to imply that Dean or any other interviewees suffer from PTSD or any other psychological diagnosis. I am not a trained psychologist and making such assumptions or diagnoses would be grossly inappropriate. It is my intent to purely examine interviewees' comments generally in light of the literature to illustrate the emotional and psychological challenges that come with 'witnessing and documenting history'. Nonetheless, Dean's view that her experiences of emotional distress were 'not that bad' could be attributed to the fact that the threshold of what is deemed as serious effects and ramifications of being a photojournalist have been pushed to extraordinary limits. While specifically speaking about the physical danger that war journalists face, Feinstein (2006) noted that their perception of what was danger had invariably been pushed beyond the perimeters of what was deemed significant for most other people. This latitude of acceptance could also be applicable to the way in which journalists in many fields see symptoms of emotional distress. For example, Feinstein (2006) said:

[War journalists] operate within a unique belief system, one that defines the concepts of threat and danger quite differently from any other group of subjects I have studied. It is not that their appreciation of what constitutes danger is absent, but rather that their threshold of what defines risk has been shifted so far along the continuum ... make[s] it difficult to detect. (p.17)

Dean (int.no.4) also said that she thought the effects of 'witnessing and documenting history' could:

[R]eally affect people personally, but not in a way that even they recognise themselves. And definitely, I think particularly men and women who have been in situations where there's intense poverty or intense suffering; it can affect your perception of living in a comfortable world and what is pain.

Feinstein (2006) also highlighted that much of what war photojournalists and other journalists alike witnessed and experienced invariably changed them as people, even if these did not emotionally distress them. "There is a clearly discernable thread that runs through all of the war journalists' responses. Whether they reported symptoms of PTSD or not, they share a belief that their work has changed them as individuals" (Feinstein, 2006, p.44). Of particular note is the disconnect between life at home and what photojournalists experience when out in the field telling stories and the impact this can have. Similar to Dean who

described that her husband's tolerance levels were skewed, Feinstein (2006) also noted the disconnect between journalists' experiences in traumatic situations and the experiences of everyday life. In some ways, people become accustomed to conflict zones and feel that these conditions are more real than their lives back home (Feinstein, 2006). A number of Feinstein's (2006) interviewees said they felt that back home, people's conversations seemed trivial and that the worries, experiences and general day-to-day life were superficial.

War journalists are acutely aware of the contrast between the intensity of living and working in a war zone and the mundaneness of life in a society at peace. ... Details like paying the electricity bill or getting the lawn cut, when placed alongside death and survival, heroism and cowardice, can seem annoyingly trivial. A wedge is inserted between two disparate realities: the world inhabited by war journalists and their coterie of soldiers, refugees, mercenaries, informants, and fixers, and that occupied by the journalists' families, with their shopkeepers, schoolteachers, appliance repayment, and garage attendants. The adjustment for journalists when they re-enter this orbit poses a challenge, and it can test their emotional maturity and the strength of their relationships. (Feinstein, 2006, pp.33 – 34)

The experiences of traumatic situations can also induce physical reactions when home and away from threat, in the forms of the heightened startle responses and hypervigilance (Ochberg, n.d.; Feinstein, 2006). Feinstein (2006) noted that images and smells could trigger vivid recollections of traumatic situations and experiences, that one interviewee could not walk on grass when home for fear of landmines and that for others sounds triggered physical reactions. During the public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective, Michael Coyne recalled his own involuntary response to a sound.

When my daughter was six, I was at that time working when the Iran-Iraq war was on. [I] was down the front and saw some pretty awful things ... I took my daughter out and that night we went to a fireworks display on the end of the Yarra. We are standing there and my daughter had brought her little friend along with her and they fired the fireworks off, they fired them off like a cannon and I did what we did everyday; I lay down on the ground and put my hands behind my head. So my daughter 20 years later has never forgiven me for embarrassing her in front of 30,000 people. It's never easy and it never goes away, and it's always there and even though I close my eyes at night, I can often see some of the terrible things. It always hangs around all of us I am sure. It's not something you could ever forget or that smell or taste, it's always sitting there somewhere. I try to bury it, forget about

it, but I have seen it for 30 years and it's still sitting there and I can still see some of the terrible things. (Coyne, int.no.20)

Additionally, the effects of psychological distress can also induce psychosomatic physical health problems (Feinsten, 2006). Thus, the emotional tolls that come with 'witnessing and documenting history' are in fact significant challenges that can potentially tear at the fabric of the psychological and emotional health of photojournalists and leave scars that ultimately change them for life. For some, the effects of these traumas are fleeting or sporadic – although this does not diminish their impact or intensity – for others these effects are pervasive, prevailing and prevalent throughout their lives.

While photojournalists – and all journalists alike – may avoid speaking about their experiences, or withhold these from their loved ones whether because they don't want to relive the experiences or don't want their loved ones to worry, these shared experiences seem to help them forge quite a tight knit community. The tight-knit photojournalistic community in some way appears to be a surrogate family who care about and support each other in ways that others who have not shared similar experiences cannot. It can be suggested that the community of shared experiences and psychological distress could help them fit in and give them a sense of belonging. Photojournalists, like everyone, have other interests, traits, and qualities over which they could bond and forge friendships. But, their individual experiences and general shared experiences of being in the field could help groups of photojournalists unite and possibly aid them in dealing or coping with the issues they face. However, it is also possible that the uniting of photojournalists through shared experiences could in fact help isolate them from others, including loved ones, who are outsiders to the challenges of 'witnessing and documenting history'.

Being a photojournalist can also take its toll on one's life and the lives of loved ones in other more indirect ways as 'witnessing and documenting history' often becomes an all-consuming endeavour. As Michael Amendolia (int.no.1) noted:

It does affect your personal life because it can be a very obsessive thing to be involved in, and you love it, because you wouldn't be obsessed with it if it wasn't something fun, though there's always unhealthy ways of doing these sorts of things and they do have their price ... Of myself, I think all those things

have probably happened. There's times when I didn't pay as much attention to my family ... as I should have and perhaps I was away a lot more than my partner at the time would perhaps have liked. ... I was lucky I had a very understanding partner and perhaps before then I just put a lot more into it in my mind. Whether I was there or not would be another matter, but I was always thinking about it and I was always trying to activate something.

Amendolia highlighted the obsessive nature of photojournalism, that if not out in the field telling a story, they most likely were thinking about one, that telling stories could be all-consuming not just in terms of time, but also mentally. While the physical distance of a photojournalist being away could take its toll on relationships, what could also be destructive is the emotional distance that comes with being present physically, but not being present mentally or emotionally. Therefore, because telling stories can become obsessive, all-consuming, it is easy for photojournalists to be constantly thinking, whether it is about the story itself, how to get it out there or how to fund it et cetera. For family and friends – especially romantic partners and children – this could be seen as a form of emotional estrangement, leading them to feel that ‘witnessing and documenting history’ was more important than them. If we add this mental absence to the extended period of time that many photojournalists spend in the field – no matter where they are or the extent of possible danger – away from their family and friends, it is easy to see how being a photojournalist could be detrimental to many relationships. This is not to say that all photojournalists place telling stories above their family and friends, or that all photojournalists are physically and emotionally estranged from their loved ones. There will of course always be some that are not.

All occupations and activities have the potential to become all-consuming, where the balance between family and everyday life is tipped toward a chosen career or personal endeavour. The defining characteristic is not the occupation or personal endeavour, but rather the personal characteristics of the individuals concerned – everyone has the potential to throw themselves into something, to become obsessed, to let their obsession or passion outweigh the balance between personal relationships and life. Amendolia said “*you wouldn't be obsessed with it if it wasn't something fun*” indicating that photojournalists don’t just ‘witness and document history’ for purely altruistic reasons, that they do find pleasure in their work and the life that comes with ‘witnessing and documenting history’. In many ways, being a

photojournalist could be deemed as a selfish endeavour, indulgent, and for some it might be. But it would be amiss to tar all photojournalists with the same brush, as it is a matter of perspective. Some may feel that what photojournalists do is selfish, always putting themselves and their desires first, not placing safety, financial security or family first, but for others they may see it as a selfless act, standing up for the people who would otherwise not be heard.

As an interesting side note and worthy of further research, Megan Lewis mentioned the tolls of being a photojournalist like all other interviewees, but also mentioned the possible implications for female photojournalists. Lewis (int.no.11) said, “*I think it’s easier for men, because women are more likely to put up with people who do stuff like that, with women it’s harder because, harder and easier in some ways, because blokes won’t put up with hanging around*”. Contextually, Lewis had previously been speaking about the challenges that photojournalists face in general – about personal relationships, and psychological, financial and physical risks.

For some female photojournalists, their absence may be more destructive to their relationships than it is for men because some men may not want to wait at home for their partner to return. In Margaret Thomas’s (2007) PhD thesis, which focused on the careers, personal lives, experiences and issues that female American newspaper photographers faced throughout their careers, a number of her interviewees noted similar sentiments. Additionally, a study into the *Effects of Work Related Absences on Families: Evidence from the Gulf War* (Angrist & Johnson, 2000) found that the divorce rates among married women who were deployed were significantly higher than their male counterparts, and that the dissolution of the vast majority of marriages was due to their deployment. While I have purposefully avoided gender related issues, there are a few instances where gender is relevant and offers an interesting side point. While gender issues are outside the scope of this thesis, these areas are worthy of further research.

5.1.1.1 The physical challenges that photojournalists face

While the psychological distress that can come from ‘witnessing and documenting history’ may produce unseen scars that challenge photojournalists, the physical scars are often more visible. The dangers or challenges that photojournalists face are not only inherent in war or conflict. Almost all of the interviewees said the physical dangers were present in many situations. Jack Picone (int.no.14) highlighted the difficulties and dangers that photojournalists face when he said:

Depending on what kind of photojournalism you're doing, there's definitely an element of danger and security and stuff like that. I mean photojournalists do tend to take great risks, more than most average people do, and go to places they probably shouldn't because a lot of the things that they're covering are either conflict or they're just contentious in their own right. So they do tend to put themselves in harm's way at different times, not all the time, but there's definitely an element of danger and risk for one's, anything from one's health to one's life.

Parker noted the physical tolls of being a photojournalist. He particularly mentioned that photojournalists tended to take greater risks than the general population in terms of going to places that were not necessarily safe. This does not just include war or conflict zones but can extend to any situation that someone does not want exposed. Thus, personal security and safety are significant challenges for photojournalists, especially since in many, if not most, situations they are often alone telling stories, which makes them vulnerable. Additionally, while photojournalists can be specifically targeted or become victims of collateral damage, they can also inadvertently find themselves in harm's way in seemingly innocuous situations. There are also the more subtle challenges to their health such as exposure to diseases, poor access to healthy food, risks of infections or exposure to general environmental hazards.

One example is NBC Correspondent, David Bloom, who died from a blood clot that was presumably caused from living in the cramped conditions of his news vehicle in Iraq (Evans, 2003). Another is the photojournalist who unofficially described contracting a parasite called guinea worm which is spread through contaminated water supplies and that grows up to three feet long before breaking out of the body through the skin. Tamara Dean explained that most of the situations in which photojournalists find themselves could become hazardous quite

quickly. Dean (int.no.4) said, “*People can find themselves in compromising situations that are not safe or could turn very quickly. So there are obvious risks in that, that's just common sense*”. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) said that the dangers photojournalists faced were increasing:

It is getting more dangerous. So, if you're photographing combatants chances are they will see you as some sort of evidence gatherer and will probably be hostile to you. Either that or they will see you as someone who is less than bipartisan, that you're not there for their best interests and they'll react. The only way you can get away with that is sometimes, if they are too busy their minds [are] preoccupied. When things quieten down that is usually the most dangerous time, when they've had time to reflect upon why you're there. So usually you have to find a way, you have to have all of these weird strategies in place when you go into covering things like conflict, things like exit strategies.

Parker explained the relationship between photojournalists and those being documented could be a tenuous. As Dean mentioned, this relationship can take a turn for the worse at any moment. Parker also said the dangers that photojournalists faced were increasing, and that by telling stories photojournalists can become targets. Many interviewees noted similar concerns, that the dangers they face are increasing, not just in war zones but also in general. For example, the risks of being murdered, tortured, jailed, kidnapped, raped, injured in riots or stampedes, intimidated, attacked or assaulted are rising, and for the most part, the perpetrators are able to carry out such acts with impunity (*Killing the messenger*, 2007).

Even reporting on stories can find journalists facing the wrath of governments, local law enforcement or the courts. For example, journalists are regularly harassed, censored and detained as the recent trial of five Sudanese journalists for reporting on an alleged rape (AFP, 2011) illustrated. Sadly these examples are not uncommon incidents as the *World Press Freedom Index* (Reporters Without Borders, 2010) and the *Attacks on Press in 2010* (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010) reports have indicated. Additionally, 185 journalists were imprisoned during 2010, which is the highest number since 1996 (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). In fact, while international journalists face significant risks, local journalists, or those who stay in a region for an extended period to tell a story, also face these challenges. The 2007 report *Killing the Messenger: Report of the Global Inquiry by the*

International Safety Institute into the Protection of Journalists stated the risks that journalists face have steadily increased.

One thousand journalists and support staff have died trying to report the news around the world in the past 10 years: an average of two a week. Only one in four news media staff died covering war and other armed conflicts. The great majority died in peacetime, working in their own countries ... at least 657 men and women were murdered – eliminated as they tried to shine light into the dark recesses of their societies – and only one in eight of their killers were prosecuted. (*Killing the messenger*, 2007, p.11)

However, even in conflict or war zones, the physical dangers journalists face are increasing. Stephen Dupont was quoted on the ProPhoto website as saying: “Wars are more high-tech now and you’re no longer dealing with just land mines and snipers, you’re dealing with suicide bombers, car bombers and kidnapping as well – it’s huge” (Anger, 2010, ¶7). It does not matter if journalists are freelancers, staff members, embedded with a military unit or working independently they can become potential targets no matter the situation. The *New York Times* reported in 2006 an incident where freelance photojournalist Zorah Miller was removed from a U.S. marine unit he was embedded with in Iraq, and was given a protection detail for fear of retribution, for photographing and publishing (after the families were notified) unidentifiable remains of soldiers (Kamber & Arango, 2008). There have also been accusations by the International Federation of Journalists that the U.S. military has specifically targeted non-embedded journalists after a hotel that was being used as a de facto press centre was fired upon and the offices of al-Jazeera and Abu Dhabi Television were bombed (Tryhorn, 2003).

For females, there is the added risk of sexual assault – which the widely reported incident of CBS correspondent Lara Logan who was separated from her crew, beaten and raped by a mob in Egypt, brought to the forefront of public attention (Robinson & AFP, 2011). Not much, however, is known about the true extent of sexual assaults perpetrated on journalists as for the most part incidents are unreported (Wolfe, 2011). While the large majority of sexual assault victims are women, men have also been targeted (Smyth, 2011; Wolfe, 2011). The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) noted that sexual violence against journalists could usually be classified in one of three ways (Wolfe, 2011): “targeted sexual violation of specific

journalists, often in reprisal for their work; mob-related sexual violence against journalists covering public events; and sexual abuse of journalists in detention or captivity” (¶5). Since the attack on Lara Logan, CPJ have spoken to 48 journalists who have been the victims of sexual violence finding few have disclosed their experiences to anyone outside family and friends because of stigma and the disbelief that authorities would act upon their complaints (Wolfe, 2011). “But time and again, journalists also said that professional considerations played an important role; many were reluctant to disclose an assault to their editors for fear they would be perceived as vulnerable and be denied future assignments” (Wolfe, 2011, ¶6).

Nick Moir said increasingly photojournalists, rather than other types of journalists, were the witnesses and that being visible – in terms of the easily identifiable equipment and their physical presence – increased the likelihood of them being targeted. Moir (int.no.3) said,

With exception to maybe some video work, it's the one journalism where you actually have to witness, you have to be there actually in person and actually face it and then be in a position where people will look at you while you're doing this sort of work, you can make yourself a target at the same time.

This is not meant to undermine the risks that all journalists alike face. Rather Moir meant that unlike other forms of journalism, an image cannot be captured unless the photojournalist is somewhere, witnessing something; that the inherent nature of photography dictates their physical presence. Contextually Moir was speaking about the increase of reporting taking place from newsrooms, relying on press releases, trusted sources, phone interviews and other information rather than being out in the field bearing witness. Thus, because of the inherent nature of photography and the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism, photojournalists face significant risks by ‘witnessing and documenting history’. However, just because photojournalists need to witness for themselves in order to tell stories, this does not mean they should always be on the front lines if in conflict or take unnecessary risks. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) highlighted this when he said:

I remember as a kid my dad was a parachutist in the army and he had this banner that said knowledge dispels fear. I have always sort of carried that. It is kind of like you have to understand, you have to have knowledge about what it is you're doing and then you have to have an idea of why it is that you are actually doing it, so that you can assess the amount of risks that you should

take. A photograph is not worth dying for, so you have actually got to really think about what it is you are trying to achieve by being there at a particular time. You have got to have some sense of control otherwise you could lose your life, a lot of things could happen.

Parker explained that knowing the typical dangers that one faces in the field can better prepare a photojournalist so that in the event that something should happen, they will hopefully survive. Parker was suggesting that photojournalists needed to be pragmatic in their approach to telling stories rather than act purely on emotion as this could blind them to potential dangers. However, this does not imply that photojournalists can't feel emotional about issues, situations or events. Rather, that through self-reflection and awareness of their emotions, and by examining their reasons and intentions, photojournalists can evaluate what they might be getting themselves into and that this forethought can help them stay safe. Thus for Parker, photojournalists need to understand the potential risks and challenges associated with telling some stories so that they can weigh up how far they are willing to go to tell them.

Parker said no image was worth dying for – this statement was not meant to diminish those who have died or those who experience these situations, or the value of documenting a moment, but rather acknowledges that in some situations the risks might be too high. Parker did not seem to be suggesting that stories that put journalists at grave risk should not be told. Rather that in situations where getting one image or telling a story will most probably result in death or serious injury, they should find another way to tell the story, one that lowers the risk. Thus, while all journalists alike face physical and psychological dangers in the course of telling stories, in this regard wordsmiths have a somewhat easier task as they can convey others' accounts of a situation without having to be somewhere and face such risks. This is not to diminish the skill, challenges or risks that wordsmiths face, it is just to illustrate that they do not have to always witness firsthand to tell stories.

Photojournalists' perceptions of the physical dangers they face are relative as their experiences are extreme in comparison to the general population. What most people would call extreme or traumatising is for many journalists the norm, so the anchor to what they deem as extreme has been pushed much further along the continuum (Feinstein, 2006). There are countless examples that illustrate this point, however, two stories encapsulate the gamut of

experiences that photojournalists regularly face. One is Janine di Giovanni's memory from a cattle market in the Ivory Coast in which she found herself in danger.

Giovanni had moved to Abidjan to escape a war, and one morning in September 2002 she awoke at 4am unaware that there had been a coup d'état in what was known as West Africa's most stable country (Giovanni, 2009). Giovanni (2009) found herself facing a government soldier who was aiming his automatic weapon with the safety off, at her heart. A wounded man lay at her feet begging for help. Despite having 15 years war reporting experience and knowing that the best thing to do was to apologise and run, she tried to pull the injured man to safety and argue with the soldier (Giovanni, 2009). Nevertheless, Giovanni avoided injury after another journalist pulled her in to a taxi.

Giovanni (2009) observed that a number of friends and colleagues had been killed in less risky situations than incident that she described. Giovanni (2009) recalled the day that she lost two friends and colleagues in Sierra Leone. She remembers telling Kurt Schork – a 52-year-old Reuters correspondent who was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford – the day before about an incident where a “group of stoned teenager soldiers called the West Side Boys” had “surrounded her car, punched the hood, aimed their RPGs in [her] face, and demanded money, cigarettes, marijuana and sex” (Giovanni, 2009, p.6). She noted that Schork described the group as “total amateurs” equating them to “a pick-up baseball team” (Giovanni, 2009, p.6). The next day while she ate breakfast with another colleague, Miguel Gil Moreno, they spoke about a “homemade video [she had] been given which showed men who might have been UN soldiers being tortured by rebels in Sierra Leone” (Giovanni, 2009, p.7). Schork and Moreno went to “find out if the video was real. By lunch time both men were dead, ambushed and killed by teenagers” (Giovanni, 2009, p.7).

Feinstein (2006) provided countless examples in his book *Journalists Under Fire*. For example, John Liebenberg who was frequently arrested and mistreated for photographing atrocities in Namibia and Angola in the late 1980s and 1990s, recalled being locked in a room with a wild animal.

On one occasion he was incarcerated in a room with a wild baboon. “The animal was really savage” he recalled. “It had bitten people and sat there snarling at me ... and that fear ... that sweat ... it is still with me.” Despite such intimidation, he persisted in his work, even after a bounty was placed on his head. (Feinstein, 2006, p.14)

Feinstein (2006) also reported another incident that an anonymous photographer experienced while telling stories in the Balkans. Incidentally, the photographer also had a bounty put on his head.

It seemed initially like a routine arrest – I didn’t think much of it. Then something must have happened, because the tension level went up much higher. We got handcuffed, thrown into a car, driven off to some remote location, and there we were interrogated, separated, beaten, hoods were placed over our heads, and we were subjected to mock executions ... Yeah I was scared, but I was not scared in a hysterical way. One thing that I did do, that I had learned, I guess, from previous experience, was that it was not wise to be completely calm in front of them because they would think you were a real professional spy, as it were. So I kind of acted more outwardly scared when I was with them, hoping to make them feel sorry for me or something like that. (Feinstein, 2006, p.39).

Additionally, the anonymous photographer whose experience Feinstein (2006) reported above also said, “[e]verybody has gone through this type of thing, to varying degrees, all the way to actually getting killed” (Feinstein, 2006, p.41). Thus, what these examples illustrate is the variety of experiences that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’ and which are unfortunately, not uncommon. An example that really illustrates photojournalists’ perceptions of what real trauma is can be seen in the experiences and comments of Joao Silva. Silva along with Greg Marinovich, Ken Oosterbroek and Kevin Carter were dubbed The Bang Bang Club (Marinovich & Silva, 2000) whose documentation of South Africa in the 1990s made them legendary. Silva and Marinovich are the only members still alive. Feinstein (2006) interviewed Silva and Marinovich among many other distinguished participants as part of his study. Feinstein (2006) mentioned that Marinovich had been injured on four occasions and Silva twice. Since then, Silva has sustained further injuries losing both of his legs in a landmine explosion (Doward, 2010). Feinstein (2006) quoted Silva as saying that all of his injuries had been minor, downplaying their significance.

I've been injured. Twice in fact. But all minor details. I've never been shot. I was injured in a grenade explosion and took a bit of shrapnel in my lower elbow. The second incident was during a riot. I got smashed in the face with a brick. It took me out of commission for a couple of days. I've never been injured in the sense that I've been hospitalized for months, so it doesn't really count. (Feinstein, 2006, p.17)

The injuries Silva sustained in the 2010 landmine explosion are of course in no one's mind minor. Feinstein (2006) used Silva's comments along with a few other interviewees to illustrate the way in which journalists' threshold for defining risk were drastically skewed in comparison to the general public because injuries sustained during the course of doing one's job were commonplace. Generally speaking and as Silva illustrated, for a photojournalist to consider an injury serious, it has to be critical, warranting extended hospitalisation. The line between critical injuries and death is fine and anything short of one sustaining critical injuries is not tantamount to serious. And death is not an uncommon fate as the Committee to Protect Journalists statistics show – 868 journalists were killed in the period from 1992 to June 30, 2011. (Journalists Killed Since 1992, n.d.). Silva said after the injury he sustained in 2010 that: "I've spent enough time out there for my number to come up" ("The shot that nearly killed me", 2011, ¶12). David Dare Parker (int.no.13) noted a similar sentiment when he said:

A lot of it is just bad luck. It doesn't matter how much preparation you do, if your times up, it's up, it's always unexpected. I never go into a place and think I am going to be attacked and the times it has happened, it has always taken me by surprise. You know in the back of your mind that it's a possibility. When people are out to get you it can be pretty confronting. Adrenaline usually kicks in; I have very few memories of those situations. I know they happened, it's like watching an old movie or something, but you go away thinking I am never going to do this again. But somehow, the next day you get out of the hotel and get back in the car and risk doing it all over again. But there are roads I haven't walked down because the hair stands up on the back of my neck and I think maybe not today.

Parker said that no matter how aware a journalist is of a situation, or what precautions or preparations he or she undertakes, for photojournalists, risks and danger are inherent in what they do. He said also, however, that even in dangerous or hostile situations, being attacked was always a surprise. It might sound strange to some that being attacked is a surprise, as it seems like an inevitable part of what they do. But, it does not appear that photojournalists are fatalistic and purposefully seek out situations with reckless abandonment. It is that they

believe in the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ and thus are, to varying degrees, willing to put themselves in great danger in order to uphold these. It is also important to note, however, that it is not always altruism that drives photojournalists to work in potentially dangerous or hostile environments. There can, of course, be other motivating factors, such as seeking out an adrenaline rush, which is discussed in Chapter 6.

Nevertheless, Feinstein (2006) reported that many of his interviewees spoke about others or were themselves simply in the wrong place at the wrong time, with tragic ramifications. As Silva (“The shot that nearly killed me”, 2011) noted, working in dangerous situations for extended periods of time can increase the chance of being injured. But, like everything, people learn from experience and this helps them develop an instinct for operating under risky conditions. As Parker highlighted, photojournalists develop instincts and learn from their previous experiences, however, this does not make them immune from the risks and dangers that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Parker also indicated that even though photojournalists may say they are not going to continue putting themselves at risk after an unnerving or dangerous encounter, it is typical for many to continue. However, this does not mean that they will always continue to tell stories that put them in harm’s way to the same degree. For example, after being injured four times, Greg Marinovich retired from covering conflict to tell other less hazardous stories (Keller, 2011). But it is not just conflict stories that can be hazardous for photojournalists – all stories have the potential to be dangerous. Amendolia (int.no.1) said:

Some very brave journalists get very involved in stories that perhaps aren’t in their best interests. Sometimes it’s even just simple things like maybe taking a certain line of not conforming to or fitting in with the conformity of society and to fit outside of that might have you more difficult to hire for example perhaps, that could be one scenario. Of course the other scenario is you’re going to work on a subject where the subject is going to threaten you perhaps. That’s a real concern for some journalists and there are a lot of journalists that, goodness around the world that, inadvertently have given their life because of the story that they’ve told.

Amendolia highlighted the fact that it is not just photojournalists who cover conflict situations who face physical risks for telling stories. Most acts against journalists are carried

out with impunity (*Killing the messenger*, 2007). As for the perpetrators, they are wide ranging, however, in some instances they can include government officials, law enforcement officers or military personal and at times the judicial system could be used to incarcerate journalists. As Sir Harold Evans wrote in the foreword of the 2007 International News Safety Institute (INSI) report *Killing the Messenger*, “the majority of journalists’ deaths are not bad luck. They are planned assassinations. They have been targeted, sought out for death at home for a very simple reason: they did their jobs of seeking the truth” (p.2).

Evans (*Killing the Messenger*, 2007) said that while there were the high profile incidents, such as the kidnapping and beheading of Daniel Pearl of the *Wall Street Journal* and the murder of Anna Politkovskaya, the vast majority of journalists murdered were local reporters whose deaths received little if any media attention. In the introduction to the *Attacks on the Media 2010* report (The Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010), al-Jazeera’s Riz Khan noted that the risks (other than being killed) that journalists face are exceptionally high – that, increasingly journalists were subjected to intimidation tactics in the attempt to keep them away from telling stories. Khan (The Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010) also said:

[T]he ruling authorities pose the greatest threat in many places, targeting news sources directly or imposing restrictive rules that make the job of reporting important stories that much harder. Few countries are an exception to this rule; every government would love to control the flow of information. (p.8)

The testimony from one Mexican journalist mentioned in the INSI report (*Killing the Messenger*, 2010) highlighted the situation for telling stories in some countries:

‘Journalists in regions with high criminality face daily censorship’, which can sometimes cross over into violence, particularly for journalists covering drugs trafficking. He describes a process starting with intimidation, and then, ‘If the warning does not work, the next step will be the tablazos [sticks]. The journalist is abducted, summoned and hit with sticks. There are cases where this was the last step. Then, of course, comes murder’. The journalist explained to the Inquiry how government officials, the traffickers and even the media collude in impeding journalistic enquiry: Many journalists know the traffickers well and are rewarded with a monthly cheque of up to \$1000 paid through police. ... This combination of organised crime, politicians supporting them and of course police officers is impervious,” he said [sic]. Official investigations are initiated but usually end without conviction or with the wrong person behind bars. (p.21)

While the number of journalists killed each year is reasonably easy to ascertain, the number of journalists assaulted or threatened and other non-lethal incidents are not. The annual Attacks on the Press reports by the Committee to Protect Journalists (www.cpj.org) do a wonderful job in attempting to correlate some of this information but it is unlikely that all incidents are reported. It is not just local journalists in developing nations who are at risk, for example, a dissident shot a press photographer during riots in Belfast (“Dissident republican terror group shot photographer Carson, say police”, 2011). International journalists who tell stories in developing countries are also exposed to local dangers, for example, Australian photojournalist Nigel Brennan and Canadian journalist Amanda Lindout were kidnapped in 2008 and held captive, tortured, and assaulted, in Somalia for 15 months (Murdoch, 2009; Agencies & Kwek, 2009). Dangerous situations are generally defined in three ways, although these are not always easily classified:

[I]nternational armed conflicts involving two or more states; national armed conflicts, where one of the participants may or may not be the internationally recognized sovereign power. [During] peacetime, where there is no internal conflict, but where there is persistent criminal or political violence and questions about the adequacy of existing legal and normative protection for freedom of speech and the safety of journalists and other news media staff. (*Killing the Messenger*, 2007, p.14)

Photojournalists tend to take risks to tell stories because they believe in what they are doing, and because in some way they hope to make a difference. The consequences for doing so are something that photojournalists are for the most part willing to face. However, just because photojournalists are willing to take some risks, it does not mean that they are immune from fear, are reckless or see death and other serious injuries as worthwhile. Especially as, if photojournalists were to purposefully seek out situations where death or severe injuries were inevitable, they would not be able to continue ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Thus all journalists who tell stories that others do not want told face risks, whether they are locals, expatriates, foreigners staying for an extended period of time, or visitors and the risks they take can be scary for them and their families. Jason Edwards (int.no.6) illustrated this when he said, “*I’ve known of photographers in the past who have had literally number on their heads if they went back to certain countries. ... [it]’s pretty frightening being in that situation*”.

The ideals, values and responsibilities play an important part in motivating photojournalists to risk telling some stories, albeit these do not account for 100 percent of their motivation. It can be suggested that the daily reality of living with issues, situations and events for people, in some way engenders photojournalists sense of commitment to standing – even if briefly – with them and telling their stories. Standing with those whose stories are being told is not meant to imply that photojournalists always agree with events or situations as they unfold, or the choices that people make, but rather that they are documenting others' plights and believe it is important to do so. At times photojournalists will put their cameras down to help someone who is injured or try to stop a situation, depending on the level of personal risk doing so will cause the photojournalist.

Philip Blenkinsop recalled in *My Asian Heart* (Bradbury, 2009), a documentary about his life as a photojournalist, that he had at times tried to stop tragic events from unfolding, but was not always able to do so. Blenkinsop (Bradbury, 2009) recalled an incident when he tried to stop someone from being beaten to death and that doing so resulted in the aggressors turning their attention to him. In the documentary (Bradbury, 2009), Blenkinsop stopped documenting the riots in Nepal to help an injured boy – his head had been cracked open – and applied pressure to the wound until an ambulance arrived. Blenkinsop was shown chastising the authorities for beating their own people, especially children. He, asked them if they had children and how would they feel if the roles were reversed, if they were proud, embarrassed and what they would tell their children about their actions. One man was visibly shaken by his words. Blenkinsop (Bradbury, 2009) said: “I get angry, very angry and I suppose the big motivation for me is justice. It always has been, it always gets me in to trouble too”. However, Blenkinsop (Bradbury, 2009) admitted that some situations have scared him but later said that:

I calculate risks very very carefully, I put an incredible value on life. You have to balance the risks, someone has to do that, it's a ridiculous thing to say that you have a death wish. I'm definitely not running away from anything doing this job. You do it because you're able to give people a voice and that's a huge responsibility.

Joao Silva (Keller, 2011) also said that there might be a variety of reasons why photojournalists felt compelled to 'witness and document history', especially in conflict

zones, but a death wish was not one of them. No one wants to die for an image, (although some photojournalists have taken their own lives – like Kevin Carter who was also part of the Bang Bang Club). Silva (Keller, 2011) said:

I don't think anyone wants to get blown up for a picture. Nobody wants to get shot for a picture. That wasn't Chris [Hondros] or Tim's [Hetherington] motive that morning. They didn't wake up that morning thinking, 'I'm going to push the envelope today like I've never pushed it before'. (¶135)

Ben Bohane said it was risky to stand with the people whose stories they tell because they may find themselves opposite their own or other governments and their military might. But, it was important to do so if it was the reality for the people whose stories they told.

That's meant being, sometimes, on the other side of, not only other governments, but my own government. ... Being shelled with Australian shells and having rebels come up to me with a tail fin of an 80ml mortar that [said] 'St Mary's, Sydney' ... That can be a very lonely place to be, when you're on the other side of your own government at war. So you have to be prepared to, you know, to report from the other side. (Bohane, int.no.2)

Incidentally, Joao Silva, like Bohane, covered conflict from the other side, with the Mahdi Army, in Iraq. Silva was criticised by the public for doing so, as was the *New York Times* who published his material (Keller, 2011). Additionally, the number of journalists killed in conflict zones, while significant, is lower than those who are targeted and murdered for telling stories (*Killing the Messenger*, 2007). The Committee to Protect journalists total tally of 868 journalists killed as of June 30, 2011 can be broken down as 152 *Journalists Killed in Crossfire / Combat Since 1992* (n.d.), 99 *Journalists Killed on Dangerous Assignment Since 1992* (n.d.), this later category accounts for journalists who were killed in non-combat situations, for example violent street demonstrations. The tally for *Journalists Murdered Since 1992* (n.d.) is 615. These figures are not meant to diminish the tragedy surrounding the deaths of journalists whose lives were lost telling stories in armed conflicts, but rather illustrate that more journalists are murdered – including during armed conflicts – for telling stories than those who are suggested to have death wishes by covering war. The vast majority of journalists murdered, typically shot, however, other methods are used, were killed to prevent them from telling stories or punish them for doing so (*Journalists Safety*

Guide, 2003). These figures do not include those who were in some way injured, for which there have been many.

5.1.1.2 The physical risks of freelance photojournalism

While there are significant dangers that all journalists face, freelancers face additional challenges. It can be suggested that freelancer photojournalists tend to take more risks, with less support and backing, because as David Dare Parker said, “*unlike most forms of journalism we are going to be doing it, no matter what*”. Freelancers tend to take these risks because they have chosen autonomy over the benefits of working for a mainstream media organisation and believe in telling stories they feel should be told. Philip Blenkinsop (Bradbury, 2009) noted a similar sentiment when he said:

I like my life the way it is, a little bit more security would be nice, but then of course if you have security you give up being freelance and doing the things that really motivate you and that you love.

Freelancers are often at the forefront of issues, situations and events as they unfold, for example, much of the coverage that came from the Balkans, Africa, Central America, Asia and the former Soviet Union was provided by freelancers (Smith, 2009). They predominately work alone and can spend a significant amount of time somewhere in order to tell a story, which is typically in sharp contrast to how mainstream media staff operate. ‘The tradition’ of freelance photojournalism is not new. Many if not most of those who built ‘the tradition’ were freelancers. Additionally, while photojournalists may take assignments from various media outlets, they often go somewhere to tell a story off their own backs and try to sell the work later. Thus, the risks freelance photojournalists face are greater than staff journalists – particularly as photojournalists need to witness firsthand and cannot rely on credible sources to produce work. Additionally, for the most part freelancers are independent and uncontrolled, they are free from the constraints, rules and guidelines that staff photographers have to adhere to – of course, to varying degrees, photojournalists who are on assignment would be subject to these.

When something does happen to freelance photojournalists in the course of telling a story, they are in a precarious position. The recent injury of Joao Silva may have brought the issue to the forefront of public discussion, but the issue is not new. Photojournalists who are on assignment potentially have more support than those who are telling stories of their own accord; however, being on assignment is no guarantee (Mallin, 2011). Joao Silva was a freelance photojournalist on assignment for *The New York Times* when he was injured during a landmine explosion. *The New York Times* have since placed Silva on staff (Kristoff, 2010) and been praised for their actions (Mallin, 2011). Silva's experience is not the rule, but rather what appears to be the exception. In many cases freelancers are on their own. For example, after a bomb blew up a few feet from Philip Blenkinsop while he was on assignment for *Time Asia*, he came home to find a bouquet of flowers and an offer of an extra day rate (Mallin, 2011). While initial reports of the incident indicated that Blenkinsop's injuries were minor, he was unable to work for approximately eight months. Blenkinsop, however, did not ask his editors for any special considerations after the incident (Mallin, 2011).

As Blenkinsop's example illustrates, injuries can potentially prevent photojournalists from working for a significant period of time and during the time that it takes to recover they are unable to work, thus not earning a living. Being unable to make a living can be prohibitive. Greg Marinovich retired after the fourth time he was injured (Keller, 2011) and said:

[E]very time I got wounded, I was freelance. The first time was for *Newsweek*, who took no responsibility whatsoever. They paid for the medical bill. The other times were all freelance. For months, you're out of commission. The world moves on, and you're in this stupid position. (¶138)

So, while some organisations may pay the medical bills for injuries sustained on assignment, there is often no other financial support during the recovery period.

Freelance photographers may have it worst of all. One could easily imagine a company saying that a photographer who lost his legs was now on his own. I once worked with an American television correspondent who was badly beaten up in Asia and left unable to work — and his network pushed him out of a job. (Kristoff, 2010, ¶4)

However, there have been incidents of media organisations helping freelancers, even those not on contract to them (Mallin, 2011). But, there is no regulation or uniformity among media organisations – with the exception of some European countries – with regard to their treatment of freelance staff. Former director of photography and editor turned academic, Tom Kennedy said in his experience *National Geographic* did not do this, but many other organisations saw freelancers “as independent contractors who are responsible for their own insurance, their own well-being” (Mallin, 2011, ¶15). Mallin (2011) also noted anecdotal evidence that some publications did buy insurance for those being on assignment in dangerous areas, but it was not industry standard or often discussed. Ron Haviv said that most photojournalists assume they would be taken care of if something happened, especially when they have strong relationships with the publications (Mallin, 2011). But often, strong relationships are not a factor in determining what happens to freelancers if they are injured as the people with whom they have the relationships are not always the ones that deal with these issues – it is the human resources and legal departments that handle contracts (Mallin, 2011).

While, it does not appear that many freelance photojournalists – or other journalists – have sued media organisations for compensation, there are a few notable cases. For example, Tim Page who suffered a brain injury while on a freelance assignment in Vietnam (Mitchell, 2011). Page successfully sued *Time-Life* and received a small financial compensation (Mitchell, 2011). More recently, freelance journalist on assignment for the Smithsonian, Paul Raffaele, was gravely injured in a suicide bombing (the same incident where Stephen Dupont was injured) and was left unable to work because of debilitating symptoms (Rolnick, 2009). Raffaele believed that the magazine had verbally agreed to insure him while on assignment, but the Smithsonian Institute denied this claim after he was injured (Smith, 2010). The Smithsonian did pay for Raffaele’s repatriation as well as for the story and expenses (Smith, 2010). In 2010, Raffaele filed a lawsuit against the Smithsonian and the United States, since the Smithsonian is a federal body (Smith, 2010). A number of photojournalists suggest there has been a shift in how media organisations contract freelancers, which has serious financial implications for them.

In the Nineties, the Balkan wars and Chechnya coincided with a decision by magazines to turn from assignments and day-rates to space guarantees. With a

guarantee, a magazine pays the photographer a minimum fee (expenses are typically not included) in exchange for a first look at the photographers' pictures. Many photographers believe the move from assignments to the more arm's length guarantee arrangements made it easier for publications to cut loose freelancers in trouble. (Mallin, 2011, ¶17)

Additionally, while freelancers on assignment face significant risks, those who are telling stories on 'spec' or of their own accord, face the added risk of having no support should something happen to them. On 'spec' means an organisation may pay for the right to look at and potentially purchase photos, without any obligation to or responsibility for the photographer. Additionally, if something should happen to a photojournalist while they are self-funding stories, no one may even know where they are or that something has happened. So while staff journalists and at times those on assignment may benefit from security measures that organisations have arranged, such as life insurance and armoured transport in conflict areas, those who are "freelancers lack support and backup should they get into difficulties, which they can't often avoid given the nature of their work and the places that they visit," (Feinstein, 2006, p.93). Considering these risks, why do photojournalist choose to freelancer? The simple answer, for independence – which is examined in Chapter 6 – to maintain control over copyright, where they go and for how long, what they cover and how they cover it without an imposed agenda or other constraints inherent in media organisations (Feinstein, 2006). Additionally, it is not just freelance photojournalists who are starting out, trying to forge careers for themselves, that self-fund stories and tell them on their own, it is also very common among photojournalism's upper echelons. Like all the interviewees involved in this study, all of Feinstein's (2006) thirty freelance journalists stated the importance of independence and self-funding stories. Further, what photojournalists often feel are important stories are often those that are not being covered in the mainstream media, but which they feel should be on the public record.

Independence, however, places its own weighty demands. James Nachtwey articulated a philosophy shared by the thirty freelancers who were part of my study. [He said:] If you really want to establish yourself and show that you mean business and you're serious about it, then you sometimes have to do an assignment on your own. You may have just enough money in the bank to make it through the trip, speculating on whether or not you'll ever recover your expenses and break even ... I've done that a number of times ... I continue to do that, and I think it's a mark of the fact that I am very serious about what I

am doing, that it means something to me and I don't just wait for an assignment. (Feinstein, 2006, p.91)

Freelance photojournalists, whether on assignment, spec or telling stories on their own, tend to take more risks than those who are on staff. As can be seen so far in this chapter the personal and physical challenges that photojournalists face are significant. While the reasons why photojournalists put themselves in harm's way to tell stories are varied – these are examined in Chapter 6 – the main reason is their resolve regarding the ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as underpinning the role of 'witnessing and documenting history'. However, there are also a number of financial concerns that are interlinked to the personal and physical risks that photojournalists face, that are in addition to the general financial challenges that face freelance photojournalists. Thus, the next section examines the financial challenges of freelance photojournalism.

