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順從或反抗？數位時代中攝影記者的性別實踐
Subordinate or Subversive? Photojournalists' Gender Practices
in Digital Work Environments

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Acknowledgement

在這一年多的時家裡，除了每週固定實習之外日子，畢業論文正式成為了我的生活重心，原本以為只要是用自己有興趣的主題來做研究，就能讓這件事變得好玩有趣，或是更有動力，沒想到是我太天真。現在回想起來，我能完成這一份研究真的要感謝好多人。

首先，我必須要感謝指導教授康庭瑜老師的不離不棄，給予我許多研究上的啟發，就算我每次都花了好久時間才生出論文進度，老師依然很有耐心地給我方向與建議，同時又尊重我自己的想法，真的是三生有幸才能遇到這麼一位為學生盡心付出的好教授；此外，我也很感謝口試委員劉昌德老師、陳芬苓老師在口試過程中給予的肯定、指教與建議；我還要感謝鍾宜杰老師義不容辭地幫忙我這位素昧平生的學生聯絡線上的攝影記者，讓我在採訪的初期順利起跑；感謝研究中的每位受訪者，不僅大方地參與訪談，還願意幫我接洽其他有意願的受訪者，讓我能在今天順利產出這份血淚之作；感謝男友始終肯定著我的努力，是我在焦慮發作時的定心丸；感謝身邊的朋友總是能在我看不見盡頭、自我懷疑的時候給我支持；感謝同事與主管總是讓我把學業排在優先，鼓勵著我。

最後，我還要謝謝我的家人從不給我壓力，總是無條件支持我做的決定，是我不變的靠山。雖然我知道這並不是一份完美無缺的研究，但卻是我竭盡所能、用盡心力所完成的，同時印證著那些因為自我懷疑、焦慮失眠，但依然成功熬過的日子。

摘要

過去，女性因為種種原因難以進入新聞攝影，有人說是因為該職業要求的高度體能負荷導致它成為男性主導的行業，也有人認為是新聞行業盛行的陽剛文化使新聞攝影成為「男性專屬的俱樂部」。多年來，由於技術的進步，攝影器材不再笨重，使用上也趨於簡單，攝影記者的門檻因此降低。隨之而來的是，越來越多的女性以及公民攝影記者在這一領域嶄露頭角。然而，一些研究表明新聞室的陽剛文化依然阻礙著女性攝影記者的加入。因此，本研究旨在探討在數位時代下，性別在當代新聞攝影中扮演了什麼角色、與過去的研究相比，新聞攝影中的陽剛文化是否有所改變，以及數位科技的運用能否為處於性別不平等關係中的女性帶來曙光。本研究透過深度訪談，採訪了 4 位男性和 6 位女性攝影記者在數位時代下的工作經驗，以及他們對於新聞攝影中性別關係的見解。結果發現，直述新聞為攝影記者的每天主要的工作內容，而陽剛文化也因該類型新聞的工作實踐而深根蒂固於新聞攝影行業中。不過，部分女性攝影記者卻拒絕順從陽剛文化，並開始展現他們對於男性價值的反抗。而在不停進步的數位環境中，擁有影音製作能力有助於增加女性進入新聞攝影行業的機會，也助於她們在新聞編輯室中的階級流動。

關鍵字：攝影記者、新聞攝影、陽剛文化、性別與工作、數位技能

Abstract

In the past, women have been excluded from joining photojournalism as a profession due to many reasons. Some say it was the high demands of photojournalism, including the physical demands that had led to it being a male dominated industry, while some believe it was the masculine culture prevailing in the news industry that had made photojournalism become a “boy’s club”. Over the years, owing to technological improvement, camera gears are no longer heavy and complex to manage. As a result, more women are rising in the field as well as citizen photojournalists. However, some research reveal that female photojournalists remain the minority due to the enduring masculine newsroom culture. Thus, this study aims to explore how gender has been discussed in modern photojournalism, the value of digital skills in relation to gender, and whether the digital age offers women the opportunity to negotiate gender equality in the newsroom.

I interviewed 4 male and 6 female photojournalists. The results showed that masculine culture is deeply rooted in the work practice of straight news reporting because of its required physical ability and social skills. Meanwhile, women started to show their disapproval toward the masculine culture by refusing to comply with the masculine norms. Furthermore, digital competence in video production has not only helped increase women’s job opportunity but also helped their class mobility in the newsroom.

