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THREAT, MODELING AND MISCONCEPTIONS: A COORIENTATIONAL

STUDY OF CITIZEN PHOTOJOURNALISTS' AND PROFESSIONAL

PHOTOJOURNALISTS' VALUES

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THREAT, MODELING AND MISCONCEPTIONS: A COORIENTATIONAL STUDY OF CITIZEN PHOTOJOURNALISTS' AND PROFESSIONAL PHOTOJOURNALISTS' VALUES

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
GAYLORD COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

BY

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Dr. Peter Gade, Chair

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Dr. David Craig

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Dr. Julie Jones

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Dr. Charles Self

_____

Dr. Christopher Carter

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Abstract

With the onset of digital technologies and the active audience it allots, professional photojournalists find themselves in competition with citizen photojournalists. The ability of citizens to create and publish their own photographic content, their advantage in right-place, right-time photography, and the interest of resource-strapped news organizations to publish these citizen photographs all lead to a probable tension and professional threat experienced by professional photojournalists. This tension between professional and citizen photojournalists is the subject of this dissertation. Specifically, the study uses coorientation theory to examine the journalism and photojournalism values that each group holds to, as well as their level of agreement with each other, their accuracy in assessing the views of each other, and the extent to which they perceive themselves as similar to each other. Further, a photographic analysis of news image quality with a manipulated credit line sheds line on whether professionals' threatened sense of professionalism impacts their assessment of citizen news photography.

This study finds that professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists share some values, and in most cases, they share the same general attitude about journalism and photojournalism values, but they differ in the degree or intensity of their responses. Both groups are inaccurate in perceiving the attitudes of the other, but professional photojournalists are much less accurate than citizens. Likewise, both groups perceive themselves as different from the other group, but professionals view themselves as differing much more from

citizens than citizens perceive themselves as differing from professionals. In some cases, citizen photojournalists perceive that professionals adhere *more* to the values of professionalism than themselves, but professionals perceive citizens as adhering to the values *less.* Finally, professional photojournalists evaluate a photograph that is credited to a citizen photojournalist significantly more negatively than they evaluate a photograph with no credit line, but citizen photojournalists show no difference in how they evaluate a photograph with a professional credit line and a photograph with no credit line.

This study suggests that professional photojournalists are experiencing a threatened sense of professionalism in the midst of citizen photojournalism. But citizen photojournalists demonstrate no sense of competition with professional photojournalists. Overall, there is much misunderstanding between the two groups, but professionals are more greatly misunderstanding of citizens.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

One of the most extensively photographed news happenings in United States history was September 11, 2001. Photographers were able to cover everything from the collision of the first plane to the crash of the second tower of the World Trade Center. From the moment the tragedy began, and even prior to it, photojournalists were documenting the weather, the work going on inside the twin towers, the chaos inside of the tower after the plane had hit, and the panic of the victims' families on the street below (Zelizer & Allan, 2011). Every aspect of the event was documented thoroughly, and photojournalists captured impactful and iconic images that will forever remind citizens of the tragedy. However, many of these photographers were neither professionals nor journalists, but bystanders with cameras (Friend, 2006; Zelizer & Allan, 2011). In fact, some of the most iconic images and earliest shots from the tragedy were taken by people who were at the right place at the right time by happenstance; for example, a panorama that was taken seconds before the first plane hit was taken by an artist for a project (Friend, 2006). These bystanders with cameras were acting as citizen journalists, "playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information" (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 9).

Since this unprecedented use of citizen photojournalism in the early 2000s, the practice has become increasingly popular. In the digital age, ordinary citizens capture, create and share newsworthy photos, which can be – and

frequently are – picked up by mainstream news sites (e.g. Hersch, 2004; Kessler, 2011; Yaschur, 2012). In 2004, the exposure of the Abu Ghraib prison as grounds for the U.S. military's torture of Iraqi soldiers is a second case that would not have been exposed without ordinary citizens performing the journalistic tasks of gathering and disseminating news and news photography (Cammaerts & Carpentier, 2006). While reports about the inhumane treatment of Iraqi prisoners by the 320th battalion began nearly a year earlier, it was not until ordinary soldiers shot and distributed photographs to army investigators that the world was informed of the tortures (Cammaerts & Carpentier, 2006). Knowledge of the nature of the abuses quickly became available to the public, first broadcast on *60 Minutes* in 2003 (Hersch, 2004). Photographs of the severe beatings of Iraqi prisoners nearly to death, sexual abuse of Iraqi females, and inappropriate acts with dead bodies were exposed because non-journalists had gathered and disseminated news (Hersch, 2004).

In 2007, when Virginia Tech was the scene of the shooting of 32 people, they were ordinary citizens, rather than professional photojournalists, who first documented the tragedy. And again, in 2010, when gunshots shot across the University of Texas in Austin, the event and the eventual suicide of the shooter was documented by ordinary people who were on lockdown inside of the building (Yaschur, 2012). More recently, in the 2011 Egyptian revolution, when at least 27 people were killed in a government crackdown of a protest in front of a state television and radio building, they were the protesters themselves who captured most of the stills and video footage. Citizen journalists are credited with helping lead to the toppling of the Hosni Mubarak regime by holding the

government accountable with photographic, documentary evidence (Kouddous, 2011).

As these cases demonstrate, professional photojournalists are no longer the exclusive providers of visual news content, and "the necessity of professional photojournalists may be called into question" (Yaschur, 2012, p. 162). It has become less clear whether professional photojournalists have skills that others generally do not (Beam & Meeks, 2011; Phillips, Singer, Vlad, & Becker, 2009; Singer, 2011). In fact, in 2011, CNN laid off 50 staffers, including nearly a dozen photojournalists, demonstrating that the preponderance of citizens with cameras is reducing the need for professional photojournalists. The Senior Vice President cited the availability of affordable digital cameras and citizen journalism as the reasons for the terminations (Zhang, 2011). Ordinary citizens now partake in the news-creation process and contribute their own content (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001; Daugherty, Eastin, & Bright, 2008; Joyce, 2007; Leung, 2009). With citizen journalists performing many of the basic tasks of a professional—what Picard (2009) calls the "de-skilling" of professional journalism–journalists' very sense of professionalism is being threatened (Picard, 2009, n.p.; Singer, 2011; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). This reflects the 21st-century trend of "de-professionalism," whereby professionals struggle to defend their practices as unique from non-professionals (Abbott, 1988; Becker & Vlad, 2011).

Even while professional journalists attempt to defend their practices and differentiate themselves from citizens, the news organizations for which they work are publishing citizen work and placing it on the same plane as

professionals' (e.g. Jones, 2009; Laurent, 2012; Oliver, 2007; Picard, 2009). Professionals call into question the quality of citizen journalism based on citizens' lack of professional training (e.g. Garcia, 2012, n.p; Mahoney, 2012; Pantti, 2012; Singer, 2003). One journalist, referring to the professional values of journalism said: "Until you can abide by these simple guidelines, stop hurting our democracy by peddling your garbage" (Mahoney, 2012, n.p.). Legacy journalists cite these professional values to differentiate themselves (Beam, et al., 2009; Lowery, 2006; Singer, 2011; Witschge & Nygren, 2009) and insist that although "everyone can be a publisher," "that does not mean … that everyone can be a journalist" (Singer, 2011, p. 214). But they are these roaming citizen journalists with camera phones who are often first on the scene when news strikes (Mahoney, 2012). Therefore, citizen *photo*journalism is often given the most prominent play (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011). Even a well-equipped news organization cannot compete with millions of citizens-with-cameras taking "random acts of journalism" (Lasica, 2003, n.p.).

Taken together, the advantages and availablity of citizen photography, the questioning of professional photojournalists' necessity, and the interest from news organizations to publish citizen-captured images, contribute to a sense of tension and threat among professional photojournalists (Phillips, et al., 2009; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). That tension is the subject of this dissertation.

The active audience concept is not new with the development of digital Internet technologies. As far back as the 1947 Commission on Freedom of the Press, critics have insisted that journalists provide forums in which average citizens could access the press to partake in discussion and debate. In the 1990s,

civic journalists advocated for a more communitarian press, which encouraged journalists to engage audiences, accommodate public discussion and help solve community problems (Perry, 2003; Rosen, 1996). The late 20th century transition from a modern to a postmodern society mimics these trends, emphasizing collaboration and flatter organizations (Bergquist, 1993; Friedman, 2007; Poynor, 2003). Many of the ideals of communitarianism, civic journalism and postmodernism became a reality with the transition from the mass society to a networked, digital society.

This changing media landscape has rendered news organizations' business models obsolete. The mass media era business model had relied on attracting advertisers for revenue, and on drawing large audiences to get these advertisers (Dimmick, Powers, Mwangi, & Stoycheff, 2011). But with both advertisers and audiences having myriad alternative options, audiences are more dispersed and advertisers are less reliant on legacy news media – those news organizations that predate the Internet (Beam, 2003; Howe, 2007; Leung, 2009; Pantti & Bakker, 2009; Schudson, 2003; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Audiences also expect that their news content be provided to them for free, and indeed, about 67% of the nation's dailies still offer entirely free content. And nearly all the online sites that have pay walls still offer a certain amount of free page views. Thus, news sites' attempts to charge for content have been met with resistance (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2010, 2012, 2013). Given this broken business model, many news organizations have had to slash their budgets, cut staffs and abandon some of their most valuable content, thus weakening the value of their products (Dimmick, et al.; Gade & Raviola, 2009;

Jones, 2009; Picard, 2009). The online, multimedia news environment combined with smaller staffs has also expanded the workload of journalists, placing pressure on their control over the values and practices that define the work (Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

Much of what sets professional photojournalists apart from citizens and defines their "occupational turf" are these professional values, skills and conventions (Abbott, 2008; Lowrey, 2006; Singer, 2003). Although journalism does not adhere to all of the characteristics of a traditional profession, it has been called a "semi-profession" (Beam, 1993). Occupations are considered professions when they have a public-service orientation and provide an essential service to society (Freidson, 1984, p. 2; Lynn, 1965). Professionals hold an abstract knowledge base and specialized skills obtained through education and training (Haug, 1977; Larson, 1977), which informs the values and norms that guide their work (Abbott, 1988; Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Wilensky, 1964). These values, educational standards and specialized skills allow professionals to exert a form of occupational control over their work, including defining the values that inform the work and setting the standards for who may enter the field (Freidson, 1984; Becker & Vlad, 2011).

Western journalists largely adhere to values that stem from Libertarianism and Social Responsibility (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956). Libertarian Theory stems from Enlightenment ideals, including a belief in the rationality of people, universal laws of nature, and the existence of an absolute truth that can be discovered through scientific methods (Love, 2008; Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956). Social Responsibility Theory posits that journalists must

give citizens an understanding of the information that citizenship requires to govern itself (Peterson, 1956). The theory says that it is not enough to present facts to readers, but it is necessary to present the truth about those facts (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947). Photojournalism, too, has defined itself as a profession through certain values and conventions (Cookman & Stolley, 2009). Many of the values of photojournalism represent a visual version of journalism values, while others pertain to the broader values of image aesthetics and visual communication. These values were codified by creating the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA) in 1946 (NPPA, 2012) and continue to be taught through workshops, student critiques and awards.

Although the normative values of journalists and photojournalists can be undercut by the reality of the newsroom with its need to produce content predictibly and efficiently to produce a profit (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978), these are still the ideals that journalism professionalism strives to achieve. Adherence to the conventions of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism is the standard by which excellence is defined and what sets professionals apart from amateurs (Beam, 1990; Singer, 2010; Singer, 2011).

The amateur photographers that are providing increasingly large amounts of visual news also hold their own values, and these traditionally tend to revolve around the home and family (Chalfen, 1987; Sontag, 1977). Happy moments, beauty, and memory-keeping are the main reasons that amateur photographers in a pre-digital age took photographs (Chalfen, 1987; Livingston & Dyer, 2010; Sontag, 1977). In the digital photography world, amateurs also

have social motivations, including maintaining relationships and sharing their work with a worldwide audience. People establish their identities and express their values, tastes and preferences by taking photographs and sharing them on the Internet (Daugherty, Eastin, & Bright, 2010; Leung, 2009; Shao, 2009; Suler, 2008, p. 556). Online amateur photographers take innumerable shots, including ephemeral, mundane, banal, technically-flawed, beautiful, funny, blurry, clear, quirky and unique photographs (Cohen, 2005; Murray, 2008).

   Despite the very different values and aesthetics of amateurs and professionals, news organizations with broken business models and a desire to engage digital audiences are inviting citizens to participate in journalism processes. In an era of information abundance and increased competition for audiences, legacy news organizations are becoming more market-oriented and are trying to provide opportunities for audiences to gratify their self-expressive, participatory needs (Dimmick, et al., 2011; Gade & Lowrey, 2011; Picard & Brody, 1997). Inviting audience comments, pictures, questions, and opinions provides increased self-expressive gratification opportunities for users, and a richer news environment for readers. This content is also cost-free for news organizations and thus valuable for newspapers facing reduced staff sizes and increased competition for audiences (Dimmick, et al., 2011; Jones, 2009; Phillips, et al., 2009). Because citizens are usually present at the scenes where news occurs and take the initial photographs—as noted above—news organizations are particularly interested in citizen visual content. Visual content is also desirable to news organizations because it is perceived as an objective representation of reality and truth. It is therefore preferable over other forms of

citizen content, which require considerably more fact-checking, verification and editing to meet professional journalism standards (Lester, 2010; Newton, 2001; Pantti & Bakker, 2009).

A probable sense of professional threat among photojournalists has been precipitated by several factors: Citizens' right-place, right-time advantage in photojournalism, the subsequent questioning of photojournalists' value, resource-hungry news organizations' solicitation of citizen content to engage audiences, and the appearance of citizen and professional photographic content on the same plane (Butcher, 2012; Laurent, 2012; Oliver, 2007; Phillips, et al., 2009; Sonderman, 2013; Thurman & Hermida, 2008; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Some of journalists' central activities – especially in photojournalism – are no longer distinguishable from the activities of ordinary citizens, and journalists no longer have command over entrance into the field, its values and its standards (Gade, 2004; Singer, 2011; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Professional photojournalists with education, talent and experience are forced to co-exist with these amateur, citizen photojournalists in an online environment (Butcher, 2012; Hermida & Thurmon, 2008; Laurent, 2012; Oliver, 2007; Sonderman, 2013). A sense of threat is present (Witschge & Nygren, 2009), and professionals are striving to differentiate themselves from citizens through their values and notions of professionalism (Witschge & Nygren, 2009; Singer, 2011). But citizen photojournalists largely strive to fulfill journalistic practices. The newfound relationship between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists is defined both by threat on the one hand, and modeling on the other.

This study examines the dynamics of understanding between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists and seeks to understand whether professional photojournalists perceive a sense of threat from citizen photojournalists. The study addresses professionals' and citizens' perceptions of journalism professionalism values and photojournalism professionalism values, seeking what kinds of journalism values citizens bring to journalism. It also examines the extent to which professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about these values, how accurately they perceive the values of the other, and the extent to which they perceive themselves in agreement with the other. These dynamics of agreement, accuracy, and perceived agreement, taken together, reveal the two groups' level of understanding of each other, and can suggest threat or modeling on behalf of professionals and citizens. To study the two groups' values and the concept of professional threat further, a photographic evaluation of news image quality with a credit-line manipulation is analyzed through survey responses and open-ended comments. These methods reveal the level of understanding and perceptions between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists.

Questions about two groups that bring differing motivations and values to similar tasks can be answered through the framework of coorientation theory (Carey, 2006, p. 33). The theory (McLeod & Chaffee, 1973) assumes that people not only have their own perceptions about an issue, but that they are also able to perceive the perceptions of others (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969). A study using a coorientation framework measures understanding between two people or groups of people by looking at each group's attitude toward an issue of which

both groups are familiar, but may have different perceptions. This dissertation uses McLeod and Chaffee's (1973) coorientation theory to study the values of citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists, how much they agree with each other, how accurately the two groups understand each other's values, and how congruently they perceive their values in comparison to those of the other. The dynamics between agreement, accuracy, and congruence (or perceived agreement) also provide insight into whether professional photojournalists perceive a threat to their professionalism from citizen photojournalists. It also adds to the current understanding citizen photojournalists and what values they bring to photojournalism.

To provide a second method to explore the extent that citizen photojournalism may pose a threat to professionals, a photograph evaluation is used to measure each group's perception of news image quality. This evaluation involves a photo-credit manipulation whereby half of the professionals are asked to evaluate a photograph with no credit line, and half are asked to evaluate a photograph credited to a citizen photojournalist. Likewise, half of the citizens are asked to evaluate a photograph with no credit line, and half are asked to evaluate a photograph credited to a professional photojournalist. Specifically, this dissertation hypothesizes that professional photojournalists will evaluate a photograph that is credited to a citizen photographer more negatively than one with no credit line, and that citizen photojournalists who evaluate a professional-credited photograph will do so more favorably than professional photojournalists evaluating a citizen-credited photograph. Thus, the photo evaluation offers a supplement to the coorientation survey, and is a

form of triangulation in the study of professional photojournalists' perceived sense of professional threat.

Using these methods, this dissertation has four main purposes. First, it adds to the sociology of news literature by exploring not only professional photojournalists' journalism and photojournalism values, but also the values of citizen photojournalists and what they bring to journalism. Second, by studying the agreement, accuracy, and perceived agreement between the groups, it can be assessed to what extent the groups are similar or dissimilar to each other, understand each other, and – more importantly – whether they have a *motivation* to view themselves as similar or dissimilar from each other. In so doing, this dissertation adds to the sociology of professions literature by examining the dimensions and parameters of professionalism in the context of journalism, and whether journalists perceive a sense of professional threat from citizens. Third, this dissertation examines the values that each group holds and their perceptions of the others' values through a survey and an evaluation of news image quality. By asking citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists to evaluate photographs with manipulated credit lines, this study further investigates professional photojournalists' perceptions of citizen photojournalists within the context of professional threat. Finally, through this evaluation of news image quality, a reliable scale was developed to measure citizens' and professionals perception of news image quality.

To explore the problems presented in this chapter, the following chapters in this dissertation are organized as follows. Chapter two undertakes a discussion of the changing media landscape, with its increased citizen control

and audience participation. The implications of these changes upon the journalism industry will be explored, and the trends that foreshadowed these changes, postmodernism, civic journalism, and the development of the network society will then be discussed in further detail. To better understand what these changes mean to professional journalists and photojournalists, chapter three presents the traditional professional values of journalists, including a devotion to freedom and responsibility, and chapter four presents the professional values of photojournalists, including a devotion to social-awareness raising and aesthetic conventions for photojournalists. In order to appreciate what the joining of the two groups means in terms of their clashing values, the values of amateur photographers in a pre- and post-digital age will also be laid out in chapter four. Chapter five presents the implications of journalism in a postmodern, networked world upon professional journalists and photojournalists will follow. Finally, the theory of coorientation, the research questions, and hypotheses are presented in chapter six. The dissertation poses 11 research questions and tests two hypotheses. The study design, methodology and measures are explained in chapter seven. The results are presented in chapter eight. And finally, discussion and conclusions about the results are offered in chapter nine.

Chapter 2:

The Changing Media Landscape

The era in which journalists had a corner on gathering and disseminating news to a generally passive and massive audience is over. That era of mass communication, characterized by a relatively small media system sending messages to a large, heterogeneous and anonymous audience, has been disrupted by the onset of the Internet (Baran & Davis, 1995; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001; Lowrey & DeFleur, 1988). The business models that supported journalism in the mass communication era are no longer effective in the digital media environment. During the era of mass communication, journalists worked within organizations and operated by the organization's rules. Those who were not members of the mass media faced high technological and financial barriers for entry into the profession. Therefore, journalists were the "gatekeepers" who made decisions about which content would be sent widely to the "masses" (Castells, 2009; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001). Audience members were generally passive recipients of this content because mass communication was mostly one-way, information was less abundant, and citizens had little opportunity to have their voices heard (Baran & Davis, 1995; Castells, 2000). Only delayed and indirect communication with media disseminators was possible, and journalists seldom gave audience feedback much credence (Singer, 2011).

This chapter discusses the implications and precursors of these changes in the media landscape. First, it will address technology's fostering of a more active and in-control audience. The economic impact of the shift from mass communication to a digital, networked media system upon news organizations,

which has forced news organizations to cut budgets, staff and content, will then be discussed. Finally, the chapter will conclude by exploring the pre and post-Internet foreshadowings of the contemporary digital media landscape, including the societal movement toward postmodernism, the trend of civic journalism, and the shift toward a networked–rather than hierarchical–society. These movements are discussed as containing active-audience characteristics that have been facilitated, but not created by, the development of the Internet.

The shifting of control from journalism organizations to the audience has impacted the public's expectations of media. With more choices, the audience's media consumption is self-directed and fragmented (Castells, 2010; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001). Media are now small and mobile, "less mass," and content is niche-oriented and available in multiple media platforms so that audiences can access what they want and on the platform they choose (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001, p. 369; Dimmick, 2003). In an online news environment, audiences have also come to expect that their news content be provided to them for free, and attempts of news sites – both large metro paper and over 150 smaller publications in 2011 – to implement pay walls have been met with resistance (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2010, 2012). One of the challenges to implementing such pay walls is that there are still plenty of sites online where readers can go to get much news for free, and newspapers fear that by implementing a pay wall, they will lose users to those free sites (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2012). In addition to still expecting free content, audiences have an increasing expectation to be involved in the news-making process and are "actively chasing discovery rather than passively being informed"

(Bowman & Willis, 2003; Canter, 2011, p. 1). They also have an expectation to be able to add to legacy content their own self-expressions through comments, blogs and photos (Daugherty et al., 2008; Jenkins, 2006; Shao, 2009).

With almost unlimited choices in content and platform, audiences can trade traditional news sources for those that cater to their tastes and reaffirm their beliefs (Gade & Lowrey, 2011; Gillmore, 2006; Hermida, Fletcher, Korrell, & Logan, 2011; Umphlett, 2006). This shift makes news consumption a more social, networked activity (Hermida et al., 2011). Rather than being spoon fed the news that a professional news organization would have them know, audiences are progressively seeing news consumption as a social activity. Receiving personalized news feeds through social networking sites allows citizens to share or republish news to their networks of friends. In turn, the members of citizens' own social networks send news to them. Nearly half of audiences receive personalized news streams in this manner (Hermida et al., 2011). News consumption is seen less as an educational system, with the news media as teacher and the audience or citizens as students, and more as a social activity of sharing and participating (Hermida et al., 2011).

Not only does Internet technology give the audience increased control and choices, but it also allows them to be creators and publishers of various content, including news and news photographs (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001; Daugherty et al., 2008; Joyce, 2007; Leung, 2009). The opportunity to publish ideas and use media as tools for self-expression has led to an abundance of user-generated content (UGC) in the online environment. User-generated content is simply content created by ordinary people and shared

on the Internet, generally with no pay for the content creator (Bradshaw & Rohumaa, 2011). UGC encompasses a variety of types, including newswriting, art, music, photography, blogging and creative writing (Bradshaw & Rohumaa, 2011). While there have always been amateur content creators producing writings, photography, art and other creative works at home and contributing occasionally to more public forums such as a newspaper, it was not until the capabilities provided by the Internet that distributing one's work to a worldwide audience has required so little effort (Friedman, 2007). Smartphones with word processing, Internet, and built-in cameras make the task of creating and sharing content almost seamless within the activities of everyday life. People who create and share content online find it a useful way to express themselves and their opinions, document their lives and engage with others socially (Daugherty et al., 2008; Hsu & Lin, 2007; Leung, 2009; Nardi, Schiano, Gumbrecht & Swartz, 2004; Shao, 2009).

Economic Impact of Changing Media Landscape on Journalism

The shift to digital, networked media has left existing news organizations with a broken business model. More content choices and greater control for audiences have led to fewer readers of legacy news outlets and, therefore, less profit. As more alternative websites develop, readers are likely to stop reading newspapers and visiting their sites (Lacy & Sohn, 2011). There is ultimately greater competition in the media marketplace. Particularly, niche web sites, such as those that serve sports or political audiences, compete with newspapers for audiences (Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Businesses that previously relied on newspaper space to sell their products and services can now do so online on

such niche sites or on many alternative outlets (Jones, 2009; Lacy & Sohn, 2011).

Newspapers have traditionally received revenue from both individual readers and advertisers. They must draw an audience, and then sell that audience to advertisers in order to receive revenue and, in turn, better serve audiences (Picard, 2010; Picard & Brody, 1997). However, advertisers are not as eager to pay for the "de-massified audiences" as they were when newspapers served larger audiences (Picard, 2010, p. 132; Sjøvaag, 2011). Even the classified section–a source of much income for newspapers previously–has been largely replaced by free online classified sites like Craigslist and eBay (Jones, 2009; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Newspapers are losing advertising as the Internet has led to greater competition for audience's eyes. Much of a newspaper's previously-valuable content is freely available from other outlets and aggregators, meaning that many of the readers of a newspaper's content may never actually visit the content-producing newpaper's site (Bakker, 2011b; Fitzgerald, 2009; McKenna & Pole, 2008; Wallsten, 2007). Advertisers receive little benefit from placing ads on a newspaper's home site if readers are accessing the content from sources other than the newspaper.

Further financial struggles for newspapers have been the rising costs of operating and deep debts due to a recessive economy. The 2008-2010 recession followed a period of numerous newspaper company mergers and acquisitions in the early 2000s, during which some prominent newspaper firms acquired huge debts. Newspapers have struggled to make payments (Fiedler, 1998; Lacy, Martin & Hugh, 2004; Mutter, 2008; Rubinkam, 2006). Businesses such as

News Corporation, The McClatchy Company and the Tribune Company bought into the news business, but then had trouble making their debt payments when stock prices fell by 83% in 2008, continued to fall in 2009, and dividends were cut (State of the News Media, 2009). Falling stock prices forced the Tribune Company and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* to file for bankruptcy, and several newspapers, including E.W. Scripps' *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver, folded in 2009 (State of the News Media, 2009). Increases in prices of newsprint and ink along with the recession have meant further economic pressures for newspapers (Jones, 2009). Operating costs, including newsprint, circulation, distribution and mechanical expenses account for more than half of a newspaper's expenditures (Picard et al., 2004) and newsprint costs rose by up to 30% in 2011 (State of the News Media, 2011).

  Cuts in budgets, staff and content. The transition from a passive audience to an active audience with myriad choices for news consumption, coupled with loss of advertisers and a weak economy has ultimately led to cuts in budgets and staffs. When advertising revenues decline, news organizations tend to control costs by laying off employees (Lacy et al., 2004), potentially reducing their resources for producing a quality product, which makes that product less valuable to consumers. In light of the loss of revenues and a weak economy, the number of newspaper journalists employed has fallen by 11,000 from 2007 to 2009, a 26% decrease from the turn of the century (State of the News Media, 2011). These cutbacks have continued into 2012, an example being the 200 employees laid off at the *New Orleans Times Picayune* as part of a plan to reduce publication of the printed newspaper to three days per week,

shifting its focus online (NOLA, 2012). These cuts mean a compromise in the quality of content, with cutbacks in state government coverage, fewer specialty beats like science and religion, and fewer feature stories (Bakker, 2011a; State of the News Media 2012). These economic pressures have forced newspapers to abandon much of their most valuable content, including investigative reporting and international news, and to drastically cut staffs (Jones, 2009).

Foreshadowings of the Current Media Landscape

The move toward increased audience control and professional journalists' waning control was not created by the Internet. Rather, these characteristics were more fully realized and facilitated by the Internet (Gade, 2011). The characteristics in the contemporary media environment – with members of the audience less reliant upon traditional news sources and seeing news consumption as a social activity (Hermida et al., 2011) – began earlier than the digital age in previous societal and journalistic movements. Similar mindsets that are found in the digital media environment can be found in the years preceding the development of the Internet. Some of these mindsets include audiences with a decreased faith in authorities, a weaker belief in a singular truth, a belief in collective intelligence, and increased interactivity (Castells, 2001, 2008; Jenkins, 2006; McNair, 2006). The Internet was simply the innovation that facilitated the full realization of many of these ideals.

The remaining sections of this chapter will look at the developments that foreshadowed some of the current trends toward increased audience control. First, the societal movement of postmodernism and its incredulity toward an absolute truth and authority on the truth and the dissolution between the real

and apparent is discussed. Civic journalism will then be explored as a journalism-specific trend that reflects some of the characteristics of postmodern thinking, including less emphasis on authority and flatter structures. Following this section will be a discussion of the network society and its ability – through Internet technology – to more fully unleash the ideals of postmodernism and civic journalism, particularly greater audience control of information. The discussion of these movements will be followed by a look at the way this new media landscape has affected journalists.

   Postmodernism. Postmodern leanings began to flourish in the 1970s (Umphlett, 2006). The movement is characterized by a media-saturated world of images and symbols, a rejection of universal claims to truth and the dissolution between the real and the apparent. There is also a breakdown of previous dichotomies such as local versus global and high versus popular culture, and there is more emphasis on the process of discourse rather than the goal of finding a singular truth (Aylesworth, 2012; Baudrillard, 1994; Gade, 2011; Lyotard, 1984; Strinati, 2004). While modern epistemology put people at the center of meaning-making and truth-finding, and assumed they can understand and observe the world, postmodernism essentially says that *relationships* shape meaning (Self, Beliveau, & Igiel, 2012). Meaning, or a sense of reality or truth in the postmodern world, is shaped by social relationships and interactions, and these interactions are more mediated in the digital age (Castells, 2000; Friedman, 2007).

   In a postmodern world, there is an admiration of anti-professionalism, fluidity, collaboration and flat organizational structures (Bergquist, 1993;

Friedman, 2007; Poynor, 2003). According to Gade (2011), postmodernism "reflects societies where most things are at our fingertips, where the security of tradition and community is not apparent, where consumerism replaces production. Context and history are of minor importance; personal impulse and subjectivity are arbiters of truth" (p. 64). A relevant point in the discussion of the changing media landscape with regard to journalism is that postmodernism rejects claims to one absolute truth, exclusive methods for finding such an elusive truth and questions the distinction between real and apparent.

Reflecting "incredulity" toward all universal metanarratives, postmodernism sees universal methods for uncovering an absolute truth with suspicion, whether that method is metaphysical as in pre-modern times or scientific as in modern times (Lyotard, 1984, p. 27). People are believed to be unable to observe or describe the world with any universally agreed-upon method (Derrida, 1987; Poynor, 2003; Rorty, 1989; Umphlett, 2006). Postmodernists believe that science cannot be legitimated by other disciplines and vice versa, and "knowledge is no longer principally narrative" or continuous (Lyotard, 1984, p. 26). There is thus a plurality of narratives, an appreciation of discourse rather than final conclusive answers, and a rejection of science as a continuous path toward an ultimate truth.

Postmodernism is also characterized by a collapse between the real and apparent, and a questioning of what "real" means, what Lyotard (1984) calls "de-realization" (p. 79). Truth, in fact, is regarded as a constantly-shifting and unstable construct that reflects the values and symbols of the various people and groups of people who are creating it, only perceived through human-created

symbols and subjectivity, rendering the idea of a universally-accepted truth unattainable (Baudrillard, 1994). Truths are seen as oft-repeated metaphors that are eventually taken as accepted truths (Aylesworth, 2012). The search for an absolute truth is seen as less important than discourse.

The symbols that people use to communicate, such as words and pictures, are only representations of reality, not a mirror of it (Baudrillard, 1994; Derrida, 1978; Rorty, 1989). Baudrillard (1994) asserts that the contemporary media-saturated world has led to a culture in which there is no longer a true reality; only simulations of simulations, or "hyperreality." The map-territory metaphor describes this relationship between an actual object and its representation. Baudrillard argues that the development of media has blurred the line between the map and the territory it represents:

> Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: A hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory - precession of simulacra - that engenders the territory" (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 1).

Because of the audience's engrossment in this highly-visual media, particularly in the digital age, most of what people see, hear, or know about the world outside their own direct experiences has come from secondary and tertiary accounts of a supposed reality via the media. Overall, there is a rejection that any kind of media reflects the world perfectly (Strinati, 1993).

The postmodern rejection of a single, universal truth or a specific method to find that truth contradicts the traditional values of the journalism industry. Historically, journalism has been valuable because of its special methods for uncovering an account of the "truth" and its unique position in society to disseminate this truth (Picard, 2009). But in the postmodern world, there is a fluid interaction between what is real and the representation of real via journalism (McNair, 2006). Further, there is less importance placed upon authorship in the network society, as content comes from a space of multiple, interacting factors and shared creativity (Castells, 2010; Lessig, 2008). Individuals are no longer considered the makers of meaning themselves, but members of the network, which is interconnected and cannot be reduced to any of its parts (Stalder, 2006, p. 2). In this model, a creator of content is never alone and without influencers or without creating influence him or herself. Journalism has long maintained its credibility by its claims for reporting truth and the use of quasi-scientific objective method of finding and reporting it. But the ideals of postmodernism challenge the contention that journalists are able to uncover any such absolute truth and should determine what people know. Postmodern sentiments, particularly that elite institutions are not an authority on knowledge, and that everybody should be a part of knowledge creation, are found among advocates of communitarianism and civic journalism.

The communitarian critique and civic journalism. Civic journalism, also called "public journalism" (Rosen, 1996, p. 1), emerged in the 1990s as a response to critiques that the mainstream media were too elite, disconnected from the lives of average citizens, and too negative about public

life. Communitarianism, therefore, championed a more egalitarian press that is more responsive to citizens, focused on building community, and places less emphasis on social institutions (Merrill, 2011; Rosen, 1996). Journalists, in this stream of thought, should not be detached bystanders, but active participants in the revitalization of public life (Charity, 1995; Clark, 1995; Merritt, 1997; Rosen, 1996). The responsibility of journalists is to engage people as citizens, improve public discussion, to help solve problems, and "to aid in the country's search for a workable public life" (Rosen, 1996, p. 2).

This civic journalism movement is rooted in a communitarian theory that sees the press as an essential part of democracy, with an obligation to uphold the interests of the community. Christians, Ferré and Fackler (1993) say that community, in fact, "cannot be resuscitated without the leadership of the press" (p. 12). The theory asserts that there is a direct correlation between decreasing civic engagement and journalism's disconnection with the public. As written by Claude-Jean Bertrand (1993) in the foreword to *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press,* a seminal text on the topic, the theory makes several assertions. It is assumed that mankind cannot survive without solidarity, that there has been too much emphasis places on individuals at the expense of communities, that communication is essential to the nature of humans, and that the mission of the media should be to provide the public with such a means of communication.

Communitarians find fault in the traditional press system with its emphasis on freedom and autonomy at the expense of responsibility and community (Christians et al., 1993). Even though the press has a special position within democracy granting it freedom from government control,

complete freedom at the expense of an overriding sense of responsibility has led to a profit-oriented press producing poor-quality material. This environment has also fostered elitist and disconnected journalists and supposed objective reporting that contains "bloodless information bytes" (Christians et al., 1993, p. 7). Overall, communitarians believe that complete independence without a responsibility to the community has given the press too much power to name and frame public issues and view topics (Black, 1997; Rosen, 1996). They complain that journalists address issues that *journalists* say are important instead of those that the community insists are important (Black, 1997; Christians et al., 1993; Coleman, 2007).

Communitarians assert that the market-orientation of the press encourages more entertainment, sensational news, gossip and less news relevant to the public (Christians et al., 1993; Merrill, 2011; Rosen, 1996). Although it has the freedom to do so, communitarians believe that the press should not be ruled by the forces of the market. Under this theory, the media are viewed as more than businesses addressing customers, and human beings are viewed as more than isolated individuals whose personal appetites are of utmost importance (Christians et al., 1993). Reporting grounded in communitarian ethics requires that decisions about news coverage be driven by the norms and values of the community, not by the markets (Christians et al., 1993).

Communitarians also criticize some of the values of journalism for producing inaccurate portrayals of communities. For example, they believe that objectivity is not only impossible, but it can encourage reporters to be non-critical and accepting of certain routines, including reliance on institutions and

official sources for information. Thus, its pursuit can lead to a construction of reality that is not reflective of the community (Christians et al., 1993). Communitarians assert that facts cannot be separated from value. Reporters should be compelled toward a rich concept of truthful narrative and reporting should be more interpretive rather than trying to maintain a façade of objectivism. Enlightenment ideals such as objectivity are criticized as creating loneliness and anxiety, while communitarians emphasized "feelings, instincts, neighborly love" (MacIntyre, 1984, p. 71; Merrill).

In trying to separate the facts from value through journalistic routines, communitarians assert that journalists' insistence on objectivity and detachment results in reporting that does not reflect community values (Christians et al., 1993; Rosen, 1996). The quest for objectivity, detachment and independence, they argue, leads to reliance upon elites as sources. Thus, value judgments are made by these elites who are disconnected from the issues as experienced by average citizens. Omitting citizens from the journalism process amounts to arrogance on behalf of journalists (Christians et al., 1993; Rosen, 1996). The use of official sources as a method of quickly getting to the most credible version of the truth creates an incomplete picture of society. The press, particularly because journalists have a "working relationship" with these insiders and politicians (Rosen, 1996, p. 34) is disconnected from its actual audience – citizens, and their values and characteristics (Borden, 2007; Nerone, 1995). Other press routines, including an emphasis on reporting stand-alone events and conflict, mean that ongoing issues relevant to the community are not covered as thoroughly.

Civic journalists, rooted in these communitarian ideals, strive to invite participation from audiences, to use citizens as sources, place issues in context, reflect the goals and morals of the community in which they live, report on solutions and accept feedback (Blazier & Lemert, 2000; Merritt, 1997; Rosen, 1996). Civic journalism seeks to minimize conflict as a news value, focusing instead on reporting that points to solutions to public problems. Citizens are even invited to newsroom meetings (Blazier & Lemert, 2000). Enhancing democracy involves actually empowering citizens and involving them in the journalism process. This more civic-oriented press, it is assumed, will motivate the public to participate, as people perceive they are a part of the conversation (Christians, et al., 1993).

The goal of increased citizen involvement in press operations is facilitated by the Internet age. Many of the goals of civic journalism have become a reality to a degree greater than the early civic journalism advocates could have ever forecast (Sessions-Stepp, 2000). Communitarianism and civic journalism in pre-Internet era advocated a more community-oriented media system, a responsibility toward invigorating the citizenry, and a press system in which the corporate, profit-based media are less powerful, and the values of the community were foremost important. Civic journalists, specifically, advocate for citizen involvement in the news-making process, assuming that people will be more involved in civilian life as they think they are a part of the discussion.

Network society. The beginning of the 21st century is an age of mediated networks (Dijk, 2006). In a network, messages are sent from many people to many other people rather than from a singular authority to the masses

(Castells, 2000). The network is marked by technological innovation and allows for the realization of many postmodern ideals, including multiple meanings, lowered boundaries, flattened hierarchies and elusive truths (Aylesworth, 2012; Friedman, 2007; McNair, 2006). In the network society, the idea of sender and receiver becomes less relevant, and authorities on knowledge, including journalists, are given less credence (Canter, 2011; Lessig, 2008; McNair, 2006).

Many boundaries, such as that which separates producer from consumer, are overcome by technology in a global, network society. Therefore, entrance barriers into the arena of mediated communication are low. Space is condensed and knowledge and information are centralized as a virtual network acts as an extension of human minds (Castells, 2000). Past, present, and future can be programmed to interact in the same message (Castells, 2000). According to Castells (2008): "new information and communication technologies, including rapid long-distance transportation and computer networks, allow global networks to selectively connect anyone and anything throughout the world" (p. 81).

While mass society was hierarchical, with knowledge and power residing in social institutions and the people (often officials) who inhabit them, networks are easily scalable, flexible, and both "centralized and decentralized" (Castells, 1999). They are, according to Castells (2000) coordinated, but do not have a center or a top as a hierarchy would. Information flow is non-linear and shifting, rendering the idea of "sender" and receiver" less meaningful. As Jenkins (2006) says, the "power of the media producer and of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (p. 4). News, too, is now non-linear. Online, truth emerges from interaction in the network, which contradicts

notions of journalistic truth based in impartiality, the scientific method, and the verification of facts (Jenkins, 2006). Networks continually self-create and recreate and transform themselves as a result of their own internal processes and the members of which they are comprised. As Stalder (2006) says, "through continuous interdefinition of its elements, selective sensitivity to inputs, and emergent effects, networks bring forth their own world, rather than merely reacting to, or acting upon, an environment shared by everyone" (p. 183). In a network, emergent effects result from the interaction of all elements in a network and cannot be reduced to only a few (Stalder, 2006). Networked media is an outlet where anyone can express themselves and their interests and collaborate with others to spur innovation. Through flowing information, innovation travels from place to place and is transformed and becomes, itself, a part of the constitution of the very networks it had flowed through (Stalder, 2006, 2). In regard to news, there is no single influence or authority determining content, but instead there are multiple, interacting factors, or "chaos" (McNair, 2006, p. 1).

As with postmodern sentiment, in networks truth is an elusive concept of flowing meanings and interconnected relationships that cannot be attributed to only one entity (for example, to the economy, politics, culture or technology) (Castells, 2000). The meaning of one's message is influenced by power structures, other actors in the network, one's assumptions and background, and is then influenced or changed again by the receivers of a message. Because the network is interconnected, non-linear and contingent (McNair, 2006), meaning cannot be sent from sender to receiver without influences from the network and

without sending ripple effects of meaning out to the network, which mainly manifests itself on the Internet (Castells, 2000).

