

AFTER THE CROP: THE IMPACT OF DOWNSIZING
ON PHOTOJOURNALISM QUALITY

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Master of Arts

by
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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

AFTER THE CROP: THE IMPACT OF DOWNSIZING
ON PHOTOJOURNALISM QUALITY

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*For the artists and journalists out there
who also like math.*

I am blessed to have some tremendous people in my corner.

Thank you to the many who've supported me along this journey and especially to my families at First Holiness Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and to the Inner Strength Gospel Choir at Boston University. These two organizations—and, more importantly, the beautiful souls that comprise them—helped me begin the journey to Mizzou and continued to support me in a multitude of ways after I left the comfort of their presence. I will carry you in my heart always.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	7
3. METHODS	23
4. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS	37
5. QUALITATIVE RESULTS	85
6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	106
APPENDICIES	
A: CODEBOOK	119
B: CODESHEET	123
REFERENCES	128

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
4.1. Summary.....	38
4.2. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Quantities.....	40
4.3. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Quantities.....	41
4.4. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Quantities.....	42
4.5. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Quantities.....	43
4.6. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Quantities.....	44
4.7. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Staff Content.....	46
4.8. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Staff Content.....	47
4.9. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Staff Content.....	48
4.10. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Staff Content.....	49
4.11. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Staff Content.....	50
4.12. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Wire Content.....	51
4.13. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Wire Content.....	52
4.14. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Wire Content.....	53
4.15. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Wire Content.....	54
4.16. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Wire Content.....	55
4.17. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Staff Distribution.....	56
4.18. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Byline Distribution.....	56
4.19. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Staff Distribution.....	57
4.20. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Byline Distribution.....	57
4.21. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Staff Distribution.....	58
4.22. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Byline Distribution.....	58

4.23. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Staff Distribution.....	59
4.24. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Byline Distribution.....	59
4.25. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Staff Distribution.....	60
4.26. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Byline Distribution.....	60
4.27. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Average Image Size.....	61
4.28. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Average Image Size.....	62
4.29. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Average Image Size.....	62
4.30. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Average Image Size.....	63
4.31. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Average Image Size.....	63
4.32. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —All—Page Placement.....	65
4.33. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —News Images—Page Placement.....	65
4.34. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Average Size of Refer Images.....	65
4.35. <i>Boston Globe</i> —All—Page Placement.....	67
4.36. <i>Boston Globe</i> —News—Page Placement.....	67
4.37. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Average Size of Refer Images.....	67
4.38. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —All—Page Placement.....	68
4.39. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —News—Page Placement.....	69
4.40. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Average Size of Refer Images.....	69
4.41. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—All—Page Placement.....	70
4.42. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—News—Page Placement.....	70
4.43. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Average Size of Refer Images.....	71
4.44. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—All—Page Placement.....	71
4.45. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—News—Page Placement.....	72
4.46. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Average Size of Refer Images.....	72

4.47. All Papers—Average Images Per Page.....	74
4.48. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —News Pictures Per Story.....	76
4.49. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> —Stories With News Pictures.....	76
4.50. <i>Boston Globe</i> —News Pictures Per Story.....	77
4.51. <i>Boston Globe</i> —Stories With News Pictures.....	77
4.52. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> — News Pictures Per Story.....	78
4.53. <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> —Stories With News Pictures.....	79
4.54. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—News Pictures Per Story.....	79
4.55. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —All—Stories With News Pictures.....	80
4.56. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—News Pictures Per Story.....	81
4.57. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> —Weekdays—Stories With News Pictures.....	81

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ABSTRACT

Journalism's role in society is to disseminate information. The quality of this information is important for readers and for the long-term viability of the newspaper. Layoffs could compromise the ability to produce quality content in the whole newsroom and also in photojournalism, an under-researched and important sector of the news industry. The purpose of this study is to determine whether the quality of photographic coverage has been affected by layoffs in newspaper photography departments. Using two samples from before and after a period of heavy layoffs, a content analysis of images (N=1,288) was conducted to examine the quality of photographic coverage at four mid-sized regional newspapers. Using a six-category scale modified from Lacy and Fico, images were evaluated for quantity, size, source (byline), location, average per page and average per story. Using the quantitative data, in-depth interviews were conducted with each newspaper's visual manager to provide context for the content analysis. Results were mixed, showing improvement in some areas and drastic decline in others, particularly in numbers of news pictures. Photography editors have implemented several innovations and improvements in efficiency, but are still hindered by strained resources.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In the 2004 “State of the News Media,” the first in a series of annual reports published by Journalism.org and the Pew Charitable Trust, researchers conclude:

[J]ournalism is in the midst of an epochal transformation, as momentous probably as the invention of the telegraph or television. [...] It is becoming more complex. We are witnessing conflicting trends of fragmentation and convergence simultaneously, and they sometimes lead in opposite directions. (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2004).

The tone of the report remains optimistic while discussing changes seen in audience trends and reporter roles.

In stark contrast, the introduction to the 2009 report from the same group carries a somber tone: “This is the sixth edition of our annual report on the State of the News Media in the United States. It is also the bleakest.” (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009). The industry’s maladaptation to the rise of the internet and the so-called “decoupling” of advertising from news have led to bankruptcies and closings of several newspapers and did not leave the industry well-prepared to withstand the economic downturn of 2008 and 2009 (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

This industry-wide change has resulted in an onslaught of reactions by newspaper owners, managers and editors. The 2009 “State of the News Media” sums up the cause and effect:

Newspaper ad revenues have fallen 23% in the last two years. Some papers are in bankruptcy, and others have lost three-quarters of their value. By our calculations, nearly one out of every five journalists working for newspapers in 2001 is now gone, and 2009 may be the worst year yet. (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

However, amid this great change in the industry, the analysis and exclamation are not equally applied to the areas affected. The “State of the News Media” does not identify specifically reporters, photographers, copy editors, and the many other positions that make up a newsroom when discussing changes at newspapers. The articles available on the Poynter Institute’s websites discuss new technologies and awards that have been won. The occasional report on layoffs doesn’t follow up to discuss how photographer cuts are affecting the department or the paper. Academic studies about quality and about changes at newspapers also avoid examination of photography in newspapers. Regarding print content, there are several studies tracking changes in content after changes in ownership and general discussions about quality in the wake of copy editor layoffs (Maguire 2005, Stepp 2009), but these and many others analyze without delving into the photography.

Photographers, who produce work that helps readers access the newspaper and remember the stories they read, are being cut from newspaper staffs at a rate sometimes higher than that at which reporters are being cut (Brauer, 2010). The *Rocky Mountain News*, which boasted a Pulitzer-prize winning photography department, ceased publication on February 27, 2009 (Walker, 2009). The most recent round of layoffs in 2009 at the *Washington Times* (DC) reduced the photography department by ten, including the assistant managing editor and all nine photographers. Only two photo editors remain (Walker, 2009).

The work that photographers produce is easily adaptable to web presentation, a burgeoning venue for visual journalists to which newsrooms are trying to adapt. By cutting from the area of the staff that is best equipped to revolutionize the digital presence of the newspaper, managers are doing more harm to the organization's future than good.

It is no secret that newspapers are shrinking both by the number of printed pages and, in some cases, the actual size of the printed page. There are also fewer people to do the work. Photography departments are feeling the crunch of producing more content, both for the printed newspaper and for online presentation, with fewer resources. After a round of cuts at *The Baltimore Sun*, photographer Amy Davis told *Photo District News* in an email, "The cuts are so deep that those left are wondering how we will carry on." (Lang, 2009).

Shortly after retiring from a 27-year tenure at *USA Today*, the paper's founding visual editor and out-going Managing Editor/Design Richard Curtis said in an interview [with former employee and retired Poynter faculty member George Rorick] that he believes newspaper readers, the younger ones in particular, "see the narrative as the addendum and visual journalism as the core" of the content being produced. However, he points out that "the leaders of journalism, in newspapers specifically, do not attach enough value to the resources necessary to produce that visual journalism." (Quinn, 2008).

"The Changing Newsroom," a subsection of the 2008 "State of the News Media" study by the Pew Charitable Trust also addresses this point, but adds that "Editors feel torn between the advantages the web offers and the energy it consumes to produce

material often of limited or even questionable value." (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009). While it is easy for some to see online as the lifeline for a newsroom, that view is not commonly shared and is not commonly supported. After *The Washington Post* cut two of its decorated video journalists, including the innovative and award winning Travis Fox, from the multimedia department, Regina McCombs, a Poynter Online columnist on technology and the news, voiced frustration with the decision. "Clearly, this is a tough economy, but it seems shortsighted to cut back on multimedia at a time when innovation is more important than ever to our survival. And even more short-sighted to hand the future to those who got us in this spot in the first place." (McCombs, 2009). Moving forward during a time such as this in journalism is not easy, but still requires forward thinking and a commitment to journalistic excellence, which is where Curtis' concern lies.

"The effort to produce a visual report isn't measured, isn't valued, isn't rewarded," Curtis said about newsrooms that continue to seek narrative reporters rather than direct attention to new forms of journalism (Quinn, 2008). Photography and other visuals can be a powerful tool to newsrooms, because of their ability to connect to a wide variety of audiences and, specifically, the younger generations. However,

without visual reporters, without that visual talent and experience grounded in the tenets of journalism -- getting the facts straight and then figuring out how best to display them to a reading public -- you're just not going to be successful. I think that's why we've seen a sharp downturn in visual journalism." (Quinn, 2008).

But how is this so-called "downturn" quantified? Is it real? Perhaps photography departments are still able to deliver high-quality coverage to the newspaper and its readers. Or perhaps there is no outcry because media analysts, journalists and readers

alike have not realized the extent that photographic coverage has changed over the past five years of intense newspaper layoffs. Struggling or not, having such limited dialogue about the state of photojournalism, about photographers' visual storytelling abilities and institutional knowledge not only of their craft but also their communities limits one of the strongest elements of the dwindling newspaper industry.

It is critical to evaluate the changes in photojournalism during the upheaval of the traditional newspaper because photographs have the ability to influence what the reader reads, comprehends and remembers. Therefore, they have a strong role in the reader's life and ability to function in and contribute to a democratic society. A formal study is needed to determine how, if at all, newspaper photography is changing in the face of the massive institutional changes going on in the industry. A content analysis of a constructed week from each of four papers before and after reductions in photography department staff followed by discussion the results with the directors of photography, will add important information about changes in this area of the news industry.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

The Role of Journalism in Society

In crafting the Journalist's Creed, Walter Williams wrote:

the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of a lesser service than the public service is a betrayal of this trust. (Williams, 2009).

The profession of journalism provides valuable information to the American people through broadcast, radio and printed channels. Journalists gather information and package it in a way that readers can discover, explore and understand the world around them. The power that comes with informing and influencing public opinion has made journalists and the press known as the Fourth Estate. As Thomas Carlyle wrote while summarizing theorist Edmund Burke's ideas about the role of the press in society:

Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but in the Reporter's Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact – very momentous to us in these times. Literature is our Parliament too. Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy; invent Writing, Democracy is inevitable ... Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in lawmaking, in all acts of authority. It matters not what rank he has, what revenues or garnitures: the requisite thing is that he have a tongue which others will listen to; this and nothing more is requisite. (Burke, 1840).

In America, the press is often seen as an important check and balance to the government, raising issues on behalf of the public, scrutinizing the work of elected officials, drawing attention to the underrepresented. Carlyle goes on to say, “the nation is governed by all that has tongue in the nation,” (Burke, 1840) and when those voices are informed by a variety of quality sources, the public discourse necessary in a democracy is stronger.

The function of media in society has been defined and idealized in many ways, but McQuail (2000) identifies the broadest, most basic assumed purpose:

The media institution is essentially concerned with the production and distribution of knowledge in the widest sense of the word. ... (T)he media to a large extent serve to constitute our perceptions and definitions of social reality and normality for purposes of a public, shared social life, and are a key source of standards, models and norms.”
(p. 64)

Hardt goes on to define this more specifically, listing several functions of the press, including “satisfying needs for information,” “providing society with a mirror of itself,” and “acting as the conscience of society” (Hardt, 1979, cited in McQuail, 2000, p. 73). Therefore, the primary obligation of newspapers to society and to themselves is to provide information that they know the public wants and that they deem necessary to tell. If the newspaper fails to disseminate information, then it does not have any clear purpose to society.

In exploring the past century of photojournalism, Lucaites and Hariman (2001) suggest that in society, photography has an equally important role in public discourse and memory as does the written word. "Put somewhat differently, we conclude by suggesting that iconic photographs and the photojournalistic practices that they animate may well

function as a performative ritual of civic identity in literate, liberal-democratic societies.” (p. 41). The photograph is an important element in today’s newspaper and an important product of today’s newsroom. Photojournalists, as members of the press, function to illuminate viewers and disseminate visual information that helps inform readers in a way that makes the nation’s democracy stronger. It also becomes part of a larger body of cultural documentation.

The ability to stop action and distill a situation or an issue into one single image facilitates access and understanding in ways that make the viewer stronger participants in a democratic society.

[Photojournalism’s] freezing of a critical moment in time intensifies the journalistic experience, focusing the viewer’s attention on a particular enactment of the tensions that define the public culture. But more than this, it does so ritualistically, as it repetitively conjures images of what is unsayable (e.g., because emotional) in print discourses otherwise defining the public culture. This repetition, in newspapers, magazines, coffee table books, textbooks, political advertisements, and so forth, provides the public audience with the important assurances and other resources necessary for participation in modern democratic polity. (Lucaites & Hariman, 2001, p. 41).

Photography is an important part of the record of humanity. It works with written words and also on its own to both document the present and to form a body of work to be looked back on by future generations. As time passes and layers of history are built up, the meaning of the work shifts and expands. Meg Spratt explored this idea, finding that

This analysis indicates that photographs like these provide easily recognized symbols that span time and generations to explain American cultural history, and that the accompanying text serves, as Barthes suggested, to shape and anchor the image’s meaning. While the literal meaning—the actual truth of the photo’s content—may have been long lost in popular media, the more important,

mythical meaning is alive and well. (Spratt, 2008, p. 102).

The Current Newspaper Business

As newspaper circulations continued steady circulation declines from the 1980's, a group of concerned journalists convened in Salzburg, Austria, in 2002 to discuss rising problems in the international industry. According to Bob Giles, Curator of the Nieman Foundation:

The group concluded that market pressures are undermining the quality of journalism, specifically as companies that oversee news organizations seek to preserve high profit levels by reducing news gathering resources and neglecting journalism in the public interest. It is this fundamental role of the press to inform and empower citizens that is being endangered. (Giles, 2002).

The Nieman Foundation's document called attention to the business beliefs that were beginning to overshadow the journalistic mission of many news outlets and were beginning to affect the diversity and comprehensiveness of the reporting. The primary concern for the group was that "an unbalanced priority on profits and financial growth weakens the foundation of journalism as a public trust. We are convinced that the growing imbalance in the priority given to journalism quality and profit growth ultimately impairs citizens' ability to participate fully in their communities. And we recognize that neglecting the public interest erodes public support for legal guarantees of the freedom of the press to report the news." (Giles, 2002). The same concern has been expressed domestically and much more recently, with Paul Starr asserting in *The New Republic* magazine that the declining industry "raises practical questions for anyone concerned about the future of American democracy." (Starr 2009, p. 21).

The 2008 State of the Media report alludes to this change, noting:

If we saw newspapers cutting back individually in 2006, in 2008 we reached the point where news is now going uncovered. Statehouse newsrooms sit half-empty and paper after paper has closed down or cut back their state capital bureaus... The implications are obvious – much less of the accountability reporting on state lawmaking follies that only experienced reporters with time to dig can generate.

Rob Gurwitt of *Governing* magazine illustrated the slow death of the current method of reporting politics by describing the scene of Connecticut's capitol building pressroom:

In a large room whose inhabitants once joked that someone always had to be out reporting for everyone to fit inside, space is no longer an issue. The New York Times hasn't had anyone here for over a year and a half; its desk is piled high with mail for various Times reporters who have long since moved on to other beats. The vacated Norwich Bulletin desk has become a repository for stray press releases. The Greenwich Time and Fairfield Bulletin desk hosts a collection of Coke and Dr. Pepper bottles that await recycling. (Gurwitt, 2008).

The new trend in political reporting, he finds, is minute-by-minute updates through online sources, with less of an emphasis on going in-depth and providing context for the situation. Even with the increase of internet reporting, there are still fewer reporters working the stories and because of this the quality of the final product has suffered says James Pindell, former National Managing Editor of the website Politicker. “The hope has been that this would create better journalism, but we just haven't seen it yet. The hour-by-hour narrative has expanded, but it lends itself to partisan blogs and an over-emphasis on process and speculation.” (Pindell, referred to in Gurwitt, 2009).

Reacting to this trending decline in quality of coverage for important issues, the *Dallas Morning News* decided to raise the price of single-issue newsstand prices in the hopes of funding higher quality reporting. Editor Robert W. Mong Jr. said:

If you look at what we've been through, and what a lot of the newspaper industry has been through, it's been cut, cut,

cut. We want to draw a line in the sand, we want to hold the line and we want to fight back. And we want to do that with good journalism. (Case, 2009).

Editors suggest that certain economic factors affect the quality of journalism and of the newspaper, but what is this quality? How can it be quantified? Lacy and Fico (1990) modified Bogart's measures of what determines quality in a newspaper, which was established through interviews with newspaper editors. A commitment to producing quality content and coverage is important for the long-term sustainability of the newspaper. Lacy and Fico (1991) showed that compromising quality in exchange for immediate cost-saving benefits negatively affects the newspaper's circulation. "If a newspaper's circulation is related to its journalistic quality, as indicated by this and previous studies, it is in the managers' and owners' interests to invest in such quality." (p. 53).

Yet virtually nowhere in the discussion of the dying newspaper (or, rather, the evolving newsroom) is anyone talking about what's happening to photojournalism. This is perhaps the greatest omission, since photography has repeatedly been shown to be the point through which readers enter a newspaper page (Garcia & Stark, 1991, Quinn & Adam, 2007). The Poynter Institute's first eye-tracking study, which monitored the eye movements of readers on a newspaper page, also found that bigger photos attract attention, noting that 92 percent of photographs greater than a three-column width of the newspaper are processed (Garcia & Stark, 1991, p. 50). Not only do visuals such as photographs and artwork dominate all of the processing statistics, meaning they were looked at the most and the longest by the viewer, but when photographs are paired with a related headline, the processing of the headline increases (p.70). So, photographs have the

ability to increase attention and enhance absorption of content on the page. Images are not always relevant, though, as both EyeTrack studies showed that mug shots, or small pictures of faces relevant to the story, are noted significantly less, almost to the point of being ignored entirely (Garcia & Stark, 1991, p. 70; Quinn & Adam, 2007).

Wolf and Gerald (1985) showed mock layouts using different image sizes for the same story to students and confirmed Baxter's (1978) findings that bigger pictures "increase readership of stories they accompany." (Wolf & Gerald, p. 34). A sample of 150 students were shown one of three newspaper pages, each page using different sized photos along with one particular test article. More students were attracted to the story when the images with it were bigger and these pictures also improve recall of the story once it has been read (Baxter, 1978, p. 14). Thus, "the communicator who wishes to convey information should use photographs judiciously, selecting major photographs to focus the reader's attention on the most important news item." (p. 15). In evaluating the claims of the "'power' of visual images," Domke, Perlmutter and Spratt found images play a role in both ingesting information and forming an opinion about the information.