Keywords: Photojournalist; photojournalism; masculine culture; gender and work; digital competence

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Motivation

Heavy camera gears and equipment are often associated with the image of news photographers and photojournalists, therefore, when people think of a photographer, they would presume it's a man. In the past, news photographers need to carry around 17 kilograms of photographic equipment while working, which made this profession physically demanding. Besides, in order to get a good shot, photojournalists might push against each other, thus women's body type and strength may be at a disadvantage. Therefore, women were discouraged to join this profession (Gover, 1988; Sebag-Montefiore, 2019). However, later improvement of photographic equipment not only reduced the bulkiness of a camera but simplified the process of image production. If women were excluded from photojournalism because of the physical demand in the first place, such technological progress should free women from this restraint, and allow more women's involvement in modern photojournalism. Unfortunately, when Hadland and colleagues (2015) recruited 1,556 news photographers from more than 100 countries, they found that 85 percent of the photojournalists are male. And according to News Leader Association [NLA] (2015), photojournalism has the lowest percentage of women in the newsroom, with less than 25% of photographers/artists/videographers being female. Even though over 50 percent of graduates from photo school are female (Bauck, 2018), and more women than men graduating with a degree in journalism (DataUSA, 2020), photojournalism nowadays is still heavily dominated by men. Such gender disparity can be found not only in recruitment, but in payroll, allocation of work, and promotion (Hadland et al., 2015; Hadland and Barnett, 2018a, 2018b; De Vuyst, 2020).

These disappointing results led us to wonder the reasons why modern photojournalism is so gender exclusive. Although research in photojournalism is growing, studies related to the relation of gender in the modern photojournalistic workforce are thin. To explore this topic, De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers's study (2019) offers valuable insights on the influences of how digitalization may have constructed gender relations in journalism. They found that in the digital age, journalist's success in the newsroom depends on their digital expertise such as ICT skills, and it's especially essential to female journalists. However, according to their study, female journalist's digital knowledge and skills are often questioned in the newsroom and regarded as less legitimate than their male colleagues. Besides, the increasingly digitalized workplace is also not in favor of women's digital expertise accrual due to gender binary and women's struggle with an unequal share of household chores and childcare (De Vuyst and Raeymeakers, 2019). Although studies have shown flexible working environment has contributed to liberate women from patriarchal employment structure, empirical evidence suggests social inequality and hierarchies in the digital workplace endure (Duffy, 2015). Therefore, female reporters need to invest more in learning digital skills and acquiring more experiences to increase their status in the newsroom. In other words, the accrual of digital expertise is much more essential to female journalist's success in the newsroom than men.

Thus, De Vuyst and Raeymaekers's findings give my study an interesting starting point to think what position gender has been placed in photojournalism under the influence of digitalization. With the improvement of technology, does gender itself still matter to the success of a photojournalist? Since photojournalism has also been experienced digitalization through the transformation of work practices, technological knowledge and skills matter significantly to the success of

photojournalists and news photographers. Tait (2017) argues that a successful adaptation into the digital era depends on photojournalist's accountability to improve themselves when learning new skills. It is also determined by the availability of technology and access to training in the newsrooms and shaped by personal characteristics such as gender. When a gender gap currently exists in photojournalism, it makes us wonder: how has digitalization contributed to or worsen the reconciliation of gender relations in photojournalism? Therefore, exploring how gender is positioned in the modern newsroom, and how digitalization may also affect gender relation in photojournalism could offer an insightful and valuable understanding of gender disparity in modern photojournalism.

1.2 Research Background

1.2.1 An Overview of Gender Composition in Taiwanese News Industry

According to Government Information Office's report (as cited in Lo, 2012), Taiwan has a diversified media system and a competitive media environment with 2,039 newspapers, 5,883 magazines, 174 radio stations, 5 terrestrial television stations, 64 cable television system operators, and over 90 satellite broadcasting program providers coexisting. Concerning gender composition in photojournalism, the exact number and figures about women working in the media industries were difficult to collect due to the access to organizational administrative records often being denied. In addition, the employment of media organizations generally mixed with tenured, part-time, and freelance staff makes it even harder to get comparable and verifiable data of media workforce (Gallagher, 1981). However, with small sample carried out by several researchers, we know that a considerable number of

men composes the workforce of photojournalism in Taiwan, and it hasn't changed in almost twenty years (Chen, cited in Sun 2007; Heish, cited in Sun 2007; Liao, 2007).

However, if we look at the gender demographic in Taiwanese journalism as a whole, women are rising in the workforce composition. Back in 1975, women participation's in journalism was little with only 12.5 % of news workers were female (Peng, 1987). Over the years, the number of female reporters had increased with 40.6 percent were female in 1996 (Lo, 2012). Moreover, evidences suggest the number of female reporters starts to surpass men in hard news including crime stories, human interests, natural disasters (Liao, 2007). However, even though women are rising in journalism, their participation and gains are still limited by the patriarchal system in the newsroom (Pain and Chen, 2019). For instance, feminine values such as kindness, compassion, and humanity are often at odds with journalists' expected qualities such as toughness and distrust (van Zoonen, 2002). Liao (2007) yields a similar result in Taiwan that femininity is valued less in the newsroom when directors generally believe the news stories written by female reporters tend to be subjective and affected by women's emotions and empathy. They also believe men have more potential to be a successful reporter than women. Moreover, when Taiwanese female journalists face the patriarchal system, they tend to accept the dominant male values and suppress their femininity to fit in the environment.

These findings are consistent with Cassidy's (2008) study that female journalists generally incorporate the traditional male-centric norms of journalistic culture into their work. Therefore, Linda Lazier-Smith (1989) once said, "Although the demographics (the math) has changed dramatically, the attitude (mentality) has not....we seem to be suffering from a cultural lag —our culture's beliefs and attitudes and opinions on women are lagging behind the reality about women" (p.258).