5.2 Financial challenges of being a freelance photojournalist

This section starts by examining the financial challenges associated with the personal and physical risks that freelance photojournalists face, before examining those associated with making a living 'witnessing and documenting history'. The risks and challenges that photojournalists face in order to tell stories they believe in are significant and despite these, they still choose to pursue this career. However, at times photojournalists themselves wonder why they do what they do, putting themselves in harm's way, risking their lives, relationships, emotional and psychological wellbeing and of course financial solvency. Jason Edwards said the remuneration for photojournalists considering the time, challenges, and risks seemed disproportionate to 'art photography'.

I just don't get why [art photography] is so popular, I just don't get it. ... Maybe why I struggle with [this]... is because of that whole time versus reward thing. As photojournalists ... we risk our lives, get shot at, ... we don't eat and we get sick and our families miss us. ... We really burn ourselves out and we work ourselves into the ground, literally, and yet the accolades that we get for doing that sort of thing are very small in comparison to the sort of thing that happens in the exhibition scene or arts stream. ... [W]e are doing so much work for ours, for our work and putting so much on the line. Our lives on the line and in some cases the safety of our families ... when we tell stories people don't want to be told. ... So there are major risks. (Edwards, int.no.6)

I have no intention to delve into a debate about how much an image is worth, the prices people are willing to pay or the how various genres of photography are valued. The example above illustrates the disconnect that some photojournalists may feel between the risks versus rewards. That the financial compensation and societal regard for the work photojournalists do does not correlate. Because many photojournalists choose to freelance, they typically are responsible for the costs that media organisations' staff would be provided automatically, such as travel expenses, equipment and insurance.

So while photojournalists may choose to freelance for the autonomy and independence to tell stories without external constraints, these can add to the personal and physical risks as they typically do not have the financial buoyancy to pay for the all of the safety provisions that mainstream media organisations provide their staff. Additionally, if something goes wrong while a photojournalist is telling a story on their own – and at times when on assignment or working on 'spec' – they are financially liable for not only dealing with the situation at hand, but also the period it takes them to recover. Additionally, they have no one there to help negotiate or make arrangements on their behalf and in some cases, such as when killed, severely injured or kidnapped, family members have to negotiate, make arrangements and take on the financial burdens on the photojournalist's behalf.

For example, it was Nigel Brennan's family who had to raise the ransom money when he was kidnapped in 2008 (Murdoch, 2009). His family also had to negotiate and make arrangements, at times with the kidnappers and when engaging private security company or government bureaucracy (Murdoch, 2009). Thus, the psychological toll of financial stress, not just in terms of earning a living but also in negotiating and surviving in potentially dangerous environments, are significant. Feinstein (2006) noted similar sentiments; that the financial worries that came with being a freelancer had a significant impact on their emotional well-being.

There are two areas where freelancers were found to function more poorly than staff journalists. One the general health questionnaire, which is a composite of psychological distress, they endorsed significantly more symptoms of depression and social dysfunction. The simplest explanation for this is that financial worries, anxieties over selling work, inadequate or absent life insurance, sleeping on floors, bumming lifts, scrounging satellite phones – in

short, all the impediments of a stand-alone existence – exert their own toll. Freelance journalists choose this route from conviction. Principles can, however, prove costly as these data show. (Feinstein, 2006, pp.98 – 99)

Financial challenges are something that photojournalists continually struggle with and these are not just linked to making a living, but also significantly impact on their ability to maintain their existence in the field. Hence, for photojournalists finances are an area that is a constant source of uncertainty and to varying degrees unease. But, despite the financial uncertainty and insecurity that comes freelancing, photojournalists for the most part, don't surrender to these challenges, they find ways to deal with these so they can continue 'witnessing and documenting history'. For photojournalists, because of the ideals, values and responsibilities to which they subscribe, they prioritise these over the financial challenges that they face. Joao Silva's injury in Iraq stirred public debate about organisations' responsibility to freelancers whether on assignment, stringing or on 'spec' and other informal agreements. Of particular concern is whether media organisations have a moral obligation to support the photographers whose work they publish (Mallin, 2011). Thus it can be a precarious situation between freelancers and media organisations, especially because in many instances organisations will not send their staff, or freelancers on assignment, to cover some stories but are willing to use freelancer's work if they tell the story off their own back. David Dare Parker said he was often contacted by media organisations to see if he was somewhere covering something that they were interested in publishing. When asked how often this happened Parker (int.no.13) said:

Often, I mean there were three last month, two wanted to know if I was in East Timor and one wanted to know if I happened to be in Singapore by any chance. I think it is just being polite, you know, if I was there they would be happy to help, but wouldn't have the money to assign. I am happy to ring and do that, it would be nice if they rung up and said let's fly you to Singapore, but I understand the constraints and budgets and I am just happy that they are thinking about me.

Parker highlighted the budgetary constraints that many mainstream media publications face, as well as the ways they can gather content. Herein lies the paradox, photojournalists value their independence, but are also somewhat wed to the media institutions that they have sought to free themselves from, because traditionally, these were their main sources of

income. So while the avenues to generate income and disseminate work may be changing, in some respects this has a direct relationship to the challenges that photojournalists face. Even though Parker said many publications did not have the money to assign photojournalists to cover stories, many others have claimed publications do indeed have the money to spend, but prioritise celebrity, entertainment and lifestyle content.

Jean-Francois Leroy mentioned an incident where a French magazine paid a significant amount of money for a story about Segolene Royal (in a swimsuit). Leroy (int.no.9) said: *“They bought this stupid story for €80,000 and at the same time they say that they do not have €10,000 to buy a story about Darfur. What a shame!”*. The relationship between budgets, news values and disseminating stories is an important topic and is examined in section 5.3. Nevertheless the financial challenges associated with photojournalism are significant and the mainstream media, their news values and organisational budgets do impact on photojournalists despite them being predominately freelancers.

One of the biggest financial challenges for photojournalists is income insecurity. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) noted this when he said: *“as a freelancer you don't have a regular income, so you are constantly dealing with the insecurity of living expenses and things like that”*. All interviewees spoke about financial challenges and insecurity; that in many ways choosing to freelance meant significant hardships. Photojournalists increasingly have to turn to other avenues, outside of the traditional mainstream media publications, in order to generate income to support themselves, their families, and continue telling stories they feel are important.

Stephen Dupont said the challenges have increased since he started out. *“[I]t's tough as a freelancer in Australia ... It was tough when I started and it's still tough and I think it's getting tougher”* (Dupont, int.no.5). While Dupont specifically mentioned the difficulties of Australian freelance photojournalists, these challenges are not isolated to Australia. However, it can be suggested that the geographical distance of Australia from the main international publishing hubs does make it harder for Australian photojournalists. Additionally, the number organisations willing to purchase and publish photojournalism in Australia is limited compared to the international marketplace. Dupont (int.no.5) explained, *“the easy option is to take a staff job, the more challenging and tougher option is to be a freelancer”*. However,

taking a staff position means giving up one's independence, being told what stories to tell, how to tell them, among many other constraints inherent in working for a media organisation. For those who choose to freelance, financial insecurity transcends location and career length; it is always a struggle. As Bohane (in.no.2) said:

In this business, it's never easy to find work, wherever you are. It's always a challenge. ... [I]t just takes time to develop your media contacts and find publications and broadcasters that are willing to use you and use your work – and that can take years, decades even, to develop that sort of network. I've been in the game 20 years and yes, I've worked for some of the best and biggest news organisations in the world, but it's always a struggle. I don't expect that would ever change. Even for the best in the business, it's always a struggle. But that's almost part of the process and keeps you honest. Keeps you raw, keeps you hungry. Keeps you on your toes. You know. If there was too much money and it was too easy in this game, it would be full of people doing it, and they wouldn't have anywhere like the same sort of sense of dedication that you get from doing it under such challenging circumstances.

Bohane reiterated that freelance photojournalism has always been somewhat difficult. Developing contacts and building a rapport not only takes time but also is an ongoing process that is likely exacerbated by staff movements and turnover. Just because a photojournalist has made a name for him or herself and established relationships with people in a variety of potential outlets, there is still no guarantee of work. Bohane also noted the bittersweet nature of freelancing; that the upside to the difficulties of getting and selling work was that those who were not passionate would be deterred by the challenges. Thus, the industry remains relatively small considering the proliferation and popularity of photography. Bohane suggested that the challenges made the rewards sweeter and kept photojournalists fighting for what they do and how they do it. Basically, that if being a photojournalist was easy, more people would do it and the dedication of those 'witnessing and documenting history' would not be as high as it is. Because, in order to willingly face these challenges, one must really be committed to the ideals, value and responsibilities that come with being a photojournalist.

What is particularly interesting is the lack of literature surrounding freelance photojournalism and the work practices of photojournalists. While there is a array of literature, some more substantial than others, that focuses on magazine freelancers (Ekinsmyth, 1999; Stanworth & Stanworth, 1995) freelance journalists (Baines, 1999; The

International Federation of Journalists, 2006), in the television industry (Dex, Willis, Paterson & Sheppard, 2000) and freelancers in the creative industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baler, 2009), some occasionally mention freelance photojournalism, but for the most part freelance photojournalists have been overlooked. The financial challenges are not only inherent in photojournalism but all occupations with a freelance, short-term or contract agreement, albeit photojournalists have the added psychological and physical hazards.

This literature generally illustrates the challenges associated with freelancing; the financial worries that stem from poor pay rates, individually negotiated agreements that are usually verbal, superannuation, insurance, equipment, late payments, incorrect payments, having to chase payments, the insecurity that comes with irregular work and other personal challenges such as isolation. However, the lack of literature surrounding freelance photojournalism is surprising since there is a well-established history of atypical work arrangements not to mention the efforts of photojournalists who founded their own agencies to protect the independence and rights of photographers.

[W. Eugene] Smith and the photographers of Magnum were not alone in seeking freedom from the requirements and compromises that accompanied the security of a staff position. Most of the leading photojournalists were already freelance. Once an employed workforce charged with the responsibility of fulfilling the vision of their employers, photojournalists increasingly insisted on recognition as creative individuals in their own right, driven by their own goals. (Panzer, 2005, p.21)

Vaughan Smith (2009), one of the founders of the Frontline Television News agency, said they deliberately modelled their agency on Magnum photos and that independent journalism was indebted to the founding photojournalists. Magnum photos was formed because photojournalists wanted to “work outside the formulas ... and radically departed from conventional practice by supporting rather than directing its photojournalists” (Smith, 2009, p.63). Magnum was instrumental in photographers retaining the copyright to their images rather than surrendering it to the organisations that published their work (Smith, 2009).

[Thus] Magnum photographers could cover the stories of their choice, without an assignment, and their work would be sold for a commission by the agency on their behalf ... Magnum photographers were thereby able to escape the

dictates of a single publication and its editorial staff and work for longer periods of time on stories of their choice. (Smith, 2009, p.63)

Photojournalists still have to market themselves, pitch stories and compete for assignments even if they are part of an agency or collective, membership does not remove them from the day-to-day realities. David Dare Parker noted these sentiments when discussing how photojournalists develop reputations and relationships with staff at various publications. Parker (int.no.13) said:

[Editors] don't have time to waist. So you do have to have some sort of profile or at least push your work often enough that you have a presence so that you can actually contact somebody and they will at least take the time to look or be willing to let you send them images to look at. Or you have agencies that will hopefully do that, it's less and less now days. I think we have to become more self-reliant and be our own best agents. ... [T]he days of the great photo agencies are still there, but it is not the same, there aren't the major magazines anymore that are willing to wait, mainly it's just celebrity driven, advertising driven, so the market is quite small.

Parker highlighted the persistence and thick skin needed when starting out, as it is hard to get a break without a reputation to facilitate entry into a deadline driven world. However, Parker also explained that established photojournalists still had to knock on doors, that work was not simply laid out on a silver platter like hors d'oeuvres to pick and choose from. Being a freelancer means consistently marketing oneself, pitching ideas, trying to find and sell work even when working on other things, whether with an agency or not. The need for self-reliance is not a new sentiment, there are countless anecdotes cautioning photojournalists to avoid thinking that when they are invited to join an agency their struggles to find work will be over. Agencies do help photojournalists by representing them, aiding them in countless ways, including helping them find and sell work, but in order to photojournalists to survive financially they need to also be proactive. Like many interviewees, Parker noted the focus on celebrity, entertainment and lifestyle driven content which rules many publications' bottom lines. Adrian Evans mentioned the need to apply for grants and find alternative ways to generate income. Evans (int.no.7) said:

I think that people have worked out that they can't rely on newspapers and the magazines. So they have to find other ways. ... A lot of what they do is they do commercial work to fund more campaigning work or stuff that they believe in.

If you really want to make money in life one of the best ways of doing it is not doing what you strongly believe in because that probably won't make you much money – which is what we do at Panos and why we don't make much money, but we make enough to survive and continue doing our work. But each individual photographer has to become a proposal writing machine, so they are trying to get money, they have got to write proposals that outline exactly what it is they want to do and then approach non-profit bodies, government organisations, grant giving bodies, you name it, foundations, to try and get funding and I always encourage people to do that. I mean we do it ourselves on behalf of our photographers ... But they have to do it themselves as well.

Proclamations about the death of photojournalism go back as early as the 1950s (Coomes, 2010, December 14). But it is not so much that the photojournalism has died, rather, that the traditional model for making a living out has changed. 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). Leroy said at Visa pour l'Image each year, up to 95 percent of the work shown was not funded or published by mainstream media organisations. In the 2010 World Press Photo awards of the “seven British-based photographers who” won prizes, none were “financed by a British news organisation” (Burgess, 2010, ¶7). Additionally, while awards and other accolades are markers of success or prestige for some, they are no guarantee of work or talisman to ward off financial insecurity.

It is often commented that photography is relegated to simple illustration among many mainstream news organisations, benefitting organisational bottom lines, but to the detriment of photojournalism and the public at large (Burgess, 2010). Neil Burgess (2010), two-time World Press Photo chairman, noted that media organisations offer less in payment for an eight page photojournalistic spreads than they do for one celebrity image. However, he said as a rule it was not that editors did not want to publish photojournalism but that they could not pay a realistic price for the work (Burgess, 2010). Adrian Evans was quoted on Phil Coomes' blog (2010, December 15) for the *BBC News* website, as saying:

What is undeniably true is that newspapers ceased being the paymasters of photojournalists a long time ago. Quality photojournalism is expensive - researching the story, gaining access, spending time with your subjects, post production and editing - there are no short cuts. Newspapers and magazines

spend a tiny proportion of their income on content and they certainly don't want to spend it on photography. ¶3

However, just because the traditional model of photojournalism, finding and selling work to media publications, is dying does not mean the genre as a whole is dying. Because of the ideals, values and responsibilities that photojournalists see underpinning their role, they haven't just laid down their cameras and admitted defeat, but rather they have adapted to the changes finding new ways to disseminate work and thus making a living. This does not mean that photojournalists have cut themselves from the dying beast that is print media, nor does it mean that they do not still find, or hope to find, a home for their work in these traditional outlets. It simply means that they have chosen to survive and continue 'the tradition' by evolving. Additionally, just because photojournalists have found new ways to etch out a living outside the mainstream media does not mean that their professionalism or credibility is diminished because it is the ideals, values and responsibilities, the people who they really are, that drive them to tell these stories, not the outlet in which their work is housed. Burgess (2010) said:

Today I look at the world of magazine and newspaper publishing and I see no photojournalism being produced. There are some things, which look very like photojournalism, but scratch the surface and you'll find they were produced with the aid of a grant, were commissioned by an NGO, or that they were a self-financed project, a book extract, or a preview of an exhibition. ¶4

Nevertheless, in an attempt to earn a living from 'witnessing and documenting history' so that they can not only survive but also continue telling stories they feel are important, photojournalists have to find a way to generate income. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) explained the way he tried to work:

A lot of the time you'll do a story and sell it afterwards and try and push it to a range of different outlets. In general, I don't do that much on spec. ... Generally, someone's sending me somewhere and paying the bills. Then I might try and get another story off the back of that, so that you maximise each trip. ... [W]hen you're starting out in the business, you've got to be prepared to send yourself, because no-one else will until you've proven you can get the story. ... in the initial stages, you've got to be prepared to find your own story, have confidence in yourself, and have enough money to go and do the story on spec, bring it back, lay it out, sell it.

Bohane highlighted that when starting out, photojournalists have to self-fund to prove their story telling abilities. However, while Bohane is an established photojournalist who tries to tell as many stories as possible on commission, he still finds himself having to self-funding stories, whether that be off the back of a commissioned story or of his own accord. Most interviewees echoed these sentiments. Even if photojournalists self-fund stories there is no guarantee that they will be able to sell the story so that it is disseminated. Additionally, not all of the stories that photojournalists feel are important to tell are not necessarily published or compatible with mainstream media organisations' agendas.

All the interviewees reported that the convention of photojournalists finding work with news magazines and newspapers had significantly diminished over the last two decades. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) said, "*traditionally a photojournalist could find work with magazines, newspapers and [the wire] agencies ... that's still the case but I think the industry is changing very dramatically*". David Dare Parker (int.no.13) spoke about the changing landscape that photojournalists needed to negotiate. Parker (int.no.13) said:

Publications are our main source of income; that is ideally our main source of income. I think in recent years we have had to kind of shift that a little bit, so I have been doing things like shooting video and selling that to programs like Dateline. It seems to be better money at the moment, which is interesting. It's all about story telling so we have to reinvent now that you have this whole multimedia thing and internet possibilities. It is confusing at the moment because there are fewer magazines; they are paying less, or they are paying as much as they were paying a decade ago. So it is difficult. I have been doing it for so long that I can ring someone at 'Newsweek' and they will at least know who I am, which for young photographers that is a very difficult thing to do.

Parker conceded that photojournalists still see publications as the ideal place to disseminate their stories and through which to sell their work, but they can't rely on these as much as they could in the past. Photojournalists cannot rely on publications simply because they are not publishing as much photojournalism as they may have previously, but also because of the decreasing or stagnant rates of pay. Thus, photojournalists are also looking outside traditional avenues and embracing additional skill-sets in order to generate income. By diversifying, they are able to earn a living in order to keep telling stories. Story telling is all-important for photojournalists and maintaining this – whether that is via diversifying into

other areas, such as video, or finding alternative ways to get the story in front of people – is paramount. Additionally, Parker reiterated that even when established it was hard to find work, but once a photojournalist had built a reputation it helped open doors, if only for a conversation. However, for those starting out, even gaining access was a difficult endeavour. Parker highlighted photojournalists' commitment to the ideals, values and responsibilities of telling stories, not only in the fact that they face tremendous difficulties, but that they are willing to reinvent and adapt rather than clinging to the memories of the golden years gone past. For all interviewees there was an uncertainty about how photojournalists could reinvent themselves so that they can keep 'witnessing and documenting history'.

Much of this uncertainty surrounded how they could earn a living from embracing new technologically to disseminate work, such as multimedia, video and the internet. There was little to no reluctance among the interviewees regarding the evolution in dissemination of their work, many were excited by the way adopting additional or mixing media to the traditional still image could aid the stories they told and make these more accessible to audiences. However, what was of significant concern was the way they could earn a living to continue telling stories outside of the traditional mainstream media framework. Additionally, even though freelancers have chosen to work outside the mainstream media, forsaken financial security for independence and autonomy, they have still en masse, heavily relied upon the industry to disseminate their work and generate income. So while the financial uncertainty of freelancing was known from the outset, for photojournalists, having to find new ways to disseminate their work and earn a living because of the changing landscape can be seen as a daunting development in addition to the already challenging nature of their profession.

A number of interviewees saw the internet as having a direct impact on commissioned assignments, but others thought that the shift in focus to entertainment, lifestyle and celebrity coverage also had a significant effect. Some interviewees also believed that the reduced publication of photojournalism was because those who held the keys to disseminating and paying for their work did not care about the stories they told. Despite the rationales that interviewees gave, attributing the decline in photojournalism being published and restricting their income, they did not let this debilitate them or deter them from telling the stories that

they felt were important. Photojournalists are resourceful, constantly looking for new opportunities or ways to adapt, including cross-skilling – partly out of necessity and partly because of a desire to tell stories in new and innovate ways.

5.2.1 ‘It’s the hat you wear’ to make ends meet and keep telling stories

A number of interviewees spoke about the hats photojournalists wear, two specifically used the term ‘hats’. Bohane (int.no.2) said:

You end up wearing a lot of hats. I’d never say that I was a great photographer, or great writer, or whatever, but, I’m good at a range of things, and certain stories will lend themselves to particular mediums. Some will be national TV stories. Some will work better in print. So, where possible, we try and choose the best mode. But, a lot of the time you end up doing the story and then trying to get a place in a range of media. So, often the way I work is to go and do a feature story in print first for the Diplomat Magazine and someone else and then I’ll go and produce the same story for TV, for Foreign Correspondent or you know, sometimes it works the reverse. But, you just try and maximise your outlets. From a story and a financial perspective you’ve got to get it out there.

Bohane highlighted the way photojournalists embrace multi-skilling, that they not only take photographs but also write and produce video stories. He also emphasised that telling the story is of utmost importance to photojournalists, so much so that if a story is better suited to video, print or multimedia or any such combination, they are willing to tell the story in the format that will have the most impact. Bohane explained the ways photojournalists could gain the maximum exposure and income, but without dissemination income was not generated and the story was not in the public domain. So while photojournalists maximise their opportunities to get stories out into the public sphere and earn enough of a living to ideally recoup some, if not all, of the expenses associated with telling a story, this is not always possible. Thus many have to find other ways of supporting themselves and their families and a way to tell the stories they feel are important.

Photojournalists wear many hats not just in terms of their multi-skill-sets, but also in terms of taking on other work, such as commercial photographic jobs, editorial assignments, press photography and so forth. So ‘the hat they are wearing’ also applies to the work they are

doing and its classification. No matter what work a photojournalist undertakes it is just the hat they are wearing in order to earn a living and keep telling stories that they feel are important. Thus, photojournalists may work with certain organisations to gain access, or promote awareness in return for the organisation funding the stories they tell, such as with aid organisations or non-governmental organisations. However, there can be problems that come with working with any organisation that has its own agenda, which was articulated by Diane Smyth (int.no.17) from the British Journal of Photography when she said:

Quite a few of the photojournalists that we've talked to ... fund their projects by working with aid agencies. ... Obviously most aid agencies have absolutely brilliant intentions, but they also have an agenda. So the type of pictures you might take with them could be different than the type of pictures you might take if you went over as an independent journalist or you had been funded by a newspaper.

It can be suggested that photojournalists aligning themselves with aid agencies is not necessarily as problematic as might be indicated on first glance as there are many forms such an arrangement might take. For example, a photojournalist may work with an aid agency in order to gain access and in return take some promotional images for the organisation to use along with the other images they take to tell a story as a form of quid pro quo, they may also conceive and develop a story they feel is important to be told in conjunction with an aid organisation and they may team up with an aid organisation after starting work on a story they feel passionate about in order to maximise impact. These are just a few of the possibilities, but one thing that is important to note is that just because photojournalists may choose to work with an organisation does not necessarily mean they will compromise or discard their ideals, values and responsibilities.

The work that a photojournalist might produce as a quid pro quo with aid organisations could also be seen as simply that, that it is just the hat he or she is wearing in order to keep telling the stories they feel are important. However, that there will inevitably be photojournalists who abandon the ideals, values and responsibilities of 'the tradition', just like in other occupations or professions. A number of interviewees noted that they worked with aid agencies not only to gain access or because of their shared beliefs that a story needed to be told, but also because aid agencies paid photographers a fair rate for their work, which is more

than what many media organisations paid for their work. This does not mean that all photojournalists rely on work with aid agencies to help fund the stories that they feel are important to tell. The ways in which photojournalists generate income to do this is varied. Jesse Marlow's (int.no.12) said:

I don't make a lot of money from my documentary work. So sometimes, if something comes in – a gallery purchasing some work or a private collector purchasing some work – that's great, that's on the documentary side of things. But for me, it's just a case of doing work for magazines or commercial clients to pay for my personal work. ... A lot of other people are just hell bent on doing work for NGO organisations or not for profit organisations. I've never done that sort of work and I don't see myself doing it. ... So that's the business side, it's just a matter of managing enough work to pay for my day to day street photography and my one or two documentary projects per year.

Marlow highlighted the ways that photojournalists attempt to manage the economic challenges of freelancing and that this often involves taking on other assignments or work that is not specifically photojournalism to keep telling the stories they feel are important. He also said that while he did not rely solely on selling his stories, there were collectors and galleries that would at times purchase his work for their collections – a number of art galleries, museums, government funded programs, like the Australian War Memorial, and private collectors purchase photojournalism. Incidentally, Marlow also mentioned that the work what photojournalists did outside of what is classified as photojournalism is just the hat they are wearing at that particular time in order to earn a living to keep telling the stories they felt were important to tell.

All of the interviewees noted the financial challenges of being a freelance photojournalist and the ways in which various people tried to manage these hardships. Many interviewees said many photojournalists end up finding different work because of the financial uncertainty and challenges that come freelancing. Dupont mentioned the attrition rate of photojournalists. He said it was not just the financial challenges that caused people to leave behind photojournalism in search of a different occupation, however, it was clear this was a common cause.

Often it's that it's a very competitive, it's very, very difficult to be freelance in photojournalism. Unless you've got a philanthropist or you come from a rich

family that you don't really need to worry about money so much. Then I guess you're considered to be a freelancer as well and you can go out and do your own thing. And there are people that do that and there are those people who do other jobs to support their photojournalism. (Dupont, int.no.5)

While Dupont highlighted that photojournalism was financially challenging, he also explained that some people have jobs outside of photography in order to pursue this without the financial burdens that come with freelancing. Many interviewees recalled others' anecdotal accounts of the jobs people had undertaken in order to tell the stories they were passionate about. Others who were not formally interviewed said they had worked in a bar, undertaken temp-work in an office, one was a primary school teacher, and one was a nurse. These were just some of the other ways people earned a living so that they could tell stories they felt were important.

Among the interviewees there were commonalities among the way in which they supplemented their income. They took on commercial photographic work as already indicated, they taught workshops and other forms of sessional education or worked as freelancers – or in some cases full-time – photographers for newspapers. Jack Picone (int.no.14) said: *“I teach workshops, I have my own workshops and then other people contract me to teach”*. Whereas, Nick Moir and James Brickwood worked as staff photographers for *The Sydney Morning Herald* while working on their own projects outside of their work commitments. Dean Sewell, along with many other interviewees, had left staff positions in order to freelance. However, there are challenges that arise from trying to balance freelance photojournalism endeavours with full-time employment – the most significant of these among interviewees arose when working for media organisations. These interviewees said even though they worked on projects outside of their staff positions, financing these on their own, their work was used by their employers without remuneration. This experience was typified by an experience Brickwood (int.no.3) recounted:

Recently they wanted to run some stuff, my Parkour series, and basically I was asked and I had to give an answer there and then. I said, ‘well I’ve got to think about it’. I got blasted. The editors and sub-editors were wondering why I was not letting them use my photos and it just wasn’t worth the political headache inside the paper to go against it. Look to be fair it did help. I’m new to the

paper, they did give it a decent run and it did help. I think it helped me as a photographer, but I'm not established.

Brickwood distinguished himself from those more established, indicating there were levels of disrespect associated with asking, let alone expecting, staff photographers give their employers their personal photojournalistic work for free. For Brickwood, because he was starting out the exposure of having his personal project disseminated by a newspaper was beneficial to him and his career. Nick Moir thought he had only been paid once for all the personal work he had been expected to give to his employers for free. However, Moir (int.no.3) said:

I've had stuff come my way because of that. Well at least recognition anyway ... I've been paid for it once, I think. But sometimes it's about doing little deals. You can get a holiday here or something. But really, it's amateurish.

These experiences suggest those in a position of authority within mainstream media organisations believe that their staff photographers should make their personal endeavours – even if they self-fund these projects, supply and use their own equipment and do so in their own time – available to the organisation at no additional cost. Thus, it could be suggested that there is the perception that by employing someone full-time, offering them financial security in a predominately freelance industry, the person and their entire creative potential are owned by the organisation. Brickwood likened the expectation that staff photographers give their personal work to their employers to demanding that journalists who write books in their spare time make these available to their employers' publications at no cost. Jason Edwards (int.no.6) expressed similar sentiments when he said:

Photographers are just going along like lap dogs in a lot of the cases. I got a request just yesterday for this shot ... and they said: 'We are doing this book and website, we don't have any money, please, please, please, can we use the shot' and I've had that ten thousand times. ... I am about to go back into the field again, I am waiting to be paid on four accounts, so the bank is getting pretty low, very low ... and I've got someone asking for [work for] free. What other thing does anyone in the civilised world ask for free. ... [Y]ou don't ask a hair stylist to get a haircut for free.

The issue of expecting photographers to give their employers their personal work for free, while an important issue that warrants further study, appears to be indicative of larger

attitudes toward the commodification of photography stemming from its ubiquitous adoption. Since most people take their own photographs and see imagery everywhere, there is a general perception that photography is easy, that the camera does the work not the photographer (as the historical Kodak campaign that said 'you push the button we do the rest' promoted). Additionally, the time, creativity and energy that goes into making photographs – especially when considering the challenges that photojournalists face – let alone making a living is rarely considered. Thus, there is a general tendency for photographs to be devalued.

People who may covet photography do not think that asking for an image has any real implications for those who create it or that in doing so they are in any way disadvantaging the individual who took the image let alone asking them to give away their livelihood. A number of the interviewees noted that they were often asked to give their work away or let it be used for free and felt frustrated that people did not think anything of asking them. Dean Sewell observed that those who asked for freebies tended to have limited knowledge about the effort and work that went into telling stories.

If they only just had an appreciation of the time that went into what you actually did. ... Because a lot of these people ... that do all this shit they've never actually worked in that capacity so they don't know what it's like to invest virtually most of your time and life in doing something. So they just think, oh it's just a picture. Like just click. (Sewell, int.no.3)

Michael Amendolia also compared photojournalism with other professions when talking about how photojournalists are often asked to go somewhere and take images or possibly tell a story without any expectation of payment – and that photojournalists tend to accept this even if they don't like the assumption. Amendolia also noted the amount of time, work and other challenges that photojournalists face in relation to the limited income they earn, attributing their persistence to passion.

So are they passionate? Absolutely, it's the core thing otherwise why would you do all this for so little... Your lifestyle really is affected in most cases. There are some photojournalists that have been able to prosper, but there's probably more that don't tend to prosper. I don't know if it is supply and demand or what it is but it doesn't tend to be as valued. If you asked an accountant do you mind coming somewhere for three hours and doing something for us you wouldn't expect the accountant to say 'yeah sure, I'll just

do that for free don't worry'. But you ask a journalistic photographer 'do you mind coming somewhere for three hours and doing something for us', often it will be assumed that it will be done without any remuneration and then on the other hand often they'll accept it as well anyway. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

Amendolia highlighted the financial challenges, that for most it is a constant struggle. He compared someone asking for a photojournalist's time and expertise for free to that of other skilled professionals, highlighting the disparity between the way people value various occupations. However, he also observed that even though photojournalists are not happy with the trend, they tend to accept the practice and often give their time and skills. While this practice could be suggested as photojournalists endorsing and supporting people's devaluation of photographers, their skills and work, it could also be suggested that this practice comes back to the humanitarian ideals that are at the heart of photojournalists' ideals, values and responsibilities. Nevertheless, he also observed the general tendency for people to devalue what photojournalists – and photographers in general – do and the work that they produce.

In 2000, before the mass adoption of digital cameras, researchers at the University of California at Berkeley estimated that 2700 photographs were taken on film every second totalling 80 billion images made each year around the world (Film – summary, 2000). These figures, now 12 years on have significantly increased. With the decrease in cost of digital cameras and the widespread adoption it is suggested that 500 billion photographs are now taken annually (Coomes, 2010, 14 December). Thus it is natural to assume that with the increase in photographs taken, there would be an increase in the number of people wanting to pursue photography as a profession, but with more competition comes additional challenges for freelancers. Jason Edwards noted the tendency for photojournalists – especially among those who are starting out – to give away their work for free to gain exposure and hopefully gain recognition, which plays into the cost cutting strategies among mainstream media organisations and all others in general.

A lot of publishers are making more money now than they ever were, in some cases, some are making a lot less. ... [T]hey don't want to pay for photography, they don't want to pay what's fair, they don't want to pay what's right. ... [T]he amount of crap that's out there, people ... manipulating ... their digital files ... then putting them in the market place. ... [People] think, 'hey, I'll get a position in the market place and then I will build my rates up' and it

won't happen and you destroy your own industry and that's happening. ... The industry has been chipped away. (Edwards, int.no.6)

Edwards spoke about a number of relevant issues, firstly the devaluation of time and effort that goes in to producing imagery, as well as the photographs themselves. He also noted that with lower pay rates came increased ethical dilemmas such as digital manipulation, which stems in part from the ease of creating imagery versus the time, skill and effort it takes to take an image. With this in mind, such little remuneration and intrinsic value placed on photographs by some, it is not surprising that some photographers choose to cut corners rather than maintaining the integrity of the photographic moment. However, the obvious pitfalls of taking such sort cuts is the degradation of the industry and personal credibility, not to mention the implications of the ethical problems associated with this practice.

Finally, Edwards mentioned the trend of photographers who are starting out to accept or offer exceptionally low rates of pay and the impact this has on the industry. The impact of accepting low rates of pay, or undercutting others, is not unique to photojournalism, many industries suffer the same problem. Nevertheless, the practice of accepting or offering one's services at low rates reinforces the devaluation of photojournalism and photojournalists. There have been, and will be in future, countless debates in photojournalistic and media circles surrounding the practice of offering and accepting of assignments that are well below suggested market rates – this is especially important since these rates have been stagnant for the last decade and in some cases even reduced. Wade Laube, a former Fairfax staff photographer had a guarantee of freelance work from his employer when he moved to the United Kingdom. Laube (int.no.8) said:

It is more of a depressing industry over here than it is in Australia. [A lot of freelancers] ... are not aware of their own worth and they are undercutting each other. They are accepting ... half-day shifts ... quarter day shifts. You just cannot run a feasible business on seventy pounds or something to turn up. ... The Sunday Independent has a bunch of people that go out and shoot sport for them on a Saturday off their own back and whoever gets published gets paid. It's just silly, you can't take yourself serious and partake in that sort of stuff.

Another notable example was when *Time* magazine paid \$30 for a stock image (one tenth the standard stock photo fee) used on the front cover (Harrington, 2009, 25 July). The image

used was not journalistic; it was a stock image from an agency used for illustrative purposes. Author of *Best Business Practices for Photographers*, John Harrington (2009), said that the last time he checked the rates, *Time* usually paid \$3000 for a stock photo to use on its cover, or \$1500 if assigned. The issue caused a flurry of online discussions, of note was one on *Lightstalkers* (Robinson, 2009, July 26) where issues of professional practice among other topics are regularly discussed. Incidentally, many of the photographers involved in the discussion had numerous photographs they had taken used for various magazine covers, including *Time*.

Many of the photographers involved in the *Lightstalkers* online discussion were not surprised by the photographer's willingness to accept the fee or the magazine's cost saving strategy. The vast majority expressed their frustration and in a number of cases outrage, over the practice. Additionally, a number of those involved in the discussion noted that while it was irresponsible of the photographer – because it devalued him, his work and the industry which he was trying to be a part of – it was also systemic of larger issues, such as reduced readerships, lower prices and accessibility to equipment, stock agency practices and so forth. The practice of accepting and offering one's work for low rates make it hard for photojournalists to sustain their ability to 'witness and document history' and earn a living. Since the financial challenges that photojournalists already face are significant, this additional challenge to their ability to earn a livelihood adds further strain.

Photojournalists value the people they meet and the experiences they have while 'witnessing and documenting history' more than financial gains. Thus being a freelance photojournalist is a constant struggle against financial uncertainty. There are periods of relatively high earnings and barren troughs. They struggle against many financial obstacles, finding work, self-funding work, paying for the day-to-day expenses, managing the expenses associated with 'witnessing and documenting history', negotiating fair rates of pay and generally earning a living to sustain them and their families and enable them to keep telling the stories that they feel should be told.

Despite these challenges, the photojournalists who do not change paths in search of financial security accept financial insecurity because of the autonomy and independence that

comes with freelancing. With autonomy and independence photojournalists are able to uphold the ideals, values and responsibilities at the heart of ‘witnessing and documenting history’. It is not that photojournalists relish the stress that comes with financial insecurity. They would prefer financial prosperity, but not if they come at a cost to the ideals, values and responsibilities they hold dear. Philip Blenkinsop (Bradbury, 2009) noted similar sentiments when he said:

I like my life the way it is, a little bit more security would be nice, but then of course if you have security you give up being freelance and doing the things that really motivate you and that you love. ... I suppose money would help to be quite honest, because I suppose at 40 no health insurance, no savings, no nothing, just the work... I think if I needed the money I wouldn't be doing this, if it was ever about money this would be the last thing I would be doing. There's obviously money to be made, people make very good livings, but as with everything, once that becomes your motivating factor then you're doing things for the wrong reasons.

5.3 ‘Getting stories out there’: the challenges inherent in disseminating stories that photojournalists feel are important

Closely associated to the financial challenges that photojournalists face are those associated with the dissemination of stories. The reason ‘getting stories out there’ is important to photojournalists is because it informs the public about the issues, situations and events that other people face and hopefully inspires them to action. Without the work reaching an audience neither outcome is possible. Additionally, photojournalists’ potential earnings are rooted in their ability to disseminate and sell their work through various means. Thus the challenges of dissemination are two-fold, firstly in terms of getting the message out in order to inform, inspire action and make a difference and secondly, financially.

This section examines the link between the traditional mainstream media sources of income and the challenges associated with working for a news organisation and the other ways that photojournalists can disseminate their work. Even though many photojournalists choose to leave the security that comes with working for a mainstream media organisation, disseminating work through these outlets is a means to reaching a large audience; thus

potentially increasing the number of people who are inspired to action. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) encapsulated this when he said:

The images have no power if they are not published. You could be the best photographer in the world, but if you're not giving them to someone to see, then they are valueless. Our ultimate goal is to put these images in front of people in newspapers and magazines, recently on walls, because you are providing information, hopefully the truth of an event.

Despite the ideal being for photojournalists to have their stories disseminated through mainstream media publications, almost all interviewees said media organisations had reduced the amount of photojournalism commissioned, purchased or published. Almost all interviewees also expressed dismay over the way that mainstream media organisations tended to use imagery, feeling that this was at times detrimental to their stories. However, while most interviewees noted these sentiments, Jon Levy asserted that newspapers and magazines did not historically publish photojournalism in the way that people might suggest. Levy (int.no.10) said,

If you are working for someone else then you can't expect them just to change and be what you would like them to be. A lot of these publications have been around for 10, 20, 50, 100 years or so. A lot of times I think it is the expectation of wishing the world was different and kind of slowly narrowing that down to a I wish my world was different and I wish at least the people who I interact with were different. Then you have huge expectations of magazines and newspapers to do these huge picture stories because that is what you are interested in and that is whom you work for. And actually, when you look through the archives of those magazines and newspapers, they have never done that and they never intend to do that and that is not really who their one million subscribers expect to see.

Nevertheless, while it is possible that some photojournalists hold romanticised views of photojournalism's golden era, the fact still remains that much of the mainstream media are not using photojournalism in the same way they once did. It is not my intent to quantify the ways in which opportunities to disseminate work have changed since photojournalism's heyday. What is important, are the challenges associated with working with the mainstream media and how photojournalists negotiate these. Nevertheless, Levy also said while these changes may not have been as monumental as some might suggest, there have indeed been changes.

I can only believe really what colleagues like Adrian [Evans] and Panos – from a very practical level of sales reports and who they sell to – that’s obviously where the pattern has changed and what they sell has changed. So I would say there aren’t as many features definitely commissioned, a lot more are done and bought off the shelf and they sell more kind of individual stock pictures. (Levy, int.no.10)

No one is immune from the changes in how photojournalism is sought, assigned and used by the mainstream media. Magnum editorial director in London, Francesca Sears, noted that their agency records told the tale of photojournalism’s decline.

It is definitely true to say that there are fewer and fewer publications and fewer and fewer publications giving any kind of decent space towards photojournalism anymore and I know that was not the case even five years ago, certainly not 10 or 20 years ago. So my colleagues and certainly my bosses they had a completely different experience to me and you can see that through the billing, through the kinds of spaces and the tear sheets we have from back in the day. Although we predominately make quite serious photojournalism here, we do obviously have published features and news work which is made, there are fewer and fewer news magazines which have contracts with us. ‘Newsweek’ and ‘Time’ still do, but they are scarcer and scarcer from their perspective, I mean they’d rather just buy in or have stringers out there and so on. (Sears, int.no.16)

Sears echoed Levy’s and all other interviewees’ sentiments. She illustrated that Magnum, was not immune from the economic realities, that they, despite their reputation, faced the same issues as all freelance photojournalists and photojournalism agencies. The challenges associated with disseminating work appear universal rather than localised to a specific region or country. This is not to say that certain photojournalists or agencies are not sought after or prospering, but rather that as a whole, photojournalists en masse face the challenges associated with a declining news media market. Sears also mentioned that those photographers at Magnum who focused on in-depth photo essays and traditional photojournalistic topics, for example, conflict, produced ‘serious photojournalism’. Sears use of term ‘serious photojournalism’ contrasts the content and style of such work against illustrative work, for example, portraiture. It can be suggested that the reduction in ‘serious photojournalism’ being sought, assigned and published could possibly be indicative of two trends; that what photojournalists deem as ‘serious photojournalism’ pushes the boundaries of

what news organisations deem acceptable to show viewers, and the mainstream media are shying away from such content to allegedly meet audience demands.

A number of other interviewees said they had work that media organisations would not publish because it was too ‘hard core’ or ‘serious’ for their audience. Jason Edwards said the trend was quite common and told two stories to illustrate his point. The first story was his own story, one story was axed because of political upheaval in the country which the story was about, and the second was about a National Geographic colleague who could not disseminate his work because it was considered too ‘hard core’. Edwards (in.tno.6) said,

The story he is telling is amazing. It needs to be told. But the last time I spoke to him he was struggling to get sponsors and get people to pick it up because they are ‘hard core’ stories. It still should be done, these things still should be shown.