(N)ews coverage which contains visual images may have a greater ability than text-only first, to activate one's news-relevant considerations, and second, to prompt a 'carry over' of these activated constructs to subsequent judgments regarding related concerns." (2002, p. 148).

Management During Decline

It is important to note that the layoffs in today's media are a result of a decline in the industry rather than downsizing. Freeman and Cameron (1993) differentiate between the two often-confused terms:

...(D)ecline is a negative consequence of maladaptation to a dysfunctional environmental. That is, decline happens to an organization; it is unintentional on the part of the organization or its managers. Downsizing, however, can be both functional and intentional.” (p. 13).

Today’s newspaper environment, which has seen steadily falling circulation numbers since the 1980s, is struggling to continue to function in the current journalism business model. Mone, McKinley and Barker (1998) look at how both conservative and innovative approaches to decline affect the organization both in product and in function. They find that while there is no concrete rule, generally, continuing to align with “highly institutionalized missions...negatively affect organizational innovation in response to decline.” (p. 126). The opposite also tends to prove true and more flexibility in work and distribution of resources ultimately “relax(es) the constraints...and therefore, function(s) as catalysts for innovation when organizational decline occurs.” (p. 126).

In addition to the elimination or reduction of resources to photographers in a newsroom, placing more managerial or economic considerations on an individual who is primarily trained to work as a journalist will have an impact both on the business side of the department, plus the individual’s personal satisfaction with the job.

Managerial problems can arise from economic restructuring, such as having a non-photographer manager introduced into the department. A leader not committed to the same visual communication ideas and standards or who can’t communicate effectively with visually minded journalists could significantly alter the content produced in the department. If the director of the photographers is not as committed to a journalistic or documentary perspective or aims for a greater quantity of photographs at the expense of

quality, changes in credibility and staff satisfaction can follow. In *Mediating the Message*, Shoemaker and Reese address this situation:

As nonjournalistic routines reach further down into the newsroom, the craft values of journalism often collide with 'MBA' values. Installing managers in positions formerly filled by newspeople makes a strong impact on content. It changes the entire organizational culture and the extent to which one set of values holds sway over others. (p. 135).

By looking at the printed photographic output of several newspapers and analyzing the departmental approach to layoffs both in overall mission and in individual assignments, it will be possible to determine whether or not the paper is taking a conservative approach or exploring innovation with the hopes of maintaining a high-quality product.

It's possible that research will discover innovative approaches to changes in the newspaper that maintain high levels of photographic quality and output. However, several studies on the effects of organizational change do not paint an optimistic view.

Newman (2000) finds:

...Institutional change, at the extreme, produces conditions that might reduce the rate of organizational learning and, therefore, organizational transformation. Institutional upheaval creates confusion and uncertainty and produces a business climate that lacks norms, values, templates and models about appropriate strategies, structures and systems. Without these legitimating institutional characteristics, organizational change is likely to be episodic, ineffectual, temporary and misguided. It is not likely to lead to improved performance. (p. 614)

Hannan, Pólos and Carroll (2003) examine organizational theory in climates of change and determine that there are four types of features that make up central identity of

an organization, including mission, form of authority, technology and marketing strategy.

They go on to write that the theory:

assumes that significant or major organizational change involves changing a core feature. It predicts that an organization will encounter resistance if it attempts to change core features; it also implies that changes in core features likely have detrimental consequences. (p. 477)

In addition to the elimination or reduction of resources to photographers in a newsroom, placing more managerial or economic considerations on an individual who is primarily trained to work as a journalist will have an impact both on the business side of the department, plus the individual's personal satisfaction with the job.

State of the Industry

As stated before, the newspaper industry is in some of its grimmest days. Newsrooms have whittled their staffs down to the bone, have merged with other papers, have shifted to an online-only presence, have filed for bankruptcy and, increasingly, have closed. After the closing of the *Rocky Mountain News*, a nearly 150-year-old newspaper with a history of Pulitzer Prizes, Poynter Institute columnist Rick Edmonds wrote:

It is survival-of-the-fittest time. Weaker papers in chains will be weeded out to give the rest a fighting chance to get through the recession and recover in better times. Money-losing papers are on a very short leash to cut expenses very quickly -- especially union contracts -- or face closure or bankruptcy. (Edmonds 2007).

In April, 2009, the *New York Times* announced that it was reducing its budget for freelance submissions by an undisclosed amount and cutting back on several areas of coverage (Associated Press). Specifically, the "zoned" local coverage for specific areas of New York would be condensed into one regional section and the weekly fashion and

travel stand-alone sections would be entirely eliminated, with coverage of the subjects merged into existing sections.

While talking about the need to eliminate 100 newsroom positions through buyouts or, ultimately, layoffs, *New York Times* executive editor Bill Keller acknowledged the pressures such actions put on remaining staff:

I won't pretend that these staff cuts will not add to the burdens of journalists whose responsibilities have grown faster than their compensation. Like you, I yearn for the day when we can do our jobs without looking over our shoulders for economic thunderstorms. (Associated Press).

Even with the increasing financial struggle in newsrooms, a majority of newsroom editors “sense that their product is improving, not worsening. Fully 56% think their news product is better than it was three years earlier.” (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2008). A year after losing 70 employees from the newsroom, an editor at a “large metropolitan daily” said, “I believe the journalism itself is discernibly better than it was a year ago. There’s an improvement in enterprise, in investigations and in the coverage of several core beats.” (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2008). However, there is no way of discerning in which section this editor works, though the vernacular suggests one with written content. There is mention neither of how photographic content has changed nor how or if the photojournalism industry has been innovating. The 2008 State of the News Media briefly explores how hyperlocal online sites and start-up investigative journalism projects have promising outlooks, but do not mention any photographic comparisons. (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2008). If Mediastorm, the award-winning multimedia (photography, video, audio) agency that aims to “publish diverse narratives that speak to the heart of the human condition” (MediaStorm, 2010), does not fall into the same category as ProPublica, a nonprofit newsroom that “focuses exclusively

on truly important stories, stories with ‘moral force,’” (ProPublica, 2010), then there should at least be a discussion of how visual journalists are adapting and innovating in this media climate.

Layoffs in the copy editing section of newspapers are threatening the quality of news product as fewer people try to keep up with the workload of the newsroom. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reduced its copy editing staff by almost 50 percent, from more than 40 to about 21 over several years of layoffs and is now figuring out how to adjust newsroom operations accordingly (Stepp 2009 p. 44). “You never do more with less,” Bill McClellan, a *Post-Dispatch* columnist said. “You do less with less. You have fewer copy editors, more mistakes to get through” (p. 43). The paper, in four years of layoffs and buyouts, which started in 2005, has reduced the overall newsroom staff from 340 to about 210 and is working with a paper that is 40 pages shorter. The actual newspaper is shrinking in size, with a “narrower page width that could cost another 5 percent of the newshole.” (p. 44).

The *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, which filed for bankruptcy at the beginning of 2009 (Phelps, 2009), announced in December of 2009 that the newsroom would be restructured but that “there are no buyouts or layoffs planned in the ranks of reporters or their editors.” (Brauer 2010). Instead, 18 out of 32 copy editors were either bought out or later laid off, for a reduction of 56 percent (Brauer 2010) and the onus was put on reporters, who “cannot turn in stories without running a basic spell check” (Brauer 2010). Though the memo from newspaper management states, “We are confident these changes will maintain the quality of the paper and the website, and we will immediately begin training those in the newsroom whose work will be affected,” the MinnPost.com

blog post that shared the letter had six of its nine comments complaining about the already poor quality of headlines and copy errors. (Brauer 2010).

Craig Silverman of the *Columbia Journalism Review* responded to the logic of the management of the *Star-Tribune* by reiterating the need for additional sets of eyes:

Asking reporters to use a spellchecker is not a path to accuracy. Spellcheckers can just as easily introduce as many errors as they correct. (Two words: “beef panties.”) The mandate for reporters to read over work after it has been edited is useful and, frankly, should already have been

in place. But the larger issue is that these proposed quality control measures are unlikely to do much to enhance the level of accuracy.” (Silverman, 2010).

Despite the challenges inherent with the economic climate, *Post-Dispatch* Deputy Metro Editor Alan Achkar knows the role of the newspaper in the community: “People expect from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* a level of quality and accuracy. If we don’t have good, responsible journalism that people can bank on, we don’t have anything.” (p.44) Todd Stone, Enterprise editor, has a more serious concern about the fallout from fewer eyes tending to the content produced by the newspaper: “What will wake us up is going to be the first big lawsuit where somebody really gets creamed. It’s going to happen. And I’d bet you about 10 bucks it will be because of a lack of editing vigilance.” (p. 45).

For the 2009 State of the News Media, 250 newspaper editors from around the country were interviewed. They described their staffs as generally younger and more familiar with technology but “under great pressure.” (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

Newsroom executives say the infusion of new blood has brought with it a new competitive energy, but they also cite the departure of veteran journalists, along with the talent,

wisdom and institutional memory they hold as their single greatest loss.” (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

Having staff members who understand the technological landscape available to newsrooms would be beneficial if they had time and resources to explore them and create the innovations the industry needs to translate. Ken Sands interviewed some video journalists who said “there’s a market for good video, especially in big cities, but good video is too labor-intensive to be cost-effective.” Because of this and because it’s hard to sell advertising to support the resulting amateur quality product, “video often is the first thing cut from downsizing newsrooms.” (Sands, 2009).

As happened at the *Post-Dispatch*, photography departments at all newspapers working with fewer staff members may be forced to change one of their core features: their commitment to news coverage, the ways in which they cover events (still photographs only, video, multimedia, etc.), how responsibility is spread throughout the department (editors) or how much content it ultimately produces for the newspapers. The choices made will ultimately play out in the printed pages.

With fewer photographers in a department, it’s possible that the remaining photographers will have more assignments per shift (which may compromise the photographer’s ability to spend time and connect with the subject) or more technological demands per assignment (shoot pictures and video). It’s also possible that rather than attempting new or challenging photographic assignments, photo managers opt to photograph more planned news events, such as press conferences. While they may not be visually interesting, it’s more easily scheduled for the photographer. Add to these changes a loss of support staff (editors, copy editors) and a loss of actual photographers

and it adds up to significant limitations on the department that prevent it from adequately reporting on its community and supplying its audience with necessary information.

Some papers give reporters cameras so as to do their own photographic work. This practice can create a myriad of frustrations in several areas, starting with the reporter not being able to focus entirely on the job of writing. This can not only hamper the overall quality of the newspaper but also send a frustrating message to the staff photographers about the secondary nature of the photojournalism department in the mind of the newspaper as a whole.

Hightower (1984) investigated the effect of formal training in photography on both the images produced and on the evaluation of the images. Using three each of professional photojournalists, photojournalism students and amateurs with no training, Hightower had the photographers produce images intended to convey the concept of tranquility. The resulting images were then shown to groups of students with no photography training, with art photography training and with photojournalism training.

The research showed that “photographs taken by professional photographers were rated more accurate at communicating intended meaning than the photographs taken by the students or the amateurs” and also showed that those familiar with journalism are better at evaluating the communication efficacy of an image than those with no training or with art photography training, which has a different approach to making pictures.

The goal in photojournalism courses is to teach the ability to communicate—to create visual messages which, if perfect, would have universal meanings. Photojournalism students are taught that the prime job of photographs is to communicate; that pictures in newspapers and magazines must tell a story. ...[Students’] pictures must answer the questions: ‘What?’ ‘Who?’ ‘Why?’ ‘Where?’ When

viewing pictures, they look for the same questions. (p. 686).

Hightower concluded by saying,

...There is more to pictorial communication than exposing the negative correctly. In fact, with modern film and uniform professional development and printing, variations were choice of subject matter and selection of viewpoint to create a composition appropriate to the message. These aspects of photographic meaning may take longer to learn than the techniques of camera handling. (p. 686).

In his study of the organizational flow and editorial institutions, Doughty (1993) observed how the photographic product was molded by the photographic conventions in place at *Time* magazine, including “story conceptualization, photo assignment, editing and layout” to show “how *Time* editors ultimately construct their product” (Doughty, 1993). Given that the processes by which the photographic assignments are created and then handled affect the photographic content, it is logical to assume that any changes to this process, either in steps or in personnel, will manifest in changes in content. Since it is not possible to retroactively observe the selected photography departments before their layoffs and to accurately observe four newsrooms across the country is inefficient and costly, in-depth interviews with the photography department’s primary visual manager will suffice to evaluate the organizational structure of the department.

This interpretation of newspapers’ roles in society, newspaper structure affecting content and the nature of layoffs helped define the following research questions concerning photographic coverage in newspapers before and after layoffs:

RQ1: How, if at all, does the quantity of images published change from before to after layoffs?

RQ2: a. How, if at all, has the quantity staff-produced content changed?

b. How, if at all, has the quantity of wire content changed?

RQ3: How, if at all, does the quality of images published change from before to after layoffs as reflected in quantity, image size, byline, images per page, images per story and photographer workload?

RQ4: How, if at all, did the visual manager of the department have to change the way the department handles its photographic obligation to the paper?

CHAPTER 3 Methods of Investigation

This study combined two methods of investigation: quantitative content analysis and in-depth interviews, to investigate the change in content and managerial approach of four newspapers' photography departments.

Sample selection

The newspapers that were examined include the *San Jose Mercury News*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Detroit Free Press* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Lacy and Fico (1990) noted that in controlling for circulation, it is better to compare quality among papers with similar circulation numbers because the papers have similar financial resources. These papers are all large regional-market newspapers with similar circulations (ranging between 218,000 and 298,000) owned by different companies (*San Jose Mercury News*—Media News Group, *Boston Globe*—New York Times Co., *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Lee Enterprises, *Detroit Free Press*—Gannett). All four papers have had some form of staff reduction through layoffs or buyouts during the evaluation period.

These papers were also chosen because, according to “The Changing Newsroom” within the 2009 “State of the News Media” report:

The forces buffeting the industry continue to affect larger metro newspapers to a far greater extent than smaller ones. In some cases, these differences are so stark it seems that

larger and smaller newspapers are living two distinctly different experiences. Fully 85% of the dailies surveyed with circulations over 100,000 have cut newsroom staff in the last three years, while only 52% of smaller papers reported cuts." (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009).

These four large, dominant regional newspapers with photography departments that have experienced at least one instance of layoffs connected to or blamed on the economic vitality of the newspaper were examined using a constructed-week sample to analyze two six-month periods of publication. One constructed week has been shown to be an accurate representation of six months of news content (Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin, & Chang, 2001). Because this study looks to examine a large amount of content over a longer duration of time, an efficient and reliable research method is essential.

Economically-driven layoffs in the newspaper industry began happening with much more frequency in 2005 and on into present day, so the last six months of 2004 were evaluated as the "before" time period. To get the most recently available issues that reflect the content era eliciting the concerned tone of the most recent State of the Newsroom reports, the first six months of 2009 were looked at to evaluate the current state of photojournalism at newspapers. Each week in the research period was numbered. For each weekday (Monday, Tuesday, etc.), a random number generator was used to select a week and the date of the appropriate day was used for the content analysis.

All issues of the *Boston Globe* were obtained as PDF files. All issues of the *San Jose Mercury News*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Detroit Free Press* were obtained as scans or photographs of microfilm. These pages were then printed on 8.5" x 11" paper so the images could be numbered, measured and coded.

The *Detroit Free Press* was in a joint operating agreement (JOA) with the *Detroit News* during the 2004 portion of the sample, which resulted in weekend editions being a product of both newsrooms. In an attempt to evaluate solely the *Detroit Free Press* and also to see if trends remained the same with and without the JOA, the weekdays of the paper's sample were also analyzed separately. Thus, the *Detroit Free Press* has two categories for this study: the full sample/all issues and weekdays only.

Content Analysis

In *Mediating the Message*, Shoemaker and Reese (1991) identify what content evaluation can tell us: "Communications content is of interest not only in its own right, but also as an indicator of many other underlying forces. Studying content helps us infer things about phenomena that are less open and visible: the people and organizations that produce the content." (23) Wimmer and Dominick (2003) also note that content analysis is a systematic and objective way to evaluate media content. (p.144).

Front pages and section fronts were evaluated because of the importance given to pictures during the layout process. Content laid out inside the paper has to work around advertising and a lot of time is determined simply by what can fit. Jump pages often contain no pictures at all. Since the first pages of the paper and its sections are the first things that the readers will see, those producing the paper have a vested interest to make those parts of the paper the best and strongest they can be. As Bridges and Bridges put it, "the front page is the reader's window to the tone and the 'spirit' of a newspaper" (p. 834). In studying the new ways the front page of the paper is being used, Shaw (2006) found that "most of the editors interviewed ... agree, it's local news on the front page

that sells papers.” Karen Magnuson, editor of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, told Shaw "I think the key is to go as local as possible. People can't get enough." (p. 28)

For the purposes of this study, photographic output is defined as photographs taken either to accompany a news story generated by a reporter at the newspaper or to stand alone as news content and that are printed in the newspaper. The images do not necessarily need to be taken by a photojournalist, as one possible outcome of layoffs is that reporters—technically untrained in visual communication—will be given cameras and expected to return with both written and visual content. Images that will not be counted include any advertising, or images manipulated to produce a photo illustration using techniques deemed unethical by NPPA’s guidelines. (National Press Photographers Association, 2009). Advertising photographs were not considered because they are not a journalistic product.

Measurement Development

Lacy & Fico constructed their metric for quality from the results of Bogart’s (1977, cited in Lacy & Fico, 1990) survey of newspaper editors, taking the top five elements that editors considered important to identifying quality of content in news product. (p. 45). This resulted in eight categories of coverage, including “commitment to locally produced copy, the amount of non-advertising copy, the ratio of non-advertising to advertising space, the number of interpretative and in-depth stories, the number of graphics, the number of wire services, story length and reporter workload.” (p. 47). Because only section fronts were studied, advertising content was not a factor; the categories were adapted to evaluate photographs. Six categories have been established by

which to rate the quality of newspaper photography. Size of photographs, page placement, number of photographs per page and per story, source of photograph, photographer workload on the cover and section fronts of four newspapers were examined.

According to Lacy and Fico, “commitment to locally produced copy over wire service offerings suggests a concern for local audiences.” (1990, p. 47). In-depth photographic coverage (in documentary style, beyond simple mug shots) and multiple-picture stories gives the reader more information and, according to Lacy and Fico, there is “better potential for readers to be informed because such copy contains more context” and “the more information they can be assumed to contain.” (p.47). Workload of photographers is also important for the same journalistic reasons as for a writer: “The lighter the reporter workload, the more time the reporter has to develop information and write any given story.” Thus, images in the newspaper were counted and coded for byline, size and number of images for the story (depth of reporting). Statistics on reporter workload were gathered and directors of photography at each newspaper were asked about wire service subscriptions and the departmental philosophy on assignment limits and workloads.