Notwithstanding the rising number of female journalists, it doesn't change the existing gender difference in the news industry, and men continue to dominate news production and newsroom culture.

1.2.2 Modern Photojournalism in Digital Age

“Photojournalists” as defined by this study, is understood as news worker who are dedicated to pursue news stories in the field by capturing still images and audio-visual recordings as news material disseminated via broadcast, print, and online media. Therefore, by this definition, the research subject in this study doesn't include those who are known as “camera operator” or “cameramen” working at television studio manning cameras that capture news anchors and interview subjects. The nature of work among photojournalists and cameramen are very different: a photojournalist is similar to a reporter but uses a camera rather than words to tell news stories, while a cameraman is a professional operator of fixed-position camera in a studio, capturing footage for television shows. Therefore, my research will focus on photojournalists who specifically work in the field to pursue news stories through producing visual content.

Since the mid-19th century, thanks to technology, photojournalism has influenced the way we interpret the world through illustrating news stories with images. Photojournalists nowadays use digital cameras, mostly DSLR cameras, in general. A DSLR camera allows photojournalists to manipulate camera settings with a great amount of control, in a way that offers them complete creative control over their images. Based on the interviews conducted in my study, Taiwanese photojournalists spend most of their working hours outside of the newsroom to attend various news occasions, such as press conferences, political events, protests, crime scenes, etc. They are mainly responsible for producing images for two types of news articles:

straight news and feature news. Straight news consists of objective facts given straight without embellishment, and its stories mainly include financial, political, social topics. Feature news is an article written to give more in-depth information about specific events, issues, or people, and it allows more space for pictures, illustrations, graphics, and other visual components as accompany. According to the participants in this study, tasks for straight news will be assigned to photojournalists at least one day before, depending on the reporters' or photo editor's needs. Therefore, photojournalists can arrange their schedule and appointment in advance. However, photojournalists also need to be on call and prepare for any unexpected breaking news that might require an immediate response. Normally, one photojournalist is responsible for 1 to 3 news events a day. The stay at each news event takes 1 to 2 hours, not including traffic time. After shooting for the required material, if it's for an urgent event, photos or videos will be sent back immediately via phone or laptop at the scene, otherwise, photojournalists can upload the material to the database later in the day. On the other hand, feature articles are usually assigned to photojournalists a few months ahead of time, and the designated photojournalist will need to liaise with reporters closely to discuss how they want to produce and present the content. After finishing the shooting, photojournalists will edit the images before handing them out. Time spent on one feature article varies, it can take from weeks to months to complete.

With digital disruption drawing advertising-income away from print media, the news industry in Taiwan has experienced the transition from traditional outlets to digital platforms. Not only Taiwanese leading print media have been improving their web and mobile portals to attract the audiences, but the growing digital news world is also comprised of small news websites (Pew Research Center, 2014; Rickards, 2016).

However, the staffing level of these small digital-native news outlets is usually limited by small budgets and consists of staff with a different employment contract. Therefore, photojournalists nowadays can be found working in various employment conditions: full-time, part-time, and freelance. To sum up, in the last twenty years, the revolution in image, with the blossoming of electronic communication tools and platforms, digitalization changes the production and the delivery of news. Since then, photojournalists have never stopped adapting, using new technology and outlets to tell newsworthy stories of our modern society (Stewart, 2017).

However, digital advancement also gives rise to citizen photojournalism that anyone bears with a digital camera or mobile phone is able to capture events, routines or disasters in time. Thus, citizen photojournalism allows the audience to be the potential collaborators of the media. Meanwhile, photojournalists are no longer the only sources who provide visual content in the media. Although citizen photojournalism does pose threats to the professional photojournalists' career, most of professional photojournalists contend that the technical knowledge and work tools they have make it hard for amateurs to compete with (García and Palomo, 2015; Solaroli, 2015). In this regard, professional photojournalists must produce high-quality news stories with a set of ever-improving digital skills to have a more long-lasting career. Thus, it is common that news photographers and photojournalists need to be well-equipped with more advanced computer skills, mobile technology skills, or multimedia skills (Borges-Rey, 2017), in order to produce and deliver high-quality news stories through diverse digital platforms.

Although photojournalism has been heavily affected by digitalization, photojournalists with multi-skilling are still rare. For photojournalists to successfully adopt new skills and develop new work practices driven by technological changes,

education and training are essential (Mäenpää, 2014). However, the accumulation of digital skills and knowledge is subjected to news organization's policy and photojournalists' individual circumstances. Not all photojournalists have equal access to learn new technology and digital knowledge. We've already learned from De Vuyst and Raeymaekers's (2019) findings that female journalists didn't have the equal opportunity to adapt themselves into the digital age, and their digital expertise was often looked down in the newsroom. Therefore, it is also important to raise the question regarding the access and the value of digital skills and knowledge, and their relation to gender in photojournalism where women remains the minority.