Nevertheless, Sears also noted that publications would rather buy the work after it has been self-funded and produced rather than assign a photojournalist and take on all the associated costs and responsibilities. Jack Picone also suggested that while ‘serious photojournalism’ was declining in terms of being sought, assigned and published, other genres and styles of photography are not. Picone (int.no.14) said:

Other areas aren't declining, like women's magazines aren't declining and lifestyle's not declining and food photography is not declining. But if you're talking specifically documentary or photojournalism or any form of reportage, it's definitely declining and it's definitely becoming incredibly difficult to get any story that deals with social issues or conflict in magazines anymore. Even ... oddball stories too, like funny stories or droll stories [you] can't get those in anymore either.

Picone described the decline in ‘serious’ and softer types of photojournalism being sought, assigned and published. Picone also noted that other genres of photography were not declining. Given that the world is an increasingly visual society, it can be suggested that it is increasingly dominated by certain styles of imagery that glamourize life among the wealthiest demographics rather than showing the reality, issues and situations of those who are not part of this minority. There may be many sociological and economically driven explanations for this trend and while a detailed exploration of these may be interesting and worthy of further

research they are for the most part outside the scope of this thesis. Additionally, it is not my intent to suggest that visual expression be dictated, or place a hierarchal value on any specific type of imagery over that of another. It is my intent only to highlight the disparity between the emphasis placed on certain types of imagery. The perception that other genres of photography take precedence over photojournalism is not uncommon. Deputy editor of *The British Journal of Photography*, Diane Smyth, noted these sentiments when she said:

I think it's a scenario that people seem to be really interested in [photojournalism] and the thing that people are finding in this country, I am not sure how it goes in other countries but I am pretty sure it would be the same, is that the magazines aren't publishing work in the same way that they used to and they are not giving it as many pages and perhaps they are not giving people money to go out and shoot things. People need to go out and shoot things and try to sell them afterwards and it is harder to sell it because there isn't as much space devoted to it. So the perception anyway that lots of photographers in this country have is that the magazines are more interested in celebrity culture now, so they are not really interested in the hard-hitting stories that people cover in photojournalism.

Smyth spoke of the increased interest in celebrity culture and the impact this has on photojournalists getting work assigned, purchased and published as well as the tendency to self-fund work. Additionally, Smyth noted the perception that 'hard-hitting' or 'serious photojournalism' was falling by the celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment wayside. Despite these challenges, photojournalists are still telling these 'hard-hitting' or 'serious' stories and finding other ways to disseminate them. The amount of work photojournalists manage to actually get published is only a small fraction of the stories that they tell. Jason Edwards (int.no.6) said, "a lot of that work never gets into press. ... Do I find a publisher who might want to pick it up, well, 70 percent of the time no". However, Edwards explained there were other ways to get stories out there, specifically through showing people presentations of their work – but this method of dissemination had its own challenging implications, especially when it came to generating an income to not only keep telling stories, but also to live. Jean-François Leroy said that the vast majority of photojournalism displayed *Visa pour l'Image* was not published.

At least, let's say, 95 percent of the images you will see in Perpignan were never published. ... [T]hey are very high quality photography and I don't understand why they weren't published. Everybody knows about Bruce Willis

and Sharon Stone and Demi Moore and whoever you want, but nobody knows about Darfur and Somalia, Chad and Sudan, Chechnya. Why? The work is there. (Leroy, int.no.9)

The amount of money many media organisations dedicate to celebrity, entertainment and lifestyle imagery appear vastly disproportionate to that spent on photojournalism. This disparity can be clearly seen in Leroy's passionate discussion of the increasing trend of celebrity, entertainment and lifestyle content. Leroy's earlier example of a magazine that said they did not have the funds to buy a photojournalistic story yet paid eight times more for one celebrity image illustrates this point. However, Leroy did not wish to identify the magazine so it is unknown if the focus of this magazine was celebrity, entertainment and lifestyle content.

Nevertheless, this example serves to illustrate not only that the space within a publication is prioritised along with certain types of content but also that the budgetary allocations for certain types of content is weighted with profound disparity. Most interviewees had observed a significant increase in the amount of celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content signifying a shift in or reprioritising of news values. Joao Pina (int.no.15) noted this shift when he said:

I think it's a problem of our days, we do not differentiate this point – what is information and what is entertainment. ... There's this boundary between what is entertainment and what is news that has been corrupted for a while now.

John G. Morris (2002, 2005), also noted the trend of news organisations focusing on celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment coverage. Morris (2005) said that:

[C]overage of world affairs has been cut drastically in recent years. Space (in print) and time (on TV) goes to subjects that build mass audiences: celebrity, sports, health and hygiene, animated discussions of trivia. Journalism has become intertwined with entertainment, for the sake of profitability. (p.80)

However, Morris (2005) said photojournalists were still managing to 'get their work out there' and that their necessity to find alternative ways to disseminate their work meant, "photojournalism is now being reborn, in challenging new forms, around the world" (p.80). A number of interviewees echoed Morris's (2005) observations. These interviewees noted that the emphasis on celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment was financially driven, that this type of content increased sales and sat well with advertisers, and advertisers were the bread and butter

for the vast majority of news organisations. Former picture editor of *The Observer* magazine and newspaper, Jennie Ricketts, reported at the Foto Freo seminar in 2007 the increase in celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content during her 17 years with the organisation.

The difference between [documentary photography and photojournalism imagery and celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment imagery] ... is that celebrity and lifestyle ... are the types of images that are pulling in funds into magazines. The revenue is vital. The revenue, the magazines and the publishers need to keep their publications going. (Ricketts in int.no.21)

Ricketts revealed that during her time with *The Observer* they had for the most part shifted their focus to celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content because this type of content attracted and appeased advertisers.

Celebrity [and] lifestyle pull in revenue and the advertisers, the advertising sat really well against the previous two images [celebrity and lifestyle] where as these [documentary photography and photojournalism] types of images, didn't necessarily go that well. In fact we went through a phase on the magazine where some advertisers actually pulled out because our journalism was becoming far too violent as they call it. (Ricketts in int.no.21)

Thus it can be argued that in some ways advertisers dictate the journalistic content of media publications, while it can be suggested that this does impact on the types of written journalism it does not do so to the same degree as photojournalism. Visuals are read by viewers in a fraction of a second during which time it can impact on the viewers' emotions, thus advertisers may feel viewers make some sort of negative association with their products if situated next to or too close to certain types of imagery – specifically challenging imagery which is often associated with photojournalism.

The nature of advertising, selling a product based on one's desire to embody the life or qualities depicted, are harmonious with celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content as these serve to in some ways reinforce the message that has been carefully crafted by advertisers. Additionally, it can be suggested that the messages advertisers depict are diminished when viewed in conjunction with photojournalistic images, especially if the story being told is confronting, as viewers could deem the advertisements as trivial in comparison. Thus a viewer may feel guilt over their desire to buy into the message and turn the page on the

advertisement. Photojournalism is incongruous with the branding and messages of most companies advertising their products. Most companies align themselves with luxury or other fashionable associations and while they may be creating or selling the message that with their product, the viewer's life will be transformed, very few companies are founded on the premise of actually making a difference to improving the issues, situations and events of others. So because advertisers are the main revenue sources for various media organisations, their requests and demands do appear to affect the type of journalistic content included, particularly the visual content.

News organisations are fundamentally businesses. Therefore it is not surprising that they are constantly watching their bottom line, looking for ways to cut costs and increase revenue in order to remain financially solvent. Operating a business with disregard for financial solvency is impractical and futile as doing so could possibly mean closure, the company being dissolved or filing for bankruptcy.

While business practices are important to staying afloat and continuing in a difficult financial climate, there are problems that come with doing so when it undermines the traditional watchdog role of the news media, constraining and thus obstructing the types of stories told. Leroy (int.no.9) noted similar sentiments when he said, "*the problem is that actually you have the people who own the publications ... are just financial trusts – they are no [longer] journalists*". Leroy highlighted the emphasis media organisations put on their business practices and bottom lines. That many of those in positions of overarching authority are business orientated rather than journalistically orientated, which has a significant impact on content. In order to keep telling some stories, others are deemed less important thus they have fallen by the wayside, sacrificed in order to meet financial goals.

This is not meant to suggest the news media have always covered everything. There has always been a journalistic hierarchy and only a small percentage of stories get covered. However, the emphasis on business practices rather than journalism – not that journalism is possible without being a viable business, unless state funded, which has its own inherent problems – has meant a further narrowing of news. Forsaking or controlling journalistic content has larger implications for society as a whole (Schultz, 1994). The focus on business

over journalism becomes even more of a problem when the news products produced by media organisations are traditionally designed to be affordable to the masses to ensure what they report is widely accessible so that the public is informed (Schultz, 1994). An informed public has a direct correlation with democratic freedom and journalism is closely aligned with governmental and corporate accountability (Schultz, 1994). Thus in order to maintain affordable access to news and information media organisations need to keep the cost of their publications low, increasing the need to generate revenue from other sources.

However, the degree to which advertisers dictate content is not the only way in which media organisations focus on their bottom line, there are also cost cutting strategies at play. Diane Smyth noted the trend of media organisations using imagery produced or supplied by citizen witnesses. *“A lot of our readers, who are professional photographers, see it the opposite way in that newspapers are kind of happy to settle for the citizen picture and not go any deeper than that, because it is cheaper basically”* (Smyth, int.no.17). For clarity, I’ve used the term citizen-generated for material the general public produce and post online to non-news sites and user-generated for material people supply to media organisations themselves. User or citizen generated content can at times provide a valid information source when others, who make their living based on their credibility as a witness and the associated ethical constraints that come with this responsibility, are not present to provide visual documentation of issues, events or situations as they unfold. There are, however, other challenges closely aligned with the practice of using this information or visual documentation that impact on photojournalists.

It is not the use of such content in and of itself that is problematic. Although there are potential issues such as the inherent credibility of the witness and their knowledge surrounding the ethical practice of photojournalism including contextualisation and manipulation. But rather the use of such content is indicative of a larger trend among many news media organisations to use imagery simply for illustrative purposes. I am not suggesting that user-generated content does not have its merits, it may be a way to re-engage audiences by including them in the production of news. The impact of user and citizen-generated content is an interesting area worthy of further research. Jennie Ricketts also noted in her

presentation during the 2007 Foto Freo seminar that the use of user and citizen-generated content had financial implications for both photojournalists and media organisations.

Citizen photojournalism at the moment is rapidly becoming very important in reporting news and events that happen [spontaneously or with limited warning] and because of this a lot of the images that we see now are being obtained through this form of media. The fact is that it's here, it's subjective, it's immediate, and it's freely available at a fraction of the cost of what we are getting in or buying in professional photography. (Ricketts in int.no.21)

There are generally two schools of thought among photojournalists surrounding the use of user and citizen-generated content. On one hand, it is not considered to be photojournalism so is therefore not a threat because it lacks the ideals, values and responsibilities of 'witnessing and documenting history'. Thus from this perspective, user and citizen-generated imagery is purely illustrative and can be provided when no other imagery from an established source is available, leaving room for more in-depth stories produced by photojournalists. On the other hand, some consider user and citizen-generated imagery to be a threat to journalistic credibility and employment opportunities.

While both perspectives have their merits, what is of greater importance is the way in which the use of such imagery by media organisations is indicative of a larger trend of seeing imagery as purely illustrative and the challenges this perception has on the economic solvency of photojournalists. Ricketts (in int.no.21) also noted similar sentiments when she said that because of "*market forces, publications are trying not to spend as much as they have been in the past on producing news stories photographically*".

Since user-generated can be used for free as well as some citizen-generated imagery – sometimes without the permission of the person who took the image under the Creative Commons License – the decision to use an image is not always based on its ability to tell the story, but as a cost saving strategy. Ricketts said *The Observer*, like many other news publications and broadcasts around the world, relied on citizen-generated imagery of the 2005 London bombings. For example, an image taken by Adam Stacey on his phone's camera was used extensively under The Creative Commons.

This one was actually free. I think the publications used at the time something called The Creative Commons Licence, which means that they could just grab the image off the internet, use it and then deal with the consequences later. I don't know whether that guy was actually paid anything. I don't think he was. But basically the image was free and these are the types of images that are affecting the images that we see coming through the news and through magazines. (Ricketts in int.no.21)

Using imagery for illustrative purposes is not a new phenomenon; such practices have been synonymous with news publications since the development of image printing technology. However, with the world becoming an increasingly visual society it can be suggested that imagery and the capacity for people to understand complex visual messages should be given a higher value, as a language in its own right – especially as visual language transcends traditional language and cultural boundaries.

Nevertheless, while outlets to disseminate work may be reducing, news media organisations are paying less or the same rates as 10 years ago, prioritising citizen and user-generated imagery and celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content over photojournalistic content. These are all significant challenges for photojournalists and all stem back to the business priorities of news media organisations – the cost cutting methods and overarching perception of the role of imagery. A few interviewees said these challenges were more significant among newspapers than other publications, like magazines, and chose not to try to sell their stories to or take assignments from newspapers – though their magazine supplements were a different matter. David Dare Parker explained the reasons why he rarely worked with newspapers.

First off, they don't pay. Secondly, they usually subscribe to the wires so they don't need people like me, so I think they have their limitations. Basically, they're there to illustrate words for the most part, they are not going to run photography in its own right, they don't have the time. [For] a major story, they will get the best picture of the day, whether it was shot on a cell phone or by a world class photojournalist, it's irrelevant to them as long as they deliver the best, most poignant image of the day next to the headlines. That's all they think about. Occasionally, they will have supplements and those tend to be dictated by the advertising world, so it's more lifestyle and celebrity driven, so they don't use photojournalism. If they do, it's often 'but lets not lose advertisers'. (Parker, int.no.13)

Parker also noted the precarious relationship between advertising revenue and content, specifically the impact this has on photojournalistic content as well as the trend of using imagery for illustrative purposes only rather than as a form of storytelling in its own right. He also mentioned that advertising revenue dictates the type of imagery and in what way it is used. However, magazines are not immune from the same practices as newspapers as Jennie Ricketts (in int.no.21) explained when discussing an incident where one luxury bag advertiser pulled out and boycotted *The Observer* magazine “*because they didn’t like the types of images that we were displaying*”. The advertiser’s bags were luxury items “*possibly upwards of £1000 pounds a throw and they [we]re sitting next to images of starving children in whatever country you want to think of*” (Ricketts in int.no.21).

However, it is not just advertisers that are driving the content, there are other challenges associated with media organisations cost cutting methods and one of these is the trend of using portraits that are at times set up and staged as opposed to photojournalism. Joao Pina (int.no.15) noted the ways that media organisations cut costs when he said magazines and newspapers were, “*not going for [photojournalism] to show the events as they are, but go[ing] afterwards and shoot[ing] portraits. [They are] ... changing a lot of their photography for portrait[ure], which is a cheaper way to produce a story*”. But the use of portraiture as opposed to photojournalism can also be suggested as somewhat of a compromise, illustrating a story in a way that is innocuous to advertisers, thus limiting the impact on organisations’ revenue streams. The use of portraiture in conjunction with celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content as well as user and citizen-generated content further decreases the space and remuneration available to photojournalists to ‘get their work out there’.

Dean Sewell said media organisations choosing other imagery over photojournalism was indicative of larger issues surrounding the fundamental role of the media.

Newspapers and other journals have a responsibility, I think, to run important stuff, like social stuff. The biggest trick they’ve played is convincing the likes of us [photojournalists], well not convincing us but removing that responsibility from them and then placing it on the individual photographers, as the social chroniclers of our time. This stuff should be picked up by them, and we

shouldn't have [to] fund the costs for them, because we do stuff and then sell it to them and they get it cheap. (Sewell, int.no.3)

Sewell illustrated that because of the ideals, values and responsibilities that underpin how photojournalists see their role they are not willing to conform to the demands of advertisers and media organisations. Photojournalists are going to keep telling stories in line with the ideals, values and responsibilities no matter what, even if that means self-funding stories. Sewell was passionate, as were all interviewees, about the role of the media and felt that in some ways their emphasis on business practices came at the expense of journalism. Thus these practices undermined the traditional watchdog values for economic saliency and expediency. Jon Levy also noted the shift in focus among news organisations whether television, newspapers, or magazines. Levy (int.no.10) said, *“Obviously we all know from when we look at the mainstream media that the interests have shifted”*. He also said that while there was:

[S]till a core of world events ... a lot of the other stuff is obviously [about] celebrity, it is about people, it is about lifestyle, it is about our lives, it is about an age where everything can become quantified in terms of wealth or health or education. (Levy, int.no.10)

Another common argument to explain the shift in focus of content is that media organisations are simply reacting to audiences' interests in an attempt to stem declining circulation and stay afloat. Celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content are not new and news media have always had an affinity for this type of content although it was once available in separate forms, for example tabloid versus broadsheet. Levy (int.no.10) warned that photojournalists needed *“to separate [themselves] a little bit from what [they] think are these forces that are working against [them] out there and this great celebrity conspiracy”*. Levy also highlighted the belief that people were not interested in reality and 'real news' as opposed to celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment content. Levy (int.no.10) said: *“I think lots of people who even buy the celebrity magazines are amazed by how mundane and ridiculous it all is. But I don't think that necessarily says that they are not interested in the rest of the world”*. Adrian Evans also said the public was more interested in photojournalism than others gave them credit for.

They say the readership isn't interested as well, in my experience when people see things like that [photojournalism] they really are interested. People say to me, 'did you see that piece in such and such a magazine, wasn't it great', or when we put exhibitions on you get loads of people ... I love them going around the panel shows because they they take a long time and they read everything that is there, far more than I would at an exhibition. So it is obviously pressing the right buttons ... You get a lot of people seeing that stuff because it is not really what you see in the papers these days. (Evans, int.no.7)

Evan highlighted that people are interested in photojournalism despite some media organisations claiming their readers are not interested and prioritising other types of content. In fact, many interviewees said that they thought most media organisations – no matter the format, television, print or online – underestimated audience's interest in 'real journalism' and instead used visuals simply for illustration rather than as a form of storytelling. Philip Blenkinsop (Bradbury, 2009) said:

In an editorial at a magazine level editors are always saying 'no let's not given them that, the readers won't understand it or it's too much for them, keep it simple'. I think the magazine industry, the news industry in general, has a lot to answer for they don't credit the population with enough intelligence. People are intelligent, they do have a thirst for information, but they're not given it because people think they'd prefer to see pictorial spreads and pieces on garden furniture or the latest Hollywood blockbuster. People do have a capacity for processing information and I think a thirst and it is completely ignored. They're treated like idiots.

It can be suggested that it is not just the advertisers dictating content or media organisations trying to cut costs and increase circulation that impact on the type of imagery used, it is also an underestimation of the public's capacity to understand visual stories. Another problem inherent in using imagery that illustrates rather than photojournalistic content that tells a full story is time. It takes a lot longer to tell photojournalistic stories than simply illustrating a story with an image, which has additional time-based implications, such as print and broadcast deadlines and associated costs. When people are assigned to cover a story they typically have very tight time constraints, in some cases it is minutes, in others hours, and in certain circumstances days. Paul Jones ("Panel Discussion", 2000), attributed the use of photography as illustration rather than as a form of journalistic storytelling in its own right to the media being "fast paced, [and] profit-hungry" (p.41). Jones said images were not used to tell the whole story but more so as space-fillers. He said, "Tight deadlines, space

size, and other layout restrictions from editors and designers, are factors that [also] contribute to photographers either just illustrating the story or setting photos up” (“Panel Discussion”, 2000, p.41).

These types of time constraints seem in sharp contrast to the typical way in which photojournalists work when telling stories of their own accord. Dean Sewell said tight time constraints meant images could only really be illustrative and that considered in-depth stories were not really possible under the circumstances. He said,

The only way you can do it is through time. So [when working for a newspaper] ... they get out there, do it quick and miss out on heaps of stuff ... where it's in and out. Even really important things just so you can make the deadline. (Sewell, int.no.3)

Sewell and Nick Moir really noticed the difference between working for a media organisation on assignment and being an independent freelancer when they were covering the tsunami aftermath in Banda Aceh. Both Sewell and Moir arrived within days of each other, Sewell was freelancing and Moir was working for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Sewell had no restrictions, whereas Moir (int.no.3) could not go any further than a few blocks from where he was staying because “every two hours I had to leave where I was, get back to a house, sit there and file my pictures”. For Moir the type of imagery he produced did not have the depth he would have liked.

It's really just a snap shot – it really is just single image photography – is all you're after. So the essay that I would have put together isn't really an essay, it's more a series of pictures, things that I saw on the way. (Moir, int.no.3)

While the ideal may be to disseminate stories through the mainstream media, there are additional challenges that come into play once photojournalists submitted their images to publications. These challenges may have significant implications for the story being told, however, for the most part photojournalists have no control over these. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) noted this when he said “another can of worms [is] where picture editors and publishers have the power to do what they like with the photographs once they've left your hands”.

Although press photographers' and photojournalists' discontent with how their imagery is used appears to be universal, the issue was highlighted by three Australian researchers (Craig, 1993; Griffin, 1994a, 1995a; Elgar, 2002) who found that press photographers felt they lacked control over their work in terms of the stories they covered and the way their imagery was used. Craig (1993) found that a "factor foremost in the minds of photographers was their battle with the editorial staff over cropping and layout of their images" (Craig, 1993, p.106). Elgar (2002) reported that Australian photographers expressed "strong discontent" (p.245) with the way their images were handled and used, that editors and managers did not understand photo ethics, and that press photographers thought it was wrong that they were excluded from the later production stages. While photojournalists may not like their imagery being used in ways that they don't always approve of, they appear somewhat used to the practice. However, there are incidents that are much more extreme than this, such as work being destroyed.

The dangers of work being destroyed is only really an issue for photojournalists who still shoot on film – which is not uncommon despite the prevalence of digital – as those who shoot digitally have their own image archives and do not risk these when sending them to a publication. Stephen Dupont had some of his negatives destroyed by a picture editor at *Le Monde*, which goes against the principles of French copyright (Pledge in int.no.21). Dupont was asked to document Paris fashion week, as a photojournalist, for *Le Monde*. However, the picture editor felt that some images could be embarrassing to a number of fashion icons and cut out the offending negatives, destroying them (Pledge in int.no.21). Dupont and Robert Pledge, the director Contact Press Images the agency that represents him, successfully sued *Le Monde* (Pledge in int.no.21). Apart from the fact that this was a form of censorship, these actions have further financial implications, as Dupont is unable to sell or use any of the destroyed images.

However, Dupont said there were ways for photojournalists to somewhat retain control over how their images were used. But he also observed that photojournalists often placed their trust in the people with whom they have formed relationships inside the organisations because of the time it took to formally negotiate image usage terms. "*Of course there are laws of state and copyright and things like that [where] you can manage it to a degree, but looking at how*

newspapers treat photography and often show the work and they can ... be misrepresented” (Dupont, int.no.5). Dupont also said it was important that photojournalists’ work was not misused or misrepresented as this could have significant implications for the truth. Michael Amendolia captured the disillusionment about the way imagery was used that many interviewees expressed. *“Most of the time you're disappointed by the way it gets published. ... My expectation level is so low now that I'm always happy because my expectation has become so low”* (Amendolia, int.no.1).

It is not just the image selection that is the problem, but also the way in which they are used, if they are cropped or altered in any way. Dupont said cropping could alter the integrity of an image and that it could *“also [be] censorship. There might be things in the image that a photographer want[ed] to show”*. However, Dupont said that those who publish their work might decide that an image *“may upset someone or there might be something there that they'll crop out. Maybe it's [deemed] too graphic, [and they decide] let's use half the photograph”*. Or it might simply be for design purposes so that the image fits the space they have available. Nevertheless, Dupont said while they could make formal arrangements to protect their imagery, they tended to put their faith in people and hoped that they did not dishonour them and their work.

As a freelancer you can make people sign contracts to say you're not allowed to crop the photograph or you must represent it in a way that it's meant to be represented and all that kind of thing. But you know, who has the time and it's kind of one of those things where you just, I guess, build a relationship with people and hope that they honour who you are and you know, or what your photography represents. (Dupont, int.no.5)

Dupont highlighted the advantage that freelancers have over staff photographers who can’t negotiate individual assignment or usage contracts. Amendolia reiterated the options that photojournalists have available to them, emphasising that they did not have to give up their rights just to have their work disseminated. However, he also explained that even though photojournalists had options there were still things that were out of their control.

It doesn't mean that I'm happy to sell my soul to any publication. But when you do say to some publication ‘yes I will take that assignment’, when you do that

assignment you understand that you're not going to be able to control every representational aspect to that story. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

But despite having options available to photojournalists to control the manner and way in which their work is used it ultimately is something that is out of their hands, especially when accepting an assignment.

While photojournalists who accept assignments can negotiate terms prior to accepting, those who self-fund stories potentially retain more control because they can pick and choose who they sell their work to and if they do not like the terms there is no obligation. Additionally, photojournalists who self-fund their own stories can also control the story angle, its direction and the way it is covered, which is not usually the case for those who accept assignments. Photojournalists who accept assignments are for the most part accepting an already decided story angle and have to adhere to the views of the organisation for which they are working. Amendolia highlighted the contrast between the amount of control when taking assignments and self-funding stories.

All I can guarantee is that I will represent my photographs as truthful as possible and they'll have a caption to back that up. What happens then, afterwards in the publication – anything can happen. What I can guarantee is that when I do my own personal story then I will only sell it under the circumstances of this particular representation or this sort of fairness level. I can't do it when I go on assignment because I'm sort of agreeing to work for you with whatever your agenda perhaps may be. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

While people can be critical of the media, their business practices and the way they operate in general, there are also positive aspects to what they do, how they do it and the stories they tell. Quite a few interviewees balanced their comments by acknowledging that at times the media did an exceptional job. Jack Picone (int.no.14) noted this when he said:

I'm not an idealist; I mean I definitely know how flawed and aberrated the media is and how much and how many times they get things wrong. But again conversely the truth is I've seen enough brilliant, accurate, truthful stories get through as well, but no one ever mentions those.

5.3.1 Untangling dissemination from the income generation process

Despite the significant challenges photojournalists face in working with the mainstream media and disseminating their work, the ideal is to have their stories disseminated by these outlets because of the number of people they will potentially reach. However, while this may be the ideal, photojournalists have learned that they cannot rely on this form of dissemination nor is the type of work available always congruent with their ideals, values and responsibilities. Thus they have adapted and found new ways to finance and disseminate the stories they feel are important to tell. Evans (int.no.7) said:

If you want to do that a kind of work you have to self-finance it and [find] ... more non-editorial ways of financing it, which is what a lot of people do. In fact some people ... don't work in papers at all, they find other ways to produce the work that they want to. So some people think that the fact that the phone isn't ringing ... [means] the industry is dying. But it is not. People are still working in photojournalism they are just working in a different way, finding different ways of funding what they do and finding different outlets for what they produce. So getting it out in a magazine or newspaper, getting it published is still important, but it is not a be-all and end-all.

By untangling the dissemination process from income generation, photojournalists have taken further control of their imagery and autonomy over their practice. Thus they can generate income however they see fit in order to live and tell stories independent of any external controls; that is unless they choose to accept them. How photojournalists then chose to disseminate stories is up to them, they can sell individual images, they can sell parts, they can produce multimedia packages to sell or display online, they can tell the stories in book form and exhibitions. In other words, while income can be generated from these various forms of dissemination, the necessity to generate income from the dissemination process is removed making their primary target reaching audiences in ways that inspire and motivate them. However, this process is not ideal as in many instances photojournalists may be getting their stories out to an audience, but it may cost them financially and they may not make any money from doing so.

If it comes down to the choice not tell stories or take on the financial challenges, those who see photojournalism as a “Way of Life” tend to choose the latter. Nevertheless, this does

not mean that photojournalists are necessarily happy to disseminate their work for free. David Dare Parker said disseminating work through new avenues did not guarantee revenue. Parker (int.no.13) said:

It doesn't matter what the changes are in technology or what the future is we have to find new ways of delivering those stories and putting them in front of people. If they want to do it on the internet we have to find a way of doing it. We have to find a way of making a living so we can keep doing it.

Parker was talking generally about finding new ways to disseminate stories when he specifically mentioned the internet and the opportunities it presented. However, he said that while the internet was a viable way to reach audiences, photojournalists – like many media organisations – had not yet found a way to generate revenue from this form of dissemination. While using the internet to disseminate stories is examined later, the most relevant aspect of Parker's comment at this point is the link between finding new ways to disseminate work outside the mainstream media and how photojournalists can turn these in to sustainable business models. However, Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) said, to varying degrees, work is still available through mainstream media outlets, but photojournalists are increasingly, “*looking outside of the traditional ways of showing the work in those industries or those avenues ... for other ways to show their work and that's more through the galleries, through self-publishing, through books, through the internet, through blogs*” and so forth.

The need to utilise a wide variety of dissemination methods is not only to maximise the potential audience but also opportunities to generate income. Additionally, the utilisation of outlets other than the mainstream media is a reaction to their reduced assignment offerings and opportunities to sell their work, even if they self-fund the stories, as well as agendas and the overarching type of content published by the media. Francesca Sears said that for photojournalists who wanted to spend time working on ‘serious’ stories that they felt passionate about, the way to get this published in the mainstream media was typically on the back of something else. For example, the media reporting on a book or exhibition launch. Sears (int.no.16) said:

The photographers who still want to make that kind of work, which they all do pretty much, end up basically making books over a long period of time. ...

Paolo Pellegrin ... made a book ... [about the Lebanon conflict] ... and it is only now, at the anniversary of the war, we are actually able to promote the book and get the work into newspapers on the back of it being a book and an exhibition. So ... it is becoming a longer way of doing things, which is a shame in many ways.

In this respect, photojournalists are not selling their work to news organisations, but rather using them to potentially increase sales, whether book or ticket sales, and promote these other avenues of dissemination to a wider audience. However, while photojournalists have to rely increasingly on multiple forms of dissemination, some of these come with their own challenges. The most significant noted by a few interviewees appeared to be the implications of hanging their imagery on gallery walls. Diane Smyth observed that this form of dissemination, specifically through art galleries, could change the way the work was viewed and its potential impact. Smyth (int.no.17) posed the questions: “*does it affect the type of photography that’s taken, does it make it more toothless because people just go to a lovely gallery to see it, does it have the same kind of impact that it used to have?*”.

Other interviewees said art galleries typically attracted a niche audience and didn’t reach the general public. Adrian Evans (int.no.7) noted this when he said, “*it is a different audience, but half the time it is not really an audience that is getting what they are doing because it is an art buying audience*”. Evans said photojournalists’ aims were at odds with the art world and those who frequent galleries, but by taking exhibitions out of the gallery environment photojournalists could tell their stories to a much wider audience. Evans (int.no.7) said, “*put it into some sort of public space. ... [J]ust plonk it right in front of people, people who would never engage with that and then they’d think ‘hey that’s interesting’, then they would read it*”.

It is not just the type of people who are potentially viewing the work that concerns photojournalists – it is also the gallery context, which among many other things, is about objectification. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) noted these sentiments when he said:

Galleries are kind of niche. You’ve just got to be a bit aware of the ... aesthetics and ethics of what you’re putting on display. You always feel slightly anxious or nervous in a gallery setting – if you’ve got pictures of people who are suffering or are traumatised in your photos, or there’s a confrontational

aspect to your photos and then you're in this floodlit gallery with inner city trendies drinking wine – there is a disconnect there. You have to be careful about how you manage that and how you resolve that in yourself, so that you can feel okay about having that work shown in that way.

Bohane illustrated the unease between the gallery environment and the stories that photojournalists tell and how disseminating their work in these forums can in some ways objectify those whose stories they tell. It is not my intent to delve in to a philosophical discussion of art – merely to highlight that for photojournalists there is a certain amount of unease that comes with finding alternative forms of dissemination.

This unease stems from the potential impact forms of non-news media dissemination may have on the work and audience perceptions. Thus, the degree to which photojournalists care about the context of their work and the integrity of the people whose stories they tell is clear – especially if by showing these stories objectifies or commodifies the people and the issues, situations or events they face. However, it can be suggested that all forms of dissemination have the potential to pose such problems.

The reason photojournalists are more comfortable with the context of news dissemination is because of the institutional associations that come with the role of the fourth estate. But, because photojournalists can no longer rely on assignments or disseminating their work through mainstream media outlets, they have had to accept some of the challenges that come with other forms of dissemination in order to keep telling stories they feel are important.

I've never done these stories thinking that they're going to wind up as art or in galleries for sale. I mean, subsequently that has happened and that will be part of the process. In a way, unfortunately, it's currently a result of the 'crapness' of the editorial market. Maybe if we were able to better flourish through the editorial market there'd be less need to rely on exhibitions and stuff. But exhibitions are now becoming a layer to what we do and I guess that will continue. ... But I went into this game so that the stories would be published and have a wide exposure. (Bohane, int.no.2)

But nowadays, in order for photojournalists to reach a wide audience they have to utilise multiple forms of dissemination to reach even a similar number of people as the mainstream media. As Bohane highlighted, photojournalists have to be more strategic and layer the way

that they disseminate their work to maximise potential audiences and income. Disseminating work through multiple outlets instead of just one obviously impacts on the amount of work and time it takes to disseminate stories.

So while photojournalists may exhibit their work, publish books, whether they are self-publishing or through an established third party publisher or possibly sell their work to news organisations, there are also many opportunities stemming from technological advancements and the internet. However, unlike disseminating work through the media who absorb production costs, photojournalists who are already often self-funding their work have to fund the costs associated with other forms of dissemination.

The internet is a viable way to reach large audiences without the mainstream media, with limited financial outlay in comparison to other methods as Stephen Dupont said: *“I think the internet has really opened up, hugely, for people who want to show their work and there's MySpace, there's you name it, that's a whole world of potential out there and opportunities to show your work”*. However, the internet has yet to be developed in to a successful business model for photojournalists to generate revenue from dissemination. The benefit of the internet as a form of dissemination is that it is by and large free from any controls associated with other forms, such as mainstream media agendas or typical content decisions. The internet is a place where almost anything can be published in whatever form. Diane Smyth compared the internet to the ‘wild west’ when talking about the potential to disseminate work. Smyth (int.no.17) said the internet was an interesting new frontier: *“[I]ts kind of like the wild west, there aren't really any publishing rules, well there are but it's kind of free for all. Anything can go on the internet really whether we think that is right or wrong”*. However, Smyth also explained the challenges associated with disseminating work via the internet. *“I suppose for photographers, perhaps the problem is how you get money out of it”* (Smyth, int.no.17).

Some photojournalistic organisations have been more successful than others, but while the internet may be a successful method in reaching audiences, it has not been a successful business model for photojournalists – or for mainstream media organisations. Smyth (int.no.17) said: *“There are organisations [Panos and VII among others] who have really used the internet to their benefit and they have been able to distribute much wider than they*

would have been in the past". However, Evans, Panos director, said that while they did use the internet to disseminate work successfully it wasn't as successful for earning money through online publishing.

The internet is a means of delivery, but it's not yet a very powerful means of publishing stories. I mean you can use it for viral marketing and things like that where you can put something up that is very powerful and alert people to it and then it is self-perpetuating almost. But to make a living out of the internet, we do as a agency because obviously people come to the site, they get the pictures, download the images, pay us for them. So it is a means for delivery. (Evans, int.no.7)

Evans described the way that his organisation used the internet as a way to disseminate, take payment and deliver imagery to clients. The business model that Evans described is similar to that of a stock photo agency where clients can purchase the rights to use imagery in various capacities, which is not so much a new avenue for dissemination but rather a product of convenience akin to online shopping.

However, Evans also noted how online, stories could take on a life of their own, with the photographer and others disseminating stories through their various interconnected networks. Thus people post stories, others review or comment on these, recommend them to their contacts who recommend them to theirs and so stories bounce around complex social networks to reach unfathomable masses all through the utilisation of social media, blogs, podcasts, online magazines, multimedia sites and so forth. Social media was in its infancy at the time I conducted my interviews and therefore was not really on interviewees' radars. However, photojournalists' use of social media and the impact of this on their practice is indeed worthy of further research. Nevertheless, the internet offers an amazing way for people to connect and view things they may never otherwise be exposed to, but harnessing this potential and turning it in to a solid business model that generates tangible currency is still a frontier that has yet to be cultivated.

The way the internet really appears to benefit photojournalists apart from as a way to disseminate their work, is as a marketing tool, which in turn helps increase their chance of getting an assignment, selling their work to media organisations and attracting other clients.

In this respect, the internet is unable to directly generate revenue for photojournalists, but there is another way to generate revenue online and that is through crowdfunding sites, such as *Emphas.is*, a site dedicated to photojournalism. Photojournalists send in a detailed project proposal and budget to the *Emphas.is* advisory board (who are experts), they assess the photojournalist's capacity and budget validity to complete the proposed project. If the photojournalist's project is approved, they can then pitch their stories to the public who can choose to back the story by making a financial contribution. If the public does not contribute enough money for the photojournalist to reach their stated funding goal then all contributions are returned.

Crowdfunding sites are not publications, but they do retain the right to display the work on their website. They do not broker or sell photojournalists' work or make any copyright ownership claims to work funded through their site. However, they do take a percent of the funds raised for operational costs. Incidentally, a crowdfunding publishing site, *Crowdbooks*, has recently been established to fund the publication of art and photography books. Joao Pina turned to crowdfunding in order to raise funds to complete a personal project he had been working on for six years (Laurent, 2011). The advisory board at *Emphas.is* suggested Pina divide the project about the "aftermath of Operation Condor, which led to the death of more than 60,000 political opponents in Latin America" (Laurent, 2011, May 24, ¶1) in to three parts to help garner interest and raise awareness. Pina's strategy to disseminate this work involves multiple avenues in order to maximise the potential impact.

His distribution plan involves the publication of a series of stories in the media in each respective country and the publication of a bi-lingual book and an exhibition to travel on the affected countries. But most importantly, he also plans to give a set of the photographs to local NGO's so they can be used as evidence of their work, evidence of the crimes committed by their states, and eventually raise more awareness amongst the public and governments to pursue justice. (Ahrens, 2011, ¶10)

While crowdfunding is helping Pina finish the project to which he has dedicated a substantial amount of time and money, this project along with other work has also attracted new clients. The group responsible for Amnesty International's advertising campaigns approached Pina to collaborate on the foundation's 50th anniversary campaign. So while

generating revenue from online dissemination may be problematic at present, people are constantly developing opportunities and business models. Thus, a sustainable business model for web-based photojournalism may not be implausible. But for the moment, apart from crowdfunding, it appears that disseminating work via the internet is a great way to reach an exceptionally large audience and market oneself. No matter how photojournalists disseminate their work, the fact that there is no single reliable market for them to situate themselves in to earn a living means they have to adapt and part of this is utilising as many different methods and avenues possible so that they can keep ‘witnessing and documenting history’.

5.4 Challenges of freelance photojournalism conclusion

The challenges presented in this chapter were those most commonly noted by interviewees. However, this chapter in no way definitively articulates all the possible challenges photojournalists face, despite those presented being wide-ranging and highly significant. Some might argue that the challenges outlined in this chapter outweigh any potential rewards, but for interviewees, these challenges were not a deterrent. Photojournalists face potential psychological distress in the course of telling stories, their emotional wellbeing is challenged by what they see and do, they face financial pressures and insecurity and at times physical danger, all of which can have disastrous implications for photojournalists and their relationships.

This chapter was broken down into three overarching categories: the personal challenges – specifically the physical risks and emotional tolls that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’; the financial challenges of freelancing; and the challenges of dissemination. Despite the breakdown of these challenges into sections, they are all somewhat interlinked. The impact of the financial challenges permeates the entire chapter, playing a part in the challenges of dissemination, potential physical risks and emotional distress that photojournalists face. Being a freelance photojournalist means a constant battle against financial insecurity and the added stress that comes with irregular and potentially dangerous work. But with the sacrifice of financial security and other forms of support associated with a staff position comes highly prized autonomy and independence. This allows them to uphold the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism. An integral part of telling others’

stories, undertaking the role of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ is ‘getting stories out there’, disseminating it to the largest audience possible so that people are informed about what is happening and maybe, just maybe, are inspired to action.

In spite of the many challenges that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’ photojournalists keep telling stories they feel are important. Photojournalists may not like the challenges they face, but they believe in the ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as inherent in photojournalism. They willingly undertake this role and uphold what it entails. In order for these challenges to be deemed surmountable, there must be something much more powerful motivating photojournalists. At the heart of their motivation is the spirit of humanitarianism and the ideals, values and responsibilities, but these are not the only factors. For these men and women who chose photojournalism it is a calling, a “Way of Life”. Even though this “Way of Life” is a path that is individually chosen, unregulated and fraught with challenges, there are commonalities among those who answer the call to freelance. The elements that make photojournalism a “Way of Life” are examined next in the final analysis chapter.

Chapter 6 is a culmination of everything examined thus far; the definitions of photojournalism, the role of ‘witnessing and documenting history’, the challenges that photojournalists face and how all of these are part of ‘the tradition’ and the “Way of Life”. While photojournalists are individuals with their own personalities and lives, there are also customs, behaviours and traits that are typical among them. Understanding why photojournalists accept this calling, choosing to live their lives in a way that upholds ‘the tradition’, comes back to the ideals, values and responsibilities that underpin the genre and the spirit of humanitarianism. It is these values and attitudes, a belief in the ideals and values of ‘the tradition’ and what these stand for, that are a driving force that make the challenges photojournalists face surmountable. Not everyone can be a photojournalist for life. As illustrated it is a difficult pursuit and it is common to hear people say “I used to be a photojournalist”, but for those who continue and define themselves through what they do, there is not a choice, it is who they are.