The Internet lowers barriers by allowing anyone with a computer, smartphone, or mobile device to engage and become a publisher. In this flexible network structure, there is a decreased emphasis on authoritative forms of knowledge (Canter, 2011; Castells, 2000, 2007; Chang, 2010; Friedman, 2007; Himelboim & Lewis, 2011; McNair, 2006; Singer, 2011). Elite institutions, including those of mediated communications, are no longer the exclusive agents of communication. Experts, including journalists, are being replaced by networks of information gatherers (Castells, 2000). The concept of a singular or a few truth-seeking and disseminating gatekeepers is less relevant, since everyone has access to the means to gather and disseminate media to a potentially mass audience. This concept is what Castells (2007; 2010) calls "mass self-communication." It is mass because of its potential to reach a large audience, but "self" because it is self-created, self-directed and self-selected (p. 239). Rather than meaning coming from such an authority, representation and meaning are generated by a "flow" of text and images through networks of humans and non-humans (Self, Beliveau & Igiel, 2012).

In place of such hierarchy of knowledge creation is what Jenkins (2006) calls "collective intelligence." Within this environment, there is a convergence of professional and amateur content creators, old and new modes of communication, local and global, individual and communal, grassroots or corporate ideals, and even sender and receiver (Jenkins, 2006). This notion of collective intelligence essentially states that not any one person knows

everything, but everybody knows a little, and together, they can know much. Through the Internet, such collection of ideas is possible. A similar concept is that of crowdsourcing, in which a job once performed by employees is outsourced to a large, undefined group of people, usually over the Internet (Howe, 2006, 2008). For example, stock photography used to be a very expensive product sold by professionals. Those who needed photography for designs had to buy them for over $100, but crowdsourcing web sites, such as iStockphoto, allow thousands of users a network through which people can contribute photographs and sell them for roughly one dollar each (Howe, 2006). This concept was exemplified by Jenkins (2006) in his case study of "Survivor Spoilers." Essentially, these are fans of the show, "Survivor" who network around the world with one another via online community and collectively search and gather information regarding the show. They no longer turn to legacy media for the information they need, but turn to their network to find more specific information and in a more timely matter than the news media could provide. They research everything from the location of next season's show to the order in which members will be cast off. With their varied locations around the world and collective information, a great deal of accurate information can be accumulated. This example highlights how citizens, using mediated social networks, are capable of providing the kinds of information that in pre-Internet years was only available from mainstream media companies.

Summary: The Changing Media Landscape

The Internet has facilitated a shift from a mass model of communication in which a powerful media system sends messages to a large and anonymous

audience to a more competitive, network media system. There has been a breakdown of absolute faith in an authoritative source of knowledge, a collapsing of hierarchy, and an increased reliance on collective forms of knowledge that shift and change (Castells, 2000; Jenkins, 2006; Lessig, 2008; McNair, 2006; Stalder, 2006). The movement toward increased citizen involvement and audience control is not exclusive to the development of the Internet, but is part of larger movements of community emphasis, decreased hierarchy, and a lack of faith in authorities, all of which fly in the face of traditional media organizations' routines and values and disrupt traditional media business models. Postmodernism, for example, breeds a culture of skeptical of any singular claim to truth and an authority on the truth, as well as a dissolution between the real and apparent (Lyotard, 1984). And while communitarian sentiment had encouraged more citizen involvement in the newsmaking process (Christians et al., 1993), the network society unleashed these trends into a reality (Castells, 1999). The effects of this changing media landscape upon professional journalistic values and routines are many. The next chapter of this dissertation will look at those values and routines of professional journalists and photojournalists.

Chapter 3:

Journalism Professionalism

Professions are occupations with a public-service orientation, an exclusive knowledgebase and skillset, and the autonomy to control their values and practices, including who may enter the profession. Journalists' control over the practices, values and knowledge of journalism is threatened with the Internet, which allows everyone to be a publisher (Singer, 2011). Amateurs are not trained to possess any particular skillset or knowledgebase, and they do not have to subscribe to any standardized values or practices. Yet, professional journalists are now having to compete with amateur content creators (Becker & Vlad, 2011; Keen, 2008). Essentially, non-professionals are doing work that used to be under the command of professionals. Thus, to distinguish themselves as professionals and reassert control over their occupation, journalists are turning to their professional values (Beam et al., 2009; Singer, 2011; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). The characteristics and values of professions and, particularly, journalism professionalism, are the topic of this chapter.

Specifically, this chapter will explore these elements of professionalism, followed by a discussion of journalism's fit within these criteria. The professional values of journalists will be described first through normative theories of the press and then through social constructivism theory. The normative theory of Libertarianism, will first be discussed, which are Enlightenment ideals that were applied in the modern era as a basis for professional values (Schudson & Tifft, 2005). This will be followed by a discussion of Social Responsibility theory as a reaction against these Libertarian

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assumptions (Merrill, 1989; Siebert, 1956). A discussion of how newsroom routines may "undercut" and "constrain" journalistic values (Gade, 2011, p. 70) will then be given through a review of social constructivism studies (e.g. Tuchman, 1979). Finally, the values and routines that journalists use to define themselves as professionals will be summarized as they exist largely in newsrooms today and are taught and codified in journalistic education settings.

Professions

Professionals are workers who are different from other (occupational) workers for a number of reasons. Some professions are defined mainly upon licensing or other clear standards for membership (Durkheim, 1992; Parsons, 1951), while other professions base their sense of professionalism entirely upon their norms, values, attributes and functions (Beam, 2003; Becker & Carper, 1956). Regardless, all professionals proclaim to serve society and provide unique contributions to culture (Lynn, 1965). They can perform tasks with a unique social value because they carry specialized knowledge that sets them apart from other workers (Freidson, 1984). Without the services of professionals, society would not function as well. Professionals have a unique attitude of "commitment and concern" for their work and for society, that is not commonly found in non-professional workers (Freidson, 1984, p. 2). By serving society, professionals are set apart from other occupations, which primarily function for economic reasons.

Professionals hold a high degree of specialized knowledge that is usually obtained through educational training and/or specialized degrees (Larson, 1977). Command of abstract and unique knowledge through education is the

one characteristic of a profession that spans most scholars' classifications of what comprises professionalism (Haug, 1977). Most occupations that are working to gain the status of an "ideal" occupation – a profession – begin by starting four-year degree programs in the field (Becker & Vlad, 2011, p. 251). Professionals' ability to maintain their "command" over knowledge and thus build an economic market shelter is due, in part, to the abstract academic knowledge that they possess (Abbott, 1988; Becker & Vlad, 2011, p. 250). Education requirements provide an entry barrier into the field and gives professionals prestige and societal exclusiveness, while upholding their legitimacy (Abbott, 1988).

The public service-nature of professions along with their exclusive knowledge base allows professionals to define their values and practices and control entry into the field (Freidson, 1984). Entry barriers are erected by professions' requiring potential workers to possess unique skills, esoteric knowledge, high levels of education and special credentials. These requirements are presumed to be necessary for working in the profession. Together, these factors allow professionals to build a protective "market shelter" (Becker & Vlad, 2011; Freidson, 1984) which guards the profession from economic influences and gives them autonomy. Professionals build these market shelters, according to Lynn (1965), because the "unseen hand" of capitalism, though it is supposed to, does not always lend itself to the social values that professionals claim to profess. Professions can gain autonomy over their practices by freeing themselves from the control of the "unseen hand" through gaining control of their corner of the economic marketplace. Once this market shelter is built,

professionals can avoid much competition and control who is able to work in the field (Becker & Vlad, 2011; Freidson, 1984). Further, this knowledge legitimates the work of professions, and allows its workers to diagnose and treat problems and conceptualize new methods for carrying out their work. For example, lawyers use their court reports to reshape legal doctrine (Abbott, 1988). Professions that do not diagnose and treat new problems have a weakened claim to holding professional jurisdiction. Professions must continuously evolve and make a case that their practices are based on unique skills sets and knowledge (Becker & Vlad, 2011).

The education and training that professionals undergo inform the values and norms that guide how they conduct their work. Given their autonomy, members of the profession can institutionalize the expectations and standards of work performance (Barber, 1965; Beam, 1993). Occupational workers have less control over their practices, and primarily work for their own self-interests and perform less essential, less specialized services (Barber, 1965). These norms and values become codified, reinforcing their importance and the need for professionals to pass this knowledge to those wishing to enter the profession (Abbott, 1988). Such sharing of codified values generally takes place through further education, professional societies and codes of ethics (Wilensky, 1964), but Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) also explain that professional values are enforced by "the silent pressure of opinion and tradition" (p. 403). Professionals are characterized by these shared values, goals, and norms that they select and share with other members of their profession (Abbott, 1988; Lieberman, 1956). Professional values, in other words, are not given by an authority, but are

institutionalized by its members and reinforced through education, training, professional associations, systems for awarding its members, and codes of ethics (Lynn, 1965). The institutionalized values act as a mechanism of control within the profession. Members come to understand the goals and values that are accepted or not accepted by their fellow professionals (Beam, 2003, p. 371). This shared system of beliefs gives the professionals cohesiveness (Deuze, 2005).

Summarizing the literature, Beam, Weaver and Brownlee (2009) say that in order for an occupation to become a profession, several criteria must be met: 1) It is organized around a body of knowledge of specialized technique, 2) members have autonomy to carry out their work, 3) members put public service ahead of economic gain, 4) a professional culture exists that includes organizations that promote its values, norms and symbols, 5) members are socialized through education and training, 6) members produce an unstandardized product, and 7) the occupation is usually lifelong and terminal (p. 278-279). Consistent with these criteria, Lieberman (1956) adds: 1) the occupation must perform a unique and essential service, 2) its members must accept broad personal responsibility for judgments and actions, and 3) it must have a code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted by concrete cases (p. 2-6)

Journalism as a profession. Journalism is not a profession in a strict sense, but has been labeled a semi-profession because journalists possess some, but not all of the characteristics of professionals (Beam, 1993). For instance, there are no clear barriers to enter the occupation of journalism, no

comprehensive self-governing body, and specialized training is not always necessary. Journalists do not hold a specialized body of knowledge (Merrill, 2006). Conceptual knowledge is important to professions as it legitimizes their work by clarifying their values, generally the values of rationality, logic and science (Abbott, 1988). Journalism as a profession is based upon the general value of upholding democracy through providing citizens the information they need to self-govern (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). But in articulating more specific values, journalists have a difficult time (Picard, 2009) and are struggling with this even more in a digital age when they need to distinguish themselves from other creators of content (Singer, 2009). Journalists "have argued that they know news when they see it" because of their skills and training, but this explanation is vague (Becker & Vlad, 2011, p. 254). Defining values allows professionals to trace their practices to larger cultural values and to legitimize their work. It also allows professionals to generate new ideas, methods, and solutions to problems (Abbott, 1988).

Journalists possess a degree of autonomy to exercise professional judgment. Workers are able to use their own education and training to decide what news stories they would like to cover. "'Professional" journalists control the information-selection process" (Beam, 1996, p. 287), profess to abide by a code of ethics, place emphasis on service and have a professional culture that includes organizations that promote its values, norms and symbols. For example, in journalism, even though not fully a profession (Beam, 1993), the workers have been successful in institutionalizing objectivity as a standard of professional practice. Journalists are indeed socialized through education and

training, and carry a body of knowledge and specialized routines (Breed, 1955; Tuchman, 1978).

Journalism defines itself as a profession by its norms, values and functions. It is not as controlled as some other professions; it requires no special education or licensing much as the medical or law professions do. But the norms, values and practices of the profession can still be held up as standards by which journalists can be terminated (Beam, 2003). Because journalists are losing control over the exclusiveness of their practices, they are relying more heavily on their values, specialization, norms, techniques, and unique body of knowledge to define themselves as professionals (Singer, 2011; Sjovaag, 2011a; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Historically, journalists have met an important criterion of professionalism: They had unique access to the public (or mass) communication space, a means by which they could perform an essential service that most others could not (Lieberman, 1956). The specific services that journalists do and *should* provide are debated – to present news, interpret, entertain, be objective, fair, balanced, provide a forum for citizens (Merrill, 1974). Journalists generally provide useful information and ideas, a sense of belonging and community, reassurance and security, and escape (Picard, 2009), and they see themselves as upholders of democracy by providing information that the citizens need to self-govern (Ward, 2004).

Scholars have summarized the specific values that underlie the profession of journalism in similar but varying classifications. Through a review of literature, Deuze (2005) found that journalists carry not identical, but similar concepts, values and elements worldwide. The values that Deuze summarized

were identified by journalism authors (Golding & Elliott, 1979; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Merritt, 1995) and are consolidated to five: 1) public service, 2) objectivity, 3) autonomy, 4) immediacy and 5) ethics. Journalists also define their social functions as disseminators, interpreters, watchdogs and populist mobilizers (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007). Beam (1993) asserts that professionalism in journalism varies by organization, and that larger news organizations exhibit more of these characteristics as they have more resources. Higher degrees of editorial aggressiveness and greater control over the newsgathering process are also indicators of journalism professionalism. Beam (1993) identified eight criteria that characterize journalism organizations as professional: professional development, resource commitment, impartial practices, occupational prizes for the application of values to practice, editorial aggressiveness, news process control, professional involvement, and overall professional practices. Through specialized training, shared values, and being rewarded for one's work, journalists learn to conduct their work in a "professional" manner. All of these shared values provide credibility to audiences for what journalists do (Deuze, 2005).

To summarize, professions are defined by specialized knowledge and techniques as well as their unique values, norms and goals (Abbott, 1988; Lieberman, 1956) and these standards and skills allow professionals to control entry into the field and build a protective market shelter (Freidson, 1984; Larson, 1977). As their techniques become less exclusive to themselves, journalists have been relying on their values to a greater degree to define themselves as professionals (Singer, 2011; Sjovaag, 2011a; Witschge & Nygren,

2009). The following sections of this dissertation will look at the values that define journalists as professionals through the lens of normative theory and social construction theory.

Normative theory. Normative theories of the press describe an ideal way for media systems to be structured and operated rather than a description of the way media systems actually are (Baran & Davis, 2006). They address the "shoulds" and "should nots" of the press. Normative theories define the value system of journalism, and adherence to these values defines the specific attributes of journalism professionalism. The normative theories that guide U.S. journalism and much of journalism in the Western world are Libertarianism and Social Responsibility (Merrill, 1974; Siebert et al., 1956).

Libertarian Theory. The ideals that support Libertarian theory, including rationality, freedom and autonomy, can be traced to the Enlightenment (Gade, 2011, p. 64; Siebert, 1956, Merrill, 1974). Enlightenment thought prescribed science as a method for finding the truth rather than blind faith in God or the monarchy (Merrill, 1974; Williams, 1999). Man is seen as capable of using his reason to self-govern if he has access to the ideas of others and free discussion, thus providing the rationale for an independent and free press that provides citizens with unbiased information.

One of the legacies of the Enlightenment – in part due to the growth of a middle class – was the translation and clarification of arcane language of the 17th century academy as well as providing wider public access to the ideas it contained, making deeper understanding and broader attention to earlier writings possible (Williams, 1999). The Enlightenment of the 18th century was

therefore fed by earlier works, including those of John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Michel de Montaigne and Rene Descartes (Williams, 1999). The 16th century scientist Copernicus, for example, asserted that the earth goes around the sun. When Galileo demonstrated by mathematics that this was correct, a trend of scientific thinking apart from the authority of the church had begun. Sir Issac Newton (1642-1727) was chiefly responsible for unveiling the concept that physical nature is rational, and highly inconsistent with social customs, traditions and religious rules (Love, 2008). It became clear to thinkers of the Enlightenment that just as there are natural laws that govern the physical nature, as discovered in the scientific revolution, there is also a natural way in which humans function. Through reason – a concept promoted by John Locke in his 1689 *Two Treatises on Government* – humans can discover the truth (Love, 2008). This ability to reason was viewed as belonging to the common people, whereas in pre-Enlightenment thought, "truth" was viewed as emanating exclusively from God or spoken through the authority of the monarchy. In the early 17th century, Grotius advocated cutting the links between divine and natural law and therefore theology and natural law; his ideas contributed to later Enlightenment thinkers. The Enlightenment fed on this mentality of "empirical interrogation of past dogma and theory, of rational challenge to authority and tradition, of skepticism, scientific inquiry, increasing secularism and humanitarianism" (Williams, 1999, p. 7). As a result, the times were marked by a confidence in the ability of people to understand themselves in the present and to improve their futures.

Several developments during the Enlightenment in 17th and 18th centuries Europe led to a shift in ideas and attitudes from a belief in God to a belief in human rationality (Israel, 2011). During this period, advances in travel and the abundance of travel literature offered people a view of civilized and ordered, yet non-Christian cultures (Love, 2008). After the English Civil War, the power of the monarchy was decreased and the power of the parliament was increased, creating a more democratic state. France underwent revolution in the late 18th century leading to the eventual breakdown of aristocracy, religious authority, and monarchy. The growing European economy saw a growing bourgeois class that sought influence in politics and economics, which became less reliant on the church and king for direction and authority. Knowledge, overall, was seen as a result of reason and reflection rather than revelation from God or mandate from monarchial authority (Israel, 2011; Love, 2008). The leading philosophers of the Enlightenment used confidence in human reason to defy the authority of tradition (Israel, 2011). Observation and science along with the belief that common man could use his reason to solve problems were replacing blind faith in the authority of the church and the monarch (Love, 2008). To Enlightenment thinkers, these traditions were considered a source of ignorance and superstition. These superstitions were replaced by knowledge, reason, science and individualism.

Enlightenment philosophy sees man as an ethical, rational animal, capable of organizing ideas, making sense of the world and self-governing using information, as long as he is kept free from outside restrictions in receiving and sharing that information (Merrill, 1974; Love, 2008; Siebert, 1956). The belief

that reality and truth are governed by universal laws of nature, and that an absolute truth could be discovered, measured and controlled by man undergirds Enlightenment thought (Baran & Davis, 2006; Gans, 1979). Reason, not authority, is seen as a method for finding the truth (Mindich, 1998). Kant, in his seminal 1784 essay, "What is the Enlightenment," described the Enlightenment as "man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity." By immaturity, he meant man's inability to use his own understanding without another's guidance. In this essay, Kant declared the motto of the Enlightenment "Sapere aude!" or "Have courage to use your own understanding!" (as cited in Williams, 1999, p. 2). The spirit of the Enlightenment was marked by using the human mind, the freedom to think and express one's self, and avoiding self-imposed and other external controls (Williams, 1999). Reason and common sense were seen as the means to make man happier. Using this reason, truth will make itself evident to those who seek it (Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956).

These ideals provide the basis for free expression (Gade, 2011). In order to exercise reason and seek and uncover truth in the human world, it is important that people have unlimited access to the ideas of others and that discussion is open and free. John Milton, in the mid-1600s, believed that the truth was demonstrable and would reveal itself in an "open market place of ideas" (as cited in Siebert, 1956, p. 44). Kant stated that what is needed for enlightenment is "freedom to make public use of one's reason in all matters" (as cited in Reiss & Nisbett, p. 54). And, later, John Stuart Mill in the late-19th century championed freedom of expression and believed that no voice should be silenced, lest the truth is silenced (Schmuhl & Picard, 2005). The common goal

was the reform of society and patterns of thought for the benefit of human liberty, which included "freedom from arbitrary power, freedom of speech, freedom of trade, freedom to realize one's talents, freedom … freedom, in a word, of moral man to make his way in the world" (Gay, 1967, p. 3; Love, 2008). The philosophical Enlightenment ideas are resilient, spanning from Milton in the mid-1600s through John Stuart Mill in the mid-1800s, and leading up to modern thinking regarding professional values in journalism.

Applying these ideals of free and open discussion to the press, then, the Libertarian theory of the press prescribes negative freedom, or freedom *from* outside constraint – especially by the government (Merrill, Gade & Blevens, 2001; Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956). The basic assumption behind negative freedom is that if everyone is able to speak without constraint, the few people who abuse press freedom will be exposed by those who choose to discredit them, and that people will be able to use reason to uncover the truth (Siebert, 1956). In order for people to find truth and make sense of it–and thus, self-govern– there must exist a free flow of information without state or external control, and the citizenry as well as the press must be void of outside restrictions on their capacity to use reason and rationality for solving problems (Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956). This is why Thomas Jefferson and framers of the U.S. Constitution promoted the autonomous and unrestricted press that has marked much of U.S. modern journalism history (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Siebert, 1956). Theoretically, under this view, journalists can provide information to the citizenry, and the citizens can make their own conclusions and form their own opinions. Complete freedom for journalists to say whatever they want without

constraint or obligation is championed, as the truth is said to rise from the diversity of views that are discussed in the marketplace of ideas (Merrill, 1974). Independence from outside constraint ensures that journalists are able to serve as independent monitors of power, particularly of the government (Merrill, 1974; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Important to this Libertarian view is that the press is under no obligation to do anything, as obligation contradicts the concept of freedom. Therefore, "truth is what journalists consider fit to call truth, just as news is what they decide is news – nothing more and nothing less" (Merrill, 1974, p. 167).

In sum, the Libertarian Theory of the press draws from the Enlightenment ideas applied to the modern era, including reason, freedom, and autonomy. The period of Enlightenment saw a transition from a reliance on God and the divine rights of monarchies to a belief in human rationality and science (Israel, 2011). These ideas precipitated from earlier thinkers such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Rene Descartes who discovered natural laws that govern physical nature. Enlightenment thinkers believed that there are natural laws that also govern humans and, therefore, men are capable of organizing ideas, making sense of the world and self-governing (Love, 2008, Merrill, 1974). It was believed that if all voices could be heard, truth would reveal itself in the marketplace of ideas, providing the basis for the idea of free expression (as cited in Siebert, 1956). The Libertarian theory of the press applies these free-expression ideals to journalism, prescribing a free press that is independent from outside constraint. The press provides information so that people can self-govern, debate in the open market of ideas and monitor of

powerful institutions (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001; Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956). The Libertarian Theory of the press prescribes freedom from outside constraint, so that those rational people who will speak can do so, discrediting those with incorrect ideas. The truth is said to rise from amongst the open place of discussion.

Social Responsibility. Contemporary journalism gained its values not only from freedom philosophy but also from a mid-century normative shift toward social responsibility (Borden, 2007; Merrill, 1974; Siebert et al., 1956). In a post World-War II environment, after which the world had seen the media used for great harm with the rise of Hitler and wartime propaganda, faith in the media to operate freely waned (Peterson, 1956). Technology, generally, was viewed with suspicion after the development of the first nuclear bombs. People were perceived as vulnerable to an increasingly powerful, concentrated media system, and their ability to use their rationality in the face of such media was weakened (Peterson, 1956; Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947). Critics of the press system, including the Commission on Freedom of the Press, argued that the media were too powerful to operate without a devotion to social responsibility.

After debating for two years, the 1947 Commission on Freedom of the Press published the report *A Free and Responsible Press* on the rightful roles of the U.S. press in an increasingly complex society and world. The report was financed by Henry R. Luce, publisher and founder of *Time, Inc.* through a $200,000 contribution to the president of the University of Chicago, Robert Hutchins (Christians & Nordenstreng, 2009; Nerone, 1995). When the framers

of the constitution created an amendment establishing press freedom and libertarian principles, they did not specify any responsibilities. But obligation toward such responsibilities is exactly what the Hutchins Commission and its first articulation of Social Responsibility theory advocates. Advocates of Social Responsibility felt that freedom carries obligation, and the press, because it has privileges and complete freedom under the government, is obligated to be responsible to society for carrying out some essential functions (Peterson, 1956). Rather than advocate negative freedom in which the press is free from outside constraint, Social Responsibility prescribes positive freedom in which the press is free *to* fulfill its goals, and is given the tools that it needs. Negative freedom, according to the Social Responsibility theory of the press, is not enough; it is like "telling a man he is free to walk without first making sure he is not crippled" (p. 94). In negative freedom, freedom is left to chance; with Social Responsibility, freedom must be actively pursued. Even if that means the government interject to prevent press abuses.

Essentially, the commission said that unrestrained freedom had led the press to do a poor job of informing citizens of what they need to know to function well in a democracy, and a commitment toward social responsibility must be imposed upon the media (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947). The commission feared that the public sphere—the area of public opinion spanning the public and private spheres, which "put the state in touch with the needs of society"–was disappearing, and press-led communal discourse was needed to revive it (Christians, et al., 1993; Habermas, 1989, p. 31). Social Responsibility Theory posits that the responsibility of journalists is to give

citizens an understanding of the information that citizenship requires (Christians et al., 1993). The commission therefore said that it is no longer enough to present mere facts to readers, but it is necessary to also present the truth about those facts (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947).

Leading up to the publication of the report, several trends were taking place that fostered an environment advocating a more responsible press (Christians et al., 1993; Peterson, 1956). The technological and industrial revolution increased the size and speed of the press as well as a growing volume of advertising. The press was controlled by fewer owners, and became overall more powerful. As the media grew in size, they were criticized for wielding power for their own ends, propagating their own opinions, being subservient to business and advertisers, being controlled largely by the business class. Critics asserted that the press had resisted social change, and paid more attention to sensational than substantive stories, endangering public morals. The Enlightenment spirit was under suspicion, as man came to be regarded not as moral and rational, but as "irrational and lethargic" (Peterson, 1956, p. 100). People therefore, in this media-saturated environment, were seen as vulnerable to advertisements and demagogues or other media messages with selfish intentions. There was lessened belief that people were naturally inclined to seek the truth, and that everyone could speak freely. The Hutchins Commission had less faith in this self-righting principle. Under Social Responsibility, even citizens are not considered to have the right to be uninformed or misinformed. Instead, the citizen is seen as morally obligated to be informed, and the press is seen as morally obligated to inform for the good of society. Enlightenment

ideals were criticized in general as being too focused on individual autonomy at the expense of society and community (Christians, et al., 1993).

Those in the community who are more rational must "goad [those with less rationality] into the exercise of his reason" (p. 100). And this is the press's responsibility. The press, essentially, has the same functions as under Libertarianism: Servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs, enlightening the public to make it capable of self-government, safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government, servicing the economic system by bringing together buyers and sellers, providing entertainment, and maintaining financial self-sufficiency so as to not pander to powerful institutions and advertisers (p. 74). However, Social Responsibility advocates think that the press has not performed these duties well and in the right proportion. As Peterson (1956) explains, Social Responsibility "accepts the role of the press as servicing the economic system, but it would not have this task take precedence over such other functions as promoting the democratic processes or enlightening the public. It accepts the role of the press in furnishing entertainment but with the provision that the entertainment be 'good' entertainment." (p. 74). Social Responsibility advocates less press freedom and more press responsibilities (Fukuyama, 1992; Merrill et al., 2001), and places value on the journalists' abilities to ignite public involvement and conversation.

Specifically, the commission said that the press should: Provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the days events in a context which gives them meaning, 2) Provide a forum for the exchange of comment

and criticism, 3) Project a representative picture of the constituent groups of society, 4) Be responsible for presenting and clarifying the goals and values of society, and 5) Provide full access to a day's intelligence (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 21-28). The first requirement states that journalists are to provide not only the facts, but also the truth about the facts, in a context that make sense to readers. The second requirement admonishes the press to be regarded as carriers of public discourse, providing space and incentive for the community to talk. The third requirement states that the press should also publish ideas and views that are contrary to its own and that of the publishers and advertisers. The fourth requirement admonishes the press to be responsible for improving the community by reinforcing its values. And the final requirement – to provide full access to the day's intelligence, essentially developed the idea that the public has the right to be informed, what has become known as "the public's right to know" -- and it is the responsibility of journalists to do the informing (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; Merrill, 1974).

To summarize, journalism gained its contemporary values from not only Libertarian principles, but also from an emphasis on social responsibility articulated by the Commission on Freedom of the Press. The theory advocates for a less free and more responsible press, positing that freedom carries with it a responsibility to society (Peterson, 1956). This responsibility must be imposed on the press system, as the press has done a poor job of informing the citizenry. The theory questions Enlightenment assumptions regarding human rationality, peoples' inclination to find the truth, and the existence of a marketplace of ideas

in a commercial mass media system. The theory states that the media carry too power in a modern society to be free of obligation, and news media should serve the democratic needs and interests of citizens. The press, under this theory, is still expected to provide information, enlighten the public, serve as a watchdog against the government, but is held responsible for performing these duties properly, with the threat of outside intervention for not doing so (Peterson, 1956). Social Responsibility theory posits that journalism must improve if it is to provide citizens with the information they need to self-govern.

Objectivity: Its history as a journalistic norm. The development of journalistic values, particularly objectivity, can also be explained through historical accounts of the development and growth of the journalism industry. Objectivity, although it is a concept under scrutiny by many journalists and scholars (Mindich, 1998), is still "widespread" (Schudson, 1978, p. 3) and a "dominant" news strategy (Mindich, 1998, p. 9). Some go as far as to say that journalism has adopted the value of objectivity as the ideal prerequisite of excellence, providing "the lifeblood of deliberation" in a democratic society (Ward, 2004, p. 10). Accounts of the antecedents for objectivity and its many manifestations, or "strategic rituals" are varied (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011, p. 101). But the routines of combining facts from many varied sources, writing in an inverted pyramid style, balancing viewpoints, detachment, non-partisanship, balance, the use of official sources, and maintaining independence from those people and institutions that journalists cover (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Mindich, 1998; Schudson, 2001) are often associated with the pursuit of objectivity and are well-ingrained within the journalism industry (Mindich,

1998). The following paragraphs will explain the development of objectivity as a journalism professional value and practice, its societal and technological origins in the 19th century, and its economic rationale in the modern, mass media era.

Journalism developed its professional norms during the Progressive Era, at a time when many other occupations were professionalizing, and adopting scientific methods as a basis for their professional values (Schudson & Tifft, 2005). The ideals of late 19th century modernity, with its embrace of rationality and science, logically fostered many of the values of journalism, especially objectivity as a scientific method for finding the truth (Merrill, et al., 2001). Schudson (1978) quotes lawyer Clarence Darrow in expressing the dominant view of the late 19th century: "The world has grown tired of preachers and sermons; to-day it asks for facts'" (p. 72-73). The ideals of modernity are informed by several Enlightenment constructs, including a belief in rationality, science as the best way of knowing, and orderly processes with hierarchical structures to ensure efficiency (Gans, 1979; Merrill, 1974). This view holds that science as a basis for finding the truth in the natural world can also be applied to people and can be used by journalists to reveal the truth, which is reported in the news (Gans, 1979; Schudson & Tifft, 2005; Williams, 1999). The mid-to-late 1800s saw scientific advances in medicine, transportation, communication and photography (Israel, 2011; Love, 2008; Williams, 1999). Advances in science to treat medical conditions are particularly apparent in the case study of cholera, a disease that took 90 percent fewer lives in 1866 than in 1832 due to scientific discoveries in antiseptics and an abandoned faith in superstitions and complete reliance on prayer for the treatment of disease (Mindich, 1998).

Journalists, too, embraced a growing reverence for science. Fields of study in the social sciences began to be more scientific, and "objectivity" became the norm for many of these fields (Mindich, 1998, p. 107). In embracing this scientific spirit, the assumption is that journalists can withhold biases, seek multiple views, be balanced and fair in their reporting–be objective and scientific–and therefore write accurate reports so that the citizenry can participate in democracy (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Overall, journalism developed an unyielding faith in "facts, truth, and reality" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 104). Mindich (1998) describes the modern aura of the time as the lifting of a "haze" of religion and mysticism, a haze that had been lifting since the Enlightenment.

Schudson (1978) writes that the application of objectivity to journalism could be seen, in part, as a result of the economic-mindedness of newspapers after the invention of the penny press. Up until the 1820s, newspapers were small and mostly contained advertising and small news items that generally expressed the opinion of the political party that financed the paper (Schudson, 1978). The conception of the penny press in the 1830s became the basis for a more economically-minded newspaper, as cheaper papers developed that accepted advertising not only from a political party, but almost anyone who would pay. It was not until this time that newspapers became both economically and politically unbiased and independent. This was the early development of what Mindich (1998) considers one of the characteristics of objectivity: nonpartisanship. The paper, by taking an impartial stance, would not offend segments of the audience, giving it a broader appeal, which also was

attractive to advertisers. Independent reporting as an element of objectivity led to more thorough, less biased reporting, and increased economic gain.

The 19th century development of the inverted pyramid as a style of writing and presenting news also reflected the growing reverence for impartiality (objectivity) in news (Mindich, 1998). Objectivity has been tied to the invention of the telegraph, which made it important to get the most important information over often unreliable telegraph lines (Stephens, 1996). Mindich (1998) traces the first use of the inverted pyramid, using the "objective ordering of facts" to the *New York Herald* in 1865 in reporting the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Upon the shooting, the Associated Press dispatched an urgent telegraph to New York detailing the "5 Ws" of the event. This was a drastic change from the writing style of previous times in which stories were written in chronological order, building up to the main news. Whether this report of Abraham Lincoln's death was truly a direct precursor to the use of the inverted pyramid style, to this day, writing in the inverted style is a typical style of journalistic writing used to report the facts.

To summarize, the development of the journalistic value of objectivity can be explained through historical accounts of journalism. These accounts include the development of journalism during the Progressive Era during which science was embraced by many fields and the development of technological innovations that could have encouraged the use of methods associated with objectivity, including the inverted pyramid structure and lead-writing (Mindich, 1998). Further, the economic-mindedness of the newspaper industry after the invention of the penny press has also been cited as facilitating the use of

objectivity in journalism, as objective reports appeal to a broader audience (Mindich, 1998; Schudson, 1978).

   The social construction of reality. As stated, normative theories of the press describe and prescribe ideal conditions. The development of the journalistic professional values in the 19th century is consistent with the broader social trends of the embrace of science, but scholars have since showed the limits of some of these normative values as they are applied in journalism practice. Scholars in the 1960s and '70s began to take an interest in studying the sociology of journalism, studying the forces that impact the creation of news content. This scholarship (e.g. Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1972) generally found that the day-to-day routines that journalists follow in order to provide enough content each day conflict with the values that journalists proclaim to embrace. Press criticisms, including social constructivism, described journalistic values – particularly objectivity – not as a social science, but a social construction flawed by the routines of the newsroom (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1972; Zelizer, 2004).

   Berger and Luckmann (1966) in *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, explain the process by which "knowledge" and "reality"– as taken-for-granted givens – come to be: they are, they assert, socially manufactured. This theory explains how routines within a social context such as the newsroom can come to be embraced as values, but conflict with the original values of the social group. Media scholars studying the sociology of news began to find how journalism values are often compromised in journalism practice, including how the media's agenda to make money conflicts with finding truths, creating a marketplace of ideas and serving society

(Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1972; Tunstall, 1971). Journalism's values are seen as less of a social science and more of a human construction.

Journalism routines. The development of such critiques raises questions about journalism as a social science and an entirely objective practice. Journalism values, particularly the embrace of objectivity, are revealed as being limited by the realities of the newsroom. Tuchman (1978), through participant observation in four newsrooms and interviews with print and television journalists, found that news is not a picture of an objective reality, but "the product of newsworkers drawing upon institutional processes and conforming to institutional practices" (p. 4). The reality of the newsroom, she concluded, is that journalists are bound by routines that assist journalists in getting the news produced in a timely matter. Routines are "those patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 105). For example, journalists routinely write in the inverted pyramid style, rely on news values to decide which topics to cover, and use official sources to gather information (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Journalists, because they live "by the clock" (Schudson, 2003, p. 2), need ways to organize and report the unpredictable events occurring in a day. Routines make this task feasible. Journalists work within these predictable and stable patterns to find "how, why, and where to gather the news" (Schudson, 2003, p. 34; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Tuchman, 1978).

But such routines undercut journalists' ability to write purely objective, complete stories that reflect the world as it is. Journalists use news values to make news decisions more standard and routine. Shoemaker & Reese (1996) in

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writing about the factors that shape the social construction of news, recognize six "news values," similar to Tuchman's concept of typifications: prominence/importance, human interest, conflict/controversy, the unusual, timeliness, and proximity. Similar news values are found in other newsroom studies (e.g. Breed, 1980; Gans, 2004). These news values are often related to deviance from societal norms, including those events that are new, rare, unusual, pathological or important (Shoemaker, Chang & Brendlinger, 1987). Those who divert from these social norms receive more – and less favorable – coverage (Shoemaker et al., 1987). By focusing on primarily what is abnormal, the news media teach audiences what is normal and confirm the status quo. Because of the nature of these newsworthy criteria, journalists tend to expose disorder rather than order and dissonance rather than harmony (Schudson, 2003).

Journalists further tend to typify events by covering happenings that reflect U.S. culture. In *Deciding What's News*, Gans (2004) finds that certain "enduring values" are inextricable from the news and influence the selection of stories. He finds middle-class values of ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, moderatism and order. The large amount of news is then "winnowed and weeded" (p. 12) through applying typifications, including hard news, soft news, spot news or continuing news. These typifications eventually become so routine as to become "part of the reporter's professional stock of knowledge-at-hand" (p. 58). Being a professional reporter means being able to use and reuse the typifications.

In order to find these topics, reporters and editors are traditionally dispersed into a "newsnet" of beats, for example, largely associated with

legitimated, powerful institutions to find news (Tuchman, 1978). Reliance on convenient and scheduled events is one way that journalists can organize the abundance of news that occurs each day. The "event" is a routine useful for news organizations because it is predictable, its planning and time and place make news coverage more easily planned, and events have a beginning and end and serve both the media's interest in finding content and the source's interests in promoting their cause (Boorstin, 1978). Boorstin refers to these pre-planned happenings as "pseudo-events" as they are designed to provide publicity for the event's organizers while serving the news media's scheduling needs.

Also as a result of the newsnet and a need to fill the newspaper, reporters often rely on easily-accessible sources–official spokespersons, press releases, wire services, public relations practitioners and official sources (Deuze, 2008; Gans, 1979; Schudson, 2011; Tuchman, 1978). Government workers, experts, elites and officials are frequently used as sources because of their predictability and availability (Gans, 1979; Schudson & Tifft, 2005). Journalists rely on and develop relationships with sources on their beat, with public relations agents, officials, and even other journalists and peers to find the news (Gans, 2004). "Balance" is created by gathering information from two sides of a story, but balance does not equate to truth. By presenting two sides of the story, even if that means presenting the views of the American Cancer Society along with those of the cigarette industry (Ward, 2008), journalists create a distorted view of the world. This presentation style implies to citizens that there is an even split between what people believe on an issue, which is generally not the case (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). And there are generally more than just two sides

to a story. The political landscape, for example, has been simplified by powerful political elites into a mere democratic versus republican frame, making it difficult for audiences to be informed about other concerns and interests. Journalists, in an attempt to create balance by showing two sides of the story, can use these elites as predictable and patterned sources, often a necessary routine in the hurried newsroom environment (Hindman, 2011). "Balance," then, can detract from the whole truth, and the symbiotic relationship between elite sources and content-seeking journalists furthers the cycle.

Each of these journalistic routines – news values, beats, reliance on official sources and official events – make the news predictable (Tuchman, 1972), but conflict with the normative ideas that journalists gather and present complete, objective pictures of the world based upon scientific methods (Gans, 1979; Schudson, 1978; Tuchman, 1972). Tuchman (1972) goes as far as to argue that objectivity, specifically, is a practical journalistic ritual, used by journalists to mitigate continual pressures, possible libel suits and reprimands from superiors. By claiming that the story is "objective," such criticisms can be averted (p. 4). The assumption is that if every reporter gathers and structures facts using similar procedures to ensure truth, libel suits will be avoided. These procedures include verifying facts, presenting conflicting possibilities and presenting "both sides of the story" (p. 665), presenting supporting facts to back up claims, using quotation marks to avoid personal interpretation (and responsibility), and presenting the news in an inverted pyramid style. Schudson (1978) says, similarly: "journalists came to believe in objectivity, to the extent that they did, because they wanted to, needed to, were forced by ordinary

human aspiration to seek escape from their own deep convictions of doubt and drift" (p. 159).

The use of objectivity is seen by some scholars as keeping journalists from independent thinking as the routines that support objective practices – relying on official sources and presenting two sides of a story, for example – make it easier for journalists to forego their own critical evaluations of events and people (Glasser, 1992). Glasser (1992) also says that objectivity is biased in favor of the status quo as it encourages reporters to rely on the prominent and the elite, those that manage the status quo. Glasser (1992) contends, finally, that objectivity keeps journalists from being responsible since it *compels* them to report the news rather than making them *feel responsible* for reporting that news.

The social constructivism literature provides an alternative explanation to how news is created. This literature asserts that the skewed, constructed picture of the world that journalists present as news is a result of organizational routines and pressures (Schudson, 2011, p. 40). These studies of the values and routines of journalists "forces an examination of the tensions between how journalism likes to see itself and how it looks in the eyes of others, while adopting a view of journalistic conventions, routines, and practices as dynamic and contingent on situational and historical circumstance" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 103).

Overall, the social construction of reality literature reveals that the day-to-day routines that journalists follow, including using news values, relying on a beat system to find events, using official sources, and a striving to achieve

balance through speaking to sources with oppositional views (Gans, 1979; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978), conflict with the values that journalists proclaim to embrace (Tuchman, 1972). While journalists like to see themselves as purveyors of objective, comprehensive and truthful news, these studies shed light on how the common practices in their work – their routines – limit their ability to do so. These studies also argue that some of what might be viewed as journalistic "values" are indeed just routines of the newsroom. Still, such realities of the newsroom do not mitigate the fact that journalists hold to objectivity and impartiality as professional values that buttress their claims of truthful reporting and democratic service (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Mindich, 1998; Schudson & Tifft, 2005; Singer, 2011).