1.3 Research Aims

Compared to studies related to gender made in journalism, photojournalism is a field that receives less attention. Therefore, through drawing on qualitative research with Taiwanese photojournalists, this study first aims to explore how gender has been positioned and discussed in modern photojournalism. In Taiwan, although the current working environment in photojournalism is more welcoming to women, the newsroom culture is still dominated by masculine norms as female photojournalists find it difficult to earn promotions compared to their male counterparts (Chung, 2015; Sun, 2007). Furthermore, according to van Zoonen (1994), women journalists often face a dilemma called "sameness-differences" which puts them into the struggle between "becoming a man in order to achieve equality" or "being a woman and treated as equals". Several researchers contend that female journalists who haven't recognized and identified with her own identity tend to submit to masculine newsroom culture, and being accepted as 'one of the boys' would be their ultimate goal in journalism (van Zoonen, 2002; Liao, 2007). Therefore, I also wonder how photojournalists themselves perceive the gender of their profession if female

photojournalists have ever faced the same dilemma, and how they deal with the situation.

Second, as photojournalism increasingly becomes technologically oriented and sophisticated, this study raises questions about the interplay between gender and technology capacity in the photojournalism workforce. Thus, the findings aim to capture the differences in male and female experiences in digitalized photojournalism by building on De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers's (2019) work which focuses on how digitalization may have influenced gender relations in journalism. More specifically, this study investigates how technological capacity is facilitated, constrained, and mitigated by gender in the digital age. In addition to how the technology capacity of male and female photojournalists is valued in the newsroom, how photojournalists position themselves in relation to technology is also investigated. According to Kelan (2007), technology is often perceived and defined as something masculine, and such nature would influence how women position themselves in relation to technology. For example, men tend to enjoy technology as a toy, while women tend to use technology as a tool and distance themselves from it. Therefore, the difference in the use of technology is worth exploring in the gendered perspective since it may influence how women see and perceive themselves working in a male-dominated field.

This study is trying to answer following research question: (1) What is the role of gender in modern photojournalism? (2) How do female and male photojournalists value digital skills in their career development?

2. Literature review

2.1 Gender Disparity in the Newsroom

The news industry has long been predominately occupied by men. More than 20 years ago, Weaver and Wilhoit's (1996) study finds that only one-third of American journalists is female, and journalists are typically portrayed as protestant white males in their 30s who own bachelor's degree. Nowadays, it's common to see more women than men graduating with a degree in journalism — almost 68% of people in the U.S with a journalism degree are women (DataUSA, 2020), 65% of students majoring in communication in Taiwan are female (教育部, 2017) — and the number of women working in the newsroom has also slightly increased over the years, with 41.7 percent of newsroom employees are women (compared to 39.1 percent in 2017), 41.2 percent as daily newspaper employees (compared to 38.9 percent in 2017) while 47.8 percent as online-only news organization employees, holding steady from 2017 (ASNE, as cited in NLA n.d.). However, the workforce in journalism is still dominated by men, with 62% of all bylines and credit in print, television, wire, and digital news belong to men (Women's Media Center, 2017). The persistent lack of gender representativeness and diversity in the newsroom can affect how news has been constructed.

Evidence is shown in Zoch and Turk's (1998) study that male and female journalists act differently in their selection of male and female sources. Peiser (2000) reveals that German female journalists tend to address more on the topics of social and humanitarian issues, as compared to their male colleagues. Similarly, Craft and Wanta (2004) claim that gender plays a role in the news agenda. They found that male reporters tend to cover political issues, while female reporters tend to cover business and economic news. In addition, newsrooms with a high proportion of women in leadership positions tend to report news more positively (Craft and Wanta, 2004), and with a greater number of women overall are more likely to have news stories related to social problems and human interests (Weaver, 1997). Hence, it is suggested that

female reporters have their own perspectives that are different from their male counterparts when making news, and one can argue that women have their perspectives according to their own values and practices (Everbach, 2006). As we increasingly rely on visual narratives such as photographs to convey the complexity of our modern life and its conflicts (Hadland and Barnett, 2018a; Campbell and Critcher, 2018), it is fair to ask whether those who construct narratives about the society and the world through images come from diversified background.

According to Taiwanese scholars, a considerable number of men composes the workforce of photojournalism in Taiwan, and it hasn't changed in almost twenty years (Chen, cited in Sun 2007; Heish, cited in Sun 2007; Liao, 2007). Sun's (2007) findings explained the reasons behind women's struggle of breaking into photojournalism in Taiwan. He suggests that what needs to be examined is not only the physical conditions of female photojournalists but also the discourse of how society defines an ideal labor which is usually implied to be a capable man. He contends that for male photojournalists in Taiwan, the tiredness and pressure that come with the job are not just physical burdens, they also represent photojournalist's identification with their profession, which in turn construct the image of an ideal photojournalist. This is consistent with Acker's (1990) assertion that the evaluation standards in the workplace seem to be fair and rational, but they often fall into the projection of male preferences. For example, workers are expected to finish the job by reducing any other activities that will affect the work. However, women's working conditions are often limited by menstruation, motherhood, and housework. Therefore, women are said to be incompatible with the ideal image of a photojournalist. Even though many female photojournalists consider their physical abilities are well-

matched with their male colleagues, physical strength and availability remain the deepest concerns of most supervisors.