“ There's this **amazing journey** of **becoming a photojournalist** ... **it's hard** and there's **lots of hurdles**, but just **enjoy those as well**. My **photojournalist career started when I left the Herald** and I knew at that point that I wanted to do photojournalism. **The paper wasn't compatible** with what I wanted to do. [W]e'd all **reached the limit** ... We'd **hit a ceiling**. People on the newspapers that are doing photojournalism ... it's all **conducted in their own time**. [Y]ou have to **fight for the opportunities** you have actually got to **stand up** ... It is why I stay **freelance** ... **there is an autonomy**. I really wanted to give myself the opportunity to **live the dream** ... It was a **way of progressing** whereas **you can't progress when you work at the newspaper**. It is all about **being inspired to go out and do the work that we love to do**. [T]he **media wasn't keeping up with our progression** ... **we'd overlapped them** already, in our content, in our style, just our modus operandi, how we were doing things – **ethically**. So, the importance, the role of **being an independent photojournalist** is to bring an **independent vision** that other **people can trust** ... not necessarily objective, but **balanced and informed**. [T]here is no strict criteria to being a photojournalist or strict qualification apart from the doing it (Levy, int.no.10). **Even once you're in, it is tough**. It's a very tough and competitive industry and **eventually the strong are separated from the weak**. To do it seriously **you have to be hardcore**. **You have to be absolutely into it**. [Y]ou begin your career by emulating [your heroes], then ... **your responsibilities shift**. [I]t becomes **more about telling the story; the story becomes all-important** ... It is that **need to tell stories** ... to find **stories that need to be told**. [Photojournalists aren't] knight[s] in shining armour ... but at a fundamental level [they] have a **commitment to fellow man, the world** and the **story of our time**. [I]t's almost like a **calling**, a bit like the priesthood. [Y]ou don't apply to be a photojournalist, you **become one** ... **it becomes your life**. It really **is in your blood** and it really is **the most important thing in your life**. [I]t's an **exciting life** ... But you **need to be humble** enough to understand, that there's **[a] real responsibility**. They are **pretty simple rules** ... that **bring you back to reality. It is not about fame** ... **You can't keep going back and doing that if that was all you thought about**. I've seen a range of **human experience** and it's been a **great journey**. [Y]ou try and **live life to the full**. That's partly by **exposing yourself** to what's the **reality of life for 90 percent of people**. It's the **perks**. It is a **lifestyle**, it's not like a job. ... [I]f you're not passionate, [if] you don't **live and breathe this life**, then to a degree you miss out. It has become a **way of life** for us. ... [W]e are **going to be doing it no matter what. We live it, we breathe it** ... we drive each other nuts as to whether we make a difference or not. ”

Figure 1.9 – Choosing a freelance photojournalistic ‘Way of Life’ overview

6. Photojournalism as a “Way of Life”

The reason photojournalists are not deterred by the challenges outlined in the previous chapter is because there is something much deeper, a form of occupational equilibrium if you will, that is driven by the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ making ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism a “Way of Life” (see figure 1.9 for a visual overview). Seeing photojournalism as a “Way of Life” rather than a job, profession or any other form of occupational moniker means that every aspect of one’s life is dedicated to this pursuit. Thus, by seeing photojournalism as a “Way of Life” the challenges that photojournalists face are just a part of life. For many career photojournalists the challenges are as part of the ebb and flow of living a full life, which is imbued with the spirit of humanitarian and the ideals, values and responsibilities that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Many interviewees called photojournalism a “*Way of Life*”, a “*lifestyle*”, a “*calling*”, that it was in one’s blood and that they were born to do this. These descriptions indicate that being a photojournalist and ‘witnessing and documenting history’ is a fundamental part of who they are that cannot be separated from other defining characteristics and traits. Even though being a photojournalist is a lifestyle choice, there are commonalities among those who answer the call and choose to freelance; these are examined in this chapter.

The first part of this chapter examines why many photojournalists choose to freelance and section 6.2 examines the way the adoption and development of the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ are a form of socialisation. Then photojournalists’ love of ‘the tradition’ and lifestyle are examined in section 6.3 before moving on to section 6.4, which examines the “Way of Life”; the core category identified in the data. This final section presents the prevailing grounded theory that for photojournalists, photojournalism is a “Way of Life”. The grounded theory of photojournalism as a “Way of Life” is the conclusion to the thesis, thus the last chapter will only address potential areas for further research. While the first three sections will proceed in the same manner as the previous analysis chapters, weaving the interviewees’ comments with literature and my analysis, the final section will primarily present my analysis of the core categories and key concepts.

6.1 Leaving newspapers behind and choosing to freelance

There are many different paths to becoming a photojournalist. Some may know from an early age and pursue photojournalism through schooling or university. Some may drop out of school and pursue photojournalism on their own. Some fall in love with photography and find that photojournalism is the right fit for their visual expression, some may do this from an early age, others may do so later in life and change careers. However, for a number of interviewees – particularly Australians – becoming a photojournalist was a natural evolution from staff press photography positions. These interviewees felt that they had progressed as far as possible under the conditions of such environments and had outgrown the type of imagery and constraints associated with the mainstream media. Davis (2005-2006) noted that the photographers involved in a seminar he ran felt defeated, dejected and frustrated with the Australian practices of press photography. He said, “The younger ones (under 30) planned to resign from their job, head off overseas for some elusive big adventure, and ply their skills in the freelance world. The older ones were resigned to their job” (Davis, 2005-2006, p.62). However, not all photojournalists start out as staff press photographers, many simply start freelancing. Nick Moir observed that most of the established Australian photojournalists started out working as press photographers.

[It] isn't like overseas where a lot of the photographers have come from alternate areas. There's alternative areas. We've just got such an inbred incestuous little group of photographers. ... It's much harder here to be a good photographer, though you've got good stuff to photograph. (Moir, int.no.3)

Moir highlighted the trend of Australian photojournalists starting out as press photographers. However, his comment also revealed that the Australian visual journalism community was relatively small in comparison to other countries. What Moir appeared to mean was that with the small number of organisations came a limited amount opportunities and movement. Many Australian photojournalists find work overseas (Griffin, 1994b), even if they are telling Australian based stories. Michael Amendolia said choosing to freelance was a result of him wanting to push himself.

I wanted to try to work for overseas publications and I really wanted to give myself the opportunity to live the dream. ... It was a way of progressing whereas you can't progress when you work at the newspaper ... granted it's

different subject matter. For some people [newspapers are] just perfect because that's exactly what they want, but I wanted more and I wanted something different. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

For Amendolia and many other interviewees, freelancing was a natural evolution so that they could grow as photojournalists. While there is a certain amount of nurturing, development and growth that occurs in media environments, there is a ceiling dictated by the time constraints as well as the type of imagery desired and used. So for those who wish to take their work to a higher level, this is not possible within the constraints of a staff newspaper position, if they wish to further develop their artistic, storytelling and photojournalistic practice, they have to leave or pursue this outside of their staff positions. Nick Moir and Dean Sewell said this when they spoke about the tradition of Australian photojournalists leaving staff positions to freelance, particularly the photographers who started the photographic cooperative Oculi. Moir (int.no.3) said: *“we’d all reached the limit ... We’d hit a ceiling and you couldn’t pursue what you wanted to do in a newspaper or publish what you were doing”*. Sewell (int.no.3) added that *“the media wasn’t keeping up with our progression ... we’d overlapped them already, in our content, in our style, just our modus operandi, how we were doing things – ethically”*. But for those who work as staff photographers as well as photojournalists or documentary photographers, they produce this work in their own time. Sewell (int.no.3) said, *“people on the newspapers that are doing photojournalism ... it’s all conducted in their own time. It’s not conducted in newspaper time. The time they need to actually do a proper job is ... a lot of time”*.

It is through the above mentioned development process that many staff photographers may become frustrated with the mainstream media and their practices – accounting for some of the critical comments often heard – because they expect the organisations and their products to evolve as they develop. This is not meant to diminish the concerns people have about the mainstream media practices, it is simply important to ensure fairness. Another significant point is that many interviewees said their former employers helped their transition into freelancing by giving them casual work after they resigned their staff positions. Thus it appears that many who work in the mainstream media are aware of the limits associated with such organisations so support those who seek to further their professional development. Panzer (2005) noted a similar concept when she said that “magazines supported many

independent careers, and freelancer photographers in turn supplied the stories needed to full pages and lure advertisers and readers” (p.21). Nevertheless, interviewees, who were former staff press photographers, said they were frustrated with the time constraints that this hindered their ability to tell stories. Jack Picone (int.no.14) said:

[T]owards the end ... newspapers used to frustrate me. Because one – I mean I learnt a lot – but one was they're quite cyclical, you find yourself doing the same kind of stories and things at the same time of each year ... that started becoming a bit repetitive. The other thing that really, really frustrated me was occasionally you'd be sent away on a story that you felt really interested [in] ... some big weighty story, like maybe the Stolen Generation ... [and] they go you've only got two days to do this or a day to do it. ... I would like two years to do this.

For those who choose to freelance, they usually get a taste of telling stories that are not part of the typical day-to-day reality of working for a mainstream media outlet and cannot go back to this routine. Picone said that this was the case for him after he covered the first Gulf War. “[T]hat was quite an experience and then when I came back I just couldn't go back to you know, daily diary and daily news again ... I just had this pull in me that I had to go and freelance” (Picone, int.no.14). A number of Australian interviewees felt that they only started their careers as photojournalists when they left their staff positions. Dean Sewell (int.no.3) said: “my photojournalist career started when I left the Herald and I knew at that point that I wanted to do photojournalism. The paper wasn't compatible with what I wanted to do”. For Sewell the desire to create single images had given way to more complex visual narrative storytelling forms associated with photo essays. Sewell (int.no.3) said:

The single image mentality had like long gone and I was now looking at the construction of narrative ... you're not given that liberty on the newspaper. ... So by leaving the [Sydney Morning] Herald, that's when I could start actually doing stuff. I was never given any sort of proper time period to do any one story there. So I thought my only chance now is to leave. I saw it as more important and that this is how I wanted to work. I wanted to start being a journalist instead of just following some other journalist's ideas and being a simple illustrator.

Like Picone, Sewell spoke about the time constraints staff photographers faced, which were a major source of frustration and were incompatible with the way they wanted to tell stories. The major difference in the way that they wanted to tell stories hinged on the

journalistic role, which in most news media organisations are separate roles to photographers. As earlier analysis chapters highlighted, photojournalists are visual journalists, they have ideals, values, responsibilities and ethics that underpin ‘the tradition’ of storytelling. Though the journalistic foundation may be more easily identifiable now with the increased propensity for photojournalists to perform multiple roles (for example, writing, producing video, audio and multimedia packages) that were once considered individual journalistic skill sets.

Nevertheless, journalism has always been fundamental to photojournalism. For most staff photographers it was the lack of journalism inherent in their positions that was a major source of frustration, which was only equalled by the time constraints that relegated them illustrators. Sewell (int.no.3) said that “*most newspaper photography is – you’re an illustrator more than a photojournalist*” and that in mainstream media environments such roles were fiercely separated.

There is a different apartheid in the journalistic fraternity, between writers and photographers. They think ... [we]’ll look after the serious stuff and when we’ve done the job, when we’ve got the paper contacts, done the research, ... talked to them, interviewed them and so forth, then [the photographer] can go and take a picture of them when it’s all done. So out you go there, you’ve got 15 minutes, bang, bang, see ya. That’s not journalism. It’s just collecting photographic support material. (Sewell, int.no.3)

All interviewees mentioned the importance of time. They all appeared to equate spending significant amounts of time with the role of a photojournalist and an important element in telling stories. No one delineated a specific time frame needed to tell a story, but it was clear that some stories could take years or decades to tell, while others could be told in days, weeks or months. The time needed depends on the story and what the photojournalist is trying to achieve. Every story is different. All of interviewees spoke about stories that took a long time to tell and others that were much quicker. For photojournalists, spending time in order to tell stories was equated to integrity. Interviewees made many salient comments regarding the importance of time, as discussed throughout this thesis. However, Tamara Dean captured the importance time played in telling stories and being a good photojournalist. Dean (int.no.4) said a good photojournalist was “*someone who is willing to get involved with their subjects*

and invest their own time in really living what their subjects are living ... portraying their life as it is from a point of insight”.

Going back to the trend of newspapers using imagery to illustrate stories rather than as a visual story telling form in its own right, Parker (int.no.13) said: *“It’s a quick fix, it becomes illustrating words, that’s an old tradition where journalists call photographers snappers, it is like a disregard that they don’t think [photographers are journalists]”*. Craig (1993) highlighted the often-noted belief that in journalism the role of the photograph was merely an illustrative attention grabber for the all-important written story. The divide between journalists and photographers that Parker noted can be seen as echoing Craig’s (1992) comment that, *“It is often assumed that press photographs are merely an appendage to the story text and historically, in Australia at least, photojournalists have tended to be seen as ‘a breed apart’ from other news makers”* (1992, ¶35). It can be suggested that the despair expressed by a number of press photographers during a seminar that Davis (2005-2006) facilitated stemmed from the lack of journalism underpinning their role, routines and practices. Elgar (2002) also noted that press photographers saw themselves as news professionals rather than artists, which reinforces their desire for a strong journalistic base for their work. Nevertheless, Parker quickly added that photojournalists had to make their own opportunities and this was one of the reasons why he chose to freelance.

I often criticise photographers who say we don’t get opportunities and say well you have to fight for opportunities. You have actually got to stand up; you don’t have to take it. It is all decision-making. It is why I stay freelance. ... [T]here is autonomy about what I do and in some ways you don’t have time to waste. I always feel like I am running out of time. (Parker, int.no.13)

The choice to freelance really comes down to two things – freedom and control. For the most part, except when they choose to take assignments, freelancers choose what stories they tell, how long they spend documenting a story, how they tell the story, the types of imagery they take and how these images are used and presented. They retain the copyright of the images they take and are free from any external constraints, agendas and politics. Publications tend to seek out freelancers because of their photographic style of storytelling, often letting them work as they usually would, albeit with tighter time constraints and deadlines. Ben Bohane said being a freelancer implied independence, which comes back to photojournalists

working outside the constraints of the mainstream media and the day-to-day realities. Bohane (int.no.2) said:

You are bringing an independent perspective. Often, we deal with the mainstream media that is where media ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few people and there can be little leanings and biases. ... So, the importance, the role of being an independent photojournalist is to bring an independent vision that other people can trust as being, not necessarily objective, but balanced and informed and, you know, raw.

However, while many photojournalists choose to freelance, doing so is competitive and, as the previous chapter illustrated, not without its challenges. Thus those who choose to freelance do not just like the idea; they have to really want it in order to survive. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) noted this when he said being a freelancer “*separates the wheat from chaff, to use a bad cliché*”. He also said that there were not many photojournalists who made their entire living from freelancing in Australia and the reason for this was the challenges that they faced. Bohane (int.no.2) added: “*It’s because you have to be hard-core. To do it seriously you have to be hard-core. ... There’s really not many of us. You have to be absolutely into it*”. Bohane highlighted that because of the challenges; physically, emotionally and financially, that freelancers face there is really no middle ground if someone wants to make photojournalism their career. The nature of being a full-time freelance photojournalist is somewhat cyclical, they need to earn a living to keep them in the field telling stories, but in order to earn a living they need to be in the field, so breaking in to this cycle and taking it up full time is difficult. Some may dabble, others will take on other jobs to pay for them to keep telling stories, but for those who only work as photojournalists, who vie for work with one another it is very competitive. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) said: “*It’s a very tough and competitive industry and eventually the strong are separated from the weak in a way, I mean like any industry*”.

Jason Edwards said that even as one of the relatively few photographers represented by the National Geographic Society, competition was fierce, not just between others also represented, but also amateurs vying for a break. Edwards (int.no.6) said: “*Even once you’re in, it is tough. We have the whole world beating at our backs literally; everyone wants to work for ‘National Geographic’. They get inundated everyday they get calls after calls saying ‘I can do better than that’*”. Edwards also said that those who have established themselves are

somewhat territorial and understandably, considering the challenges they face, do not want to give up their place. However, despite the competitive nature of being a freelance photojournalist strong bonds and comrade are plentiful. Edwards (int.no.6) also said:

There is 60 or 70 of us who are contracted [to the 'National Geographic Society'] who are competing with each other, no matter how much we like each other and for the most part everyone gets along famously. My mates getting lots of gigs, mine are getting axed, that's not what I want, I want some of his time. But he said to me a couple of years ago, 'oh I was hated', it always swings around and I hope he is right. But it is tough. Then if it were easy everyone would be doing it.

Because freelancers have commonly shared experiences, there is a certain amount of compassion, camaraderie and support that they provide one another despite being competitors. A number of interviewees said many photojournalists were quite giving in this regard, which was uncommon to so many other competitive professions. Part of this may be the challenges that photojournalists face, that the magnitude of their experiences forge bonds that negate the threat that drive most competitors to keep one another at a distance. Part of this may also be that because of the nature of photography. Everyone sees things slightly differently to each other, so even if there were a group of photojournalists telling the same story the way told the story and their images would be different. Nevertheless, David Dare Parker compared the difference in camaraderie, support, and help photojournalists extend to one another with wordsmith journalists. Parker (int.no.13) said:

[P]hotographers are more likely to share cars in the field even though they might be competing, but they probably won't tell the magazines they are doing that. But they'll share rides, they'll share accommodation, whoever is on assignment will often buy the meals. Journalists will drink together, but if one of their favourite drinking buddies is in the room at the same time they go into a panic.

By “*in the room at the same time*” Parker appears to be referring to multiple journalists covering the same story, for example numerous journalists in a room with one source, rather than in the bar or other social environment. This situation is somewhat more problematic for non-visual journalists since they are all vying for information that no one else has. Parker also noted that photojournalists on assignment tend to help out those who are not by taking them under the wing of their current financial security. These practices really come back to

photojournalists believing in the ideals, values and responsibilities of their role rather than being threatened by the potential implications of someone else telling the same story or scooping them. This can also be seen as a way of nurturing and fostering ‘the tradition’. ‘The tradition’ is very important to photojournalists, they see this as not only something to be honoured but also something that inspires and guides them. Thus ‘the tradition’ is bigger than the history of photojournalism. ‘The tradition’ of photojournalism helps explain why freelancers are so willing to help one another despite being competitors. It can be suggested that photojournalists help each other keep ‘the tradition’ alive through this support, camaraderie. This process is also a form of peer mentoring and self-regulation, it is a somewhat informal form of socialisation into ‘the tradition’ – all of which will be examined in the next section.

6.2 Socialisation into ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism

As discussed earlier, there are skills that photojournalists need to develop and hone. However, there is no set path that one must follow to become a photojournalist, one does not need to attend university or have any formal education, even though these options exist. Jon Levy (int.no.10) noted these sentiments when discussing the barriers photojournalists face: *“The first one and the main one I think is themselves because there is no strict criteria to being a photojournalist or strict qualification apart from the doing it”*. Because there is no set path to becoming a photojournalist, yet ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism is imbued with the ideals, values and responsibilities that photojournalists choose to align themselves and uphold, it is clear that in order to become a photojournalism one must learn these from somewhere.

Since many photojournalists freelance and many of these freelancers have not worked as staff photographers for news media organisations, the typical process of socialisation that research suggests occurs in such formal work environments is not universally applicable. Additionally, with the increased propensity for photojournalists to bypass mainstream media when disseminating their work, the typical socialisation process that research suggests occurs through such organisational cultures and structures does not account for the prevalence of ideals, values and responsibilities that photojournalists see as part of ‘the tradition’. Considering the importance photojournalists place on the ideals, values and responsibilities as

well as the role these play in the formation of their identity, the way that socialisation into ‘the tradition’ occurs is important. Traditions are typically defined as customs, beliefs and practices that are passed from generation to generation, thus they stem from the past and are maintained or adapted in the present (“Tradition”, 2010). 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, so they are by association connected temporally. Research into socialisation typically focuses on three areas, family, school and work (Borgatta, 2000); however, this section is concerned with the later. In the broadest sense, socialisation is the process of formally or informally indoctrinating those who seek group membership or a specific role by instilling the associated values and behaviour (Rosow, 1965). Through this process, the dominant values and behaviours are eventually internalised so that aspirants conform to the shared expectations, norms, values and behaviours of a role or group (Rosow, 1965).

However, most organisational, institutional, professional, occupational and group theories of socialisation do not account for the autonomy and independence of freelance photojournalists who are removed from such formal structures and attain income from working in a multitude of ways. There is also no form of regulation, certification or accreditation, which play an important part of the socialisation process for many professional, occupational and institutional memberships. Since photojournalists are individuals who may also compete with one another for employment opportunities and voluntarily seek membership with like-minded others they are more akin to social or cultural groupings rather than occupational or organisational groups. But, photojournalists do not sit squarely in culture or subculture research either because they are individuals who are independent and autonomous. The sense of community and seeing other photojournalists as family – commonly used in organisations, groups, cultures and subcultures – is somewhat unusual as these metaphors are typical descriptors implying some form of hierarchical structure. In many ways the communities and families that photojournalists form with one another are informal and such groups, with the exception of agencies and collectives, are not clearly defined and lack formal membership. Thus the symbolic interactionism concept of ‘social worlds’ appears

to best explain the sense of community and family that photojournalists develop with one another and the socialisation process into 'the tradition'.

'Social worlds' can be defined as "groups with shared commitments to certain activities sharing resources of many kinds to achieve their goals" (Clarke, 1997, p.68) and construct ideologies about how to go about their activities (Clarke, 1991). Individual's actions are imbued with their personal interests and commitments and are often seen as representative of their 'social worlds' (Clarke, 1991). 'Social worlds' are not bound by geography or formal membership (Clarke, 1997; Unruh, 1980) and are unlikely to have a central power or authority structure (Unruh, 1980). 'Social worlds' are often without a clearly defined shape or structure and are made up of "amorphous and diffuse constellations of actors, organizations, events, and practices which have coalesced into spheres of interests and involvement for participants" (Unruh, 1980, p.277) giving them a "distinctive flavour" (Unruh, 1980, p.277). People do not necessarily participate in only one 'social world' but rather in a number of 'social worlds' (Clarke, 1997; Unruh, 1980). "Social worlds characteristically generate *ideologies* about how their work should be done and *debates* about both their own activities and others' activities that may affect them" (Clarke, 1997, p.69). As such, it is clear that the concept of 'social world' is a much more harmonious fit as an overarching framework examining socialisation into 'the tradition' of photojournalism' than other theoretical paradigms.

Sociologist, Paul Cressey (1932) in his study *The Taxi Dance Hall* first used the term 'social worlds' to describe taxi-dance halls as a social organism in which a shared world-view was possible for those who were indoctrinated. Cressey (1932) said that:

For those who attend the taxi-dance hall, even irregularly, it is a distinct social world, with its own ways of acting, talking, and thinking. It has its own vocabulary, its own activities and interests, its own conception of what is significant in life, and – to a certain extent – its own scheme of life. This cultural world pervades many avenues of the habitué's life, and some of its aspects are readily apparent to even a social visitor at the halls. ... So well is the vital world of the dance hall veiled by conventionalized conduct that a person may attend regularly without perceiving it. Unless he is initiated into the meaning of certain activities, of certain words and phrases, of certain interests and standards of conduct, he may as well not try to understand the

human significance of the taxi-dance hall. For many factors aid in making the world of the taxi-dance hall a moral milieu rather completely removed from the other more conventional forms of city life. (pp.31 – 32)

The concept of ‘social worlds’ also allows for photojournalists to belong to and move fluidly between a number of ‘social worlds’ and ‘subworlds’ (Clarke, 1997; Unruh, 1980). ‘Subworlds’ are a mixture of smaller social circles within the larger ‘social world’ all of which embody the same processes, characteristics, structures and conventions (Unruh, 1980). “Participation in social worlds usually remains highly fluid. Some participants cluster around the core of the world and mobilize those around them (Hughes, 1971:54)” (Clarke, 1997, p.69). Entry into a ‘social world’ involves ‘voluntary identification’ although some social worlds require certain skills, attributes and characteristics (Unruh, 1980) – like photojournalism. “Thus, involvement in social worlds has even a stronger negotiated character than that found in some other units of social organization, especially formal organizations” (Unruh, 1980, p.277).

While there are many forms of involvement in social worlds, photojournalists can be categorised as ‘tourists’, ‘regulars’ or ‘insiders’. ‘Tourists’ can be seen as generic participants who are involved in a ‘social world’ because they are curious but have not made a long-term commitment to the ‘social world’ (Unruh, 1980). In this regard, aspiring photojournalists can be seen as ‘tourists’. ‘Regulars’ are habitual participants who are integrated into and have made a significant commitment to the photojournalistic ‘social world’. In this respect, ‘regulars’ can be considered those aspiring photojournalists who have moved beyond interest in ‘the tradition’ and taken steps toward becoming a photojournalist or are in the early stages of their careers. ‘Insiders’ are those whose involvement in the photojournalistic ‘social world’ is an almost all-encompassing aspect of their lives (Unruh, 1980). ‘Insiders’ have intimate knowledge of the ‘social world’; they are responsible for constructing and sustaining the world, creating activities and recruiting new members. ‘Insiders’ are completely invested in a ‘social world’ and they have the “most to gain or lose when a social world succeeds or fails” (Unruh, 1980, p.282). Thus, ‘insiders’ can be seen as established photojournalists.

As outlined in the Chapter 2 – “Methodology”, I drew on multiple theoretical sources as dictated by the data, rather than force the data into a specific analytical framework. Once I

identified the concept of 'socialisation' inherent in many interviewees' comments, it was important to find a theoretical basis to help conceptualise the process. Since much of the literature surrounding socialisation was based in formal group memberships seeing photojournalism as a 'social world' provided me with the freedom to examine the process of socialisation unhindered by the conventions and structures associated with the majority of socialisation theories. Social Worlds Theory (Clarke, 1997; Strauss, 1978) is a theoretical framework in its own right and most commonly used to study work activities and their organisation, rather than the individuals (Clarke, 1997). Therefore, 'social worlds' was used as a sensitising concept rather than as an all-encompassing theory guiding the analysis of this thesis. Using 'social worlds' and key concepts of Social World Theory as a sensitising concepts helped me to examine and discuss the socialisation process of photojournalists into 'the tradition' of freelance photojournalism.

Most research on the socialisation of journalists focuses on how newcomers learn the conventional norms, parameters and standards that are part of the culture of news media organisations (Sievk, 2010; Soloski, 1989). It is through the work environment that journalists come to understand these professional conventions in relation to the production of news products, editorial decisions and business concerns, which are a form of social control (Breed, 1955; Sievk, 2010; Soloski, 1989). Research conducted by Tuchman (1978) and Gans (1979) focused on how the process and procedures of creating news in mainstream media environments united all journalists in meeting their organisation's needs and demographics' interests. Whereas, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) examined how the hierarchical structure of news organisations and various positions affected the dominant journalistic ideology and culture. However, it is these very conventions, cultures and procedures that influence many photojournalists who may have started out working in mainstream media environments to choose freelancing. In this respect the socialisation process inherent in mainstream media organisations fails to indoctrinate these individuals into the dominant ideology, practices and process. Thus, they leave aspiring to embody the ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as important to being a photojournalist. However, those who bypass working as a staff photographer for a mainstream media organisation are also choosing to aspire to the ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as inherent in 'the tradition' of freelance

photojournalism, for the most part believing these are not possible in a staff position. Here it is important to note the distinction between staff press photography positions and wire positions, as the latter is closer to freelance photojournalism.

Incidentally, Mark Deuze (2007) and Susan Sivek (2010) noted that the increase in atypical journalistic employment opportunities would impact on the socialisation processes in these environments. Deuze (2007) said in the future those entering journalistic professions would not be indoctrinated into the abovementioned ideology, conventions, practices and processes but would instead be socialised through informal networks. It can be suggested that in the case of photojournalism, there is a strong precedence that individuals have been historically socialised through informal means. This is not meant to suggest that there are not elements of the mainstream media socialisation process that overlap with ‘the tradition’ of freelance photojournalism, as there are some aspects. For example, the tendency for journalists – no matter the journalistic form – to place greater credence in the opinions of their colleagues than other measures of their work, such as readership opinions (Berkowitz, 1993; Breed, 1955; Deuze, 2008). Nevertheless, socialisation into ‘the tradition’ has a lot to do with what draws aspiring photojournalists to the genre and the humanitarian spirit that underpins it – as well as the way that aspiring and early career photojournalists learn about the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ of ‘witnessing and documenting history’.

Many of the interviewees spoke about ‘the tradition’ and the way this was interlinked with how one became a photojournalist. David Dare Parker (int.no.13) said when speaking about the qualities of a good photojournalist; the ideals, values and responsibilities that:

I guess that relates to how you become a photojournalist in the first place. I mean you kind of have your heroes. ... I saw photojournalism as the most important thing photography can do. I had heroes the likes of Capa and W. Eugene Smith and Don McCullin. You begin your career by kind of emulating theirs, then the longer you get into that your responsibilities shift. Then you realise ... it becomes more about telling the story – the story becomes all-important ... It is that need to tell stories ... to find stories that need to be told.

Many interviewees spoke about ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism, specifically noting iconic photojournalists work both in the present day and historically. Parker highlighted the

process that aspiring photojournalists underwent, from the initial inspiration, to emulating those they admire, to the realisation of the responsibilities and finding their own stories to tell. It is often the stories early iconic photojournalists – as well as foreign correspondents – tell that inspire others to follow in their footsteps. It is a connection with the work that they are doing, ‘witnessing and documenting history’, which aspiring photojournalists find appealing – the sense that they are trying to make a difference as well as the attraction of the lifestyle that is often seen as exotic, exciting and adventurous.

While it may be an identification with the historical heroes that Parker noted that draws aspiring photojournalists to ‘the tradition’, it is also the experiences of telling stories that is formative. Thus, socialisation is an active process where one’s experiences are negotiated against the accounts of others in a variety of forums, whether through literature, lectures or other forms of communication and dissemination. Stephen Dupont observed that, in a way, aspiring photojournalists looking at their heroes’ work was akin to trying on the role and seeing if they had what it took to be a part of ‘the tradition’. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

W. Eugene Smith and Robert Frank and Don McCullin – and certainly a lot of conflict photographers – David Douglas Duncan, Philip Jones Griffiths, Larry Burrows, Tim Page. These were guys that were out there, not only making really important photographs, they were living a life that I admired and as crazy as covering war may seem to a lot of people, it's what inspired me to pick up a camera. ... I kind of viciously went through and just looked at books and looked at people's work and people that I admired and saw what they were doing and tried to put myself in that situation and decided that I'd be able to do that. I felt that I had the ability and I had the drive to do the same kind of photography to a degree – or certainly to be a part of that world.

Looking at the work of others and trying on the role is certainly part of the socialisation process as it establishes the historical ‘tradition’ of photojournalism. Such work is like a manifesto. The process of looking at others’ work is a form of communication, not only about the story being told, but also ‘the tradition’ – all of which is free from any geographical, organisational or group constraints. Typically, when aspiring photojournalists looked at the work of their heroes, it was a photo essay or book, rather than work published by the mainstream media. It can be suggested that looking at these types of media had a lasting impact on the way that aspiring photojournalists saw their role, because typically these forms

were a medium that a photojournalist could tell a story the way they wanted. Panzer (2005) made a similar observation when she said:

By the 1960s, many photographers who started out working for magazines took advantage of inexpensive new forms of printing and an emerging interest in their work among book publishers. Bypassing periodicals altogether, they pursued their photo essays in book form. ... these books together began to define a genre of their own quite distinct from magazine features, museum exhibitions or the photographer's portfolio. (p.25)

It is a common view that the mainstream media censor what is shown; particularly content that could possibly disturb their audiences' sensibilities. For the most part what photojournalists witness – whether they choose to document it or not – is often confronting and they tend to see the media's handling of such imagery as censoring reality. So disseminating the stories they tell through other forums allows them to choose how they tell the story and most importantly control what they do and do not show. Thus to a certain degree, independence, autonomy and control can also be seen as part of 'the tradition' into which aspiring photojournalists are socialised. Panzer (2005) also found historically that "the point when photojournalists chose to publish their work in their own books coincides with the moment when the form began to outgrow its origins. A creation of the press, the photojournalist was beginning to claim a role beyond it" (p.25).

Almost all interviewees passionately asserted that people should see what really happens in the world no matter how horrific or confronting as it was the reality for their fellow man. Some said they were "*journalistic fundamentalists*", other said they should "*keep telling stories until people took notice*" or that they should "*show people stories they didn't want to know*". Others, like Spencer Platt (int.no.19) said in some ways he was "*rubbing people's noses in it; [telling them] you should be aware and informed*". This concept of 'telling people stories' that they felt were important, stories that were not censored because they were too real, too graphic or disturbing, is part of 'the tradition' of photojournalism. In some ways, the disconnect between what photojournalists witness while in the field and what the mainstream media are willing to disseminate plays a part in their socialisation into 'the tradition'. During the press conference to launch Noor – a documentary photography agency dedicated to producing independent and in-depth stories – Stanley Greene observed that the mainstream

media shy away from stories that photojournalists felt were important to tell. He also said they hoped to reinvigorate ‘the tradition’ and rewrite the rules.

I never cared about the money aspect of it. ... The frustration was that ... going to these places and various magazines and newspapers whatever said ‘well, you know, ... we can’t do that story’. Caucasus comes to mind, for example, ... the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia – it was ethnic cleansing. ... I felt that story had to be told. When it came time to get it into a publication, they felt it was too tough. So I ... think that with this group we will try to change that because one thing you should know, everybody here, they take a long time to work on a story. They think about it for a long time and then go in there. We feel that if we can be given that time to do it, we will be able to bring it back in a way of the true tradition of the photo essay. (Greene, in int.no.23)

Greene highlighted some important elements of the socialisation process, particularly, that there is a form of self-direction and self-regulation among photojournalists – that they are active participants in the way that ‘the tradition’ adapts to the challenges they face. Thus, current photojournalists negotiate the way that they change and adapt their practices so that they can find a way to honour and embody ‘the tradition’. David Dare Parker also noted a form of self-regulation and self-direction among photojournalists when speaking about their struggles, specifically ethically, to retain ‘the tradition’. Parker (int.no.13) said: *“If we can’t enforce it legally, we do it morally. If one of our colleagues is found to be less than credible, they are going to have a hard time working or to be trusted again”*.

At the heart of the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ is the spirit of humanitarianism. In many ways, it is the constant articulation of these, whether in books, articles, blogs, podcasts, documentaries, seminars, workshops et cetera, that helps shape ‘the tradition’ and socialise people in to the ideals, values and responsibilities. This is not meant to suggest that the socialisation process is a form of brainwashing, but it is rather a form of continual education similar to that of many professionals who keep up-to-date with the key issues, ethics, or seek out further training, mentoring or supervision.

Being active participants in ‘the tradition’ is important to the future of photojournalism, a sentiment that Stanley Greene also shared during the 2007 press conference announcing the launch of Noor. Greene (in int.no.23) said:

It is very important to remember that there is always someone before you and that you have to sometimes pick up the baton [where they left off] and carry it further. ... Hopefully we are going to carry that baton further and then later on some group of young photographers ... will carry it further. Photography today needs the help of everybody. More importantly, [it] needs the help of young photographers and we hope that we can also set an example for them so that they will try to follow the tradition.

Greene highlighted the need for older generations to inspire, inform and educate younger photojournalists about ‘the tradition’ so they can help carry on and carry forward photojournalism long after they have put their cameras down. Transmission of ‘the tradition’ is important, it cannot take place purely through aspiring photojournalists looking and reading about the work of others. If aspiring photojournalists only look at the work that they think is photojournalism they may be looking at work that gives a distorted perception of the practice. This was highlighted at one of the Foto Freo seminars in 2008, when an audience member asked the panel what was wrong with setting up, staging and manipulating images if it conveyed the message a newspaper or magazine wanted. The audience member advised that he was starting out and hoped to become a photojournalist. He said was more than happy to use such practices if it meant his work was published and that he had seen a lot of work in newspapers and magazines that was produced in this way. One possible explanation of the audience member’s willingness to undertake such practices – despite the ethical dilemmas these pose – is that he was looking at the end product in isolation.

The end product in many cases may be a published image or images, but if aspiring photojournalists are only looking at imagery in print news media it is easy to see how such ideas could develop because the ideals, values and responsibilities that guide photojournalists cannot be readily identified from viewing imagery alone. Thus aspiring photojournalists emulating the work of those they admire without some other form of socialisation, mentoring or education can lead to the adoption of unethical practices, such as staging, setting up or manipulating imagery just to be published.

Nick Moir and Dean Sewell noted these sentiments. Moir felt that if he had not had someone to look up to and mentor him he could have easily adopted the dominant practices of press photography. Moir (int.no.3) said:

The first photographer that I really looked up to was Dean and he was only a couple of years older than me, but instantly, I recognised his style of photography as superior to doing the set ups and routine. ... If he hadn't been there and somebody else was [who] was quite happy to do unethical stuff, I'd be fucked and I wouldn't even know it. ... It's really up to us [photojournalists] to show a really good [ethical practice] so young photographers ... will look up and realise. You've got to grab 'em early and take them down the right path from the start. Otherwise they just so easily go down the newspaper path. ... Once you've learned those early lessons, yeah really it's hard to turn around.

Moir also said being a photojournalist was a constant learning curve, that just when he thought he had mastered a level, a whole new one opened up. With each level comes a new group of photojournalists to measure oneself against and which to aspire to. However, it is not just the quality of imagery being produced that photojournalists constantly aspire to, but also the quality of the practice. Moir (int.no.3) noted this progression when he said:

I picked up a World Press award for coverage of 2002/2003 [bush] fires. ... I thought I was just king of shit. I went over to the World Press and ... suddenly, all you've done is gone up to this next step. ... The quality of photography and the commitment of the photographers there is just so far beyond what you actually think that you could actually commit. These people are without a doubt, absolutely happy to sign their life off, they're willing to die for their work and their commitment to a cause or whatever their thing is. ... My next level of people that I was looking up to were these people. It's just the same thing of looking up to other photographers.

It is not just the process of looking up to someone that socialises photojournalists in to 'the tradition', it is also via direct contact with more experienced photojournalists. There are many forums for aspiring photojournalists to meet more experienced photojournalists such as through internships, artist talks, seminars, conferences, slide nights, workshops to name a few. These types of experiences allow aspiring photojournalists to learn more about 'the tradition', the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism as well as providing an opportunity to develop their skills. It also gives them a sense of belonging. While some of these opportunities cost a significant amount, there are a number of organisations that strive to provide opportunities at a relatively inexpensive cost by relying on people to donate their time and expertise, for example the annual Foundry Photojournalism Workshop. A number of workshops also subsidise costs, provide specialised and at times free tuition to people from developing nations to increase accessibility. Additionally, there are outreach programs

designed to engage youth in photojournalistic storytelling and teach them photography. The majority of such opportunities are organised and run by photojournalists because they want to give something back and inspire the next generation of potential photojournalists. Many interviewees spoke about the importance of giving something back to younger generations and mentoring aspiring photojournalists.

During the Noor launch press conference Stanley Greene noted the importance of passing on knowledge to younger generations. Greene (in int.no.23) said: “*We don’t live in a vacuum ... ICP [International Centre of Photography]... allowed us to take young photographers as interns to work with us and it was another way to learn something, it was another way to give something back*”. David Dare Parker said he had watched the younger generation of Australian photojournalists come in to their own and ‘the tradition’. Parker (int.no.13) said:

I watched them grow. They are sort of the generation that came after me – they were flowering. I did a stint on the Australian and Trent [Parke] was coming in and doing his day shift and then he’d be going out and shooting at night and just doing everything he can to build his personal work up. That kind of enthusiasm all comes from that tradition and they are all so hungry to take their work somewhere else. ... They are looking for recognition, but they are also passionate about their work and I think that’s inspiring.

Many interviewees spoke about the importance of inspiring one another to keep telling stories that were important to them, it is from the desire to inspire and educate others that many photojournalistic events are born. Such events are a way to showcase work and also to foster a sense of community and belonging among the competitive freelance field. Parker noted these sentiments when speaking about Reportage, the Australian photojournalism festival he started with Stephen Dupont, Jack Picone and Michael Amendolia. Parker said they started Reportage because there were few forums in Australia to showcase photojournalism that has not been published or seen in extended form. Parker (int.no.13) said, “*It is all about being inspired to go out and do the work that we love to do*”. The Reportage website says the aim of the festival is to “share, inform and inspire the community ... [and] ... provides an opportunity to keep the camaraderie of the photography community alive and is a forum for ideas to be expressed and exchanged” (“About Us”, n.d.).

Developing a sense of community is also a form of socialisation in to ‘the tradition’. The use of the term ‘community’ or ‘family’ is a way to identify the importance photojournalists place on connecting with others who are also dedicated to ‘the tradition’. Like many families, the communities and relationships that photojournalists form with one another are complex and complicated. But for the most part they are like-minded individuals who share a bond not only through their belief and desire to be part of ‘the tradition’ but also through their experiences. Many of the challenges and experiences photojournalists face are intense and this intensity helps foster strong community and family-like groupings that can at times be somewhat insular.

It seems for many photojournalists it is the love of ‘the tradition’ that motivates them to inspire, mentor and educate future generations who want to be part of the fraternity. The love of ‘the tradition’ also gives individuals a sense of belonging and connection. This love of ‘the tradition’ helps cultivate communities and a sense of family, which motivates independent, competitive individuals to support and help one another develop. Having guidance and help developing one’s skills and practice is important, it is through socialisation that photojournalists learn the ideals, values and responsibilities, acceptable behaviours and attitudes of ‘the tradition’. Being part of ‘the tradition’ is about being part of something bigger, it is about a “Way of Life” that may be exciting and challenging, but it is also about a deep commitment to telling stories in attempt to make a difference. Thus the pursuit of personal aspirations and ambitions appear somewhat tempered by this commitment and belief in the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’. This in turn inspires individual photojournalists to help others, even if they are their competitors. Though, this is not to suggest that all photojournalists are saints.

Like all people there are those who are self-serving, those who are benevolent and altruistic or any combination at any given time. But rather that socialisation into ‘the tradition’ and the ideals, values and responsibilities helps photojournalists sustain their motivation and is indicative of a desire to keep ‘the tradition’ alive. Stanley Greene said the Noor collective was formed by individual photojournalists with the support of some of the top photojournalism agencies, even though they were competitors who were losing prestigious

members, because they believed doing so would benefit ‘the tradition’. Greene (in int.no.23) said:

We were all talking about how can we change the industry, how can we make it better. So we want everyone to know that the support that we have gotten to be here has come from our friends from Magnum, from VII, from Vu, from Contact, from [inaudible name], from Aurora on and on so. It is very important that we want to try to make people understand that we have to be a community, that we cannot keep operating as ... individuals and competitors, we are all in this together.