The size of each photograph was measured by percentage of the page, calculating the ratio of the height and of the width of the image to the dimensions of the page. Photos that are technically and journalistically good are printed larger so as to attract readers and to showcase the work of the photographer. Smaller photographs can be harder to read and mug shots have been shown to be ignored by readers (Quinn & Adam, 2007). Giving size

to an image shows a commitment to producing and rewarding great images. (Shaw, p. 28).

Image placement on the page, another design element that suggests the strength of an image, was noted. Because Americans read pages top to bottom, those at the top of the page will likely be viewed first. Newspapers that are in broadsheet format are delivered and sold folded, so only the top half is visible—or “above the fold.” Placing images above the fold will ensure they are seen in a prominent light. Images on the front page not only attract readers, but can also entice buyers to the paper.

The number of photographs per story on the page were counted and noted. Having the time, space and images to run more than one image shows that the photographer had enough time on the assignment to make several pictures good enough to run in the paper. The story was important enough to show two pictures of it – removing image options from elsewhere in the paper. If the second image with a story was a thumbnail-sized mug shot of a person in the picture, it was counted. If the story was pulled from a wire service, it was counted. Running two pictures from a wire service takes up room that either could have been occupied by staff work or was empty because there was no staff work to print.

Stand-alone or feature pictures were noted. Feature photos are photos that are good and worth being printed but may not have any written news hook, or that are meant to draw the reader into the newspaper. If the image is an enterprise photograph, it means the photographer had enough time to go look for something interesting to shoot. Other times, the news writers may not have been able to cover an event, but rather than scrapping the coverage altogether, they asked the photography department to cover it.

Photographer workload is an important thing to gauge. With fewer people to cover events for the photography department, the choice becomes only cover certain events, maintaining the same amount of work for each photographer, or to maintain the amount of coverage done by the department and assign more work to each shooter. Filling a photographer's day with shoots means less time per assignment – time which could have been used to gain access to the subject or to try new photographic techniques. Running from assignment to assignment also requires a lot of energy, both physically and mentally. Over time, this could lead to a degradation of the photographer's work and focus. Photographer workload was determined by taking the total number of locally produced (non-wire) stories with pictures in the day's covers and section fronts and dividing it by the total number of staff photographer bylines in those photographs.

Bylines of printed photographs were coded to determine local content versus wire photographs. Thumbnail-sized images were not counted, as they usually are not credited. Bylines will be divided into staff photographer, stringer or contributor, reporter (does the byline match the story byline?), subject photo courtesy and wire service. Staff photographers are the local content producers who know the area and who have the most experience making photographs. Stringers are photographers who do not work at the paper but are still primarily photographers. In some instances, reporters are sent with cameras to take pictures because photographers cannot be supplied. Reporters also collect images from their subjects on occasion, if images cannot be made for the story. Also, in breaking news photographer (fires, accidents, crimes), wire photographs or hand-out photos from emergency responders are sometimes used if the newspaper could not get a photographer to the scene. Photographs from wire services (Associated Press, Reuters,

etc.) may be good photos, but are not necessarily locally produced and may not be locally relevant. A commitment to locally produced content, as Bogart found in interviewing newspaper editors, is a primary concern for a newspaper. (Bogart, 1977, cited in Lacy & Fico, 1990).

Graphic elements identified as an illustration or information graphic were counted and included in the analysis of overall quality. Some illustrations are strictly conceptual photographs produced by a photojournalist in a studio, but there are also graphs and drawings and other informative visuals. Newspapers have increasingly published these because they help readers better comprehend ideas and quantitative information (Utt and Pasternack, 1993). While this work may not be produced entirely by the photography department, a newspapers' graphics department has grown increasingly important to the organization. It is still important to note how visuals for the newspaper are being produced.

Coding

Using these definitions, a code sheet and codebook were compiled and used to train a second coder. Training consisted of analyzing each selected newspaper using one issue not included in the data set. After discussing the results and clarifying discrepancies, the second coder evaluated two issues of each 14-issue newspaper sample, one from each year, which is about 14 percent of each newspaper and of the full sample. Intercoder reliability was high, as measured by Cohen's *kappa*, and was as follows: for image location, *kappa*=.948; for image type, *kappa*=.813; for byline, *kappa*=.864; for

byline match between photograph and article, $kappa=.742$; for total images per article, $kappa=.842$.

Data Analysis

Upon collection of the photographic data from these newspapers, the information was analyzed to determine any trends or changes in quality apparent between the pre-layoff papers and the post-layoff papers using Lacy & Fico's metric for evaluating quality of coverage.

Total numbers of images and numbers of news images from both years were analyzed using the Chi Square Goodness-of-Fit test, which looks to determine the probability of random samples producing the same result and change as that of the data. News images were analyzed separately, since pictures that visually report the news are the primary responsibility and purpose of the photography department.

To explore changes in who produced the images in the paper, the original coding data, which specified staff, freelancer, wire, hand-out and uncredited images, was recoded into staff and non-staff categories, to better compare the work of the newsroom with that from outside sources. These categories were then analyzed with Fisher's Exact Test, which produces a more reliable, specific analysis of 2x2 tables than that of a chi square. Analysis of categories with more than two outcomes was done using a chi square, do determine if there was any significant change in the distribution of the bylines between the two years. Chi squares were also used to analyze page placement data.

Image size was calculated as a ratio of the overall page, so it would be possible to compare among papers and to overcome any size irregularities incurred from

variations in microfilm. These measurements were then analyzed for each paper, looking both at all images and at news images, using an independent samples t-test to compare the average size of the images and the standard deviation, or dispersion from the average, in each of the research years.

Interviews

After analyzing the quantitative data gathered, results were discussed with the directors of photography at each newspaper so as to gain context for the numbers and to discuss the unique situations of each department. For insight to and further articulation of changes in personnel, approach to coverage, overall mood and any nuances or exceptions, an in-depth personal interview is needed with the primary visual manager of each photography department. The benefits of in-depth interviews include obtaining “detailed background about the reasons why respondents give specific answers,” gathering “elaborate data” about the topics of discussion and the ability to customize each interview to the individual (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003, p.127). The information culled adds valuable context to the data of the content analysis.

Flexible, semi-structured interviews with key discussion themes allow each visual manager to define and explain their department’s functions and approach to the economic climate in a personal and thorough manner, with detail and nuance not obtainable by quantitative survey. In their study on how picture editors incorporate their own emotions and experiences into making decisions at work, Peterson and Spratt (2005) conducted 13 interviews about working on graphic breaking news and how the news and personal experiences impact the editor and vice-versa. In the face of regional and national news

events, each respondent had his or her own personal reactions and experiences as they worked, which weren't apparent through the photographic coverage shaped the individual's approach to the job. By interviewing the subjects, personal information not attainable through simply looking at the pictures was gathered that helped further explain the situations and the approaches to photographic duties.

Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility to go where the interviewee believes is important. By asking about the factors that weighed on certain choices that had to be made, Spratt and Peterson show how in-depth, semi-structured interviewing is the best way to access the mental processes an individual is making about a certain event. While the information gathered through content analysis will be able to establish some quantifiable data to look at in discussing photographic output before and after newspaper layoffs, the personal interviews are key to understanding the issue further.

Each subject was asked the following questions:

1. Is or was there an over-arching visual philosophy or approach to photojournalism that you and the staff try to follow?
2. How did/do you decide which news events to cover and what photographer to send? Has this changed in the past five years?
3. Do you think the coverage done by the photography department has changed in anyway since 2004? If so, how?
4. Has your use of newswire services changed in the past 5 years? If so, how? ...of freelance photographers?
5. What is the photography department's role in the online presence of the news organization? Is there a separate online/video/multimedia section or does that work come from the photography department?
6. How have you seen the photography department (it's role, product, relationship to the rest of the newsroom) change in the past five years? The role of the photography staff?

7. After workforce reduction by the company, did you make a conscious change as to how the department allots its photographic resources?
8. Have there any specific situations where the reduced staff size was the reason for changing the way an event or subject was reported on by the department?
9. How do you define "quality" in photojournalism? What do you think a "quality photography department" or a "quality news organization" does and looks like? Do you think the quality of the photographic product your department produces has changed in any way since 2004?
10. What do you see in the future of newspaper photography? ...of journalism? Where do you see the craft and the industry headed?

Interview Subject Selection

The term “visual manager” refers to the person whose key responsibility it is to oversee the photography department, its photographers and its journalistic product. Not only does this person manage the content and guiding visual principles in the newsroom, but this person usually has a strong hand in hiring and firing of photographers and image technicians, departmental organization and reorganization and interdepartmental relations. This is a key distinction to separate one who only edits pictures from one who is in charge of more aspects of the department. Some newspapers will call this person the Photo Editor, while others will have a Director of Photography or Chief Visuals Manager. While the titles are different, the job descriptions are the same and these people, who guide the photography department in its mission, are the ones who will be interviewed. These members of the newspaper will be able to best speak about both the managerial and photographic decisions.

The Director of Photography (who may also be called the Photo Editor, Visual Manager, or some other title), who has first-hand knowledge of and experience with the workings of the department and the organization as a whole will be able to articulate why certain changes were made, how news coverage decisions were made and to what extent, if at all, the content and structure of the photography department has been altered by layoff chain reactions. This individual has the most governance over the department with respect to personnel management and overarching visual philosophy of the newspaper and, thus, can speak about the department on a more macro level than could a staff photographer.

As of 2009, the *Boston Globe's* Deputy Director of Photography Jim Davis has held his position for seven years and been at the paper for 27. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch's* Director of Photography Larry Coyne has been at the paper and in his position for 11.5 years. Craig Porter, the *Detroit Free Press's* Director of Photography and Video Craig Porter has held his position for four years and been at the newspaper for 34. Geri Migielicz, former Director of Photography, left the *San Jose Mercury News* in March of 2009 (three months before the end of the second research time period) to start her own multimedia production company. She was Director of Photography for 16 years and had been at the newspaper for seven years before that. The current Director of Photography at the *Mercury News* preferred not to participate, citing a volatile and unpredictable layoff environment.

CHAPTER 4 Quantitative Data Results

Overview

Results of the content analysis were mixed, showing different reactions to the effects of workforce reduction on the department. Combining the data of all four newspapers shows an overall drop in quantity of images and news pictures, but an increase both in the size of news pictures and in the percentage of news pictures produced by staff photographers.

More specifically, news pictures as a percentage of all images also fell in the full sample, from 60.97 in 2004 to 56.33 in 2009. (See Table 4.1). At each of the newspapers, the quantity of images decreased, but these drops were accompanied by the elimination of sections and pages in the newspaper. The cuts are also beyond the photography department and affecting the rest of the newspaper, as suggested not only by a decrease in the news space, but also by the drop in number of written stories published.

Average numbers of images on the cover or section front of each section dropped dramatically, from 26.54 to 16.93. The average number of news pictures decreased by almost half, from 16.19 to 9.54. Average size of images and of news pictures increased with news pictures expanded from 8.62 to 12.26 percent of the news page. (See Table 4.1).

Staff-produced news pictures as a percentage of all news pictures increased in the full sample from 24.5 to 29.32. This figure also climbed considerably at all newspapers,

save the *San Jose Mercury News*, where it fell. These numbers suggest a preference for locally produced work when possible. Because the *Mercury News* produced almost the same number of news images in 2009 after reducing its photography staff by half and maintaining nearly the same number of pages, it is understandable that the percentage of news pictures produced by staff would drop. Wire content also increased as a percentage of the images, but only slightly, going from 10.5 percent of the total image count at all newspapers in 2004 to 12.4 percent in 2009. (See Table 4.1)

Photographer workload changed slightly at each paper, though *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* had two instances of the story author and photographer being the same individual. *The Boston Globe* also showed slight increases in photographer workload, with one photographer even having three assignments in one issue. However, having assignments printed in the paper on the same day does not indicate the photographer shot them on the same day.

Individual newspapers had varied results that reflected the overall trends differently. For the purpose of answering each research question, newspapers will be discussed individually.

TABLE 4.1 – Summary

	All 2004	All 2009	2004 Merc	2009 Merc	2004 BG	2004 BG	2004 PD	2009 PD	2004 DFP All	2009 DFP All	2004 DFP WD	2009 DFP WD
Number of images	743	474	191	168	168	112	179	96	205	98	154	119
Number of news pictures	453	267	104	103	102	56	78	43	169	65	66	46
Percent of total that are news pictures	60.97	56.33	54.45	60.95	60.71	50	43.58	44.79	47.86	38.46	42.86	38.66
Staff news pictures	182	139	42	37	52	37	37	26	51	39	34	28
Percent of total that are staff news pictures	24.5	29.32	21.99	21.89	30.95	33.04	20.67	27.08	24.88	23.08	22.08	23.53
Wire news pictures	78	59	29	28	12	10	12	10	25	11	16	8
% of total that are wire news	10.5	12.4	15.18	16.57	7.14	8.93	6.7	10.42	12.2	6.51	10.39	6.72
Average image size as percent of page	8.62	12.26	9.04	9.72	7.923	12.47	9.409	15.45	8.123	11.4	9.095	9.574
Articles	577	410	154	124	143	98	129	84	151	104	107	73
Articles with images	238	174	70	63	61	32	48	32	59	47	39	34
Percent of articles with images	41.25	42.44	45.45	50.08	42.66	32.65	37.21	38.10	39.07	45.19	36.45	46.58
Avg. front/cover images per issue	26.54	16.93	27.29	24.14	24	16	25.57	13.71	29.29	24.14	30.8	23.8
Avg. front/cover news pictures per issue	16.18	9.54	14.86	14.71	14.57	7.71	11.14	6.14	14	9.29	13.2	9.2

RQ1: How, if at all, does the quantity of images published change from before to after layoffs?

Quantities of images and of news pictures decreased at all papers, as did averages, but the percentage of those images that are news pictures changed in varying ways. Articles and articles with pictures also dropped, but the percentage of those with pictures changed in varying ways.

San Jose Mercury News

For the *San Jose Mercury News*, the number of total images published in 2009 dropped from 191 in 2004 to 169, but total news pictures decreased by only one image, from 104 to 103. News pictures comprised 54.45 percent of the images in the 2004 issues and increased to 60.95 percent in 2009. The percentage of written articles with images also increased from 45.45 percent to 50.81 percent. For the *San Jose Mercury News*, the average number of images in each issue in 2004 was 27.29. In 2009, it dropped to 24.14. The average number of news photographs in each issue hardly changed, from 14.86 in 2004 to 14.71 in 2009. Three issues in 2009 did not have all of the usual five sections that each issue of the 2004 sample had (front cover, local news, business, sports, arts and entertainment), with two omitting the arts section and one omitting the business section. (See Table 4.2).

TABLE 4.2 *San Jose Mercury News*—Quantities

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS	2004	2009
Total number of images	191	168
Number of news pictures	104	103
Percentage that are news pictures	54.45%	60.95%
Number of articles	154	124
Number of articles with news pictures	70	63
Percentage of articles with news pictures	45.45%	50.81%
Average number of images per issue	27.29	24.14
Average number of news pictures per issue	14.86	14.71

Boston Globe

At the *Boston Globe*, the number of total images published in 2004 dropped from 168 to 112 and total news pictures decreased from 102 to 56. News pictures made up 60.71 percent of the visual content in 2004 but fell to 50 percent in 2009. The percentage of written articles with images dropped from 42.66 percent to 32.65 percent. The average number of all images decreased from 24 in 2004 to 16 in 2009. Average news pictures dropped by almost half, from 14.57 to 7.71 pictures per issue.

Elimination of the weekday business section and changing the cover of arts and entertainment to a magazine-style cover with graphic illustrations are prime contributors to the reduction in image averages. All seven issues from the 2004 sample had five sections. In 2009, one issue had five sections, four had four sections and two had three

sections. The issues with fewer than five sections were all lacking a business section; those with three sections also did not have an arts and entertainment section. (See Table

4.3).

TABLE 4.3: *Boston Globe*—Quantities

BOSTON GLOBE	2004	2009
Total number of images	168	112
Number of news pictures	102	56
Percentage that are news pictures	60.71%	50%
Number of articles	143	98
Number of articles with news pictures	61	32
Percentage of articles with news pictures	42.66%	32.65%
Average number of images per issue	24	16
Average number of news pictures per issue	14.57	7.71

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

In evaluating the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the number of total images published in 2004 dropped from 179 to 96 and total news pictures fell from 78 to 43. News pictures remained about the same percentage of the visual content, comprising 43.58 percent of all images in 2004 and increasing slightly to 44.79 percent in 2009. Also consistent was the percentage of articles with news pictures: in 2004, 37.21 percent of written pieces were accompanied with news pictures; in 2009, it increased to 38.1 percent. The average number of images per issue of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* dropped almost by half, from 25.57 to 13.71. The average number of news photos per issue also dropped by about half, from 11.14 to 6.14.

A big factor in the drop of numbers and averages of is the reduction of sections in

which to print the images. June issues of the *Post-Dispatch* contained only a front cover and a sports page; photographic coverage on these two sections showed little change in the time period. In 2004, Arts and Entertainment was a photo-heavy section; in 2009, the format changed and the section was eliminated in later issues of the sample. This accounts for a majority of the reduction (down from 27 to 5 total images for that section). The business section and local news section also showed reductions. The adoption of hyper-local news coverage resulted in "zone" sections and a lack of emphasis on the "local" or "metro" news section specifically. The front page is morphing into the metro section, resulting in less of a need for a local news section further inside the paper and, thus, a reduction in news pictures. (See Table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Quantities

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH	2004	2009
Total number of images	179	96
Number of news pictures	78	43
Percentage that are news pictures	43.58%	44.79%
Number of articles	129	84
Number of articles with news pictures	48	32
Percentage of articles with news pictures	37.21%	38.10%
Average number of images per issue	25.57	13.71
Average number of news pictures per issue	11.14	6.14

Detroit Free Press

Looking at the full sample of the *Detroit Free Press*, the number of total images

published dropped from 205 in 2004 to 169 in 2009. News pictures fell in quantity, from 98 to 65, and also in percentage, accounting for 47.8 percent of visual content in 2004, but 38.46 percent of that in 2009. In 2004, 39.07 percent of articles were accompanied by news pictures, but in 2009 that increased to 45.19 percent. The main reason for this increase is that the total number of articles dropped from 151 to 104. The number of illustrated articles dropped from 59 to 47.

The average number of images per issue dropped slightly, from 29.29 in 2004 to 24.14 in 2009. The average number of news photographs dropped from 14 to 9.29, but this paper didn't see a dramatic reduction in news sections. Every issue evaluated in 2004 had five sections each; in 2009, five issues had seven sections and two had fewer than that, with both omitting the business section and one also omitting the local news section. (See Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5: *Detroit Free Press*—All—Quantities

DETROIT FREE PRESS - ALL	2004	2009
Total number of images	205	169
Number of news pictures	98	65
Percentage that are news pictures	47.80%	38.46%
Number of articles	151	104
Number of articles with news pictures	59	47
Percentage of articles with news pictures	39.07%	45.19%
Average number of images per issue	29.29	24.14
Average number of news pictures per issue	14	9.29

Looking only at the weekdays of the *Detroit Free Press*, the number of total images published dropped from 154 in 2004 to 119 in 2009; total news pictures fell from 66 to 46. News pictures accounted for 42.89 percent of visual content in 2004 and dropped slightly to 38.66 percent of the visual content in 2009. Of articles in the paper, 36.45 percent had news pictures in 2004, which increased to 46.58 percent in 2009. Total articles dropped from 107 to 73, but those with pictures only dropped from 29 to 34.