On the other hand, if we look at the workforce of photojournalism on a global scale, it is common to find gender disparity and inequality across countries. American Society of News Editors [ASNE] (2013) found that women who occupy the position of photographers/videographers/artists are less than 25 percent. This area of the newsroom has the lowest percentage of women. Hadland and colleagues (2015) recruit 1,556 news photographers from more than 100 countries and found that 85 percent of the photojournalists are male. Besides, more women photographers are in the lowest income bracket than men, fewer women in the highest bracket, and female photojournalists' concerns are mostly related to erratic income and decreasing demand for work. On top of that, women photojournalists and photographers have been reporting facing gender inequality in their workplace. A recent study shows that although women photojournalists receive higher education and a higher level of training, they still face more critical circumstances than their male colleagues (Hadland and Barnett, 2018b). Hadland and Barnett (2018b) outlined that 69% of women photographers have faced discrimination in the workplace, and they believe the biggest obstacles to women succeeding as photojournalists are sexism, industry stereotype, and industry practices. Such a disproportionate number of female photojournalists included in the newsroom and the ongoing gender inequality that occurred in photojournalism make us wonder how mass media would be influenced if our saturated visual news culture is dominated by men.

The lack of gender diversity in photojournalism is not just the problem of gender equality, Gamson and scholars (1992) indicate that images presented on mass media reveal the power and point of view which belong to people who construct the

narratives. For a photo being presented in news stories, it has gone through several gates, and each selection process is undertaken by photographic gatekeepers' individual characteristics, preferences, and cultural standpoints (Bissell, 2000). Similar to the results found in journalism, gender could also affect photojournalistic production. Campbell and Critcher (2018) provide empirical evidence showing that women photojournalists tend to provide opportunities for marginalized subjects in war zones being represented “in a way that does not see them as ‘objectified’ and ‘depoliticised’ ” (p. 1557), and women also could have better access to female or vulnerable subjects and gain trust more easily. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the gender of photojournalists could have impacts on news production, and to understand how gender has been discussed in modern photojournalism is crucial. Although research on photojournalism is growing and mostly confined in Western society, studies related to the influence of gender are thin. This study wishes to enrich studies in the Asian region by adding a Taiwanese case.

2.2 Female News Workers' Adaptation into Male-dominated

Newsroom

Men entered newsrooms long before women did, and the newsroom culture including news value and news routines was then essentially shaped by them. It is common for men to occupy most of the top positions in newsroom hierarchies, while women face the glass ceiling and unequal pay. Men are responsible for reporting hard news, while women are expected to report soft news, which is considered less important in journalism. Van Zoonen (2002) contends that those stereotypical news stories assign to female journalists could be considered as “an extension of their domestic responsibilities and their socially assigned qualities of care, nurturing and humanity” (p.34). Moreover, being a ‘good reporter’ requires working around-the-

clock, and such circumstances often result in female journalists being away from their family, and ‘neglect’ their husbands and children. Thus, female journalists are frequently being accused by their colleagues of losing their femininity, and considered as less of a ‘true woman’. It is apparent that masculine values and culture dominate the newsroom, and feminist ideas are out of place in such environment. To explore gender relations in photojournalism, male dominance and masculine culture enduring in the newsroom are important issues that need to be addressed first.

2.2.1 Masculine Culture in the Newsroom

Weaver (1997) believes that organizational environment, newsroom culture, and journalistic training are more influential to journalist’s role, production, and work ethics, instead of journalists’s demographic background. Journalism has long been called as ‘boy’s club’ that usually is associated with a macho style of management, rituals of joking, drinking, and exclusion, because it is mostly ruled by men, and operates under the patriarchal system. North (2009) argues that most men working as journalists rarely ‘experience’ newsroom culture as women did because men are ‘the culture’ that dominates the newsroom. According to Liao’s (2007) investigation on the requirement of being city news reporters in Taiwan, she reveals that the presumption of what characteristics should a professional journalist has are based on masculine norms. For example, to build ‘camaraderie’ with the news sources—usually are the police department, prosecutors office—journalists are expected to be generous, decisive, straightforward, ambitious, and follow the code of brotherhood — these are the qualities traditionally associated with the masculine and manly image. The macho style of doing things —masculine modes of thoughts and behaviors— in the newsroom hardly tolerates feminine attributes, and it can affect how men and women are variously employed, task allocation, and their career progress. North

(2009) asserts that femininity is often at odds with the necessary rational and unemotional behavior required to succeed in the industry. As Acker (1990) argues, “Images of men’s bodies and masculinity pervade organizational processes, marginalizing women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organization” (p.139). In such gendered newsroom, Smith (1976, as cited in van Zoonen, 1994) finds that British female journalists are more likely to be blocked from the learning opportunities regarding “hard news experiences, sub-editing, night shift working and the informal pub and club culture” (p.56). Consequently, women tend to have difficulties to the access of technical, normative, and folk knowledge of the organization, which would prevent them from developing into mature professionals. Van Zoonen (1988, 1997) argues that female journalists are judged primarily as women (i.g. appearance), instead of professional news workers, thus they are challenged to meet the expectations which don’t belong to the profession’s essence. This puts women into an awkward position where they are struggling between two identities which are ‘women’ and ‘professional journalists’. Those who don’t accept judgments and behaviors based on gender stereotypes would lose prestige, and those who don’t conform to those stereotypes will not be regarded as ‘true women’ by their male colleagues. As a result, most women are afraid that showing feminine characteristics will impeded their careers, and they’re forced to learn the masculine culture in the workplace.