Journalistic values in contemporary practice. The Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories of the press provide explanations for many of the values that are taught in journalism education settings today and extolled by professional press organizations. Truth, facts, balance, verification and journalistic independence are taught as hallmarks of a good journalist (e.g. Clark & Scanlon, 2006; Thornburg, 2011). Objectivity is taught in many textbooks (e.g. Fedler, Bender, Davenport & Drager, 2001), or at least elements of objectivity such as a sense of neutrality in newsgathering and the inverted pyramid (e.g. Clark & Scanlon, 2006; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, Thornburg, 2011). Other values resembling the Social Responsibility values, including compassion for those covered and accurately depicting society are also taught to young journalists (e.g. Fedler, Bender, Davenport & Drager, 2001; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007).

Many of the normative values emanating from the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories of the press also underlie professional codes of ethics for journalists today. The Society of Professional Journalist's (SPJ) Code of Ethics, although it has abandoned a direct call for objectivity, instructs journalists to seek the truth through not only official – but also unofficial – sources, support the exchange of multiple and differing ideas, avoid errors and distortion, and act independently by avoiding conflicts of interest and holding the powerful accountable. The Social Responsibility theory also guided many of the SPJ ethical stances. The code instructs journalists to be accountable to their readers, invite dialogue with the public, show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage, and recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials (SPJ, 2012). Photojournalists, too, are encouraged to be accurate, comprehensive, truthful and unbiased in their photographic practices, and to treat their subjects with respect and dignity (NPPA, 2012).

Summary: Journalism Professionalism

Professionals are different from other, occupational workers because they proclaim to serve society, and operate in a "market shelter" maintained by steep entry standards, including educational training and specialized degrees (Barber, 1965; Larson, 1977). This education and training informs professionals' values and standards by which they perform their work. Such shared values, goals, and norms are further codified and clarified through professional societies, codes of ethics, and future education (Abbott, 1988; Lieberman, 1956).

The values that define journalism as a profession are built upon an emphasis on social responsibility and freedom (Siebert et al., 1956). Freedom is expressed in Libertarianism Theory and stems from Enlightenment thought, including a belief in rationality of people, universal laws of nature, and the existence of an absolute truth that can be discovered (Love, 2008; Merrill, 1974). The Libertarian Theory of the press prescribes freedom from government constraint and journalistic independence (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001; Merrill, 1974; Siebert, 1956). Social Responsibility theory, on the other hand, posits that not all people are rational and that it is the responsibility of journalists is to give citizens an understanding of the information that citizenship requires (Christians et al., 1993). The commission said that it is no longer enough to present mere facts to readers, but it is necessary to present the truth about those facts and work to serve society (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947). The values of Libertarianism and Social Responsibility can be undercut by the reality of the newsroom with its need to produce content predictibly and efficiently to produce a profit (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). These newsroom pressures lead journalists to implement routines that may conflict with the values that prescribe a complete, thorough, and accurate account of the the news event (Tuchman, 1972). Newsroom routines include using news values to find and write news stories, relying on a beat system to find events, using official sources, and seeking "balance" by referencing sources with oppositional views. Despite the fact that professional journalists and photojournalists are imperfect in carrying out the values of their profession, these values are nonetheless sought after. This is evidenced in the content of

contemporary textbooks, professional organizations and codes of ethics, which

reinforce the values of the profession.

Chapter 4:

Photojournalism Professionalism

Photojournalism was established during a period in the late 1800s and early 1900s marked by an embrace of science and the development of professionalism (Marienne, 2011). Many of the values of photojournalism reflect the broader news values of journalists, as photojournalism is essentially a melding of the values of journalism and photography. Photojournalists, for example, are committed to accuracy, maintaining independence, and treating subjects with dignity and respect (National Press Photographer's Association, 2012). Nonetheless, photojournalists are culturally and historically indoctrinated to hold certain photography-specific values and conventions (Cookman & Stolley, 2009) that help to add value to the journalistic story. Values specific to photography are resultant from a history of the medium's (sometimes debated) fit within the fine-arts realm. Photographers also evaluate photography through this lens of the *image* and visual communication, considering its aesthetic quality, meaning, and artistic value (Marienne, 2011). Photography and journalism joined forces relatively quickly in their development–beginning as early as the 1840s – thus, some of the values of photojournalism reflect the visual version of journalistic values. Still, photojournalism developed a culture and values exclusive to its craft (Carlebach, 1992).

This chapter will explain the journalistic and photography-specific values of photojournalism by first describing the invention of photography in an era of scientific embrace, followed by a discussion of the joining of photography with

journalism and the early social trends of photojournalism, including portraiture and social documentary photography. The professionalism of photojournalism, paralleling journalism professionalism, through the development of professional values and conventions that meld together journalism and photography traits is then described. Following, the values of amateur photographers in a pre-digital age will be discussed as embracing values largely related to documenting their private, personal life. Digital amateur photographers, who instead tend to embrace values related to placing their work in a more public forum will then be discussed. These amateur values are presented to contrast with professionalism to better illustrate the tension that exists among professional photojournalists who are working alongside amateur photographers in the online media environment.

The Development of Photography

In its earliest years, photography was a scientific pursuit, both in terms of its invention and the purposes for which it was used (Livingston & Dyer, 2010; Marienne, 2011). Photography was established by a myriad of enterprising individuals in the mid-19th century who were determined to find a way to fix the image projected through a camera obscura – a device that projected images but did not permanently capture them (Craven, 1985). Technology and the discovery of chemistry's effect on light and metal led to the first camera (Craven, 1985). Louis Daguerre is most often credited with accomplishing this feat, or at least with presenting the findings to the world first in 1839 (Batchen, 1997). Photography developed quickly, moving from positive plates in which the original renderings were not reproducible, to negative plates

in the 1840s, which can be easily projected and reproduced. Photography went from the more cumbersome wet plates that required the photographic material to be covered with a coating, sensitized and developed within a period of several minutes, to dry plates that were glass with a gelatin coating of silver halides which could be developed much longer after shooting in the 1850s, and eventually to 35 millimeter film in the early 1900s (Adams, 1948; Batchen, 1997; Craven, 1985). Of course, 35 mm film eventually largely gave way in the 1990s to digital photography (Kobre, 2011).

Early Uses of Photography

As a technological innovation, photography was initially thought of as a tool to capture an objective, visual account of the world "as it is" (Livingston & Dyer, 2010, p. 20). Photos in the early 19th century were seen as unquestionably truthful, and people were not even sure how to use photography creatively. After its invention, early users were conceiving practical uses for the medium (Marienne, 2011). The method was picked up by scientific fields like biology and botany, which were trying to figure out how to represent visuals objectively. Anthropologists took pictures of cultures that were thought to be in danger of extinction, and the medium was used by Darwin to document emotion (Marienne, 2011). Portraiture was another early use of photography. This type of photography was valued because of its accurate renditions of persons, and it was feasible at a time when cameras were cumbersome and subject matter needed to be still. Portraiture was one of the first forms to be sold on a wide scale in the mid-19th century (Carlebach, 1992; Kobre, 2011). Portraits were used not only for the living but to record the images of deceased family

members, especially children, at a time when infant mortality rates were high (Kobre, 2011; Marienne, 2011).

The Joining of Photography and Journalism

Photography's joining with journalism stemmed largely from portraiture, a photographic form mostly unused in contemporary photojournalism (Carlebach, 1992; Kobre, 2011). Portraiture spread to journalism in mid-19th century when photographs of famous people were taken by photographers and offered to newspapers for free. The publishing of these photographs was effective in selling newspapers, and also a free advertisement for photographers trying to sell their portraits and make a living (Carlebach, 1992). People were fascinated with pictures of famous people whose image they had perhaps never before seen, particularly Abraham Lincoln, an image of whom, taken by Matthew Brady, is fabled to have won Lincoln the 1860 election (Carlebach, 1992). The practice of photographers sending their photos to newspapers grew in the mid 1800s, and photography improved as developments in camera technology allowed for shorter exposures and better action shots (Kobre, 2011). By the 1850s and '60s, newspapers were actively pursuing photographers, sending them on assignments to capture certain events, particularly the Mexican-American War of the 1840s and the Civil War in the 1860s, the laying of the transnational railroad tracks, and urban fires (Kobre, 2011; Marienne, 2011).

Photography and Social Awareness

Within decades of its invention, photography was used as a tool to gain attention and awareness of issues. Cookman and Stolley (2009) say that

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photography's history is marked by a respect for humanity, a desire for social change, a need to document history and a reverence for technology. By late-19th century, newspaper photojournalism became a powerful force to raise awareness of poor social situations. More developed camera equipment allowed photographers mobility and the ability to take photographs of dire social situations around the country (Kobre, 2011).

Examples of photography's use as a social-awareness tool began in the muckraking era of the first decade of the 1900s (Marienne, 2011). In the early 20th century, muckraking photographer Jacob Riis, for example, documented and disseminated photos of the living conditions of the New York inner-city poor, disseminating them largely through public slideshows and newspapers. The power of photographs to spread nationwide awareness about events was implemented by Lewis Hine when he exposed the treatment of early 1900s immigrants to the United States at Ellis Island (Marienne, 2011; Seixas, 1987). Hine's 1908 photographs of the treatment of children working in factories, taken for the National Child Labor Committee, were instrumental in changing U.S. child labor laws (Seixas, 1987). British suffragists in the 1910s used photographs to record conditions of women and children, and charities throughout the early and mid 1900s used photography to promote their work (Marienne, 2011). And as part of the Farm Security Administration project—an effort to combat American rural poverty in the 1930s by raising awareness through the media—photographer Dorothea Lange captured the plight of farm life during the Great Depression (Kobre, 2011; Marienne, 2011). These photographs were published and spread around the country to promote social

change, document history and invoke public support for governmental programs. Many who took photographs that promoted social improvement didn't even intend to do so (Marienne, 2011).

The ability of images to bring to audiences across the world an unquestionable image of perceived "reality" and truth speaks to the power of photography as a medium to call attention to dire human issues in a way that words cannot. This characteristic, along with the power of photographs to evoke emotions and persuade people to action, is a natural characteristic of the visual medium (Messaris, 1997).

The Professionalization of Photojournalism

As photojournalism and journalism in general were undergoing a period of professionalization in the early 1900s, it became particularly important to operationalize the values that define photojournalism as a profession (Cookman & Stolley, 2009; Marienne, 2011). As cameras became more common, particularly after the invention of the user-friendly Kodak Brownie camera in 1900, those who considered themselves professional photojournalists wanted to separate themselves from the masses of mere citizens-with-cameras. Never before had ordinary citizens been able to take photography with the same ease as those who did so for a living. Photojournalists created the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA) in 1946 that presented the values of journalism as applied to the visual medium, and distinguished photojournalists from "Brownie Boys," or amateur photographers (Cookman & Stolley, 2009; National Press Photographer's Association, 2012). The development of such a professional organization allowed members to share knowledge with one

another and develop their own sense of values and photojournalistic standards by which awards and recognitions could be given. These shared standards of excellence and identity essentially moved photojournalism from an occupation to a profession (Cookman & Stolley, 2009).

The NPPA created an early handbook for photojournalism in 1950 that codified some of the first rules for what comprises a good and bad news photograph (Costa, 1950). These guidelines begin to mix journalism skills and photography skills to develop the "professional" visual style of journalism. Those who practiced photojournalism saw the need to codify techniques to distinguish themselves as professionals. The 1950 version of the NPPA's *Complete Book of Press Photography* instructs press photographers to have keen observation skills, cover the facts, tell a story through their photography, make sure that their photographs best accompany the text story, and instructs them to capture photographs that "command attention" (Costa, 1950, p. 25). Photojournalism, according to this guide, should be simple and without clutter, almost always portraying people–particularly faces and hands–and should capture these peoples' emotions and personalities. Impact is best created by getting in close to fill the photographic frame, and it is important to consider the lighting of the scene and how it falls on subjects. Finally, the guide suggests that photojournalists know their camera "so well that it becomes a part" of them (Barnhurst, 1994; Costa, 1950, p. 25). Overall, the emphasis in this guide is less upon the aesthetic characteristics of the photograph and more upon the ability of the camera to tell or add value to a journalistic story.

Other professional photography guides provide similar rules and outline aesthetic conventions; e.g., a 1989 *Guide to Good News Photography* published by the Associated Press suggests similar conventions. This guide admonishes photojournalists to compose their photographs using the rule of thirds, to capture the decisive moment, define a clear focal point, a dominant foreground with a contributing background, use creative perspectives, make use of unique juxtapositions when available, and frame properly (Horton, 1989). The book also says that it is important for a photographer to use and understand lighting as well as their equipment and the way it works with certain lighting situations.

The NPPA and other professional guides provide workshops, critiques, and virtual seminars teaching students how to produce "professional" photojournalism. Based upon these professional standards, the NPPA holds annual contests and monthly recognitions of students' work (National Press Photographers Association, 2012).

Contemporary textbooks on the topic of photojournalism instruct in the elements of photography and image as well as the elements of journalism and mainly mimic those of early photojournalism guides (e.g. Chapnick, 1994; Kobre, 2011; Langton, 2009). Kenneth Kobre, for example, in his 2011 textbook *Photojournalism: The Professional's Approach,* tells students to concentrate on having a balanced composition, a clear focal point, proper lighting, and using camera angles other than eye-level. Student photojournalists are instructed to capture action, emotion, personality, drama, candid moments, and moments of surprise. Using these guidelines, students are best able to visually enhance a journalistic story. Adherence to these conventions is the standard by which

professional excellence is measured for photojournalists (e.g. Costa, 1950; Horton, 1989; Kobre, 2011).

Photojournalistic values tend to resemble a photographic version of journalistic values. For example, capturing the decisive moment and action are similar to the journalistic value of timeliness, and drama is similar to conflict; capturing emotion and personality is similar to the journalistic value of human interest, and the journalistic value of novelty is reflected in the photojournalistic values of capturing candid moments and moments of surprise. Some of these conventional or "aesthetic" values of photojournalists directly reflect the broader news values of journalists. Having keen observation skills, covering a reliance on facts, and telling a story are values of journalists as well as photojournalists.

These specific values of photojournalists reflect the extension of journalism values into the visual medium, demanding a melding of news values and the aesthetics of images as a form of visual communication in that they largely involve aesthetic considerations, including a need to create images that "catch the viewer's eye" and make the page exciting (Lowrey, 2003, p. 128). Photojournalists are also committed to the axiomatic rules of journalism, including accuracy, maintaining independence, and not harming people. Some other values, including framing, unique camera angles, and proper lighting, are more pertinent to photojournalists specifically.

In addition, photojournalists need to adhere to more specific rules with regard to ethics, such as avoiding staged photo opportunities and not manipulating or over-editing photographs as to change their meaning (National

Press Photographer's Association, 2012). Despite the fact that most lay people are aware that image manipulation is an easy undertaking in contemporary media, most people still assume that photographs are fair, neutral and truthful (Newton, 2001). Because "the heart of photojournalism is reporting human experience accurately, honestly, and with an overriding sense of social responsibility" (Newton, 2011, p. x), professional photojournalists have a mandate to ensure that their images represent the truth and avoid any purposive manipulations that would change the meaning of the image.

Summary: Professional Photojournalism

The technical development of photography and its early social conventions were largely the outcome of the modern era (Marienne, 2011). Its eventual joining with and uses in journalism at large led to photojournalism's movement to professionalize, paralleling that of journalism in the 1900s. This professionalization distinguished photojournalism from popular forms of photography (Livingston & Dyer, 2010; Marienne, 2011). This distinct form of photography melded the aesthetics of photography with the conventions of journalism. These emergent professional values are specific to the medium, but also an extension of broader journalism values, including an emphasis on conflict and unusual happenings. Photographic conventions included the rule of thirds, proper lighting, balance, impact, and ethical considerations involving staging and editing photographs (Barnhurst, 1994; Costa, 1950; Kindcaid, 1936; Kobre, 2011). Ultimately, the professionalization of photojournalism was used to separate "serious" photojournalists from the growing number of amateurs.

Amateur Photography Values

In a pre-digital age, the values that amateur photographers embraced tended to revolve around private matters of the family and home. In its earliest years, of course, photography was not available to hobbyists. The camera was expensive, cumbersome, and a level of expertise was required with regard to exposure, development time and the chemistry involved (Cookman & Stolley, 2009). As early as the 1860s, developments in photography and its popularity led to debates about the divide between "high art" photography and popular photography (Marienne, 2011). But it was not until the creation of the Eastman Kodak Company in 1888, and particularly, the invention of the Brownie camera in 1900 that photography was a realistic and popular hobby among non-professional people for documenting their family lives. Snapshots of private and personal-life happenings and candid photography of everyday moments became popular as cameras became much more transitory (Livingston & Dyer, 2010). Amateur photography became a common practice and hobby as the 20th century progressed, extending to Polaroids in the 1950s to disposable cameras a few decades later, to the current camera phones that nearly everyone owns. Ever since ordinary people have had the ability to afford and use a camera, they have developed styles and values that either mimic or contradict those of professionals. The following sections of this chapter explain the development of amateur photography trends and conventions, largely revolving around documentation of one's personal life, from the time of Brownie cameras through the current digital age.

Amateur photography in a pre-digital age. Although they are not constrained by norms associated with professional photography, amateur photographers have always shared an understanding of what should be photographed and what they think generally constitutes a "good" photograph. These understandings tend to revolve around private happenings and the family (Sontag, 1977). Overall, there is a shared understanding of the acceptable methods to use and subjects to photograph. This amateur understanding includes some aesthetic considerations, but it generally considers a different set of values, largely related to private-life happenings not related to journalism. To amateur photographers, happy moments and positive changes in family life are valued more than negative moments (Chalfen, 1987). For example, births are photographed more than deaths, graduations more than work life, and weddings more than divorces. Particularly, Chalfen (1987) concludes, "first times," including walking, talking, graduations, and marriages, are documented frequently as a form of memory-keeping and proof.

Historically, amateur photographers saw photos as relatively private, family-oriented memorials. Family members appear in photographs more frequently than co-workers, carpool groups, or gym buddies. And rarely do amateur photographers take photographs of strangers. Interviewees in Chalfen's (1987) study of amateur photographers mentioned, in fact, that they would not "dream of" even sharing their personal photographs with anyone outside a circle of close family and friends. Chalfen (1987) refers to this pre-Internet amateur photography as "home-mode" photography, meaning that it has traditionally revolved around issues pertaining to the home and

family. Births of children and vacations were the most commonly cited reasons for purchasing a camera.

To non-professional photographers, taking a photograph of something is a way of conferring an everyday, personal occurrence with importance or beauty (Sontag, 1977). Although a thing may not be particularly eye-catching, important or beautiful in real life, by taking a photograph of the thing, it is *made to be* important (Barthes, 1980; Sontag, 1977). According to Sontag, one of the goals of a photographer in ordinary (non-professional) photography is to take a picture of a thing that is beautiful; or perhaps take a picture of an ugly thing but through the act of photography, make it into something beautiful. The idea of beauty has long been one of the goals of amateur photographers (Chalfen, 1986; Sontag, 1977).

Photography, to non-professionals, is a way to recognize the value in everyday personal experiences (Livingston & Dyer, 2010). People take photos to make permanent the good things in their lives; to prove that they have happened at all (Sontag, 1977). The act of taking a photograph has, in some cases, become more important than the thing or event that is the object of the photograph. Vacations may not become a form of rest and relaxation, but a mode of acquiring photographs (Sontag, 1977). By taking the photographs, Sontag (1977) states, photographers make things true. They validate that their vacation actually happened. In this way, photography is not a form of storytelling as in journalism, but one of documentary, proof, or even a status symbol.

To amateur photographers, photography is an important means of personal memory-keeping (Livingston & Dyer, 2010). Photographs document the way one's children looked at certain ages, their pets, the events in which one has partaken. These photographs have historically been printed and stored in photo albums. They are dug out on occasion to reflect upon one's experiences (Livingston & Dyer, 2010). In this regard, amateur photography is used as a form of record-keeping.

To summarize, amateur photographers in a pre-digital age generally took photographs as a family-oriented mode of memory-keeping and generally shared values revolving around private matters (Livingston & Dyer, 2010; Sontag, 1977). Photographs were taken most of friends and family and not strangers, and they most frequently recorded happy rather than sad moments (Chalfen, 1987). Taking a photograph was a way of making things beautiful or important (Sontag, 1977), as photographs were "precious." Today, photographs are not precious, but disposable, and the values that amateur photographers hold to have subsequently changed.

Amateur photographers in the digital era. In the digital age, photography has become an activity less about saving objects for personal memory, and more about disseminating them to the public to be seen by as many people as possible (Sontag, 2004). Instead of attempting to preserve memories, the goal is to keep an updated diary (Cohen, 2005). This shift is in contrast to previous generations of amateur photographers. With affordable digital cameras, photographs are less precious and less expensive. Accordingly, trends in the style of non-professional photography have been altered. The

freedom to take as many photographs as one wants with no concern for the cost of development has also given amateur photographers the freedom to experiment with new forms of photography.

In digital photography, amateurs retain some of the personal, private values that pre-digital amateurs had treasured, such as keeping memories, but these are supplemented by social goals including maintaining relationships and "going public" to a broader audience (Suler, 2008, p. 556). Overall, people create and share content online for a number of reasons. Social-engagement, knowledge-seeking and learning, finding an outlet for self-expression and lessening self-doubts have all been cited by creators of user-generated content who share content online (Burgess, 2006; Daugherty et al., 2008; Leung, 2009; Shao, 2009). In studies specifically addressing blogging, people cite similar motivations. Engaging in community, gaining a reputation, fulfilling a desire to document their lives, expressing their opinions, pursuing altruism and sharing are all cited as reasons for blogging (Nardi et al., 2004, p. 43; Hsu and Lin, 2007; Stoeckl, Rohrmeier, and Hess, 2007).

The literature on amateur photographers in a digital age largely focuses on photobloggers –"people who make photographs and post them on the Web in the form of photoblogs or photographic journals" (Cohen, 2005, p. 885). Those who post photographic content specifically appreciate imperfections and banality, express themselves through their photographs, maintain social relationships through this sharing of pictures, and simply do so for fun. Overall, these amateurs contradict or break professional conventions that emphasize purpose, conventional correctness, and objectivity.

While some photography enthusiasts initially worried that digital photography and online photo sharing would lead to overly perfect photographs, there is instead "a place for both the sharp and the grainy, the perfect and the imperfect" (Murray, 2008, p. 161). The affordability of digital photography allows users to take innumerable shots, including ephemeral and mundane photographs whose purpose is not to capture the perfect image or record. Photographs are no longer "precious" but disposable and immediate (p. 156). Photobloggers particularly enjoy taking photographs of the mundane and banal (Cohen, 2005). Some even describe their photographs as being boring because of their every-day nature. They disdain posed shots, but are okay with small blurs and imperfections. When selecting photographs for display on a photoblog, photobloggers have an automatic, intuitive decision-making process that is not guided by a "preconceived, systematic set of standards" (Cohen, 2005, p. 893) that would otherwise be present if they were working within an organization or a newsroom. Photographs are valued that are funny, quirky, unique or beautiful.

Posting photographic content online is a way for amateur digital photographers to express themselves to the public (Daugherty et al., 2008; Leung, 2009; Shao, 2009). Suler (2008) suggested that people take and share photographs on the Internet to help establish their presence and identity. He sees uploading photos as a way of 'going public' with this visual shaping of the self (p. 556). Digital photographers take photographers that express and mold their personal values, tastes and preferences. Amateur photographers in the

digital age are sharing personal pictures with strangers in a way that pre-digital photographers never would have.

Other online photographers do so as a leisurely pastime, and the online medium gives them a public space to place their photographs. Photoblogs give the photos "something to do" (Cohen, 2005, p. 894). Photoblogs give people a reason to do what they love. Amateur digital photographers are people who have always enjoyed the act of photography, but because they do not work under deadlines, obligation, or for monetary compensation, prior to the Internet they have lacked a public outlet for their creativity (Cohen, 2005). Cohen (2005) found that amateur digital photographs posted online are more often taken for aesthetic purposes and simply for "fun" (p. 885). Many amateur photobloggers are intensively passionate photographers who aspire to have their cameras with them as often as possible, take as many photos as possible and place them online, appreciating the views and comment the medium provides.

Photography is the most prevalent form of citizen journalism and may also be the most credible (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011). Very little is known about citizen *photo*journalists, specifically, but people who contribute to news content–visual or textual–have come to be known as citizen journalists: "a citizen or group of citizens playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information" (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 9). Citizen journalists and photojournalists range from ordinary people who happen to be around when news occurs and take cell phone photographs (Brooks, Kennedy, Moen & Ranly, 2008; Knight, 2008) to people

who strongly desire to improve journalism through their work. The latter group tends to appreciate an alternative, grassroots and activist media with open publishing and the participation of the public (Gillmor, 2006; Platon & Deuze, 2003). Citizen journalists may be driven by a desire to publish news that is not covered by the mainstream media, or by the empowerment that comes with practicing citizen journalism (Ugille & Raeymaeckers, 2009). Citizen journalists may also be those who wish to advocate for a cause, contradicting the journalistic norm of objectivity (Atton, 2010).

Amateur photographers' breaking of conventions goes back to the early years of photography. Jacob Riis, whose early 20th century muckraking images of New York City slums was mentioned earlier, was perhaps one of the first "famous" amateur photographers, refusing to conform to traditional photographic rules, even during an era of professionalization in journalism and photojournalism. He labeled himself an "amateur" through his membership with the Society of Amateur Photographers. Riis largely embraced a purely utilitarian approach to photography (Yochelson & Czitrom, 2007) saying that he had no aesthetic pretensions at all. He had, as he said "no use for the camera" besides as a supplement to his documentary work (p. 86). He was a journalist more than a photographer in that he was most concerned with telling a story. Professional convention implied standardization, and Riis was breaking standards with the purpose of also breaking ground in photography. "Proper" aesthetics was not the point for Riis. He helped develop the idea of candid photography, previously unknown due in part to the cumbersomeness of cameras in the mid and late 19th century. Using the crude and underdeveloped

technology of flash photography at that time to capture nightlife in New York City, he shocked both his subjects and viewers with stark shots of the slums after sundown. Though he is now viewed as among the most famous figures in American photographic history, he took photos for only a brief time, mainly hiring other photographers and using photography as an addition to his lectures and papers. His amateur status was advantageous to him. Having no conceptions of conventions, overall, Riis was "emphatically not a professional" and "unconcerned with technical prowess" or "artful composition" (Hales, 1984). Riis, as an amateur photographer who was interested in identifying and bringing to light social issues not covered by the media, has much in common with some contemporary citizen photojournalists. Amateur photographers in the digital age break conventions in pursuit of breaking ground in what constitutes good photography (Cohen, 2005; Murray, 2008).

Summary: Professional and amateur photojournalism. The values that define photojournalism as a profession were developed and codified in the early to mid 20th century a photojournalists sought to differentiate themselves from amateurs with consumer cameras. Because journalism and photography joined in the mid-19th century, some photojournalism values are derived from journalism values and applied through a visual medium, including drama and conflict. Photojournalists are also concerned with image aesthetics and involve awareness of social issues, capturing attention and many aesthetic rules about composition, lighting, and capturing human elements (Kobre, 2011; Langton, 2009; Lowrey, 2003).

Amateur and professional photojournalists share some values, but have different purposes. While professional photojournalists value documenting the truth, amateur photographic values revolve around personal and happy moments, friends, family, beauty, and self-documentation (Chalfen, 1987; Sontag, 1977). Digital amateur photographers' values expand beyond the personal life, and include maintaining relationships and self-expression (Daugherty et al., 2008; Leung, 2009; Shao, 2009). Rather than adhering to specific rules of the craft, digital amateur photographers appreciate imperfections, quirkiness and banality (Murray, 2008; Cohen, 2005). The shift from pre-digital to digital photography is largely a shift in photography as a private pursuit, such as memory-keeping and capturing everyday moments in life (Sontag, 1977) to photography as a public pursuit in an online environment alongside professionals.

This newfound online co-existence makes the differences between amateur and professional photojournalism less clear to audience members. The coexistence further makes the differences more important to professionals, who perceive they are the "real" photojournalists because they have professional training, specialized techniques, and have likely received formal education in their craft (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977; Lieberman, 1956). Up until recently, they have also been the sole creators and disseminators who controlled which news images would appear in the public sphere (Lieberman, 1956).

Chapter 5:

Journalism in a Postmodern, Networked World

In a networked, postmodern world, journalists are working in close proximity with amateur, citizen journalists and photojournalists. As described in Chapter Two, the problems facing the journalism industry in a networked world –increased competition, increased audience control over media content, and ensuing financial struggles – have resulted in budget cuts, reduced staff and a broken business model (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001; Jones, 2009; Lacy & Sohn, 2011; State of the News Media, 2011, 2012). In the midst of these financial struggles, the journalism industry has begun to take heed of the audience's interests (Beam, 2003), which often include the ability to participate and contribute content. While professional journalists were being laid off by the thousands in the few years leading up to 2010 (State of the News Media, 2010; Zhang, 2011), news organizations are opening up more space for amateur, citizen content (Beam, 2003; Lacy, 2011), which is generally not very journalistic, in a traditional sense (Bentley et al., 2005; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008). This chapter will describe how the journalism industry is looking for ways to engage citizens and build audiences in the digital age. It explores how news organization are providing increased gratifications opportunities, even inviting citizens to participate in news processes and content creation, particularly visual content. The effects on journalists of this joining of the amateur and the professional will then be described, explicating the likely tension that journalists experience as they share space with citizens.

Inviting the Audience

In light of the broken business models in the transition from a mass to a networked media structure, the journalism industry has become more interested in and able to accommodate customer needs (Beam, 2003; Dimmick et al., 2011). Whereas media organizations historically have been unconcerned about their audiences as "individuals" and essentially "treated and sold them as commodities," (Picard, 2010, p. 125), media organizations have become increasingly interested in individuals' needs, as online audiences become fragmented and "de-massified" (Beam, 2003; Picard, 2010, p. 127). Low entry barriers on the Internet lead to increased competition, less differentiated products and increased customer power (Porter, 2001). Media organizations, therefore, have become more interested in what consumers want (Lacy & Sohn, 2011; Beam, 2003) and have had an increased desire to get people to come to their sites (Canter, 2011; Dickinson, 2011). As audiences move from legacy media to online news products, newspapers are seeking to create new digital products that foster greater gratification opportunities through audience participation (Dimmick et al., 2011). As Merrill (2011) says, although journalists

> "have long looked at themselves as somewhat special people, not exactly equal among themselves … the idea of 'people involvement' has prompted the media in recent years to attempt to bring the citizens into their operations. And the Internet has made this involvement available to most everyone, as most media invite user comments, feedback, and interaction" (p. 52).

The Internet gratifies audiences by providing them with the ability to access content at the time and place they want and by providing audiences with interactivity opportunities (Dimmick et al., 2011; Leung, 2009; Mortensen, 2011). Gratification opportunities for audience members are important in an online environment, and increased gratification results from increased choices of content available, variety of times when that content is available, and the number of locations in which the content can be consumed. Beyond these time and place options, interactivity opportunities are a key to audience gratifications online, and include such things as content creation, the ability of users to republish and share material, and mobility (Lacy & Sohn, 2011). The Internet provides the most gratifications for users because there is a wide variety of options, the content is available any time and at any location, and can be consumed in multiple modalities, text, video, photographs, and interactive features. Those people who generally are not inclined to consume news content may be more likely to use a news media's product when this product—website, newspaper, etc. – provides increased gratifications opportunities through inviting comments, socializing and other self-expressive options.

Following initial resistance and a sluggish reaction, many media companies, with fewer journalists and resources, are experimenting with citizen journalism as a supplement to their legacy products (Brooks et al., 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008). Some online newspapers set aside space for citizen content or incorporate it into the main sections of their online papers. The "Comment is Free" section of the *Guardian* in the United Kingdom is one example. The Web site bundles editorial content with a large amount of content

from bloggers (Stoeckl et al., 2007). United States newspapers, too, are creating more opportunities for citizen participation. The *Seattle Times* is partnering with local neighborhood blogs to share content and to collaborate on reporting projects (The State of the News Media, Community Journalism, 2010). Even the reputable *New York Times* has launched a citizen news site called "The Local," which is mainly comprised of contributions from residents in niche neighborhood areas. It operates under the tagline, "Covered by you and for you" (The Local, 2013). Large newspapers are offering spaces for citizen voices within their own online sites or hiring amateur mobile journalists to cover community news (Ahrens, 2006; Lopez, 2006).

Inviting audiences to interact with and participate in news processes takes advantage of the participatory capabilities of the Internet, but also provides some potential economic value to new organizations. This citizen-created content helps keep and engage readers (Ahrens, 2006; Carey, 2009; Dickinson, 2011). Inviting audience comments, pictures, questions and opinions not only provides user-gratification, fosters a sense of community involvement and entertains the readers, but it is also cost-free and thus valuable for news organizations (Bakker 2011a; Jones, 2009). User-generated content might be considered a "potential resource lifeline" for newspapers with waning revenue and staff (Canter, 2011, p. 1). Newspapers are therefore partaking in collaborative journalism with their audiences, or "pro-sumers" (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; O'Reilly and Batelle, 2009) and tapping into "the emerging participatory media culture online in order to produce some kind of co-creative,

commons-based news platform" (Deuze, 2008, p. 7). Participatory journalism is being pursued not only for civic, but also for economic, purposes (Canter, 2011).

Journalism organizations vary in how they provide news opportunities to the public. Journalists generally still have much control over audience contributions to news, often by editing and policing public comments (Thurman, 2008) to ensure legality, accuracy and balance (Singer, 2011). A good deal of citizen journalism is sequestered from the main content, such as when readers are allowed to comment on stories at the bottom of a page, participate in message boards where journalists post topics questions, answer polls, or enter their media – photos and videos mainly – into a gallery designated for "your media" (Thurman & Hermida, 2008, p. 6).

Citizen journalists have done some valuable work. One early use of citizen journalism in the United States was during the Virginia Tech disaster in 2007, when eyewitness photography played a large role in the documentation of the shootings and social media helped coordinate information generation and organization (Liu, Palen, Sutton, Hughes & Vieweg, 2008). The 2005 London bombings led also to much citizen journalism, particularly by people at the scenes of the bombings who used cameras in their cell phones to capture some of the first images of the tragedies. Natural disasters, including Hurricane Katrina and wildfires have been documented in great detail by concerned citizens with cameras. More recently, citizen blogs have been used extensively in the Middle East region during the 2011 "Arab spring" to tackle sensitive political, human rights and social issues, gaining large audiences (Kouddous, 2011). These blogs exposed police brutality, provided space for opposition voices, and

protested autocratic power. In Egypt, when at least 27 people were killed in a government crackdown of a protest in front of a state television and radio building on October 9, it was the protesters, acting as citizen journalists, who captured most of the stills and video footage. In the U.S., citizens were among the first to document the opening of gunfire at the University of Texas in Austin in 2010 when the campus was on lockdown amidst rumors of a second gunman (Yaschur, 2012).

Citizen journalism that results from people being at the right place at the right time differs from the reporting that takes place within traditional news organizations, and few citizens want to partake in the daily tasks that such organizations demand. Tasks such as conceptualizing story ideas, gathering relevant information, verifying the facts, and conducting interviews have little appeal to the vast majority of citizens (Howe, 2008). At Gannett, a citizen journalism project that attempted to recruit and train citizen volunteers to engage in the routines of journalism revealed that few citizens are interested in being "citizen journalists," but many are interested in "getting published." In 2007, *Wired* magazine teamed up with NewAssignment.net to launch a citizen journalism project, asking hundreds of citizens to write feature articles about a specific topic. The concept of the project revolved around "crowdsourcing" and was broken into subtopics about which volunteers were (supposed) to write essays. Although hundreds of citizens signed up within the first week, they quickly lost interest and dispersed, as the layout of the site was confusing, there was little community, little guidance, and the story topics were perceived as uninteresting to the volunteers. "It turned out that asking people to write a

feature article was about as appealing as asking them to rewrite their college thesis" (Howe, 2008, n.p.). These user contributors had little interest in producing traditional journalistic content, and were only interested in topics that they were passionate about.

Much citizen journalism and photojournalism is far from journalistic, traditionally speaking. Photos of cats, dogs and babies are often posted, reflecting the more personal nature of creators of user-generated content in general. For example, the citizen journalism site, *MyMissourian*, had to create a "cutest-critter" photo contest to increase contributions (Bentley et al., 2005). In general, citizen content creators tend to create soft news, similar to the home-mode photography style of amateur photographers, which also focuses on family, friends and happy moments (Chalfen, 1987). Other popular citizen content includes wedding photographs, community news, or personal stories (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008). Similarly, *The Sun* (UK) and *Aftonbladet* (Sweden) allow users a place to generate mainly pop-culture and personal or everyday content (Ornebring, 2008) but do not provide much opportunity for the creation of news and information.

Citizen journalism sites abound on the Internet. A few examples include the *Huffington Post*, *GroundReport*, *AllVoices*, *Blottr* and *Demotix*. *Demotix*, which has over 4,500 active photo and video journalists, receives hundreds of thousands of viewers each month, and sells users' photographs to other outlets, such as the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Guardian*, and others. The site invites: "Whether you're wielding a cellphone or the world's most expensive video camera, join us and share" ("Demotix: What we do," 2012).

Several of these citizen journalism sites, including *Demotix, NoComment News, NowPublic* and *WikiNews*, solicit photographs through Flickr, a photo-sharing and social network site. Flickr is also used as a source for news photographs by local citizen journalism sites, including *Broowaha San Francisco, The Rapidian, CincyVoices, and Chi-Town Daily News*.

Citizen journalism sites are often open source, community-based projects that perform some journalism functions. *Broowaha* is a U.S. citizen news organization comprised of an open community of writers who contribute articles. *Broowaha* accepts both hard news, "exposing the powers that be," and softer news, like art and music reviews. The community is dedicated to creating news that is even better than traditional journalism, which has become "industrialized, trivialized, and monetized – far more concerned with ratings, circulation and return on investment, than the stuff of freedom" ("Broowaha: About us," 2012). The site professes to be a community of citizen journalists and engaged readers who write as journalists with the intention of improving their craft. The members read, discuss and evaluate citizen writing. The community does have editors who screen stories for offensive material and amend the writing, but the community decides whether and where the material is posted through a voting system ("Broowaha: About us," 2012). *Voice of San Diego* is a member-based news organization that gives citizens the tools they need to converse with one another about their community. Through the "collective voice of citizens," they represent and report on the community. The organization doesn't try to cover breaking news, but "to tell the stories that no one else is telling" (Voice of San Diego, 2012). And citizen news sites exist

around the world. An early example is *Ohmynews* in South Korea, created by activist Oh Yeon Ho in an effort to expand democratic voice and allow a space for activists to gather. Ho said, "Journalists aren't some exotic species. They're everyone who seeks to make new developments, put them into writing, and share them with others" (Joyce, 2007, p. 7). Participants were mainly activists who despised hierarchical media, but were motivated to find a way to publish.

Inviting visual content. News organizations are particularly interested in publishing user-generated visual content (Leung, 2009; Pantti & Andén- Papadopoulos; Rosen, 2005). Because of the popularity and pervasiveness of digital cameras and camera phones, the "random acts of journalism" that citizens are contributing often involve visual content (Lasica, 2003, p. 73). Citizen photojournalists, although they might not identify themselves as such, are often simply ordinary people who find themselves at the right place at the right time and decide to take photographs. *CBS Eyewitness*, *Yahoo! You-Witness-News* and *CNN i-report* are just a few examples of citizen journalism sites that collect a large amount of visual content from viewers/producers. Local news outlets, too, solicit user-generated photographs and video.

Citizen photographs are desirable because of their perceived truthfulness; photos are the *only* kind of citizen content that has gained a status similar to that of professional material (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011). Visuals are easier for news organizations to handle because they are perceived as objective and truthful and therefore do not require as much verification, despite the contemporary potential for digital alteration (Lester, 2010; Newton,

2001; Pantti & Bakker, 2009). Photography is a modern invention, having grown out of the hard sciences of microscopy and chemistry (Marienne, 2011). The invention was originally used largely for research and innovation and was thought to be without style, therefore objective. Since then, photography has been used to imitate and create art, and its history is marked by a debate regarding its proper role in science versus art (Marienne, 2011). Regardless of its purpose, photography–whether artistic or journalistic–tends to be perceived as the truth more so than words (Newton, 2001). Citizen-shot news photographs and videos are also different from other types of citizen content, including text, because of "the discursive authority that rests on eyewitnessing" (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011, p. 100).

Although news organizations underscore the need to verify visual news content from citizens with the same rigor as text, in online news there is a "post-modern view on accuracy" that emphasizes the truth rising from the crowd and lends to a more laid back view toward citizen photography (Witschge & Nygren, 2009, p. 46). With citizen photography, objectivity has been largely replaced by transparency (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011), and some news organizations give full play to citizen photography and video but often disclose it as having been taken by non-professionals. Still, other news organizations simply assume that the quality of the content gives away that it has been captured by an amateur and feel no need to mark it as such (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011).

Impact on Professional Journalists and Photojournalists

The changing media landscape is in contrast to the mass media

environment in which journalists previously worked. Journalists used to work in a hierarchical media environment, controlling the information creation and distribution processes of mediated communication, but the media infrastructure in networked society is flatter, more egalitarian, with low entry barriers into the space of communication, and an emphasis on collective intelligence (Friedman, 2007; Jenkins, 2006, Castells, 2001). Journalists no longer hold their exclusiveness as news gatherers and disseminators (Castells, 2010; Bowman & Willis, 2003; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001; Singer, 2011). Journalists' "specialness" is not defined by access to the means to create and publish content. Journalists place value on truth and the modern, objective modes for its revelation, but postmodernism questions all sources of absolute truth (Lyotard, 1984). There is a question of what "real" even means, and truth is an unstable and constantly shifting concept. Journalists are used to serving a specific audience, in a specific location, at a certain time, but the networked society in a postmodern world sees the breakdown of time and space (Castells, 2008). Professional journalists historically worked within modern ideals of structure and efficiency, but postmodernism emphasizes non-linearity and chaos (McNair, 2006). Overall, journalism in a postmodern, networked world is a dramatic shift in journalists' position in society.