The average number of images per issue dropped from 30.8 in 2004 to 23.8 in 2009 and the average number of news photographs dropped from 13.2 to 9.2. Every issue evaluated in 2004 had five sections each. In 2009, two issues had fewer than that, with both omitting the business section and one omitting the local news section. (See Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6: *Detroit Free Press*—Weekdays—Quantities

DETROIT FREE PRESS - WEEKDAY	2004	2009
Total number of images	154	119
Number of news pictures	66	46
Percentage that are news pictures	42.86%	38.66%
Number of articles	107	73
Number of articles with news pictures	39	34
Percentage of articles with news pictures	36.45%	46.58%
Average number of images per issue	30.8	23.8
Average number of news pictures per issue	13.2	9.2

RQ2: a. How, if at all, has the quantity staff-produced content changed?

As with overall quantities, staff-produced numbers of images dropped at all papers. News pictures by staff, the primary product of the photography department, increased in percentage in relation to all news pictures increased dramatically at the *Boston Globe*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Detroit Free Press*. *The Mercury News'* staff news pictures decreased in percent of all news pictures. Staff news pictures as a percentage of all images in the paper increased dramatically only at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. That figure increased by about three percent at the *Boston Globe* and dropped slightly at the *Mercury News* and *Detroit Free Press* (.1 and .2 percent, respectively).

San Jose Mercury News

Staff-produced images dropped in quantity from 56 to 44 and slightly as a percentage of overall content, from 29.32 percent in 2004 to 26.04 percent in 2009. News pictures produced by staff also dropped, from 42 to 37, and in percentage of news pictures from 40.38 percent to 35.92 percent. Despite these drops, the percentage of news pictures by staff photographers of all images remains almost identical: 21.99 percent of all images in 2004 and 21.89 percent in 2009. (See Table 4.7)

TABLE 4.7: *San Jose Mercury News*—Staff Content

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS	2004	2009
Total images	191	169
Images by staff	56	44
Percent of images by staff	29.32%	26.04%
News pictures	104	103
News pictures by staff	42	37
Percent of news pictures by staff	40.38%	35.92%
Staff news pictures as a percentage of total	21.99%	21.89%

Boston Globe

Staff-produced images at the *Boston Globe* dropped in quantity from 66 to 43 and slightly as a percentage of overall content, from 39.29 percent in 2004 to 38.39 percent in 2009. News pictures produced by staff also dropped in quantity, from 52 to 37, but increased in percentage from 50.98 percent to 66.07 percent because fewer news pictures were printed (102 in 2004 down to 56). News pictures made by staff photographers increased slightly in percentage, from 30.95 percent in 2004 to 33.04 percent in 2009. (See Table 4.8).

TABLE 4.8: *Boston Globe*—Staff Content

BOSTON GLOBE	2004	2009
Total images	168	112
Images by staff	66	43
Percent of images by staff	39.29%	38.39%
News pictures	102	56
News pictures by staff	52	37
Percent of news pictures by staff	50.98%	66.07
Staff news pictures as a percentage of total	30.95%	33.04%

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

In the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, staff-produced images dropped in quantity from 51 to 29 but increased slightly as a percentage of overall content, from 28.49 percent in 2004 to 30.21 percent in 2009. News pictures produced by staff also dropped, from 37 to 26, but increased dramatically in percentage from 47.44 percent to 60.47 percent. Staff news pictures increased as a percentage of overall visual content, from 20.67 percent in 2004 to 27.08 percent in 2009. (See Table 4.9).

TABLE 4.9: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Staff Content

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH	2004	2009
Total images	179	96
Images by staff	51	29
Percent of images by staff	28.49%	30.21%
News pictures	78	43
News pictures by staff	37	26
Percent of news pictures by staff	47.44%	60.47%
Staff news pictures as a percentage of total	20.67%	27.08%

Detroit Free Press

Images by the *Detroit Free Press* staff dropped in quantity from 63 to 58 in the full sample but increased slightly as a percentage of overall content, from 30.73 percent in 2004 to 34.32 percent in 2009. News pictures produced by staff also dropped, from 51 to 39, but increased in percentage from 52.04 percent to 60 percent. This work as a portion of the newspaper's full body of visual work decreased slightly in percentage, from 24.88 percent in 2004 to 23.08 percent in 2009. (See Table 4.10).

TABLE 4.10: *Detroit Free Press—All—Staff Content*

DETROIT FREE PRESS - ALL	2004	2009
Total images	205	169
Images by staff	63	58
Percent of images by staff	30.73%	34.32%
News pictures	98	65
News pictures by staff	51	39
Percent of news pictures by staff	52.04%	60%
Staff news pictures as a percentage of total	24.88%	23.08%

Filtering the sample to weekdays only, images by the *Detroit Free Press* staff dropped in quantity from 44 to 42, which showed as a percentage increase from 28.57 percent in 2004 to 35.29 percent in 2009. News pictures produced dipped from 34 to 28, but increased in percentage from 51.52 percent to 60.87 percent. Staff-produced news pictures in relation to all the images in the newspaper increased slightly in percentage,

from 22.08 percent in 2004 to 23.53 percent in 2009. The trends in these numbers are similar to those of the full Detroit Free Press sample. (See Table 4.11).

TABLE 4.11: Detroit Free Press—Weekdays—Staff Content

DETROIT FREE PRESS WEEKDAY	2004	2009
Total images	154	119
Images by staff	44	42
Percent of images by staff	28.57%	35.29%
News pictures	66	46
News pictures by staff	34	28
Percent of news pictures by staff	51.52%	60.87%
Staff news pictures as a percentage of total	22.08%	23.53%

RQ2 b. How, if at all, has the quantity of wire content changed?

Use of wire content generally increased, but at different rates among the newspapers. As a percentage of all images, wire news pictures increased at the *Mercury News*, the *Boston Globe* and the *Post-Dispatch*, but dropped at the *Detroit Free Press*.

San Jose Mercury News

For the *San Jose Mercury News*, there were 30 wire images in both 2004 and 2009. There were 29 wire news pictures in 2004, which were 27.88 percent of all news pictures. In 2009, there was little change: 28 wire news pictures for 27.18 percent of all news pictures. News pictures from wire services accounted for 15.18 percent of all images in 2004 and 16.57 percent of those in 2009. (See Table 4.12). Overall, there was a very slight increase in use of wire images.

TABLE 4.12: *San Jose Mercury News*—Wire Content

SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS	2004	2009
Total images	191	169
Images from wire	30	30
Percent of images from wire	15.71%	17.75%
News pictures	104	103
News pictures from wire	29	28
Percent of news images from wire	27.88%	27.18%
Wire news pictures as a percentage of total	15.18%	16.57%

Boston Globe

There were 14 wire images in the 2004 *Boston Globe* sample and 11 in 2009. Wire images increased slightly in percentage of the overall, from 8.33 percent to 9.82 percent. Wire news pictures dropped slightly from 12 in 2004 to 10, but increased in percentage of news pictures, from 11.76 percent to 17.86 percent in 2009. News pictures from wire services accounted for 7.14 percent of all images in 2004 and increased to 8.93 percent of those in 2009. (See Table 4.13). Overall, there was a very slight increase in use of wire images.

TABLE 4.13: *Boston Globe*—Wire Content

BOSTON GLOBE	2004	2009
Total images	168	112
Images from wire	14	11
Percent of images from wire	8.33%	9.82%
News pictures	102	56
News pictures from wire	12	10
Percent of news images from wire	11.76%	17.86%
Wire news pictures as a percentage of total	7.14%	8.93%

St. Louis Post Dispatch

In the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, wire images dropped slightly from 16 in 2004 to 13 in 2009 but increased in percentage of all images, from 8.94 percent to 13.54 percent in 2009. News pictures pulled from wire services also dropped slightly from 12 in 2004

to 10, and also increased in percentage of news pictures, from 15.38 percent to 23.26 percent in 2009. Of all the images in the sample, news pictures from wire services accounted for 6.7 percent of all images in 2004 and increased to 10.42 percent of those in 2009. (See Table 4.14). Overall, there was an increase in use of wire images.

TABLE 4.14: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Wire Content

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH	2004	2009
Total images	179	96
Images from wire	16	13
Percent of images from wire	8.94%	13.54%
News pictures	78	43
News pictures from wire	12	10
Percent of news images from wire	15.38%	23.26%
Wire news pictures as a percentage of total	6.7%	10.42%

Detroit Free Press

With the full sample of the *Detroit Free Press*, use of wire content decreased. Wire images fell from 32 in 2004 to 16 in 2009, a drop from 15.61 percent to 9.47 percent. Wire-supplied news pictures fell from 25 to 11 and also decreased in percentage of news pictures, from 25.51 percent in 2004 to 16.92 percent in 2009. Looking at all images, wire news pictures dropped to half the percentage, from 12.2 percent in 2004 to 6.51 percent. (See Table 4.15). Overall, there was a decrease in use of wire images.

TABLE 4.15: *Detroit Free Press*—All—Wire Content

DETROIT FREE PRESS - ALL	2004	2009
Total images	205	169
Images from wire	32	16
Percent of images from wire	15.61%	9.47%
News pictures	98	65
News pictures from wire	25	11
Percent of news images from wire	25.51%	16.92%
Wire news pictures as a percentage of total	12.2%	6.51%

On the weekdays of the *Detroit Free Press*, use of wire content also decreased. Wire images decreased from 26 in 2004 to 10 in 2009, which also constituted a percentage drop from 16.88 percent to 8.4 percent. News pictures from the wires fell from 16 to 8 and also decreased in percentage of news pictures, from 24.24 percent in 2004 to 17.39 percent in 2009. Looking at all images in the weekday sample, wire news pictures dropped from 10.39 percent in 2004 to 6.72 percent. (See Table 4.16).

TABLE 4.16: *Detroit Free Press*—Weekdays—Wire Content

DETROIT FREE PRESS - WEEKDAY	2004	2009
Total images	154	119
Images from wire	26	10
Percent of images from wire	16.88%	8.4%
News pictures	66	46
News pictures from wire	16	8
Percent of news images from wire	24.24%	17.39%
Wire news pictures as a percentage of total	10.39%	6.72%

RQ3: How, if at all, have other factors indicating the quality of photographic coverage changed from before to after layoffs as reflected in quantity, image size, byline, images per page, images per story and photographer workload?

3a. How, if at all, has the distribution of byline sources changed?

Distributions of all bylines include not only staff-produced images and wire content, but also submissions, file photos, freelance work and images that either don't have a clear byline or are not credited. Staff versus non-staff condenses all non-staff categories into one number.

San Jose Mercury News

For the *San Jose Mercury News*, Fisher's Exact test shows changes in staff vs. non-staff bylines was not significant ($p=.556$, Fisher's exact test). Staff vs. non-staff

bylines of news pictures did not change significantly ($p=.568$, Fisher's exact test). (See Table 4.17). Changes in distribution of all bylines for all images were not significant ($\chi^2=3.847$, $df=5$, $p=.572$), but approached significance for news pictures only ($\chi^2=10.472$, $df=5$, $p=.063$). (See Table 4.18).

TABLE 4.17: San Jose Mercury News—Staff Distribution

Mercury News	All images*		News pictures**	
	Staff	Non-staff	Staff	Non-staff
2004	56	135	42	62
2009	44	125	37	66

*Fisher's Exact Test $p= .556$

**Fisher's Exact Test $p=.568$

TABLE 4.18: San Jose Mercury News—Byline Distribution

Mercury News	All Images*		News Pictures**	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
1 – Wire service	30	30	29	28
2 – Submitted/Outsourced	24	27	24	18
3 – Freelancer	-	-	-	-
4 – Staff	56	44	42	37
5 – File photo	6	8	0	8
6 – Uncredited	68	50	4	3
7 – Unclear	7	10	5	9

* $\chi^2=3.847$ $df=5$ $p=.572$

** $\chi^2=10.472$ $df=5$ $p=.063$

Boston Globe

At the *Boston Globe*, changes in staff vs. non-staff bylines was not significant (p=0.901, Fisher's exact test) for all images but approached significance for news pictures (p=.093, Fisher's exact test). (See Table 4.19). A comparison of the distributions of all bylines between 2004 and 2009 was shown to be significant for all images ($\chi^2=16.486$ df=6 p=.011) and for news pictures ($\chi^2=16.213$ df=6 p=.013). (See Table 4.20).

TABLE 4.19: Boston Globe—Staff Distribution

Boston Globe	All images*		News pictures**	
	Staff	Non-staff	Staff	Non-staff
2004	66	102	52	50
2009	43	69	37	19

*Fisher's Exact Test p=.901

**Fisher's Exact Test p=.093

TABLE 4.20: Boston Globe—Byline Distribution

Boston Globe	All Images*		News Pictures**	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
1 – Wire service	14	11	12	10
2 – Submitted/Outsourced	7	0	5	0
3 – Freelancer	10	1	10	1
4 – Staff	66	43	52	37
5 – File photo	6	6	5	6
6 – Uncredited	58	51	13	2
7 - Unclear	7	0	5	0

* $\chi^2=16.486$ df=6 p=.011

** $\chi^2=16.213$ df=6 p=.013

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

With the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, changes in staff vs. non-staff bylines was shown not to be significant ($p=0.782$, Fisher's exact test) for all images or for news pictures ($p=0.188$, Fisher's exact test). (See Table 4.21). A comparison of the distributions of all bylines between 2004 and 2009 was shown not to be significant for all images ($\chi^2=4.582$, $df=6$, $p=.598$) or for news pictures ($\chi^2=6.501$, $df=6$, $p=.369$). (See Table 4.22).

TABLE 4.21: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Staff Distribution

Post-Dispatch	All images		News pictures	
	Staff	Non-staff	Staff	Non-staff
2004	51	128	37	41
2009	29	67	26	17

*Fisher's Exact Test $p= .782$ **Fisher's Exact Test $p=.188$

TABLE 4.22: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Byline Distribution

Post-Dispatch	All Images*		News Pictures**	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
1 – Wire service	16	12	13	10
2 – Submitted/Outsourced	15	5	10	3
3 – Freelancer	2	0	2	0
4 – Staff	51	29	37	26
5 – File photo	3	0	1	0
6 – Uncredited	89	49	12	4
7 - Unclear	3	1	3	0

* $\chi^2=4.582$ $df=6$ $p=.598$ ** $\chi^2=6.501$ $df=6$ $p=.369$

Detroit Free Press

Looking at the full sample of the *Detroit Free Press*, the change in staff vs. non-staff bylines is significant among all images ($p=.0001$, Fisher's exact test), but was not significant among news pictures ($p=.338$, Fisher's exact test). (See Table 4.23).

Comparing distributions of bylines, the change was determined to be significant in all images ($x^2=21.779$ $df=6$ $p=.001$); the change in bylines of news pictures was not significant ($x^2=13.587$ $df=6$ $p=.035$). (See Table 4.24).

TABLE 4.23: *Detroit Free Press*—All—Staff Distribution

Free Press - All	All images*		News pictures**	
	Staff	Non-staff	Staff	Non-staff
2004	63	142	51	47
2009	58	111	39	26

*Fisher's Exact Test $p=.0001$

**Fisher's Exact Test $p=.338$

TABLE 4.24: *Detroit Free Press*—All—Byline Distribution

Free Press - All	All Images*		News Pictures**	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
1 – Wire service	37	16	25	11
2 – Submitted/Outsourced	28	11	16	8
3 – Freelancer	0	1	0	1
4 – Staff	63	58	51	39
5 – File photo	0	5	0	5
6 – Uncredited	74	78	3	1
7 - Unclear	3	0	3	0

* $x^2=21.779$ $df=6$ $p=.001$

** $x^2=13.587$ $df=6$ $p=.035$

Evaluating weekdays only of The Detroit Free Press, the change in staff vs. non-staff in all images was not significant among all images ($p=.241$, Fisher's exact test), nor was it significant among news pictures ($p=.342$, Fisher's exact test). (See Table 4.25). Comparing distributions of bylines, the change was determined to be significant in all images ($\chi^2=13.615$, $df=5$, $p=.018$); the change in bylines of news pictures approaches significance ($\chi^2=8.847$, $df=5$, $p=.115$). (See Table 4.26).

TABLE 4.25: Detroit Free Press—Weekdays—Staff Distribution

DFP - Weekday	All images		News pictures	
	Staff	Non-staff	Staff	Non-staff
2004	44	110	34	32
2009	42	77	28	18

*Fisher's Exact Test $p=.241$

**Fisher's Exact Test $p=.342$

TABLE 4.26: Detroit Free Press—Weekdays—Byline Distribution

Free Press - Weekday	All Images*		News Pictures**	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
1 – Wire service	26	10	16	8
2 – Submitted/Outsourced	22	10	11	7
3 – Freelancer	-	-	-	-
4 – Staff	44	42	34	28
5 – File photo	0	3	0	3
6 – Uncredited	59	54	2	0
7 - Unclear	3	0	3	0

* $\chi^2=13.615$ $df=5$ $p=.018$

** $\chi^2=8.847$ $df=5$ $p=.115$

3b. How, if at all, has the average size of printed images changed?

At all newspapers, the size of images and of news pictures as percentages of the page increased to varying degrees. News pictures increased at the same rate or greater than the average size of all pictures, except for in the weekday sample of the *Detroit Free Press*. Compared to the full sample of the paper, the size increase was not as substantial, suggesting possible changes in layout and design of the weekend papers.

San Jose Mercury News

With the images of the *San Jose Mercury News*, average size increased from 5.92 percent to 7.06 percent in 2009, not a significant change ($t=-1.068$, $p=0.286$). News pictures increased in size slightly, from 9.04 percent of the page in 2004 to 9.72 percent, also not a significant change ($t=-0.451$, $p=0.652$). (See table 4.27).

TABLE 4.27: *San Jose Mercury News*—Average Image Size

Mercury News	2004	2009
All images*	5.92%	7.06%
News pictures**	9.04%	9.72%

* $t=-1.068$, $p=0.286$ ** $t=-0.451$, $p=0.652$

Boston Globe

The average size of all images in the *Boston Globe* increased from 6.756 percent of the page in 2004 to 10.573 percent in 2009, a significant change ($t=-1.936$, $p=.054$). For news pictures only, mean image size increased from 7.923 percent to 12.469 percent, a change that approached significance at the .9 ($t=-2.126$, $p=.035$). (See Table 4.28).

TABLE 4.28: *Boston Globe*—Average Image Size

Boston Globe	2004	2009
All images*	6.756%	10.573%
News pictures**	7.923%	12.469%

* $t = -1.936$, $p = .054$ ** $t = -2.126$, $p = .035$

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

In the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the average size of all images increased from 5.228 percent of the page in 2004 to 8.468 percent in 2009, a significant change ($t = -2.259$, $p = .025$). For news pictures only, mean image size increased from 9.409 percent to 15.447 percent, a change that was also significant ($t = -2.255$, $p = .026$). (See Table 4.29).