Greene highlighted the belief in community rather than individualism, and that as a community photojournalists have more power to control the direction of their industry. It also highlights that even though people are competitors, individuals telling stories and pursuing their ambitions, ‘the tradition’ is important and to some degree transcends singularity to unite photojournalists. ‘The tradition’ is about shared beliefs and views, hopes and dreams about what telling stories can achieve, it is about the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism and provides a sense of belonging. Even though photojournalists are often isolated when they go off and tell stories that they think are important, ‘the tradition’ is also something that connects them, something that they can be a part of and believe in even when alone. ‘The tradition’ is more than just the actual practice of photojournalism, it also provides a network, a community of like-minded people who support and nurture one another. David Dare Parker noted the importance of ‘the tradition’ and community in mitigating the challenges that photojournalists face. Parker (int.no.13) said:

It is the human side of what we are, we all struggle. It’s nice to get a pat on the back occasionally, but when you’re in the field that’s all irrelevant. You rely on each other, that’s what keeps us going. We do treat it as a way of life, so there’s that tradition that carries us. It is a multifaceted thing being a photojournalist.

Parker articulated a number of important points, firstly, that the challenges of being a photojournalist are significant and something that they all struggle with which others outside ‘the tradition’ cannot necessarily relate to or understand. So, it is important that photojournalists rely on each other, even though they are individuals and competitors because they understand the challenges, they understand ‘the tradition’ and why others feel that it is

worth facing the challenges. Secondly, that ‘the tradition’ carries photojournalists – it is a source of support that helps sustain their practice, it is a yardstick that guides conduct and which they can measure themselves and their practice against. Thirdly, upholding ‘the tradition’ is about embodying a “Way of Life”. ‘The tradition’ is not merely an understanding of the history, the ideals, values and responsibilities, it is about living a photojournalistic life.

Finally, Parker said photojournalists are a community of individuals all living a photojournalistic life committed to ‘the tradition’. This is not to imply that there is one homogenous group to which all photojournalists belong in harmony with one another, or that just because they identify themselves as a photojournalist they will automatically get along with all other group members. Rather, that there is an overarching community of photojournalism with which all photojournalists identify and belong, and that within this are smaller communities of like-minded individuals with whom photojournalists connect with on a more personal level. In this respect, ‘the tradition’ exists on three levels, the individual, the overarching community and the smaller communities. While all three levels are important, it is typically the smaller communities that form the day-to-day support networks for photojournalists and it is these individuals that they see as ‘family’ members. Parker (int.no.13) said that it is in this smaller community of “*like-minded people that you have an affinity with, where you swap and share and absolve and encourage and be inspired by*”.

Another founding member of Noor, Samantha Appleton also noted the smaller communities of photojournalism during the press conference to launch the collective. Appleton extended on Greene’s and other members’ comments about how they were given a lot of support and help from other agencies despite being competitors and losing valuable members to the collective. Appleton (in int.no.23) said that among photojournalists “*there is an incredible camaraderie and it is less about agencies helping us and more about some of our best friends are in other agencies and it’s individuals*” who are part of smaller communities who are committed to the overarching community and ‘tradition’ of photojournalism. Thus, it appears photojournalists help one another because of their commitment to one another and all three levels of ‘the tradition’. Appleton felt that the strength of commitment came through shared experiences, ideals, values and responsibilities.

Those friendships are so incredibly strong, especially [because of] the kind of stories that we work on [and] in those situations you forge very strong ties with your colleagues. I always laugh when we are working for competing magazines – our solidarity is with each other more than a magazine that we might be working for. That solidarity is incredible and that’s where the help came from, advice and encouragement and practical things helping us through this process. [The formation of Noor] is a testament to that, to the strength among colleagues. (Appleton, in int.no.23)

Thus, photojournalists carry one another; they are often each other’s primary support networks. They rely on each other; they relate to each other; they often see each other as family, members of smaller communities that are part of a larger community of photojournalism dedicated to ‘the tradition’. As individuals and communities, they have shared ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as underpinning ‘the tradition’ and overarching community of photojournalism. As individuals and smaller communities who are part of the overarching community they take on the responsibility of helping shape and guide ‘the tradition’ as well as guiding, mentoring and educating younger generations; socialising new members into ‘the tradition’. New members’ socialisation may initially occur through a desire to be part of the overarching ‘tradition’, looking up to those they admire, but socialisation is multidimensional. The initial desire to be a part of the overarching community and the commitment individuals make to ‘the tradition’ fosters socialisation on three levels, individually where aspirants project their own ideas about ‘the tradition’ on to what is articulated verbally and visually in secondary sources – books, articles, exhibitions, multimedia presentations, documentaries, et cetera. Socialisation also occurs through smaller fluid communities that make up the overarching community and the overarching community itself. Just like ‘the tradition’ manifests on all three levels so does socialisation, both of which are key to living a photojournalistic life. It can also be suggested that socialisation is a continual process that helps fortify photojournalists’ commitment to ‘the tradition’, the ideals, values and responsibilities that underpin the practice and each other.

6.3 Living a freelance photojournalistic lifestyle and ‘the tradition’

A key part of ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism is the freelance lifestyle, which, to a degree, includes a level of socialisation. The combination of a commitment to the ideals, values and

responsibilities that photojournalists see as part of their role and the rewards of the lifestyle, the freedom, excitement and experiences inherent in ‘witnessing and documenting history’ help balance out the severity of the challenges photojournalists face. It is the culmination of all of this – the fusion of ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ with the rewards and challenges that appear to lead photojournalists to see what they do as a complex whole – that is a “Way of Life”. In this respect, the often-noted comment that photojournalists are ‘adrenaline-seeking junkies’ can be seen as an important element of some individuals’ egos and “Way of Life” that helps balance and drive them in living their photojournalistic life.

The concept of ‘freedom’ is integral to living a photojournalistic life. The freedom to choose what stories to tell, how to tell them, how much time one can spend telling them, how to sell them and for how much, how they are disseminated and so forth. Freedom goes hand-in-hand with independence and autonomy and means freelance photojournalists are free from employers’ external constraints, procedures and agendas. Michael Amendolia said freedom, independence and autonomy were key to photojournalists telling stories to the best of their abilities. Amendolia (int.no.1) said:

I still would like to create personally because I think that's when you get the best work is when you are not assigned by somebody, you just go out and do whatever you want to do whenever you want to do it without the pressure of a particular style or a particular this or that.

Amendolia highlighted the constraints of working for someone on assignment and how this drastically reduced the freedom, independence and autonomy of photojournalists. This does not mean that photojournalists produce substandard work when on assignment. But rather that the stories that photojournalists self-fund are different because they are free to work in the way that they choose without having to work within the constraints, processes and agendas of others. Stephen Dupont said he was initially drawn photography because of the sense of freedom that came from travelling. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

Going back to the very beginning, what inspired me was travelling ... leaving my own neighbourhood and going overseas and seeing the world. ... So just having that sense of freedom was really inspiring. [I decided] ... right there and then to pick up a career in photography because I felt that photography was a way of just having freedom. Freedom for me is the key of being a

freelancer, [it] is freedom, freelancer, free, it's freedom – that's the beauty of working for yourself. So freedom has always been the number one mantra. Totally being in control of everything you do to a degree and not having to work for anyone – all that kind of stuff.

However, Amendolia said starting to freelance was “*daunting*” and he asked himself, “*what did I do*”. He said sacrifices had to be made in order to survive as a freelancer because of the uncertainty that came with irregular income. Amendolia (int.no.1) advised that the “*biggest thing you do is have low overheads and even today I have low overheads because there's nothing guaranteed for me today either so I'm in the same story*”. But despite his initial uncertainty and the continual uncertainty, Amendolia said he had adjusted – though a process of socialisation – to being a full-time freelance photojournalist.

I now love it. ... I love the freedom. I will work on the weekend if I have to catch up on things and if I just feel like not working tomorrow and I don't have an assignment I just won't work. I'll just go off and do whatever I want to do; I've got complete freedom really. Life and work become one. In some respects it becomes a vocation rather than a job. (Amendolia, int.no.1)

Amendolia also noted the flexibility that came with being a freelancer and that this freedom was a wonderful element. Importantly, Amendolia highlighted the ‘blurring of boundaries’ between life and work, that they fuse together to “*become one*”. His comment indicates that even as a freelancer there is some sort of separation between life and work, but at the same time, there is a certain amount of fluidity between the two. Amendolia’s view that photojournalism was a “*vocation rather than a job*” is important as it implies that he feels that the pursuit of photojournalism is worthy of great dedication and that his work is not isolated from other aspects of his life. The boundaries between life and work and the perception that photojournalism is a vocation was a common theme during interviews. Stephen Dupont (int.no.5) articulated this when he said: “*I didn't even call it a profession. It's more than that, it's a lifestyle – it's a life*”. This does not mean that Dupont did not think photojournalists were professionals.

What Dupont’s comment highlights is that photojournalism is more than the professional practice, which links in with Amendolia’s view that it is a “*vocation rather than a job*”. In this respect, living a photojournalistic lifestyle cannot really be separated from other aspects

of a photojournalist's life and likely has an enormous impact on how they see and define themselves. Additionally, as payment is not necessary for an activity to be classified as work, the lines between work and life are further blurred for freelancers, especially since a significant amount of work is not directly correlated with payment. As already mentioned, freedom, independence and autonomy are key elements to the photojournalistic lifestyle. However, the experiences that come with living a photojournalistic lifestyle are equally important.

In fact, the experiences and interactions with others in the course of 'witnessing and documenting history' are seen as significant rewards in and of themselves and play a tremendous role in a photojournalistic lifestyle. Ben Bohane spoke about the importance of experiences in making a photojournalistic life rich and meaningful. Bohane (int.no.2) said:

It's really just to have a full life and that's what I have. I can honestly say that if I dropped off, or got knocked off tomorrow, I'd die a happy man. I've seen a range of human experience and it's been a great journey. And you live, you know. You try and live life to the full. That's partly by exposing yourself to the reality of life for 90 percent of people on the planet. And, you know, being able to operate at every level of any society, from grass roots, from nomadic peasants out in the desert to presidents and kings ... and tell some good stories along the way. It can be very rewarding on a personal and professional level. I'm not driven by any overriding ambitions ... there's no point, because you don't get rich or famous. It's not part of the game.

For Bohane, experiences and interactions with others are key motivations and elements involved in living a full life. These interactions and experiences are rich, diverse, complex and often deeply intimate. While such experiences and interactions with others are professionally and personally fulfilling for photojournalists, these rewards can also be seen as helping shape them as individuals, which in turn impacts on how they work. These also impact on the way that photojournalists conceptualise their role and by association themselves as actors – all of which have implications for their identity construction as well as how and what it means to live a photojournalistic life.

Additionally, it can be suggested that the interactions and experiences with those whose stories photojournalists tell, is also a form of socialisation. It is through these interactions and

experiences that photojournalists apply their theoretical conceptions of their role; the ideals, values and responsibilities of 'the tradition'. A photojournalist's voluntary conduct is shaped through the internal negotiation process of applying the theoretical to the practical, which in turn impacts on their sense of identity as a photojournalist and their role in society.

Dupont also noted how important rewards were in maintaining the motivation to live a photojournalistic life considering the significance of the challenges they face. Dupont (int.no.5) said:

Well otherwise you wouldn't do it. It's the perks. It is a lifestyle in its own [right]; it's not like a job. I don't see it as a job. ... You have to be passionate and if you're not passionate, [if] you don't live and breathe this life, then to a degree you miss out. I think the great photojournalists are the ones that feel that way. They feel that it was almost – it's like they were born to be photojournalists and it really is in your blood and it really is the most important thing in your life. As far as that drive, it really does become a hugely self-motivating kind of thing.

Dupont highlighted that photojournalists are not necessarily motivated by external elements inherent in performance or results related rewards, but rather internal rewards such as experiences and interactions. The best way to examine such motivations is through self-concept (Shamir, 1991) and value-identity (Gecas, 2000) based theories of motivation. Using self-concept and value-identity theories as sensitising concepts places personal beliefs, values and morals at the core of understanding motivation and identity. A self-concept based theory (Shamir, 1991) emphasises values that individuals deem as desirable rather than desire – what they want to gain or keep – in terms of external need satisfaction (Shamir, 1991). "On the contrary: it demands something of the person" (Shamir, 1991, p.410). Thus, people are motivated to act and behave in accordance with their values and ideology in order to enhance their self-esteem and self-worth.

One's values, ideology and morals are an important part of one's identity and are often motivations that can be seen as a source of attitudes, behaviour and actions (Carlisle & Manning, 1994; Shamir, 1991). Ideology plays a large role in how people perceive themselves and acts as a guide for how to interact and live (Carlisle & Manning, 1994). As such, people derive a great sense of meaning and satisfaction – and identity affirmation – from the

motivation to act in accordance with their values, ideological and moral commitments (Carlisle & Manning, 1994; Shamir, 1991). According to Gecas (2000) “identities anchored in values and value systems are important elements of self-conception, perhaps among the most important, since values give meanings, purpose, and direction in our lives” (p.94). Additionally, value-identities are pervasive as they transcend most identities that are based on role or group memberships (Gecas, 2000). “Values serve as standards by which to live, as well as goals for which to strive. In both senses they demand something of the person, which may involve pain, self-sacrifice, and certainly effort” (Gecas, 2000, p.95).

Dupont observed that one had to be passionate about ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism and that the passion for being a photojournalist was all-consuming; it imbues every aspect of their lives. Living a photojournalistic life means intertwining elements 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 out from who they are and how they see themselves, which has implications for their volition, motivations and actions. Those who separate their photojournalistic practice from other elements of their lives and identity “*miss out*” on the meaning and fulfilment that photojournalists derive from the “Way of Life”. A photojournalistic life is a way of living and those who see it as such tend to be “*great*” photojournalists. Thus, the rewards and motivations for photojournalists stem from the value they place on their interactions and experiences. Those who live a photojournalistic life are committed to their identity as photojournalists, which can be seen as a source of motivation in and of itself, especially if one feels that they were “*born to be a photojournalist*” or that it is in their “*blood*”.

Being “*born to be a photojournalist*” or seeing it as “*in your blood*” implies that being a photojournalist is part of someone’s genetic make-up, a defining characteristic that is deeply ingrained in their personality and identity. In living a photojournalistic life, photojournalists appear to feel that they have found their place in the world, which provides them with a sense of belonging. It also implies that someone is living their life in accordance with the values that they see as fundamental to their identity. It can be suggested that a photojournalist’s motives stem from the meanings they ascribe to their role and ‘the tradition’, which comprise

of the challenges, rewards, the ideals, value and responsibilities of ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Photojournalists’ commitment to their motivations, beliefs and actions can be seen as essential to the formation, confirmation and conformity of their identity and their ideology and values. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) also spoke about the internal motivations that drive photojournalists when he said:

You need to be able to develop your madness in a way that is productive and can help others and have a good time yourself. Yeah, it’s a strange business. ... [I]t’s almost like a calling, a bit like the priesthood, or something. You kind of get drawn to a brotherhood and sisterhood. ... [Y]ou don’t apply for a job to be a photojournalist, you become one. And you just go out and you keep doing it, and then people just pay you, and that’s it. And then it becomes your life.

Bohane suggested that being a photojournalist was a way to harness one’s passion, possibly even obsession, and use it in a way that could hopefully make a difference. In this respect, being a photojournalist comprises of two complementary parts, the passion and rewards and the responsibilities and sense of humanitarianism, that make up the whole. Thus, someone’s “*madness*” – their passion and enjoyment – in conjunction with the ideals, values and responsibilities that underpin ‘the tradition’ enable photojournalists to see the challenges they face as surmountable, part of the fabric of a photojournalistic life.

Together, all the parts balance each other out, like an intricate accounting spread sheet, the amounts may vary, sometimes they may be perfectly balanced, and at others in the red or black. But, viewing an individual spread sheet in isolation does not show a business as a whole, it simply shows where they are at any given time. Hence, living a photojournalistic life is a “Way of Life” and it is the total of all the spread sheets that amount to a life. Additionally, Bohane explained that photojournalism was “*a calling*” that one was drawn to, “*a bit like the priesthood*” – which parallels being “*born to be a photojournalist*” or that it is in their “*blood*”. Most importantly, Bohane said that “*you don’t apply for a job to be a photojournalist, you become one*”.

Bohane’s use of the phrase “*you don’t apply for a job to be a photojournalist, you become one*” links back in to socialisation – that there is a process that one goes through in order to become a photojournalist. This socialisation process is very important in the

formation of a photojournalist's identity, ideology and values; and the role these play in guiding photojournalists is paramount. Philosophically, 'becoming' implies a transformation that one grows, moves forward and evolves, which can easily be seen in a photojournalist's development. Aspiring photojournalists are drawn to 'witnessing and documenting history' for many reasons and the process that they go through to initially learn about photojournalism is the start of their socialisation. However, through telling people's stories and interacting with other photojournalists, aspirants are further theoretically and practically socialised into 'the tradition'.

Through this process aspiring photojournalists become photojournalists, their initial ideas about 'the tradition' merge with the theoretical and practical – they discover that there is more to 'the tradition' than their initial perception. For example, if someone aspired to be a photojournalist because they thought it would be a 'cool' way to see the world and make a bit of travelling money, through their experiences and interactions it is unlikely that this initial reason would be able to remain static. It is much more likely that their initial reason would develop through self-reflection and their interactions and experiences with the people whose stories they tell and with other photojournalists they meet – making it unlikely that one could only see what they are doing in terms of the initial reasons that drew them to photojournalism.

So no matter one's initial reasons for aspiring to be a photojournalist, it can be suggested that these evolve as they develop and are socialised into 'the tradition' and new reasons that are anchored in their ideology, values and sense of identity are formed. These sentiments can be seen in David Dare Parker's (in int.no.20) comment, during a public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective, below:

I think when you start out a love of the tradition gets replaced by something else, a sense of responsibility, all of a sudden the creative two dimensional object is not the most important thing you can do. What is important is what is happening in front of the camera, I think there are people out there who shoot to win awards but I think for the most part, the people I have known and love as friends, the people I respect, go there with more of a humanitarian attitude toward what they do, they go there to make a difference even if it's not obvious.

Just like one does not apply to join the priesthood but rather undergoes a process of becoming a priest that imbues the ideology, practices and values at core of one's identity, one 'becomes' a photojournalist. Once the ideology, practices and values of 'the tradition' are ingrained into a photojournalist's identity, "*it becomes [their] life*". The analogy comparing photojournalists with priests is not meant to imply a divine stature or that photojournalists are called to God's service and governed by a higher power per se. But rather, the analogy symbolises that being a photojournalist is more than an occupation, it is a vocation that is a morally and ideologically based "Way of Life". Thus the ideology, practices and values are underpinned by the sense of humanitarianism, the ideals, values and responsibilities that are at the core of 'the tradition' of photojournalism – all of which cannot be separated from a photojournalist's identity and the way in which they live their lives. Similar analogies can be made with ways of life of nurses, doctors, aid-workers, volunteers, or defence force and police personnel, however, unlike photojournalism these all have institutional hierarchies, formal structures and socialisation processes.

Additionally, just like priests make sacrifices when answering the call and face significant challenges in the course of living a life dedicated to the service of God, so do photojournalists. And just like priests see the challenges they face as part of what it means to be a clergyman, so too do photojournalists. What makes these sacrifices and challenges surmountable is that their purpose and commitment is to something bigger than themselves. This is not to suggest that they do not need or desire rewards or are not influenced and motivated by these – these are a necessary part of human nature – simply that the main motivations and rewards do not stem from meeting external needs but rather internal ones. As such, the fundamental internal motivations and rewards come from living their lives in line with 'the tradition', the ideology, values and morals that come with the "Way of Life". Michael Amendolia said it was the experiences and interactions that were the most rewarding. Amendolia (int.no.1) said:

What a career! What other sort of career puts you in the environment of so many different themes and scenarios to gain a little ... it's been the best career that I can think of on a pure human experience level ... Certainly materialistically, perhaps I may have lost out, but you can't have everything. ... If I was to work more in corporate levels I would have a better house and I'd

have a better car or something like that, but I wouldn't have had these wonderful experiences with people and all that sort of thing.

Amendolia highlighted that the motivations and rewards of living a photojournalistic life stem from internal rather than external needs – that the experiences and interactions that come with living a photojournalistic life exceed financial and material rewards. External rewards may be nice but for many the reward of living a life committed to something bigger than themselves, a purpose that is underpinned by a ideological and value system that is inherent in their identity, has a much greater saliency.

The same could be said for many other ideological and value driven “Ways of Life” that emphasise a commitment to something bigger than external needs and rewards. Additionally, surmounting the challenges – for which it can be suggested that many occupations that are more akin to vocational ways of life share – that come with upholding ‘the tradition’ and the “Way of Life” are often rewards in themselves and reinforce their identity. Stephen Dupont said that it was important to enjoy the challenges as well as the rewards. *“There's this amazing journey of becoming a photojournalist and I think the really wonderful thing about that journey is to make sure you enjoy the ride. Okay it's hard and there's lots of hurdles, but just enjoy those as well”* (Dupont, int.no.5).

But just because photojournalists find enjoyment and rewards in the experiences – and to varying degrees the challenges – of being a photojournalist and living a photojournalistic life does not mean that there is always a clear sense of purpose and direction. In the public lecture at the Degree South exhibition and collective launch David Dare Parker said he often wondered why he kept living a photojournalistic “Way of Life” and if by doing so it made any difference. Parker (in int.no.20) was talking about the challenges photojournalists face when he said:

I guess the question is so why do we do it? It has become a way of life for us. ... [U]nlike most forms of journalism we are going to be doing it no matter what. We live it, we breathe it, in some ways we question what we do, I think we drive each other nuts as to why and whether we make a difference or not.

As Parker revealed, to those for whom photojournalism is a “Way of Life”, telling stories they feel are important is not a choice it is who they are. Telling stories is what photojournalists do. It does not depend on being assigned because it is something they believe and are committed to “*doing it no matter what*”. Telling stories is the practical manifestation and expression of a photojournalist’s identity, ideology and values and the parameters of storytelling are governed by their ideals, values and responsibilities.

Being a photojournalist is not dependent on any external constructs, such as the mainstream media, it is dependent on the individuals dedicating themselves to a photojournalistic “Way of Life”. Parker (int.no.13) also noted these sentiments when he said: “*We have a tradition of really excellent young photographers, but mostly self-motivated. They’re not put there by anyone other than their own desire to tell stories or to be part of that tradition*”. Ideally, by living a photojournalistic lifestyle and telling stories that they feel are important to tell, photojournalists will make a difference directly through their interactions with the people whose stories they tell as well as indirectly through inspiring people who see the stories to take action. In many ways photojournalists see themselves and as custodians for ‘witnessing and documenting history’, showing people the essence of humanity.

Tamara Dean (int.no.4) likened photojournalists to foot soldiers saying:

[I]t's a terrible term, but you're like a foot soldier to go out and tell the stories that a lot of people don't want to see themselves. So photojournalism is supposed to reveal insight into areas that people don't really want to get their feet dirty in.

The use of the term ‘foot soldier’ is interesting as it come with its own set of connotative associations such as, being involved in hands-on dirty work, getting close to the action, being part of something bigger. Dean specifically used the term ‘foot soldier’ in relation to the act of witnessing and showing what has been witnessed to a wider audience – in lieu of an audience witnessing what is depicted firsthand. However, the term also implies an ideological doctrine governing conduct and purpose – that a foot soldier’s smaller actions help an overarching mission or strategy. Dean’s (int.no.4) use of the term “*foot soldier*” reiterates many other interviewees’ comments in this thesis that it was their job, their role, their duty, to

record and show the world the plights of their fellow man. Not because they are paid to do so, but because they feel compelled to be part of ‘the tradition’ and the photojournalistic “Way of Life”. Thus, telling stories, being involved, getting their “feet dirty” in the messiness of human existence is fundamental to a photojournalist’s identity as it is part of the ideology, values and morals that underpin their “Way of Life”.

Since telling stories is not dependent on external constructs such as the mainstream media, photojournalists approach storytelling – with the exception of some assignment – out of interest and passion. Dean said she was not drawn to a story because of an end she had in sight.

I guess it's that love of making imagery as well and the adventure. I always like to have adventure in my life and that opens that up for me and if it can have a role and effect, where it creates change or gets some sort of coverage, then that's great. But I suppose I don't set out going okay, where is this going to be published. I set out and go okay I really want to do this story because it's of immense interest to me and hopefully I'll represent it in such a way that other people will respond to it. (Dean, int.no.4)

Contextually, Dean was talking about how despite all the challenges photojournalists face it was their passion for telling stories that kept photojournalists going. She also said that adventure was an important element, which most interviewees noted. Adventure is an intrinsic part of the photojournalistic “Way of Life”. Adventures are typically fraught with risks, they are exciting, unusual, and have uncertain outcomes; they provide a psychological and physical arousal or rush – adventure for photojournalists is also a pursuit and reward in itself. Adventure is an important concept discussed later in this section.

While Dean said she told stories because of her own interest, passion and hope that doing so would make a difference, she also said publishing was not a motivation for starting projects. As already discussed, dissemination is an important aspect of photojournalism as it has a direct correlation to the desire to inspire people to act and make a difference. While publication may be an ideal form of dissemination because it potentially reaches the largest audiences, it is not the only form. For photojournalists telling the story is all-important, dissemination comes later and is somewhat dependent on what works best for the story and

the photojournalist. David Dare Parker (in int.no.20) expressed similar sentiments in a comment he made during a public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and collective launch when he said:

I remember a young photographer once saying to me 'don't bother going to Africa because picture editors are sick of seeing pictures of starving people'. [He] miss[ed] the point completely. That is absolutely the reason to go there, the fact that people aren't interested in publishing it is not a reason not to take these photographs.

The point Parker made was that photojournalists have a responsibility to 'witness and document history' and that this is part of what it means to be a photojournalist. Just because people will not pay for a story or disseminate it, does not mean that the story is not important or that it should not be told. For those who are committed to a photojournalistic "Way of Life" the point is living a life in accordance with the ideology, values and morals of 'the tradition' – which places humanity and storytelling at the core of their actions. Being a photojournalist means telling stories not because they will be published or that they will receive accolades and financial rewards, but because they feel a responsibility to tell stories in the hope that it will make a difference. Thus, one's identity as a photojournalist lies not in the fact that their work is published or they are paid to make truthful images, but that they embody the ideology and morals of what it means to be a photojournalist and live their lives committed to upholding the ideals, values and responsibilities of 'the tradition'. Of course, without some form of dissemination the general public would not necessarily hear the stories photojournalists tell, making dissemination essential for potentially making a difference. Parker said that without dissemination stories were powerless because unless they are seen people would not be able to take the role of those depicted and reflect on their own lives.

That's what it is supposed to do, that is why things resonate, that's why public opinion jumps up and says 'I wouldn't want this happening to my child'. They are pretty simple rules to have with you; ideas to have with you when you are working that bring you back to reality. It is not about fame, 'I can see World Press already', people do that ... I am less judgemental about it now because I think that basically people are decent. You can't keep going back and doing that if that was all you thought about. There is a spur that people keep with them because it inspires them to go on and ego is an odd thing. Ultimately I think it has to be about what is in front of you. (Parker, int.no.13)

Parker highlighted a number of important elements. Firstly, there is an element of ‘role taking’ that audience members hopefully engage in when seeing stories and that from this experience they are incited to act. Secondly, by focusing on the ideals, values and responsibilities inherent in the role of ‘witnessing and documenting history’ photojournalists are able to stay grounded and focused. Thirdly, if photojournalists were acting out of a need for external rewards or accolade they could not sustain a photojournalistic life as external rewards are few and far between thus the challenges would outweigh them. Finally, there is an element of ego and desire for external rewards at play for some photojournalists in order to sustain momentum. However, the key is that the need for external rewards to bolster one’s ego does not outweigh the ideology, values and morals that underpin and guide the ideals and responsibilities – that these ground a photojournalist. Ben Bohane reflected that for him, the most desirable form of external reward was respect from his colleagues.

You do stories that sometimes don’t get run, or don’t get exposed, or get the coverage that you wanted and so if you don’t get the coverage you may not get the financial returns. But I’m not competitive by nature; I’m not ambitious by nature. So, I’m not looking at this in any sense of how it’s going to further my career, or how I’m going to be rewarded. In the end, the gauge of whether your work’s successful or not, for me, is the respect you get from your peers. From the people who are close to you who do the same sort of work ... I think that’s really how you end up measuring yourself. (Bohane, int.no.2)

Bohane reiterated that external rewards are not photojournalists’ motivation to ‘witnessing and documenting history’, their motives stem from internal needs. Respect from one’s colleagues can be seen as being based in upholding the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ and the photojournalistic “Way of Life”. Even though colleagues’ respect could be considered an external reward, it is also an internal reward that reaffirms one’s identity and commitment to ‘the tradition’ and social world.

When interviewees were asked about their most and least successful work during the interviews, they tended to delineate success in the similar ways to Bohane, noting ways in which telling stories had made a difference and the internal rewards that came with living a photojournalistic “Way of Life”. Even though photojournalists tend to be motivated by internal needs rather than external, this does not mean that they do not struggle with self-doubt. Jon Levy (int.no.10) said that: “*the hardest thing is for those people who are being*

photojournalists are [that they are] constantly assaulted by different doubts". Levy (int.no.10) noted the array of self-doubts that plague photojournalists when he said:

Doubts as to whether there is really an audience for this, doubts ... whether there is really any change that can be effected in what they are doing, doubts to whether they are any good when compared to each other, doubts as to whether they can really convince themselves or the people that they are photographing that they ought to let them be photographed or that they ought to actually go to the other end of the world to do it. I think the hardest one that they really have ... is belief, belief and conviction. It is quite hard to have conviction, you may have huge belief that it is something you really want to do and it is so worthwhile, but it is quite hard to do when everything around you says it doesn't really matter if you do it or you don't.

Levy observed that when there are so many challenges that photojournalists face and it is difficult to measure the difference telling stories make, they had to have faith in what they are doing. Thus, in order to sustain a life committed to 'witnessing and documenting history' photojournalists have to rely on internal motivations and rewards so that they are not discouraged. So, it can be suggested that in order to combat the various self-doubts that plague photojournalists, the support and respect from colleagues who are part of their social world and have made the same commitments to living a photojournalistic "Way of Life" are paramount. Thus, relying on internal rewards validates and reaffirms their commitment and identity.

Jason Edwards (int.no.6) also noted that, "most photojournalists I have met struggle with themselves, with the work they are producing, they have – and I am also speaking for myself – massive self-doubt, massive questioning and [are] overachievers for the most part". Many interviewees spoke about how hard it was to see the stories they felt were important rejected and the impact this had on them. Levy (int.no.10) said:

I think it's like a performance on a stage, you put so much into it and in the grand scheme of things it's an hour on a stage in front of twenty people who may be your judges of whether you're good or not, it doesn't really matter in the grand scheme of things, but it matters an awful lot to you, so getting through that rejection or doubt is the biggest barrier.

The ways that photojournalists break through barriers of self-doubt, rejection and the many other challenges they face are varied. While the internal motivations and rewards stemming from the ideology, values and morals are the primary source from which photojournalists draw to combat the challenges they face and sustain their “Way of Life”, these are not purely altruistic or egocentric but rather a coalesce of both. In this respect, the balance between altruistic and egocentric motivations and rewards are akin to George Herbert Mead’s concept of ‘I’ and ‘me’ in that self is formed through the process of integrating the ‘I’ which is the spontaneous and impulsive self that acts, and the ‘me’, the reflective, socially aware self that observes one’s actions (Reynolds, 2003; Weigert & Gecas, 2003). The concept of ‘I’ and ‘me’ is the best way to examine the internal process that photojournalists engage in to keep grounded and motivated. Since the concept of ‘I’ and ‘me’ relies on socialisation, it also can be applied to photojournalists who are said to be adrenaline seeking junkies or are driven by other ego based rewards and motivations.

In George Herbert Mead’s concept of ‘I’ and ‘me’, thought and action, are seen as comprising of two parts that have a somewhat complementary relationship (Reynolds, 2003; Weigert & Gecas, 2003). The ‘I’ provides the initial impetus to act whereas the ‘me’ provides the framework through which acts are mediated (Reynolds, 2003). As such, the ‘I’ is seen as the response to the manifestation of biological human needs and impulses in thought and action, which is outside the bounds of prediction (Reynolds, 2003; Zeitlin, 1973). Whereas, the ‘me’ is the socialised self that understands the roles, norms and behaviours deemed acceptable (Reynolds, 2003). The ‘me’ provides a framework through which it is possible to understand what someone will try to do in a given situation, but the ‘I’ makes it impossible to predict precisely what his or her actual response will be (Lewis, 1979). Unlike Freud’s concepts of id, ego and superego, which are in a constant state of conflict, Mead’s concept of ‘I’ and ‘me’ can be seen as a complementary process that goes hand-in-hand (Lewis, 1979). However, just because the ‘me’ is in part socially influenced and technically supervises the ‘I’ does not preclude spontaneous or impulsive actions (Lewis, 1979). Such impulsive or spontaneous actions of the ‘I’ are made possible because the ‘I’ lies beyond immediate experience and the ‘me’ is the empirical self that is formed from past experiences, even if only a fraction of a second has passed since it takes the brain a microsecond to process a

mental response to the action (Mead, 1964; Lewis, 1979). Even though one may know appropriate responses that are in line with the socialised parameters that have helped shape the ‘me’ or empirical self, it does not mean that they always act in accordance with these – hence the impulsiveness and spontaneity of the ‘I’ (Lewis, 1979).

While photojournalists seek out and enjoy various aspects of the photojournalistic “Way of Life” which is the ‘I’, these are supervised by the ‘me’ that is formed through socialisation into the photojournalistic ‘social world’. It is the socialisation of the ideology and morals that underpin the photojournalistic ‘social world’ which instils the ideals, values and responsibilities that govern photojournalists’ actions and “Way of Life”. Tamara Dean expressed this concept of ‘I’ and ‘me’ when she explained why photojournalists do what they do. Dean (int.no.4) said:

I suppose there [are] a number of reasons. On a selfish level it's an amazing way to experience the world – being exposed to other people's lives and have been let into other people's lives and making new relationships. There's certainly that aspect which is the adventure of it. All those things I'd say, whether it's spoken of or not, people enjoy. Then on the other level you've got that social responsibility and that desire to tell stories and the desire to help the world, that sort of thing. I think that they tie in probably quite extensively.

Dean highlighted the complementary process noted above; on one hand, there are the elements that they find personally rewarding and fulfilling and on the other hand, they have the responsibilities, values and ideals that govern their actions. If it were not for photojournalists’ experiences and interaction their formation of the ‘me’ that governs their actions would not be as developed as it is. Additionally, the ‘role taking’ that photojournalists are involved in during their experiences and interactions with those whose stories they tell and their ‘social world’, heightens and strengthens their commitment to their ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as fundamental to their practice and “Way of Life”. Thus photojournalists’ socialisation can be considered a progression. At the start they may be driven more from the desire to fulfil their impulses and needs, for example, excitement and freedom and while these remain important elements essential to maintaining their drive, it is through their interactions and experiences that the full weight of their actions come to bear – which they reflect upon – that develops the parameters from which they act. A number of

interviewees described the need to balance personal needs and impulse fulfilment with the responsibilities of ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Ben Bohane (int.no.2) summed it up when he said:

You’ve got to come from the motivation that you’re acting as a bridge for other people who aren’t in a position to tell their story. ... Sure, have the sense of adventure, which we all have – and it’s an exciting life in many ways. I wouldn’t deny that there’s a strong element of that sense of adventure in all of us who do it for personal reasons. But you need to ... understand, that there’s [a] real responsibility that comes [with ‘witnessing and documenting history’].

Bohane said that many – if not all photojournalists – were drawn to the adventure and excitement of the photojournalistic lifestyle. Excitement and adventure are important rewards for photojournalists, especially in light of the significant challenges they face, as it can be suggested that without these the motivation to continue ‘witnessing and documenting history’ would be severely diminished. This does not mean that the ideals, values and responsibilities are of lesser importance than personal rewards and fulfilment, but rather they are two sides of the same coin. It is not that these two sides are competing; they are complementary – a fluid process rather than static variables. Additionally, just because the ideals, values and responsibilities are known to govern actions, it does not mean that a photojournalist’s actions and responses in any given situation or circumstance can be definitely predicted. This is why photojournalists place such a high emphasis on self-awareness and self-reflection because the ideals, values and responsibilities are so important to them that they want to act within the framework in which they have been socialised rather than in a way that is purely egocentric. Photojournalists do not see the people they interact with as stepping stones to personal fulfilment – although there are always the exceptions – they see the people whose stories they tell as integral elements to their “Way of Life” that they genuinely care about.

Jack Picone said there tended to be three reasons that drew photojournalists to ‘witnessing and documenting history’ and the “Way of Life”.

I mean a lot of people like to say that a lot of photojournalists are attention seeking adrenaline junkies – and actually there is some truth in some of that. Some are but it’s like any profession, some people are and many people are not and there’s people who are somewhere in between. So why do people go to dangerous places, I mean for some it might be adrenaline, for others it’s a

challenge, for others it's a need to tell a story that they passionately believe in. For others, yet again it could be a combination of the whole three things I've just mentioned. (Picone, int.no.14)

Picone observed that photojournalists were often drawn to telling stories in dangerous places because they were either adrenaline-seeking junkies, wanted to conquer the challenges of working in extreme situations or because they were passionate about telling a particular story. On the surface adrenaline-seeking junkies and those wanting to conquer a challenge appear similar, but the former is about the sensation that comes from experience itself and the latter is about the sensation that comes from overcoming the situation. The term 'adrenaline-seeking junkie' is often used as a derogative label. In fact, some interviewees used the term to denote those who were not acting in accordance with the ideals, values and responsibilities of photojournalism; that those photojournalists were motivated purely by egocentric needs. Feinstein (2006) also used the term 'adrenaline junkie' when discussing the addictive qualities of extreme situations, noting that:

[M]any war journalists find the term offensive because it conjures up an image of behavior enslaved to violence, of a base craving for a fix, devoid of personal choice, intellectual curiosity, or morality. In this light, their actions appear inherently selfish, as if the journalists use war and the catastrophic misery of others as a vehicle for fulfilling their own egotistic needs. (p.47)

While the above-mentioned connotations are inherent in the term, Picone's use appeared relatively neutral. In fact, his comment indicated that the three types of motivations he suggested were not mutually exclusive, that to varying degrees all three could be simultaneous motivational factors. Additionally, Picone indicated that there was fluidity between motivational factors, which can be seen as attributable to experience and the socialisation process. Picone (int.no.14) explained:

My reasons for going to these places kind of evolved from something fairly simple that I wanted to challenge myself and see if I can survive the war zone and take pictures and report on it, to having a very passionate belief in telling the story of the injustice of war towards women and children. ... So it evolved as I went along. So none of it really had much to do with adrenaline.

While Picone started out wanting to challenge himself, over time this gave way to a deeper passion for telling stories rather than the need to successfully negotiate a challenge as

an end in itself. As Picone's illustrated, the s process is ongoing – photojournalists' behaviour and actions are products of the role-making and socialisation process, thus they are developed and continually reshaped in light of interactions (Stryker, 1968). Through the experiences and interactions photojournalists have in the course of becoming a photojournalist and embracing the “Way of Life”, they come to the realisation that they cannot act out of purely egocentric motivations; that there are responsibilities that can have consequences, not only for themselves, but others with whom they interact. The potential severity of these consequences brings home the importance of acting in line with the ideals, values and responsibilities fostered through ‘role taking’. Thus, the ideology, morals and spirit of humanitarianism underpin the ideals, values and responsibilities that guide photojournalists' actions become paramount to their “Way of Life”.

There may be many possible explanations as to why some journalists – no matter the medium – become addicted to reporting on war and other hostile environments. Equally, there may be many possible explanations as to why some photojournalists ‘witness and document history’ to fulfil their adrenaline seeking needs and impulses. Nevertheless, it is also possible that those who initially pursue photojournalism primarily because they want the challenge of surmounting a difficult situation or the adrenaline based rewards in such situations, are not socialised in ‘the tradition’ and continue to act based on egocentric needs and impulses throughout their careers. Those photojournalists who have not been socialised into ‘the tradition’ will be unlikely to have the same degree of commitment to the ideals, values and responsibilities of being a photojournalist as those who are active participants and standard bearers of the photojournalistic ‘social world’.

In this respect, those acting out of egocentric impulses and needs – whether these are met from overcoming a situation or from the situation itself – serve as an initial impetus to ‘witness and document history’. And while such motivating factors may continue, to varying degrees, to drive one's pursuit of the photojournalistic “Way of Life”, they also help sustain a photojournalist's commitment to ‘witnessing and documenting history’. Thus, the balance between the ‘I’ and the ‘me’, the personal rewards and the ideals, values and responsibilities are important, are in a constant state of flux and are unique to each individual. David Dare

Parker noted the importance to balance ego with the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’. Parker (int.no.13) said:

It is because a lot of photographers make the mistake, it's this award thing, people's ego gets in the way ... they forget it sometimes. Sometimes people do go out there to make great images and develop it [a sense of journalism] later and I think that is a trap. You do need it, you can't take ego out of it, you wouldn't get up in the morning, but you have to constantly remind yourself about your responsibilities.

Generally, photojournalists can be suggested as having a sense of identity that is more aligned with altruistic, benevolent and humanitarianism qualities. But, this does not mean that there are exempt from personal needs, impulses or ego. The ‘I’ and ‘me’, the ego and personal rewards balanced with the ideals values and responsibilities are important. The balance between the two is not competitive but complementary; together they motivate and govern. The ‘me’ cannot fully control the ‘I’ – not that this would be ideal even if possible – as without the ‘I’, impulsive, needs driven people would be somewhat immobilised and unable to push boundaries and take risks that were deemed outside the parameters of their socialised selves and social worlds. Additionally, it can be suggested that often the impulsive and needs driven ‘I’ that many photojournalists share comes back to, not just the primary need for freedom and adventure, but also the desire to understand the world and mankind – find meaning through experiences and interactions.