The integration of citizens' visual content in journalism has had an impact on professional journalists' and photojournalists' sense of professionalism. The authority and professionalism of journalists is maintained partly by the exclusivity of their services (Picard, 2009; Sjøvaag, 2011a). But the technology-driven transition from a hierarchical model of information flow to a

horizontal, networked model means that the institution for which they work has less power and authority (Castells, 2010). Whereas journalists used to sit at a privileged position within society, citizen journalism undermines the press's power to set an agenda and has diminished the exclusivity of journalism (Bowden, 2009; Hummel, Kirchhoff & Prandner, 2011; Lewis, 2011; Mayer, 2010).

Technology is driving the "de-skilling" of journalists because ordinary citizens are able to do many of the practices formerly exclusive to the profession, including creating and publishing (Picard, 2009, n.p; Singer, 2011;). Online, there is no longer difficulty and costs associated with operating and publishing; some of the techniques that have defined journalism practices as a profession are no longer specialized. While journalists used to provide exclusive information and ideas, individuals are now able to access sources, search through information and determine its significance, and convey it via social networks (Picard, 2009). Citizen photojournalists, too, can gather and disseminate photographic material with affordable digital cameras (Lasica, 2003; Sjovaag, 2011a). When everyone can participate in journalism, the distinctions between a professional journalist and a citizen journalist are blurred. Professional journalists and photojournalists need to differentiate themselves from everyone else in order to create economic value in their work (Picard, 2009). With citizens able to do the work of journalists, journalism in its current state lacks many of the characteristics of a profession. Professional journalists are challenged to demonstrate how they provide a unique service to society, as they no longer hold a specialized knowledge base and skills set that

other citizens lack, and they no longer have sole control over the values and practices that define journalism (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977; Lieberman, 1956).

In response, journalists are placing a greater emphasis on journalistic norms, values and routines as the professional way of gathering and presenting accurate and impartial information and photographs. Their goal is to define themselves as professionals and differentiate their work from the massive amount of online content (Fry, 2008; Singer, 2011; Sjovaag, 2011a). Therefore, journalists insist that although "everyone can be a publisher," by using online tools, "that does not mean ... that everyone can be a journalist" (Singer, 2011, p. 214). They are relying on their specific modes of conduct and the values that support them to set themselves apart from the amateurs and distinguish themselves as the "real" or *professional* journalists (Sjovaag, 2011a). These distinguishing characteristics (Singer, 2011) include the values harkening back from a devotion to freedom and responsibility: a responsibility toward public service, the duty to create a public forum for citizens, monitoring powerful institutions, practicing objectivity, explaining the facts, portraying accurately the various constituencies of society; and the values of professionals: autonomy, education and training,

However, the nature of online media is placing pressures on these values. Digital media means that anyone can publish at any time, and thus, competition for audiences has intensified. Very few of these online publishers are bound by the values of journalism, meaning that they can publish work that is opinionated, unverified or unethical (Singer, 2007). In distinguishing themselves from these amateurs, professional journalistic values need to be

emphasized and unique services must be provided (Picard, 2009), but also in trying to *compete* with these amateurs, professional standards are more difficult to achieve. With greater competition in an online environment from both amateurs and other outlets, deadlines are no longer fixed, but perpetual (Singer, 2004). Journalists are producing a greater volume of stories in more media formats, and have less time to perform their hallmark professional tasks, such as fact-checking and verification (Gade & Raviola, 2009; Singer, 2004; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Job expansion and its impact on journalists' routines are generally opposed because journalists perceive a loss of professional control (Lowrey, 2006; Singer, 2003). Overall, journalists are losing their autonomy and working in a more stressful environment. On top of these changes, they are expected to incorporate more user-generated content by citizens with values that frequently contrast with their own (Witschge & Nygren, 2009). In a revised gatekeeping role, journalists are becoming "gatewatchers," using their professional values to organize and filter information online, and presenting it in forms that adhere to journalism standards. This gatewatching applies to citizen-created content, including citizen photojournalism (Singer, 2011, p. 221).

The Clash of Amateurs and Professionals

The differences between amateur content creators and professionals are many. While professionals have a set of institutionalized professional values (Abbott, 1988; Barber, 1965), citizens do not work in close proximity with one another nor organize themselves to define and institutionalize their values. For example, professional journalists and photojournalists are guided by codes of

ethics that instruct them how to treat people who find themselves in the news, but amateurs are likely to have no training in professional journalism values and are not bound to such ethical codes (Bardoel, 2011; Deuze, 2005; Singer, 2011). Online content creators such as citizen journalists generally do not receive any kind of punishment for breaching the ethical guidelines laid out by professional societies and enforced by most news organizations (Singer, 2005). Professional photojournalists practice ethical photojournalism by not staging photographs or heavily editing photographs using software, but amateur photographers do not profess to abide by a code of ethics and may not understand these standards. Professionals work autonomously and professional journalists decide which stories to cover and emphasize (Abbott, 1988), but these news decisions may be completely different from those of amateurs. Professionals are required to have a specific education and specialized training to enter the profession, and the vast majority of journalists have received this preparation as journalism majors at four-year universities (Becker & Vlad, 2011; Larson, 1977), but amateurs do not face this educational entry barrier and may or may not have a degree that informs their practices. Finally, professionals are committed to and concerned about their work (Freidson, 1984) and are devoted to public service (Barber, 1965), but many amateurs partake in journalism because they find themselves at the site of news, are dissatisfied with news media or seek a method to express themselves (publish) to a broader audience (Daugherty et al., 2008; Lasica, 2003; Platon & Deuze, 2003).

The values of professional journalism as applied to photography differ and may conflict with the values of amateurs. Professional journalists, for example, are devoted to objectivity as a scientific method for finding truth, accurately portraying society, verifying facts to ensure truthfulness and explaining the facts in contexts that give them meaning (Christians et al., 1993; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Schudson, 2001). Professional photojournalists, too, are devoted to the value of truth (Newton, 2001). Amateurs, on the other hand, often create content with an agenda in mind – whether it be to promote an issue or to create art (Gillmor, 2006; Platon & Deuze, 2003). Objectivity is not a priority to most amateurs, who value community-building, self-expression, and often have an audience of family and friends (Daugherty et al., 2008; Leung, 2009; Nardi et al., 2004; Shao, 2009). Amateur photographers, in fact, have traditionally preferred to keep their photography related to their own personal lives (Chalfen, 1987; Murray, 2008; Sontag, 1977). In a digital age, they also share their personal photos as a form of self-expression (Sontag, 2004). The journalistic news value of conflict, which is often manifest photography as capturing action and drama, is less important to amateurs. Amateur photographers, in fact, may be drawn to positive happenings (Chalfen, 1987). Journalists also value novelty, and photojournalists try to capture happenings that are out of the ordinary and grab a viewer's attention (Kobre, 2011; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), but many amateur photographers in a digital age place value on banal, everyday, or even quirky happenings (Cohen, 2005; Murray, 2008). Some journalists perceive themselves as watchdogs of the

government and work to reveal wrongdoings, but citizen journalists often prefer soft news (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008).

The visual values that define professional image quality may also differ and conflict with those of amateurs. Professional photojournalists shoot with technical perfection, including a balanced composition, appropriate depth of field and proper lighting (Barnhurst, 1994; Kincaid, 1936; Kobre, 2011), but digital amateurs are fine with small flaws and blurs and reject perfection (Cohen, 2005). Rather than conforming to conventions regarding composition, they tend to center images (Barnhurst, 1994) or be creative in their framing (Sontag, 2004). The idea of authenticity is more important than the idea of technical perfection (Murray, 2008).

The different values, motivations and conventions of professional and amateur, citizen journalists and photojournalists creates a tension that is likely intensified in digital media, as professional and citizen photography exists on an increasingly equal plane (Thurman & Hermida, 2008). Professional photojournalists with a great deal of experience, education, and training are having their photographs displayed next to amateur photography. Citizen-taken photographs, in fact, have gained a status similar to that of professional material (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011). But many journalists would likely agree with Merrill (2011), who writes that "The people are simply not knowledgeable enough or don't desire to have a great impact on editorial or national policies" (p. 52-53). That many professional journalists are not enthusiastic about citizen journalism (Burke, 2006; Cohn, 2009; Steinman, 2009) is of little surprise.

Summary: Media in a Networked, Postmodern World

A greater number of media outlets and increased competition are forcing news organizations to try and provide gratification opportunities for their audience members (Beam, 2003; Dimmick et al., 2011; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). The Internet gratifies audiences through opportunities for interaction and control over the place and time of news consumption (Dimmick et al., 2011). Therefore, news organizations are opening up more space on the Internet for amateur, citizen content (Beam, 2003; Lacy, 2011), particularly visual content, because of its perceived truthfulness (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011) and because of citizens' right-place, right-time advantage. Citizen journalists have done some valuable work (Kouddous, 2011; Yaschur, 2012), but much citizen work reflects the more personal nature of creators of user-generated content in general. The differences between amateur content creators and professional photojournalists are many, but professionals are now having their work displayed in close proximity in an online environment. The pervasiveness of user generated content and the increase in audience control may be undesirable to individual journalists because it conflicts with their values–the marks of journalistic professional status (Gade & Raviola, 2009; Paulussen & Ugille, 1998; Phillips et al., 2009) and makes journalists feel less valued. Because of this newfound competition, it is likely a tension exists between the two groups, particularly on the side of professionals. This tension, arising from their differing values and newfound competition, is at the core of the present study. In the context of co-existence and competition, the focus of this study is to better understand the nature of how professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists

perceive one another as journalists and photographers. To explore these

perceptions, this study will test coorientation theory.

Chapter 6:

Coorientation Theory, Research Questions and Hypotheses

The problem of two groups with similar functions but differing goals and values having to work alongside one another raises questions about their understanding of one another. Although citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists perform similar tasks – gathering and disseminating visual news – the literature suggests that they carry different values and may perform their work in different ways. Professional photojournalists' values stem from journalism and a melding of journalistic values and photography concepts and conventions. Professional journalism and photography are guided by a search for truth, objective methods for finding it, social responsibility, and aesthetic standards for communicating these ideals visually, all of which have been codified through professional organizations, awards and codes of ethics (Kobre, 2011; Larson, 1977; Lieberman, 1956; Newton, 2001; Peterson, 1956; Siebert, 1956). Citizen photojournalists, on the other hand, lack socialization into the profession of photojournalism and are not subject to these codified values. In not holding to professional standards, they are amateur photographers and creators of user-generated content, both of which have their own set of characteristics and values that can contradict those of professionals (Chalfen, 1986; Nardi et al., 2004). Questions about two groups that bring differing motivations and values to similar tasks can be answered through a coorientation framework, as it provides a "starting point for discussing contentious issues" (Carey, 2006, p. 33).

Coorientation assumes that people are able to place themselves in the "shoes" of another and estimate what they believe about an issue (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969). A study using a coorientation framework, then, measures such understanding between two groups by looking at each group's attitude toward a subject of which both groups are familiar, but may have different perceptions. Coorientation, importantly, measures how the groups orient themselves to each other. Subjects are thus asked about their own attitudes toward the subject and are asked what they perceive the other groups' attitudes are toward the same subject. Coorientation explores three main concepts. The extent that the two groups' perceptions are similar is called *agreement*. The extent to which each group estimates the other group's perceptions is called *accuracy*. Finally, the extent to which each group perceives its perceptions as being similar to the others is called *congruence* (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968). Through the ability to calculate all three variables, one can establish what kind of relationship exists between professional and citizen photojournalists.

This chapter will present the core concepts of coorientation theory in further detail. Specifically, the conceptual and theoretical antecedents of the framework will first be discussed, and then the coorientation model used in this study will be presented and explained. A discussion of previous studies that focus on contentious relationships that have used a coorientation framework will follow. Finally, the problem of the coorientation of citizen and professional photojournalists in a changing media environment described in the previous

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chapters is summarized and concludes with eleven research questions and three hypotheses.

Conceptual Precursors to Coorientation

Early theorizing in the field of social psychology took place in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including the thinking of George Herbert Mead and Charles H. Cooley, who asked questions about how individuals make sense of themselves in relation to others (Meltzer, 1993). This line of thinking was influenced by earlier movements that began to view humans not as mere reactors to their environments (as some psychologists, including John Watson had proposed), but as active thinkers who can adjust their behaviors according to the social situation (Meltzer, 1993). Theories that explore peoples' orientation toward one another by taking into consideration the others' view toward them – putting themselves in the shoes of another – have emerged from this stream of thought.

Individuals, when coming into contact with other individuals or groups, attempt to orient themselves to the situation by gleaning cues about the other. Based upon such cues, they adjust their own behavior. Cooley (1902), in a prescient vein of thought, believed that people use a "looking glass self" to determine their orientation (1902). Cooley saw that Person One imagines how another person, Person Two, imagines him or her, and that shapes person One's judgment of him/herself (McLeod & Chaffee, 1973). Cooley (1902), for example, notes how individuals who come into contact with those who are "ascendant" over them, or of a higher level of social importance, tend to adopt judgment of themselves.

Another similar stream of thought that explores the idea of a "looking glass self" is symbolic interactionism (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969). Symbolic interactionism approaches assume that the behavior of a person is influenced by other people, or, more specifically, by peoples' beliefs of others' views *toward them.* Humans, unlike animals, respond to *intended* behaviors rather than actual behaviors. Symbolic interactionism also stresses this ability to view one's self in the eyes of another (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969). This approach studies not only the individual orientations people have toward an issue or object, but also the way each person perceives the other person's orientation toward an issue or object. Ultimately, symbolic interactionism emphasizes the way that a person (1) imagines his or her appearance from the perspective of another person, (2) imagines the other person's judgment of that appearance and (3) has a self-feeling or awareness of the other person's judgment (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969). This "imagination" allows individuals to share the judgments of others.

Mead (1967), whose work began in the late 19th century, points out that people seek to understand what other people think of them in the development of the self. People learn to communicate, and ultimately cooperate, by ascertaining the intention of the acts of another and then making their own responses on the basis of that intention. When humans respond to intended behaviors, they are symbolizing (Meltzer, 1993). He asserts that the concept of the "self" is comprised of two elements: the "I" and the "me." The "I" is the uninhibited self; creative and spontaneous (Meltzer, 1993). The "I" represents an individual's impulsive behavior that is conducted without the consideration

of what others perceive. The "me," on the other hand, is the social version of the self that emanates from learning social rules of conduct. This presentation of self is learned through estimating what others are thinking of one's self and then adjusting behavior accordingly to meet social expectations. This "role playing" involves taking on the perspectives of others. People learn to anticipate the responses of specific others, which can be internalized, and when they do so they come to "view" their own behaviors from the perspective of the social situation. Accordingly, people do not operate individually, but are always anticipating the actions and thoughts of others. As Meltzer (1993) says, most human behavior begins with the impulsivity of the "I" and ends with the regulation of the "me." Together, the "I" and the "me" form the self, which is a balance of spontaneous and creative activity that is also regulated and controlled socially.

Goffman (1952), in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* explains similar phenomena. He writes that when an individual enters the presence of others, he or she will seek to acquire information about those people in the group, or the individual will bring into play information about the group that he or she already has. Using this information, the individual can know what to expect from the group members. Likewise, the members of the group try to acquire information about the individual. If the individual or group knows little of each another, they can glean clues from each others' conduct and appearance. They may apply their previous experience with similar individuals or groups and thus apply untested stereotypes to each other. They can also rely on assumptions about each other to predict behavior.

The work of Cooley, Mead, Goffman, and others led to the development of a series of cognitive consistency models in the 1950s that explain how individuals relate to one another and objects in their environments (Baran & Davis, 2006). These models say that information that is not consistent with a person's beliefs will cause a tension, and people will adjust their own beliefs in order to achieve consistency. A precursor to coorientation and this line of thought can be found in Newcomb's A-B-X model, which predicts relationships between individuals based on their orientation to each other and objects (or issues) that have meaning to them (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968; McLeod & Chaffee, 1973; Newcomb, 1953). The model assumes that there are two participants in communication, Person A and Person B, and that Person A and B have knowledge of one another and are also both knowledgeable about a certain issue (X). The model takes into account the way that A relates to B, A relates to X, B relates to A, and to X. Each communicator, A and B, have a different *level* of attraction toward the other and toward the object (a degree of positive or negative attitude toward X). Newcomb believed that A and B have a desire to reach a balance, or a coorientation, regarding the object (X). To find cognitive balance, people will do one of the following: a) change their attitude about the object X so it is more in line with the other person's attitude toward X; b) change their attitude toward the other person, determining their relationship with the other person is not as important as their attitude toward X; or c) try to get the other person to change his/her attitudes toward X to be more like their own.

The model assumes that people constantly think about what others think of themselves in relation to objects (or issues) they experience together (Severin & Tankard, 1992). The level of attraction that A or B holds toward the other and their level of positive or negative attitude toward X determine how an imbalance is resolved.

In the same stream of thought, coorientation theory is an approach that implements self-reflection and the "looking-glass self"– an estimate of what others think of self – as measures of communication. Coorientation refers to a situation in which two groups hold opinions about the same issue or idea. The model assumes that a person who is cooriented with another person has two sets of cognitions: he/she knows what he/she thinks about an issue, and he/she also has an estimate of what the other person thinks and about the issue (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969). People learn to see themselves as others see them. Instead of focusing on attitudes only, Chaffee and McLeod (1968) asserted that the accuracy of A's and B's perceptions of one another was most important. They suggested that better accuracy equates to better understandings of one another's viewpoints and is a can provide a starting point for discussing conflicting groups' opinions (Carey, 2006, p. 33). Coorientation theory allows researchers to discern how two groups of people who perform similar tasks share consensus about their roles, contemplate their roles in relation to one another, and define the boundaries of their relationship (Stegall & Sanders, 1986).

The Model
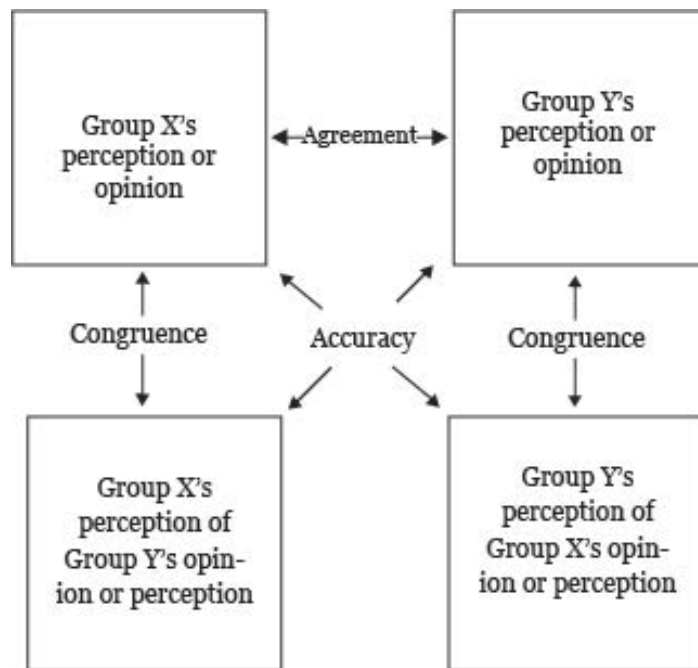
The coorientation model (See figure 6.1) illustrates the relationships of
the three core concepts in the theory (see appendix A for a better representation
of this model as it pertains to this study, specifically). The top two boxes in the
model represent the perceptions or opinions of the two groups, X and Y. The
first concept, *agreement*, is the extent to which X and Y's perceptions of the
object in question are similar to each other. The second concept, *accuracy*, is
the extent to which X's perception of Y's perception of the object in question is
similar to Y's actual perception of this object. Accuracy also measures the
reciprocal relationship: the extent to which Y's perception of X's perception of
the object in question is similar to X's actual perceptions of this object. The
third concept, *congruency*, is the extent to which X perceives that his

perceptions of the object in question are the same as Y's, and, the reciprocal, or the extent to which Y perceives that his perceptions of the object in question are the same at X's. Congruency is also called "perceived cognitive overlap" or *perceived agreement* (Seltzer, 2006). Accuracy is the most important element because accurate information allows each group to know exactly what the other group is thinking and increases as communication increases (McLeod and Chaffee, 1973). Congruency is interesting because it is a perception by one person of a relation between his cognitions and another person's, based on his relationship with that other person or persons.

It is important to note that accuracy, agreement, and congruence do not function independently of one another. If, for example, agreement is low and congruency is high, accuracy will necessarily be low. If two people don't think the same about something, but they perceive that they will, then there is obviously inaccuracy. One the other hand, if X and Y think the similarly about something (agreement), *and* X thinks he or she will think similarly as Y about the same thing (congruency), then X is also necessarily accurate (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968).

Chaffee and McLeod (1968) note that accuracy is the one measure that tends to increase as communication increases. Agreement, they say, is often used as a variable to discern communication effectiveness, but it is not necessarily a good measure of communication. As the authors note, "Each person's values are based on a lifetime of experiences that no other person has undergone; therefore, it is unlikely that the two persons will agree completely in their evaluations, no matter how much they communicate" (p. 663). While

communication can increase agreement, it is very unlikely that there will ever be complete agreement in a relationship.

A point of interest especially relevant to this dissertation is that, to the extent that congruency is "internally motivated," there is the possibility that congruency will be held constant and low by one group or individual (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968, p. 663). This is the case when a person or group of people perceive a conflict with the other person or do not like the other person, and therefore do not *want* to agree with him or her (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968). Perception, as measured using a coorientation framework, however, is not a direct indication of motivation. Using the A-B-X model as an illustration, if group A (e.g. professional photojournalists) has a positive attitude toward object X (e.g. journalism values) and an ambivalent or negative attitude toward group B (citizen photojournalists) then group A is more likely to maintain its attitude toward X than seek to balance their attitudes to be in line with group B. This dissertation assumes that this scenario exists and uses coorientation theory to measure whether and to what extent it does exist. As communication increases accuracy, agreement then would actually decrease. On the other hand, if two groups like each other, then there would be a tendency for them to increase congruency and also agreement as a product of communication.

The coorientation relationship can be categorized by several different cognitive states. Consensus occurs when the two groups agree; both sides share the similar views and each knows that agreement exists. Dissensus is the opposite. It occurs when the two sides disagree and recognize the disagreement. False consensus exists when group 1 thinks that group 2 agrees with it on an

issue but the group 2 does not, and false conflict exists when either group mistakenly thinks there is disagreement (Broom and Dozier, 1990). False dissensus occurs when both groups think that they disagree more than they actually do, and finally, a false consensus occurs if both groups believe that they agree on a subject when they actually do not. Studies show that coorientation measures are useful for determining whether different groups of people have these consensual or dissensual states (Laing, 1970; Shin & Cameron, 2005; Verˇciˇc, Verˇciˇc & Laco, 2005).

Previous Coorientation Studies

The theory has been used to study relationships of two groups of people who perform similar tasks but have differing norms and backgrounds (e.g. Kelly, Thompson, & Waters, 2007; Stegall & Sanders, 1986). These different norms and backgrounds are often a source of friction between the groups. For example, the relationship between journalists and public relations practitioners (Stegall & Sanders, 1986) and doctors and hospice caretakers (Kelly, Thompson, & Waters, 2007) have been studied through a coorientational approach. Rather than assessing an interpersonal orientation and "assuming communication," coorientation theory observes and theorizes about interpersonal coorientation (Chaffee, McLeod & Guerrero, 1969, p. 1): the level of agreement that two groups have about an issue and about one another's perceptions of that issue. Coorientation literature has found that better communication can produce increased accuracy and understanding between groups (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968; Cutlip, Center & Broom, 1999).

Stegall and Sanders (1986) examined the relationship between public

relations practitioners and reporters and their role perceptions. Reporters have historically dismissed public relations as "flackery," and public relations practitioners see reporters as incompetent and negative. The study found that while both groups had high agreement with one another, overall, the practitioners were more accurate in assessing journalists' views than journalists were in assessing practitioners' views. Further, the perceived agreement between the two groups was greater among practitioners than reporters. The study concludes that public relations' practitioners motivation to coorient is greater than reporters'.

Kelly, Thompson, and Waters (2006) explored the relationship between hospice caretakers and the physicians who refer patients to them. Hospice workers charge that doctors delay referring patients to hospice care, and that this causes hardships and unnecessary pain for terminally ill patients. But doctors view death as a professional defeat and attempt all life-saving methods before conceding to hospice. Thus, a tension exists since physicians must be the ones to refer a terminally-ill patient to a hospice care specialist. The results of the study determined that hospice leaders were inaccurate in perceiving a high degree of disagreement when they and physicians generally agreed on the issues. However, hospice leaders perceived low agreement between themselves and referring physicians, while physicians perceived similar agreement.

The Research Problem, Research Questions and Hypotheses

Internet technologies have led to a blurring of the line between producers and consumers of mediated content (Castells, 2010). In the digital era, audiences (as consumers and publishers) have increased control over their

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media experiences, and professional journalists are no longer the sole possessors of the content creation and dissemination skills that had defined them as professionals (Dimmick et al., 2011; Hermida et al., 2011; Picard, 2009). To set themselves apart from amateurs, journalists are relying more heavily on the values that define their professionalism, even as these values are pressured by technological innovation (Singer, 2011; Sjovaag, 2011a). The journalism industry, to engage audiences in an increasingly competitive media environment, is incorporating citizen content as a way to involve and attract audiences (Brooks et al., 2008; Dimmick et al., 2011; Lacy, Martin & Hugh, 2004; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008). Accordingly, journalism is experiencing an interaction of two different cultures – one professional, one amateur – with differing norms, values, conventions and routines, but who largely perform similar basic tasks. These are the conditions that suggest journalists, especially photojournalists, are likely experiencing a perceived sense of threatened professionalism.

Professions, including journalism, become threatened when they lose exclusivity to their specialized knowledge base and skill set (Freidson, 1984). Holding a specialized knowledge base and skill set is what makes the work of a professional essential to society and allows professionals to control entry into the field (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1984). Because professional photojournalists have historically performed an essential and exclusive societal service, they have been largely sheltered from the demands of the marketplace, which has provided them the autonomy to develop their own professional values. The ability to define these values has provided professionals considerable control

over the entrance of workers, limiting "journalists" to those with specialized knowledge, most often an education that has indoctrinated them with the values of the profession (Freidson, 1984; Larson, 1977).

Without this shelter, professionals' authority and autonomy to define the values by which their work is performed is threatened. The values that define professional journalism, including truth-telling, verification, and objective methods for gathering and presenting information (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007), may often conflict with the typical practices of amateur, citizen photojournalists. Citizens entering the realm of "journalism" may be perceived by professional photojournalists as contaminating the professional arena with practices involving self-expression, photographic imperfection, and "happy" news (Chalfen, 1987; Sontag, 1977; Nardi et al., 2004). Professional journalists and photojournalists claim their core values distinguish them from citizen journalists, but citizen journalism advocates claim citizens can do the work of journalists regardless of whether they adhere to traditional values. With the specialization of their skill set waning, the exclusiveness of the societal functions weakening, their competition increasing, and market shelter eroding, the profession of journalism is threatened. Thus, a tension may exist that reflects professional photojournalists perceptions of citizen photojournalists (Singer, 2011).

The shifting of journalism from a closed institution to an inclusive, participatory institution has important implications for the ways journalists work. This dissertation sets out to explore how professional and citizen photojournalists, who bring different knowledge, values, and skills to the same

craft of photojournalism, perceive themselves, each other, and how they perceive that they agree with each other. Doing so allows explanation in the areas of commonality and conflict in their attitudes about journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism. Using the theory of coorientation, it can be discovered the extent to which the groups share beliefs about the indicators of professional journalism and photojournalism and the extent to which they understand one another. Further, the dynamics among agreement, accuracy and understanding can suggest like or dislike between the groups and imply professional threat.

To add further evidence regarding the two groups' perceptions of each other, this study also investigates the extent to which professional photojournalists' perceived threatened sense of professionalism effects their evaluation of citizen photography. Coorientation theory would suggest that if professional photojournalists have a positive attitude about the values guiding journalism and photojournalism, but are ambivalent or have negative attitudes toward citizen photojournalists (because of their threatened sense of professionalism [e.g. Freidson, 1984; Larson, 1977]), then the professional photojournalists will hold tightly to their attitudes toward these values rather than try to adjust their attitudes toward the citizen photojournalists. To test this, a photo evaluation will be undertaken. This explores whether the credit of a photograph, as either professional or amateur, has an impact on how the groups evaluate that image. Doing so allows triangulation in the study of whether photojournalists' threatened sense of professionalism is a source of their perception of citizen photojournalism images.

Specifically, eleven research questions are posed. Research questions one through four explore the attitudes that citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists have of the concepts of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism; Research questions five and six address the extent to which the two groups agree on these values; research questions seven and eight address the extent to which these two groups are accurate in perceiving the other groups' perceptions of these values; finally, research questions nine and ten address the extent to which these two groups perceive that they agree with one another. This study also inquires as to whether these perceptions that they have of each another impact how they assess each other's photojournalism work. Given professional photojournalists' threatened sense of professionalism, the study posits that they will perceive the work of citizen photojournalists more poorly than they view other work, but that citizen photojournalists', who theoretically are not threatened by professionals, will not perceive the same threat and will therefore not have a poor assessment of professionals' work. Research question 11 and the two hypotheses address this photo assessment. The study asks, specifically:

RQ1: What are professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ2: What are professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ3: What are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ4: What are citizen photojournalists' perceptions on the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ5: To what degree do professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ6: To what degree do professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ7a: How accurately do citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ7b: How accurately do professional photojournalists perceive citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ8a: How accurately do citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ8b: How accurately do professional photojournalists perceive citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ9a: To what degree are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism congruent with professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ9b: To what degree are professional photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism congruent with citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ10a: To what degree are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of photojournalism professionalism congruent with professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ10b: To what degree are professional photojournalists' perceptions of photojournalism professionalism congruent with citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ11: In what ways and to what extent do citizen photojournalists assess the quality of a news photograph that is labeled as having been taken by a professional different than a news photograph with no label?

And posits that:

Hypothesis 1: Professional photojournalists will assess photograph with no credit line statistically significantly more favorably than a photograph with a credit line that indicates the photo was taken by a citizen photojournalist.

Hypothesis 2: Professional photojournalists will assess a photograph labeled as having been taken by a citizen photojournalist statistically significantly more poorly than citizen photojournalists evaluate a photograph credited to a professional photojournalist.

Chapter 7:

Methodology

This study was comprised of a web-based, self-administered survey, circulated to two groups of respondents – professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists. In addition to the survey, a photo evaluation was used to measure the two groups' perceptions of news image quality, and an open-ended explanation was solicited to give participants an opportunity to express their rationale for their evaluation of a photograph. The survey – administered in May and June 2012 –asked about how each group evaluated their own views of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism, and each groups' prediction of the viewpoints of the other group – the coorientation measures – a photographic evaluation, and demographics.

Online Surveys

The online survey method was used for this study. Surveys are useful when a large amount of data need to be collected and analyzed with inferential statistics (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Further, the method is not bound by geographical boundaries, making it useful for research that is not necessarily of one geographic area, but rather a type of person based upon other interests–in this case, photojournalism (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). The advantages of Internet surveys, specifically, are many. While not all people in the world or even in the United States have access to the Internet, using an Internet survey is still effective at reaching people who are in professions and those who are being targeted specifically for their practices on the Internet (Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2010). Further, Internet surveys are often free or low in cost

(Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2010). For this particular study, these are precisely the two groups of people being sampled: professionals and Internet-using non-professionals.

Still, one of the main disadvantages of the survey method is that response rates continue to decline, with current rates of about 40% for traditional mail surveys and as low as 2.5% for telephone surveys (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Response rates tend to be particularly low with online surveys – about an average of 11% lower response rates than other types of surveys (Fan & Yan, 2010)--threatening the overall quality (Couper, 2000; Dommeyer & Moriarty, 2000). Nonetheless, Internet survey response rates vary widely. Wimmer & Dominick (2006) say that the response rate for Internet surveys ranges from 1% to 30%. Reinardy (2011) was able to achieve a 29% response rate in his online survey of young journalists, while Singer (2010) achieved a lower response rate of about nine percent. Ways to increase response rates include sending the survey from reputable education-based sponsor, having a topic with high salience, using simple, easy-to-understand questions, stressing the social utility of the study and sending follow-up letters (Dillman, 2010; Fan & Yan, 2010). These guidelines guided the research process in the current dissertation. Emails were sent from an official University of Oklahoma email address and the survey was pretested to assure that the survey was easy to understand and take. Finally, the emails and follow-up emails that were sent to respondents stressed the social utility of the study (see Appendices D and F).

Drawing the Sample: Professional Photojournalists

The intent in choosing a sample population for professional photojournalists was to generate a sample large enough to generalize to professional photojournalists. To focus on professional photojournalists, the purposive sample included photojournalists from the National Press Photographers (NPPA) and the American Society of Media Photographers (ASMP). Because most news websites no longer list the contact information of their staffs, obtaining a true census from which to sample professional photojournalists was difficult. Therefore, it was appropriate to consult organizations in which photojournalists self-designate themselves as professionals. NPPA is a national association of professional press photographers devoted to the advancement of professional visual journalism through training, networking and education, making it an appropriate population from which to draw a sample of professional photojournalists (NPPA, 2012). The ASMP is an American society for media photographers, dedicated to promoting photographers' rights, providing education for better business practices and helping to connect purchasers with professional photographers (ASMP, 2012).

The NPPA population was contacted first. Within the NPPA membership, 76% of members are primarily still photographers and 80% are non-student professionals (Hutchinson, personal communication, April 11, 2010). To ensure a response from professional photojournalists that would be large enough for statistical analysis, a census of the membership of NPPA was included in the overall sample, which included approximately 7,000 people at the time of the

survey. All members of the National Press Photographer's Association (NPPA) photographer's division were initially asked to participate in the survey. Each week, the NPPA sends an e-newsletter to its membership, *NPPA Close Up*. On May 23, a message was included in the newsletter inviting members of NPPA to partake in the survey. After one week, 18 members had responded.

Given the low response rate (less than 1%), the researcher took a more targeted strategy in defining and contacting the desired sample. A "professional photojournalist" was defined as a non-student photojournalist who was primarily involved in still photography. Therefore, the researcher contacted all such NPPA members who fit these criteria individually. Relevant members included those who are not students and also list themselves as still photographers. The NPPA web site has a database of visual journalists, broken down into four subgroups by self-designation: photographers, videographers, visual editors, and multimedia producers. For this survey, only those who self-designate themselves as photographers were contacted. To assure that only professional photojournalists were contacted, those who self-identified themselves as student members were not included in the search. From the NPPA main site, "Find Visual Journalists" was selected. Then, "Find a Photographer" was selected. All 1,175 members were contacted via email between May 29 and June 3 individually and asked to participate in the survey. They were sent an IRB-approved recruitment email with a URL to the survey (see appendix C). Those who chose to participate followed the URL to a secure site where they could take the survey. Before beginning the survey and after clicking on the URL, participants were asked to read through the IRB-approved

informed consent. Those participants who agreed to the content explained in the informed consent were instructed to continue to the survey by clicking "next." At the time of sampling, 1,175 photographers were listed. Of the 1,175 NPPA members who were initially contacted, 448 responded, a 38.12% response rate.

Ten days later, abbreviated follow-up messages were sent to all of the members of the population again except those who had replied to my initial petition indicating that they had taken the survey. Only those participants who had replied to the researcher directly about the survey were excluded from the second email, since there were no other way to discern who had and who had not completed the survey. This email included a shorter version of the initial email, with a link to the survey (see Appendix D). Eight days later, a second follow-up message was sent to the citizen photojournalists, identical to the first follow-up message that was sent. This procedure of sending follow-up message follows Dillman's recommended method of executing email surveys to enhance response rates (Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2010).   All surveys received through June 16 are included in the results.

The ASMP members who listed themselves as still photographers were also contacted between May 30 and June 1. Because ASMP is an organization devoted to all media photographers as opposed to news photographers exclusively, all members who list themselves as photojournalists (N = 228) were contacted. Ten days later, a follow-up email was sent, similar to the follow-up email sent to NPPA members (see Appendix E). Seven days later, a second

follow-up email was sent, identical to the first follow-up email. A total of 27 replied, a 12% response rate.

Of the 1,175 NPPA members and the 228 ASMP members who were contacted (A total of 1,403 professional photojournalists), 425 professional photojournalists responded to the survey. Given the 18 NPPA members who replied to the initial newsletter petition, 443 professional photojournalists are included in the sample. The end response rate of these emails was 31.58%.

Drawing the Sample: Citizen Photojournalists

The researcher wanted to find citizen photojournalists who had submitted photographs for publication by a news outlet. For this study, citizen photojournalists were defined as people who were not currently working as professional photojournalists but had tried to have news photographs published on a news website. Flickr is a photographic-social networking site through which members share and comment on each other's photographs and also submit photographs for inclusion in traditional journalism outlets. Because the researcher was looking for a sample of non-journalists and non-photographers who were striving to have their photographs published in a journalistic medium, choosing groups from Flickr where citizens submitted their photographs for inclusion in a news site was an appropriate population from which to draw a sample. A sample of citizen photojournalists was drawn from various citizen journalism groups on Flickr. To identify these groups, three searches were conducted. The researcher searched for "citizen photojournalism," "citizen journalism," and then "news photography." From these results, 15 groups were selected that indeed were devoted to gathering citizen photographs for possible

publication in a journalistic medium. Some of the groups that showed up from the search were inactive, had too few members (less than approximately 20), or simply were not devoted to citizen photojournalism. Some, for example, were devoted to sharing professional news photography. These groups were not included. The following groups were used: *Citizen Photojournalism 2.0, Wikinews, CNN iReport, Broowaha San Francisco, Broowaha New York, The Rapidian, CincyVoices, NoComment News, Now Public Photography, NowPublic, Yahoo! News: Your Breaking News Photos*, and *Chi-Town Daily News*. These citizen photojournalism Flickr groups are of two types. One type– for example, *CNN iReport*–contains groups that are affiliated with legacy media (*CNN,* in this case). The other type–for example, *Broowaha San Francisco* and *Broowaha New York*–are exclusively devoted to citizen journalism and not devoted to any legacy news product.

A total of 6,012 citizen photojournalists were in these groups at the time the sample was drawn. In order to contact these Flickr members, they were added as a contact (to the researcher) on the Flickr web site. Requesting somebody as a contact allowed the researcher to send potential respondents a private message through Flickr's messaging system. All of the citizen photojournalists who accepted the researcher's contact request were contacted with the IRB-approved recruitment message and were asked to participate in the survey. To ensure a response rate similar to that of the professional photojournalists, a census of the 6,012 members was contacted.

From May 16 through May 22, individual messages were sent to Flickr members with information and a link to the survey. Ten days later, abbreviated

follow-up messages were sent to all of the members of the population again except those who had replied to my initial petition indicating that they had taken the survey. Ten days later, a second follow-up message was sent to the citizen photojournalists, identical to the first follow-up message that was sent. A total of 932 citizen photojournalists took the survey, a response rate of 15.5%. Because the survey is based upon U.S. journalism values, those Flickr members who were not U.S. citizens were excluded from the analysis, just as the sample of professional photojournalists was comprised of only U.S. citizens. The final sample of U.S. citizen photojournalists was 396, or 6.6% of the original 6,012 citizen photojournalists contacted.

Measures

This study explores the extent to which professional and citizen photojournalists share similar journalism and photojournalism values, and whether there is a tension between the two groups' values. To achieve this purpose, two measures – journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism – were constructed. These professional measures were the basis for the coorientational tests in the study. The first measure, journalism professionalism, was constructed by incorporating four dimensions of literature: The study of professionalism, normative journalism theory, professional journalism ethics and news values. Journalism professionalism dimensions in the construct include concepts drawn from the sociology of professions literature, including the occupational autonomy of journalists and the specialized education, training and techniques that journalists receive and practice. Normative measures in this study drew from journalism's idealized

role in democracy, which provide theoretical bases for freedom of expression and freedom of the press, as well as the responsibilities that news media have as social institution. Statements crafted to measure these normative values asked about whether journalists should create a public forum for discussion, report facts in contexts that explain what they mean, and whether journalism should monitor powerful institutions. The measures of photojournalism ethics included whether it is acceptable to use software to rearrange the elements in a photograph and whether it is acceptable to stage photographs. Finally, the measures of news values included conventions drawn from the literature about the routines and values of the journalism and photojournalism professions. These included questions about, for example, the proper way to take a good photograph with regard to composition and the content of the photo. Participants were asked, for example, whether good photographs are best when they contain conflict, a news value. These constructs were drawn from Beam, 1993; Beam, Weaver & Brownlee, 2009; Deuze, 2008; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Lieberman, 1956; Merrill, 1974; Schudson, 2001; Singer, 2011, Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996 and the SPJ and NPPA codes of ethics. Please see Appendix G for a complete list of the statements.

To measure indicators of professional photojournalism, statements were written addressing a journalism values applied to the medium of photography, and the conventions – ethical and aesthetic – of photography. The conventions of professional photojournalists were drawn from professional guides and photojournalism textbooks and included statements that inquired about whether photographs should command attention, portray a human element, or

depict an out-of-the-ordinary happening. The ethical conventions of professional photojournalists were derived from the National Press Photographers Code of Ethics and include avoiding staging photographs and avoiding harming subjects. The aesthetic considerations of professional photojournalists were also drawn from professional guides and textbooks, and included whether photographs should be balanced in composition, and the use of proper lighting. The values of amateur photographers were also used to write some statements. Amateur photographers are characterized in the literature as having many values that counter those of professionals. For example, amateur photographers have an appreciation for blurs and small imperfections and tend to use their photography as a form of self-expression rather than as an objective account of happenings. These statements were developed drawing on literature from Barnhurst & Nerone, 1994; Chalfen, 2006; Cohen, 2005; Cookman & Stolley, 2009; Erdrich, 2012; Kobre, 2011; Murray, 2008; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Sontag, 1977, Warner-Marien, 2011 and the NPPA and SPJ codes of ethics. Please see Appendix G for a complete list of these statements.