TABLE 4.29: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Average Image Size

Post-Dispatch	2004	2009
All images*	5.228%	8.468%
News pictures**	9.409%	15.447%

* $t = -2.259$, $p = .025$ ** $t = -2.255$, $p = .026$

Detroit Free Press

Evaluating the full sample of the *Detroit Free Press*, the average size of all images increased from 4.392 percent of the page in 2004 to 5.649 percent in 2009, which was not a significant change ($t = -1.34$, $p = .180$). For news pictures only, mean image size increased from 8.123 percent to 11.399 percent, a significant increase ($t = -1.999$, $p = .047$). (See Table 4.30).

TABLE 4.30: *Detroit Free Press*—All—Average Image Size

Free Press - All	2004	2009
All images*	4.392%	5.649%
News pictures**	8.123%	11.399%

*t= -1.34, p=.180 **t= -1.999, p=.047

Restricting the *Detroit Free Press* sample to only weekdays finds that the average size of all images also increased slightly from 4.455 percent of the page in 2004 to 5.23 percent in 2009, which was not a significant change (t= -0.752, p=.453). For news pictures only, mean image size increased from 9.095 percent to 9.574 percent, also not a significant change (t= -0.286, p=.776). (See Table 4.31).

TABLE 4.31: *Detroit Free Press*—Weekdays—Average Image Size

Free Press - WD	2004	2009
All images*	4.455%	5.23%
News pictures**	9.095%	9.574%

*t= -0.752, p=.453 **t= -0.286, p=.776

3c. How, if at all, has the distribution of placement of images on the page changed?

Looking at page placement can help indicate prominence of content and also indicates to what readers may gravitate when looking at the page. Not every newspaper had the majority of its news pictures in the top third of the paper. An increasing masthead and design elements on the top (and, on occasion, bottom) edge of the news space is

pushing content toward the middle. If a photograph is displayed larger, the majority of it will fall in the middle, as available space near the top and/or bottom declines.

San Jose Mercury News

In the *San Jose Mercury News*, analysis of the distribution of placement of photographs on the page (top, middle, bottom; full page stats were omitted for the validity of the Chi square test) with a Chi square test showed changes were not significant ($\chi^2=2.045$, $df=2$, $p=0.360$). The biggest change in distribution was in the top third of the page, where frequency dropped from 70 in 2004 to 49 in 2009. The middle third dropped from 56 to 55, the bottom third dropped from 65 to 62 and full-page images rose from zero to 3. (See Table 4.32). For news pictures, there was no significant change ($\chi^2=.719$, $df=2$, $p=0.698$). News pictures in the top third decreased from 27 to 25, increased in the middle third from 40 to 44, decreased in the bottom third, from 37 to 31. (See Table 4.33) Photography in the *Mercury News* did not appear to have a dramatic redesign during the research period; masthead style changed, but general alignment and layout looked the same. An independent samples t-test shows that refer pictures at the *Mercury News* have more than doubled in size as percentage of the page, from 1.22% in 2004 to 2.76% in 2009, a significant change ($t= -2.395$, $p=.013$). For this paper, the majority of images are not in the top third of the paper, perhaps due to masthead design. (See Table 4.34).

TABLE 4.32: San Jose Mercury News—All—Page Placement

All Images	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	70	49	36.65%	28.99%
Middle third	56	55	29.32%	32.54%
Bottom third	65	62	34.03%	36.69%
Full-page	0	3	0%	1.78%
Total images	191	169	--	--

$$x^2=2.045, df=2, p=0.360$$

TABLE 4.33: San Jose Mercury News—News Images—Page Placement

News pictures	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	27	25	25.96%	24.27%
Middle third	40	44	38.46%	42.72%
Bottom third	37	31	35.58%	30.1%
Full-page	0	3	0%	2.91%
Total images	104	103	--	--

$$x^2=.719, df=2, p=0.698$$

TABLE 4.34: San Jose Mercury News—Average Size of Refer Images

Image size	2004	2009
Refer pictures*	1.22%	2.76%

$$*t= -2.395, p=.013$$

Boston Globe

With the *Boston Globe*, there was a significant change in the distribution of placement of photographs on the page among all images ($\chi^2=1.925$, $df=2$, $p=0.382$). Page placement appeared to shift up, with percentages of images in the bottom and middle thirds dropping slightly and the percentage of images in the top third increasing from 38 percent in 2004 to 41 percent in 2009, a year that also saw six full-page images. There were none in 2004. (See Table 4.35). This can be attributed to a redesign of the arts and entertainment section into a tabloid-sized section that featured a graphic or illustration on the cover.

For news picture placement in the *Boston Globe*, there was no significant change ($\chi^2=0.563$, $df=2$, $p=0.755$). A greater majority of news photographs ran in the top third of the page in 2009 and the middle third became more prominent in 2009. (See Table 4.36). The *Globe's* redesign in the research period shifted page design from a six-story layout to a four-story layout, which appeared to promote running photographs toward the top of the page. Comparing the sizes of refers in 2004 and 2009, there was not a significant increase ($t=-0.474$, $p=.284$). (See Table 4.37).

TABLE 4.35: *Boston Globe*—All—Page Placement

	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	64	46	38.09%	42.07%
Middle third	48	33	28.57%	29.46%
Bottom third	56	27	33.33%	24.11%
Full-page	0	6	--	5.36%
Total images	168	112	--	--

$x^2=1.925, df=2, p=0.382$

TABLE 4.36: *Boston Globe*—News—Page Placement

	2004	2009	2004	2009
All Images				
Top third	34	17	33.33%	30.36%
Middle third	30	19	29.41%	33.93%
Bottom third	38	18	37.25%	32.14%
Full-page	0	2	0%	3.57%
Total images	102	56	--	--

$x^2=0.563, df=2, p=0.755$

TABLE 4.37: *Boston Globe*—Average Size of Refer Images

Image size	2004	2009
Refer pictures*	0.957%	1.04%

*t= -0.474, p=.284

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

With the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, page placement did not change significantly ($\chi^2=1.969$, $df=3$, $p=.579$) when looking at all images. In 2004, the majority of images were at the top of the page but in 2009, images shifted such that the top and bottom thirds were equally represented. (See Table 4.38). News image placement also did not change significantly ($\chi^2=2.401$, $df=3$, $p=.493$). The top third of the paper was not the primary location of news pictures, with the middle and bottom thirds having more images. In 2009, the distribution became more even and the bottom third now held the majority of news pictures. The *Post-Dispatch* was bought by Lee Enterprises in 2005 and redesigned in a way that encouraged larger photographs. (See Table 4.39). The average size of refer pictures increased from 2004 to 2009, but not in a significant amount ($t= -0.272$, $p=.601$). (See Table 4.40).

TABLE 4.38: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch—All—Page Placement*

All Images	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	70	33	39.11%	34.38%
Middle third	53	28	29.61%	29.17%
Bottom third	55	33	30.73%	34.38%
Full-page	1	2	0.56%	2.08%
Total images	179	96	--	--

$\chi^2=1.969$, $df=3$, $p=.579$

TABLE 4.39: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—News—Page Placement

News pictures	2004	2009	2004 %	2009 %
Top third	19	12	24.36%	27.91%
Middle third	34	14	43.59%	32.56%
Bottom third	24	15	30.77%	34.88%
Full-page	1	2	1.28%	4.65%
Total images	78	43	--	--

$\chi^2=2.401, df=3, p=.493$

TABLE 4.40: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Average Size of Refer Images

Image size	2004	2009
Refer pictures*	1.29%	1.49%

* $t= -0.272, p=.601$

Detroit Free Press

Among all issues of the *Detroit Free Press*, page location of all images did not change significantly ($\chi^2=5.880, df=3, p=.118$). In 2004, a majority of images were in the center, but in 2009, the middle third had the lowest percentage of images. The top third had the most, followed by the bottom third. (See Table 4.41). For news pictures, the changes in distribution between 2004 and 2009 were not shown to be significant ($\chi^2=4.941, df=3, p=.176$). In both years, the middle third featured the majority of news pictures; the top third became less frequented and the bottom third saw the increase. (See Table 4.42). The newspaper was acquired by Gannett from Knight Ridder in 2005 and saw a redesign that

increased the size of the masthead and the images placed above it (refer images), making the center and bottom thirds of the page the prime area for news photo placement. An independent samples t-test shows that refer size did increase significantly ($t = -2.654$, $p = .011$). (See Table 4.43).

TABLE 4.41: Detroit Free Press—All—All—Page Placement

	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	72	66	35.12%	39.05%
Middle third	75	46	36.59%	27.22%
Bottom third	58	55	28.29%	32.54%
Full-page	0	2	0%	1.18%
Total images	205	169	--	--

$$x^2=5.880, df=3, p=.118$$

TABLE 4.42: Detroit Free Press—All—News—Page Placement

	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	28	11	28.57%	16.92%
Middle third	46	31	46.94%	47.69%
Bottom third	24	22	24.49%	33.85%
Full-page	0	1	0%	1.54%
Total images	98	65	--	--

$$x^2=4.941, df=3, p=.176$$

TABLE 4.43: *Detroit Free Press*—All—Average Size of Refer Images

Image size	2004	2009
Refer pictures*	0.927%	1.36%

*t= -2.654, p=.011

Looking at weekdays only, page placement of all images did not change significantly ($x^2=2.431$, $df=3$, $p=.488$), nor did placement of news pictures ($x^2=2.008$, $df=2$, $p=.366$). (See Tables 4.44 and 4.45). While in 2004, the middle third was slightly more prominent in the weekday sample and the top third was slightly more prominent in the seven-day sample, the 2009 trends and all of the news image trends are similar in both data sets. Refer pictures in the weekday sample also increased in average size, even more than the full sample, a change shown to be significant (*t= -2.390, $p=.046$). (See Tables 4.46).

TABLE 4.44: *Detroit Free Press*—Weekdays—All—Page Placement

	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	53	46	34.42%	38.66%
Middle third	52	33	33.77%	27.73%
Bottom third	49	39	31.82%	32.77%
Full-page	0	1	0%	.84%
Total images	154	119	--	--

$x^2=2.431$, $df=3$, $p=.488$

TABLE 4.45: *Detroit Free Press*—Weekdays—News—Page Placement

	2004	2009	2004	2009
Top third	19	8	28.79%	17.39%
Middle third	27	23	40.91%	50%
Bottom third	20	15	30.30%	32.61%
Full-page	0	0	0%	0%
Total images	66	46	--	--

$$x^2=2.008, df=2, p=.366$$

TABLE 4.46: *Detroit Free Press*—Weekdays—Average Size of Refer Images

Image size	2004	2009
Refer pictures*	0.927%	1.41%

$$*t= -2.390, p=.046$$

3d. How, if at all, has the average number of images per page changed?

By looking at the average number of images on the page, the number of images, (and more importantly, news pictures) a reader sees can be determined, along with any changes that may have happened in the design and layout of the newspaper. The average number of images per page, which includes mug shots, graphs, refers and illustrations, along with news pictures, dropped at all newspapers but by varying degrees. At the *Mercury News*, the drop was by .2 images, but at the *Post-Dispatch*, it was by 1.75. For news pictures, drops were less severe because of the decreased number overall and at the *Mercury News*, the average number of news images per page actually increased by .4 images. Again the *Post-Dispatch* showed the greatest drop, by .72 images. The *Boston*

Globe and the *Detroit Free Press* saw their averages drop by about .5 images per page. This translates to roughly 3.5 news pictures per page per week not being seen by the readers.

Images Per Page

Among all images of the *San Jose Mercury News*, average number of images dropped slightly, from 5.46 in 2004 to 5.28 in 2009. The average number of news photographs increased slightly, from 2.97 to 3.22. (See Table 4.47).

For the *Boston Globe*, average number of photos per page showed little change, dropping from 4.42 to 4.31 with all images and from 2.68 to 2.15 in news pictures. (See Table 4.47).

At the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, images per page decreased from an average of 5.59 in 2004 to 3.84 in 2009. News pictures per page decreased from an average of 2.44 in 2004 to 1.72 in 2009. (See Table 4.47).

The full sample of the *Detroit Free Press*, average images per page decreased from 5.86 to 5.28 and the average number of news pictures per page dropped from 2.8 to 2.03. Weekday-only analysis shows similar trends, with the average number of images per page decreased from 6.16 to 5.41 and the average number of news pictures per page dropped from 2.64 to 2.09. (See Table 4.47).

TABLE 4.47: All Papers—Average Images Per Page

	All Images		News Pictures	
	2004	2009	2004	2009
Mercury News	5.46	5.28	2.97	3.22
Boston Globe	4.42	4.31	2.68	2.15
Post-Dispatch	5.59	3.84	2.44	1.72
Free Press All	5.86	5.28	2.80	2.03
Free Press WD	6.16	5.41	2.64	2.09

3e. How, if at all, has the number of photographs per story changed?

To get an idea of the depth of reporting by the photographer and the commitment to showing more comprehensive photographic coverage, it is worth looking at the numbers of articles in each newspaper with any number of news pictures (mug shots, graphics, maps, etc., were not included) as well as those stories with no pictures and stand-alone feature pictures. In addition to frequencies, Chi squares were used to analyze any possible change in distribution of frequencies. To avoid problems with having too many cells with a count of five or fewer, stories with three or more pictures were collapsed into one category.

No newspaper showed a significant change in the distribution of multiple picture stories, though all but the *Mercury News* had reductions in the frequency of multiple picture stories. The *Mercury News* had several five-picture stories, which had smaller photos and were more design driven (featuring repetitive pictures laid out for visual

appeal rather than conveying layers of a story) than deeply documentary. However, the space was still given to the stories. The *Mercury News*, along with the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Free Press*, saw increases in the percentage of written stories with images. The *Boston Globe* saw a decrease in this percentage, but had significant and increasing quantities of stand-alone feature images, which shows that visual reporting is important at the newspaper and viable on its own.

San Jose Mercury News

At the *San Jose Mercury News*, changes among no-picture, single-picture, multiple-picture stories were not shown to be significant ($\chi^2=1.37$, $df=2$, $p=.5041$). One-picture stories dropped from 53 to 44, 2-picture packages decreasing slightly from 15 to 13 and instances of more than 2 images per article increasing from 2 in 2004 to 6 in 2009. (See Table 4.48). Total number of articles dropped from 154 to 124. Articles with pictures increased slightly, from 45.45 percent in 2004 to 50.81 percent in 2009. (See Table 4.47). The change in quantities of articles with images and without was not shown to be significant ($p=.442$, Fisher's exact). While the total number of articles fell, showing that layoffs and changes had their effects around the newsroom, the percentage change shows visual coverage remains an important part of the newspaper's content. Feature, or stand-alone pictures increased slightly, from 3 to 5 total, but continue to not be a substantial part of the photography department's content.

TABLE 4.48: *San Jose Mercury News*—News Pictures Per Story

	2004	2009
0 pictures	84	61
1 picture	53	44
2 pictures	15	13
3 pictures	1	3
4 pictures	1	0
5 pictures	0	3
Features:	3	5

$$x^2=1.37, df=2, p=.5041$$

TABLE 4.49: *San Jose Mercury News*—Stories With News Pictures

	2004	2009
With images	70 (45.45%)	63 (50.81%)
Without	84 (54.55%)	61 (49.19%)
Total	154	124

$$p=.442, \text{ Fisher's exact}$$

Boston Globe

With the *Boston Globe*, changes among no-picture, single-picture and multiple-picture stories were not shown to be significant ($x^2=2.36, df=2, p=.3073$). (See Table 4.50). The percentage of articles with pictures dropped from 42.66 percent to 32.65 percent and the change in quantities of those two categories was not significant ($p=.152$, Fisher's exact) (See Table 4.51). While the total number of articles fell, showing that layoffs and changes had their effects around the newsroom, the percentage change shows

a more meaningful representation of the decrease in visual coverage. Feature, or stand-alone pictures increased, going from 14 to 17 total, or an average of 2 to an average of 2.43 per issue. The *Globe* switched from a 6-story to 4-story front-page layout, possibly making it easier to use stand-alone features or features that jumped to a story inside.

TABLE 4.50: Boston Globe—News Pictures Per Story

	2004	2009
0 pictures	82	66
1 pictures	47	26
2 pictures	11	6
3 pictures	2	0
Features:	14	17

$$x^2=2.36, df=2, p=.3073$$

TABLE 4.51: Boston Globe—Stories With News Pictures

	2004	2009
With images	61 (42.66%)	32 (32.65%)
Without	82 (57.34%)	66 (67.34%)
Total	143	98

$$p=.152, \text{ Fisher's exact}$$

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

At the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the number of articles dropped from 129 to 84. The change in distribution of those without pictures, those with one picture and those with multiple pictures was shown in a Chi square test to be significant ($x^2=9.08, df=2,$

p=.0107). (See Table 4.53). It is worth noting that the percentage of articles with pictures increased slightly, with 37.2 percent in 2004 and 38.1 percent in 2009, that change was not significant (p=.888, Fisher’s exact). (See Table 4.52). While the total number of articles fell, showing that layoffs and changes had their effects around the newsroom, this percentage shows that the photography department's contributions in relation to the rest of the newsroom has increased slightly. Of articles with pictures, the biggest drop is shown in articles with more than one image from 17 in 2004 (35.4 percent) to 2 in 2009 (6.25 percent). Articles with one picture dropped in count but increased in percentage from 31 (64.6 percent) to 30 (93.8 percent). Total number of feature pictures increased from 8 to 9 images, raising the average per issue slightly, from 1.14 to 1.29.

TABLE 4.52: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—News Pictures Per Story

	2004	2009
0 pictures	81	52
1 pictures	31	30
2 pictures	12	2
3 pictures	3	0
4 pictures	0	0
5 pictures	1	0
6 pictures	1	0
Features:	8	9

$$x^2=9.08, df=2, p=.0107$$

TABLE 4.53: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—Stories With News Pictures

	2004	2009
With images	48 (37.21%)	32 (38.1%)
Without	81 (62.79%)	52 (61.9%)
Total	129	84

p=.888, Fisher's exact

Detroit Free Press – All Issues

Looking at the full *Detroit Free Press* sample, changes among no-picture, single-picture and multiple-picture stories were not shown to be significant ($\chi^2=1.29$ df=2 p=.5247). It is interesting to note that the biggest drop is in stories with no photos, which dropped from 91 in 2004 to 57 in 2009 (See Table 4.54). Stories with three photos or more dropped from five 3-picture stories and three 4-picture stories in 2004 to only one 3-picture story in 2009. Stories with one pictures dropped from 37 to 32, and those with two pictures stayed at 14 for each year (See Table 4.55). The shift in articles with images and articles without was not significant (p=.399, Fisher's exact).