Such a perspective accounts for comments similar to James Nachtwey’s remark below that Feinstein (2006) noted. The vast majority of participants interviewed for this thesis made similar, direct and indirect, comments about how telling other people’s stories was a way of making sense and meaning of the world and life itself. Nachtwey was speaking about the term ‘adrenaline-seeking junkie’ and was quoted as saying:

I would reject the term novelty seeker. That is definitely not the way I would describe myself or my colleagues. I think that I’m someone who did not want to lead a conventional life, but it wasn’t novelty I was seeking, it was experience. Seeking some meaning in life, not novelty. (Feinstein, 2006, p.49)

Meaning making comes from the experiences of being in a situation, successfully overcoming a situation as well as socialisation, whether through interactions with the people

whose stories they tell or others in the photojournalistic ‘social world’ – all of which are also rewards. Some may see such extreme or dangerous situations as a form of ‘edgework’ where one tests one’s ability to maintain control over otherwise uncontrollable situations that verge on chaos and that others would regard as uncontrollable (Lyng, 1990; Holyfield & Fine, 1997). Albeit, those who engaged with ‘edgework’ typically have high regard for their abilities to deal with dangerous activities but shy away from situations where they are not in control (Lyng, 1990). Others may see risk-taking behaviour as that which is undertaken for its own sake (Goffman, 1967). Spencer Platt noted some of these elements when he said that if a psychologist had to profile a room of photojournalists there would be so many different qualities. However, Platt said photojournalists generally needed to be drawn to chaos, to travelling and have a passion for world events and humanity.

Photojournalists tend to have a fundamental inner strength to get them through whatever situation they might find themselves in. They are generally honest and want to show what is going on as it is, honestly. Platt said as a photojournalist you have to have inner motivation – you don’t have a boss breathing down your neck and no one knows if you don’t show up for work, but you have to have a commitment to telling the story, truthfully and to the best of your ability. Platt (int.no.19) said it was not that photojournalists were “*knight[s] in shining armour or [that they rode] a white horse, but at a fundamental level [they] have a commitment to fellow man, the world and the story of our time; history*”.

No matter the rational – adventure, risk-taking, adrenaline seeking or challenge conquering – it involves an emotional and physical arousal, which is presumed to be beneficial to character development (Holyfield & Fine, 1997). As such, experiences are said to be central to the creation of character and morality development (Holyfield & Fine, 1997). It can be suggested that for some, overcoming challenging situations or moments of uncertainty that come with high-risk activities fosters an emotional experience. One undergoes a self-discovery process that enables a deeper experience of self and as such, moments of adversity and challenge are transformative. This transformative experience can produce significant insights and meanings and as such can be a form of socialisation in itself, which has implications for the development of ‘me’.

Through the experiences and interactions that come with ‘witnessing and documenting history’, photojournalists find some sort of understanding and meaning of the world and life, this also helps develop the dominant ideology and morals of their ‘social world’ as well as the ideals, values and responsibilities photojournalists see as part of their role – all of which is solidified through constant socialisation. Photojournalism becomes a “Way of Life”, where one prioritises the experiences and interactions inherent in ‘witnessing and documenting history’ over material rewards because the personal rewards of these far outweigh the challenges, financial rewards or other accolades. Thus, intrinsic rewards are predominantly sought rather than extrinsic rewards.

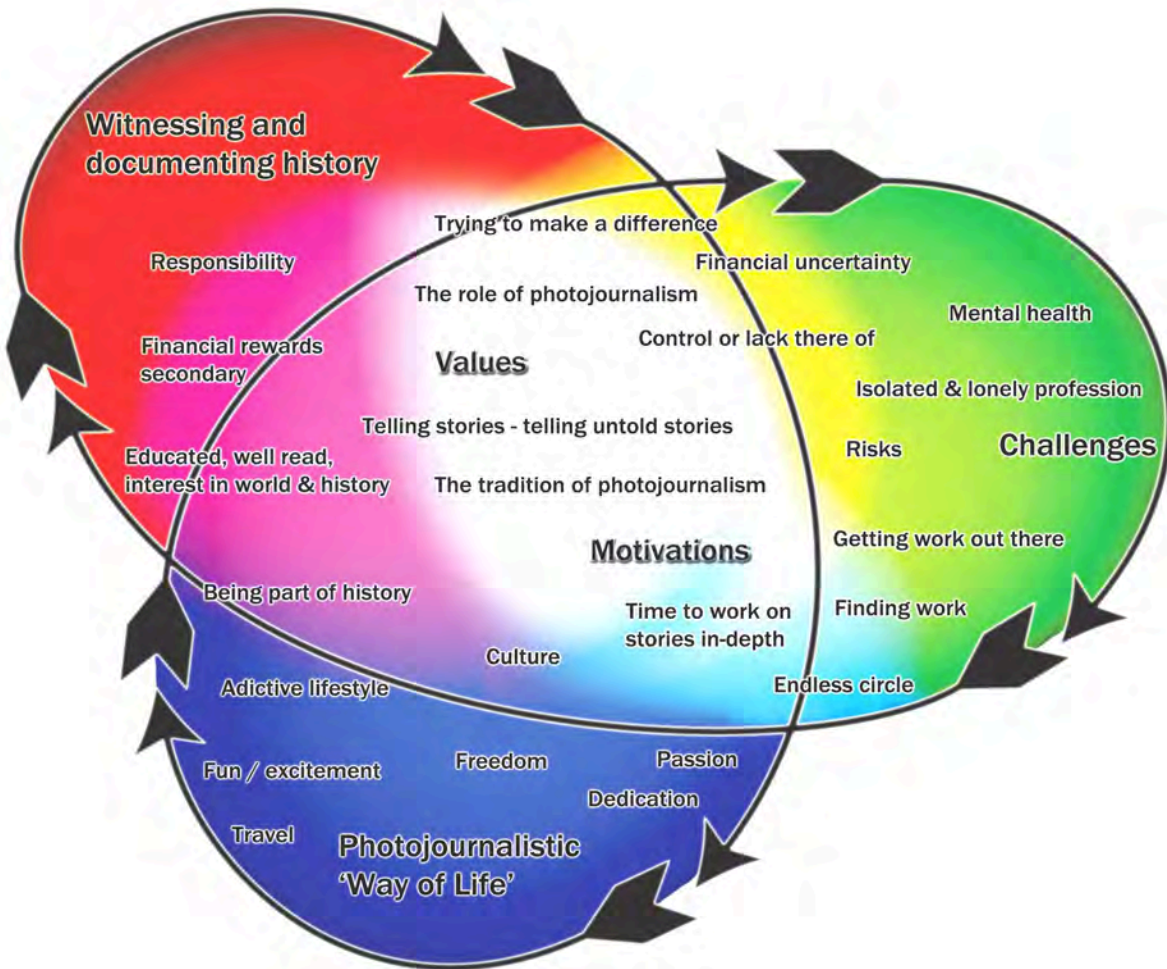
It is through the experiences, interactions and membership in the ‘social world’ that photojournalists are able to pursue their desires and impulses in line with their ideals, values and responsibilities. Living a life in accordance with the ideals, values and responsibilities becomes rewards in themselves and while acting from the ‘I’ in order to meet one’s impulses and needs are important, over time this lessens as the ‘me’ develops. The passion and love photojournalists have for the ideals, values and responsibilities, ‘witnessing and documenting history’, ‘the tradition’ and their “Way of Life” is paramount, it is these that ground photojournalists. This does not mean extrinsic rewards or those that come from acting on impulses or needs are not always welcome, but they are not the be all and end all – these are a small but important part of a photojournalist’s identity that helps them sustain their “Way of Life”.

6.4 A grounded theory conceptualisation of photojournalism as a “Way of Life”

This thesis adds to the body of press photography and photojournalism knowledge by focusing on photojournalists and their freelance practice – an area that has not been specifically examined before. This chapter and the previous analysis chapters have presented a grounded theory of the key elements and concepts in order to understand the way in which photojournalism goes beyond an occupation or profession and is in fact a “Way of Life”. This final section concludes the body of this thesis and presents the grounded theory conceptualisation of the photojournalistic “Way of Life”. (Figure 2.0 illustrates the key

concepts identified in the day and the way in which these fit together to form the photojournalistic “Way of Life”)

Figure 2.0 – Visual conceptualisation of the key concepts that form the photojournalistic “Way of Life”



6.4.1 Photojournalism as a “Way of Life”

Photojournalism may not be able to be defined in a clear cut and easily identifiable manner, but this is not due to the death of the profession as has been postulated by many. The problems in defining photojournalism lie in the changing landscape of news media practices and the need for freelance photojournalists to adapt to various markets. However, despite the

muddy definitional grounds that cloud the clear articulation of photojournalism, looking to the ideology, values and morals of photojournalists reveals the core of the profession and their practice. It is not the outlet, organisation or publication of photojournalism that defines the work. Rather it is the photojournalists themselves, their ideals, values and responsibilities that they see as inherent in their role that defines photojournalism. It is photojournalists' commitment to 'the tradition' and "Way of Life" that guides photojournalistic practice.

Thus, it is not the financial rewards or accolades – or more realistically, the lack thereof – that motivates photojournalists to 'witness and document history' but an inner drive that has more to do with who the photojournalist is as a person. Who photojournalists are as people is key as it is their ideology, morals, values and ideals – the kind of people they are – that makes them pick up a camera to document the world. They document the world and its people so they are not forgotten. They document the world and tell people's stories to the rest of the world so people are aware and informed. They tell stories because they feel that by being somewhere and witnessing something, being let into people's lives and being shown the realities of life for what 99 percent of the planet will never experience firsthand, is a responsibility. They feel a responsibility to humanity, to 'witness and document history', to the people whose stories they tell, the stories themselves, and to society, so that they are informed. The kind of people photojournalists are, are humanitarians, but their vehicle is a camera.

Those who are called to become photojournalists do not just have a love of photography they also have similar personal values to the ideology, ideals and values of photojournalism, which enhances their identification with photojournalism more so than any other photographic genre. Photojournalism is often called 'concerned photography' or 'humanistic photography' because it is a moral act underpinned by humanitarian ideals that stem from the work of early social documentary photographers who aimed to improve social conditions at the time. Photojournalists are passionate about humanity and document the world that is in front of them, drawing attention to what should or could be. It is these ideals and values that are at the heart of photojournalistic practice and drive photojournalists to pick up a camera and use it in a way where these can manifest. Since it is the 'kind of person' a photojournalist is, it is their ideology, their morals, their ideals and values that is of upmost importance, thus

their camera is the tool used to transcend these from consciousness and conscience into a tangible consumable form.

Critics of photojournalism have claimed that photojournalists are pornographers of grief – vultures – and that they are egocentric adrenaline junkies pursuing a rush without care or consideration about those from whom they profit. But spend time with those who choose this lifestyle and it is very easily seen that photojournalism is a moral act and photojournalists' desire to 'witness and document history' is a passion steeped in their concern for humankind, the desire to understand man's actions and highlight the resilience of the human spirit. Photojournalists do not see their subjects as a means to an end. They do not see them as dehumanised objects or actors on a stage ripe for objectification. Their views are quite opposite. In fact, humanistic and engaged photography essentially means engaging emotionally with the subjects. Additionally, photojournalists don't see the stories they tell as theirs, they see themselves as conduits for others to tell their stories.

For photojournalists, being a photojournalist is an honour and privilege. The experiences and interactions photojournalists have with those whose stories they tell, quickly instils an enormous sense of responsibility among them about the way they embody their role as storytellers. The importance photojournalists place on their subjects as well as the issues, situations and events that they face should not be overlooked. It is the care that photojournalists have for the people whose stories they tell, the stories themselves and humanity in general that is intrinsically linked to the ideology, ideals, values and responsibilities that underpin how photojournalists see their role as those who 'witness and document history'. By telling people's stories, photojournalists are representatives of the world, showing that those whose stories they tell that they are not forgotten, that people care about them and that the issues and situations they face have not gone unnoticed. The people, the stories and humanity are also part of what makes the challenges photojournalists face in living a photojournalistic "Way of Life" surmountable.

Photojournalists are all too aware of the impact that their imagery can have on society and those whose stories they tell; images are very powerful messages that help shape the world. Thus, photojournalists' commitment to truth and reality is paramount. This is not to

say that photojournalists believe they can be objective witnesses who record the whole truth and have no impact on an issue, event or situation. They do not believe that the stories they tell are completely objective or portray the whole event, issue or situation, because each image only captures a small fragment of the larger reality. Photojournalists, like all photographers, select what to photograph, how to photograph it, what to leave in or exclude from the image and so acknowledge the subjective nature of the stories they tell. But, photojournalists do believe that it is part of their responsibility to spend time with those whose stories they tell to ensure they tell the story with integrity.

Photojournalists feel that it is important for them to spend time in order to tell a story with integrity. By spending time, photojournalists feel that they are able to better understand the complexities of an issue, situation or event and tell a carefully considered, in-depth story. At times this means not taking images or not including certain images in a story or finding another way to tell aspects of a story that may sensationalise or cloud the actual issue, situation or events depicted. Photojournalists are acutely aware of the implications and ramifications of taking and showing some images and the importance of maintain accurate context, even when the people whose stories they are telling are not themselves aware. For photojournalists, the responsibility of maintaining the integrity of the story and telling it with respect is paramount. However, the responsibility of ensuring integrity and respect is not just limited to the telling of a story – photojournalists also feel it is important to show honour, respect and integrity to the story and the people whose story they are telling through their conduct and the way they tell the story.

Telling a story with integrity and being emotionally invested are not mutually exclusive. It is natural that by spending time in order to tell a story, at times photojournalists become emotionally invested in an issue, situation or event. Being emotionally invested in the people and story means photojournalists will often develop strong opinions and tell a story from a perspective in these situations.

Such occurrences are not detrimental to a story or considered ethical *faux pas*. In fact, being emotionally invested in stories and the associated people, issues, situations and events, increases the commitment and the sense of responsibility that photojournalists feel which in

turn helps maintain their motivation and dedication to keep telling the story no matter what. Photojournalists are also self-aware. Their degree of self-reflection, in order to understand and guide their actions and the way they tell stories, highlights the importance they place on their interactions, the way in which they practice photojournalism, as well as how integral the ideals, values and responsibilities are to them.

It is important to photojournalists that they act with respect, honour, and accountability – that they act with humanity and compassion. The fact that photojournalists tell stories ‘no matter what’, is not indicative of them disregarding the wishes of people whose stories they tell. Rather that telling stories is not dependent on photojournalists being assigned to cover an issue, situation or event by a media organisation – like most forms of journalism. And unlike most forms of journalism, photojournalists tell stories ‘no matter what’, even if that means they have to take on the financial burden in order to do so. Such practices highlight the fact that photojournalism is not merely an occupational choice that one makes in order to earn a living.

Since subjects will often go to extraordinary lengths and put themselves at risk in order to tell their stories to the world, photojournalists feel an increased responsibility to the people’s stories and give them a voice. However, their sense of responsibility does not end after they have taken their images; it permeates the entire story telling process including dissemination and the consequences of having a story highlighted. It is not just important for photojournalists to ‘witness and document history’ for prosperity’s sake, so that people, their issues and situations, and events are not forgotten. Disseminating stories, telling other people’s stories to as large an audience as possible is crucial. Because photojournalism is rooted in social documentary and concerned photography – that it is underpinned by humanitarian ideals – means that photojournalists want to inform the world of the situations, issues and events that other humans face and hopefully inspire people to action. If the stories photojournalists tell never reach an audience then it is impossible to inspire people to action.

However, dissemination does not depend on a news media outlet. The news media may reach a larger audience than other forms of dissemination, but if the media publish the story in a substandard way the chance to inspire audiences to action is reduced. Thus it is better to

reach a smaller audience through a form of dissemination outside of the mainstream media so that the stories can be told in a way that potentially increases the number of people who are inspired to action. However, photojournalists tend to be more comfortable with disseminating their work via journalistic outlets than through some other forums because of the institutional associations that come with those dedicated to the principles of the Fourth Estate.

Photojournalism is not dead, but it appears the traditional practice of freelancers getting assignments, selling their work and having it published by the mainstream media is dying. Much of the best photojournalism produced is no longer funded or published by news media organisations. Even when one looks at industry awards, such as the annual World Press Photo awards or festival programmes like Visa pour l'Image that represent some of the best works produced, the vast majority of stories are not funded or published by news media organisations. But photojournalists are still telling stories. It is just that they are doing so to a different beat, one that is not limited by institutional practices and constraints, outside of traditional media relationships. Photojournalists have not given up their commitment just because the traditional model of finding, selling and disseminating their work has changed. The beat that guides their storytelling stems from their commitment to their calling and the ideology, ideals and values that underpin their "Way of Life". They have adapted. The ways they have had to adapt may not be ideal, but the alternative of not telling stories and giving up the "Way of Life" for some is not an option. The challenges that come with the changes and having to adapt are also what makes surviving so rewarding. It keeps them hungry. With a 'glass half full' perspective, many photojournalists are excited by the possibilities of new ways to tell and disseminate stories as a result of the forced challenges. And by detangling the dissemination process from income generation – no matter how problematic this may be – photojournalists have taken further control of their imagery and autonomy over their practice and "Way of Life".

The fact that photojournalists can no longer rely on the mainstream news media is not entirely because of the tendency to relegate imagery to simple illustration rather than a form of journalistic storytelling in its own right. Nor have all organisations stopped commissioning, purchasing or disseminating photojournalism. There are many outlets where photojournalism is still valued and constantly finds a home. It is just that by and large those editors who do

value and want to publish photojournalism cannot pay realistic prices for work and are often unable to justify such expenditure because of the perceived risks of alienating advertisers and readers.

Generally, news media organisations shy away from photojournalism, especially that which is deemed ‘serious’, ‘hard-core’ or ‘real’ in lieu of entertainment, lifestyle and celebrity content to appease and attract advertisers and allegedly meet audience demands. Some organisations genuinely do not have the funds to commission or purchase photojournalism, but there are also those who simply prioritise celebrity, lifestyle and entertainment imagery and are willing to pay a significant amount of money to publish such content. Of course, every news outlet has the right to dictate the content they want to include and sound business practices are essential to the prosperity of any organisation. However, such practices do become a problem when they undermine the fourth estate and traditional watchdog role of journalism, constraining and obstructing the types of stories told. Forsaking or controlling journalistic content has larger implications for society as a whole.

While some media organisations may typically use imagery for illustrative purposes rather than a form of journalistic storytelling in its own right, the way photojournalists see their role and their ideals, values and responsibilities means they are not willing to compromise or conform to storytelling constraints that undermine their journalistic practice. For the most part, photojournalists believe that people care and that they do want to see what is happening in the world. Time is one of the biggest factors for photojournalists, it takes time to understand the complexities of a situation, issue or event; it takes time to tell a carefully considered in-depth story; it takes time to tell a story with integrity. And time is something that the constraints of constant news deadlines of the 24-hour news cycles do not permit. Additionally, the structures and practices of media organisations are rarely compatible with the way that photojournalists tell stories; they do not allow for the stories to be told in a way that uphold the ideals, values and responsibilities that are important to photojournalists.

Just because photojournalists have had to look beyond the traditional news media institutions they once relied upon does not mean that they are no longer journalists, are not professional or their credibility is instantly diminished. An institutional association does not

make one a photojournalist, it is the people who they really are and the way in which they choose to live their lives that generates credibility and professionalism. So where photojournalists generate their income is an obvious concern and challenge for them, it does little to dictate their professional standing, practice, values and approach to image making. Photojournalists can wear many hats in the pursuit of economic saliency. Some may take on commercial work, some editorial, some press photography, some corporate – the list of possibilities is endless – but no matter the way that photojournalists generate money in order to tell stories that they feel are important to tell, it is not how this income is generated, but how they tell their photojournalistic stories that matters.

Photojournalists don't relish financial insecurity – they would all love the benefits that come with a regular pay cheque – but if this means giving up the ideals, values and responsibilities that they hold dear, then they choose to forgo such financial security and stability. The beauty of living a freelance life is that photojournalists are independent, free from any external constraints, agendas and routines unless they choose to accept them. This also means, however, that at times photojournalists must take on the financial burden of telling some stories and that they can also lose money fulfilling this passion, purpose and responsibility. When it comes down to the choice of not telling stories or take on some of the financial burdens in order to tell a story, those photojournalists who see photojournalism as a “Way of Life” don't really see it as a choice, they see it as what is necessary because telling stories is a responsibility.

Photojournalism is in one's blood. Photojournalists feel that it is what they were born to do, like they were answering a call and felt at home in themselves and a sense of purpose when they started telling stories. So living a photojournalistic “Way of Life” is as much about who the photographer is as it is the act of telling stories. The photojournalistic “Way of Life” is more like a vocation than an occupation or profession because every aspect of a photojournalist's life is dedicated to this pursuit. The challenges that come with being a photojournalist are significant; ‘witnessing and documenting history’ can be physically, psychologically and financially hazardous. Living a photojournalistic life is lonely and dangerous – no one gets rich or famous. That's not why people become photojournalists. These are not the rewards that motivate photojournalists. Photojournalists are driven by the

ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ and ‘witness and document history’ in spite of the challenges they face. Most photojournalists would not recommend others to pursue their “Way of Life” because of the challenges they face, but would not do anything else themselves. Because of the challenges freelance photojournalists face, those who make the choice to pursue photojournalism as a “Way of Life” do not just like the idea, they really have to want it in order to survive.

Photojournalists may feel that they are called to the photojournalistic brotherhood and sisterhood, but they are also socialised in ‘the tradition’. ‘The tradition’ is very important to photojournalists, they see this as not only something to be honoured and upheld, but also something that inspires and guides them. ‘The tradition’ is bigger than the historical practice of photojournalism – it is the ideology and philosophy that underpins the genre and practices. Being socialised into ‘the tradition’ is partly how the ideals, values and responsibilities inherent in photojournalists’ practice are solidified. ‘The tradition’ gives photojournalists a sense of belonging in an otherwise lonely and challenging life, as they are a part of something bigger than themselves. Photojournalists rely on one another, they help one another, they have strong ties and their commitment transcends any assignment or employment relationships they may have with news organisations. Important to the socialisation process are the degree of self-direction and self-regulation that photojournalists have over membership and the direction of ‘the tradition’. Photojournalists are active participants as there is no formal organisation or structure, thus those who do not uphold the ideals, values and responsibilities of ‘the tradition’ are blacklisted. This process is not formally imposed or legally enforceable, but it certainly is morally enforced.

The combination of a commitment to the ideals, values and responsibilities that photojournalists see as part of their role in upholding ‘the tradition’ and rewards of the lifestyle, the freedom, independence, autonomy, excitement and experiences inherent in ‘witnessing and documenting history’ help balance the severity of the challenges.

It is the culmination of all this which leads photojournalists to see what they do as a “Way of Life”. Thus, there are some careers that become a life; the individual’s experiences of this life are woven into the fabric of their identity. They rarely start out knowing what the

realities of the job are and it probably never turns out to be exactly what they imagined. But that is life. As the rose-tinted-glasses of the imagined and often idealised photojournalism career are removed, the realities of what they experience during this journey are immortalised in their memories. These experiences of living a photojournalistic life construct and shape identities and are inseparable from the individual. Some may feel they were born to be photojournalists, while others developed their interests before they were socialised into ‘the tradition’ of photojournalism. The challenges they face are part of the package, part of the life, and just as being a photojournalist is inseparable from the individuals, so too are the risks, dangers and tolls. Thus, for those whom photojournalism is a “Way of Life”, they are photojournalists for life.

7. Areas for further research

I hope that this research stimulates interest in photojournalism, photojournalistic practice and its role in society. I have used but one of the many approaches that could be employed to examine the numerous photojournalism-related inquiry areas. There are many areas that I feel are interesting and warrant further attention. Of note is the lack of literature surrounding freelance journalistic forms, including freelance photojournalism. I found the lack of attention freelancers have received particularly surprising especially since photojournalism has a well-established history of atypical work arrangements and agencies founded on the premise of protecting the independence and rights of freelance photojournalists.

Another area for further research is the policies of mainstream media organisations and the attitudes and practices of their staff toward the use of staff photographers' personal work. A few interviewees who worked as staff photographers for the same Australian newspaper noted that they were expected to give their personal work to their employer for use without payment – that they had produced in their own time, with their own equipment and at their own expense. Such practices also indicate further research is warranted into news media staff attitudes – particularly editorial management and journalists – toward the role and value of imagery and photographers in the production of journalism.

In focusing on the mainstream media, it would be interesting to formally examine whether the content and usage of photojournalistic content has changed over the years and correlate this with photojournalists' and photo editors' perceptions and experiences. Another possible area of investigation is how the shift in news values between entertainment and news has impacted on budgets for photojournalism and what affect this has had on attitudes toward the genre. It would also be worthwhile examining the extent to which advertisers dictate the visual journalism content – whether directly or indirectly – within news media publications and whether written in-depth, investigative or hard news journalism is deemed more innocuous than its photojournalistic counterparts.

As already mentioned in the limitations of this research outlined in the methodology I see social media, user and citizen-generated content as an important technical development that

warrants investigation. Firstly, it would be fruitful to see if social media and user or citizen-generated content has increased publication readership and syndication levels. Specifically in relation to photojournalism, it would be interesting to examine media organisations' and freelance photojournalists' views on the role and usage of user or citizen-generated content and the impact this has on professional practice as well as the impact user and citizen-generated content has had on types of photojournalistic routines – particularly spot news and in-depth stories. Additionally, it would be interesting to see if and how freelance photojournalists have incorporated social media into their daily routines and the results they feel this adoption has had. Another area for further research is the adoption and use of consumer devices in professional photojournalistic practice and the impact this has on storytelling, credibility and professional standing.

These are but a few of the many research topics areas that can be seen as extending upon this thesis and I hope that I have inspired others to pursue their own interests and add to the photojournalism body of knowledge.

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9. Appendices

9.1 Past, Present and Future: Press Photography and Photojournalism. Paper presented at the Journalism Education Association of Australia conference in 2006 based on pilot study

Past, Present and Future: Press Photography and Photojournalism

There has been much discussion about the impact of images, whether they are moving or still. Discussions have included such topics as the impact on society, politics, and racial and religious groups around the world. Literature suggests that there is a decline in photojournalism being published in mainstream print newspapers. Since traditionally newspapers and magazines have published photojournalism, it would appear that the main dissemination for photojournalism is changing, but professionals are still getting their work 'out there'. This study considers the question "What do news photographers and newspaper photographic decision makers define as photojournalism?" This pilot study, examined the words of newspaper photographers and either editors or chiefs of staff who are the primary gatekeepers of images used in mainstream print newspapers. Gaining an understanding of what these media professionals believe photojournalism is and most importantly what is not, will provide essential insight into how photojournalism relates to the image production, use and conventions of these newspapers. The data collection and analysis was informed by constructivist grounded theory, however, a condensed version of the method was used because the research was the pilot study for a larger project. It is these findings which will be presented.

This study stems from a review of the literature discussing the themes and approaches in photojournalism. Questions arose from this literature review; hence, a pilot study was developed to shed some light on these questions and is the basis of this paper.

There has always been an element of truth and credibility attached to images; this was evident in newspapers even before the first photo was run. When a newspaper wanted to emphasise the truth of an engraving or sketch, they would label it as taken from a photograph (Hardt, 2001).

Photojournalism has been closely associated with “a form of documentary expression in most parts of the world” (Hardt, 2001). Like photography’s origins¹, the rise of photojournalism was also linked to technological, social and economic developments (Hardt, 2001). The increase in readership in the working classes due to increased availability and cost of newspapers advanced photojournalism’s exposure to the masses (Hardt, 2001). “Also, the public desire to ‘see’ the world, fuelled by the popularity of movies ... especially during the 1920s created new demands on print media to legitimise photojournalism as a professional practice” (Hardt, 2001). Eventually, while still maintaining a strong presence in newspapers, photojournalism moved into different forms of dissemination, of particular impact was the rise of the picture magazines which flourished for more than half a century.

With the death of the picture magazines in the 1960s and 1970s, photojournalism survived through news magazines and newspapers. Nonetheless, the publication of photojournalism has helped shape visual culture on a multi-national level. This transitional time shifted photojournalism away from the masses and working class to the privileged or elite classes, where it was considered to be “art” (Hardt, 2001). Recently, more and more images are appearing online, which raises questions about the future role of the internet as a new form of dissemination for photojournalism.

Through this brief history of photojournalism, one must ask the following questions of the literature:

1. What is the current state of photojournalism in newspapers?
2. Is the internet the next generation of photojournalism dissemination?

Literature Review

There is not the scope in this paper to detail all the prevailing literature pertaining to photojournalism. However, the key areas which are presented are: the impact and power of images, the truth and subjectivity of the image, and the influence of the internet.

¹ Photography’s rise in its early origin was often linked to the rise in the middle class and their demands. Whilst a painting was somewhat out of the middle classes reach, photography however, was not.

It appears that while most people take for granted the power of the image, little has been done to empirically substantiate this notion, apart from a few notable exceptions (Bovens, 1998, Perlmutter, 2005). Perlmutter (2005) looked at the way iconic images influenced foreign affairs decisions in the United States. He found that while images caused public outcry, they did not impact upon United States policy or decision making unless “policy makers let them” (p.122).

Where and how the image is disseminated plays an important part in how the image is interpreted. This is supported by Becker (1992) who stated that “[p]hotographs attain meaning only in relation to the settings in which they are encountered” (p.144). Additionally, Perlmutter (2005) noted that in the digital age pictures are almost unstoppable in a democratic society, and as a result “foreign affairs as perceived by the public and policymakers are defined by pictures more than ever: what we don’t see, what we do see, and how visions of war, relations, trade or diplomacy are captioned and contextualized” (p.109-110).

The impact on an image of a contextualised story or caption is also supported and discussed in an article by Rodgers, Kensicki, and Thorson (2003). The authors suggested that the people who decided what news and accompanying images were run, were subject to the same biases as the average consumer. They based their choice of visual representation on their individual preconceptions and biases. Therefore, how an image is contextualised and captioned in relation to various news stories has great implications for how society sees and interprets the world and various issues. The constant “repeating visual images that reference some ideas and not others creates frames that render certain ideas more salient and memorable than others” (Fahmay, 2005, p.384).

Susan Moeller (1999) and philosopher Susan Sontag (1977, 2003) focused on the negative implications and effects of photojournalism. Moeller suggested that Americans suffer from compassion fatigue because of the media’s coverage and usage of imagery surrounding bad news events. “Crises are turned into a social experience that we can grasp; pain is commercialized ... suffering becomes infotainment – just another commodity” (Moeller, 1999, p.35). However, she acknowledged that without images, many issues remain dormant or uninteresting to the public. She suggested having no images was worse than the

possible pain these might inflict on the public, and that it was “[b]etter to have their interest ... than not to have their interest at all” (p.37).

Moeller (1999) suggested that when images which are graphic are used in the media they typically cultivate or reinforce a stereotype and affirm a dominant ideological disposition. This “implies or presupposes a story line which in turn implied or presupposes an appropriate political response” (p.43). This is supported by Perlmutter (2005) who stated that images which appear in the mainstream media have a political and social currency which aim to reinforce dominant ideologies and agendas.

Susan Sontag (1977), however, placed greater importance on the subjectivity of the photographic image. She suggested that the actual action of taking photojournalistic images was in effect serving social class interests. That people take photos in order to experience and ‘document a hidden reality, that is, a reality hidden from them’ (Sontag, 1977, p.55); not that they enforce dominant ideologies and agendas. It could be suggested that today this role has changed; it is now the masses who are consumed with the hidden reality of the wealthy and famous. In a 2002 presentation which was later published, Sontag stated that images can influence change and have never had as much power as they do today. She suggested this could be seen in the rise in Non Government Organisations and humanitarian organisations which have emerged in response to depictions of suffering and injustice around the world. However, she noted that “photographs can’t do the moral or the intellectual work for us. But they can start us on our way” (Sontag, 2002, p.273).

Sontag suggested that while the power of the image and photojournalism had increased, the usage of such images in the media had decreased. In order for images to be highly influential in our modern society they have “to be turned into a spectacle to be real, that is, interesting to us. People themselves become images: celebrities” (Sontag, 2002, p.269). She noted that while in Sarajevo at a press conference it was announced that the war “would be won or lost not by anything taking place in Sarajevo or elsewhere in Bosnia but by what happened in the foreign media ... war was now essentially a media event” (p.268). This highlights the change in values and focus of the media content and its coverage of the world.

John Taylor (2000) found that “[t]he industry’s main use of photography is to represent news in a particular form, as a product that has little need for photographs beyond stereotypical illustrations” (p.129). The findings support the suppositions offered by Sontag. Additionally, Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson (1992) conclude that the “media generally operate in ways that promote apathy, cynicism, and quiescence, rather than active citizenship and participation. Furthermore, all the trends seem to be moving in the wrong direction – towards more and more messages, from fewer and bigger producers, saying less and less” (p.373).

Photojournalism’s most effective role is not that of telling the whole truth, but telling segments of reality and peoples experiences to those who usually are not exposed to such realities. This is a sentiment rarely proposed in photojournalism literature, with the exception Jane Rosett (1987). Rosett (1987) looked at photojournalists and their photographic style, particularly their alignment to a hard news style or the documentary tradition. In speaking about the documentary tradition of photojournalism she noted these photojournalists’ abandoned “the ruse of objectivity, the myth that photographers could somehow become involved with their subjects without forming and inserting their own points of view” (p.41). But more importantly she suggested that the process of this tradition of documentary story telling was collaborative and was based foremost on the subjects’ viewpoint and experiences (Rosett, 1987).

In the last few years there has been a rise in the online dissemination of news and current affairs, many newspapers and wire services are now also offering an online version. This area has not been fully explored as it is still new; however, a wealth of scholarship is starting to emerge. Mark Deuze and Christina Dimoudi (2002) profiled the first generation of online journalists exploring how their attitudes and characteristics differed to those in traditional journalism roles. They noted that these professionals were more aware of their active role, and focused on a horizontal model of media dissemination. This is in stark contrast to the ‘top-down’ media models often associated with mainstream media. The authors suggested that this focus on the horizontal model of dissemination indicates that online journalists’ were “much more aware of an active role for the people they serve than their offline colleagues” (Dauze and Dimoudi, 2002, p.97). These findings tie in with the idea of citizen or

participatory journalism, which is suggested to empower the public and involve them in the democratic processes (Hermes, 2006, Robinson, 2006 and Sousa, 2006).

Citizen or participatory journalism could be argued to be a resistance against or a needed addition to the 'top-down' dissemination model. Korea is a perfect example of this horizontal communication model between the consumers and producers, where research indicates that citizen and participatory journalism will overcome the limitations of traditional journalism (Woo-Young, 2005). Woo-Young stated, "a conservative monopoly has been sustained in the media, thereby reducing the chance of transmitting diverse voices from civil society on the political system" (2005, p.928).

During the literature review, a disparity emerged regarding the approach to and definition of photojournalism in Australia when compared to the United States. Grahame Griffin (1991) noted that "[i]n Australia the transformation of press photographer to photojournalist has not yet occurred" (p.76). However, Griffin decided not to take on this debate as he was "determined not to become a lone cheerleader" (1991, p.76). While this disparity in name may appear to be semantic, there seems to be a wider discrepancy between the approach, roles, and values which is reflected in the choice of terminology. While photojournalism literature does not deal with this inconsistency, it did, however, reveal a gap, especially in an Australian context. This disparity appears to be due to the practice of photojournalism in the United States being closely linked to the documentary tradition. Whereas in Australia, press photography has not had the same alignment, however, freelance and or specific photographers align themselves to the documentary tradition.

Ask this at the end of the literature section

1. What do news photographers and newspaper decision makers define as photojournalism?

Research Design

After reviewing multiple methodological and epistemological foundations, a constructivist grounded theory approach appeared to be the best fit with the aims of this study. However,

due to the limited scope of this study, the methodology was condensed and applied in a selective manner.

Of the three main approaches to the grounded theory methodology (Glaser, 1992, 2004, Strauss and Corbin, 1998 and Charmaz, 2006); the constructivist versions advocated by Kathy Charmaz held the most appeal. While all of the grounded theory approaches have similarities, Charmaz's grounded theory places an emphasis on maintaining the active roles and voices of the participants and researcher. This is in contrast to both Glaser (1992, 2004) and Strauss and Corbin (1998), who all advocate the removal of human elements from their research in search of pure science. The presence of the researcher's opinion and active inclusion of both the researcher's and participants' voices and stories are intrinsically linked to the constructivist paradigm, which underpins Charmaz's approach.

A purposeful sample was identified from local newspapers for practical reasons, from here individuals were contacted and requested to participate in short, informal interviews. Initially three newspapers were contacted, *The Tweed Daily News*, *Queensland Times* and *The Gold Coast Bulletin*. Only one person was willing to participate from *The Tweed Daily News*, editor Gary Smart. From *The Queensland Times*, none of the editorial staff were willing to participate; however, five photographers were willing. Finally from *The Gold Coast Bulletin*, no photographers were willing to participate; however, picture editor Grahame Long was willing but was overseas during the scheduled interview times.

After the interviews were completed and analysed, a photojournalism forum was held as part of an exhibition in which the following members of the *Degree South* photojournalists' co-operative spoke about their work and professional practice: Ben Bohane, David Dare Parker, Stephen Dupont, and Tim Page. This forum was recorded as supplementary data to aid in data analysis and supply additional concepts to the categories, which emerged from interviews with newspaper practitioners.

All of the data was transcribed verbatim, then analysed for codes, concepts and categories in order to understand the interviewees' perspectives.

Discussion

Through the interviews with Gary Smart from the *Tweed Daily News*, and *Queensland Times* photographers: Mark Straker, Damien Dunlop, Chris Isac, Michelle Smith, and Desleigh Daniel, an understanding of the difference between press photography and photojournalism emerged. There are four *in vivo* categories which emerged from the data analysis which will be discussed:

1. 'Us and Them',
2. 'Getting the message out there',
3. 'Putting your heart and soul into it'
4. 'Presumed escapism'

These *in vivo* categories will be discussed later in light of additional concepts which emerged from the data collected from the Degree South forum. The findings presented highlight the gap in photojournalism literature and indicate the need for further research in this area.

'Us and Them'

Out of all the people interviewed regarding the definition of photojournalism, only one said that he had never heard of the term and that if he had to guess it would be a photographer who also wrote. The rest of the participants viewed press photography and photojournalism as different at their extremes, but considered the two genres could merge into a grey area, which occurred when photojournalism was run in newspapers.

Press Photography

Photojournalism

Although there is no indication in photojournalism literature that press photography and photojournalism are different forms of photography, it was expressed by interviewees that there is in fact a difference. This supports the idea that in Australia press photography and photojournalism are two separate genres and fields. One participant, Smith, commented that the difference lied in approach to image making and that while newspapers relied mainly on posed images, this was not photojournalism. Smith said, “When you set something up that’s not photojournalism ... when you are a fly on the wall, that’s photojournalism”.

Most of the photographers suggested that while photojournalism was initially designed for publication in newspapers and other print news media, today the reality of business had changed and there was no longer the time or resources to produce photojournalism. Almost all participants said that today’s definition of photojournalism has changed vastly from what was defined as photojournalism in its prime; incidentally they were unable to provide a current definition.

It appeared that press photographers have an ‘us’ and ‘them’ mentality. This was revealed during the coding process when it was noted how they spoke about the difference between themselves and photojournalists. ‘Us and Them’ became a prominent category explaining differences. Some were more vocal about their views, one participant, Straker stated, “photojournalism is more of a luxury today ... the crowd of photojournalists seem to distance themselves from reality a bit or they are always ambling for the ideal rather than fitting in with what helps get the message across to the masses”.

‘Getting the message out there’

‘Getting the message out there’ was a major category which emerged relating to the dissemination of photographic work. However, almost all photojournalism literature has concentrated on dissemination of imagery through print news media; yet as identified above, photojournalism is rarely if ever published by news print media in Australia.

All interviewed press photographers stated that photojournalism was relegated to galleries. However, a number of the photographers said they did not feel galleries should be

the only forum for photojournalism dissemination in Australia. While none thought that 'pure' photojournalism should be run in newspapers, a few thought that both forms should be moulded together a little more. In general they saw press photography messages as 'dumbed down', whereas photojournalism was viewed as containing more intricate messages not suitable for newspaper audiences.

All the photographers interviewed saw press photography as a form of communicating with the masses, for popular consumption. However, they viewed their published work as "meaningful to a couple of people within the local community, and [that] it does not have a wide-ranging effect" (Straker). Most participants saw photojournalism as a form of communication aimed at a small niche audience who have no influence outside the photographic world (Dunlop, Isac, Straker and Smith). While it was not explicitly stated, all photographers seemed to imply that photojournalism was 'elitist'. However, they all thought that if photojournalism were run in a publication which had a large readership, it would have enormous impact. It appeared that photojournalism was considered elitist because it is not aimed at the masses ('dumbed down') and did not convey messages to the general public.

In relation to the internet and 'getting the message out there', none of the participants apart from editor Gary Smart felt that the advances in this outlet would effect or has had any effect on their working practice. Smart felt that the internet services subscribed to were an excellent resource, which changed the way he worked. "Having the ability to tap into online services is terrific, we use it a great deal ... is a fabulous resource for a little organisation like us" (Smart).

When speaking about the impact of the internet on photojournalism, only one participant thought that the internet could open up photojournalism to new audiences. A number of interviewees thought that what was available on the internet would have been originally printed in some publication or another, or were just advertisements' for individual photographers. None of these participants said that they had actively looked for photojournalism on the internet. "I haven't seen anything that you'd say has created a new market" (Isac).

‘Putting your heart and soul into it’

The category ‘putting your heart and soul into it’ centred on the commercial realities of time and financial constraints which affected press photographers and their approach to image making. Again, no photojournalism literature has concentrated on how much time and effort photojournalists put into covering stories. It was viewed by all interviewees that newspapers did not have the funds available to pay photographers to produce photojournalism. Due to the daily demands, photographers had to ‘get in’ and ‘get out’ with the best ‘meat and three veg’ (Straker) shot as quickly as possible. It was widely acknowledged that if press photographers put their ‘heart and soul into it’ they would be burnt out after a few months. It was also seen as a futile effort due to the number of jobs and time allocated to each person on daily basis and because that type of work was unlikely to get a run in the newspaper.

‘Presumed escapism’

It was a generally held opinion that the traditional news values are changing to increase audience consumption, in all forms of media; this category was coined ‘presumed escapism’. While there is literature pertaining to news values and photojournalism, there is none which concentrates on the assumption of audiences’ needs and wants. All participants thought that audiences increasingly wanted to escape from reality and the bad news from world events and that this was reflected in current media content. One participant (Isac) noted that there were two sides to the increased focus on celebrity and lifestyle in newspapers; increasing sales and advertising. “It’s much easier selling advertising in lifestyle sections; if you are doing a series on what is the best stereo or flat screen television, you can sell off a whole heap of advertising space to manufacturers” (Isac).