As for photojournalism, it is even more common to see the masculine culture prevail in the workplace. For instance, it is known that the job of a news photographer or photojournalist requires them to be aggressive in the heat of the moment when important events are happening. In order to get a good shot, photojournalists might push against each other, thus women’s body type and strength are at a disadvantage.

Therefore, aggressiveness and toughness are usually associated with the image of photojournalists, and women's body type and strength are said to be incompatible with such a job nature. According to Sun's (2008) findings, he reveals Taiwanese female photojournalists are confined to the macho style of working in the newsroom, as several female photojournalists have emphasized that "gender is not the issue, women can be just aggressive like their male colleagues" (p. 93). However, these kinds of statements are showing exactly how women compromise themselves by accepting masculinity as the only way to 'be a photojournalist'. Besides, it's a regular that photojournalists sometimes share pictures among peers in order to help others get the job done. To build such camaraderie in the newsroom or among different newsrooms, each photojournalist is better to have a close social network that might come as handy one day. Thus, smoking together or binge drinking become "traditional and routined" social practices among the majority of photojournalists—male photojournalists. Therefore, those photojournalists who aren't familiar with this kind of behavior, in Taiwanese cases that would usually be female, are frequently find it difficult to join the "club".

Furthermore, from Sun's (2007) interviews with Taiwanese male photojournalists, it is self-evident that fatigue caused by the high demanding job isn't just a consequence of working as photojournalists, it represents how they overcome the challenges and stressfulness, and it is also the ideal image of photojournalists worthy of praise. Such discourse affects the structure of employment in photojournalism in which gender stereotype reinforces the professional instability of female photojournalists by emphasizing women being weak, emotional, and lacking competitiveness. As a result, newsroom tends to avoid hiring female photographers, and the professional culture of photojournalism also discourages feminine

participation (Silva and Gonçalves, 2018; Sun, 2007). These findings are resonated with Acker's (1990) argument that workers in organizations are assumed to be disembodied and universal; however, that disembodied 'worker' is still generally thought of as male. Consequently, women's physical and labor contribution are devalued and they struggle to fulfill the image of universal worker that is based on a male body which his identity is always masculine.

2.2.2 How Has Masculine Norms Affected Women in the Newsroom?

First, North (2009) argues that gender has divided journalists into 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Since professional journalists are expected with a competitive, assertive, and detached style that has been traditionally considered what female journalists are lacking, femininity is not appreciated or not regarded as professional by colleagues and editors (van Zoonen, 1988). As a result, women are often seen as 'outsiders' in the newsroom (North, 2009). One of North's interviewees expressed that identifying who is an insider and who is not is essential to the operation of a journalistic community. For journalists to become a part of the community, they need to bond with their colleagues and fit into the required ways of being in the newsroom. Simply put, making alliances and compromises would ensure one stay in the inner circle. Therefore, empirical evidence discover that female journalists have accepted that the only way to stay in the business is simply to become 'one of the boys'. For example, in the Taiwanese news industry, learning how to binge drink with news sources or colleagues is considered the way to join the 'boys' club' for female reporters (Liao, 2007; Pain and Chen, 2019). Moreover, some female journalists will prevent themselves from showing any femininity, leaning towards other women, or being labelled as feminists (North, 2009). In the end, masculine norms and values will remain the dominant culture in the newsroom, as van Zoonen (1994) once put it,

“Dominant ideology becomes invisible because it is translated in ‘common sense’, appearing as the natural, unpolitical state of things accepted by each and everyone” (p.24).

Secondly, due to the unappreciation of female values, female journalists are often confined to reporting on traditional feminine topics, such as women’s health, lifestyle, fashion, food, and family, which usually are considered less important topics by editors, while men are given front-page bylines (Winberg, 2015). North (2009) contends that although there are more ‘soft news’ produced by the media nowadays, and women are prominent in these areas, this form of news is generally not valued as highly as ‘hard news’ stories. Another example of how femininity being used in the news industry is van Zoonen (1999) finds that women are increasingly occupying news anchor positions. This is due to increased attention to human interest subjects and the owners of news organizations wish to emphasize the entertainment value and emotional qualities of news. Although it seems like women are conquering a once exclusively male position, van Zoonen contends why newsreaders become a woman’s job is because of the feminine embodiments that remind the audience of “a caring and never failing mother who tucks you in every night after a day of emotional arousal”. Moreover, women as newsreaders also reveals a common and traditional image of television femininity —“woman as a pleasure object for male gaze”. Therefore, women becoming news anchors is argued as being done for masculine subject’s gaze.