TABLE 4.54: *Detroit Free Press*—All—News Pictures Per Story

	2004	2009
0 pictures	92	57
1 pictures	37	32
2 pictures	14	14
3 pictures	5	1
4 pictures	3	0
Features:	1	4

$\chi^2=1.29$ df=2 p=.5247

TABLE 4.55: Detroit Free Press—All—Stories With News Pictures

	2004	2009
With images	59 (39.07%)	47 (45.19%)
Without	92 (60.93%)	57 (54.81%)
Total	151	104

p=.399, Fisher's exact

Detroit Free Press – Weekdays

For the Detroit Free Press weekday issues, the change in distribution of no-picture, single-picture and multiple-picture stories was significant ($\chi^2=9.92$ df=2 p=.007). (See Table 4.56). When comparing articles with pictures to those without, the change between 2004 and 2009 was significant (p=0.228, Fisher's exact). The counts of stories with pictures are almost identical between the two years, but in assignments without photographs drops from 69 in 2004 to 39 in 2009. (See Table 4.57)

TABLE 4.56: Detroit Free Press—Weekdays—News Pictures Per Story

	2004	2009
0 pictures	68	39
1 pictures	24	24
2 pictures	9	9
3 pictures	5	1
4 pictures	1	0
Features:	1	2

$$x^2=9.92 \text{ df}=2 \text{ p}=.007$$

TABLE 4.57: Detroit Free Press—Weekdays—Stories With News Pictures

	2004	2009
With images	39 (36.45%)	34 (46.58%)
Without	68 (63.55%)	39 (53.42%)
Total	107	73

$$p=0.228, \text{ Fisher's exact}$$

3f. How, if at all, has photographer workload changed in the printed content?

By looking at how many assignments a photographer has published in an issue of the newspaper, it is possible to estimate their workload. It is not an exact measure, however, as editorial and managerial decisions can alter when an assignment runs. Each director of photography and each department was committed to documentary-style photography, which required allowing the photographers as much time as possible with their subjects. This commitment is shown in the nearly unchanged workloads at each newspaper.

At the *San Jose Mercury News*, photographer workload did not appear to change much, with all issues in 2004 and six of seven issues in 2009 (13 total, of 13) showing a 1:1 ratio of photographers to assignments. There was one issue in 2009 where one photographer had two stories printed and no cases in which the byline of the image and of the written story were the same.

With the *Boston Globe*, photographer workload also did not appear to change much. In four issues from 2004 and five issues from 2009 (nine total, of 14), photographers only had one assignment in print. There were three instances of photographers having two assignments printed in one issue in 2004 and one instance of this in 2009. In 2009, there was one issue in which a photographer had three assignments in one issue. There were two photographs in 2009 with a byline that matched that of the writer. A photographer with a long-standing tradition of writing occasional stories to accompany his photographs wrote these two stories.

The photographer workload at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* also did not appear to change much, with both years having six issues (12 total, of 14) where each photographer had one assignment in print. There was one issue each in 2004 and 2009 where one photographer had two assignments. In 2009, there were two instances where the photograph and the written story had the same byline. One case was a photographer writing a short piece to accompany his story; the other was a reporter photographing a prison inmate he had interviewed.

With the *Detroit Free Press*, photographer workload stayed almost identical between 2004 and 2009. Both 2004 and 2009 had four issues (eight total, of 14) where each photographer had one assignment printed in the issue. There were three issues in

2004 that had one case of a photographer having two assignments and two in 2009. The final issue from 2009 had two photographers with two assignments printed in the paper. The weekday-only sample echoes the same trends: photographer workload was identical between 2004 and 2009. Both years had three issues (six total, of ten) where each photographer had one assignment printed in the paper. Two issues in 2004 and two in 2009 had one case of a photographer having two assignments printed in one issue. In 2009, there were two issues with a photographer having two assignments. In one of those, two different photographers each had two assignments printed in the paper.

Conclusion

A complex web of components combine to produce the final newspaper product that readers see. During a period of momentous change in the newspaper industry, it is difficult to pinpoint any sort of causation from strictly numerical data. It is interesting, however, to see how things have changed and how that compares to Lacy and Fico's measure of quality.

The quantities of images and news pictures declined at all four newspapers, which may be due to fewer photographers, less space for photos or a combination of both. However, staff-produced content as a percentage of visual elements increased, suggesting an increased emphasis on local or staff images. Wire content changed in many ways at each paper. At the *Mercury News*, the number of wire pictures was the same, but the content increased in percentage of work. At the *Globe* and the *Post-Dispatch*, wire decreased in number but increased in percentage, where as the *Detroit Free Press* wire decreased both in number and in percentage. This could be a result of either an increased

preference for local or staff images, a financially driven reduction in wire sources or, again, a combination of both. At all four newspapers in both years, photographer workload remained nearly the same, suggests that the personal workload of the staff photographers and, thus, the amount of time spent with the subject, is valued.

Fewer photographs ran in the newspaper in 2009, but they ran bigger, suggesting a trade-off in an industry of shrinking resources. The sources of wire content are growing less diverse as print competes with bigger, international news organizations. This is of less concern for front page content as that area becomes center-stage for locally produced and locally relevant content. The two factors of quality that directors of photography can best control, staff production of the news pictures and photographer workload, have generally stayed consistent, except for the *Mercury News*' drop in staff-produced news images. These two results, combined with the increase in image size, show, to an extent, an improvement in photographic coverage quality at the *Boston Globe*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Detroit Free Press*. Decreases in image totals and in multiple-picture stories and the loss of diversity at all newspapers but the *Boston Globe* suggests a decrease in quality of coverage. These factors depend on external newspaper management and budgetary decisions and thus, affect the resources and printing space of more than just the photography department.

Thus, considering the overall upheaval of the industry, the reductions in personnel and the shrinking space of the newspaper, quality of photographic coverage has not dropped drastically. The scope of coverage and the amount of coverage have dropped, but this evidence suggests that what is photographed is done with a standard of quality in mind that will benefit the reader.

CHAPTER 5

Qualitative Interview Results

The content analysis yielded results that provided insight into how the printed product has changed, but also raised several questions about how newsroom resources are allotted and what overarching goal the department actively worked toward. In the face of cutbacks, it's worth knowing how directors of photography prioritized coverage to adapt to the changing mission of the newsroom. In-depth interviews with the directors of each paper revealed a variety of approaches used to reach a common goal.

In discussing this wire content with directors of photography, most report that their options are reduced, with budget cutbacks affecting to which and how many wire services the newspapers subscribe. The *Boston Globe* subscriptions remain unchanged. They also reported that wire services are used increasingly to augment local and regional coverage, particularly at the *Mercury News*, rather than report on international events. As a result of a shift to “hyper-local” coverage, there is a reduced emphasis on international news and, thus, a reduced need for a wide selection of wire content. These subscription and content changes are made not at the picture desk but higher up in the organization. As wire subscriptions are dropped, there is a decrease in diversity of content.

Director of Photography Geri Migielicz said that at the *Mercury News*, the department dropped the European Press Agency (EPA) and Reuters. As Knight Ridder was bought by McClatchy, that company wire service was reduced. The regional

newspapers owned by Media News Group have an internal wire service or content sharing system called Bay Area News Group that helps the *Mercury News* run coverage of regional events it no longer can cover. Deputy Director of Photography Jim Davis said that the *Globe* still has the same wire subscriptions, including Associated Press (AP), Reuters, AFP-Getty and Bloomberg (“a la carte”), in addition to content sharing with its parent company, *The New York Times*. Larry Coyne, Director of Photography, said the *Post-Dispatch* subscribed to AP and AFP-Getty, dropping the subscriptions briefly because of budgetary restraints before renegotiating the contract. Director of Photography and Video at the *Detroit Free Press* Craig Porter said the newspaper dropped Getty and uses AP as its main wire service, supplementing with the McClatchy company wire using Bloomberg as needed. In a world of the 24-hour deadline, Porter said it’s frustrating not to have more wire access: “Sometimes Getty beats AP. Often, Getty beats AP, I think.”

Philosophies on photographer workload were the same at all newspapers: give as much time for each assignment as possible with the ideal of getting documentary images. Migielicz said that after the cuts at the *Mercury News* and despite pressures from management to increase multimedia production, time with the subjects was important;

[We] really, really tried to not change the workload in a significant way, because then that meant that we were driving by and running from one thing to the next to the next and we're not going to get pictures that reveal any kind of depth.

If a photographer was producing multimedia output for an assignment, it was the only thing they would do for the day.

Video considerations have also decreased workloads at the *Globe*. Davis said that “up until video, [the assigning limit] used to be three in a day to allow people to think

about what they're doing, to travel to wherever they have to go to do it, and to be able to come in and file their work, and make phone calls.” With video and multimedia becoming more prevalent in the department, though, staff photographers who have a video assignment may only have one or two things to cover for the day. This is an ideal to Davis, though, and he admits that on occasion, some people may still have three assignments despite shooting (and transmitting and editing) video.

Coyne says that the department has maintained a photographer workload of two assignments per day. That may increase to three if one of the assignments is not time intensive. Porter reported that with a large metro area and a lot of driving distance, he tries to keep individual workloads low and not too far spread out. Looking at the week workload for each photographer, he tries to keep it down around 1.5 assignments per day.

If we get much over 1.75 assignments per day then we're probably overdoing it. It's my guesstimate that it's creeping up a bit lately, probably because we're more insistent on getting enough photos from almost every assignment to get a picture gallery produced for the web.

The challenge with the increasing workload is that it “starts to make it hard to free up people for long-term assignments,” which could compromise the documentary style and depth of reporting on the subject.

RQ4: How, if at all, did the visual manager of the department have to change the way the department handles its photographic obligation to the paper?

Using the guiding principle and overall conviction that documentary photography is the ideal style of photojournalism to communicate information to the readership, all four directors of photography reported changes in how they managed their staffs and their

contributions to the newsroom. The primary changes reported were increased efforts to be strategic and efficient in assigning work, which was helped by another change: the department's increased active participation and voice in the news-making decisions and planning of the overall newspaper. As the photography department incorporates multimedia, photographic obligations elsewhere in the paper, whether it's the *Mercury News*' reduction in editing wire content or outsourcing restaurant photo shoots at the *Boston Globe*, the directors of photography adjust to keep their staff working on the core reportage of the department.

The range and extent of workforce reduction was great. Craig Porter said the *Detroit Free Press* ultimately only lost one photographer and shifted both reporting and editing resources to the multimedia and television responsibilities. The result was fewer photographers and fewer editors dedicated solely to still photography work, but a greater breadth of content production and approximately the same staff numbers. According to Larry Coyne, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* photography department had, at one time, about 18 photographers, five picture editors and three assistants, totaling about 27 people, including the Director of Photography. In 2009, the department has three picture editors, no assistants and 13 photographers. In the research period, the *Boston Globe* had one round of buyouts and one round of layoffs. One full-time photographer left and all the part-time photographers were cut, said Jim Wilson, but the department has not had any reductions in the editing staff. *The San Jose Mercury News* had probably the most dramatic reductions. "It was a painful process of reducing the staff about in half over the course of two or three years," Geri Migielicz, former Director of Photography said. "We

went from about 18-20 people part-time and full-time time to less than ten.” (Migielicz, 2010).¹

At all newspapers, adapting to fewer staff resources and changing coverage priorities entailed allotting departmental resources more strategically for assignments, but also working closely with the rest of the newspaper to eliminate less than ideal requests for coverage. To varying degrees, each department gained a stronger voice in the newsroom, shifting from a “service department” that illustrates any story sent its way to an active reporting department involved in planning coverage and dictating the best way to visually report on a story.

When asked why documentary photography is important, Coyne said:

If you’re not doing that type of work, that if your organization doesn’t place a value on documentary photography, I’m not sure that you’re going to be giving your readers much in terms of insight into the community. (Coyne, 2010).²

Rather than simply showing what subjects look like, Coyne says photographs should “get a sort of an understanding of the subjects” or “reveal,” as Migielicz puts it. They bring an understanding to the reader and inform them about their surrounding environments. Says Coyne:

It’s the core of everything we do. If you can’t give a reader a true depiction of what’s going on in the community or what a situation’s really like, I think you’ve sort of lost your essence and reason for being. Are we just going to be somebody that puts pictures in the paper? What do these pictures say? ... They might show what something looks like or what somebody looks like, but as far as, you know, how they really live, how they really feel, what it’s like to

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from Migielicz are from the personal interview.

² Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from Coyne are from the personal interview.

be in their shoes, I don't think you're going to get any insight into that.

A few external factors worked in favor of negotiating coverage with fewer workers. In addition to photography staffs shrinking, writing staffs have also seen great cuts and the newspaper in which this content is printed has shrunk. As newspapers compete for readership, midsize newspapers in major cities like those studied are reducing their coverage area, concentrating on local or "hyper-local" coverage and retreating from regional reporting. This makes travel times between assignments shorter and scheduling easier and, by default, increases the amount of local coverage. A smaller coverage area also makes it easier to keep photographers' workloads constant.

The managerial approach of refining photo requests seemed to help keep the departments moving smoothly, for the most part, and the role of photo editors looked to be crucial in the success of the department's management of a smaller staff. By being more strategic in assigning and vetting requests, by working more closely with the other departments at the newspaper to help guide coverage, in essence championing the photography departments position as an active reporting contributor rather than simply a service department, the assignments that actually make it to the photographers are newsworthy and visually rich, ideally with the chance to produce documentary images, and will not waste their time.

It is this important role of the photo editors that determines the ability of the department to thrive in the changing industry versus merely surviving, seeing the day-to-day as a challenge in a negative way. Everyone lamented the budgetary restraints, but Wilson and Porter, whose departments retained editors, spoke more positively.

In addition to support within the section, the attitude of the newspaper's editors and managerial departments also plays a significant role in the vitality of the department. While some departments are able to equip their photographers with high-quality cameras and video training (*Boston Globe*, *Detroit Free Press*) and have editors who recognize the importance of investing in coverage, such as traveling to Haiti, other newspapers (*San Jose Mercury News*) request increased output and coverage without providing tools or even staff to help the photographers work to their best capacity.

The role of a director of photography is an important bridge to the gap between the daily visual reporters and the ownership and overall editorial personnel of the newspaper. The *Detroit Free Press*' Craig Porter says his "responsibility to quality is to figure out how to have an infrastructure where our people are really good at telling stories and can tell them in the most compelling ways." (Porter, 2010).³

In addition to these trends, there were innovations and challenges unique to each news organization and photography staff. Looking at specific ways of managing resources will further explain the approach and options for evolving photographic coverage.

San Jose Mercury News

Former Director of Photography Geri Migielicz thought the changes over the five-year period were a result of "shifting priorities" in which the paper "quit doing things that were very time intensive that didn't show up much in the paper," which included restaurant review pictures and "society pictures" from area events. "We really trimmed

³ Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from Porter are from the personal interview.

around the edges,” Migielicz explained, but “not our core coverage. We didn’t want to cut that.” The Mercury News kept technology a priority:

[It] was a hallmark of the Mercury News that we wanted to do no matter who was there. When they introduced the iPhone, we were going to put as many people on it as we could. So, big stories for us were still big stories.

But the reduction of staff to almost half during the five-year period “put a lot of pressure on what we were doing and what we were able to do and being very realistic about trying to maintain quality and oversight and letting some things go completely.” If the Associated Press or any of the “sister papers” of the Bay Area News Group (which functioned as an internal wire service of Media News Group) were going to be covering an event, the *Mercury News* would not cover it and use wire images if necessary. “We really retreated in from a regional newspaper to a San Jose newspaper,” Migielicz explained, citing that the paper stopped covering Major League Baseball, but maintained its coverage of the San Jose Sharks, a locally-based professional hockey team.

Assigning became more strategic, with priority staying on documentary style photojournalism, which required time with the subjects. The department gradually accepted portraiture into its repertoire of photography techniques. While the premium remained on documentary photographs that revealed how the subject lived, portraits were an option that allowed staff photographers to make the image in a shorter and more flexible time frame. As Migielicz and the staff began paring down assignments and as their multimedia gained online readership, they became more of an active participant in the news process (again, evolving away from the idea of a service department). This allows the department to work with the non-visual side of the newspaper to cultivate

ideas that are ripe with visual possibility that will be more informative and educational to the readership.

In the research period, the photography department recognized the importance of multimedia and took the initiative to explore the medium. Because the Knight Ridder website for the newspaper couldn't support slideshows and video, the photography department started its own website, which became a venue and an outlet for images and a depth of reporting that would otherwise not make it into the newspaper:

What it gave the photo department was a sense of authorship and a canvas for all those images. ...[It] really became a great place for the photo staff to tell stories. In the context of the newspaper, with shrinking space, you know, we're looking at one or two pictures. Then we had the ability to have a click-through slideshow, an audio slideshow, multimedia pieces on stories that warranted it. And even from a regular high school football game or an event, cultural event, you know, we could put together a slideshow and post a great depth and variety of work.

With the feedback provided by web statistics from the, photographers tailored their presentation styles on what had been shown to be relevant and interesting to the community.

When the newspaper was acquired by Media News Group, the company did not support the photography department in a way that would allow it to continue comfortably exploring the possibilities of online multimedia. Quotas were imposed as photographers and editors were cut:

They were starting to really chop at the staff and had not bought equipment in a couple years and this was when equipment was really changing every six months that would [...] allow you to pull stills from your video and publish them. So they were kind of late to the party and heavy-handed.

Cuts to picture editors placed a great strain on the department. “We just had to decide what we weren’t going to worry about. Like we quit handling the wire pictures inside,” Migielicz said. She further explained:

There weren’t enough editors. [...] When we reduced staff, it was like, ok, we’re going to go through images for page one [section front] stories, but that’s it. We’re no longer going to make selections and work with inside page designers about these choices.” Instead, designers picked images from wire services to run inside sections when needed, decisions that may not be made with the values and purpose of photojournalism in mind.

Toward the end of the sample period and Migielicz’s tenure at the *Mercury News*, photographers were required to cover occasional editing shifts. The system had previously been voluntary so a photographer could better understand the editing process and how their work and that of the department related to the rest of the newspaper. Reductions in picture editors were too great to manage the demands on the department otherwise.

Boston Globe

Between 2004 and 2009, *The Boston Globe* lost its part-time photographers and gained responsibility for producing video and multimedia content for the newspaper. The department had not any picture editors, an organizational advantage that Director of Photography Jim Wilson has used to his advantage as a “line of defense” (Davis 2010)⁴ in the battle to continue to produce relevant documentary photojournalism for the readership:

⁴ Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from Davis are from the personal interview.

We think that with the right management, you can still direct a somewhat smaller workforce. ...If you didn't have the right management in place, you know, the picture are all over the place, there's no direction, we're wasting our times on assignments. So...we count on picture editing to be the frontline defense, really, to make sure that when we go out and shoot a picture, it has a connection to the story and we're not wasting our time.

Even with more efficient and aggressive management,

The big difference from basic news coverage is, you know, five years ago, if I had a story breaking in the city, it was easy for me to blitz the story and send four people to go down there and look at it and cover it from every angle. ...Now I can't because I have people all over the place doing all kinds of stories.

Wilson said that being strategic with assigning and giving extra thought about how to use the department's resources is one of the biggest challenges to develop over the past five years.

If you're covering the day's events and if you're wired to do everything you're trying to do and you don't have a little luxury for someone to be able to break away and do something in the line of breaking news, you can really back yourself into a corner and not have good coverage.