A seven-point Likert-type intensity scale was used in the first two sections of the survey. The Likert technique presents a set of attitude statements. Participants were asked to express their level of agreement or disagreement on the seven-point scale.

For the third portion of the survey, participants were shown a photograph (see Figure 1) and asked to indicate their agreement with 11 statements that address dimensions of news image quality on a 7-point, Likert-type intensity scale. The statements reflect dimensions of news image quality,

and include compositional aspects (e.g. balance, focal point), subject matter (e.g. spontaneity, human element) and technique (e.g. decisive moment, proper lighting). Participants were also asked to rate the overall quality of the photo on a scale from 1-100 (Figure 7.1). Respondents were then asked to explain their assessment through open-ended responses. Two independent researchers read the open-ended responses to glean themes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These researchers were seeking references to the comparisons explored in the hypotheses and research question, tension or conflict based on the credit line, and discussion of news image quality. This approach allows a methodological triangulation for studying whether professionals perceive themselves as threatened by amateurs by examining whether professionals' assessment of news image quality is effected by the presence of a citizen credit line. This photo evaluation can be seen in Appendix G, H, I and J.

Figure 7.1: Image evaluated for news image quality

Survey Implementation

As mentioned above, this study employs a web-based survey that uses a coorientational approach measuring attitudes about dimensions of professional journalism and professional photojournalism. Data collection was between May 27 and June 18 2012 from the professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists selected to participate in the study. The survey was comprised of three sections. The first section explored respondents' attitudes toward professional journalism. Specifically, they were asked about the elements of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism. For the second section, respondents were asked to answer the same questions, not based on their personal opinions, but based upon *how they perceive the other group would respond*. For example, instead of the professional photojournalists answering how important they think objectivity is in journalism, they answered how important they think objectivity is to citizen photojournalists (and vice versa). Respondents were also asked to answer the same questions about indicators of professional photojournalism, based not upon their own opinions, but based upon the opinions they perceive of the other group. Professionals respondents were prompted with the phrase, "Now, answer the questions based upon how you think that an amateur, citizen photojournalist would answer. In other words, put yourselves in the 'shoes' of a citizen photojournalist" or "Now, answer the questions based upon how you think that professional photojournalist would answer. In other words, put yourselves in the 'shoes' of a professional photojournalist" for professionals and citizens, respectively. This second section provided the basis for testing

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coorientation theory, which posits that people are able to put themselves in the position of another and estimate that other person's answers to questions.

The third section of the survey involved evaluation of a photograph using a scale that measured news image quality. Participants were presented with an image and asked to indicate their level of agreement on statements associated with high-quality news photography. The image selected for evaluation in this study was selected from MSNBC's collection of "Week in Pictures," a photojournalism repository displaying "The best news images" of the week (Msnbc.msn.com). The photograph chosen was selected based on several criteria. The researcher decided that the image evaluated needed to have relevance to U.S. citizens because only U.S. citizens were selected for inclusion in the study. The photograph also needed to contain content that would be photographable by both citizen and professional photojournalists, because both groups would be taking the survey. For example, a photograph of the President of the United States would not be a feasible photo opportunity for most citizen photojournalists, so this type of photograph was not chosen for the evaluation in this study. The photograph chosen also needed to be relevant to the elements of photojournalism measured in the survey, including proper lighting, balance, rule of thirds, and a human element. In addition, the photograph provided an opportunity to explore two new measures not explored in the other parts of the survey: Whether the photograph made the viewer feel as though he or she was at the scene, and whether the photograph told a story. Based on these criteria, six photographs were selected among by two independent researchers to select the final image that best fit the survey questions. The final photograph that was

chosen was taken by a professional photographer, John Moore, and is licensed by Getty Images. See Appendix G, H, I and J to view the selected photograph.

To explore the degree to which photojournalists' threatened sense of professionalism is a source of their perception of citizen photojournalism images, this dissertation asks whether professional photojournalists will evaluate a photograph that is credited to a citizen photojournalist differently than one with no credit line. Likewise, it asks whether citizen photojournalists evaluate a photograph differently that is credited to a professional photojournalist than one that has no credit line. A split-run technique is used in which the photo credit is manipulated between two groups or respondents. For citizens, half of the sample received an image with a credit line indicating that the photo was taken by a professional photojournalist, and half received a photo that had no credit line. Half of the professional photojournalists were presented with a photograph with a credit line that indicated it was taken by a citizen photojournalist, and half of the professional photojournalists were presented with the same photograph with no credit line. A Likert-type intensity scale (see Appendix G, H, I and J for an example of the photo evaluation) was used for the photo evaluations.

The final section of the survey asks demographic questions of the respondents, including their age, gender, ethnicity, and years they have spent in their life as a professional journalist or photojournalist.

Measurement Instrument

The survey was pre-tested with a sample of six professional photojournalists to assess reliability, validity and comprehensions. These initial

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survey respondents provided comments about the clarity and relevance of the questions, which were used to refine the statements. Specifically, the photojournalists who pre-tested the survey took the survey and provided feedback about the clarify of the statements, how much time the survey took to complete, whether there were any typographical or grammatical errors, and finally, they were asked which photograph they received to assure the researcher that split-run technique that manipulated the photo credit was properly randomized between a citizen-photojournalist label and a no-label condition. Those statements that respondents were confused by or said could be answered in different ways depending upon different circumstances were reassessed. Some statements were altered at this stage to more accurately measure the important elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Preparation for Data Analysis

Several steps were taken to prepare the data for analysis. First, some respondents had to be removed from the analysis. Given that the statements were constructed based upon United States journalism values, the nature of the research questions – which references such U.S. values as the First Amendment -- requires that the respondents are also working in the United States. Therefore, all respondents who reported in the survey that they are currently living in other countries were removed from the present analysis. In addition to removing those respondents not from the United States, the researcher removed those respondents who did not feel comfortable answering the coorientation questions. During the course of the survey, the researcher received several emails from respondents who indicated that they felt unable or

uncomfortable placing themselves in the shoes of another and that they answered those questions with "all 4s" or "all 3s." These responses – a total of 8 -- were eliminated. A total of 392 citizens and 436 professionals were included in the final analysis.

Construct Reliability

Reliability for the first two measures, journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism, were assessed using Cronbach's alpha. Past coorientation studies have calculated construct reliability in two ways: for each of the two groups separately (Kang, 2007; Kelly, Thompson & Waters, 2006) or by combining the two responses (Rankin, 2005; Seltzer, 2007; Swindell, 2006). Therefore, for this dissertation, Cronbach's alpha is calculated for each scale by including both groups and also by including each group individually. The Cronbach's alpha for all respondents on the journalism construct was .564 for all respondents and .595 for the photojournalism construct. Looking at each group individually, the alpha levels for professional journalists were 566 on the journalism professionalism measure and .541 on the photojournalism professionalism measure. The alpha level for citizen journalists on the photojournalism statements was .500 and on the journalism professionalism questions was .518.

The Cronbach's alpha levels for the photo evaluation portion of the survey were high:

Professionals rating the photo credited to a citizen = .91

Professionals rating the photo with no credit = .89

Citizen photojournalists rating the photo credited to a professional = .90

Citizens rating the photograph with no credit = .85

The Cronbach's alpha levels for the coorientation portion of the survey may be low due to the nature of journalism professionalism. An acceptable alpha level is .70 or higher (George & Mallery, 2003). Weaver and Wilhoit (1986, 1996, 2007) have noted that journalists have this kind of pluralistic value orientation and role conception, each seeing themselves in some of the following roles in differing degrees: Disseminators of information, interpreters of events, adversaries of powerful institutions, mobilizers of audience, interpreters of problems, and developers of intellectual and cultural interests to the public. Each role conception assumes with it different value orientations. The dimensions that define professional constructs are conceptually inconsistent, given, for example, that different journalists value elements of both freedom and responsibility to varying degrees even among themselves (Merrill, 1974). The values of journalists, therefore, involve multiple perspectives, some of which are not compatible with each other. The items in the scales measured several of these different values rather than measuring a unidimensional construct, leading to the low alphas in this study. And although literature does not exist looking specifically at *photo*journalists' differing professional value systems and whether they are inconsistent or contradictory, the low alphas within the photojournalism statements may also be reflective of these different value orientations. That non-professional, citizen photojournalists would also not see the importance of the values of professional journalism and photojournalism according to a consistent scale is logical.

The low alphas in this study are also reflective of the fact that the scales are original. Reliability among original scales is difficult to attain (Tull, 1973), and original scales with reliabilities between .49 and .59 have been published (e.g. Kelly, Thompson, & Waters, 2006). Others have dealt with low Cronbach's alpha numbers by assessing the items individually (e.g. Swindell, 2006). And others have looked at items individually regardless of reliability for the richness that the data provides (e.g. Avery, Lariscy, & Sweetser, 2010, Verˇciˇc, Verˇci & Laco, 2005). Because this is an area of research that has not been explored before, and because the researcher is interested in the specific areas of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism that professionals and citizen photojournalists view differently or similarly, this dissertation will approach the data by looking at both the summated scales (quotients) that measure the constructs and the individual statements that comprise the constructs. This allows for examination of both the overall similarities and differences between citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists as well as the specific areas of agreement and disagreement that lead to the overall differences.

Summary: Methodology

To summarize, the present study was comprised of a web-based survey taken by professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists. The sample of professional photojournalists (N = 443) was drawn from members of the National Press Photographers (NPPA) and the American Society of Media Photographers (ASMP). The sample of citizen photojournalists (N = 396) was drawn from 15 citizen journalism groups on Flickr. To explore the extent to

which professional and citizen photojournalists share similar journalism and photojournalism values two measures – journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism – were constructed and became the basis for the survey. The first section of the survey explored respondents' attitudes toward journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism, and the second section asked respondents to answer the same questions, not based on their personal opinions, but based upon *how they perceive the other group would respond.* These responses form the basis for the coorientation measures. To explore the degree to which photojournalists' threatened sense of professionalism is a source of their perception of citizen photojournalism images, participants were asked in the third section of the survey to evaluate a photograph based upon a scale measuring news photo quality. Half of the professional photojournalists were asked to evaluate a photograph that is credited to a citizen photojournalist and half evaluated a photograph with no credit line. Likewise, half of the citizen photojournalists evaluate a photograph credited to a professional photojournalist and half were asked to evaluate a photograph with no credit line. Respondents were then asked to explain their rating through open-ended responses.

Chapter 8:

Results

This chapter details the findings of the analyses that were used for the present study. The chapter begins by presenting the demographic information about the citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists who took the survey. The results of the first four research questions, which explore respondents' perceptions of journalism and photojournalism professionalism, are presented next, followed by the results of the coorientation measures – their agreement, accuracy, and congruence (RQs five through 10). The results of the research question and hypotheses regarding the news image quality evaluation are given, and finally, the responses to the open-ended questions are assessed.

Demographics

Of the 436 professional photojournalists who completed the survey:

-- 304 (69.7%) are men and 46 (10.6%) are women. Eighty-six (19.7%) of the professional respondents did not indicate their gender.

-- Ages range from 18 to 76, with the average age being 44 years. 74 respondents did not indicate their age (17.0%).

-- 24 (5.5%) have 0-1 years of experience; 88 (20.2%) have 2-5 years of experience; 62 (14.2%) have 6-10 years of experience, and most -- 198 (45.4%) – have more than ten years of experience in photojournalism; 60 (13.8%) did not answer the question.

-- They spend, on average, 65.1% of their daily work on photojournalism.

-- 58.4%, on average, of their income is obtained from photojournalism.

These demographics indicate that the professional photojournalists in this sample are predominately male, middle age, and with more than five years experience. They obtain most of their income from photojournalism work and spend most of their work time on photojournalism practices.

Of the 392 citizen photojournalists who completed the survey:

-- 260 (66.3%) are men and 122 (31.1%) are women. Ten (2.6%) citizen journalists did not provide their gender.

-- Ages range from 18 to 81, with the average age being 42.0 years. A total of 21 (5.4%) citizen photojournalists did not provide their age.

-- Most (220; 56.1%) of the respondents report that they have no experience in photojournalism; 39 (9.9%) report that they have between zero and one year of experience; 76 (19.4%) between 2-5 years of experience; 24 (6.1%) for 6-10 years of experience, and 27 (6.9%) report that they have more than 10 years of experience doing photojournalism. Six (1.5%) citizen photojournalists did not answer this question.

-- They spend about 17.3% of their work on photojournalism.

-- 6.4%, on average, of their income is obtained from photojournalism.

These responses indicate that the citizen photojournalists in this sample currently spend a small amount of their work on photojournalism, and obtain about 94% of their income from *other* sources. This suggests that the photojournalism activities that they indicated are minor and overwhelmingly unpaid. Responses about their total life-time photojournalism experiences indicate that many have been doing this kind of side-photojournalism for a while or may have done other forms of photojournalism in the past. Those that

indicated that they had no photojournalistic experience suggest that, although they have submitted photos to citizen photojournalism websites, they do not necessarily identify themselves as doing "photojournalism."

The Research Questions

To answer the research questions, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement along a seven-point intensity scale with 11 statements measuring journalism professionalism and 15 statements measuring photojournalism professionalism. A response of 1 indicates strong disagreement, 4 reflects a neutral attitude and 7 indicates a strong agreement.

To provide a general idea of respondents' attitudes toward the concepts, construct quotients for both "journalism professionalism" and "photojournalism professionalism" were calculated and are reported. To calculate these construct quotients, the mean responses to the statements were added and then divided by the number of statements. The statements were coded so that a positive response reflected agreement with professional ideals of journalism and photojournalism. The statements that were written so that an indication of "agree" reflected *dis*agreement with professional ideals were reverse coded for data analysis and calculation of the construct quotient. For example, the statement "Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training"– because agreement with the statement indicated less agreement with *professionalism* – was recoded so that a higher number indicates a higher level of agreement with the overall concept of *professionalism*. A construct quotient significantly below 4.0 (the scale midpoint) indicates

disagreement with the professional value, and a construct quotient significantly above 4.0 indicates agreement.

The results reported here are comprised of both the construct quotients and the individual statement response means. Throughout the chapter, construct and statement means are noted parenthetically in the text (they can also be found in tables in the appendices). To simplify reporting, "professional photojournalists" will sometimes be referred to as "professionals" and "citizen photojournalists" will sometimes be referred to as "citizens."

The first four research questions address how professionals and citizens define their professionalism by testing concepts from normative theory and values associated with their professional practices. One-sample t-tests were used to assess whether the construct and statements means are significantly different from the midpoint, reflecting a significant level of agreement or disagreement.

Research questions five through 10 test elements of coorientation—agreement, accuracy, and congruence. Research questions five and six assess the degree to which the two groups *agree* about their perceptions of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism, respectively. Research questions seven and eight assess how *accurately* each group perceives the other groups' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism. Research questions five through eight use independent-samples t-tests to test whether there are significant differences between the two groups' responses (Agresti & Finlay, 2009). Research questions nine and 10 measure *congruence*, also referred to as perceived agreement,

which is the degree to which each group believes that it is similar to the other group with regard to journalism professionalism or photojournalism professionalism. Paired samples t-tests are used to answer research questions nine and 10. To measure congruence, it is essential to match individual responses of perceptions with how the same individual perceives the other group thinks; accordingly, the proper test to do so is a paired samples t-test (Agresti & Finlay, 2009). This approach has been used in numerous coorientation studies on the congruence measure (e.g. Avery, Lariscy & Sweetser, 2010; Kelly, Thompson & Waters, 2006). Independent-samples t-tests were also used to answer research question 11, which assesses the way that citizen photojournalists assess the quality of a photograph differently when it has no credit line versus when it is credited to a professional photojournalist.

Finally, two hypotheses posit that professional photojournalists will assess news image quality of a photograph that is credited to a citizen more poorly than a news photograph without a photo credit, and that citizen photojournalists will assess the news image quality of a photograph that is credited to a professional more favorably than professional photojournalists assess the news image quality of a photo that is credited to a citizen photojournalist. Independent samples t-tests were used to test the two hypotheses (Agresti & Finlay, 2009).

Research questions one through four: Perceptions of professionalism. The first four research questions measure professional photojournalists' and citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism. Research

questions one and two address professional photojournalists' perceptions of the respective concepts, and research questions three and four address citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the respective concepts. Means are noted parenthetically throughout.

Professional photojournalists' perceptions. Research questions one and two assess professional photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism.

Research question one. The statements about journalism professionalism were crafted based on the literature about journalism normative theory (Social Responsibility and freedom), news values, journalistic role conceptions, and the broader study of the sociology of professions. The results indicate that professional photojournalists indicate significant positive attitudes toward the journalism professionalism construct (5.44). In fact, they significantly agree with all 11 statements that reflect elements of journalism professionalism (Table 1). The professional photojournalists' strongest attitudes are to statements that measure the importance of truth and independence in journalism, and the values that define Social Responsibility.

Truth is an essential professional value, and these professional photojournalists perceive objectivity is practice that helps them find it. They disagree strongly that it is OK to post unverified information online (1.62) and agree nearly as strongly that objectivity is a method that allows them to proclaim the information reported is truthful (5.54). They indicate their espousal of independence by agreeing with the watchdog role of journalism – that journalists should pursue aggressively stories that monitor the power of

social institutions (5.90). The importance of Social Responsibility as an element of professionalism is illustrated by professionals' thinking that the news media need to provide accurate portrayals of society's constituent groups (6.21), and that journalists need to report facts in contexts that explains their meaning (6.12). They also moderately embrace the need for journalists to show compassion for inexperienced people who find themselves in the news (4.89).

Table 1. *Professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

Variable	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Construct quotient.	407	5.44**	.65
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	433	6.21**	1.16
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	428	3.82*	1.85
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	429	4.55**	1.85
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	432	1.62**	1.13
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	430	4.89**	1.55
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	426	2.99**	1.80
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	431	5.90**	1.30
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	430	5.54**	1.62
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	429	6.12**	1.15
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	426	5.01**	1.58
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	431	2.06**	1.35

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01.
- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of professionalism.

While professionals respond with significant concurrence to each of the measures pertaining to Social Responsibility, their attitudes are not as strong regarding whether it is the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues, responding negatively that this is *not*

their job (3.82). To clarify, professionals believe that the creation of a public forum is an element of journalism professionalism, but *do* not respond as strongly about this as many of the other elements.

Professional photojournalists indicate significant positive attitudes with the statements that address characteristics of the professions. They strongly disagree to the statement, "Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training" (2.06), demonstrating that they believe journalism is a profession that requires specialized knowledge and skills. A related measure of general professions–whether a specialized (journalism) education is an integral step in obtaining the skills they need–also meets significant agreement among professional photojournalists (4.55), but the intensity of agreement is not as strong as it is to eight of the other 11 measures. The final measure of whether journalism adheres to the characteristics of a profession measures autonomy, and states: "Journalists should be able to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized." Professional photojournalists respond positively to this statement (5.01).

Overall, the answer to research question one is that professional photojournalists have significant positive attitudes toward all 11 dimensions of journalism professionalism in the construct, particularly embracing a devotion to finding and maintaining the truth through objective methods, and being socially responsible in communicating that truth. These professionals identify the watchdog role as an important element of their professionalism. Finally, they exhibit moderate to strong agreement that journalism embodies the

characteristics of a profession – requiring education, specialized training, and that journalists have autonomy.

Research question two. Research question two inquires about professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism. The statements about photojournalism professionalism were culled from the literature on news values as applied to photography, professional photography techniques and subject matter, amateur photography techniques and subject matter, and photojournalism ethics.

Table 2. *Professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

Variable	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Construct quotient.	401	5.21**	.54
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	434	3.45**	1.78
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	434	6.00**	1.37
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	434	5.29**	1.49
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	436	6.17**	1.11
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	430	5.16**	1.58
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	434	1.76**	1.38
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	433	3.40**	1.72
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	435	6.03**	1.24
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	434	5.03**	1.39
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	432	3.49**	1.72
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	433	1.21**	.96
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	433	5.08**	1.47
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	433	1.97**	1.25
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	434	4.60**	1.95
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	433	5.32**	1.52

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

The results of the one-sample t-tests reveal that professional photojournalists have an overall significant positive attitude toward the

photojournalism professionalism construct (5.21) and 13 of the 15 measures of photojournalism professionalism (Table 2). Further, professional photojournalists significantly disagree with three of the four statements that reflect amateur-photography conventions. The professional photojournalists' strongest attitudes are to statements that address the ethics of taking and editing photography, and those addressing photographic technique and subject matter that reflects news values.

Professional photojournalists show their embrace of photojournalism ethics by their strong negative attitudes about using computer software to rearrange elements in an image (1.21) and staging news photos (1.76). Professional photojournalists show that they hold to professional photojournalism technique by their concurrence that professional photographers are marked by the ability to use lighting effectively (6.00), create a balanced composition (5.29), create impact by getting in close to fill the frame (5.08) and using manual settings (4.60). They demonstrate their acceptance of the professional standards for photojournalistic subject matter by their strong positive attitudes toward the statement that says photojournalists should capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention (6.17), and that the news value of human interest should be applied to photography (6.03). One other news value, novelty, is also met with significant embrace among professional photojournalists, measured by the statement "news photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary" (5.16). Professional photojournalists respond that they do not hold to the news value of conflict, disagreeing significantly that "The most valuable news photographs tend to

depict some kind of conflict" (3.40). This is the only measure of photojournalism professionalism that professionals to which professionals do not indicate positive attitudes.

Professional photojournalists also indicate their compliance with photography professionalism by their significant negative responses with three of the four statements that address amateur-photography conventions. For example, they do not think that centering images makes them look most professional (1.97), that blurriness and imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph (3.45) and that photojournalists should use their photography as a form of self-expression (3.49). However, the amateur-value statement "Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images" meets agreement among the professionals (5.03).

In sum, professionals indicated significantly positive attitudes toward 13 statements in the photojournalism professionalism construct. These professionals generally embrace the elements of photojournalism professionalism, particularly to professional ethical standards. They also identify professional photography techniques and conventions as elements of their professionalism. Further, to varying degrees they see the application of journalism news values as an essential element of their professionalism, with the exception being conflict. Finally, professional photojournalists do not accept three of four dimensions of amateur photography measured in the construct.

Citizen photojournalists' perceptions. Research questions three and four assess citizen photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism.

Table 3. *Citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

Variable	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Construct quotient.	381	5.09**	.62
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	391	5.93**	1.27
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	392	4.11	1.76
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	389	4.35**	1.62
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	392	2.11**	1.47
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	391	5.11**	1.42
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	392	3.20**	1.76
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	392	5.42**	1.41
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	389	4.95**	1.67
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	391	5.60**	1.32
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	390	4.58**	1.59
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	392	2.56**	1.31

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Research question three. Research question three inquires about citizen photojournalists' attitudes toward elements of journalism professionalism. The results indicate that citizen photojournalists have significant positive attitudes toward the journalism professionalism construct (5.09) and with 10 of 11 measures of journalism professionalism (Table 3). Citizen photojournalists' strongest attitudes are to the statements that measure independence, accuracy and truthfulness in journalism, and they indicate overall positive attitudes toward the responsibility that journalists have toward citizens. Citizens perceive that journalists adhere to the characteristics of a general profession, requiring

training, education, and that journalists should have the autonomy to decide which aspects of a story should be emphasized.

Citizen photojournalists' show their embrace of truth – factual accuracy and context – by their significant negative attitudes toward the statement, "it's okay for journalist to post information online before it can be verified as truthful" (2.11), and by their significant positive attitude toward the statements, "News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society" (5.93) and "journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean" (5.60). The latter two statements address both truth and Social Responsibility. Indicating further embrace of Social Responsibility, citizen photojournalists do not think that freedom of the press does *not* carry with it a general responsibility toward public service (3.20). Citizen photojournalists in this survey perceive that journalists should "show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news" (5.11). Citizen photojournalists also think that journalists should monitor powerful institutions, agreeing that journalists should play a role as independent watchdogs to such power (5.42). A measure of professionalism to which citizens did not significantly agree or disagree regards journalism's role of creating public forums (4.11). In other words, citizen photojournalists are neutral as to whether journalists should provide a forum for citizens to interact.

Citizen photojournalists also perceive journalism as adhering to the characteristics of professions in general, although their positive responses are moderate on two of three of these dimensions. They strongly disagree that journalism is "basic common sense" (2.56); however, their agreement is

moderate that journalists should have professional autonomy, able to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized (4.58) and that "a journalism education as an integral step in learning the professional skills of journalist" (4.35).

In sum, citizen photojournalists indicate significant attitudes toward 10 of the 11 measures of journalism professionalism in the journalism construct. Citizens think that journalists should be devoted to truth, believing it is not OK to post information online before it is verified. They also indicate positive attitudes toward the Social Responsibility aspects of journalism, thinking that the news media should portray the diversity of society accurately, explain the facts in context for their readers, and should show compassion for inexperienced people who find themselves in the news. The only measure of professionalism to which they disagree is that journalists should create a public forum. Finally, citizens perceive that journalists are professionals who require specialized knowledge and training, as well as education and should be able to work autonomously.

Research question four. Research question four asks, "What are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?" The results indicate that citizen photojournalists have significantly positive attitudes toward the photojournalism professionalism construct (4.74), and with 11 of the 15 measures of photojournalism professionalism (Table 4). The citizen photojournalists' strongest attitudes are to statements that measure the importance of professional conventions for subject matter, photojournalism ethics and techniques for capturing images.

Table 4. *Citizen photojournalists' perceptions on the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

Variable	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Construct quotient.	368	4.74**	.53
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	389	4.54**	1.58
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	392	5.67**	1.35
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	390	4.94**	1.58
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	391	6.09**	1.27
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	389	4.73**	1.55
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	389	3.52**	1.77
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	391	3.88	1.63
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	392	5.43**	1.40
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	389	4.60**	1.40
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	390	3.99	1.75
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	391	2.04**	1.56
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	388	4.53**	1.51
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	391	2.55**	1.39
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	390	4.69*	1.74
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	391	4.40*	1.69

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Citizen photojournalists show their positive attitude toward professional photojournalistic news values by their strong agreement with capturing images that are attention-grabbing (6.09) and that news photography is best when it portrays a human element (5.43). Their sense of professional ethics is illustrated by strong negative response that it is ethical for photojournalists to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image (2.04), and citizens indicate moderate, yet significant, negative responses that photojournalists often "stage" news photography to improve the quality of images (3.52). The citizen photojournalists' mean response to using software to rearrange elements

in an image is considerably stronger than their response about staging photos, suggesting that citizen photojournalists perceive a difference between these two ethical breeches. Citizens also indicate significant positive attitudes toward some dimensions of professional photo-taking technique; for example, they agree strongly that a marker of good news photographers is that they use lighting effectively (5.67) and do not think that images are most professional when they are perfectly centered (2.55), showing understanding of the professional technique of off-centeredness. They also significantly indicate positive attitudes, but less strongly, to the techniques of creating impact to fill the frame (4.53), using manual settings on the camera (4.69), and anticipating the precise moment to shoot the best images (4.40).

Citizen photojournalists embrace some, but not all, of the characteristics of amateur photographers. They respond positively to two of the four amateur measures, including that "happy moments in everyday life make good news photographs" (4.60) and that blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph (4.54). They are neutral to whether professional photojournalists should use their photography as a form of self-expression (3.99).

Overall, citizen photojournalists agree with most statements that reflect both photojournalism professionalism and some statements that address amateur photography. Their embrace of the amateur photography conventions is mixed, as they agree with happy moments and blurriness, but are neutral regarding self-expression and disagree with centering images. In terms of content, they embrace the two news values – human element and novelty – and

they embrace attention-grabbing images, but they reject conflict as an element of good news photography. Citizen photojournalists indicate positive attitudes toward ethical photographic practices, especially disagreeing with rearranging the elements in photos on a computer, but having less strong feelings about whether staging photos is acceptable. In general, citizen photojournalists embrace photojournalistic techniques, but answer less strongly about the issues of impact, manual settings, and the decisive moment.

Research questions five through 10: Coorientation. Research questions five through 10 explore the coorientation measures of agreement, accuracy and congruence. It is to these measures that professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists were asked to indicate not only their own views, but also their perceptions of the views of the other group.

Agreement. Research questions five and six address agreement, or the extent to which the two groups, citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists, agree with each other about the elements of journalism professionalism (RQ5) and photojournalism professionalism (RQ6). To answer these questions, a series of independent-samples t-tests were run to compare the perceptions that citizens and professionals have of the elements of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism.

Research question five. Research question five asks, "To what degree do professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?" Agreement is measured by the extent that the two groups respond similarly to the statements. First, the construct means for the two groups are reported, then the measures

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that do not indicate significant differences between the groups are presented, as they indicate agreement. Following, the statements to which the groups do not agree are presented.

Table 5: *The degree to which professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

	Respondent				
	Pros		Citizens		
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient.	407	5.44 (.65)	381	5.09 (.62)	7.75**
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	433	6.21 (1.16)	391	5.93 (1.27)	3.38**
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	428	3.82 (1.85)	392	4.11 (1.76)	2.29*
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	429	4.55 (1.85)	389	4.35 (1.62)	1.63
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	432	1.62 (1.13)	392	2.11 (1.47)	5.38**
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	430	4.89 (1.55)	391	5.11 (1.42)	2.13*
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	426	2.99 (1.80)	392	3.20 (1.76)	1.68
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	431	5.90 (1.30)	392	5.42 (1.41)	4.96**
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	430	5.54 (1.62)	389	4.95 (1.67)	5.12**
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	429	6.12 (1.15)	391	5.60 (1.32)	5.95**
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	426	5.01 (1.58)	390	4.58 (1.59)	3.90**
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	431	2.07 (1.35)	392	2.56 (1.31)	5.35**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

The construct quotients of the two groups indicate that professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists express significantly different levels of embrace of journalism professionalism. Both groups share the same attitude toward the construct (they both agree), but the significance lies in the intensity to which they positively responded (professionals = 5.44; citizens =

5.09). Specifically, this t-test reveals that the professionals indicate a significantly stronger positive attitude toward journalism professionalism construct than the citizens.

In regard to the 11 statements in the journalism professionalism construct, professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree on two statements, as indicated by non-significant differences between the two groups' mean responses (Table 5). To eight of the 11 statements, professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists share the same attitude (agree or disagree), but have significant differences in their levels positive or negative responses. Ultimately, professional photojournalists embrace more strongly the values that revolve around truthfulness, including explaining the facts in contexts that give them meaning, objectivity and the verification of facts. There is only one statement that represents a clear disagreement between the two groups (one group indicates a positive attitude, the other indicates a negative attitude).

The two values to which professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists statistically agree with each other pertain to the standard of specialized education in professions and journalists' Social Responsibility to public service. There is no significant difference between the two group's responses to the statement, "A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of a journalist" (professionals = 4.55; citizens = 4.35). The groups also similar negative responses to the statement: "Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service" (professionals =2.99; citizens=

3.20). Both professionals and citizens have similar attitudes toward the essential nature of a journalism education and this dimension of Social Responsibility. Thus, they are in agreement.

To eight statements, both professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists share the same direction of attitude (they both indicate a positive or negative attitude toward the statement), but they embrace or reject the values to significantly differing intensities. The pattern of responses shows that the professionals adhere to the elements of journalism professionalism more than citizens. The statements that show the greatest differences in the two groups' level of responses (with professionals responding more positively than citizens) measure truth, Social Responsibility with this truth, and standards of professions as applied to journalism. Professionals show their greater embrace of truth by responding with a more negative attitude (1.62) than citizen photojournalists (2.11) that that it's OK to post information online before it is verified as truthful; professionals also respond more positively than citizens that journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being presented is truthful (professionals = 5.54; citizens = 4.95). Professionals also more strongly concur (6.12) than citizens (5.60) that journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what they mean. Further, professionals identify with the watchdog role of journalism more than citizens in their responses to the statement, "journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor powerful institutions" (professionals = 5.90; citizens = 5.42).

Professional photojournalists also more strongly think that journalism is an occupation that adheres to standards of professions by responding more negatively (2.07) than citizens (2.56) that journalism is basic common sense that requires no specialized knowledge or training, and that journalists should have the autonomy to decide what aspects of the story are emphasized (professionals = 5.01; citizens = 4.58).

On some dimensions of Social Responsibility, the groups are close to finding common ground, and this includes the one statement to which citizens adhere to a higher professional standard than the professionals. Citizens respond significantly more positively (5.11) more than professionals (4.89) that "Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news." The mean difference between the two groups is only .22, which barely achieves significance. And professionals more strongly concur (although barely, with a mean difference of only .28) that news media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies of society (professionals = 6.21; citizens = 5.93).

There is also one statement to which the two groups have a clear difference of attitudes, or a clear and significant disagreement. While citizen photojournalists indicate weak agreement (4.11) that it is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues, professional journalists respond slightly negatively (3.82). It should be noted, however, that the intensity of each groups' attitudes toward this statement is not strong (the means are close to neutral, 4.0), and the mean difference between

the two groups (.29), although significant, is smaller than the differences on many of the statements.

Overall, the answer to the question about whether professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of journalism professionalism is that both groups identify positively with values and practices that define journalism professionalism on both the construct and statements. However, the significant differences lie in the general level of agreement, as professionals adhere to the dimensions of professional journalism to a significantly greater extent than citizens. The significant difference of the construct quotients, too, lies in the intensity of agreement. To two of the 11 statements, there are no significant differences between the two groups' mean responses, indicating clear agreement. On eight of 11 statements, they agree with each other in the direction of their attitudes (they share positive or negative attitudes toward the statement), but their intensities of responses are significantly different. Three of the nine statements that show significant differences—all of which pertain to Social Responsibility—barely achieve significance. But overall, professionals more strongly embrace the journalistic values, particularly those involving truthfulness, objectivity as a method for finding it, and verification as a way to ensure it. They also value journalism more as a profession, agreeing that journalism requires specialized knowledge and training. The only statement to which citizen photojournalists agree more strongly involves citizens: whether journalists should show compassion for them.

Research question six. Research question six asks, "To what degree do professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of photojournalism professionalism?" To test for agreement, independent samples t-tests were run to explore for significant differences on attitudes toward the photojournalism professionalism construct and the individual statements. The significant difference between the construct quotients show that the two groups both have positive attitudes toward photojournalism professionalism, but show significant disagreement in the intensity of their attitudes (professionals = 5.21; citizens = 4.74). Professional photojournalists indicate significantly stronger positive attitudes toward the photojournalism professionalism construct than citizens. To two statements, the two groups agree with each other, as indicated by the non-significant differences between their mean responses. On 12 of the 15 statements, the two groups have significant differences, with both groups sharing the same attitude (agreeing or disagreeing) but differing in the intensity of their levels of responses (Table 6). On only one statement do the two groups have significant differences of attitude (one agrees and the other disagrees). In general, professionals more strongly embrace values pertaining to photojournalism ethics, the craft of anticipating the moment for taking a photograph, and photographic technique.

Table 6. *The degree to which professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists agree about their perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

| | Respondent | | | | |
| | Professionals | | Citizens | | t |
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	
Construct quotient	401	5.21 (.54)	368	4.74 (.53)	12.06**
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	434	3.45 (1.78)	389	4.54 (1.58)	8.05**
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	434	6.00 (1.37)	392	5.67 (1.35)	.3.5**
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	434	5.29 (1.49)	390	4.94 (1.58)	3.25**
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	436	6.17 (1.11)	391	6.09 (1.27)	.96
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	430	5.16 (1.58)	389	4.73 (1.55)	3.95**
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	434	1.76 (1.38)	389	3.52 (1.77)	15.83**
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	433	3.40 (1.72)	391	3.88 (1.63)	4.24**
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	435	6.03 (1.24)	392	5.43 (1.36)	6.50**
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	434	5.03 (1.39)	389	4.60 (1.40)	4.35**
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	432	3.49 (1.72)	390	3.99 (1.75)	4.15**
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	433	1.21 (.96)	391	2.04 (1.56)	9.04**
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	433	5.08 (1.47)	388	4.53 (1.51)	5.26**
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	433	1.97 (1.25)	391	2.55 (1.39)	6.27**
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	434	4.60 (1.95)	390	4.69 (1.74)	.90
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	433	5.32 (1.52)	391	4.40 (1.69)	8.13**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Citizens and professionals clearly and statistically agree with each other on two statements, one a measure of professional photography technique and the other regarding image subject matter. The groups show a similar moderate agreement to the statement "the use of manual camera settings results in higher quality images" (professionals = 4.60; citizens = 4.69), and they agree with each other on a dimension of photography subject matter: that it is important that photojournalists capture an attention-grabbing image (professionals = 6.17; citizens = 6.09).

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On 12 of the 13 statements with significant differences between the two groups' answers, professional and citizen photojournalists share the same attitude (both agree or disagree), but they significantly differ in their levels of responses. On 11 of these 12 statements, professional photojournalists place significantly more value on the measures of photojournalism professionalism than citizens. The statements with the greatest differences between the two groups' responses measure ethics: "Professional news photography is often 'staged' or posed to make images look better" (professionals = 1.76; citizens = 3.52) and "It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image" (professionals = 1.21; citizens = 2.04). These statements inquire about ethical practices that are considered against professional norms, and while both groups have significantly negative attitudes toward these practices, professional photojournalists respond significantly more strongly on both measures than citizens.

Some of the statements regarding photography technique also draw significantly stronger positive responses among professionals than citizens. Professional photojournalists think more strongly (5.32) than citizens (4.40) that photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images, and that getting in close to fill the frame creates impact (professionals = 5.03; citizens = 4.53). Some other measures of technique, including proper lighting and balance, have significant differences, with professionals embracing professional techniques more than citizens, but with smaller mean differences between the two groups (lighting mean difference = .33; balance mean difference = .35).

Professional photojournalists demonstrate that they value dimensions of professional photojournalism news values as applied to photojournalism more than citizens by responding more positively (6.03) more than citizens (5.43) that images should contain a human element, and, with smaller mean differences, that news photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary (professionals = 5.16; citizens = 4.73). Neither group thinks that the most valuable photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict, but this is the only statement to which citizen photojournalists (3.88) responded more favorably than professional photojournalists (3.40).

The two groups have significant different levels of attitudes on all four statements reflective of amateur photography, and professional photojournalists respond more negatively than citizens with three of these four statements. For example, professional photojournalists disagree more than citizens that news images are best when they are perfectly centered (professionals = 1.97; citizens = 2.55). Professionals also think more strongly (3.49) that photojournalists should not use their images as a form of self-expression, while citizens are neutral (3.99). The one statement to which professionals (5.03) embrace an amateur convention more than citizens (4.60), is: "Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images." Finally, the only statement in the construct with clear differences of attitudes is whether blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity; here, professionals disagree, while citizens agree (professionals = 3.45; citizens = 4.54).

In sum, professionals adhere to professional standards of photojournalism to a greater extent than citizens, although both groups show positive attitudes toward the construct. The two groups agree with each other on two statements. The largest differences between the two groups' responses pertain to ethical photojournalism practices, with professional photojournalists responding more negatively than citizens that it is ethical to manipulate and stage photographs. Statements measuring photographic technique and subject matter also meet significantly higher agreement among professionals. Further, professional photojournalists have stronger negative attitudes than citizen photojournalists with statements that measure amateur photography conventions, with the two groups showing a clear difference in attitude about blurriness lending authenticity to a photo.

Agreement summary (RQs 5-6): Both citizens and professionals adhere to both journalism and photojournalism professionalism constructs, but the intensities of their responses differ significantly on the constructs and many statements. Regarding journalism professionalism, they share the same level of agreement about journalism's requiring of an education and that freedom carries with it responsibility. Regarding photojournalism professionalism, they share the same level of agreement that photojournalistic images should capture a viewer's attention and that manual settings result in more quality images. In other words, they agree with each other on these professional values. The differences in their responses to statements about journalism professionalism are less extreme than those to photojournalism professionalism, where some statements reveal great differences. Professional photojournalists are much

more devoted to ethics in photojournalism and more insistent that photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot images. The two groups show less difference in terms of their level of adherence to some photojournalistic techniques and news values. In terms of journalism professionalism, professionals are more devoted to maintaining truth and acting with Social Responsibility and are in stronger agreement that journalism is an occupation that adheres to the standards of professions. The only statement that draws more agreement among citizens than professionals addresses compassion.

Accuracy. Research questions seven and eight address accuracy, or how accurately each group perceives the other group's attitudes toward the elements of professionalism. Research question seven specifically addresses accuracy with regard to journalism professionalism. This research question has two parts: The accuracy with which citizens perceive the perceptions of professional photojournalists attitudes toward journalism professionalism (7a) and the accuracy with which professionals perceive the perceptions of citizen photojournalists' attitudes toward journalism professionalism (7b). Research question eight addresses accuracy with regard to photojournalism professionalism, and also has two parts: The accuracy with which citizens perceive the perceptions of professional photojournalists' attitudes toward photojournalism professionalism (8a) and the accuracy with which professionals perceive the perceptions of citizen photojournalists' attitudes toward photojournalism professionalism (8b). The results of the independent samples t-tests that measure this accuracy are presented below.