Finally, family responsibility is another challenge female photojournalists would face in the newsroom. It is inevitable for working women to deal with the parental and domestic duties which have proved to be a double burden in all occupations., and the news industry is no different (van Zoonen, 1994). Photojournalists are expected to be capable of working long and irregular hours, and being available outside office

hours, women who have children struggle to strike a balance between career aspiration and motherhood (Payne, 2018). Silva and Gonçalves (2018) reveal that it is common for female photojournalists to give priority to building a career over family and personal objectives. For instance, their respondents usually put off maternity until they reach their 30s. With the unpredictable and varying working conditions, the requirement of total availability in photojournalism constructs an unfriendly workplace for women who are responsible for full-time childcare (Payne, 2018). Thus, female photojournalists often find themselves struggling between motherhood, housework, and career aspirations. Although both male and female photojournalists' family life is affected by the around-the-clock working demands, this impact does seem to limit women from becoming photojournalists than what it does to men (Sun, 2007). The results are similar when North (2009) investigating the influences of newsroom culture made on female journalists. According to North's study, female journalists who have children often return as part-time, or less-senior workers, and this has created a struggle for them to maintain a career while raising children, or even worst, impeded their career, as North expressed, "children-rearing is cited as a measure of women's unreliability as employees" (p.55). However, on the contrary, male journalists seem to not have a problem combining family and career: 59 percent of male journalists having children against less than 20 percent of women, and female journalists are less likely to be married and have children than men (van Zoonen, 1988).

2.3 Technology and Changes in Photojournalistic Practices

The news industry has been significantly influenced by digitalization and technological innovation. Langdon Winner (as cited in Robinson, 2011) once said, "The introduction of a robot to an industrial workplace not only increases productivity

but also radically changes the process of production, refining what ‘work’ means in that setting.” (p. 1122). Not only the physical landscape of news production becomes highly computerized, but the photojournalistic products, routines, and culture are also transforming (Štefaniková and Láb, 2016).

2.3.1 Changes in the Process of Image Production

As newsrooms become highly computerized, it is common that reporters are now required to be well-equipped with digital skills, such as basic or more advanced computer skills, mobile technology skills, and multimedia skills (Borges-Rey, 2017; Russial, 2009; Wang, 2013). Studies suggest that photojournalists experience digitalization through the transformation of work practices (Lindblom, 2015; Štefaniková and Láb, 2016; Mäenpää, 2014), and perhaps photojournalism might be the part of media industry that experiences the fastest technical, normative and ideological change (Lindblom, 2015; Klein-Avraham and Reich, 2014). Koai and Lo (2013) believe that photojournalists whose careers depend heavily on technical skills and equipment experience the impact brought by digitalization more distinctly.

In general, digital technologies have changed photojournalistic material production across four stages: taking photos, initial gatekeeping, online transmission, and pre/post-publication activities (Klein-Avraham and Reich, 2014). In the first stage, photographers shooting with digital cameras are free from material limitations, photos can be reviewed, deleted, and retaken with real-time monitoring (Bossen et al., 2006). In the past, only after the time-consuming film development, photojournalists could see and make sure the images they take are correct. Now with real-time monitoring, it reduces not only the uncertainty of whether photographers have accomplished the assignment, but also the stay at news scenes (Klein-Avraham and Reich, 2014). In the second stage, initial gatekeeping refers to photojournalists are

given greater control over their published photos by selecting the desired frames. However, Štefaniková and Láb (2016) argue that with more photos being taken, post-production including selection and editing gradually becomes time-consuming and demanding. In the third stage, online transmission enables photojournalists to send photos to the newsroom through digital transmission whenever and wherever they are. Although digital transmission replaces the time-consuming film development, the speeding process also shortens the deadlines for every assignment, which makes photojournalists feel the added pressure. In the last stage, photojournalists often deal with photo-editing and archiving. Photo editing becomes an inseparable part of photography in the digital age (Mäenpää, 2014). The advanced photographic equipment and editing software help photojournalists produce images with higher quality; however, photo editing is often discussed with the issue of image manipulation and professional ethics (Klein-Avraham and Reich, 2014; Lindblom, 2015; Mäenpää, 2014; Štefaniková and Láb, 2016).

2.3.2 The Pressure and Work Intensification Brought by Digitalization

Digitalization has reduced the time spent on image production for photojournalists; however, it doesn't lighten their work loading. In the contrast, they begin to take more responsibilities and face work intensification. According to Chung (2015), several Taiwanese photojournalists contend that their working hour has become longer after digitalization. For instance, since time-consuming film development is no longer needed, photojournalists have more spare time. As a result, news editors will ask them to do more work, such as taking more photos, doing more news follow-ups, editing images and videos. Audio collection and multimedia content creation are once belonged to photo technicians and production workers (Mäenpää, 2014; Russial, 2009; Yaschur, 2012), now they belong to photojournalist's

responsibility. North (2009) and Wang (2013) also yield similar results that an increasing number of news reporters find their work becomes highly intensified. By and large, photojournalists nowadays are responsible for not only shooting and selecting, but also involve with post-production work, such as image editing, describing, inserting keywords, file archiving, and sometimes even have to publish their work (Štefaniková and Láb, 2016).