Interviewees suggested that this change in news values was linked to advances in technology. Dunlop suggested that new technology provided a greater opportunity for escapism. “I honestly think people want more ‘escapism’ these days, news isn’t very important to them anymore in terms of events, they are more interested in Paris Hilton, fashion and who is wearing what” (Dunlop). It appears that newspapers in order to keep up with the increasing accessibility and immediacy of news updates offered by new technology have changed their news values in order to maintain a hold on their market share.

The interviewees' held a general consensus that both press photography and photojournalism had little impact on society and its opinions and values. As one participant Isac said "the value sets that people take away from newspapers [which] have a small penetration into society compared to big-budget film-ish programs which can reach millions of people". However, many participants chose this avenue because it allowed them to make small changes within their immediate society (Smith and Straker). Straker echoed this stating, "Council stuff especially, because council is a part of the community, so if you hammer them about something it will probably get changed, there is power to change the smaller things, but you just have to be consistent and persistent".

The differences between press photography and photojournalism crystallised once *in vivo* concepts emerged from the *Degree South* forum data which was analysed in light of the existing concepts. The main concepts which emerged were: '*untold stories*', '*responsibility*', '*no matter what*', and '*a bridge to tell their stories*'. These photojournalists' see themselves as something outside the mainstream media; in fact Dupont noted that they usually go the opposite way to the 'media circus'. The idea was put forward that the mainstream media all tell the same story and what photojournalists were interested in was the '*untold stories*' which they felt were under-reported by media organisations. It was suggested that a common feature in the mainstream media was a "hijacking of news agendas", in which one big news event dominated all the forms of news dissemination to the detriment of other equally important news items.

All the photojournalists present at the *Degree South* exhibition opening talk were members of the same co-operative, and openly acknowledged that they all shared the same or similar thoughts and ideals in regard to their profession. They all spoke of a strong sense of '*responsibility*', which they felt not only towards their approach to their work and the possible effects, both negative and positive, but also to the people and the stories they cover. Bohane noted that he often encountered people who "thought the world had forgotten about them" and did not care what happened to them. These photojournalists believed that if they and others like them were not doing what they were doing, telling the stories they were telling, the public "just would not know about it" (Parker), as the media wouldn't cover it.

The category of *'responsibility'* is closely linked to that of *'no matter what'*. For these photojournalists, their profession is a way of life, as Parker echoed "unlike other forms of journalism, we are going to be doing it no matter what". They felt that it was their *'responsibility'*, to document these stories in depth, trying to make a difference, 'to get the message out there', to inform and move people and record history. Although it was acknowledged that "people are not interested in publishing our work" (Parker), they all also indicated that this was not a reason to stop "doing what they do" (Dupont and Parker). As these photojournalists are mostly self funded and not attached to a mass media organisation they are able to maintain these ideals and tell the stories they tell without interference.

A key part of this category is the notion of sacrifice in order to tell these stories *'no matter what'*. Bohane has been banded from Indonesia for the work he has done in West Papua. At times in order to tell these stories, he has had to "cross borders illegally" and "go against governments", and he felt it was all worth it. These photojournalists appeared to be more politically orientated and savvy when compared to their press photographer counterparts. They were well informed regarding the political complexities which affected various regions and cultures, and were prepared to tell these stories *'no matter what'* political ramifications they personally encountered. Parker suggested that even though it was a "difficult time to be a photojournalist ... difficult to make a living and very difficult to get your work published", at the end of the day, it was a way of life. It all boils down to the *'responsibility'* that these photojournalists feel toward these *'untold stories'* and telling them *'no matter what'*.

These photojournalists saw themselves as not the sole creator of stories but rather as giving others *'a bridge to tell their stories'* about their lives and experiences. They felt that in order to re-tell these stories accurately and with respect, they needed to know the people, the region and the culture. In order to achieve this they spent long periods in the field with those they photographed. Bohane gave a resonant quote from the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurlius regarding this "enter into the ruling principle of your neighbours mind and suffer them to enter yours". What these photojournalists do is not superficial; they sometimes spend months, years or even decades with the people whose stories they tell. They note that the peoples' stories and situations are often the ones which the general public just don't hear

about in the mainstream media outlets. However, they all felt that the ultimate end result for their work, apart from instigating change and “making a difference”, was publication, as this reached a large audience.

Conclusions

From the discussion it becomes clear that this study highlights a gap in photojournalism literature, specifically relating to the Australian photojournalism profession. This gap became prominent in light of the interviews with the press photographers and the photojournalism forum data. While these findings have added to the literature, there is still much more to be discovered. These findings support the idea that there is indeed a difference between press photography and photojournalism in Australia. It appears this divide is based on attitudes, approach to image making, values and dissemination of their work. It appears that the press photographers interviewed see themselves aligned to a realist position of attempting to instigate change from within, one small step at a time. Where the interviewees’ suggest photojournalists are aligned to an idealist position. It appears that photojournalists are trying to instigate change on a larger level, without being constrained by the dominant ideologies and agenda of the mainstream media.

While press photographers appear to focus on the things they can change, and doing what they can in consideration of the constraints placed on them, both press photography and photojournalism share the same aim of disseminating their work. Yes, the boundaries do blur between press photography and photojournalism when photojournalism is published in print news media, but this appears to be where the similarities between genres stop. Additionally it is widely acknowledged by both press photographers and photojournalists that photojournalism rarely if ever is published in newspapers, which greatly diminishes the dissemination of photojournalism in society.

Some major differences were exposed between the attitudes and approaches to image making and values. The ‘Us and Them’ mentality expressed by press photographers did not appear to be shared by photojournalists’ who did not single out any particular form of journalism, simply referring generally to the mass media or mainstream media. However, it

was clear that press photography and photojournalism is not the same, but rather two separate genres. Whether this is simply an Australian phenomenon or extends internationally is unknown and requires further research.

Generally the attitudes and approaches to image making of press photographers and photojournalists differed. Press photographers tried to get in and out as quickly as possible with their 'meat and three veg' shots; whereas photojournalists' spent countless hours in the field in order to tell a story. In light of the literature it could be suggested that press photography has on many levels moved towards illustration. Further information is need to fully assess press photographers values. However, it could also be suggested that the values which these photojournalists held would not be applicable or practical if they were working for a mass media organisation or newspaper. In general, photojournalists appeared to be value driven and orientated. These photojournalists appeared to hold their values as a guiding principle governing their work and actions.

Photojournalism can be suggested to be closely linked to the ideals of citizen or participatory journalism in its aim to tell the world stories regarding issues which are not seen as adhering to the mainstream media's news values. An important feature of both citizen and participatory journalism and photojournalism is the rejection of the ruse of objectivity; both seek to tell happenings from as many subjective points as possible.

Further research is needed into a number of the points raised throughout this paper and whether or not the findings presented here are representative of larger trends. This pilot study has informed the direction for the larger study which will seek to address these points and others relating to photojournalists' who do not work for a mainstream media organisation. Questions such as: "Why do they do what they do?", "Why do they feel the mainstream media rarely publish their work in Australia?", "What opportunities are there to disseminate their work?", "How do they make ends meet financially?", "How does their work effect society and influence social change?" along with many others will be explored as the research progresses.

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9.2 The National Press Photographers' Association Code of Ethics and Digital Manipulation Code of Ethics

NPPA Code of Ethics

For further details about NPPA's rules and guidelines for professional behavior, see the NPPA Bylaws.

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.

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.

The NPPA Code of Ethics is available online from:

http://www.nppa.org/professional_development/business_practices/ethics.html

9.3 The National Press Photographers' Association Digital Manipulation Code of Ethics

Digital Manipulation Code of Ethics

NPPA Statement of Principle

Adopted 1991 by the NPPA Board of Directors

As journalists we believe the guiding principle of our profession is accuracy; therefore, we believe it is wrong to alter the content of a photograph in any way that deceives the public.

As photojournalists, we have the responsibility to document society and to preserve its images as a matter of historical record. It is clear that the emerging electronic technologies provide new challenges to the integrity of photographic images ... in light of this, we the National Press Photographers Association, reaffirm the basis of our ethics: Accurate representation is the benchmark of our profession. We believe photojournalistic guidelines for fair and accurate reporting should be the criteria for judging what may be done electronically to a photograph. Altering the editorial content ... is a breach of the ethical standards recognized by the NPPA.

The NPPA Digital Manipulation Code of Ethics is available online from:
http://www.nppa.org/professional_development/business_practices/digitaletics.html

9.4 The Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance Code of Ethics

Media Alliance Code of Ethics

Respect for truth and the public's right to information are fundamental principles of journalism. Journalists describe society to itself. They convey information, ideas and opinions, a privileged role. They search, disclose, record, question, entertain, suggest and remember. They inform citizens and animate democracy. They give a practical form to freedom of expression. Many journalists work in private enterprise, but all have these public responsibilities. They scrutinise power, but also exercise it, and should be accountable. Accountability engenders trust. Without trust, journalists do not fulfill their public responsibilities.

Alliance members engaged in journalism commit themselves to

- Honesty
- Fairness
- Independence

Respect for the rights of others

1. Report and interpret honestly, striving for accuracy, fairness and disclosure of all essential facts. Do not suppress relevant available facts, or give distorting emphasis. Do your utmost to give a fair opportunity for reply.
2. Do not place unnecessary emphasis on personal characteristics, including race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, sexual orientation, family relationships, religious belief, or physical or intellectual disability.
3. Aim to attribute information to its source. Where a source seeks anonymity, do not agree without first considering the source's motives and any alternative attributable source. Where confidences are accepted, respect them in all circumstances.
4. Do not allow personal interest, or any belief, commitment, payment, gift or benefit, to undermine your accuracy, fairness or independence.

5. Disclose conflicts of interest that affect, or could be seen to affect, the accuracy, fairness or independence of your journalism. Do not improperly use a journalistic position for personal gain.
6. Do not allow advertising or other commercial considerations to undermine accuracy, fairness or independence.
7. Do your utmost to ensure disclosure of any direct or indirect payment made for interviews, pictures, information or stories.
8. Use fair, responsible and honest means to obtain material. Identify yourself and your employer before obtaining any interview for publication or broadcast. Never exploit a person's vulnerability or ignorance of media practice.
9. Present pictures and sound which are true and accurate. Any manipulation likely to mislead should be disclosed.
10. Do not plagiarise.
11. Respect private grief and personal privacy. Journalists have the right to resist compulsion to intrude.
12. Do your utmost to achieve fair correction of errors.

Guidance Clause

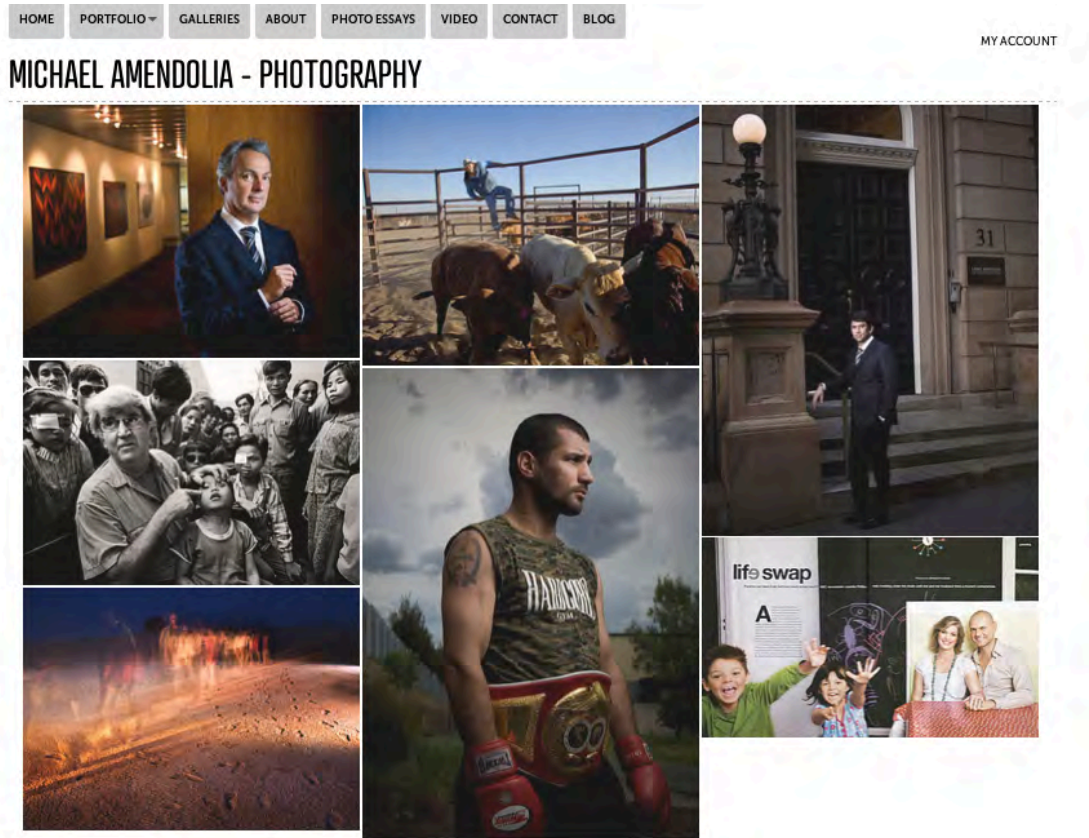
Basic values often need interpretation and sometimes come into conflict. Ethical journalism requires conscientious decision-making in context. Only substantial advancement of the public interest or risk of substantial harm to people allows any standard to be overridden.

The Alliance Code of Ethics is available online from:
<http://www.alliance.org.au/documents/codeofethics.pdf>

9.5 Interviewee biographies

9.5.1 Michael Amendolia (int.no.1)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://www.michaelamendolia.com/>



Visual communication through photography is both my passion and a profession. I have twenty five years experience in journalism photography. The first thirteen years on staff at News Limited and the rest as freelancer working for Australian and International magazines and organisations.

I have worked for editorial clients in USA, United Kingdom, France and Germany. Today, more often than not I applying these story telling skills to marketing and advertising materials for companies and organizations.

My core work is found in portraits, photo documentary, and landscape. Journalism photography has taught me to apply himself visually to what ever is required to meet a clients brief which some times cross a number of genres and certainly across the spectrum of life.

I was fortunate to be awarded first prize in 1999, 2001 at the World Press Photo Awards two firsts in Science and Technology and third in Nature and Environment in 2003.

My first real break as a freelance was to be the principal photographer for the book *Seeing is Believing* based on the work of Professor Fred Hollows. The Fred Hollows Foundation has been using my images made for that book for 15 years in their advertising and marketing.

Back in 1999 myself and three other founding members created what is now the Bi-Annual Reportage festival based on documentary photography and photojournalism.

9.5.2 Ben Bohane (int.no.2)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://www.degreesouth.com/r2/index.php?module=pages&node=display&page=display&pagesid=9&expC=>



Ben Bohane is an Australian photojournalist, author and TV producer who has covered religion and conflict in Asia and the Pacific Islands for more than 20 years.

After several years in Sydney working on alternative lifestyle magazines, Bohane's first foreign reportage assignment was covering the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia in 1989. He then spent the next five years based in South and South East Asia covering the wars of Cambodia, Burma and Afghanistan. He got the first interview with Golden Triangle opium warlord General Khun Sa in 1991 after he was indicted by the US. In 1992 he was reportedly the first western traveller to go overland from Kabul to Moscow in 80 years. In 1992 he was based in London covering Northern Ireland and Europe.

In 1994, Ben returned to Australia and began covering the much under-reported Pacific region. Since then he has focused on “kastom and conflict” throughout Melanesia and black

Australia, documenting cults, cargo cults and new religious movements in the Pacific. While covering every major conflict in the South Pacific – East Timor, West Papua, Moluccu, PNG, Solomon Islands, Bougainville, Vanuatu, Fiji and New Caledonia, he travelled and lived with a variety of tribal, cult and rebel groups and was thereby able to secure the first pictures of BRA leader Francis Ona in Bougainville in 1994 and the only interview and pictures of Guadalcanal warlord Harold Keke before he surrendered to Australian and RAMSI troops in the Solomon Islands in 2003.

He has the largest contemporary photo archive of the South Pacific in the world. His photographs are collected by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, the British Museum and the Australian War Memorial, as well as in private collections.

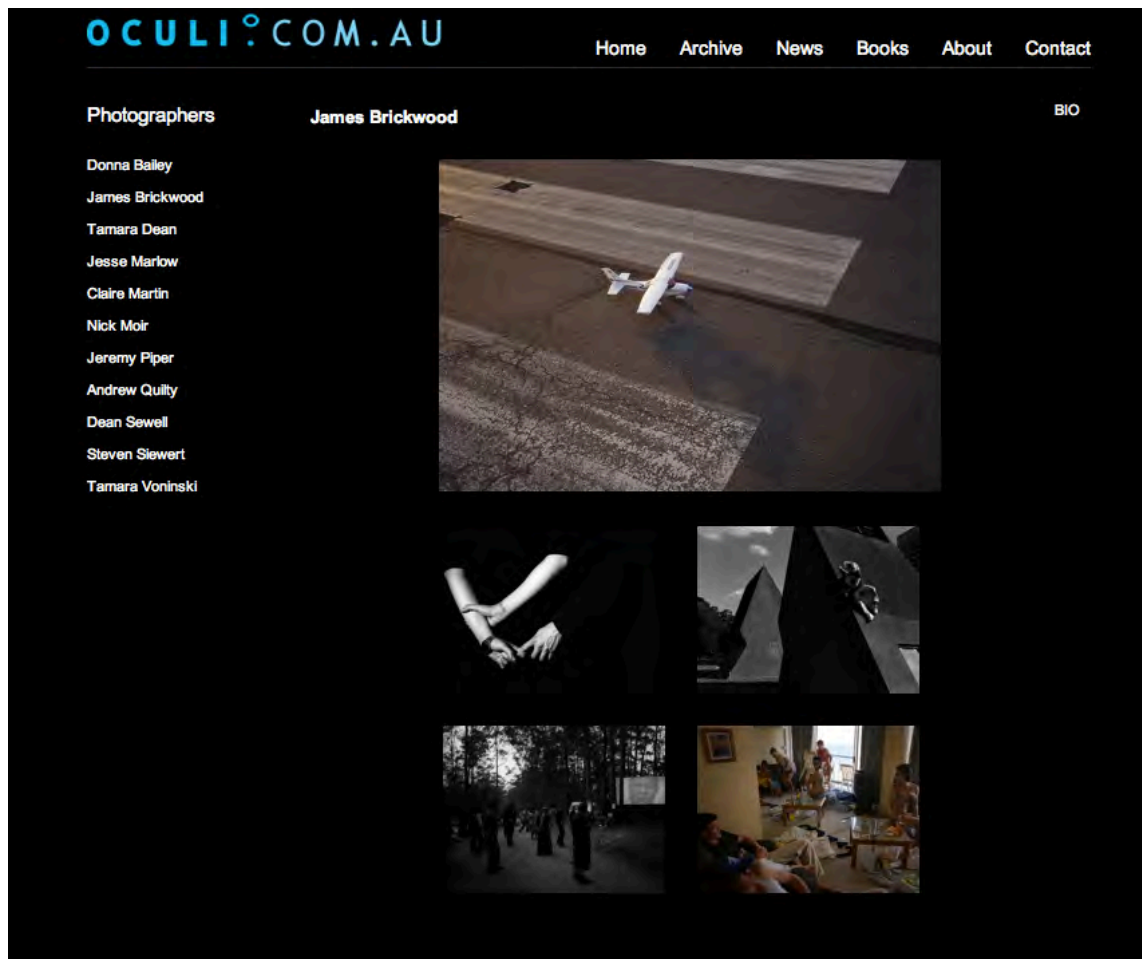
His work has appeared in *Vanity Fair*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Monocle*, *The Guardian* (UK), *French GEO*, *Asahi Shimbun* (Japan) and many publications in Australia. Ben has also done news stories and documentaries that have been shown on ABC & SBS Australia, BBC, ARD (Germany) and NHK (Japan).

In 2003 he published *Follow the Morning Star* documenting the forgotten struggle for independence in West Papua and is currently working on a book and touring exhibition entitled *The Black Islands – Spirit and War in Melanesia*.

Bohane lives in Port Vila, Vanuatu where he continues to specialise in Australasia and the Pacific. He is on the Advisory Council for the Pacific Institute of Public Policy (www.pacificpolicy.org), the main think tank in the Pacific and is also director for Wakamedia (www.wakamedia.net), where more samples of his work can be found.

9.5.3 James Brickwood (int.no.3)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://oculi.com.au/photographers/james-brickwood/>



Brickwood specialises in the study of Australian underground and youth subcultures, from the social implications of designer drugs and alcohol on graduating high school students to the physical artform of Parkour – a discipline originating in France that focuses on the fluidity of human movement within an urban environment.

In 2008, Brickwood won the QANTAS Spirit Of Youth Awards for his photographic portfolio featuring a selection of his diverse work. He was exhibited as part of the Museum of Sydney's Sydney Now exhibition that year and his series on schoolies week was exhibited at the Australian Centre for Photography.

He was a nominee for Young Australian Journalist of the Year in 2008 and 2009. In 2005, his coverage of the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami in Sri Lanka was showcased at Reportage, a leading festival of photojournalism. In 2008 his work documenting parkour was shown at Reportage.

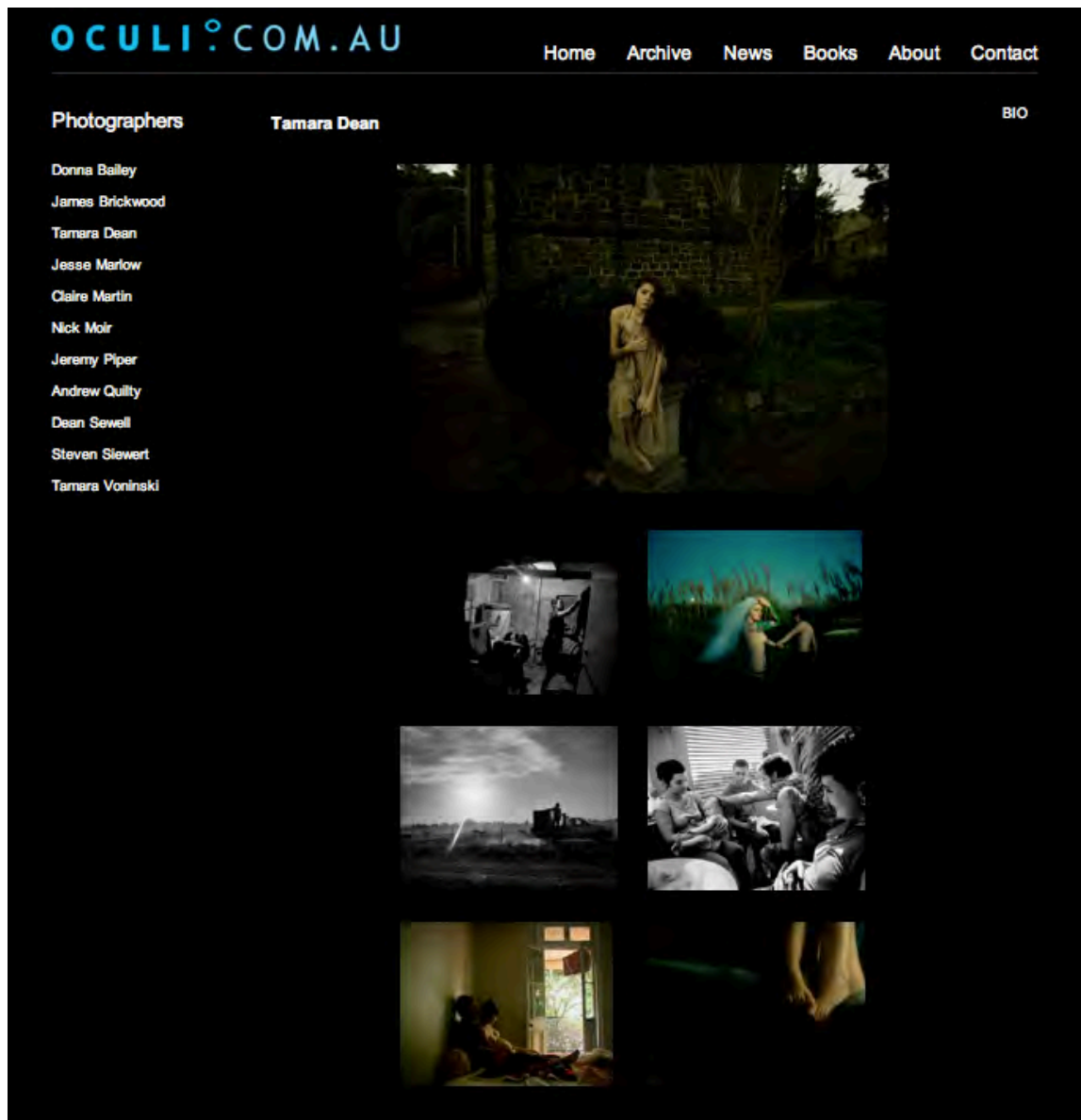
Brickwood was shortlisted for the 2007 and 2009 Moran Contemporary Photographic Prize. He was a finalist for the Centre for Contemporary Photography Documentary Photography Award in 2007 for his work on schoolies week.

Brickwood has worked for Fairfax Media since 2003 and has been a staff photographer with The Sydney Morning Herald since 2007.

He lives in Sydney and joined Oculi in 2006.

9.5.4 Tamara Dean (int.no.4)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://oculi.com.au/photographers/tamara-dean/>



Dean's beginnings were in the ephemeral yet intimate portrayal of her immediate youth documenting her relationships living on the cultural fringe and her transient lifestyle.

Later her documentary work would delve deeper into subcultures, social rituals and portraiture which continue to inform on-going themes in her evolving photographic practice.

Today Dean is fast forging a reputation as one of Australian's prominent photo-media artists with her defining series 'Ritualism', a study of the interplay of ritual and the human condition.

'The Bride', from that series, won first prize in *Sydney Life: Art and About* and was runner up for the Moran Contemporary Photography Prize the same year.

Dean's art practice has seen her awarded artist residencies with Taronga Zoo, Sydney in 2010, Montsalvat artists' colony in Victoria in 2010 and in the remote gold-mining town of Hill End, NSW which takes its place in Australia's art history as arguably one of the nation's more significant contributions to post-war art in 2005, 2008 and 2010.

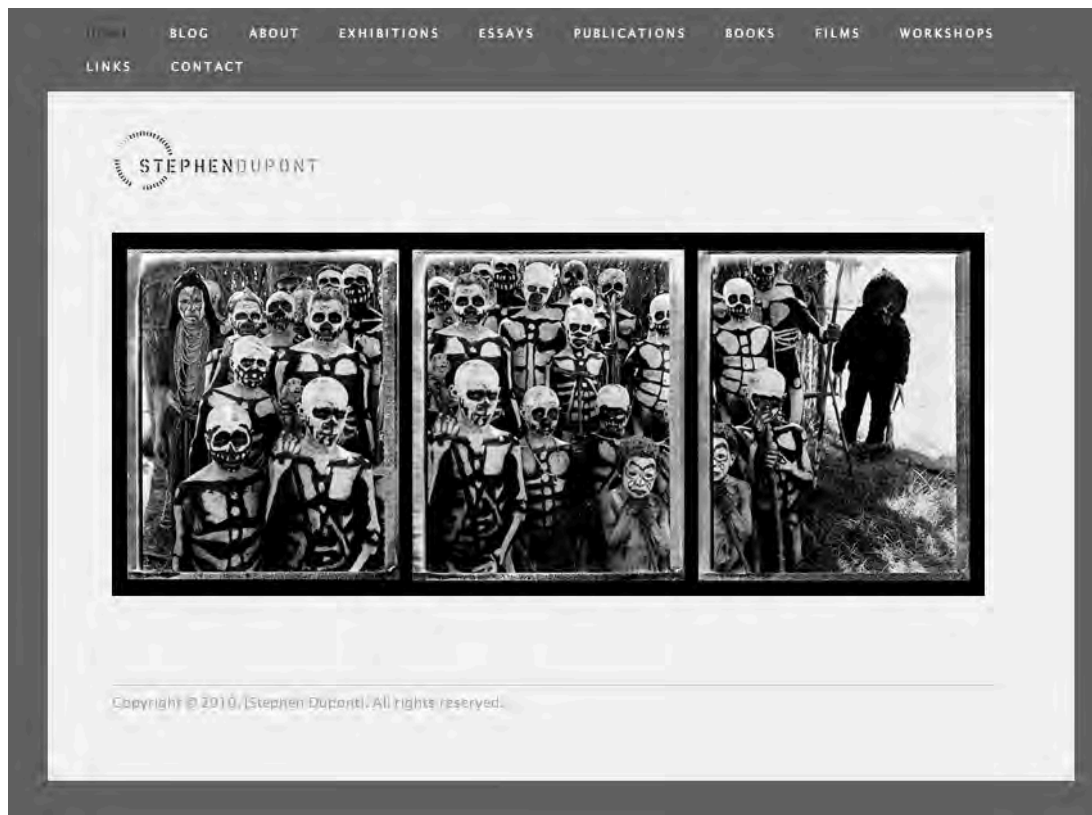
Since 2001 Dean has worked as a photographer for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, before which she studied photography at the College of Fine Arts and the University of Western Sydney.

Dean is represented by Charles Hewitt Gallery and has work regularly exhibited in leading Australian galleries.

She joined Oculi in 2002

9.5.5 Stephen Dupont (int.no.5)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://www.stephendupont.com/>



Stephen Dupont was born in Sydney, Australia, in 1967. Over the past two decades, Dupont has produced a remarkable body of visual work; hauntingly beautiful photographs of fragile cultures and marginalized peoples. He skillfully captures the human dignity of his subjects with great intimacy and often in some of the world's most dangerous regions. His images have received international acclaim for their artistic integrity and valuable insight into the people, culture and communities that have existed for hundreds of years, yet are fast disappearing from our world.

Dupont's work has earned him photography's most prestigious prizes, including a Robert Capa Gold Medal citation from the Overseas Press Club of America; a Bayeux War Correspondent's Prize; and first places in the World Press Photo, Pictures of the Year International, the Australian Walkleys, and Leica/CCP Documentary Award. In 2007 he was the recipient of the W. Eugene Smith Grant for Humanistic Photography for his ongoing

project on Afghanistan. In 2010 he received the Gardner Fellowship at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology.

His work has been featured in *The New Yorker*, *Aperture*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *GQ*, *Esquire*, French and German *GEO*, *Le Figaro*, *Liberation*, *The Sunday Times Magazine*, *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *Stern*, *The Australian Financial Review Magazine*, and *Vanity Fair*.

Dupont has held major exhibitions in London, Paris, New York, Sydney, Canberra, Tokyo, and Shanghai, and at Perpignan's *Visa pour L'Image*, China's *Ping Yao* and Holland's *Noorderlicht* festivals.

Dupont's handmade photographic artist books and portfolios are in the selected collections of the National Gallery of Australia, National Library of Australia, National Gallery of Victoria, Australian War Memorial, The New York Public Library, Berlin and Munich National Art Libraries, Stanford University, Yale University, Boston Athenaeum, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and Joy of Giving Something Inc.

He currently resides in Sydney with his family where he splits his production there with assignments and long term projects in the field. He is a photographer, artist and documentary filmmaker.

9.5.6 Jason Edwards (int. no. 6)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://photography.nationalgeographic.com/photography/photographers/photographer-jason-edwards/?source=A-to-Z>

The screenshot shows the National Geographic website's profile for photographer Jason Edwards. The page features a large photograph of a walrus with its mouth wide open, breathing a plume of white vapor. Below this image is a share button and a 'Photography Milestones' section. To the right, there is a 'Photographers A-Z' list with search boxes for names like Abell, Sam; Abercrombie, Thomas; and Addario, Lynsey. Below that is an advertisement for Christmas cards and a 'Photography Tips Galleries' section with two categories: 'Landscape Photo Tips' and 'Photos of People in Places'. The top navigation bar includes links for HOME, VIDEO, PHOTOGRAPHY, ANIMALS, ENVIRONMENT, TRAVEL, ADVENTURE, NATGEOTV, and KIDS. A search bar and social media links are also visible.

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Jason Edwards

Photograph by Jason Edwards

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Photography Milestones

Jason Edwards began his career as a wildlife and natural history photographer during an 11-year career working as a carnivore and primate husbandry specialist for the Zoological Board of Victoria. He has tertiary qualifications in the animal sciences and a postgraduate thesis in the bachelor of applied science in scientific photography. In 1991, he established the stock agency Bio-Images as a platform to market and deliver his work to

Photograph by Nicole Taylor

Photographers A-Z

Abell, Sam

Abercrombie, Thomas

Addario, Lynsey

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Photography Tips Galleries

Landscape Photo Tips
Travel is all about escape—in this gallery, get tips for taking the best landscape shots.

Photos of People in Places
Flip through this gallery for tips on taking the best people photos while traveling.

Jason Edwards began his career as a wildlife and natural history photographer during an 11-year career working as a carnivore and primate husbandry specialist for the Zoological Board of Victoria.

Edwards has photographed in dozens of countries, his commissioned assignments having taken him to every continent. His work has appeared in hundreds of publications, including

National Geographic magazine, *Australian Geographic*, *Sports Illustrated*, *BBC Wildlife* magazine, the *New Yorker*, and *Conde Nast Traveler*. He has authored and photographed two children's science education books, and his images have appeared in numerous advertising, tourism, and environmental campaigns; on countless websites; in electronic video games; and even in Hollywood blockbusters. His images are archived in private collections around the world and have been exhibited in the United States, Europe, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Edwards's reputation for self-reliance and his ability to adapt has seen him placed on assignment in some of the world's most remote areas. He is an extremely experienced field photographer, yet adapts well to commercial assignments where strict briefs are required to create specific imagery. His love of the less developed regions of the planet adds to the feeling of exploration and discovery that clients view in his images. His ability to depict even well-known subjects in a unique manner has separated his images from the mainstream.

Edwards is highly regarded for his wildlife and remote landscape photography and also for his images of indigenous peoples. His passion in this arena has seen Edwards document displaced Pygmy in the Congo; the lives of the men at the world's largest shipbreaking yards in Alang, India; and the environmental impact by communities on the Amazon rain forest. In many cases multiple assignments over several years are required to complete a story. In 2003 *National Geographic* presented Edwards's Alang material in Perpignan, France, at the prestigious Visa pour L'Image photojournalism festival.

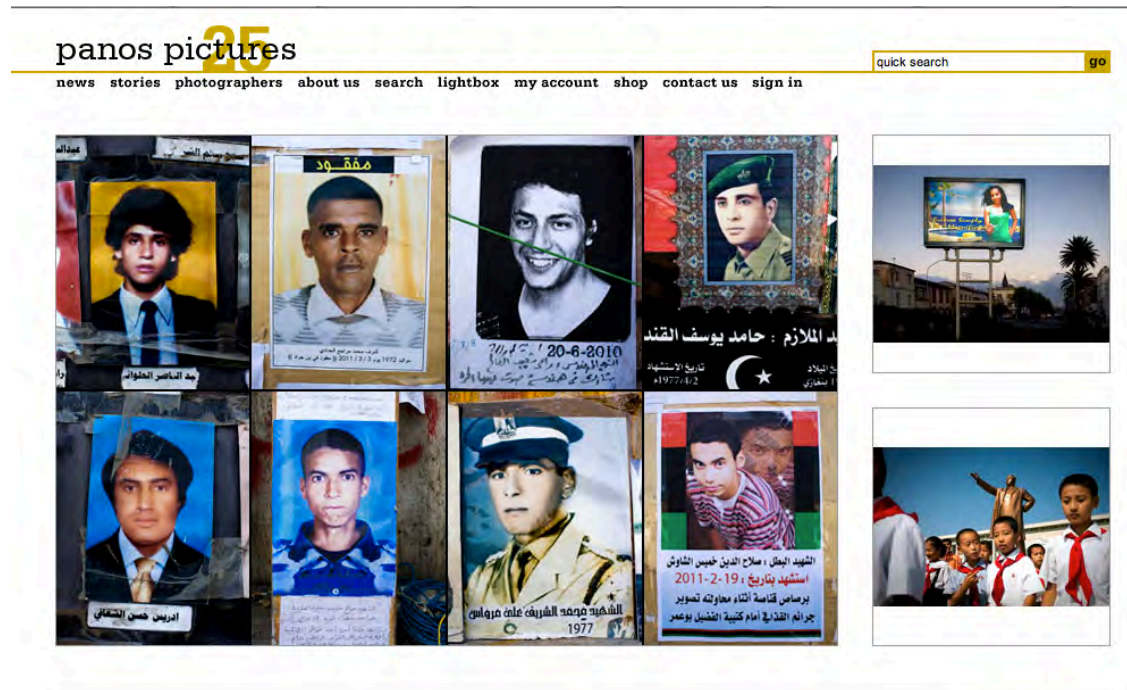
In 2004 Edwards was awarded the inaugural Pursuit of Excellence Award by the Australian Geographic Society, "For his extreme efforts and absolute commitment to obtaining rare and amazing photographs." The award was created in Edwards's honor.

Edwards is a photographer with the National Geographic Society and is represented by the National Geographic Image Collection.

9.5.7 Adrian Evans (int.no.7)

Biography from: <http://www.worldphoto.org/about-wpo/the-world-photographic-academy/world-photographic-academy-members/the-world-photographic-academy/the-world-photographic-academyadrian-evans/>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.panos.co.uk/>

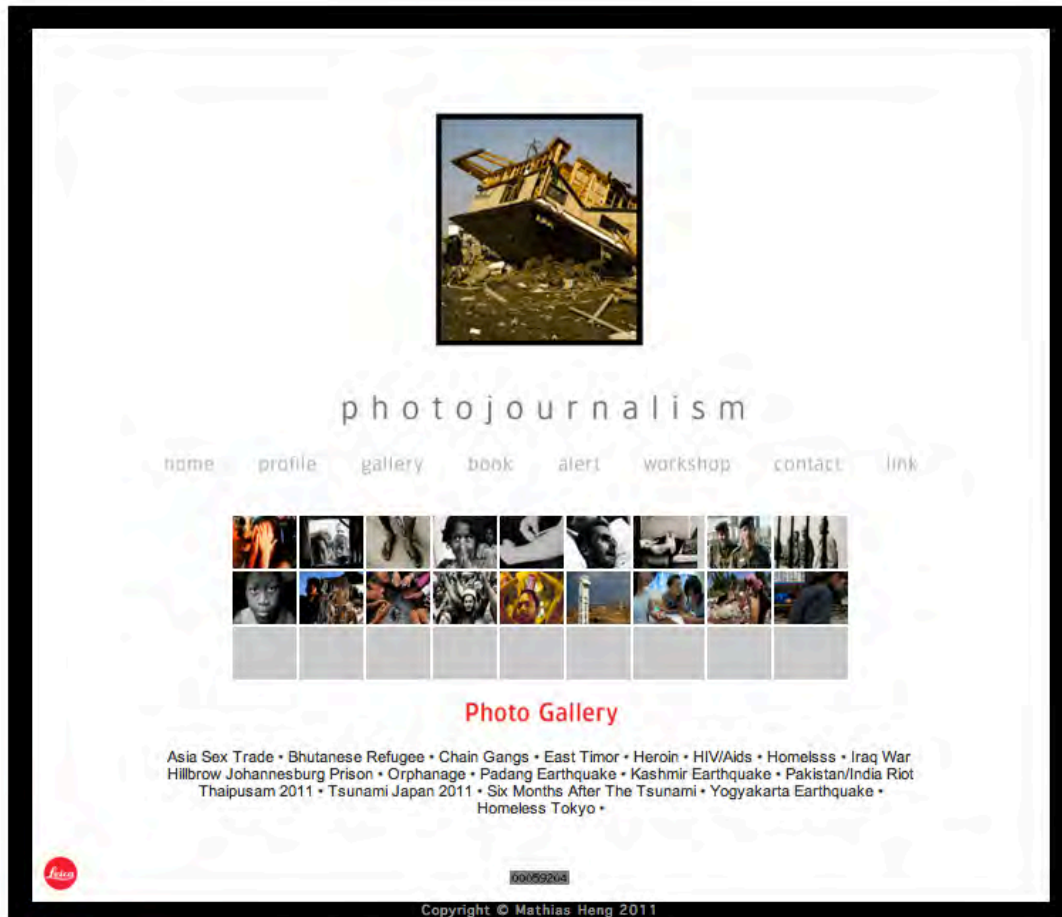


Adrian Evans is the director of Panos Pictures. His varied early career included work as a bicycle courier, a chicken counter and a graphic designer. He joined Panos Pictures in 1990 - at the time a small photo agency specialising in environmental issues. After five years overseeing the expansion of the agency he bought a controlling share in the company. Under his direction Panos Pictures has become the pre-eminent agency for 'concerned photojournalism', known throughout the industry for its intelligent approach. The agency has won acclaim for its ground-breaking exhibitions and photography projects, working with a network of photographers from around the world to provide contemporary perspectives on global and social issues. In 2005, together with Jon Levy of *8 magazine*, he opened HOST, London's only gallery dedicated to documentary photography.

9.5.8 Mathias Heng (int.no.18)

Biography from: <http://www.mathiasheng.com/profile.html>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.mathiasheng.com/gallery.html>



Mathias Heng resides in Australia and travels often to Asia, spending much of his time on assignments in the region. He travels particularly to regions and countries experiencing conflict, war, natural disasters, poverty and human struggles. Much of his work is emotionally charged, a visual documentary narrative of conflicts and its effects on the civilian population, capturing key moments and turning points of human history.

Much sought after, Mathias' work appears internationally in *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, *The Australian*, *The Age* and newspapers throughout Asia and Europe. Besides the

mainstream media, his images appear in books and magazines worldwide as well as non-government organization publications and journals such as Oxfam USA and Australia, CARE International, Caritas Australia, Australian Volunteers International, AusAID and International Labor Organization (United Nations).

He has worked extensively on topical photographic essays in locations such as Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Burma, Cambodia, East Timor, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kiribati, Mozambique, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, South Africa, Thailand, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe.

In 2000, Mathias was featured alongside with other internationally renowned photojournalist such as Sebastiao Salgado in Leica's product brochure, "The Program". In 2002, Mathias published his first book, sponsored by Leica, Viva Timor Loro S'ae, Long Live East Timor 1999 – 2002 which was launched in Australia.