Research question 7a: How accurately do citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism? The t-test shows significantly different construct means, indicating that citizen photojournalists are inaccurate in perceiving professionals' level of embrace of journalism professionalism (citizens perceptions of professionals = 4.98; professionals = 5.44). While citizens perceive that professionals will agree (which they do), citizens are significantly inaccurate in perceiving the level with which professionals will adhere to the values. Specifically, citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists do not adhere to the dimensions of journalism professionalism to the extent the professionals actually say they do. Citizens accurately perceive professionals' attitudes on just one of the 11 dimensions in the construct; accordingly, there are significant inaccuracies of either degree or direction of attitude on 10 of the 11 statements (Table 7a). Of these 10 statements, eight statements are cases in which the responses have significant differences, but both groups share the same attitude; the difference is the intensity of agreement or disagreement. On seven of the 10 statements with significant mean differences, citizen photojournalists underestimate professionals' adherence to dimensions of journalism professionalism, while on the three statements, citizens *over*estimate professionals adherence to professional ideals and practices. Finally, two statements are instances in which citizen photojournalists' perceptions of professional photojournalists and professional photojournalists' actual responses have clear inaccuracies (one agrees, the other disagrees).

Table 7a. *The accuracy with which citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

| | Respondent | | | | |
| | Citizens' perceptions of professionals | | Professionals' responses | | |
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient	368	4.98 (.67)	407	5.44 (.65)	9.59**
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	385	5.57 (1.50)	433	6.21 (1.16)	6.72**
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	385	4.56 (1.91)	428	3.82 (1.85)	6.72**
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	384	5.34 (1.55)	429	4.55 (1.85)	6.58**
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	385	2.98 (1.89)	432	1.62 (1.13)	12.32**
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	384	3.96 (1.76)	430	4.89 (1.55)	8.00**
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	384	3.95 (1.90)	426	2.99 (1.80)	7.35**
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	382	5.68 (1.32)	431	5.90 (1.30)	2.31*
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	383	5.39 (1.54)	430	5.54 (1.62)	1.38
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	382	5.22 (1.56)	429	6.12 (1.15)	9.20**
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	379	5.40 (1.60)	426	5.01 (1.58)	3.46*
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	384	2.32 (1.53)	431	2.07 (1.35)	5.10**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

The only statement to which citizen photojournalists are accurate in their perception of professional photojournalists' attitudes addresses the rationale for practicing objectivity. To the statement, "Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audience that the information being reported is truthful," there are no significance differences in citizens' perceptions of professionals (5.39) and professionals' actual responses (5.54).

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Citizen photojournalists significantly underestimate the degree to which professional photojournalists value verification, truth and Social Responsibility. Examples include citizens' underestimation (2.98) of professionals' strong disagreement (1.62) that it is OK to post information online before it is verified. Citizens also underestimate (5.22) professionals' devotion (6.12) to explaining facts in contexts that gives them meaning. Citizens further underestimate professionals' devotion to Social Responsibility, thinking that professionals will be neutral to whether press freedom carries with it a responsibility to the public (3.95), when in fact, professionals see this connection, disagreeing that freedom of the press does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service (2.99). Finally, citizens also underestimate (5.57) the extent to which professionals perceive (6.21) the importance of the news media providing accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

Conversely, there are elements of professionalism that citizens perceive journalists will adhere to more than the professionals actually say they do. For example, citizens overestimate the degree to which professionals perceive that "a journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists" (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.34; professionals = 4.55), "journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized" (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.40; professionals = 5.01), and overestimated the level to which professionals would respond with a negative attitude to the statement, "journalism is basic common sense" (citizens perception of professionals = 2.32; professionals = 2.07). These three statements draw from the sociology of professions literature,

and inquire about key dimensions of professions (a specific education, professional autonomy and specialization); on each, citizen photojournalists inaccurately perceived – and overestimated – the extent to which professional photojournalists would embrace these ideals.

There are two statements, both of which pertain to Social Responsibility, to which citizens are completely inaccurate in their perceptions of professionals. In these cases, one group agrees with the statement, but the other perceives they will disagree. Citizens think that professionals will respond positively to the statement, "It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues" (4.56), but professional photojournalists respond with a slightly negative attitude (3.82). Also, citizens think (3.96) that professional photojournalists are neutral to the idea that journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news, when, in fact, professionals do think that journalists should show such compassion (4.89).

In sum, there is a significant difference between the construct means, which indicates citizens generally underestimate the extent to which professionals embrace journalism professionalism. However, citizen photojournalists are in a broad sense accurate in their assessment that professional photojournalists will embrace the elements of journalism professionalism (both construct means reflect agreement with professionalism). A closer look at the individual statements reveals that citizens perceive that professionals do not embrace as strongly as professionals actually do the importance of truth, its verification, and its explanation to the public. Further,

citizen photojournalists do not accurately perceive – they underestimate – the extent to which professional photojournalists place value on the responsible use of freedom, portraying diversity in society accurately and putting facts in a meaningful context. Citizens even inaccurately perceive that professionals do not see showing compassion for people in the news and creating a public forum as among their professional values. Conversely, citizen photojournalists overestimate the degree to which professionals perceive that journalism requires broader elements of professionalism: that education is integral to journalists, that journalism is not basic common sense, and that journalists should have the autonomy to decide what aspects of a story are emphasized. In these instances, citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists value their professionalism even more than professionals say they actually do.

Research question 7b: How accurately do professional photojournalists perceive citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism? The significantly different construct means indicate that professionals are generally inaccurate in their perceptions of citizen photojournalists' attitudes toward journalism professionalism, and that professional photojournalists broadly underestimate the extent to which citizen photojournalists embrace elements of journalism professionalism (professionals' perceptions of citizens = 4.16; citizens = 5.09). On only two statements are professional photojournalists accurate in perceiving citizen photojournalists' responses. The extent of inaccuracy is indicated by the significant differences between professionals' perceptions of citizens' responses and citizens' actual

responses on nine of 11 statements (Table 7b). Of these nine statements, there are clear differences of attitudes (citizen photojournalists agree or disagree, but professional photojournalists perceive that they will respond with the opposite attitude) on five statements. Professional photojournalists' greatest inaccuracies are to statements that measure journalistic professionalism and truth.

Table 7b. *The accuracy with which professional photojournalists perceive citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

	Respondent				
	Pros' perceptions of citizens		Citizens' responses		
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct	363	4.16 (.73)	381	5.09 (.62)	18.54**
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	376	4.97 (1.54)	391	5.93 (1.27)	9.39**
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	375	3.64 (1.86)	392	4.11 (1.76)	3.63**
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	377	2.50 (1.66)	389	4.35 (1.62)	15.60**
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	377	4.79 (1.71)	392	2.11 (1.47)	23.11**
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	375	4.91 (1.79)	391	5.11 (1.42)	1.711
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	373	4.15 (1.66)	392	3.20 (1.76)	5.15**
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	375	5.29 (1.49)	392	5.42 (1.41)	1.25
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	376	4.44 (1.65)	389	4.95 (1.67)	4.25**
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	377	4.67 (1.53)	391	5.60 (1.32)	9.06**
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	374	5.26 (1.61)	390	4.58 (1.59)	5.91**
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	375	5.69 (1.45)	392	2.56 (1.31)	31.31**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Professional photojournalists perceive accurately citizen photojournalists' responses to two statements, which address compassion and the watchdog role of journalism. Specifically, professionals are accurate that citizen

photojournalists think that journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who find themselves in the news (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.91; citizens = 5.11) and that citizens think that journalists should pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.29; citizens = 5.42).

Professional journalists significantly underestimate the importance of journalism values to citizen photojournalists in regard to accuracy, context and objectivity as a method for finding truth. Professional photojournalists perceive (4.97) that citizen photojournalists do not value that the news media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society to the extent that citizens actually do (5.93). Further, professionals think (4.67) that citizens value less than they actually do that journalists should report facts in contexts that give them meaning (5.60). Professionals also underestimate (4.44) the extent to which citizens think that objective methods allow journalists to proclaim to their audiences that what they report is truthful (4.95).

There is only one statement to which professional photojournalists significantly overestimate citizen photojournalists' adherence to a professional value, and this statement addresses professional autonomy. Professional photojournalists perceive (5.26) that citizen photojournalists would agree *more* than they actually do (4.58) that journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Professional photojournalists' perceptions of citizens' views are clearly inaccurate on five statements (professionals agree or disagree and citizens respond with the opposite attitude), and on four of these statements the

professionals *under*estimate citizens' embrace of professionalism. Professional photojournalists perceive (5.69) that citizens think that journalism is basic common sense, when in fact citizens do not (2.56), a large mean difference of 3.13. Further, professional photojournalists perceive (2.50) that citizens do not think that a journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills, when in fact citizens think that education is integral (4.35), a mean difference of 1.85. Also, professional photojournalists perceive that citizens *(*4.79) will respond with a positive attitude to the statement, "It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful;" however, citizens do not think that such a practice is OK (2.11), a mean difference of 2.68. And finally, professional photojournalists also think citizens believe that press freedom does *not* carry responsibility (4.15), but citizens do think that press freedom carries with it a responsibility (3.20).

Professionals perceive that citizens will indicate a *higher* level of professionalism than citizens actually do on just one statement. Professionals thought (3.64) citizens would indicate a negative attitude toward the social-responsibility statement "It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues," but citizens indicate modest adherence this value (4.11). However, the intensity of attitude is not great for either group toward this statement.

Overall, the .93 construct mean significant difference indicates that professional photojournalists are largely inaccurate in their perceptions of citizens' attitudes toward journalism professionalism. Professionals' perceptions of citizens' attitudes are accurate on only two of 11 statements in the construct;

professionals accurately perceive citizen photojournalists' embrace of compassion and watchdog power. Generally, professional photojournalists perceive that citizens view journalism as an occupation that does not adhere to professional standards, but citizens actually respond positively to statements addressing the professionalism of journalism. Specifically, professional photojournalists inaccurately perceive that citizens' place less value on truth and Social Responsibility than citizen photojournalists actually do. And, finally, professionals thought – inaccurately – that citizens would see journalism as common sense and not requiring specialized education, while citizen photojournalists responded that these are indeed important elements of professional journalism.

Summary: Accuracy toward journalism professionalism (RQ7). Neither group accurately perceives the other group's attitude toward the journalism professionalism construct. In most cases, the inaccuracies are a matter of degree (the groups share attitudes but the intensity differs). However, citizens are more accurate perceiving professionals' attitudes (construct mean differences = .46) than professionals are successful at perceiving citizens' attitudes (construct mean differences = .93). Citizens are accurate (no significant difference) in perceiving professionals' responses to one statement, how and why objectivity is used to find truth. Professionals are accurate in perceiving citizens' responses to the dimensions of monitoring powerful institutions and verifying facts. Professionals generally underestimate citizens' adherence to professional journalism values, particularly in regard to the importance of verifying facts, whether journalism requires specialized

knowledge and a journalism education. To each of these statements, professionals are completely inaccurate (they have different views) in perceiving citizens' attitudes. On the other hand, citizens, interestingly, *over*estimate the extent to which professionals believe that journalism requires specialized knowledge and education. And citizens underestimate the extent to which professionals are concerned with truth,, verification of facts and compassion toward the public.

Research question 8a: How accurately do citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism? The significantly different construct means show that citizen photojournalists are inaccurate in perceiving professionals' level of embrace of journalism professionalism (citizens' perceptions of professionals = 5.05; professionals = 5.21). However, this inaccuracy of degree is small (mean difference = .16). On four of the 15 statements, citizens accurately perceive the professionals' views (there are no significant differences between how citizens perceive professionals' attitudes and the professionals actual attitudes). On the remaining 11 statements there are significant differences. The differences on nine statements represent inaccuracies of degree (citizens perceive accurately that professionals will agree/disagree, but the level or intensity of agreement/disagreement differs significantly), and two represent clear inaccuracies (citizens perceive that professionals will agree/disagree, but professionals actually respond with the opposite attitude). Of the 11 statements with significant inaccuracies, six are cases in which citizen photojournalists *under*estimate the degree to which professionals will embrace the

photojournalism measures, particularly perceiving that professionals are less ethical than they actually indicate, and that professionals embrace amateur values. Conversely, citizen photojournalists' *over*estimate the degree to which professionals will embrace the photojournalism values on five statements. These statements measure dimensions of photography technique and subject matter. Two of the *under*estimations, both addressing amateur photography conventions, represent the clear and significant differences in overall attitude.

Table 8a. *The accuracy with which citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

| | Respondent | | | | |
| | Citizens' perceptions of pros | | Professionals' responses | | |
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient	371	5.05 (.54)	401	5.21 (.54)	4.20**
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	385	4.16 (1.96)	434	3.45 (1.78)	5.35**
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	384	6.03 (1.17)	434	6.00 (1.37)	.35
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	383	5.26 (1.59)	434	5.29 (1.49)	.30
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	383	6.36 (.998)	436	6.17 (1.11)	2.51*
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	385	5.48 (1.44)	430	5.16 (1.58)	2.96*
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	385	3.11 (1.94)	434	1.76 (1.38)	11.37**
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	385	5.23 (1.54)	433	3.40 (1.72)	16.12**
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	384	5.78 (1.20)	435	6.03 (1.24)	2.84*
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	383	4.17 (1.61)	434	5.03 (1.39)	8.10**
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	383	4.08 (1.81)	432	3.49 (1.72)	4.80**
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	382	2.87 (2.08)	433	1.21 (.96)	14.32**
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	385	4.96 (1.51)	433	5.08 (1.47)	1.08
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	382	3.22 (1.75)	433	1.97 (1.25)	11.61**
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	385	4.97 (1.85)	434	4.60 (1.95)	2.82*
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	385	5.19 (1.66)	401	5.32 (.54)	1.12

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

The data illustrate that citizen photojournalists perceive accurately the extent to which professionals embrace professional photography techniques. Specifically, citizen photojournalists accurately perceive the level of professionals' agreement that most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.19; professionals = 5.32), that impact in news photography is enhanced by getting in close to fill the frame (citizens' perception of professionals = 4.96; professionals = 5.08), and that a mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.26; professionals = 5.29). Also addressing technique, citizens are accurate in perceiving that professionals strongly agree that one of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively (citizens' perception of professionals = 6.03; professionals = 6.00). Overall, citizen photojournalists are accurate in perceiving the extent to which professionals embrace professional photography technique.

Citizens generally underestimate the importance of ethics to professionals. The greatest inaccuracy (mean difference = .1.66) is in citizens' perceptions about how professionals would respond to the statement about the ethics of using computer software to rearrange elements in an image (citizens' perception of professionals = 2.87; professionals = 1.21). And, to a lesser extent (mean difference = 1.35), citizens' perceptions about how professionals would respond to the ethics-related statement that news photography is often staged to make images look better (citizens' perception of professionals = 3.11; professionals = 1.76). These significant inaccuracies show that citizen

photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists as less ethical than professionals perceive themselves.

Several of the statements that address news values as applied to photojournalism are cases in which citizens correctly perceive the professionals embrace these ideals, and they *over*estimate the degree on two of these ideals. In these cases, the differences reflect an intensity of opinion, and the mean differences are relatively small. Citizen photojournalists recognize that professional photojournalists place value on capturing photographs that grab a viewer's attention (citizens' perception of professionals = 6.36; professionals = 6.17) and something out of the ordinary (citizens' perception professionals = 5.48; professionals = 5.16), but to each of these statements, citizens overestimate professionals' valuation. Citizens also overestimate professionals' adherence to professional photojournalism values on some statements that pertain to amateur values, including happy moments. They overestimate (mean difference = .86) the degree to which professionals value photos of happy moments in everyday life (citizens' perception of professionals = 4.17; professionals = 5.03). The other statements to which citizens overestimate the degree professionals will agree are related to both image content and technique – attention grabbing and out-of-the-ordinary images, and using manual settings – but these inaccuracies are small (statement mean differences < .19).

There are three statements that show clear differences of opinion (citizens think that professionals will agree or disagree, but professionals actually respond with the opposite attitude); one involves application of a news value, and two are dimensions of amateur photography. Citizens greatly

overestimate (mean difference = 1.83), for example, the degree to which professionals value the depiction of conflict in news photography (citizens perceptions of professionals = 5.23; professionals = 3.40). Citizens also (4.16) think that professionals agree that blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph. Pros, however, disagree with this statement (3.45). Citizens are also completely inaccurate regarding the amateur statement about self-expression. They perceive professionals would agree slightly that photography should be used as a form of self-expression (4.08), but, again, professionals disagree (3.49).

In sum, the significant difference between the construct means indicates that citizen photojournalists are broadly inaccurate in their perceptions of professionals' attitudes toward photojournalism; however, it should be noted that the differences in construct means is relatively small (.16) and citizens are accurate in their perceptions of professionals' attitudes on four of 15 measures. Further, most differences reflect inaccuracy in perceiving the intensity of response. Citizens accurately understand that professionals embrace proper photojournalistic techniques including the decisive moment, impact, balance and lighting, but they are less accurate in their understanding of professionals' attitudes toward ethical practices and professionals' overall rejection of amateur photographic techniques. Citizen photojournalists overestimate professionals' adherence to some dimensions of photojournalism, particularly those that measure the news values as applied to photography and subject matter, but underestimate some of professionals' other responses – particularly those that address ethics. Citizens also inaccurately perceive that professionals will

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embrace some amateur-photography conventions when in fact professionals do not.

Research question 8b: How accurately do professional photojournalists perceive citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism? The significantly different construct quotients show that professionals are inaccurate in perceiving the perceptions of citizens (professionals perceptions of citizens= 4.05; citizens = 4.74) regarding the elements of photojournalism professionalism (Table 8b). However, the significance lies in perceiving citizens' degree or intensity of response. Broadly, professionals underestimate citizens' adherence to these values, perceiving that citizens will be close to neutral. Professional photojournalists are accurate (no significant differences) in their perceptions of citizens' perceptions on only two statements, both of which address photojournalism technique. On eight of the 13 statements with significant differences, the inaccuracies exist at the level or intensity of response. However, on the other five statements with significant differences, clear inaccuracies of attitude exist (professionals perceive that citizens will agree or disagree, but citizens respond with the opposite attitude). Of the 13 statements with significant differences, 11 are cases in which professionals *under*estimated citizens' embrace of measures of professionalism, and two are cases in which professionals overestimated citizens' embrace of measures of professionalism. Overall, professional photojournalists tend to think that citizen photojournalists strongly embrace the statements that reflect amateur photography and reject

the statements that reflect professional photography, particularly those

pertaining to ethics.

Table 8b. *The accuracy with which professional photojournalists perceive citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

	Respondent				
	Pros' perceptions of citizens' perceptions		Citizens' perceptions		
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient	364	4.05 (.73)	368	4.74 (.53)	14.68**
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	380	4.82 (1.73)	389	4.54 (1.58)	2.33*
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	378	4.35 (1.79)	392	5.67 (1.35)	11.50**
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	379	4.62 (1.74)	390	4.94 (1.58)	2.68*
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	380	5.76 (1.41)	391	6.09 (1.27)	3.49**
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	378	5.53 (1.54)	389	4.73 (1.55)	7.14**
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	380	5.30 (1.37)	389	3.52 (1.77)	14.54**
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	379	5.62 (1.40)	391	3.88 (1.63)	15.88**
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	378	4.96 (1.49)	392	5.43 (1.40)	4.46**
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	375	5.20 (1.75)	389	4.60 (1.40)	8.46**
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	378	5.31 (1.56)	390	3.99 (1.75)	11.06**
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	378	4.65 (1.77)	391	2.04 (1.56)	21.53**
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	378	4.43 (1.60)	388	4.53 (1.51)	.89
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	375	5.10 (1.39)	391	2.55 (1.39)	25.36**
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	378	3.28 (1.81)	390	4.69 (1.74)	10.98**
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	378	4.58 (1.58)	391	4.40 (1.69)	1.49

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Professional photojournalists perceive accurately citizens' views on two

of the statements that address professional photography technique.

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Professional photojournalists are accurate in perceiving that citizens think that impact in news photography is enhanced by getting in close to the fill the frame (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.43; citizens = 4.53), and that most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot images (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.58; citizens = 4.40).

Professionals' perceptions of citizens' responses and citizens' actual responses to statements about news values as applied to photojournalism and amateur-photography conventions reveal inaccuracies of degree. Professional photojournalists underestimate the extent to which citizen photojournalists value the importance of portraying the human element in their images (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.96; citizens = 5.43). They also think that citizens would agree *more* than they actually did that "news photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary" (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.53; citizens = 4.73). This statement – testing the news value of novelty – is the only dimension of photojournalism professionalism about which professionals think citizen photojournalists will value more than the citizens actually do.

Professional photojournalists also tend to think that citizen photojournalists adhere to amateur-photography conventions more than the citizens say they actually do. The professionals perceive that citizens use their photojournalism as a form of self-expression (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.31; citizens = 3.99) and that citizens perceive capturing happy moments in every day life makes good news images (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.20; citizens = 4.60).

Significant and clear differences of attitudes on five statements show that professionals are inaccurate in perceiving citizens' stance with regard to elements of ethics, photo technique and conflict. To these statements, professional photojournalists think that citizens will agree or disagree, but citizens respond with the opposite attitude. Professional photojournalists say they think citizens believe (4.65) that it is OK to use computers to rearrange elements in an image. Citizens, however, do not think this practice is OK (2.04). The 2.61 mean difference on this statement illustrates that professionals clearly are inaccurate in their assessments of citizens on this dimension of professionalism. Further, professionals perceive that citizens believe that news photography is routinely staged to make images look better (5.30), but citizens do not perceive this to be an ethical photojournalism practice (3.52), a mean difference of 1.78.

Professional photojournalists are also clearly inaccurate in assessing citizens' embrace of amateur-photography technique. Professionals think that citizens would think (5.10) that "News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered." However, citizens do not think news photos look better when centered (2.55); the mean difference on this statement of 2.55 is the largest of any in the construct. Professional photojournalists further show their inaccuracy by thinking that citizen photojournalists are not as savvy with their cameras as citizens actually perceive themselves: Citizen photojournalists (4.69) think that using the manual settings results in better quality images, but professionals thought citizens would acknowledge lacking this expertise (3.28), reflecting another large professional misperception (mean difference = 1.41).

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Unrelated to ethics and technique, but representing another significant and large inaccuracy (mean difference = 1.74), professionals perceive that citizens greatly value conflict in news photography (5.62), but citizen photojournalists do not (3.88).

In sum, professional photojournalists are broadly inaccurate in their perceptions of how citizen photojournalists value the elements of photojournalism professionalism, shown by a significant construct mean difference (.69). Specifically, professional photojournalists largely underestimate citizens' embrace of photojournalism values; the construct mean (4.05) is nearly neutral, indicating the professionals are broadly ambivalent or uncertain of the extent to which citizens grasp elements of photojournalism professionalism. Professionals only accurately perceive citizens' responses on two statements, both of which address photojournalism technique. Professional photojournalists, overall, think that citizen photojournalists adhere more closely than they do to amateur-photography conventions, including embracing blurs and small imperfections, happy moments in everyday life, and self-expression in news photography. Further, professional photojournalists think that citizens have an undeveloped sense of photography ethics, but citizens apparently can identify unethical practices and disagree with them. These inaccuracies, coupled with a misconception that citizen photojournalists value conflict in news photography when they do not, represent the greatest misconceptions that professional photojournalists have of citizen photojournalists.

Summary: Accuracy toward photojournalism professionalism (RQ8). The significantly different construct means show that both citizen

photojournalists and professional photojournalists are inaccurate in perceiving each other's adherence to photojournalism professionalism. Broadly speaking, citizens are quite close in their assessments of how professionals perceive many elements of photojournalism professionalism, while professional photojournalists underestimate citizens' adherence to photojournalism values to a greater extent. There are, however, some areas of accuracy. Citizen photojournalists are accurate in assessing professionals' responses to four statements, while professionals are only accurate on assessing citizens' responses to two statements. They are both accurate about "impact" and "moment," but citizen photojournalists are also accurate in perceiving professionals' perceptions of balance and light. Thus, the areas of greatest accuracy generally revolve around photojournalism technique. To many of the other areas of photojournalism technique, citizens' inaccuracies are slight. Professional photojournalists are completely inaccurate in perceiving citizens' responses to six statements (the two groups hold opposite attitudes, one agrees the other disagrees), and some of these inaccuracies include large mean differences, while citizens were inaccurate on three. Each group greatly underestimated the others' devotion to photojournalism ethics, and overestimated the others' embrace of amateur photography techniques. Further, each group inaccurately perceived the other as embracing the news value of conflict, when neither actually did.

Congruence. Research questions nine and 10 measure congruence, or what is sometimes called "perceived agreement," referring to the degree to which each group perceives itself as similar or different from the other group

(Seltzer, 2006). Paired samples t-tests were used to compare each group's own perceptions with the way they perceive the other group will answer. Research question nine tests congruence with regard to journalism professionalism. RQ9a explores the degree to which citizens' attitudes toward journalism professionalism are congruent with how citizens perceive professionals' attitudes toward journalism professionalism; RQ9b explores the degree to which professional photojournalists' attitudes toward journalism professionalism are congruent with how professionals perceive citizen attitudes toward journalism professionalism. Research question 10 explores congruence in the same two ways with regard to *photojournalism* professionalism.

      Research question 9a: To what degree are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism congruent with professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism? Broadly, citizen photojournalists perceive themselves as incongruent with professional photojournalists, as indicated by the significant differences between the construct means (citizens perceptions of professionals = 4.98; citizens = 5.09). Citizen photojournalists perceive that both groups – themselves and professionals – will agree with the elements of journalism professionalism. Citizens perceive that they will exhibit slightly more positive attitudes than professionals. There are also significant incongruities between the way citizens perceive themselves and the way they perceive professionals on all 11 statements in the construct (Table 9a). To 10 of 11 statements, the direction of opinion – agree or disagree – is congruent, but the significance is in the degree or intensity of the response. On only one statement do citizens

perceive that professionals will hold a completely different attitude (agree or disagree) than they do. Of the 11 statements with incongruities, six are cases in which citizens perceive professionals adhere less with the measures of professionalism than citizens themselves, and five are cases in which citizen photojournalists perceive professionals adhere more with the measures of professionalism than themselves.

Table 9a. *The degree to which citizen photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism congruent with professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

| | Respondent | | | | |
| | Citizens' responses | | Citizens' perceptions of professionals | | |
Variable	N	Mean	N	M	t
Construct quotient.	362	5.09 (.61)	362	4.98 (.68)	3.15**
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	384	5.93 (1.27)	384	5.57 (1.50)	4.24**
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	385	4.11 (1.78)	385	4.56 (1.91)	4.13**
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	381	4.35 (1.63)	381	5.34 (1.55)	10.29**
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	385	2.11 (1.46)	385	2.98 (1.89)	8.14**
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	384	5.11 (1.42)	384	3.96 (1.76)	12.16**
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	384	3.20 (1.73)	384	3.96 (1.90)	6.96**
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	382	5.42 (1.41)	382	5.68 (1.32)	3.15**
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	380	4.95 (1.68)	380	5.39 (1.52)	5.25**
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	381	5.60 (1.32)	381	5.22 (1.56)	4.57**
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	377	4.58 (1.59)	377	5.40 (1.60)	8.95**
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	384	2.56 (1.31)	384	2.32 (1.53)	2.79*

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Citizens perceive their views to be incongruent (they disagree) with professionals on elements of Social Responsibility and truth telling, and citizens

perceive they actually value some dimensions of professionalism more than they perceive the professionals do. Citizens think that professionals are neutral regarding whether freedom of the press carries with it a responsibility to public service (3.95), while citizens themselves don't think that freedom does not carry responsibility (3.20). Further demonstrating this incongruence with regard to Social Responsibility, citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists are less inclined than citizens themselves to think that journalists should report facts in contexts that gives them meaning (citizens' perceptions of professionals = 5.22; citizens = 5.60), and journalists should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.57; citizens = 5.93). Citizens also indicate that they perceive professionals as less devoted to truth; they perceive that professionals disagree (2.98) that posting information online before it can be verified is OK, but citizens more strongly disagree with such a practice (2.11).

There are, however, dimensions of journalism professionalism that citizens perceive they do not value as greatly as professional journalists. For example, citizens think that professionals will feel more strongly that "a journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists" (5.34) than citizens do (4.35), and that professionals will respond with a more negative attitude to the question of whether journalism is basic common sense (2.32) than citizens (2.56). Further demonstrating incongruence in professionalism concepts, citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists will value more (5.40) journalists' professional autonomy to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized than citizens do

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(4.58), a mean difference of .82. Citizens also think that professionals respond more positively (5.39) than citizens do (4.95) to the statement, "Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful," and more than themselves that "journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor powerful institutions" (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.68; citizens = 5.42).

There is only one statement to which citizen photojournalists' perceive they are in complete disagreement with photojournalists (professionals indicate one attitude, but citizens perceive they will have the opposite attitude), and this statement addresses compassion. Just as citizen photojournalists perceived professionals value elements of Social Responsibility less than they do, citizens perceive that professionals are close to neutral (3.96) in thinking that journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news, but citizens themselves think that journalists should show such compassion (5.11). This statement also represents the largest incongruence (mean difference = 1.15).

In sum, the significantly different construct means show that citizen photojournalists' perceive themselves as incongruent with professionals regarding their perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism (citizens' perceptions of professionals = 4.98; professionals perceptions = 5.09). However, the relatively small construct mean difference (.11) indicates that citizens generally do not perceive they have great disparities in their views compared to professionals. Citizen photojournalists perceive incongruence in intensity of response with professional photojournalists on 10 statements and

perceive themselves as having a completely different attitude with professionals on one statement. Citizens perceive that professionals do not adhere to some dimensions of journalism professionalism as much as they do. For example, citizens perceive themselves as placing higher value on measures about Social Responsibility and the verification of facts than journalists do. Still, there are some values that citizens perceive will be valued more by professionals than by themselves. For example, citizens perceive that professional photojournalists value dimensions of professionalism – a specialized education, work autonomy, the watchdog role and objectivity – more than the citizens themselves value these dimensions. Finally, citizens perceive themselves as having a completely incongruent attitude with professionals on compassion, thinking that professional photojournalists have less compassion for people in the news than they do.

Research Question 9b: To what degree are professional photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism congruent with citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism? The significant difference between the construct means indicates that professional photojournalists perceive their attitudes toward journalism professionalism (5.44) as incongruent from those of citizens (4.16). However, the significance lies in professionals' *level* of perceived agreement with citizens. Specifically, professionals perceive that they place significantly higher value on the dimensions of journalism professionalism than citizens; the difference in construct means is 1.28 (Table 9b). The large difference in construct means overshadows that there are three dimensions on which

professional perceptions are congruent with citizens. However, the extent of the perceived differences is further shown by significant differences on eight of the 11 statements in the construct, and mean differences of greater than 1.0 on five of the statements. To each of these eight statements with incongruities, professional photojournalists perceive that citizens will value less than themselves the measures of professionalism. Further illustrating the extent of incongruity, on four of these eight statements, professionals perceive clear differences in attitude from citizens (professionals agree or disagree but perceive that citizens will respond with the opposite attitude.)

Table 9b. *The degree to which professional photojournalists' perceptions of journalism professionalism are congruent with citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism*

	Respondent				
	Professional' responses		Professionals' perceptions of citizens		
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient	354	5.44 (.65)	354	4.16 (.73)	24.31**
News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.	376	6.21 (1.12)	376	4.97 (1.54)	13.22**
#It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.	372	3.82 (1.85)	372	3.64 (1.86)	1.23
A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.	375	4.55 (1.86)	375	2.50 (1.66)	15.47**
#It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.	376	1.62 (1.04)	376	4.79 (1.72)	31.56**
Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.	374	4.89 (1.56)	374	4.91 (1.80)	.41
#Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.	370	2.99 (1.83)	370	4.15 (1.66)	8.58**
Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, business, religious organizations).	373	5.90 (1.30)	373	5.29 (1.49)	6.06**
Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.	375	5.54 (1.62)	375	4.44 (1.65)	8.82**
Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.	375	6.12 (1.12)	375	4.67 (1.53)	15.16**
Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.	370	5.01 (1.57)	370	5.26 (1.62)	1.74
#Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.	375	2.06 (1.35)	375	5.69 (1.45)	34.56**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

Despite the large differences on most statements in the construct, professionals' perceptions are congruent with citizen photojournalists on three journalism dimensions that measure Social Responsibility and the idea of journalistic autonomy. Congruence is shown by the non-significant differences between professionals' perceptions of citizens and professionals' own perceptions. Professional photojournalists perceive that citizens think it is not the job of a journalist to create public forums where citizens can interact and discuss issues (3.64), and professionals think much the same way (3.82). Professional photojournalists also perceive that citizen photojournalists believe that journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news (4.91), just as they themselves do (4.89). Finally, professional photojournalists perceive that citizens think journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized (5.25) as congruent with their own perceptions (5.01).

In several ways, professional photojournalists perceive they are more socially responsible than citizen photojournalists are. Professional photojournalists, for example, think that citizens would value less that journalists should explain facts in contexts that give them meaning (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.67; professionals = 6.12), and that journalists should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.97; professionals = 6.21). These incongruities are large (mean differences are 1.45 and 1.24 respectively). Professional photojournalists also perceive that citizens are less inclined to believe that objectivity is a method to proclaim to journalists' audiences that

what they say is truthful (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.44; professionals = 5.54) and that journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor powerful institutions (professionals perception of citizens = 5.29; professionals = 5.90).

The extent that professionals sense their values are incongruent with citizens' is indicated on the four dimensions where the professionals adhere to the professional value and perceive that citizens do not. For example, professional journalists perceive they have different views from citizen photojournalists on the level of specialized knowledge and skills required to practice journalism, the importance of journalism education and their devotion to truth, and these statements show large incongruities. The area of greatest incongruence addresses the specialized nature of journalism as a profession, asking whether journalism is "basic common sense." Professional photojournalists perceive that citizens strongly agree that journalism is basic common sense (5.69), while professionals strongly *dis*agree that journalism is common sense (2.06), a mean difference of 3.63. Professionals also perceive citizen photojournalists to disagree strongly that journalism education is an integral step for journalists (2.51), while thinking themselves that a journalism education is important (4.58), a mean difference of 2.07. Another area of large incongruence has to do with journalists' devotion to truth. In the minds of professional photojournalists, citizen photojournalists believe that it is OK to post information online before it can be verified as truthful (4.79) a statement that professionals themselves strongly disagree with (1.62), a mean difference of 3.17. Further, professional photojournalists perceive that citizens think that

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journalistic freedom does *not* carry with it a responsibility to public service (4.15), while professionals themselves think such journalistic freedom should be accompanied by responsibility (2.99).

In sum, the large difference on the construct means (1.28) indicate that professional photojournalists perceive they lack agreement (are incongruent) with citizen photojournalists about professional journalism values. The significant differences generally indicate that professionals do not think that citizen photojournalists exercise some professional journalism values and practices, and clearly not to the extent that professionals do. While professionals perceive that they share attitudes with citizens about showing compassion, creating of a public forum, and the belief that journalists should be autonomous in their news selections, these dimensions are where the congruities end. To eight statements, professional photojournalists perceive themselves as valuing measures of professionalism significantly more than citizen photojournalists. There is, most strikingly, a strong significant incongruence in that professionals believe citizens think journalism requires no specialized education and is basic common sense, while citizen photojournalists indicate the opposite. A devotion to verifying the truth – very much valued by professionals, is also perceived as having little value to citizens and is drastically incongruent with professionals' own perceptions of this value.

Summary: Congruence on journalism professionalism (RQ9). Both citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists perceive themselves as incongruent with each other in terms of their attitudes toward journalism professionalism. Broadly, professionals see themselves as much less congruent

with citizen photojournalists (construct mean difference 1.28) than citizens perceive themselves incongruent with professionals (construct mean difference = .11). Professional photojournalists see themselves as incongruent with citizens on eight statements, consistently viewing citizen photojournalists' attitudes as less professional than their own. Most strikingly, professional photojournalists perceive that citizen photojournalists will disagree that journalism is basic common sense and that journalism requires a specialized education, while professionals themselves agree strongly, resulting in large incongruities (ranging from 1.16-3.62). Professionals also think that citizens are less devoted to truth and less socially responsible than citizens say they are. Citizen photojournalists perceive themselves as incongruent with professionals on all 11 statements, but they are mixed on whether they perceive themselves as more or less embracing of the values. Overall, citizen photojournalists also think that professionals are less socially responsible and less devoted to the truth. However, citizen photojournalists also perceive that professional photojournalists will agree more than themselves on five of the 11 statements with significant incongruences, including those that address objectivity, professionalism, and the watchdog role of journalists. Interestingly, citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists are much less compassionate than citizens are, but professional photojournalists perceive themselves as congruent with citizens on this statement.

Research question 10a: To what degree are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of photojournalism professionalism congruent with professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism

professionalism? The significantly different construct means show that citizen photojournalists perceive themselves as incongruent with professionals regarding professional photojournalism values (citizens' perceptions of professionals = 5.05; citizens = 4.74). Generally, citizens think that they do not adhere as strongly to professional photojournalism ideals as professionals do. Citizen photojournalists perceive their own responses as congruent with those of professionals on only one of the 15 statements in the construct, indicated by the non-significant difference in responses (Table 10a). Thirteen of the 14 statements with significant incongruities are cases in which citizens perceive themselves and professionals as having similar attitudes (both agreeing or disagreeing), but the significance is in the level or intensity of agreement or disagreement that is perceived. To only one statement do citizen photojournalists perceive that professionals have a clearly different attitude than their own. To the other 12, citizen photojournalists perceive professional photojournalists as adhering to dimensions of professionalism more than themselves.

The only statement to which the citizen responses and citizens' perceptions of professional responses are congruent (no significant difference in mean responses) is: "Photojournalists use their news images as a form of self-expression." To this statement, citizen photojournalists' responses are close to the neutral point (3.99) and they think that professionals will respond similarly (4.08).

Table 10a. *The degree to which citizen photojournalists' perceptions of photojournalism professionalism are congruent with professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

| | Respondent | | | | |
| | Citizens' responses | | Citizens' perception of pros | | |
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient.	353	4.74 (.53)	353	5.05 (.56)	10.74**
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	382	4.54 (1.58)	382	4.16 (1.96)	3.96**
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	384	5.67 (1.36)	384	6.03 (1.17)	5.99**
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	381	4.94 (1.58)	381	5.26 (1.59)	4.06**
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	382	6.09 (1.27)	382	6.36 (.998)	3.99**
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	381	4.73 (1.55)	381	5.48 (1.44)	8.50**
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	382	3.52 (1.77)	382	3.11 (1.94)	4.21**
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	384	3.88 (1.63)	384	5.23 (1.54)	16.26**
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	384	5.43 (1.40)	384	5.78 (1.20)	5.22**
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	382	4.60 (1.40)	382	4.17 (1.61)	4.93**
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	381	3.99 (1.75)	381	4.08 (1.81)	.74
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	381	2.04 (1.56)	381	2.87 (2.07)	7.83**
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	381	4.53 (1.51)	381	4.96 (1.51)	5.89**
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	381	2.55 (1.39)	381	3.22 (1.74)	8.34**
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	383	4.69 (1.74)	383	4.97 (1.85)	3.24**
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	384	4.44 (1.69)	384	5.19 (1.66)	10.09**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

There are only two statements to which citizen photojournalists perceive themselves as *more* in favor with the values of professionalism than professionals, and these statements measure photojournalism ethics and amateur technique. Addressing ethics, citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists disagree it is ethical for photojournalists to use software to rearrange elements in an image (2.87), but citizens disagree with

this practice even more (2.04). This incongruence is inconsistent with the other statement that reflects ethics in photojournalism. Citizen photojournalists also perceive that professionals value centering news photographs, an amateur value, more than they themselves do (citizens' perception of professionals = 3.22; citizens = 2.55).

On 12 statements, citizens perceive that professional photojournalists embrace dimensions of professional photojournalism to a greater extent than citizens do. These statements measure attitudes toward professional photojournalism techniques, image content and the ethics of staging photographs. The incongruities on these 12 statements are not complete differences in attitudes, but differences in degree or intensity of attitude.

In terms of photojournalism techniques, citizen photojournalists perceive that professionals will respond more positively (5.19) than they do (4.44) that photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot an image. Citizens also think that professionals will respond with a more positive attitude than citizens that one of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively (citizens' perception of professionals = 6.03; citizens = 5.67), that impact in news photography is enhanced by getting in close to fill the frame (citizens' perception of professionals = 4.96; citizens = 4.53), that a balanced composition marks a good news photograph (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.26; citizens = 4.94), and that using the manual settings on the camera usually results in higher quality images (citizens' perception of professionals = 4.97; citizens = 4.69). Citizen photojournalists

perceive that professionals embrace each of these professional photography techniques more than citizens.

Regarding the news values as applied to photojournalism, citizen photojournalists again show that they perceive professionals as embracing the measures of professionalism more than themselves. Citizens think that professionals will respond more positively (5.48) than themselves (4.73) that news photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary, and that news photographs are usually best when they portray a human element (citizens' perception of professionals = 5.78; citizens = 5.43).

Citizen photojournalists also see their attitudes as incongruent with professionals' regarding the ethics measure of whether news photographs are often staged (citizens' perception of professionals = 3.11; citizens = 3.52). Citizen photojournalists perceive that professional photojournalists demonstrate greater ethical standards than citizens in this regard. Finally, citizen photojournalists perceive professionals as more professional, perceiving that professionals will embrace *less* the amateur convention of blurriness and imperfections to create authenticity (citizens' perception of professionals = 4.16; citizens = 4.54) and capturing happy moments in everyday life (citizens' perception of professionals = 4.17; citizens = 4.60).