The integration of video production into the workflow means staff photographers need more time per assignment both in the field and in editing. To keep staff editors on these assignments, freelancers (who do not shoot video for the newspaper; that's a staff-only assignment) are used more strategically to free up staffers for the most important assignments. Freelance photographers have been used for assignments further away from the city, for food shoots, for day-long court reporting. On occasion, there may be an assignment that would best be covered by a staff photographer but would take up so

much time that the rest of the day would be compromised for the full staff. “It’s easier for me now to freelance a court pool assignment,” Wilson says.

Even though I have hunches at times that this might be a dramatic day, [...] it’s a matter of losing a body for the day or not losing that body for the day and getting two assignments and maybe a video out of that person.

Freelancers are paid for by the newspaper section that runs the assignment, an incentive that makes sure assignment requests are into the assignment desk early when possible and that helps screen for assignments that unnecessarily call for a photographer.

Another reason for the stronger role of management in assigning and planning coverage for the department is the evolution of the rolling deadline. Assigning must be strategic so multimedia and early assignments can be edited and posted on the web. The picture editors are also important in this process: “We’re training the picture editors to edit and produce short video clips in order to fulfill the needs of our video initiative.”

In some cases where there isn’t much opportunity for documentary work, wire coverage is adequate reporting for the readership and may be used in lieu of sending a staff photographer or a freelance photographer. However, for events of high importance to the *Globe’s* readership, all efforts are made to have a staff photographer cover the event. A recent example includes the Haiti earthquake. Because of Boston’s large Haitian population, the photography department and the newspaper felt it important that the paper do its own reporting so as to tailor the coverage to its readership. “We easily could have used wire, but, like I say, it’s local to us, therefore, worth the investment, worth sending people down there.” Wilson said that they practiced the same new methods of covering an event, shooting still photography and producing videos to get information to the paper’s Haitian readership. “We had reporters down there and it would be easy to cop out

and say yeah, well if that's what the wires do, but if it's a major story and if it's of concern to our readership, we'll still cover it."

The department has evolved from what some might perceive to be a service department for the rest of the newspaper to an integral part of the planning and reporting of news for the organization:

We have a definitive voice now when it comes to news coverage. ...We're involved in all the long-term planning, we're involved in all the projects and we send either senior managers in and/or picture editors to weigh in and give our input into what we're covering that has visual content. [...] I think by having us involved on the front end, it really helps make a good visual report for the paper versus us knowing nothing and running out at the last minute to shoot something because no one ever told us about it.

Wilson has also gained a voice in the acquisition of new technologies in the newsroom and his department, working with management to get new cameras for the staff, along with computers and software for everyone, photographer or editor, so they can do their jobs. Wilson makes sure everyone has training to guide them into new ways of working and holds a monthly staff meeting to critique work and exchange feedback.

Wilson boiled it all down to one goal:

The common denominator for all of it is, we arm them with the best equipment at all times. They all have the same equipment and it's a matter of the knowledge of the equipment and the eye of the photographer and when you put those two together, you know, hopefully great things happen.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

While the staff of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has been reduced to roughly half the size (18 photographers and five picture editors down to 13 photographers and no

picture editors other than the Director of Photography), the scope of the paper has also been greatly reduced, according to Coyne:

We've pulled back considerably. ... You have to decide how to allocate the resources you do have. [...] We'll decide what to cover out there based upon the value it has to everybody; all the readers, not just a select few in, say, one county.

With the closing of reporting bureaus in surrounding counties, the need to regularly cover the areas was eliminated, allowing the remaining photographers to work within a smaller area. This has allowed the department to maintain roughly the same workload and maintain a documentary style:

We try to keep that over the course of the years. we've probably gone down a bit. For instance, we used to not do portraits at all, but now we do. [Photographers have] always had that kind of tool available to them, [...] but it seems like we're using it a bit more than we used to. But, you know, the overarching philosophy is documentary photography: we're always trying to be there when something's actually going on, when it's really happening, as opposed to, you know, setting up a convenient time.

The travel budget has been reduced, but there remains a commitment to covering events important to the local readership:

We're still covering things, we still have a budget, we can still travel, we're still covering stories. But if we thought that same story was going to be not particularly visual and would be just a secondary story on the page, we might opt not to go.

Two photographers were recently sent to cover Major League Baseball's spring training in Florida. Wire photos are being used less, save in the sports section, because of

the combination of less space in the paper and a higher premium placed on locally-produced content:

In the last year or so, we've had more emphasis on local production for page one. [...] We're going to use fewer wire pictures. Couple that with the decrease in space for the A section, you know, there's not going to be much opportunity for wire inside the section. So there's not much that gets used.

Multimedia evolved within the research period, growing into its own department in the news organization. This took away one editor and one photographer from the photography department, though the photographer still, on occasion, shoots still-image assignments for the newspaper. The photography department is not as closely integrated to the online/multimedia presence of the newspaper as in other newsrooms and Coyne thinks at times it loses sight of the department's documentary focus.

A major complication in the workflow of the photography department has been the loss of support staff, both in picture editors and in photography assistants. A loss in these areas has created increases in individual workloads for those remaining. This results in some duties of the department not being completed, such as feedback with photographers and maintaining departmental picture sales to the public.

The growth of the paper's online presence has created new pressures from upper management that are not directly related to the documentary style the department idealizes:

There's a more of an emphasis now upon numbers. The big thing among newspaper websites is trying to get people to click through your stuff and getting page hits. That's almost paramount sometimes to something that may not get as many page hits but is perhaps going to be more meaningful. It's tough to argue with the numbers that are produced sometimes by some things that are sort of frivolous, but it

gets numbers and that's supposed to be important nowadays.

A loss in picture editors has complicated keeping the photography department on track and in communication with editors of other sections of the newspaper, making an efficient assigning process more evasive. It has also been difficult to have meaningful discussions with photographers about assignments and coverage. There's less discussion about assignments and pictures than in the past.

Detroit Free Press

The *Detroit Free Press* photography department was not nearly as affected by layoffs as the other papers, losing only one photographer. "We're pretty lucky, actually," Craig Porter, Director of Photography and Video said. "Our department has changed in character, but not that much in numbers." He and the staff started and cultivated the newspaper's video and multimedia section, which has increasing demands for content and the department's workload.

The 15 staff photographers, six editors and three people associated with the newsroom TV show (one is also a staff photographer) all work together to photograph, film and edit assignments:

It's kinda like an amoeba. We just kind of squeeze over whatever needs to be covered. I think every department is having to do that, unless they're really big guys, who have a photo editor for every photographer almost. We have so much going on that we're always strapped in trying to get this stuff done. There's so much that we've taken on.

The newspaper's foray into multimedia began in and was directed by the photography department, letting the visual communicators set the tone and the standards for visual reporting:

We think of ourselves of the opposite of the service department, which, you've probably heard that phrase over and over again. We very much chart our own course and have our own agenda. But the flip side of having your own agenda and not wanting to be a service department is that you have to be an active participant in the daily news process. You can't not go to every meeting, you have to be there, you have to have your people at all the meetings so that you can make a point, make your case for certain kinds of coverage—video or stills or something in between, some kind of other multimedia way of doing things.

With a large staff of photographers and editors producing for so many reporting media (print, web, TV), the *Free Press* photography department is contributing significantly to the paper's news product. It has a very active and vocal role in the news process, from identifying stories and long-term projects to exploring new forms of coverage, like a live video of a press conference streamed on the web:

It's really a juggling act. One of the biggest things that a photo director and photo editors can have from the bosses is the ability to say no. I've heard of some departments, and it seems inexplicable to me, that, basically, they can't turn down a photo assignment. That's just shocking to me. In our case, you can't shoot everything and someone has to make that decision. We've proven that we can probably can do that better than other places. The metro editor can't just by fiat order us to cover something, there's got to be dialogue. In fact, on our photo request form that people fill out—and notice we call it a photo request form, we don't call it an assignment form—[...] and on that photo request form is “have you talked to an editor, yes or no.” people have kind of learned that they don't get much back from us if they never talk to us. So we try to keep that dialogue open and force the issue a little bit by making that a requirement.

At the *Free Press*, Porter and the photography department have a strong say in what they cover and how they do it, probably the most of the four newspapers surveyed. Porter understands the responsibility that comes with the voice and also has the staff numbers to help back it up and expand its horizons:

With a little tough love, we try to get the whole place paying attention to what we've got and what we can do. But the ability to say no to photo requests has this kind of awesome power to it but it is also an awesome responsibility. You have to say yes to something.

The rolling deadline that comes with a strong online presence in today's society has changed how Porter defines quality and values certain images.

If [a reporter] is going on something where they might need a mug shot of somebody or just a scene setter thing or if they're the first one on the scene and we need to get a picture back for the web, we'll get them to shoot the picture. And that really does take a lot of pressure off our day-to-day assigning because we've got the image. It may just be on the website for half an hour as we constantly churn the thing and change it so that is certainly justifiable.

Some reporters have objected to carrying cameras, but others have "gone over to the dark side" and enjoy photography. When Porter spots these types, he makes sure to educate them further and help them take images stronger in the photojournalism tradition.

Sure, you know we try to be involved in the stories that make good or great photography, video for both TV, for all three, TV, web and the newspaper. There's a kind of a synergy going on where we have been able to off-load a little bit of the photography. We've got reporters shooting more pictures now, just kind of factoid pictures that we want but we don't want to spend a photographer's time on.

An advantage to having a staff of greater numbers is having the ability and liberty to mitigate fatigue and burnout:

It's really hard sometimes to keep people interested and excited and getting them out away from the office. Sending one of your best people up north for a jaunt for three or four days just to kind of clear their brains and find a couple stories and shoot one that you'd planned. That's kind of the little rewards you can give when it comes down to a department like this.

Craig Porter and the staff of the *Detroit Free Press* are busy and feel the pressures of a large workload. In relation to the other papers in the sample, though, the attitude and outlook is the most positive and the energy available for exploring new media is highest:

I think it's a pretty good counter to have all of that [multimedia] going on too. Ok, yeah, we've had two-point-two less pictures per day in the newspaper, but just think about all this other cool stuff that we're getting to do and trying to keep it in our department and be part of it has been really fun. I feel fairly optimistic about all this stuff, if we can just figure out a way to present it.

The one unifying factor among the four directors and their departments was the value and importance of documentary photojournalism. All four directors agreed that giving photographers adequate time to work on each story was an important part of achieving the style photography they say is essential to photojournalism. Good photojournalism involves "more pictures that are engaging than pictures of record...that are personally engaging with a moment, emotion, people, interactions," explains Migielicz. "It shows an investment of time. They're not accidental." Jim Wilson feels these pictures are what the readership needs to see: "Our feeling is that we owe it to the community as a service to report what's going on," said Wilson. Because of Boston's large Haitian community, he and the editors at the *Globe* understood the importance of the paper's own reporters covering the aftermath of the January 2010 earthquake in Haiti.

“We easily could have used wire, but, like I say, it’s local to us, therefore, worth the investment.”

CONCLUSION

It is very difficult to establish any causation or relation in what has turned out to be a very complex upheaval in the photojournalism industry. Newspapers with various degrees of staff reduction are all feeling similar challenges in how to cover their communities and how to efficiently produce documentary photography. The presence of photo editors seems to be a key tool in successful transition to a new way of working, a louder voice in the newsroom and continuing production with fewer photographers.

Photography managers approached post-workforce-reduction challenges by adhering to the documentary style of photojournalism, vetting assignments, championing the voice of the department to the rest of the newsroom, and eliminating coverage to varying degrees.

Photography departments are covering fewer assignments and fewer images are being printed, but from a managerial standpoint, the departments are being more efficient with their resources, covering local events that are relevant to their readership with their staff photographers. Directors prioritize coverage to allow the photographer sufficient time to produce a visual report of the subject. Rather than simply making a record of the event, the documentary philosophy shared among the four newspapers advocates a deeper depth to the level of reporting. This may be somewhat hindered as staffs shrink, but is still a top priority.

The increased voice that departments are getting, whether through active championing like that of the *Boston Globe* and the *Detroit Free Press*, or by default, as visual multimedia's popularity grows, helps refine the visual product. Though the overall workload may be dropping to match what the department can feasibly do and what the rest of the newspaper can print, the assignments are better planned and more visually driven. The commitment to local staff covering as many events as they can without compromising the depth of their report remains and the quality of the photographic coverage has not dropped as much as would be expected by reducing a staff by half.

CHAPTER 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Quantifying quality of photography is a difficult task, but with an industry in great upheaval and departmental cutbacks in resources and print space, it is an important element to observe in journalism's evolution. Collecting data on quantities of images, bylines, image size, multiple picture stories, and photographer workload at *The San Jose Mercury News*, *The Boston Globe*, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Detroit Free Press* has given some insight into the depth, breadth and, ultimately, quality of photographic coverage. It is difficult to say definitively whether, in accordance with the Lacy and Fico measure, the quality of coverage at each newspaper declined or improved, since the results were mixed in each category and at each paper.

In general, the data showed news images increased in size and were more frequently shot by the newspaper's staff photographers, but the quantity of said images decreased, sometimes dramatically. Also, an increase of local content comes with a decrease in coverage of national and international news, leading to a decline in diversity of coverage. Based on byline analysis and discussions with the directors, photographer workload did not increase, given the conviction for documentary style coverage, which requires time. Each newspaper had split results on the change in quality of their photographic coverage and the suggestion that a decrease in quantity of images would lead to an increase in the quality of those images was not entirely proven or disproven.

The quantity of images and related statistics painted a less positive picture of the change in quality. The number of photos per page, photos per story, and data on page

placement, suggested a drop in quality of coverage through a loss of breadth and depth of reporting on the community. The preservation of quality on the images that do make it to print is trumped by the loss of coverage in the community because the amount of information disseminated by the newspaper has been reduced.

Within the confines of the photography department, where the directors of photography have the most influence in their product, a commitment to quality coverage was clear. Photographer workload, local photographers, depth of coverage (as time spent) on assignments were top priorities; protecting the documentary style was important. The other categories were further from their control, subject to other forces in the newsroom and from the management: page redesigns or reductions, wire subscription cancellations, and so on. These content-centered categories, along with the decision to eliminate photography positions affect photography content but are beyond the control of the department. Still, these numbers shows a change in the overall approach to visuals in the newspaper, along with a decrease in space for visuals, and is important to note when looking at the current state of the industry.

The directors of photography all confirmed their commitment to documentary photography and of the push to produce insightful, authentic visual reporting on their communities. At the *Boston Globe* and *the Detroit Free Press*, an increase in the voice and the prominence of the photography department, aided greatly by the work of the department's photo editors, spoke to a changing newsroom environment that valued visuals. The directors of photography at the *San Jose Mercury News* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were ultimately hopeful about the future of journalism, but expressed frustration

with corporate directives that were more centered on numerical benchmarks rather than content that needed to be shared.

Despite the challenge of working in today's newsrooms, the photography staffs of all four newspapers won major awards amid the industry's upheaval. These awards recognize a commitment to high-quality, in-depth local coverage. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* photographer Robert Cohen was named a finalist for a 2010 Pulitzer Prize for feature photography for a story on the city's homeless families. Coyne elaborated on the effort behind the work:

He did a superb job with the story, got some time to do it, and he managed his time. He was still doing some of the lesser things that the newspaper has to get out along the way, but he'd make sure that everybody knew when he had to be somewhere and we'd cut out the time for him to do it.

The *Post-Dispatch* photographers also contributed to the coverage that won the newsroom the 2009 Pulitzer Prize in Breaking News Reporting for coverage of a shooting at Kirkwood City Hall.

The *Detroit Free Press* newsroom won the 2009 Pulitzer Prize for Local Reporting. While two reporters led the charge in the reporting event, the photography department played a strong role in the coverage of former Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick's scandal, resignation and imprisonment. According to a news article about the award:

Through 2008, the Free Press published more than more than 700 articles, editorials and columns, plus opposing viewpoints and more than 300 letters to the editor. Freep.com published 131 video reports, eight live streams from breaking news, several hundred pages of public documents and more than 100,000 reader comments. (Ghallager, 2009).

Craig Porter said, “I really felt like we held our own and were a part of it. And we brought to bear on it all those different kinds of things that we do now. Still photography was really strong, but then we brought in a satellite truck and [live] streamed it.”

The Detroit Free Press has won four national Emmy Awards and the *San Jose Mercury News* won one. Both papers, along with the *Boston Globe* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, won regional Emmy Awards for multimedia work, including long-form documentary and interactive multimedia. Even in a new medium, the newsrooms are able to do work worthy of recognition and commendation. Though the end-result presentation may be changing, a strategic allotment of resources, space and time can still produce in-depth coverage relevant to the community by local photographers.

Not only are these awards validation by peers that the photography staff is producing quality work, but it also gives the department a sense of authority and power when working in the newsroom. After a weekend in which the *Globe* photographers won every first place in the Boston Press Photographer Association annual competition, Jim Davis spoke about its importance for the reputation of the department:

By giving the photographers creative control, by arming the best in technology, by supporting them with the best editors, I think that that really makes a difference and I think that in the long run really shows in the paper and allows us the respect to be able to speak about photography and videography at high-level meetings. I think that respect is what gets us the resources we need and the resources we need are the money and the funding.

Craig Porter has charted the same course at the *Detroit Free Press*:

The Emmys that we've won have come out of the photo department's collaboration with other departments. [...] As those pairings started up and those partnerships in the newsroom came about, we were able to have more control over that because we'd had some success. It was kind of neat to be able to sit there with four Emmys on your desk, staring at somebody, saying, "Well why would you want to do that?" So that's where we're coming from now, trying to operate from a position of strength and involving the whole newsroom in what we want to do rather than wait to be asked or told what the good stuff is going to be this year.

The role of the photography department in the news organization is becoming increasingly important, which is advantageous in guiding the quality of product it produces. Wire service usage, layout and design are things in a newsroom that contribute to the quality of coverage but that are beyond the control of the director of photography. Awards and a strong track record in the newsroom can help amplify the voice of photographers in the organization and give more authority in lobbying for changes or improvements in areas of the newspaper that will ultimately enhance the visual product. This helps further direct resources, efforts and visual reporting in a way that lets the department build on its past successes and continue exploring ways to best serve the community. Porter goes on to say that it is a great obligation not just beyond the newsroom, but also within it:

The flip side of having your own agenda and not wanting to be a service department is that you have to be an active participant in the daily news process. [...] You can't just kind of show up on the big days if you haven't kind of been there every day. And that really, you know, sounds simple, but a lot of people don't do that. They kind of feel like oh, we'll hand this stuff in and just kind of leave it laying on the designer's desk. We'll be pissed off at the results, but on the days that we care more about it, we follow through longer and we try to influence the lead picture vs. the secondary, which is the lead picture, those kind of things. Those things that if you do it every day it doesn't seem so

out of place and weird that you're there trying to influence it when it's an important day. So we are always kind of charting our own agenda and pushing our own stories.

Quality coverage can beget quality coverage and can build on itself in the right environment with the right support, but the key is having the resources and constructing the workflow in a way that will enable the photographers, editors and management to produce quality work. With visual communications becoming increasingly important in society, photojournalism is, by default, becoming more important in a newspaper's arsenal, but how the management of the full organization encourages or hinders the work is a good indication of the foresight of the company.