Mathias is also the founder of Leica Gallery Melbourne.

In spite of his exposure to many atrocities, Mathias has never lost his passion and commitment to humanity, or his ability to capture images which speak to people around the globe.

9.5.9 Wade Laube (int. no. 8)

Biography from: <http://www.wadelaube.com/blog/about/>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.stillsgroup.com/>



My name is Wade and this is my blog. It's about photography, art, technology and the web.

After a stint in the army, I got started in photography about ten years ago. Since then I've worked in Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific, Europe and the United Kingdom. I joined the [sic] *Sydney Morning Herald* in 2003 and I was based in London during 2007 and 2008. I was the Herald's photographic editor until 2011. I've shot commercial assignments for clients like Deutsche Bank and Microsoft. Now I run the commercial photography outfit StillsGroup.

9.5.10 Jean-François Leroy (int.no.9)

Biography from: http://imagery.gettyimages.com/getty_images_grants/recipients.aspx?date=9-2010&grant=editorial&who=Judges

Website screenshot from: <http://www.visapourlimage.com/index.do>

Visa pour l'Image Perpignan 2012

International festival of photojournalism
From 1 to 16 September 2012
Education week from 17 to 21 September
Screenings from 3 to 8 September
Professional week from 3 to 9 September

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Welcome to Visa pour l'Image, the premier International Festival of Photojournalism held in Perpignan, France. This festival is a unique event where you can join thousands of kindred spirits who share a love and passion for photography. View the greatest photojournalist work from around the world in exhibitions across the city. Experience the evening screenings in the dramatic open air medieval enclosure of the Campo Santo. Take part in symposiums and conferences and meet the foremost photo agencies and manufacturers of photographic related equipment. Explore the web site for full details. We look forward to welcoming you to Perpignan.

- Welcome to Visa pour l'Image
- Pictures from an exhibition
- Giant Tree in a Church
- Mitterrand: photojournalism as art

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Exhibitions are open from August 27 to September 11. They present

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During the professional week (August 27th to September 11th) make sure

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As a passionate photojournalist, Jean-Francois Leroy has been a reporter for Sipa Press and has collaborated with *Photo-Reporter*, *Le Photographe*, *Photo-Revue* and *Photo magazine*. In 1989, with Yann Arthus-Bertrand, he produced *3 days in France*, a photographic portrait of France 150 years after the invention of photography. Also in 1989, he founded Visa pour l'Image, the international photojournalism festival that takes place each summer in Perpignan, France. Leroy is currently director general of the event. He has been a member of the World Press Photo jury and manages Société Images-Evidence with the Hachette Filipacchi Group.

9.5.11 Jon Levy (int.no.10)

Biography from: http://www.newyorkphotofestival.com/site/?page_id=16971

Website screenshot from: <http://www.foto8.com/new>

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Foto8 Gallery

Chloe Sells
Foto8 Print Room

MIDDLEMEN
Sarah Amy Fishlock | 05 Jan 2012 | [Photo Stories](#)
Sarah Fishlock looks into the lives of three former Iraqi staff of the British forces, now resettled in Glasgow.

Jon Levy is the founder and co-director of Foto8, a magazine, website, gallery and photo book publishing company based in London. Levy started in photography having graduated from manchester University in UK and ICP in NYC as a freelancer in the city for Gamma Liaison agency and later as a newsy photographer for the wire service AFP. Jon levy is a previous NYPH curator having brought Foto8 and the story telling photography narratives that the company has become known for to New York in 2009 with his *Home for Good* exhibition.

9.5.12 Megan Lewis (int.no.11)

Biography and website from: <http://jd-associates.com.au/authors/author/megan-lewis/>



The screenshot shows the website for Jenny Darling & Associates. At the top, the company name is displayed in a large, serif font. To the right of the name is a stack of books. Below the name is a navigation menu with links for WELCOME, AUTHORS, NEWS, SUBMISSIONS, PERMISSIONS, and ABOUT. A search bar is located to the right of the navigation menu. The main content area features a profile for Megan Lewis. On the left is a small portrait of her. To the right of the portrait is a paragraph of text describing her background and career. Below this is another paragraph detailing her work in Australia. To the right of the main text is a section titled 'Selected Publications' with a link to 'Conversations with the Mob (2008)'. Below the main text is a section titled 'Books by Megan Lewis' with a small image of the book cover for 'Conversations with the Mob' and a paragraph of text describing the book. A 'Details' link is located below the book description.

JENNY DARLING & ASSOCIATES

WELCOME [AUTHORS](#) NEWS SUBMISSIONS PERMISSIONS ABOUT

Megan Lewis



Award-winning photographer Megan Lewis was born and raised in rural New Zealand. At the age of 21, she moved to Sydney and was employed by Reuters. During that time Megan's work regularly appeared in various international publications including the *Washington Post*, the *International Herald Tribune* and a front cover of *Time* magazine.

In early 1998, Megan was lured by the *Australian* newspaper to their Perth bureau, where she continued to cover national and international stories including the Tampa crisis, Queen Elizabeth's tour of Australia, riots in Indonesia and the first tremors of East Timor's bid for independence. In July 2002, on a gut feeling and with an invite from the Martu people, Megan left the *Australian* to live full time in the Great Sandy Desert. The result of this five-year privilege is *Conversations with the Mob*, whose images won a 2005 Walkley Award and then were voted winner of the 2006 Photographers Choice Awards.

Megan is now based in Perth, working as a freelance photographer. During her career Megan has worked in many challenging locations and situations. She has photographed all manner of people – from the most exalted to the most destitute. She remains an optimist.

Selected Publications

[Conversations with the Mob \(2008\)](#)

Books by Megan Lewis



Conversations with the Mob

In 2002, Walkley Award-winning photojournalist Megan Lewis went to live with the Martu people - one of the last Indigenous groups in Australia's vast Western Desert to come into contact with Europeans. Through this stunning collection of photographs and oral stories, *Conversations with the Mob* captures the beauty, humour, sadness and friendship of a traditional Aboriginal tribe at odds with western culture.

[Details](#)

Award-winning photographer Megan Lewis was born and raised in rural New Zealand. At the age of 21, she moved to Sydney and was employed by Reuters. During that time Megan's work regularly appeared in various international publications including the *Washington Post*, the *International Herald Tribune* and a front cover of *Time* magazine.

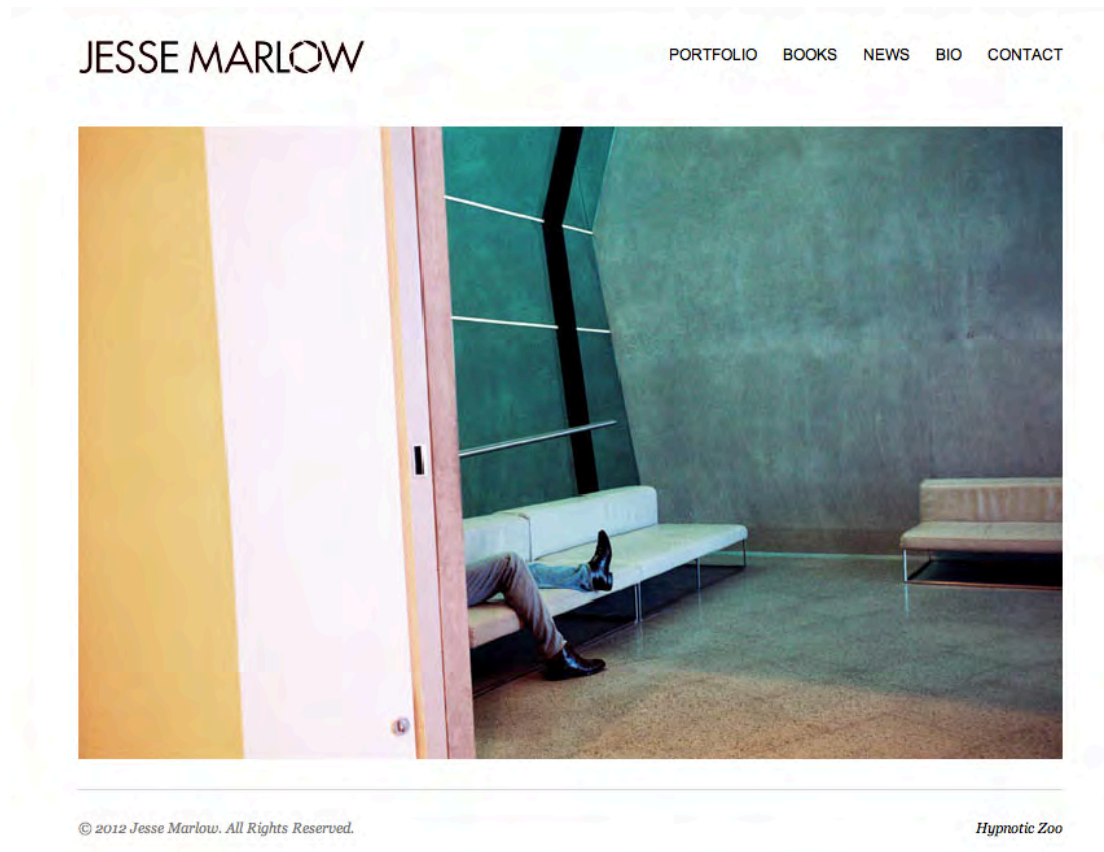
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9.5.13 Jesse Marlow (int.no.12)

Biography from the website: <http://www.jessemarlow.com/about/>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.jessemarlow.com/>

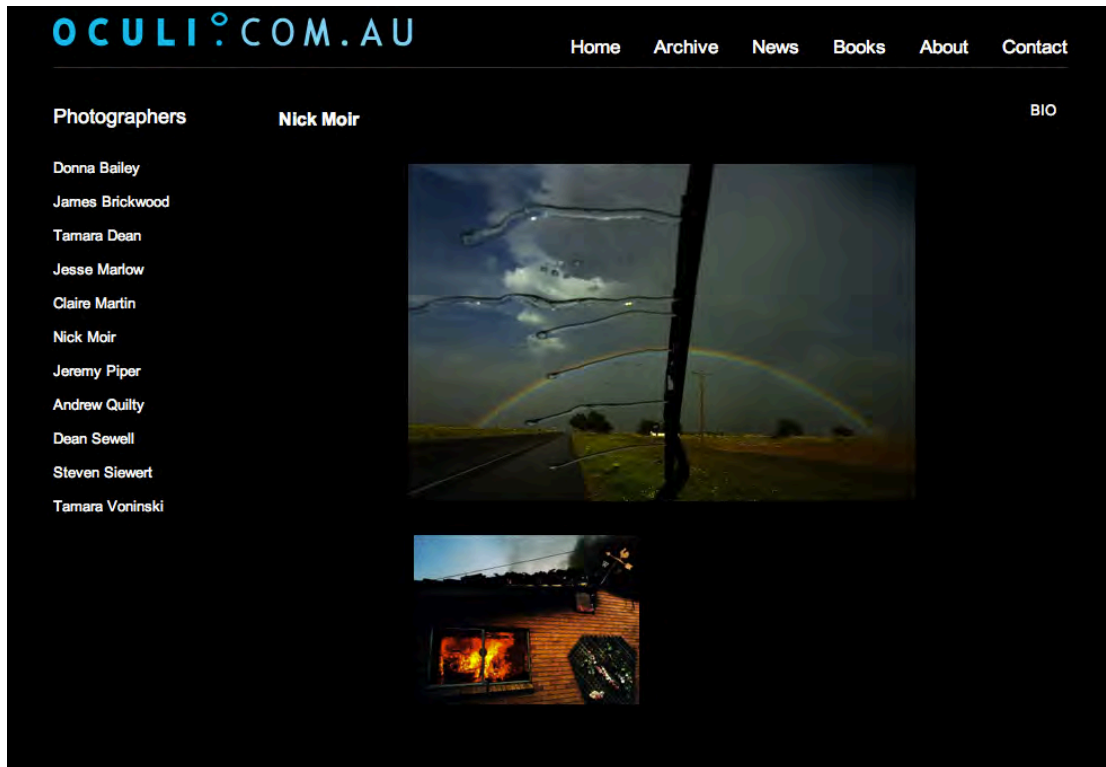


Jesse Marlow is based in Melbourne, Australia. Over the last 12 years he has worked for a range of local and international magazines, newspapers and commercial clients. His works are held in public and private collections across Australia. In 2002, he was the inaugural winner of the Australian Hasselblad X-Pan Masters competition. In 2003, he published his first book of photographs: *Centre Bounce: Football from Australia's Heart*, (Hardie Grant Books). Images from *Centre Bounce* have been exhibited and published extensively, both in Australia and internationally. In 2004 and 2005, Marlow's series *Centre Bounce* and *Wounded* were screened at Reportage – Australia's leading festival of photojournalism. In 2005 he published a book of street photographs titled *Wounded*, (Sling Shot Press). *Wounded* won the Mc Naughton Review 2005 Book Design category. In 2006 he was selected to participate in the

World Press Photo Joop Swart Masterclass in Amsterdam. In 2010 he will be one of 45 street photographers from around the world profiled in the book *Street Photography Now* (Thames & Hudson). He is a member of both the international street photographers collective in-public.com and Oculi, Australia's leading documentary photography agency. His work is distributed throughout Europe by Agence Vu.

9.5.14 Nick Moir (int.no.3)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://oculi.com.au/photographers/nick-moir/>



Oculi's ultimate storm chaser, Moir's passion is capturing the dramatic environmental phenomena of Australia, from its ragged lightning and dust storms and blackening bushfires to the devastating effects of climate change.

He received a World Press Photo award for coverage of the destructive 2002-03 bushfire season and Australian Press Photographer of the Year in 2002 for a series on Sydney's severe weather.

Moir recently completed his photo essay, Last Day on Earth, a look at the massive storms of America's Tornado Alley.

In 2009 he was named International Environmental Photographer of the Year in the Changing Climates category, an annual prize of the University of Westminster, for his image Microburst and Dust Storm.

Moir was winner of the South Australian Museum's ANZANG Nature Photography competition for his evocative image of a bushfire bearing down on a town in south-east NSW which was also included in Prix Pictet's Earth last year.

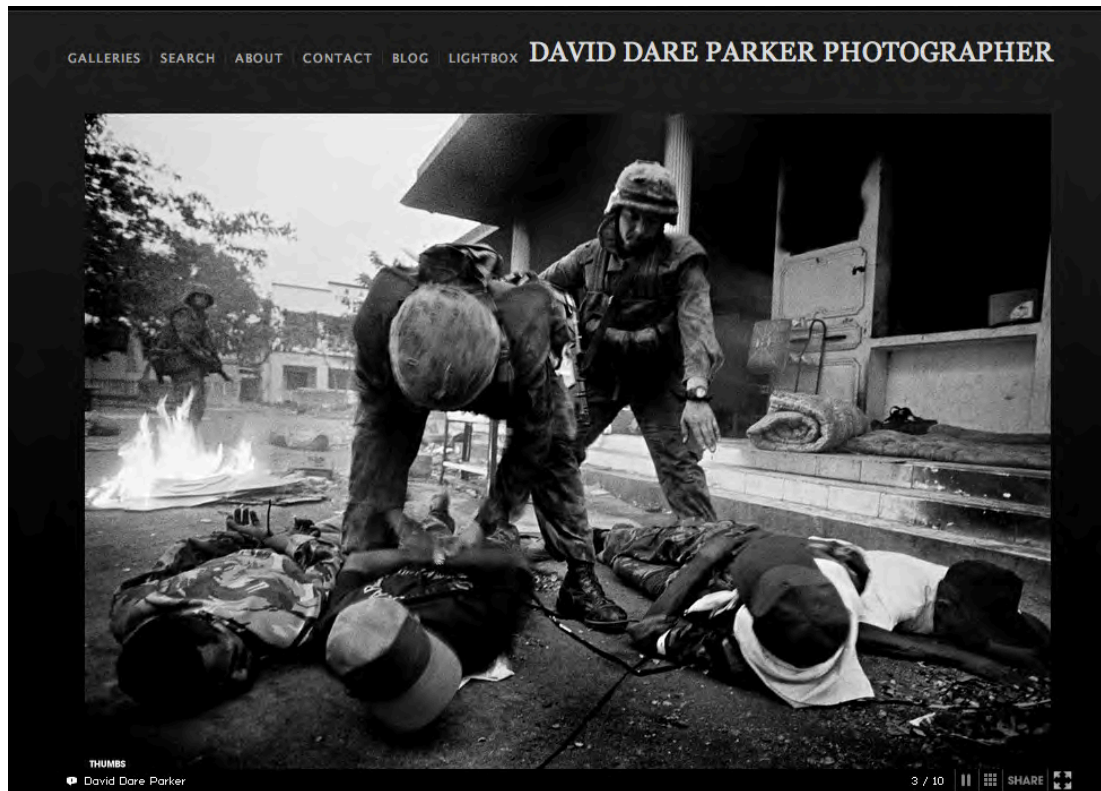
Moir was recently commissioned by *GEO* to photograph storms in Australia's tropical north. He lives in Sydney and works for *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

He is a founding member of Oculi.

9.5.15 David Dare Parker (int.no.13)

Biography from: <http://daviddareparker.photoshelter.com/about>

Website screenshot from: <http://daviddareparker.photoshelter.com/>



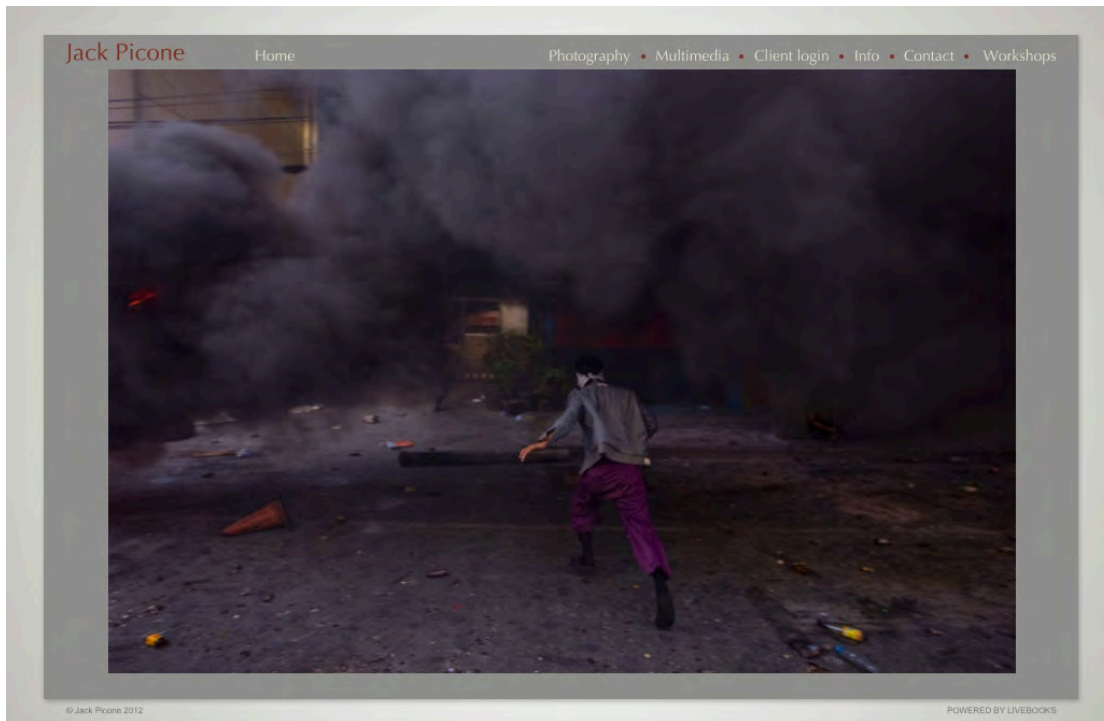
A Nikon-Walkley Award winning photographer, David Dare Parker has photographed for a multitude of national and international publications throughout the Middle East, Europe and Australasia. Publications include *LeMonde*, *Stern*, *L'Express*, *Focus*, *Australian Geographic*, *The Bulletin*, *The New York Times* and *Time Magazine*. As a film industry production stills photographer, recent credits include *The Shark Net*, *3 Acts of Murder*, *Cloudstreet* and *Underbelly Razor*.

David was one of the co-founders of Reportage a director of FotoFreo Photographic Festival, a Nikon-Walkley Advisory Board Member and is currently an Ambassador for Nikon Australia. He is represented by °SOUTH in Australia and OnAsia Images in Asia.

9.5.16 Jack Picone (int.no.14)

Biography from: <http://www.degreesouth.com/r2/index.php?module=pages&node=display&page=display&pagesid=30&expC=>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.jackpiconeportfolio.com>



Jack Picone is an editorial and documentary photographer splitting his time between in S.East Asia and Australia. He holds a MVA, from Griffith University in Australia where he lectures in photojournalism and is currently completing a PhD. He has over two decades of experience working in scores of countries, including some of the world's most dangerous places: Israel, Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Soviet Central Asia and Former Yugoslavia. His clients have included, *German Geo*, *Stern*, *De Spiegel*, *The New Yorker*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *L'Express*, *Granta*, *Colors Magazine* and many others. For the last decade Jack has been committed to documenting the pandemic of HIV/AIDS for the London-based Terence Higgins Aids Trust as part of the huge "Positive Lives" project. Jack is the recipient of some of photography's most prestigious awards in photojournalism including, The World Press Awards, Photographer of The Year Awards (POY) and the (IFDP) International

Fund For Documentary Photography and many others. His work has been exhibited and projected several times at the prestigious Visa d' Or Reportage Festival in France. Jack works on global assignments and is the founder of The Jack Picone Photography Workshops – www.jackpicone.com – a series of regular photojournalism workshops tutored by world-renowned photographers focusing on the Asian-Pacific region.

9.5.17 Joao Pina (int. no. 15)

Biography from: <http://www.joao-pina.com/bio/>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.joao-pina.com/>



João de Carvalho Pina was born in Lisbon, Portugal in 1980 and started working as a photographer at the age of 18. Having spent most of the last decade working in Latin America. Stories have led him to countries like Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba and Paraguay.

In 2007 he published his first book *Por teu livre pensamento* featuring the stories of 25 former portuguese political prisoners, with his colleague and friend Rui Daniel Galiza who wrote the texts. The work from his first book, inspired an Amnesty International advertising campaign, that got him a Lion d'Or award on the Cannes Lions International Festival of Creativity in 2011, among other awards he has been granted the Estação Imagem grant in 2010 and a finalist for the Henri Nannen award, Care award and the Alexandra Boulat Grant.

His work has been published in The New York Times, The New Yorker, Time Magazine, Newsweek, Stern, GEO, El Pais, EPs, La Vanguardia Magazine, D Magazine, Io Donna, Days Japan, Expresso and Visão among others.

He has exhibited his work in New York (ICP and Point of View Gallery), London (Ian Parry Award), Tokyo (Canon gallery), Lisbon (KGaleria and Casa Fernando Pessoa) and Oporto (Centro Português de Fotografia) and in Perpignan (Visa pour L'Image).

From 2007 until 2010 he was based in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he continues to document the remnants of a military operation named Operation Condor aimed at destroying the political opposition to the military dictatorships in South America during the 1970s.

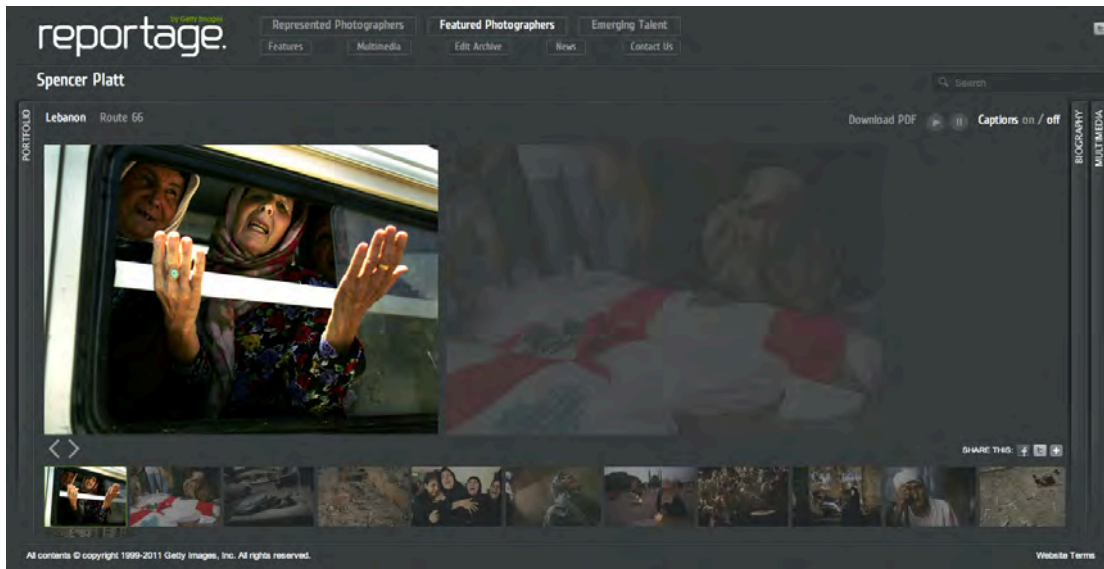
Now based in Paris, he has been a privileged observer of the “Arab spring” having travelled on several occasions to Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, while still continuing his work in Latin America.

He is a member of the Portuguese collective Kameraphoto since 2003 and has graduated from the Photojournalism and Documentary Photography program of the International Center of Photography in New York (2004/2005).

9.5.18 Spencer Platt (int. no. 15)

Biography from: <http://www.reportagebygettyimages.com/spencer-platt/#biography>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.reportagebygettyimages.com/spencer-platt/>



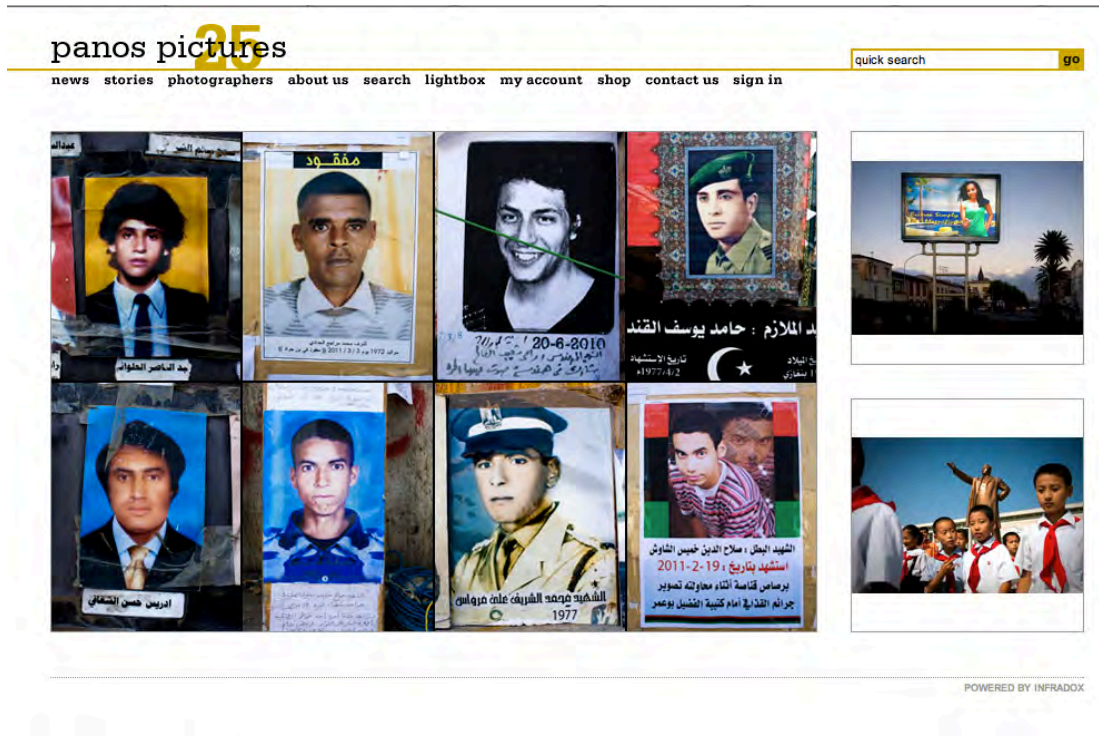
Spencer Platt is based in New York City. Spencer Platt joined Getty Images in 2001. Currently he covers stories in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. His work has appeared in such publications as *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Stern*, *Paris Match* and the *Los Angeles Times*, among others.

Platt has won numerous awards for his work throughout the world including Photography of the Year (POY) and the NPPA Year in Pictures. In 2006, Platt received the coveted World Press Photo of the Year award for an image in taken in Beirut. Spencer Platt grew up in Westport, Connecticut and attended Clark University. Platt lives in Brooklyn, New York. Platt has recently teamed up with Doctors without Borders (MSF) to focus on neglected humanitarian situations throughout the world. With DWB he has covered the plight of displaced Congolese, the Kurds in Turkey and the war ravaged villages of Central African Republic. His coverage of the plight of Somali refugees in Kenya is his latest project with Doctors without Borders.

9.5.19 Francesca Sears (int. no. 16)

Online biography: unavailable

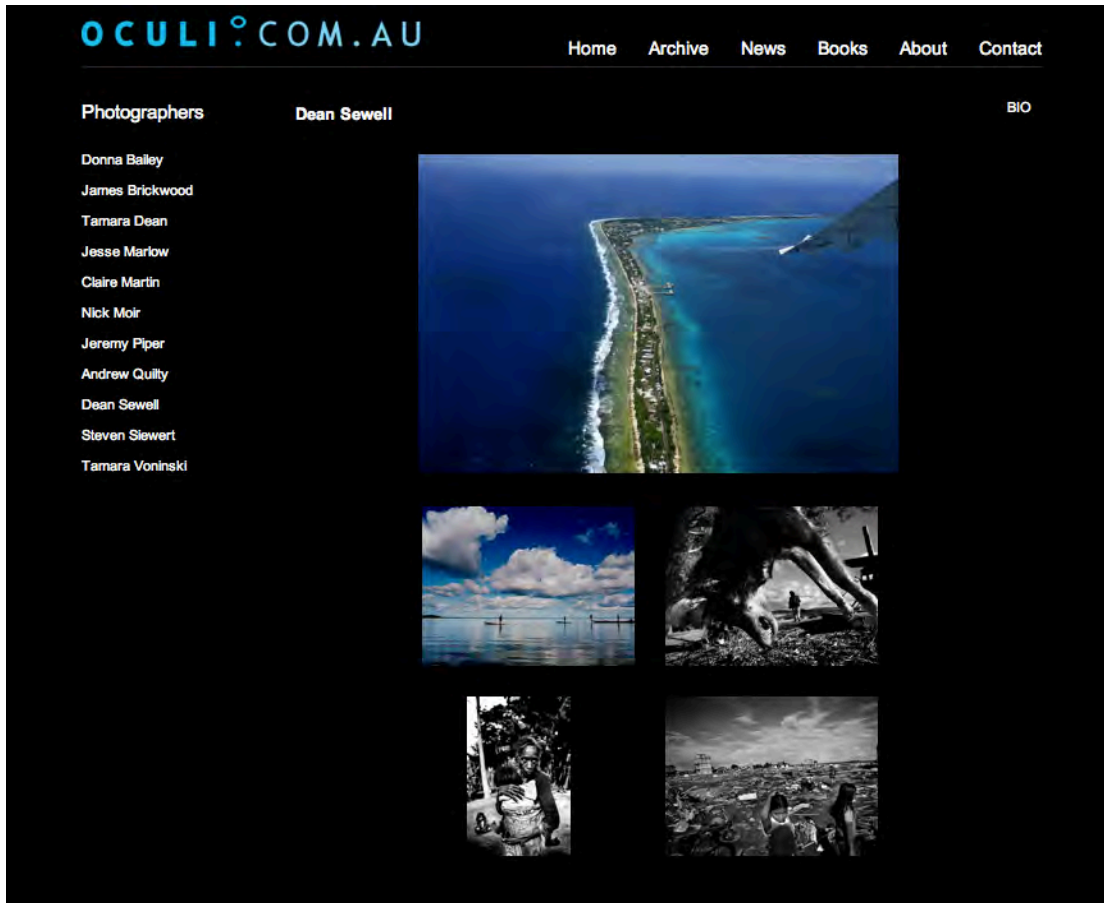
Website screenshot from: <http://www.panos.co.uk/>



Francesca is currently the director of Panos Profile at Panos Pictures. Prior to Francesca taking on the position at Panos in March 2010, she was the editorial director for Magnum Photos in London.

9.5.20 Dean Sewell (int. no. 3)

Biography and website screenshot from: <http://oculi.com.au/photographers/dean-sewell/>



Sewell has made his name as an independent documentary photographer concentrating his gaze on the social implications of the new globalised world economy and the environmental consequences exerted by climate change.

Through his acute colour studies Sewell also explores the dichotomy between the urban environment and its human habitation. This sits in stark contrast alongside his more reserved yet apocalyptic representations of drought and fire ravaged landscapes.

Sewell was the winner of the 2009 Moran Contemporary Photography Prize for a work borne out of a three year study of the Murray-Darling Basin in Australia.

Sewell has been the recipient of three World Press Photo Awards in 2000, 2002 and 2005 for works covering the transition of East Timor to an independent state, Australian Bushfires, and the 2004 Tsunami aftermath in Aceh, respectively. Sewell was awarded Australian Press Photographer of the Year in 1994 and 1998.

In 2005 and 2008, Sewell's art practice has seen him awarded artist residencies in the remote gold-mining town of Hill End, NSW which takes its place in Australia's art history as arguably one of the nation's more significant contributions to post-war art.

In 2000 Sewell co-founded Oculi.

Sewell is represented by Charles Hewitt Gallery, and has work regularly exhibited in leading Australian and International galleries.

9.5.21 Diane Smyth (in. no. 17)

Biography from the website: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/diane-smyth>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.bjp-online.com/author/673/diane-smyth>

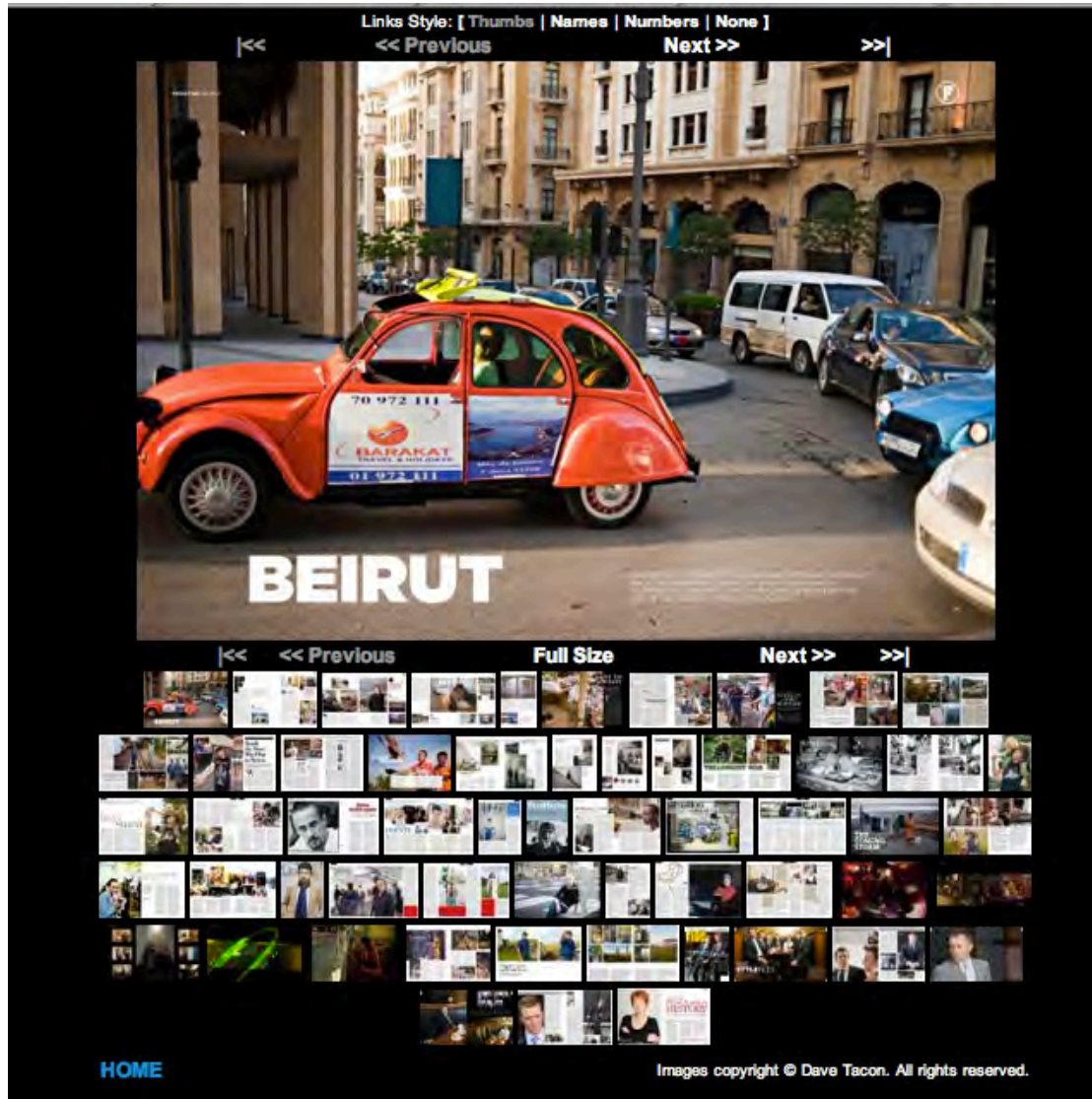
The screenshot shows the homepage of the British Journal of Photography. The main header features the title 'PHOTOGRAPHY' and a navigation menu with links for Home, News, Gear, Daily, Features, Blogs, BJP TV, Jobs, and In Print. A search bar is located in the top right corner. The page is framed by a dark border with circular patterns and 'JANUARY SALE' banners on both sides, each offering a 35% discount. The central content area is titled 'Bringing film & photography to life' and features a list of articles by Diane Smyth. The first article is 'Style it out', which discusses Daniel Baer's work on a 2012 calendar. Other articles include 'Cut and Paste: Damien Blottiere's hand-made photographs', 'Dean Chalkley's Young Souls', 'Charlie Engman: Photographic opportunities', and 'Ina Jang: Taking an oblique approach to fashion'. A 'Most Popular Articles' section is also visible on the right side of the page.

Diane Smyth is the deputy editor of the *British Journal of Photography*. Her work has also appeared in the *Sunday Herald*, *Creative Review*, *Aperture* and *Photo District News*, and she has given talks at The Photographers' Gallery. She originally studied English Literature and holds a BA and MA in the subject

9.5.22 Dave Tacon (int. no. 24)

Biography from the website: <http://www.davetacon.com/bio/>

Website screenshot from: <http://www.davetacon.com/tearsheets/>



Dave is a Melbourne-based photographer and writer. His photography has appeared in such publications as *Newsweek*, *Der Spiegel*, *Die Welt*, *Elle* (France), *Sette* (Italy), *Sunday Herald* (UK), *The Fader* (USA), *Geographical* (UK), *The Age*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Mercedes Magazine*, *The Diplomat* and *The Big Issue*. Other clients include State Government of

Victoria, University of Melbourne, WITNESS (USA), Australian Red Cross, Oxfam, CARE Australia, Catholic Development Fund and Medicos del Mundo.

Dave has been twice nominated in *Capture Magazine's* Australia's Top Photographers, is a past semi-finalist in the Moran Contemporary Portrait Prize, was a finalist in the National Photographic Prize 2010, was shortlisted for the 11th Luis Valtuena Humanitarian Photography Prize and twice nominated as one of Australia's top emerging photographers in the ACMP Projections presented by Sony and Saatchi & Saatchi.

As a writer, Dave is a contributor to *The Age*, *West Australian* and *Professional Photography Magazine* along with a number of other titles and has been published as a reporter in Freetown, Sierra Leone for the British newspaper, the *Independent*.

Dave's photo-documentary and portrait work is held in a number of permanent collections.

9.5.23 Other events attended and transcribed for use as data

1. Degree South (int. no. 20). A public lecture as part of the Degree South exhibition and launch of the collective held at the Powerhouse in 2006.
<http://www.brisbanepowerhouse.org/events/view/war-degree-south>
2. Foto Freo seminar Day 1 (int. no. 21) April 12, 2007
3. Foto Freo seminar Day 2 (int. no. 22) April 13, 2007
4. Noor's press conference to launch the documentary photography agency during the Visa pour l'Image festival in September 9, 2007 (int. no. 23).
<http://www.noorimages.com/news-blog/pressreleases0/>

9.6 Initial guiding interview questions

1. Can you explain to me what photojournalism is and how it differs from other types of photograph?
2. What makes a good Photojournalist?
 - 2.1 Personal qualities?
 - 2.2 Professional qualities?
3. Does it matter if photojournalism is objective or subjective? If so how and why?
4. Can you tell me about some of the issues which photojournalists face?
5. Where do photojournalists find work?
 - 5.1 In Australia?
 - 5.2 Overseas?
6. What inspired you to pursue a career in photojournalism?
7. Can you tell me about how you got started?
8. Can you tell me about your professional life?
 - 8.1 Up's and downs?
 - 8.2 Issues you face?
9. How do you go about producing your work?
 - 9.1 From concept to completion?
10. What do you hope to achieve as a photojournalists and through the work you produce?
11. What kind of barriers or issues do you face?
 - 11.1 Financial?
 - 11.2 Access?
 - 11.3 Trust?
 - 11.4 Publishing?

12. Can you tell me about your most successful body of work and why?
 - 12.1 How do you measure the success?
 - 12.2 Personally successful?
 - 12.3 Wider success?
13. And what about your least successful?
14. Can you tell me about outlets for getting your work out there?
15. Can you tell me about your experiences trying to get your work published?
 - 15.1 Amounts of work?
 - 15.2 Type of work – commissions etc?
 - 15.3 Amount of photojournalism published?
16. Do you think that photojournalism has the power to instigate social change on any level?
17. What is the role of photojournalism in the media?
18. What about in society?
19. Are there any unifying ideals of photojournalism?
20. What role do you think the internet is playing in the dissemination of photojournalism today?
21. What do you think the future is for photojournalism and why?