The statement of greatest incongruence (mean difference = 1.34) and the only one to which citizens see themselves as having a completely different attitude than professionals is: "The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict." To this statement, citizen photojournalists

perceive that professional photojournalists would agree (5.23), while citizens disagree (3.88).

In sum, largely, the significantly different construct means show that citizen photojournalists' perceptions and their perceptions of professionals' responses are incongruent. However, for both the construct and 12 of the statements with incongruities, the significance lies in the level or intensity of attitude, The only areas where citizens perceive that they embrace professionalism more than the photojournalists is with regard to whether it is OK to rearrange elements in a photograph and whether centering makes good news photographs. The only statement in which citizens' own perceptions and their perceptions of professionals' perceptions are congruent is the amateur measure of using photojournalism as a form of self-expression. Both responses are close to the neutral point on this statement. Citizens tend to perceive themselves as embracing professional technique and news values to a lesser degree than professionals.

Research question 10b: To what degree are professional photojournalists' perceptions of photojournalism professionalism congruent with citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism? The significantly different construct quotients show that professional photojournalists, overall, perceive themselves (5.21) as significantly incongruent with citizen photojournalists (4.05) on elements of photojournalism professionalism. Professional photojournalists are nearly neutral in their perceptions of citizens' responses, but professionals strongly agree (mean difference = 1.16). Broadly, professionals think they embrace to a

greater extent the elements of photojournalism professionalism than citizen photojournalists. There is only one measure to which professional photojournalists perceive their attitude as congruent with that of citizens. The other 14 statements represent significant incongruities of degree or clear incongruities of opinion. On six of the 15 statements, there are clear incongruities – perceived disagreements – in attitudes (professionals agree or disagree, but perceive that citizens will answer with the opposite attitude). Of the 14 significantly incongruent statements, 12 of them are cases in which professional photojournalists see themselves as embracing the elements of photojournalism professionalism more than citizens (Table 10b). Interestingly, there are two statements, which address news values, to which professionals perceive citizens as embracing more than professionals do.

Professionals perceive they are congruent with citizens on just one dimension: "happy moments in everyday life make good news images." To this statement, professional photojournalists agree (5.03) and think that citizens will, too (5.20); there is no significant difference between the two groups' means.

To statements that address professional photography subject techniques and image subject matter, professional photojournalists generally perceive citizen photojournalists do not embrace the measures of professionalism as much as professionals do. Regarding professional photography technique, professionals think that citizens will place less value on effective lighting (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.62; professionals = 6.00), proper photographic balance (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.62; professionals = 5.29), and the creation of impact through getting in close (professionals'

perception of citizens = 4.43; professionals = 5.08). The mean differences on these statements – or the extent to which the professionals perceive they disagree with citizens on these techniques – are quite large, ranging from .66 to 1.38.

Table 10b. *The degree to which professional photojournalists' perceptions of photojournalism professionalism are congruent with citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism*

| | Respondent | | | | |
| | Professionals' responses | | Pros' perceptions of Citizens | | |
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient.	348	5.21 (.52)	348	4.05 (.71)	22.31**
#Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.	378	3.45 (1.80)	378	4.82 (1.73)	9.91**
One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.	376	6.00 (1.34)	376	4.35 (1.79)	14.25**
A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.	377	5.29 (1.47)	377	4.62 (1.74)	5.73**
It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.	380	6.17 (1.09)	380	5.76 (1.41)	4.55**
News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.	374	5.16 (1.59)	374	5.53 (1.54)	3.11**
#Professional news photography is often "staged" or posed to make images look better.	379	1.76 (1.26)	379	5.30 (1.62)	33.45**
The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.	377	3.40 (1.72)	377	5.62 (1.40)	19.14**
News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.	377	6.03 (1.16)	377	4.96 (1.49)	11.41**
#Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.	373	5.03 (1.40)	373	5.20 (1.75)	1.17
#Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.	375	3.49 (1.74)	375	5.31 (1.56)	14.96**
#It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.	376	1.21 (.95)	376	4.65 (1.77)	32.53**
Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.	376	5.08 (1.47)	376	4.43 (1.60)	5.43**
#News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.	373	1.97 (1.21)	373	5.10 (1.39)	32.24**
Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.	378	4.60 (1.96)	378	3.28 (1.81)	8.62**
Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.	378	5.32 (1.49)	378	4.58 (1.58)	7.15**

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

- To calculate the construct reliability and construct mean, the responses to these statements were reversed so that agreement with the statements represented higher levels of agreement with the elements of photojournalism professionalism.

In terms of the news values as applied to photography, professionals perceive that citizens agree less than themselves that the best news photographs

portray a human element (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.96; professionals = 6.03) and that it is important that photojournalists capture an image that grabs the viewer's attention (professionals perception of citizens = 5.76; professionals = 6.17). Finally, there is one statement, which also addresses news values, to which professionals perceive that citizen photojournalists will agree *more* than themselves. In the minds of professional photojournalists, citizen photojournalists embrace the idea of taking photographs that are of something out of the ordinary more than professionals (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.52; professionals = 5.16).

Professional photojournalists perceive they disagree with citizen photojournalists (they hold opposite attitudes) to statements addressing ethics, the news value of conflict, and amateur photography characteristics. The two statements regarding ethics in photojournalism represent the areas of greatest incongruence. Professional photojournalists strongly disagree that professional news photography is often staged or posed to make an image look better (1.76), but they think that citizen photojournalists would agree strongly (5.27), a mean difference of 3.51. Similarly, while professional photojournalists disagree that it is ethical to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image (1.21), they perceive that citizens will agree that such software manipulation is ethical (4.65), a mean difference of 3.44. Professional photojournalists perceive that citizen photojournalists think that the most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict (5.62). Professionals, however, do not (3.40), a mean difference of 2.20. Professional photojournalists also perceive that citizen photojournalists will embrace the values that represent amateur photography

characteristics, while professionals do not, and the incongruities are great (mean differences are between 1.37 and 3.13): centering an image to make it look professional (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.10; professionals = 1.97) using photojournalism as a form of self-expression (professionals' perception of citizens = 5.31; professionals = 3.49), and valuing blurriness and other small imperfections (professionals' perception of citizens = 4.82; professionals = 3.45). Similarly, while professional photojournalists think that they can use manual settings to create higher quality news photographs (4.60), they perceive that citizen photojournalists will not have this level of technical skill (3.28).

Overall, professional photojournalists perceive themselves as significantly and largely incongruent with citizens in regard to measures of photojournalism professionalism. Professionals only perceive themselves as congruent with citizens on one photojournalism value. To six statements, professionals perceive a complete incongruence with citizens (they perceive that citizens will hold a completely different attitude than themselves), and on eight statements, professionals perceive incongruence in terms of the degree to which the two groups agree or disagree, and some of these incongruities are very large. On 12 of the 14 statements with significant incongruities, professionals perceive themselves as adhering *more* to the measures of photojournalism professionalism. Professionals' level of perceived disagreement with citizen represents larger differences than on any other measure. Professional photojournalists particularly see themselves as highly incongruent with citizens in terms of ethics and amateur-photography conventions. They perceive that

citizens think that it is OK to manipulate and stage photographs, that they embrace amateur values, and that they do not know how to use the camera, while professionals answer in favor of ethical practices, reject amateur conventions, and know how to use their camera well. Professional photojournalists perceive that citizens embrace photographic technique and professional subject matter/content of a photo, but to a lesser degree than themselves. Finally, professional photojournalists perceive that citizens place more value on conflict in and out-of-the-ordinary content in news photography than professionals do.

Summary: Congruence on photojournalism professionalism (RQ10). The significantly different construct quotients show that both citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists perceive themselves as incongruent with the other. Broadly, though, citizen photojournalists are better at orienting themselves with professionals (mean construct difference = .31) than professionals are at orienting themselves toward citizens (mean construct difference = 1.16). Two patterns emerge: Professionals perceive themselves as adhering to photojournalism values to a much greater extent than they think citizens do; citizen photojournalists think that professionals will agree more with the elements of photojournalism professionalism than citizens do. Each group only perceives itself as congruent with the other on one of the 15 dimensions in the construct.

Professional photojournalists see themselves as embracing the elements of photojournalism professionalism more than citizens overall (construct mean difference = 1.16) and on 12 of the 14 incongruent statements. Professional

photojournalists particularly view themselves as different than citizens with regard to ethics. While professionals disagree with unethical practices, they think that citizens will agree with both rearranging elements in a photo and staging a photo (mean difference > 3.44), and that they will value the amateur characteristic of centering (mean difference = 3.13). Further, professional photojournalists think that citizen photojournalists will value conflict, while professionals do not indicate valuing conflict. There are only two statements, which address news values, to which professionals perceive citizens as embracing more than themselves.

Citizen photojournalists think that professional photojournalists adhere to the elements of photojournalism professionalism more than citizens. Citizens particularly think that professionals will embrace photography technique more than themselves. They also perceive that professionals will agree that photos portraying conflict are good, but they themselves do not think such conflict-portraying photos are good. However, citizens are mixed on whether they think that professionals will embrace the amateur techniques and ethical practices more or less than themselves.

News image quality. Participants were shown a photograph (see Appendix , G, H, I and J) and asked to evaluate it. This image assessment adds to the understanding of each group's values that were attained through the survey. A construct for news image quality was created to reflect the overall mean response to 11 statements; accordingly, 1 equals a poor quality and 7 is a high quality image. Specifically, participants were instructed: "Please look at the photo below. Then, indicate your level of agreement with the following

statements about this photograph." They indicated their agreement with 11 statements that address specific dimensions of news photo quality (lighting, composition, etc.) and the news values applies to photography (conflict, human element, etc.). They were also asked to rate the overall quality of the photo on a scale from 1-100; 1 indicated the poorest quality, and 100 indicated the highest quality. The construct means and respondents' evaluation of the photo on a 1-100 scale were used to test the hypotheses. In order to test whether professional photojournalists rate a photo that is credited to a citizen photojournalist differently than they rate a photo that has no photo credit, participants were randomly directed to one of these two photo conditions. In the same way, citizen photojournalists were randomly directed to either a photograph that was credited to a professional photojournalist or one that did not have a photo credit.

The research question is answered and the hypotheses are tested two ways: by comparing the construct quotients of the 11 statements of the two groups with the different photo conditions and by comparing the two groups' responses on the 1-100 overall scale. To add richness and precision to these overall photo quality measures, the answers to the research questions will also be described through the responses to the 11 statements that measure the dimensions of the photographs.

Hypothesis 1. Hypotheses 1 predicted professional photojournalists would assess a photograph with no credit line statistically significantly more favorably than a photo credited to a citizen photojournalist. This hypothesis was confirmed (Table 11). An independent samples t-test found that professional photojournalists rate a photograph credited to a citizen photojournalist (5.55)

significantly lower than they rated a photograph with no credit (5.77). Not only

do the constructs show this difference, but so do the 1-100 ratings on the

"overall quality of the photo." Specifically, the group of professional

photojournalists who rated the photograph that was credited to a citizen

photojournalist rated it significantly lower (77.58) than the group of

professional photojournalists who rated the same photograph when it had no

photo credit (*M* = 81.39).

Table 11. *The ways and extent to which professional photojournalists assess the quality of a news photograph that is labeled as having been taken by an amateur differently than a news photograph with no label.*

	Label				
	Citizen		No label		
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	*t*
Construct quotient	210	5.55	161	5.77	2.01*
This image has a balanced composition.	216	4.88 (1.58)	169	4.91 (1.58)	.20
The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.	217	4.59 (1.55)	169	4.80 (1.49)	1.41
The camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.	215	5.20 (1.52)	168	5.45 (1.56)	1.59
The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.	217	5.16 (1.59)	170	5.63 (1.38)	3.04**
This photograph shows a human element.	217	6.42 (1.03)	169	6.58 (.80)	1.63
This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.	216	6.33 (1.20)	170	6.36 (1.01)	.223
This image visually tells a story.	215	6.30 (1.11)	169	6.49 (.80)	1.80
This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.	216	5.57 (1.47)	170	5.77 (1.33)	1.36
This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.	216	5.34 (1.46)	170	5.63 (1.28)	2.06*
The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.	217	5.24 (1.55)	169	5.75 (1.32)	3.43**
This image captures my attention.	217	5.89 (1.25)	167	6.05 (1.19)	1.27
Please rate the overall quality of this photo.	216	77.58 (14.91)	170	81.39 (14.68)	2.51*

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

Looking at the individual statements allows for greater precisions as to

which elements of the photograph were rated differently between the two test

groups of professionals. There are no statements in which professional

photojournalists rated the citizen-credited photograph as better quality than the professional-credited photograph. There are three statements which address photo composition and technique that produced significant differences in the expected direction (professional photojournalists rated the photograph with no photo credit higher than the professionals rated the photo credited to a citizen): "The composition of elements in this photograph leads my eye to the focal point" (no photo credit = 5.63; citizen photo credit = 5.16), "This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene" (no photo credit = 5.63; citizen photo credit = 5.34) and "The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image" (no photo credit = 5.75; citizen photo credit = 5.24).

Research question 11. Research question 11 asks, "In what ways and to what extent do citizen photojournalists assess the quality of a news photograph that is credited to a professional photojournalist differently than a news photograph with no credit line?" The independent-samples t-test shows that the group of citizen photojournalists who rated the photograph that was credited to a professional photojournalist did not rate the photograph significantly differently (5.65) than the group of citizen photojournalists who were asked to rate the photo with no credit line (5.69). The only statement in which there was a significant difference between the two groups' responses was "this image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene." To this statement, the citizens who rated the photo without a credit rated it significantly higher (5.62) than the group of citizen photojournalists who rated the photograph with a credit indicating the photo was taken by a professional photojournalist (5.25).

Table 12. *The ways and extent to which citizen photojournalists assess the quality of a news photograph that is labeled as having been taken by a professional different than a news photograph with no label.*

| | Label | | | | |
| | Professional | | No label | | |
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	t
Construct quotient	171	5.65	200	5.69	.45
This image has a balanced composition.	179	4.83 (1.47)	212	4.90 (1.46)	.43
The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.	179	5.07 (1.34)	211	4.97 (1.37)	.69
The camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.	179	5.50 (1.43)	182	5.41 (1.42)	.61
The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.	180	5.71 (1.29)	185	5.49 (1.49)	1.50
This photograph shows a human element.	180	6.61 (.70)	186	6.61 (.89)	.02
This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.	178	5.54 (1.28)	186	5.66 (1.40)	.79
This image visually tells a story.	180	6.49 (.849)	186	6.48 (1.04)	.05
This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.	178	5.54 (1.28)	186	5.66 (1.40)	.83
This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.	179	5.26 (1.47)	186	5.62 (1.33)	2.5*
The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.	179	5.35 (1.45)	185	5.18 (1.65)	1.07
This image captures my attention.	179	5.92 (1.06)	183	5.98 (1.24)	.51
Please rate the overall quality of this photo.	180	78.14 (15.82)	186	75.91 (17.79)	1.27

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

Hypothesis two. Hypothesis 2 predicted that professional photojournalists would assess a photograph credited to a citizen photojournalist significantly more poorly than citizens evaluate a photograph that is credited to a professional photojournalist. This hypothesis is tested the same two ways as the first hypothesis (Table 13). The hypothesis is not supported. An independent samples t-test reveals no significant difference between the construct means (professional rating photo credited to citizen = 5.55; citizens rating photo credited to professional = 5.65). Further, there are no statistical differences in

the 1-100 evaluations (citizens = 78.14; professionals = 77.58). Although the hypothesis is not confirmed, there are three statements with significant differences in the expected direction (professional photojournalists rate the citizen-credited photograph significantly more poorly than citizens rate the professional-credited photograph): "The photographer of this photo has used lighting effectively" (professionals rate citizen credit = 4.59; citizens rate professional credit = 5.07), "The composition of elements in this photograph leads my eye to the focal point," (professionals = 5.17; citizens = 5.71) and "This photograph shows a human element" (professionals = 6.42; citizens = 6.61). There are no statements in which citizens rated the professional-credited photograph poorer than professionals rated the citizen-credited photograph. Although there is no significant difference between the construct means, these data support the general logic of the hypothesis – that professional photojournalists assess citizen photography with a more critical eye than citizens assess professional photojournalism.

Table 13. The ways and extent to which professionals who rate a citizen-credited photograph do so differently than citizens rating a professional-credited photograph.

	Credit				
	Professionals rate citizens		Citizens rate professionals		
Variable	N	Mean	N	Mean	*t*
Construct quotient	210	5.55	171	5.65	.92
This image has a balanced composition.	216	4.88 (1.58)	179	4.83 (1.47)	.09
The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.	217	4.59 (1.55)	179	5.07 (1.34)	2.69*
The camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.	215	5.20 (1.52)	179	5.50 (1.43)	1.31
The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.	217	5.17 (1.59)	180	5.71 (1.29)	2.40*
This photograph shows a human element.	217	6.42 (1.03)	180	6.61 (.70)	2.11*
This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.	216	6.33 (1.20)	178	5.54 (1.28)	1.16
This image visually tells a story.	215	6.30 (1.11)	180	6.49 (.849)	1.78
This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.	216	5.57 (1.47)	178	5.54 (1.28)	.85
This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.	216	5.34 (1.46)	179	5.26 (1.47)	1.81
The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.	217	5.24 (1.55)	179	5.35 (1.45)	.14
This image captures my attention.	217	5.89 (1.25)	179	5.92 (1.06)	.45
Please rate the overall quality of this photo.	216	77.58 (14.91)	180	78.14 (15.82)	1.04

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .001$. Standard Deviations appear in parentheses below means.

Open-ended Responses. Respondents were asked to explain their assessment of the image for its news quality in their own words. The open-ended data collected in this study contribute to an understanding of professionals' perceptions of citizen photojournalism and the extent to which they perceive a threatened sense of professionalism that was tested in the hypotheses. These data also give insights to how citizen photojournalists assess news image quality. A total of 141 professionals who rated the uncredited photograph provided open-ended responses, and 157 of the professionals who rated the citizen-credit photograph provided open-ended responses. A total of 132 of the citizens who rated the uncredited photograph provided open-ended

responses, and 123 of the citizens who rated the professional-rated photograph provided open-ended responses. They were given the opportunity to write as little or as much as they wanted. The responses of the professionals who rated the citizen-photograph suggest that some professionals perceive citizen photojournalism as a threat to their careers. One respondent says: "You have to wonder about amateurs jumping out in front of a crowd at such an event. It's bad enough that we intrude as professionals. If everyone with a camera can do this – and does – then those of us with a job to do won't be permitted to do it." Respondents label the photograph a "lucky" capture: "The term citizen-journalist means nothing ... It merely means that someone got LUCKY (respondent's emphasis) and found some one to use it or self publicise *(sic)* it." Another adds: "A true Journalist and a true Photographer are those who can go out any hour, day, day after day and week after week and deliver an accurate, verifiable, complete and truthful story..." These professionals say that the image is an "obvious choice" and an "easy grab" that's been "done a million times." One respondent says that the slight blurriness is OK, but "not for a more professional photo." And, a "pro photographer would have worked the scene a little more to improve composition." Blaming the camera, another respondent says the photo "was not taken with a pro camera, so is not pro quality." Other professionals are also suspicious of the ethics of a citizen-taken photo. One questioned "whether this photo is real or not."

Nonetheless, some professional photojournalists who rated the citizen-credited photograph admit it was good. One respondent says, "after 30 years as a professional PJ, I would have liked to have taken the photo." A couple of the

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respondents say that they think this particular citizen is at the "higher end of citizen photojournalism," and others question whether he/she is truly an amateur: "The photographer probably is not that amateur … Probably he's not getting paid for the picture and thus he's not called 'professional.'" Those professional photojournalists rating the uncredited photo tend to chalk the technical shortcomings – including color imbalance, wide cropping, and clutter in the background – up to difficult conditions (i.e. "its very difficult to control the lighting" in a gymnasium). In the case of the uncredited condition, one professional says: "The image covers all the 'learned' qualities of a good news photograph," and another: "pros already kind of know the moments."

The responses of citizen photojournalists offer insight into how they evaluate news photograph quality in general, and how these evaluations differ from professionals'. Regardless of to whom the photo credited, citizen photojournalists often uncritically say the photo is "good" or "excellent," and cite the emotion displayed in the image as its best quality. They relate the moment caught in the photograph to their own life. For example, one citizen photojournalist says that this is the look on his/her son's face upon arriving home from work. Some citizen respondents are touched by the photo, by its emotion, spontaneity and expressiveness. Several citizen photojournalists question the tastefulness of the pregnant belly shot. One citizen respondent says that it was "sensational," and another says: "Very poor in taste. Totally garbage and can't be used." Some citizen photojournalists are critical of the image, one mentioning that it is not a "news image" and another saying it is not "publication quality." Some citizens mention that they liked the use of the "rule

of thirds," but others say the author should have followed this rule, and a few think it should be more centered. The aggressive cropping is generally a problem to the citizen photojournalists, as are the tilt and angle of the photo, which makes one respondent "feel like I'm going to fall over." Many citizen photojournalists are able to articulate that the storytelling ability of the photo is more important than the conventional details. One citizen notes that "the photographer could have taken a lot more artistically 'beautiful' photo, given the color scheme in this photo (red/pink, white and blue)."

Results Summary

The results to research questions one through four find that professionals and citizens both adhere to elements of journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism, but in both cases the professionals indicate they embrace the values more strongly than citizens, reflecting their education, training and socialization into the profession. Professional photojournalists agree much more with statements that address photojournalism ethics, truth as a value, and objectivity as a method to find it. Interestingly, professional photojournalists do show some agreement with amateur values. They agree that happy moments make good news photographs and – in contrast – disagree with the axiomatic news value of conflict. Citizens bring some of their background into the practice of photojournalism, having a greater appreciation for some amateur values, such as using blurs to demonstrate authenticity. They also show a devotion to the public by agreeing more that journalists should show compassion for those citizens who happen to find themselves in the news, and that journalists should create a forum for citizens to discuss issues.

Professional photojournalists are particularly unaware of their similarity with citizens and inaccurately perceive that citizen photojournalists will demonstrate a lower level of embrace of the elements of professionalism than they actually do in both journalism (construct mean difference [inaccuracy] = .93) and photojournalism professionalism (construct mean difference [inaccuracy] = .69). Citizen photojournalists are more successful in perceiving professional photojournalists' views than professional photojournalist's are at assessing citizen photojournalist's views and are not as inaccurate with regard to either of the constructs (journalism professionalism mean difference [inaccuracy] = .46; photojournalism professionalism [inaccuracy] = .16). The mean differences between professionals' perceptions of citizens and citizens' actual responses on individual statements range from .2 to 3.13; The mean differences between citizens' perceptions of professionals and professionals' actual responses range between .03 and 1.36. The two groups especially tend to give each other too little credit with regard to ethics and truthfulness, each inaccurately seeing the other as less interested in truth and less ethical than they actually report, but with professionals being less accurate on both concepts. Citizens inaccurately think that professionals place great value on conflict, and professionals think the same of citizens. Further, professionals greatly underestimate citizens' agreement with the importance of journalism education and whether journalism is common sense.

Broadly speaking, professional photojournalists perceive themselves as much less congruent from citizens than citizens perceive themselves different from professionals. Professionals perceive their embrace of values greater than–

and incongruent with–citizens', in terms of both journalism (construct mean difference [incongruence] = 1.28) and photojournalism professionalism (construct mean difference [incongruence] = 1.16). Professional photojournalists particularly see themselves as different from citizens on statements addressing photojournalism ethics, the centering of photographs, truth, and whether journalism is basic common sense, with mean differences on some of these statements being greater than 3.0. Citizen photojournalists, on the other hand, perceive their values as relatively similar to those of professionals, both in terms of journalism (construct mean difference = .11) and photojournalism professionalism (construct mean difference = .31). With regard to photojournalism professionalism, citizens actually perceive professionals as embracing the values *more* than they themselves do. The areas where citizens perceive that professionals embrace professionalism less than themselves revolve around Social Responsibility–particularly compassion–and photo ethics. Citizen photojournalists also perceive in some cases that professionals will embrace amateur values more than themselves, projecting their own values onto professionals. Each group perceives itself as very different from the other with regard to their evaluation of conflict as a news value.

The measure of news image quality through the photo evaluation showed that professional photojournalists view citizen photojournalistic content as having poorer news image quality than professional content. Even though two independent groups of professional photojournalists viewed the same photo, those professionals who evaluated the photograph that was credited to a citizen photojournalist rated it lower overall and lower on several criteria of news

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image quality. The two groups of citizen photojournalists – those that viewed the professional-credit photograph and those that viewed the uncredited photograph–evaluated the photographs with no statistical difference.

Chapter 9:

Discussion and Conclusions

With the onset of the digital age, news organizations no longer have exclusive power to create and control mediated news messages. Mass society, characterized by a relative information scarcity, has given way to the networked society, characterized by an abundance of information which is initiated by innumerable sources–including ordinary citizens. Newspapers' business models had relied on this mass-society model, and in the digital age, they are trying to involve consumers in the news process in order to regain audiences and advertisers. In the melding of professional and amateur content, citizen work is sometimes given as much credence as professional work. With ordinary citizens performing many of the basic tasks of a professional journalist, the exclusiveness of professional photojournalists' services are called into question, and the professional control over the values of photojournalism is weakening.

Professional photojournalists are struggling to defend their specialized knowledge and practices as unique from non-professionals (Abbott, 1988; Becker & Vlad, 2011). This waning control is the result of citizen news photographers' performing many of the basic tasks of professionals. Even as professional photojournalists attempt to defend their occupational turf, the organizations for which they work have begun to solicit citizen photographs (e.g. Jones, 2009; Laurent, 2012; Lowrey, 2006; Oliver, 2007; Picard, 2009). The environment in which photojournalists work today is one in which their photographs are published on the same plane as amateur shots. To glean insight into whether professional photojournalists exhibit a perceived professional

threat from these citizen photojournalists, this dissertation proposed to study the values that each group holds –questioning specifically about citizens' values and what they bring to journalism and photojournalism. Through coorientation, these values are assessed in terms of how similar or different they are from those of professionals', how well citizens and professionals understand each other's values, and how similarly they perceive their values in comparison to those of the other. The dynamics among agreement, accuracy and congruence can suggest whether there was a perceived sense of threat – particularly, threat among professionals. To further study whether professional photojournalists perceive professional threat from amateur, citizen photojournalists, the dissertation posited that professional photojournalists would evaluate a photograph that is credited to a citizen photographer more negatively than one with no credit line. It was also hypothesized that citizen photojournalists who evaluated a professional-credited photograph would do so more favorably than professional photojournalists evaluating a citizen-credited photograph. This photograph evaluation of news image quality allowed for further study of each group's perception of the other, and gave the researcher another method to understand the professional threat that professional photojournalists may be experiencing. Thus, the photo evaluation was a form of triangulation in the study of professional photojournalists' perceived sense of professional threat.

This discussion will begin with a review of the problem of perceived professional threat brought about by the changing media landscape. Following, a summary of the main findings of the study will be given. A discussion of the coorientation implications between citizen photojournalists and professional

photojournalists on specific values, and broadly, will then be presented. The chapter will then provide a discussion of the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a statement of key findings and the study's value and contribution.

A Review of the Changing Media Landscape

The Internet has disrupted professional journalists' and photojournalists' essential nature to society and specialization that has defined them as professionals (Abbott, 1988; Beam, Lieberman, 1956; Picard, 2009; Weaver & Brownlee, 2009). Up until the time that Internet information-sharing came into mainstream usage, it was the sole job of journalists and photojournalists to collect information and disseminate it to the public (Picard, 2009; Sjøvaag, 2011a; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Journalists practiced their craft based on values and unique skill sets that were acquired through specialized education and training. They were able to maintain control of entrance into the profession and build a "market shelter" that protected them from complete economic control. They therefore had the autonomy to control and define their values (Becker & Vlad, 2011; Larson, 1977). These values guide their practices, and are reinforced through professional organizations, education and awards (Barber, 1965; Beam, 1993). Citizens in a pre-Internet age had few other options for news, and were generally passive recipients of this professionally-created news. Citizens were treated by news organizations as commodities with the purpose of attracting advertisers (Picard, 2010).

News organizations' became increasingly interested in involving average people in journalism processes both leading up to and after the development of

the Internet. In response to criticisms that journalists were disconnected from the lives of average citizens, elite, and too focused on profit (Christians, et al., 1993; Rosen, 1996), news organizations in the 1990s became more interested in engaging with their audiences. Audience participation was fostered by feedback and by journalists seeing it as their responsibility to ignite community involvement. This communitarianism, in many ways, reflected the 1950s social responsibility movement that had sprung out of the Hutchins Commission. This commission had advocated for a more community-oriented press that serves and engages audiences. These ideals were fully unleashed with the Internet and emergence of the Network Society (Castells, 2010), and completely shifted the dynamic between professionals and audiences.

The business model that existed throughout the mass media area has become obsolete (Abbott, 1988; Becker & Vlad, 2011; Gade & Lowrey, 2011). That model assumed news organizational control of information creation and flow as well as mass audiences. Entertainment, news, classifieds, and other needs can now be sought from non-legacy news sources with more personalization (Gillmore, 2006; Hermida, Fletcher, Korrell, & Logan, 2011). Newspapers have lost their "captive audience" and are thus less appealing to advertisers (Jones, 2009; Lacy & Sohn, 2011). Legacy news outlets' decreased revenue has forced them to slash their budgets and cut staff members. In so doing, they have diminished the depth of their content and scope of their coverage, reducing the consumer value of their products (Dimmick, et al., 2011; Gade & Raviola, 2009; Jones, 2009; Picard, 2009).

News organizations need to adapt to these challenges and find new ways to attract audiences in order to maintain their influence and professional legitimacy (Abbott, 1988; Lowrey, 2011). Therefore, news providers are more interested in pursuing the interests of an increasingly active and self-expressive audience (Beam, 1993; Dimmick, et al., 2011; Picard & Brody, 1997). News organizations are inviting citizen contributions, particularly *photographic* content. In fact, some layoffs in recent years have been attributed to these citizen photojournalists (Zhang, 2011). Visuals are abundant and relatively easy to fact check. Further, citizens have a unique ability to capture moments that professional photojournalists cannot, simply by being witnesses or bystanders to unpredictable news events as they occur (Pantti & Andén-Papadopoulos, 2011). But most citizen-created content placed on legacy journalism sites more closely resembles the home-mode, self-expressive, and aesthetically-imperfect characteristics of amateur photographers (Bentley, et al., 2005; Chalfen, 1987; Howe, 2008).

It is within this news environment that professional photojournalists – who have had professional training, received specialized degrees, and subscribe to the values and practices that define themselves as members of a profession – are having their work placed in the same news environment as these non-professionals. Citizen photojournalists bring different ideas and motivations, as well as non-professional values to photojournalism. They take camera phone-shots, express themselves via their photography, appreciate imperfections and graininess and de-emphasize some journalistic values such as objectivity (Cohen, 2005; Leung, 2009). Amateurs who take news shots that make their way into

the mainstream media undermine professional journalists' previous control over newsgathering and dissemination (Bowden, 2009; Hummel, Kirchhoff, & Prandner, 2011; Lewis, 2011; Mayer, 2010). The specialization of journalists' knowledge base and skills is weakening, and professionals no longer have complete autonomy to define the values and practices of photojournalism (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977; Liebermann, 1956; Picard, 2009; Sjøvaag, 2011a). It is not surprising, then, that traditional journalists, "clinging to traditional notions of professionalism," are not enamored with this new competition (Becker & Vlad, 2011, p. 255), and may perceive a sense of threat to their professionalism.

Significance and Purpose of the Current Study

A considerable amount of research exists that explores the increasingly large role that citizen photojournalists are playing in the traditional media platform and the different ways they approach their craft (e.g. Gillmore, 2006; Ugille & Raeymaeckers, 2009; Yaschur, 2012), but the dynamic between citizens and professionals that is the focus of this has not been explored. This has become an important area of study, as a larger portion of the news photographs that appear in legacy news sites are taken by non-professional, citizen photographers. News sociology examines the process of news creation and the values and influences that shape news content. An initial purpose of this dissertation is to extend the sociology of news literature by exploring not only professional photojournalists' journalism and photojournalism values, but also the values of citizen photojournalists.

Second, this dissertation examines the dynamics of citizens' and professionals' perceptions of each others' values – their agreement, accuracy and perceived agreement. The perceptions these two groups have of each other become increasingly an important area of study in a news environment where professional photojournalism is supplemented by amateur, citizen photojournalism. By studying how the groups orient themselves to each other (their coorientation), it can be assessed whether the groups are similar or dissimilar to each other, how well they understand each other, and – more importantly – whether they have a motivation to view themselves as similar or dissimilar from each other. This motivation or lack thereof can imply either like or dislike, and may suggest a sense of threat among either group. At a time when professionals are having to defend themselves as valuable in the face of abundant citizen photography, it has become relevant to understand whether professionals perceive such a threat.

This dissertation not only examines how the groups coorient, but further explores the extent to which the groups may be predisposed in their attitudes toward each other through a field experiment that asks the groups to assess a photograph for its news image quality and manipulates photo credit lines. This approach allows a methodological triangulation for studying whether professionals perceive themselves as threatened by amateurs by examining whether professionals' assessment of news image quality is effected by the presence of a citizen credit line. Likewise, it also examines whether citizen photojournalists' assessments of news image quality are affected by the presence of a professional credit line. No research to date attempts to

specifically explore the degree to which photojournalists' *threatened sense of professionalism* is a source of their perception of citizen photojournalism images. Therefore, a third purpose of this dissertation is to add to the sociology of professions literature by gaining a better understanding of photojournalists' sense of professional threat by using an assessment of news image quality.

Integrating Dynamics Among Agreement, Accuracy and Congruence

Chaffee and McLeod (1968) note that accuracy, agreement, and congruence are not functionally independent of one another, because each is based on two measures that form part of the basis for the other two concepts. Thus, to gain a better understanding of professional and citizen photojournalists' understanding of each other, this section integrates and explores the combined dynamics of agreement, accuracy and congruence to discuss what these dynamics suggest about the groups' orientations toward each other. In the discussion that follows, the differences are statistically significant for the journalism and photojournalism values and the coorientation constructs. The extent of these differences reveals some important results.

Comparisons among construct quotients for professionalism and coorientation measures.

	Responses	
	Journalism	Photojournalism
Professionals	5.44**	5.21**
Citizens	5.09**	4.74**
Agreement		
[a](construct mean difference)	.35**	.47**
Accuracy		
Citizens' perceptions of professionals	4.98	5.05
[b](construct mean difference)	.46**	.16**
Professionals' perceptions of citizens	4.16	4.05
[c](construct mean differences)	.93**	.69**
Congruency		
Citizens' perceptions of professionals	4.98	5.05
[d] (construct mean difference)	.11**	.31**
Professionals' perceptions of citizens	4.16	4.05
[e] (construct mean difference)	1.28**	1.16**

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
(t –test results for mean differences between professionals and citizens by construct and coorientation concepts).
[a] Agreement: the difference between professional and citizen attitudes toward the journalism and photojournalism constructs.
[b] Citizen accuracy: the difference between what citizens perceive professionals think, and what professionals actually think.
[c] Professional accuracy: the difference between what professionals perceive citizens think, and what citizens actually think.
[d] Citizen congruence: the difference between what citizens perceive professionals think, and what citizens think.
[e] Professional congruence: the difference between what professionals perceive citizens think, and what professionals think.

Professional photojournalists perceive the differences between themselves and citizens are considerably greater than the differences actually are (See Table 14). This is demonstrated by the larger mean differences on two of the coorientation concepts: accuracy and congruency. First, professionals perceive that citizens hold a weaker attachment to both professionalism measures, when the citizens actually adhere to these values. In this case, the professionals are inaccurate in their assessment of citizens' adherence of

professionalism. Second, professionals perceive they are different (incongruent) from citizens to a far greater extent than they actually are. The same pattern emerges: professionals perceive citizens hold weak attachment to both professionalism measures, while professionals respond they adhere strongly to these professional concepts. These large incongruities (more than 1 on a seven-point scale) show the extent to which the professionals perceive themselves to be different from citizens.

Citizen photojournalists, on the other hand, generally think that the differences between themselves and professionals are less extreme than the differences between the two groups actually are. In terms of accuracy, citizens' perceive professionals as holding a slightly weaker attachment to journalism norms than professionals actually do; citizens also perceive that professionals hold a slightly *stronger* attachment to photojournalism norms than professionals actually do. A similar pattern is found for congruence. Citizens perceive that professional photojournalists demonstrate weaker adherence to journalism norms than citizens do; citizens also think that professionals hold slightly *more* adherence to photojournalism norms than citizens do. These comparatively smaller incongruities show that citizen photojournalists see themselves as relatively similar to professional photojournalists. Citizens see themselves as adhering to journalism values slightly more than professionals, but adhering to photojournalism slightly less than professionals.

Overall, professional photojournalists misunderstand citizens to a greater extent than citizens misunderstand professionals, and professionals perceive themselves as more different from citizens than citizens perceive

themselves from professionals. Broadly speaking, professional photojournalists exhibit a false conflict and false dissensus on each construct, journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism. False conflict occurs when a group thinks there is a large disagreement, but in fact, the groups relatively agree (high agreement coupled with less accuracy). False dissensus occurs when a group thinks that it is in greater disagreement than it actually is (high agreement coupled with lower congruence).

The normative concepts. Discussion of the dynamics among agreement, accuracy and congruence in the context of the specific concepts in this study offers further understanding about the level of understanding between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists.

Professionalism. Citizen photojournalists value the education and training that goes into being a photojournalist only slightly less than professional photojournalists. Despite citizens' ability to publish journalistic content without professional training (boyd, 2006; Chaffee & Metzger, 2001) and postmodernism's emphasis on de-professionalism (Bergquist, 1993), citizens think that journalism, as a career, requires knowledge and skills that others do not have. In the midst of this "chaos" of the network where everyone is a content producer (McNair, 2007), citizen photojournalists still respect journalistic authority. Yet, there is a large misunderstanding (inaccuracy) on behalf of professionals that citizens do not value the professional training that goes into being a journalist as much as they actually do. Journalists may see themselves as undermined and devalued in the Internet age (Beam, 1993; Russo, 1998), and this inaccuracy may suggest a sense of professional threat on their

end. Further, professionals perceive themselves as different (incongruent) from citizen photojournalists. Specifically, professionals view themselves as valuing the education and training that goes into journalism more than citizens. Citizens, on the other hand understand that professionals value the education and training that goes into journalism *more* than themselves, which may suggest that citizens do not see themselves as competitors with professionals. Interestingly, neither group responds as strongly about the requirement of education as general training, and thus may not think a college education is the best or only way for a journalist to obtain the required skills.

  Truth. Citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists both place value on truth. Citizen photojournalists value the verification of facts and objectivity as a method, which contrasts the postmodern emphasis on shifting truths and the network's method of crowdsourcing to fact check (Howe, 2008). Citizens' embrace of objectivity also contradicts the literature that suggests online content creators post content online to express themselves or advocate for a cause (e.g., Bowden, 2009; Burgess, 2006; Joyce, 2007; Nardi et al., 2004). Professionals embrace these practices slightly more, reflecting how the value of truth is an important element of their professionalism. However, the two groups inaccurately perceive each other as carelessly posting information online, and professionals also inaccurately perceive that citizens will not embrace objectivity. Professionals perceive citizen photojournalists' attitudes about truth inaccurately, showing distrust and misunderstanding of citizens' desire and ability to pursue and find truth in journalism. Citizens, on the other hand, are accurate in perceiving professionals' embrace of objectivity. Further,

professionals distinguish themselves from citizens by perceiving that they embrace truth as a value *much* more than citizens, especially the verification of facts (incongruence greater than 3.0). Citizens, interestingly, also see *themselves* as more greatly valuing verification of facts, suggesting that they also view professionals as somewhat careless with the truth in comparison with themselves. Citizens' incongruence is less extreme (less than 1.0). Citizens do not see themselves as agreeing that objectivity is a method for the revelation of truth as frequently as professionals do.

Social Responsibility. The social responsibility values that journalists proclaim (Deuze, 2005; Peterson, 1947) and are taught through formal university education, show in professionals' slightly stronger responses to all but one of these statements. However, citizen photojournalists also agree with the values surrounding social responsibility, which suggests that they have an intuitive stance toward the public themselves. In fact, citizens agree more than professionals that journalists should show compassion toward those that they cover. This embrace among citizens may reflect photographers' long history of advocating for social causes (Marienne, 2011) or citizen journalists' grassroots, more civic-oriented approach to the press (Joyce, 2007). As citizens themselves, they may also recognize these social-oriented values as relevant to their own lives. Citizen photojournalists actually view professionals as less devoted to the public by inaccurately, and sometimes greatly, underestimating professionals' adherence to these social responsibility values. On the other hand, the social responsibility values represent some level of accuracy among professionals– especially creating a public forum and showing compassion. A final interesting

point about the idea of compassion is that professionals perceive themselves statistically the same (congruent) with citizens, and citizen photojournalists perceive themselves as more compassionate than professionals.

The watchdog role of journalists. Both groups respond positively to the watchdog role of professional journalism and, overall, understand the perceptions of the other. Professionals value this role slightly more than citizens, reflecting their role perceptions (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996) and training to "seek truth and report it" (SPJ Code of Ethics, 2012). Still, although online content creators often prefer soft news to hard news (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008), the citizens in this sample valued this kind of hard-hitting news and understand the press's role as an independent monitor to power. Professionals see themselves as valuing this role more than citizens, and citizens also perceive that professionals will agree more. Professionals' accuracy suggests that they understand that this role of journalism pertains directly to citizens, and therefore would be important *to* citizens. Their incongruence is somewhat higher, but still relatively low, perhaps pointing to less professional threat in this area than some others. The data suggest that professionals perceive the ability to monitor power largely under their control. However, citizens also value this journalism norm, slightly more in fact than professionals.