CONCLUSION

While it is impressive that amid a turbulent media environment, these photography departments did as well as they did both along the lines of Lacy and Fico's measure for quality and in winning awards for their coverage, the drop in quantity of coverage is troubling. Every newspaper printed fewer news images in 2009 than it did in 2004 and every newspaper reduced the number or the size of pages printed, in some cases, both. A combination of fewer journalists, fewer stories and fewer pages in the newspaper combined to produce this result. Thus, less visual information is getting to the readership, a content style shown to be useful and valuable to those looking at the newspaper.

Photography departments are not fulfilling the purpose McQuail defines as producing and distributing knowledge as well as they have in the past. This in turns leads

to a failure to act in the public trust as set forth by Williams and Carlyle and to satisfy Hardt's defined societal need for information. Without this information or this visual understanding of their communities, readers are not as informed about their surrounding community, hindering the functioning of the democratic process, public discourse and cultural identity emphasized by Lucaites and Hariman and Spratt.

The concerns of the group of international journalists and headed by Bob Giles in 2002 are still relevant and, considering the drop some papers have seen in the size of news space and quantity of images, even greater. The "fundamental role of the press to inform and empower citizens" continues to be endangered. (Giles, 2002). In particular, the newspapers are failing segments of the readership that solely consume the print product. The community's ability to understand issues and relate to the problems of those around them suffers. Larry Coyne pointed out this was a crucial element of photojournalism, emphasizing the importance of working to connect with the subject so the reader could also benefit from the connection:

Do your people have enough time to cover something that can give readers a real grasp of what's going on? Is the emphasis upon just getting out more stuff as opposed to photographs that mean something, that say something? Is the emphasis upon photographs of what things look like as opposed to what's going on? If you could somehow get a sort of an understanding of the subjects that you're covering, isn't that better than showing what they look like? And do you do it in such a way that's creative also? [...] It's not photographer's style, necessarily, but can they [...] still tell the story true to the subject."

The directors of photography of the newspapers studied kept this type of documentary photography as the ideal and worked to maintain working environments for the photographers that would allow optimal success. Yet certain restrictions, be it budgetary,

equipment or personnel, have begun to encroach on the ability to gather and share information that is important to the community's citizens.

Journalism, and photojournalism in particular, "provid[es] society with a mirror of itself," and "act[s] as the conscience of society" (Hardt, 1979, cited in McQuail, 2000, p. 73). As photographers and editors are cut from photography department, the ability to do this is hindered, as shown in the decrease in overall images and as echoed by Geri Migielicz's frustration in not being able to cover the San Jose community as well as she would have liked:

Where it hurts is when there's something that you just can't cover. [...] We had the Vietnamese community was up in arms over the naming of a business district [...] and just covering that whole thing, we probably didn't get to every meeting with city hall, every major protest, we didn't generate as many in-depth multimedia pieces, we didn't cover that as a big story just because we couldn't. [...] That doesn't show up in the paper, they don't show up. They just disappear. It's a diversity and a depth to the coverage that just wasn't possible for as many things as we would have liked to have done. Some things I'm very proud of that we struggled to cover and then there are things that we just couldn't, that you know, your instinct told you that you should be doing, but there just weren't the numbers to do it.

Also contributing to a deficiency in diversity is the reduction of wire services, a result both of fiscal cuts and of a shift to strong emphasis on local coverage of local news. While the Lacy and Fico measure of quality applauds a commitment to local coverage, it also counts wire service and the diversity of knowledge it brings to the newspaper's content. The improvement in local coverage is negated by the drop in wire diversity.

Regional newspapers find themselves reevaluating their journalistic mission, as they compete with other sources across the internet for coverage of national and international stories. Craig Porter points out the need to be informed about events beyond the local sphere:

If I could choose one thing about regional newspapers like us that's changed for the worst, it's space to do [national and international news] really well. Because I really think the Free Press could be a newspaper that would be all the newspaper you needed. [...] People should be citizens of the world in addition to citizens of their own state or city or neighborhood and that's one of the things that we could give them.

Wire content is being used to supplement regional and local coverage, rather than expand national and international coverage. Jim Wilson at the *Globe* used wire content for coverage of a Supreme Court nominee with roots in Boston, since there wasn't much opportunity for storytelling images at the press conferences and hearings. Geri Migielicz at the *San Jose Mercury News* used wire content both from external services and from the internal wire agency of Media News Group to get visual coverage of regional events that the paper couldn't cover itself.

In the short term, the public receives less information from the newspaper; in the long run, the visual record of daily society is shrinking and developing gaps. Spratt (2008) points out that over time this record forms the cultural identity and iconic moments and images of society. This loss of images and visual coverage of the community of a newspaper ultimately manifests in an incomplete picture of society.

The shift to an emphasis of online content, despite taking resources away from producing content for print, has opened up a venue for more of the department's work to be seen. At the *San Jose Mercury News*, "what it gave the photo department was a sense of authorship and a canvas for all those images. [...] In the context of the newspaper, with shrinking space, you know, we're looking at one or two pictures. Then we had the ability to have a click-through slideshow, an audio slideshow, multimedia pieces on stories that warranted it. And even from a regular high school football game or an event,

cultural event, you know, we could put together a slideshow and post a great depth and variety of work.”

When resources are taken away, for the most part, the intention and effort for the best possible coverage is unchanged, with directors opting for a reduction in coverage instead, supplementing it with wire or freelance content. The newsrooms are also tackling and inventing the path for multimedia as well as the role of video in the photography department. With all these factors actively evolving, an exact evaluation of the quality of photographic coverage in print is hard to make, but there has not been an outstandingly negative affect on quality despite reductions in staff of up to 50 percent. The directors of photography still hold firm the value of documentary photography that connects readers to their community. The amount of this work being done, however, is decreasing. Less information is getting out to the public, compromising the newspaper’s obligation to its community.

It is beneficial not only to the photography department, but to the newspaper and its readership for those producing the paper to understand the roots and role of photojournalism. An appreciation for the role of photography in the news and in society can only enhance the news product as the industry evolves and increases its use of multimedia .Geri Migielicz articulates why the photography department is important both in the newsroom and for researchers:

The content that's primarily visual is really driving the business model and so it makes visual and digital journalism more central to the mission [of the newspaper]. We illustrated stories before, before there was multimedia. Now, multimedia really gives an opportunity for authorship and ownership of stories to visual journalists.

For editors and Directors of Photography, as well as executives in these changing news organizations, it is important to realize that visual content is important to the future of the paper. Supplying photographers and editors with the technology and support necessary to let them do their job as well as innovate in their field, much like Craig Porter has been able to do with the Gannett-owned *Detroit Free Press*, will ensure an advantage in transitioning to the web and connecting with the new generation of web-centric readership. To deny technological upgrades or eliminate editors is detrimental to a product that could save the newsroom.

Both directors of photography and management-level editors throughout the newspaper need to make the effort to integrate the photography department further into the newsroom and the newsmaking process. The transition from a “service” department to an active, creative reporting department is crucial in building a presence, particularly on the internet, for the new media landscape. It may be too late, however, as budget and personnel cuts hinder the photography department’s ability to explore the new frontiers of the industry, which would both appeal to the readership and also lend credibility to their standing in the newsroom.

Directors of photography are doing the best they can with the resources they have but also have to cut corners in their coverage, which means a decrease in information and especially a decrease in diversity of information for the readership. While the work being done now is admirable considering the constraints, the long-term sustainability of it is in question.

Researchers of newspapers, new media, photojournalism and even the history of journalism, must all realize the increasing presence of photojournalism and visual

communications in the landscape of the industry. More study of quality, of management methods and of content innovation will not only help those in the field weigh their options, but will advance and increase the small body of research of an important field.

Limitations and Future Study

First, this study adapted a written-content evaluation of quality of coverage to measure that of photographic output. As visual communication entrenches itself into society, it is increasingly important to look at what visual communicators value in their style of coverage. Surveying photography and multimedia departments at various news organizations would help create a more applicable set of evaluation categories to further research the quality of visual coverage.

In addition to the difficulty in measuring the quality of the output of a photographic department, that product is changing, which means the definition of quality is also changing. Craig Porter of the *Detroit Free Press* agrees:

Sometimes good quality is getting it to us quickly. If it's something that is needed right now to update the weather or the website, send the first picture you get as you tramp out to your car that morning and then improve on it later.

The six categories used in this study give insight to the amount of visual information being distributed to the readership, but using a system based off a survey of Directors of Photography, editors and other visual communicators may yield other facets of the quality issues that the word side doesn't consider.

This study only looked at four newspapers and only looked at newspapers that were in a mid-sized or regional circulation bracket. These papers are the hardest hit right now as the industry shifts. Looking at larger papers with more resources or smaller

papers that were “hyper local” to begin with may yield different results in an evaluation of the quality of their coverage.

This study did not look at online content, an increasingly important part of each newsroom’s workload. By researching what would constitute quality of coverage for online materials, a look at various news organizations’ online products may paint a different picture of the state of their newsrooms. Look at the print side only makes it difficult to fully evaluate what the photography department is doing in their day-to-day work. Craig Porter of the *Detroit Free Press* is overseeing a department that works with still photography, slideshows, video and produces a TV show. Said Porter, “I think that being narrow [in the scope of research] ignores a lot of the pressures on a department like mine that are kind of architects of why all this change has happened.”

Photojournalists currently working in this tumultuous environment were not interviewed. They produce the content readers see and are dealing with a different set of changes, such as expanded schedule hours or new technologies, than editors. Their perspective on how changes in management and opinions on if changes in corporate emphasis and values are affecting their ability to serve their community are important to track as the industry evolves.

APPENDIX A: Codebook

Quality of newspaper photography – Codebook

Overview of coding procedures:

1. Classify each photograph by type of content.
2. Classify each photograph by photographer byline.
3. Classify each issue of the newspaper by number of articles with more than one photograph.
4. Classify each issue of the newspaper by number of stand-alone/feature pictures.
5. Classify each photograph by placement on page.
6. Classify each photograph by size as measured by ratio/percentage of the printable page.

For the last two above categories, each photograph is coded in relation to the rest of the page.

Question 1: What is the title of the paper?

This can be found at the top of the page either as the masthead (on the cover) or near the masthead (for other sections).

- 1- San Jose Mercury News
- 2- The Boston Globe
- 3- The St. Louis Post Dispatch
- 4- The Detroit Free Press

Question 2: What is the issue date?

Found in the masthead or in the upper corner of the page.

- 1- Sunday, July 11, 2004
- 2- Wednesday, August 25, 2004
- 3- Tuesday, September 14, 2004
- 4- Thursday, September 30, 2004
- 5- Friday, October 8, 2004
- 6- Saturday, November 13, 2004
- 7- Monday, December 6, 2004
- 8- Thursday, January 15, 2009
- 9- Wednesday, February 25, 2009
- 10- Saturday, March 7, 2009
- 11- Sunday, April 5, 2009
- 12- Friday, May 15, 2009
- 13- Tuesday, June 16, 2009
- 14- Monday, June 29, 2009

Question 3: What is the section? (What does the masthead say?)

- 1- Front Cover
- 2- Local/Metro
- 3- Business
- 4- Sports
- 5- Features section (“Arts/Entertainment”/”Life”/etc.)
- 6- Other _____

Question 4:

a. What is the page format of the paper?

- 1- Broadsheet – The page is significantly taller than it is wide.
- 2- Tabloid – The page is smaller, nearly square.

b. Where is the majority of the photograph if the page is divided into thirds?

- 1- Top – most of the photograph is in the top third of the page.
- 2- Middle – most of the photograph is in the middle third of the page.
- 3- Bottom – most of the photograph is in the bottom third of the page.
- 4- Full Page – the photograph is the entire page.

If the photograph is equally divided in two sections, give preference to the upper third, since we read from top to bottom.

Question 5:

a. What kind of photograph is this image?

1. News photograph/image – A picture that accompanies a news event or feature story; is larger than one column. May be a stand-alone; has a caption. If a photograph has “illustration” in the byline, it will be coded as an illustration.’
2. Graphic/Illustration/Map – A drawing or otherwise manufactured image, often credited as “illustration” or “graphic.” The source of this visual element will still be coded for byline.
3. Mug shot – A picture of a face—either a subject of the story or a columnist—or a book cover or a product that is less than one column wide.
4. Refer picture – usually a small picture (often one column or less, sometimes a cutout, usually without a significant caption) above the masthead or along the side (usually the left) or bottom of the page that refers to a story or feature inside the page. Mug shots in these areas that refer the reader to a story inside (including columnists) will be coded as refers.

5b. If 1, what kind of assignment does the photograph appear to come from? If it is not clear simply by looking at the photograph, also look in the caption for the photo and the headline and first paragraph of the news story (if there is one) for more information. Logos are NOT counted.

1. Spot news – Unplanned news event, breaking news. Examples include fires, accidents, crime scenes. There was no anticipation for this event.
2. News event – Planned, announced or scheduled news event. Examples include press conferences, ribbon cuttings, sporting events. There was advanced notice for this event with a specific time that the event would begin and an approximate duration.
3. Assigned story – A subject or story that did not operate on a specific schedule, but relied more on the coordination between the photographer and subject. Examples include portraits, landscapes, architecture, documentary work (day in the life). There was advanced notice for this assignment, but the photographer had some flexibility with when to photograph it.
4. Hand-out image – The image was distributed by a PR representative, a government official, story subject (such as a family photo); the newspaper staff did not produce the image.
5. Unclear – It is difficult to tell what type of subject is being covered.

5c. A cutout has the context or remainder of the picture eliminated, leaving only the shape of the subject.

More about coding:

Mug shots and small portraits can sometimes be difficult to discern. Most papers have a standard style for “mugshot” images, so looking at other pages of the paper can confirm if something is a mugshot. Sports and opinion columns usually use mugshots of the writers; that may help clarify what style the paper uses or at least the size.

Do not code logos, even if they are made by the newspaper to denote a continuing feature or story. If they are printed in the top, bottom or side gutter, where refer images are found, do not code them.

“Refer” pictures are found along the top or bottom and, sometimes, left or right edge of the news hole. The image or graphic is connected to a story inside the paper and almost always has “see page #” on or near it. Feature photos, which are printed larger than refer images and are in the main news content area of the page, may also have a “see page” reference by them, but should be counted as news pictures. They represent reporting work by the photography department; refer image production is controlled by designers.

The byline “John Q. Smith/Staff” that is under a photograph indicates a staff photographer took the picture. If there are multiple pictures and only one is credited, it will probably have “Smith/ Staff Photos” to indicate all images were by the same photographer. If there is text associated with this story, it will have a

byline near the top of the story/headline. Check if they are the same person. If there is a picture package, where multiple images are separated from the body of the paper by a hairline border or some other type of visual delineation, the copy block may not have a writer credit. It is not safe to assume the photographer wrote this, so do not write that the reporter/photographer bylines match.

Question 6: According to the byline, what is the source of the image?

Bylines can be found in smaller type beneath the photograph on the right side. For groups of photographs, there may be one credit line for all of them, which will say “Photos by...” There also may be no credit for a photograph, particularly if it is very small. The specific source of the photograph can be identified by what is written in the credit line. Groups of photos may have one byline that will read “Photos” rather than “Photo.”

1. Wire service – The credit line will read “Associated Press” or “[photographer name]/Reuters.” Other possible services include Getty, AFP, EPA, etc
2. Submitted/stock/outsourced/handout – The credit line may include “Courtesy of” or the name of a company or website. The caption may also give clues about the source.
3. Freelancer– The credit line may include “Special to the [paper name]”
4. Staff – The credit line may include “[photog name]/[paper name]” or “/staff” or “staff photographer” or some other explicit link of the image’s creator to the newspaper.
5. File photo – A photo by the newspaper from the past. “File” will be in the credit line. However, if it is wire file “AP File Photo,” credit as a wire image.
6. Uncredited – There is no name or source attributed to the image.
7. Unclear – The source of the image cannot be determined. Byline may simply read “Photo by (Name)” or just “Name.” Be sure to read the caption of the photo; it may have more information.

Question 7 a&b: Is the picture associated with an article? How many total **news/main** pictures are there associated with the article on the page?

Layout will usually indicate what photographs and stories go together. Double-checking with the captions of photographs will confirm the content’s relationship. Stand-alone photographs usually have a border or hairline dividing the image from other stories and photographs. Do not count any non-main/non-news pictures.

Question 8 a, b, c, d: How wide/tall, in inches is the picture? How wide/tall, in inches is the news space?

Using a ruler, measure the width and height of the photograph. Then measure the news space by measuring from each edge of printed space. This will be noted either by edge of text or by hairline/outline. Look for a place where there is the maximum amount of printed content across the page. For the height, the same guidelines apply. Look for the very top of the masthead and the last line or image along the bottom. When measuring, be sure not to zoom in or out between measurements. Total space of the photograph will be calculated by percentages, so the size that is measured is not important, so long as the page being measured stays the same scale throughout.

APPENDIX B: Code Sheet

Unit of analysis: Individual Photograph (vs. full page)

1. What is the title of the paper?

- 1 – San Jose Mercury News
- 2 – Boston Globe
- 3 – St. Louis Post-Dispatch
- 4 – Detroit Free Press

2. What is the issue date?

- 01 – Monday, December 6th, 2004
- 02 – Tuesday, September 14th, 2004
- 03 – Wednesday, August 25th, 2004
- 04 – Thursday, September 30th, 2004
- 05 – Friday, October 8th, 2004
- 06 – Saturday, November 13th, 2004
- 07 – Sunday, July 11th, 2004
- 08 – Monday, June 29th, 2009
- 09 – Tuesday, June 16th, 2009
- 10 – Wednesday, February 25th, 2009
- 11 – Thursday, January 15th, 2009
- 12 – Friday, May 15th, 2009
- 13 – Saturday, March 7th, 2009
- 14 – Sunday, April 5th, 2009

3. What section of the paper is this photograph in?

- 1 – Front Cover
- 2 – Local News
- 3 – Business
- 4 – Arts & Entertainment
- 5 – Sports
- 6 – Other: _____

4. a. What is the page format of the paper?

- 1- Broadsheet
- 2- Tabloid

b. Where is the majority of the photograph if the page is divided into thirds?

- 1 – Top
- 2 – Middle
- 3 – Bottom
- 4 – Full page

5. a. What kind of photograph is this image?

- 1 – News photograph/image
- 2 – Graphic/illustration/map

- 3 – Mug shot
- 4 – Refer picture

b. If 1, what kind of assignment does the photograph appear to come from?

- 1 – Spot news
- 2 – News event
- 3 – Assigned story
- 4 – Hand-out image
- 5 – Unclear

c. Is this a cutout?

- 1 – yes
- 2 – no

6. According to the byline, what is the source of the image?

- 1-wire service
- 2-submitted/outsourced
- 3-freelancer
- 4-staff
- 5-file photo
- 6-uncredited
- 7-unclear

7. Is the picture associated with an article?

- 1 – yes
- 2 – no

a. If yes, does the byline of the photograph match the byline of the story?

- 1 – yes
- 2 – no
- 3 – unclear

b. How many total news/main pictures are there associated with the article on the page?

1 2 3 4 5 ____ (if more)

8a. How wide, in inches, is the photograph?

b. How wide, in inches, is the news space?

c. How tall, in inches, is the photograph?

d. How tall, in inches, is the news space?

Notes:

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