Photojournalism techniques. Both citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists value photojournalism techniques – lighting, balance, impact, manual settings, and decisive moment – to a similar degree (agreement). Citizens show a level of technical savvy, appreciating the use of manual camera settings just as much as professionals do. Professionals display

their training by responding more positively to every other value, albeit only slightly to moderately. In particular, professionals think that the photojournalists' experience gives them a better edge at discerning the "decisive moment" (inaccuracy = .92). Professionals inaccurately perceive citizens as less savvy on most techniques than citizens think they are.

Professionals think that citizens do not know how to use a manual camera or set up proper lighting, perhaps because they view citizens as lacking the training, knowledge and skill base needed to use these tools. Citizen photojournalists, on the other hand, not only think they understand professional photography technique, but accurately understand professionals' embrace of these techniques on each statement except for "manual settings." Citizens slightly *over*estimate the extent to which professionals think using manual settings improve image quality.

On every photojournalism technique statement, professionals view themselves as demonstrating *more* professionalism than citizens (statement differences [incongruity] range from .66 to 1.71). Thus, the idea of photographic technique is important to professionals as they try to distinguish themselves from citizens. Professionals are less congruent than accurate, suggesting an internal motivation to be dissimilar to citizens. Interesting, citizen photojournalists' view themselves as agreeing *less* than professionals on every single statement (statement differences [incongruity] range from .29 to .78). This suggests that citizen photojournalists have a motivation to view themselves as similar to professionals. They likely do not perceive themselves as in competition with – or better than – professionals.

Amateur photography techniques. The differences between professional and citizen photojournalists with regard to amateur photography techniques are not as striking as the literature might suggest. Citizens do not conform to all of the characteristics of an amateur, and professionals are less resistant to some of these amateur values than might be expected. Consistent with the literature on digital amateur photographers, citizens think that blurriness in photographs can add authenticity to a photograph and that happy moments make good news photos (Cohen, 2006; Murray, 2008). Still, they show some photojournalism savvy in understanding that centering photographs is not the best composition (Kobre, 2011). And even though amateur photography in a digital age is often used as a form of self-expression (Leung, 2009; Nardi et al., 2004; Shao, 2009), the citizen photojournalists in this sample are neutral toward this idea, perhaps understanding the difference between photojournalism and amateur photography that is published online. Professionals adhere less to the amateur characteristics, but are close to neutral about blurriness and using photography as self-expression, demonstrating less aversion to these less technical, non-objective practices than might be expected. Professionals actually agree slightly more than citizens that capturing "happy moments" can make good news photos. This suggests that professionals have expanded their sense of professional news values to include these positive moments. The only amateur value that professionals are strongly against (mean = 1.97) is that of centering photos (a value to which citizens also disagree).

The two groups are generally inaccurate in perceiving the others' adherence to amateur photographic techniques. Professionals inaccurately

think that citizen photojournalists conform to every characteristic of an amateur photographer more than citizens actually report, especially centering. Citizen photojournalists, too, are inaccurate. They perceive that professionals value some of the amateur characteristics, including self-expression and blurriness, projecting their own "amateur" values onto professionals. Citizens also think that professionals will be more accepting of centering photographs.

The professional photojournalists in this sample differentiate themselves as professional – or define their "occupational turf" – through these amateur values, as demonstrated by great incongruence. Professionals think that citizens will respond more favorably than themselves to all of the characteristics except for "happy moments." To this statement, professionals see themselves as statistically congruent with citizens. Professionals especially define themselves as different (incongruent) from citizens with regard to centeredness, thinking that citizens will place value on such a practice (perceived difference [incongruence] = 3.13).

The news values applied to photography. Professionals embrace photojournalism news values slightly more than citizens, reflecting their training to take images that catch a viewer's eye and command attention (Kobre, 2011; Lowrey, 2012; NPPA, 2012) and contain human interest (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The literature suggests that conflict is a news value (Gans, 1979; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), but both groups rejected conflict in news photos, and professionals rejected it more. For photojournalists (as opposed to journalists) a greater emphasis may be placed on capturing the "decisive moment," rather than conflict (Kobre, 2011; Lowrey, 2004). This inconsistency

with the literature is also similar to professionals' embrace of happy moments, and further suggests' professionals' move toward more positive news in contemporary journalism.

Professionals generally underestimate citizens' adherence to the news values, but citizens overestimate professionals' embrace. The greatest misunderstanding on both sides is that citizens inaccurately think that professionals will embrace conflict, and professionals inaccurately think that citizens will embrace conflict (citizens' inaccuracy = 1.83; professionals' inaccuracy = 1.74). Professional photojournalists may assume citizens are more interested in negative, dramatic, or sensational news. Likewise, citizen photojournalists may think that professionals will embrace this negativity because much of what they see or read in the news reflects negative, conflict-based happenings. Further, each group differentiates itself from the other – perceives itself as incongruent from the other – regarding the concept of conflict. Each group thinks the other will embrace the value more than itself (professionals' incongruity = 2.22; citizens' incongruity = 1.35) Thus, conflict is neither a professional nor an amateur value, but is rejected by both groups.

Ethics. The question of ethical values represents *both* groups' strongest responses, and also the largest differences between their responses. Professional photojournalists reflect the NPPA's instruction to avoid staged photo opportunities and to not manipulate or edit photographs by more strongly rejecting these practices. Citizen photojournalists, however, are not ignorant to ethical practices in photojournalism, and also disagree with both of these ethical breaches. But while citizens reject quite strongly the idea of

editing photographs, they are only somewhat in disagreement that professional news photography is often staged to make the photo look better, suggesting that citizen photojournalists are less clear on how professionals approach ethics. Neither group understands the others' ethical stance (inaccuracy), but professionals' greater underestimation of citizens' responses suggests an overall distrust of the ethics of citizens' practices. Citizen photojournalists, too, show that they also have a level of skepticism of professional photojournalists' ethics by misperceiving the extent to which professionals will disagree with these ethical breaches. Ethics not only represent the largest differences between the two groups' responses, but also the value by which professional photojournalists set themselves apart from citizens more than any other value. Professionals see themselves as extremely incongruent with citizens with regard to ethics (mean differences [incongruities] greater than 3.44). In attempting to define their professional boundaries, professionals are pointing to their ethics more than any other value. This finding is consistent to what Singer (2011) and Lowrey (2006) find – professional journalists point to ethics as occupational turf markers. Citizens show a more mixed view, and actually perceive *themselves* as more ethical than professionals with regard to rearranging elements in an image. There is an impression among citizen photojournalists that their own photojournalism practices may actually be more ethical in some ways than those of professionals.

Integrating with Coorientation Literature

Although professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists are more in agreement about the concepts than they are accurate or congruent,

Chaffee and McLeod (1968) note that agreement is not a good indicator of understanding. Each group's values are based upon a lifetime of experiences, and it is very unlikely that two people or groups of people will agree completely on any kind of evaluation. Thus, the relatively high agreement between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists in this study should not be taken to imply that the two groups understand each other; there are significant differences between their attitudes on both professionalism constructs (journalism and photojournalism). However, both groups show significantly positive attitudes toward both constructs; the differences are in the extent to which they adhere to the dimensions of professionalism. Broadly stated, even though the groups agree in spirit, they significantly disagree in the strength or level of their agreement. Professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists have some similar opinions on some values, such as the education and training the goes into journalism, social responsibility, some photography techniques, and news values.

Chaffee & McLeod (1968) do note, however, that accuracy is the best indicator of effective understanding between two groups and provides a starting point for discussing conflicting groups' opinions (Carey, 2006, p. 33). For citizen and professional photojournalists, accuracy was generally poorer than agreement, especially among professionals, indicating poor understanding. Citizen photojournalists were quite accurate in their perceptions of professional photojournalists, but professionals were less so in their perceptions of citizens. Professionals particularly are inaccurate in gauging citizens' valuation of the journalism professionalism values of training and education, truth and social

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responsibility. Professionals were also inaccurate in gauging citizens' valuation of the photojournalism professionalism values of photo technique abilities, amateur characteristics, news values as applied to photography and ethics. This might be explained by the fact that professional photojournalists have less "communication"—at least one-way communication–with citizens. Many professional photojournalists currently working in newsrooms are used to working within the mass media model of communication, which involves one-way communication of themselves socialized to work within a more networked news environment that requires them to seek feedback from citizens and appreciate citizen contributions (Singer, 2011). In other words, citizen photojournalists are more exposed to the writings and photographs of professional journalists and photojournalists than the other way around, and thus in a way, "communicate" with them more. Citizen photojournalism, on the other hand, is a relatively new phenomenon, and therefore professional photojournalists would have read and viewed this content to a much lesser extent. The greater communication from professionals to citizens than from citizens to professionals can account for citizens having more accurate perceptions of professionals than professionals of citizens. Still, citizens are more inaccurate in gauging professionals' devotion to truth, amateur photography skills and ethics. The implication is that as citizen photojournalism becomes a growing part of professionals' lives, professional photojournalists may develop a more accurate understanding of citizens' values if they choose to engage citizen content.

However, the coorientation literature suggests that such communication

may not necessarily improve the extent to which the two groups judge themselves as being similar, or their congruence. Chaffee & McLeod (1968) note that, generally, if agreement is high, and accuracy is high, congruence is necessarily also high. But when congruence is lower than the levels of agreement and accuracy—as is the case with professionals–this may indicate an internal motivation to be dissimilar to the other–or at least one of the groups does not *want* to be similar to the other. This was the case with professionals. In this case, no amount of agreement or accuracy—or communication—will affect the congruence level. Thus, the results of this dissertation suggest that professional photojournalists may not want to be similar to citizen photojournalists, which also may point to a possible perceived sense of professional threat. This supports the literature that states professionals will feel threatened when their "market shelter" is weakened and their ability to control entry into the field is lost (e.g. Abbott, 1988; Becker & Vlad, 2011; Sarfatti-Larson, 1977). Because professional journalists' central activities are no longer distinguishable from the activities of ordinary citizens, they point to their normative values as ways to *distinguish* themselves as professionals (Beam, et al., 2009; Lowrey, 2006; Singer, 2011; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). Thus, it makes sense that professional photojournalists purposely perceive themselves as incongruent from – *distinguishable* from – citizens. This suggested internal motivation is most apparent in the areas of truth, photojournalism technique, and ethics whereby the incongruences are much more extreme than the inaccuracies and disagreements. In this case, if communication between the professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists were to increase,

accuracy would increase, but congruence would likely remain low.

On the other hand, if one of the groups evaluates the other group as *more* professional than itself, and this congruence is high relative to the accuracy, the former group may be internally-motivated to be similar to the second group. The citizen photojournalists in this sample demonstrated this internal motivation on several concepts, particularly those that address professional photojournalism technique and journalism news values as applied to photography. This suggests that in some respects, citizens may *like* photojournalists and have a motivation to view themselves as similar to them. Citizens' motivation to be similar to professionals is plausible given the context in which they are posting their work. The citizen photojournalists in this sample placed their news photographs in an outlet that would give them the possibility of being published in the news media. When citizen photojournalists have their own photographs posted on news sites normally reserved for the news media, it is reinforced that they should seek to do the kind of news photography that professionals do.

Photo Evaluation – News Image Quality

The suggestion that professionals have a threatened sense of professionalism – based on their relatively high agreement with citizens, but low accuracy, and extremely low congruence – is strengthened by the measurement of news image quality from the image evaluation. This image evaluation suggested that it is not only the quality of the photo, but some professionals indeed dislike citizen photojournalism because it *is* citizen photography. Professional photojournalists are not motivated to perceive citizen

photojournalism as having the potential to be valuable. Because professional photojournalists rated the citizen-credited photograph significantly more poorly than the uncredited photograph, it can be suggested that professional photojournalists want to – or are predisposed to – view citizen photography in a negative light. This part of the study offers the strongest evidence that professional photojournalists may perceive a threat to their professionalism from citizen photojournalists, and that this threat impacts their overall perceptions of citizen photojournalism. Professionals hold to their own values, skills and education in the face of threat, and the professionals in this sample expressed that they did not see citizen photojournalists as carrying these values to the same extent as themselves. The dimensions in the measure of news image quality generally suggest that professionals are concerned about citizens' technical abilities, including lighting, correct angle, and focal point, but also their ability to capture a human element, put the viewer at the scene, and anticipate the precise moment to take a photograph.

The photo evaluation of image news quality suggests that citizen photojournalists do not see themselves as competitors with professional photojournalists. This finding supports the literature that citizens do not perceive themselves as competitors with or threatened by professionals (e.g. Howe, 2008), but instead are usually at the right place at the right time (Gray, 2012; Kessler, 2011; Lasica, 2003). It is not surprising that the citizen photojournalists in this study did not have a different perception of a photograph that is taken by a professional photojournalist and one that is not credited to anyone in particular. Citizen photojournalists, overall, do not think

of professionals poorly in terms of their professionalism.

The open-ended responses provide further evidence that professional photojournalists are attempting to reassert the professional command of their area in the face of professional threat (Lowrey, 2006; Singer, 2003). They do so by, in some cases, openly attributing the poor qualities of the photograph to the fact that it is citizen work. Some respondents vented about the phenomenon of citizen photojournalism in general, expressing concern about the ethics and technical aspects of citizen photograph and questioning what will happen if this movement of citizen photojournalism continues.

The open-ended responses offer insights into how citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists evaluate news photography differently. Both of the groups critique some similar aspects of the photograph, especially the technical aspects. But overall, citizen photojournalists evaluate the photograph based on the emotional and aesthetic factors, while professionals evaluate the photographs in reference to professional photojournalism standards: the storytelling aspects, ethical considerations, and the originality of the photograph. In offering their criticisms, sometimes the citizens seem confused; some citizens recommend that the photograph be more centered, while others think it does a good job of adhering to the rule of thirds. Overall, there is a mixed reaction to the composition of the photo. The citizen photojournalists also exhibit some of the qualities of amateur photographers (Chalfen, 1987; Murray, 2008; Sontag, 1977). The open-ended responses suggest that they subscribe to the ideal of "beauty" as a hallmark of good

photography and note how the photograph could be made more beautiful. They are also concerned about the "tastefulness" of the exposed, pregnant belly.

Practical Implications

The Internet has allowed for the mainstream play of both the strengths and weaknesses of professional and non-professional content creators. If both groups embrace elements of journalism and photojournalism professionalism, but to different degrees, and professional photojournalists are not coorienting effectively with citizen photojournalists, it seems essential that new ways be found to enhance understanding between groups. Journalists will have to partake in more interaction with citizen photojournalists as the line between content creator and content consumer blurs (Castells, 2010). Thus, professional photojournalists will likely better understand citizen photojournalists, but may not necessarily agree with them (Chaffee & McLeod, 1968). At a time when audiences demand to be a part of the news process, professional journalists should recognize that citizen photojournalists are not as out-of-tune with professional values as they might perceive but the two groups do have some differences. It is unlikely that professional photography will ever be entirely displaced; there is little argument from citizen photojournalists that professional photojournalists do indeed possess technical training and skills that others do not. Still, at a time when citizen photojournalists can perform the basic tasks of photojournalism, it will become increasingly important for professional photojournalists to reassert their advantages. They must do so not by merely looking to their status as "professional," but through their knowledge and skills.

At the same time, it seems inevitable that citizen photojournalism will continue to grow (Outing, 2004), and there is little argument that citizen journalists can do and have done some valuable work (e.g. Mahoney, 2012; Yaschur, 2012). Citizen photojournalists' main strength is that of being at the right place and at the right time when unannounced news strikes. The citizen photojournalists in this sample indicated a level of respect for and similarity with professional photojournalists. This finding reiterates literature that would imply citizen photojournalists do not usually see themselves as competitors with professionals, and in fact, do not want to perform the routine tasks of daily journalism (Howe, 2008). They are people with cameras who are passionate about photography and have a newfound outlet for their creativity. They are, as Dimmick et al. (2011) says, seeking extended gratification opportunities through the media, and less interested in competing with professionals. The citizens in this sample generally recognize, particularly with regard to photojournalism technique--that professionals embrace the elements of photojournalism professionalism more than they themselves do. And citizens think that journalism education and training are still very important. In other words, citizen photojournalists do not perceive themselves as having the ability to "take over" journalism or replace photojournalists.

Shortcomings

As with all research, this dissertation does have some shortcomings. First, it is very difficult to obtain a sample of citizen photojournalists without having any of them with some past experience in either journalism or photography. The sample obtained for this study did contain some citizen

photojournalists who reported that in the past they had worked as a professional photographer or journalist. However, citizen photojournalists by their very nature are widely varied in terms of their level of experience, participation and motivation. Given the large sample used in this study, it is probable that this sample captured the essence of the "citizen photojournalist." Also pertaining to the sample, the samples in this study were not random. Achieving a random sample of professional photojournalists was not possible because there is no feasible way to contact all photojournalists in the United States. Further, achieving a random sample of citizen photojournalists was not possible given their varied, scattered nature. Therefore, the generalizability of this sample is limited to the extent to which the NPPA, ASMP, and Flickr groups represent professional and citizen photojournalists. Also, the sample was limited to Western ideals of journalism and photojournalism professionalism.

While this study serves as a current report on various professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists' attitudes about the dynamic between the two groups at one point in time, it cannot serve to reflect the attitudes of an entire population and this dynamic will likely change in the future as the state of the journalism industry is changing rapidly.

The reliability of the measures of journalism and photojournalism professionalism was less than .70. This low reliability can be explained to some extent by numerous studies – including the American journalist longitudinal studies – that indicate journalists' have pluralistic values and role conceptions (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986; 1992; 2002; Gade et al., 1998; Gade & Lowrey, 2011;) and have a difficult time articulating their values (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007;

Picard, 2009). Professional photojournalists place value on both freedom and responsibility, and to varying degrees. The low alphas could also be explained by the fact that these are original scales being used for the first time, and alphas are frequently low in new, original scales (Tull, 1973). Because of the pluralism and variance within the values, the researcher was not able to make any definitive, broad claims about the reliability of the journalism professionalism or photojournalism professionalism constructs, but was limited to assessing these constructs with caution and examining the individual statements with more certainty.

Future Research

The dynamic between citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists is a relatively new one at the time of writing this dissertation. It would be interesting to continue to look at how the relationship between citizens and professionals evolves as the dynamic between the two changes in the future. This study suggested, overall, that professional photojournalists perceive a sense of professional threat from these citizen photojournalists, despite the fact that the two share many values. In the face of this reality, research should begin to explore how journalists are re-defining their own professionalism and whether their values are changing. For example, this study revealed that some of the axiomatic ideals of photojournalism may be shifting, including less emphasis on conflict and more emphasis on happy moments; research into whether professional photojournalists perceive a shifting aesthetic in photojournalism with the rise of amateur photography would be relevant.

Because the concepts revolving around photojournalism ethics proved to be the areas of greatest disparity between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists, more investigation into these areas could be pursued. This study only looked at two aspects of photojournalism ethics, but the topic is much richer and could be investigated further in terms of the professional-amateur divide.

The research began in this dissertation can be extended beyond professional photojournalists. A logical next step would be to assess (non-photo) journalists' threatened sense of professionalism in the face of citizen journalism. The literature shows that much of the valuable citizen work that is being used by news organizations is visual in nature. Therefore, professional journalists may have a less strong threatened sense of professionalism than photojournalists; however the blurring between content creators and consumers is apparent in all realms of journalism. Future research could discern the differences in perceived professional threat between photojournalists and journalists.

Further, future research could look at not only the rank-and-file journalists' perceptions, but also could look at newsroom editors' and managements' impressions of and reactions to citizen journalism. For example, because managers are more interested in citizen photojournalism as a source of gaining audiences and a resource for their news organizations, and because their jobs and their sense of professionalism may not be threatened from these amateur content creators, managers might have a different impression of citizen journalists. Doing this kind of research would better confirm whether

professional photojournalists perceive citizens as producing poorer quality photographs as a result of the "threat" they are experiencing or whether there is simply an overall poor impression of citizen photojournalism.

In addition, editorial managers may have a different impression and different sense of threat than rank-and-file journalists and photojournalists. Understanding these impressions would add to the understanding of how news organizations as a whole are reacting to the changing media landscape. Further, news organizations' use of citizen photography will provide challenges for managers and editors who oversee news photography staffs who may perceive that they are less necessary and less respected. Research should explore media organizations' incorporation of citizen content and professionals' and citizens' coexistence, as the implications of citizen photography continue to be revealed. Study into how photo editors choose which citizen photographs to publish would also add richness to the current understandings of how and in what ways professional and amateur photography is being joined in legacy media environments, and advance news sociology research.

The differences between professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists should be studied through different methods. The differences between the news images produced by citizens and professionals actual to this point are only understood at an anecdotal level. This study revealed that some of the qualities considered "professional" bled over into citizens' values, and some values traditionally considered "amateur" were valued among professionals. Therefore, a comparative content analysis of professionals' and citizens' photography that is published either on mainstream news sites or in

citizen-exclusive websites could add to the current understanding of how these increasingly-proximate groups are similar and different. Further, future research that looks at the relationship between citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists would add richness to the current study if in-depth interviews were used. This kind of study could help researchers better understand and explore the impression that professional photojournalists have of citizen photojournalists, and whether this impression is based on reality or based on a sense of threat.

Summary and Conclusions

Professional photojournalists are now working in an online world alongside "a billion roaming photojournalists, uploading the human experience" as a recent Sprint commercial muses ("I am Unlimited. Picture Perfect," 2013). The distinction between professional and citizen photojournalism is blurred in the digital age, and professionals are no longer able to define themselves by pointing to their exclusive and essential nature. As "the power of the media producer and the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (Jenkins, 2007, p. 9) in the network, the purpose of this dissertation was to study the values that citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists hold. Further, through a coorientation framework, it was undertaken to study their perceptions of each others' values with an underlying question of whether professional photojournalists perceive a sense of professional threat from citizen photojournalists. Three methods were used to understand these perceptions. First, a survey measuring attitudes toward journalism professionalism and photojournalism professionalism allowed for the study of

the two groups' agreement with each other, their accuracy in assessing the others' values, and their perceived agreement (congruence) with each other. Second, a photo evaluation that measured each group's perception of news image quality was used to triangulate the two groups' perceptions of journalism and photojournalism as well as of each other. A credit-line manipulation was used to discern whether the two group's would evaluate the image differently based upon whether it was credited to the opposite group (either professional or citizen photojournalist) or had no credit line. This credit line manipulation was used to strengthen the understanding of professional photojournalists' threatened sense of professionalism. Third, after assessing these images, the respondents were asked to explain, in their own words, why they rated the photograph the way that they did.

Using these methodologies, this dissertation contributes to three main areas of literature. First, it added to the sociology of news literature by defining and explaining professionals' and citizens' attitudes about the normative elements of journalism and photojournalism professionalism, and how these norms shape the content they create. Second, it added to the current literature on the sociology of professions – particularly, the area of what it means to be a professional, as photojournalists face considerable uncertainty in their work and citizens become a greater part of that sociology. Third, this study created a reliable scale that measured news image quality. This scale incorporated dimensions of image aesthetics, photography technique and news values as they pertain to photojournalism.

Professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists have the same general attitude on many of their values, but professional photojournalists do a particularly poor job at perceiving the values of citizens and view themselves as extremely different from citizen photojournalists. Professionals' relatively high agreement and poor accuracy coupled with extreme incongruity suggests a misunderstanding among professionals and a motivation to be dissimilar to citizens. Overall, professional photojournalists' demonstrated through this study that they are striving to distinguish themselves from the hordes of citizen photojournalists amongst them. This suggests that professional photojournalists do not like the idea of citizen photojournalism and may perceive a sense of threat to their professionalism. Citizen photojournalists, on the other hand, are better at understanding the values of professional photographers, and their relatively high congruity suggests that they may have an internal motivation to be similar to professional photojournalists; thus, citizens may respect the training and skills of professionals. The assessment of image news quality through the photograph evaluation paints a similar picture. Professional photojournalists' threatened sense of professionalism is suggested as they assessed the citizen-credited photograph more poorly than the uncredited photograph, while citizen photojournalists rated the two photo conditions the same. Professional photojournalists further expressed a sense of threat in their open-ended responses by disparaging citizen photography in general and pointing to the insecurity of their jobs in its midst.

One of the greatest challenges to professional photojournalists in the future is going to continue to be to define themselves as carrying values that

others do not. Yet, citizen photojournalists do not perceive themselves as competitors with professional photojournalists. As the two groups continue to work in closer proximity with each other, another challenge to be met for each group – especially professionals – is to begin to understand and take advantage of each others' values, strengths and potential contributions to journalism.

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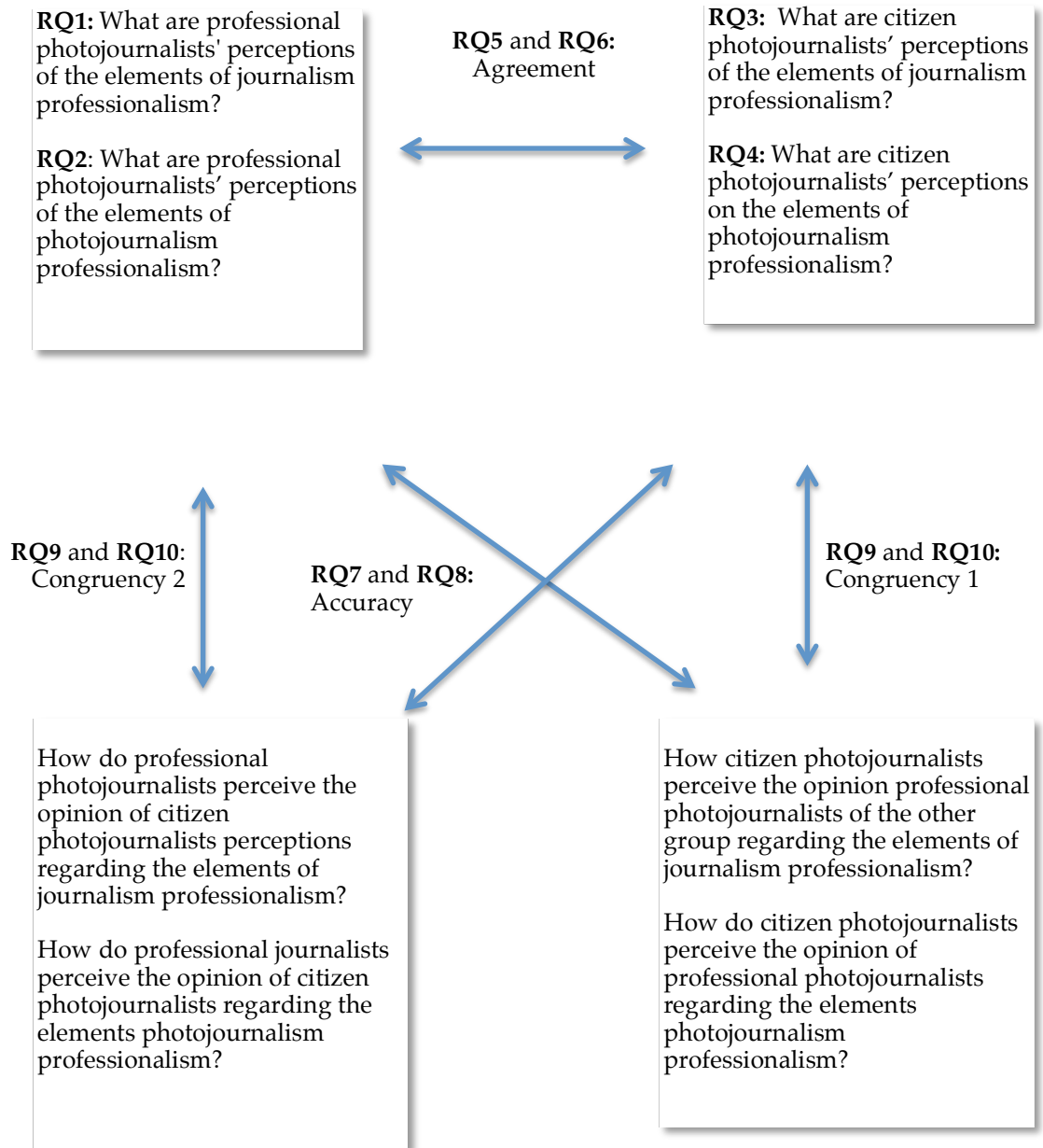
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Appendices:

Appendix A: Coorientation model with research questions

RQ1: What are professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ2: What are professional photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ5 and **RQ6:** Agreement

RQ3: What are citizen photojournalists' perceptions of the elements of journalism professionalism?

RQ4: What are citizen photojournalists' perceptions on the elements of photojournalism professionalism?

RQ9 and **RQ10:** Congruency 2

RQ7 and **RQ8:** Accuracy

RQ9 and **RQ10:** Congruency 1

How do professional photojournalists perceive the opinion of citizen photojournalists perceptions regarding the elements of journalism professionalism?

How do professional journalists perceive the opinion of citizen photojournalists regarding the elements photojournalism professionalism?

How citizen photojournalists perceive the opinion professional photojournalists of the other group regarding the elements of journalism professionalism?

How do citizen photojournalists perceive the opinion of professional photojournalists regarding the elements photojournalism professionalism?

Appendix B: Message sent to all NPPA members in newsletter

Assist a student member by participating in a survey! University of Oklahoma doctoral student Tara Buehner is studying the perceptions that professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists have of one another. The survey should take 10-12 minutes. Your participation would be truly valuable in advancing knowledge about the practice of citizen journalism. More information about the study is available here: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/9CYNCM5

Appendix C – Initial email sent to NPPA members

Hello [person's first name],

My name is Tara Buehner and I'm a doctoral student at the University of Oklahoma and a fellow NPPA member. My studies involve the perceptions that professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists have of one another. We're in an interesting time right now in which non-pro content creators can disseminate their content via the Internet and mainstream media outlets. This is a rich area of research and people like yourself are very valuable to me! I'm hoping you would be an important participant in my study by taking a quick survey. It should only take 10-12 minutes. This research is for my dissertation and in part to complete my doctoral degree requirements. The benefit to you is that I will enter you into a drawing to win a cash prize.

Your participation would be truly very valuable in advancing knowledge about the practice of citizen journalism!

If you would like to participate, please follow this link:

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/9CYNCM5

You will find a little more information about my study when you click on this link.

If you would not like to participate, that's OK! I still thank you for your time.

The University of Oklahoma is an equal opportunity institution.

Sincerely,

Tara Buehner

Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication

395 W. Lindsey Street

Norman, OK, 73019

(605) 641-1207

Appendix D – Second email sent to NPPA members

Hello,

This is just a friendly follow-up email regarding the 10-minute survey about citizen and professional photojournalism. This research is for my dissertation and in part to complete my doctoral degree requirements. The benefit to you is that I will enter you into a drawing to win a cash prize, and that you will add valuable knowledge about the state of journalistic values in a time of great journalistic change.

If you have already taken this survey, I sincerely thank you! Please disregard this email.

If you haven't yet, and would like to participate, please follow this link:

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/9CYNCM5

The University of Oklahoma is an equal opportunity institution.

Sincerely,

Tara Buehner

Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication

395 W. Lindsey Street

Norman, OK, 73019

Appendix E – Initial email sent to ASMP members

Hello [person's first name],

My name is Tara Buehner and I'm a doctoral student at the University of Oklahoma. My studies involve the perceptions that professional photojournalists and citizen photojournalists have of on another. We're in an interesting time right now in which non-pro content creators to disseminate their content via the Internet and mainstream media outlets. This is a rich area of research and people like yourself are very valuable to me! I'm hoping you would be an important participant in my study by taking a quick survey. It should only take 10-12 minutes. This research is for my dissertation and in part to complete my doctoral degree requirements. The benefit to you is that I will enter you into a drawing to win a considerable cash prize.

Your participation would be truly very valuable in advancing knowledge about the practice of citizen journalism!

If you would like to participate, please follow this link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/ZZ685CH

You will find a little more information about my study when you click on this link.

If you would not like to participate, that's OK! I still thank you for your time.

The University of Oklahoma is an equal opportunity institution.

Sincerely,

Tara Buehner

Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication

395 W. Lindsey Street

Norman, OK, 73019

(605) 641-1207

Appendix F – Second email sent to ASMP members

Hello,

This is just a friendly follow-up email regarding the 10-minute survey about citizen and professional photojournalism. This research is for my dissertation and in part to complete my doctoral degree requirements. The benefit to you is that I will enter you into a drawing to win a cash prize, and that you will add valuable knowledge about the state of journalistic values in a time of great journalistic change.

If you have already taken this survey, I sincerely thank you! Please disregard this email.

If you haven't yet, and would like to participate, please follow this link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/9CYNCM5

The University of Oklahoma is an equal opportunity institution.

Sincerely,

Tara Buehner

Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication

395 W. Lindsey Street

Norman, OK, 73019

Appendix G – survey sent to professional photojournalists who received a photo that said it was taken by an amateur, citizen photojournalist.

For the following statements about photojournalism, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.

Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.

Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.

It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.

Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.

News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.

News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.

A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.

It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.

Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.

Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.

Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, businesses, religious organizations).

Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please indicate the degree to which you ***think that an amateur, citizen photojournalist would agree or disagree***. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

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Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, businesses, religious organizations).

Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please look at the photo below, which was taken by an AMATEUR, CITIZEN photojournalist. Then, indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about this photograph.

This image has a balanced composition.

The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.

This camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.

The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.

This photograph shows a human element.

This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.

This image visually tells a story.

This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.

This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.

The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.

This image captures my attention.

Please rate the overall quality of this photo on a scale from 1 to 100. A 1 indicates that you thought the photo was very poor in quality. A 100 indicates that you think the photo was very high in quality.

This photo is:

Please explain why (or how) you determined the quality of this news image as either poor or excellent. Write as much or as little as you would like.

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a photojournalist?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a journalist?

Please indicate your ethnicity

What country are you from?

Please indicate your gender

Please indicate your age

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?
Please enter your name:

Please enter your phone number:

Please enter your email address:

Thank you for participating in our study. In research, it is sometimes necessary to present fictitious information as part of our data collection. However, we do not want you to leave misinformed, so we will now tell you what we were actually studying.

In order to find out how your evaluation of the photograph was affected by whether it was submitted by a professional journalist or a member of the public, I changed the attribution line. The photograph was actually taken by John Moore of Getty Images.

I apologize that I could not tell you that the information was fictitious. When people know exactly what the researcher is studying, they often change their answers, thus making their responses unusable for drawing conclusions about human nature and experiences.

If you have any questions about this study, feel free to ask the researcher (Tara Buehner, tarabuehner@ou.edu, 605-641-1207) or my faculty sponsor (Prof. Peter Gade, pgade@ou.edu, 405-325-5528). Thank you for your help today.

Now that you know the true purpose of this study, please check this box if you would like
your data to be excluded from our study: ☐

Appendix H – survey sent to professional photojournalists who received a photo with no label.

For the following statements about photojournalism, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.

Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.

Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.

It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.

Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.

News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.

News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.

A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.

It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.

Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.

Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.

Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, businesses, religious organizations).

Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please indicate the degree to which you ***think that a professional photojournalist would agree or disagree***. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

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News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.

Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.

Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.

It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.

Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.

News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.

News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.

A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.

It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.

Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.

Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.

Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, businesses, religious organizations).

Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please look at the photo below. Then, indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about this photograph.

This image has a balanced composition.

The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.

This camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.

The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.

This photograph shows a human element.

This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.

This image visually tells a story.

This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.

This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.

The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.

This image captures my attention.

Please rate the overall quality of this photo on a scale from 1 to 100. A 1 indicates that you thought the photo was very poor in quality. A 100 indicates that you think the photo was very high in quality.

This photo is:

Please explain why (or how) you determined the quality of this news image as either poor or excellent. Write as much or as little as you would like.

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a photojournalist?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a journalist?

Please indicate your ethnicity

What country are you from?

Please indicate your gender

Please indicate your age

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?
Please enter your name:

Please enter your phone number:

Please enter your email address:

Thank you for participating in our study.

Appendix I – survey sent to citizen photojournalists who received a photograph with a label indicating that it was taken by a professional photojournalist.

For the following statements about photojournalism, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.

Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.

Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.

It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.

Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.

News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.

News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.

A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.

It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.

Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.

Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.

Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, businesses, religious organizations).

Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please indicate the degree to which you ***think that a professional photojournalist would agree or disagree***. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.

Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.

Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.

It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.

Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.

News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

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News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

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Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please look at the photo below, which was taken by an AMATEUR, CITIZEN photojournalist. Then, indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about this photograph.

This image has a balanced composition.

The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.

This camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.

The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.

This photograph shows a human element.

This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.

This image visually tells a story.

This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.

This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.

The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.

This image captures my attention.

Please rate the overall quality of this photo on a scale from 1 to 100. A 1 indicates that you thought the photo was very poor in quality. A 100 indicates that you think the photo was very high in quality.

This photo is:

Please explain why (or how) you determined the quality of this news image as either poor or excellent. Write as much or as little as you would like.

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a photojournalist?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a journalist?

Please indicate your ethnicity

What country are you from?

Please indicate your gender

Please indicate your age

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?
Please enter your name:

Please enter your phone number:

Please enter your email address:

Thank you for participating in our study. In research, it is sometimes necessary to present fictitious information as part of our data collection. However, we do not want you to leave misinformed, so we will now tell you what we were actually studying.

In order to find out how your evaluation of the photograph was affected by whether it was submitted by a professional journalist or a member of the public, I changed the attribution line. The photograph was actually taken by John Moore of Getty Images.

I apologize that I could not tell you that the information was fictitious. When people know exactly what the researcher is studying, they often change their answers, thus making their responses unusable for drawing conclusions about human nature and experiences.

If you have any questions about this study, feel free to ask the researcher (Tara Buehner, tarabuehner@ou.edu, 605-641-1207) or my faculty sponsor (Prof. Peter Gade, pgade@ou.edu, 405-325-5528). Thank you for your help today.

Now that you know the true purpose of this study, please check this box if you would like your data to be excluded from our study: ☐

Appendix J: Survey given to citizen photojournalists who received a photo without a label.

For the following statements about photojournalism, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

News photographs are usually best when they portray a human element.

Photos that capture happy moments in everyday life make good news images.

Photojournalists should use their news images as a form of self-expression.

It is ethical for a photojournalist to use computer software to rearrange elements in an image.

Impact in news photography is enhanced by getting close to fill the frame.

News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.

News media should provide accurate portrayals of the diverse constituencies in society.

It is not the job of a journalist to create a public forum where citizens can interact and discuss issues.

A journalism education is an integral step in learning the professional skills required of journalists.

It's OK for journalists to post information online before it can be verified as truthful.

Journalists should show compassion for inexperienced people who happen to find themselves in the news.

Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.

Journalists should aggressively pursue stories that monitor the power of social institutions (e.g. the government, businesses, religious organizations).

Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please indicate the degree to which you ***think that a professional photojournalist would agree or disagree***. Please remember, there are no right or wrong answers. You are giving your opinion.

Blurriness and other small imperfections can lend a sense of authenticity to a photograph.

One of the markers of good news photographers is that they know how to use lighting effectively.

A mark of a professional news photograph is that it has a balanced composition.

It is important that photojournalists capture an image that will grab the viewer's attention.

News photographers should try to take photographs that are of something out of the ordinary.

The most valuable news photographs tend to depict some kind of conflict.

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News photographs look most professional when they are perfectly centered.

Using the manual settings on my camera usually results in higher quality images.

Most photojournalists can anticipate the precise moment to shoot the best images.

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Freedom of the press, as guaranteed in the First Amendment, does not carry with it a general responsibility to public service.

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Journalists practice objectivity because it allows them to proclaim to their audiences that the information being reported is truthful.

Journalists should report facts in contexts that explain what the facts mean.

Journalists should have the freedom to decide which aspects of the story are emphasized.

Journalism is basic common sense; it does not require specialized knowledge or training.

Please look at the photo below. Then, indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about this photograph.

This image has a balanced composition.

The photographer of this photo has used light effectively.

This camera angle used in this photograph strengthens its overall impact.

The composition of elements of this photograph leads my eye to the focal point.

This photograph shows a human element.

This photograph captures a spontaneous moment.

This image visually tells a story.

This photograph depicts something out of the ordinary.

This image makes me feel as though I am there at the scene.

The photographer of this image anticipated the precise moment to shoot the best image.

This image captures my attention.

Please rate the overall quality of this photo on a scale from 1 to 100. A 1 indicates that you thought the photo was very poor in quality. A 100 indicates that you think the photo was very high in quality.

This photo is:

Please explain why (or how) you determined the quality of this news image as either poor or excellent. Write as much or as little as you would like.

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a photojournalist?

About how many years in your life have you worked as a journalist?

Please indicate your ethnicity

What country are you from?

Please indicate your gender

Please indicate your age

Approximately what percentage of your work in the past year was photojournalism?

Approximately what percentage of your income in the past year was derived from photojournalism?
Please enter your name:

Please enter your phone number:

Please enter your email address:

Thank you for participating in our study. In research, it is sometimes necessary to present fictitious information as part of our data collection. However, we do not want you to leave misinformed, so we will now tell you what we were actually studying.

In order to find out how your evaluation of the photograph was affected by whether it was submitted by a professional journalist or a member of the public, I changed the attribution line. The photograph was actually taken by John Moore of Getty Images.

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Now that you know the true purpose of this study, please check this box if you would like your data to be excluded from our study: ☐