Nonetheless, digitalization has also weakened the position of professional photojournalists, especially those working in print media. While news organizations begin to cut costs by downsizing, photojournalists often become the first target to lay off due to many factors. For instance, with the improvement of technology, taking images becomes easier and the use of equipment is not limited to professional photographers anymore. In addition, photographic images are widely distributed through the Internet and are accessible to everyone in the digital age. This raises the question of whether there is a need for professional photojournalists. Some newsrooms would hire part-time photojournalists or citizen photojournalists who are paid less than professional ones in order to save costs, or they would start to ask news reporters to take photographs themselves. In other words, the division of labor in photojournalism has experienced changes due to digitalization. And for those who survive through lay-offs, they face an intensification of work practices brought by technological changes along with industrial changes and media concentration. Newsrooms with fewer resources such as budget cuts, constant layoffs are expected to do more with high efficiency.

While digitalization is shaping and reshaping the work routines in photojournalism, Internet has also played a significant role in building the connection between photojournalists and society. The Internet has changed the delivery of

images in our current society, not only does it allow images to be uploaded to a space with limitless storage, but also it grants viewers and readers the access to view images instantaneously. Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have redesigned their interface more friendly to images delivery (Pollard, 2017), and more members of the global public are able to get first-hand of breaking news with visual images through such platforms. Not only does social media offer new outlets for images, but it has also revolutionized the entire process of photo production for photojournalists. For example, visual storytelling is complemented with other forms of visual presentations, such as maps, timelines, and infographics (Bardan, 2015).

Therefore, digital skills and knowledge become extremely fundamental in news production, and also a valuable asset to photojournalists (Greenwood and Reinardy, 2011; Tait, 2017). Aiming to adapt to the current visual culture and stay competitive, new technologies keep urging photojournalists to add more skills and employ new strategies. Robinson (2011) believes that news media workers who have successfully adapted into digital world are gaining more power in newsroom hierarchy.

2.4 Gender and Photojournalism in Digital Age

As newsrooms continue to be computerized, photojournalists have been exposed to a wide range of digital tools for news production. However, the assets of technical and digital knowledge and skills are not accordingly accessible to all photojournalists, they are subjected to news organization's policy and individual circumstances such as age and gender. For instance, according to Chung (2015), news organizations in Taiwan usually don't provide photojournalists with essential training regarding digital knowledge and skills. Therefore, it is common for Taiwanese photojournalists to learn on their own by using private time. However, when De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers (2019) investigate gender and its relation to digital expertise in journalism, they

discover that learning digital skills takes more time and effort for female journalists compared to their male colleagues due to a disproportionate family responsibilities. Besides, the evaluation of male and female journalists' digital expertise is subjected to gender bias that women's digital competence is often questioned in the newsroom and considered less legitimate than their male colleagues (De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers, 2019). When North (2009) explores the gendered effect of the industry's changing technology, she also suggests that digital journalism practices have different outcomes for male and female journalists. In her findings, changes in technology affect the gendered division of labor in print journalism, where men are centered in the technology-heavy editing side of the newsroom, while women are more likely to occupy the reporting side. The editing role is considered more prominent and generally paid higher than reporting jobs.

As van Zoonen (1992) once argues, in most societies, technology is a product of social relations preserved for men, and it tends to reflect patriarchal values. Therefore, technology is assumed to hold qualities such as objectivity, rationality, efficiency, and masculinity. On the other hand, qualities such as care, emotionality, intuition and cooperation which are usually attributed to women are considered to be at odds with the premises of technology. As a result, women constantly find themselves distanced or excluded from the creation and the usage of technology. When technology becomes tremendously important to our information and knowledge society, the gender-technology relationship is ever more important to think about when talking about gender equality (Kelan, 2007). In the past, female photojournalists were barely found in the Taiwanese news industry, especially in the television sector, due to the physical demanding that comes with the heavy camera equipment (Chung, 2015; Sun, 2007). Fortunately, technology improvement has largely reduced the threshold, more

women begin to participate in photojournalism. However, given that empirical evidence suggest that gender bias and social hierarchies remain rather constant throughout the development caused by digitalization (Duffy, 2015; De Vyust and Raeymaeckers, 2019), women without sufficient training or supporting resources would result in their resistance to the adoption of digital work practices (Nguyen, 2008). The adaptation into a digital working environment is essential to photojournalists' career, and it depends on photojournalist's accountability to improve themselves, the availability of technology, and access to training in the newsrooms, and also shaped by personal characteristics such as gender (Tait, 2017). Wang (2013) once concluded that in our current information society, workers who have prominent technical skills are paid higher compared to those who are poor at technical skills. It is important to find out what are the experiences female photojournalists have in the newsroom where they work in the sector that is heavily centered on technology and digital knowledge. If female journalists' digital expertise is not valued equally as their male colleagues, it is crucial to find out whether there is a similar problem existing in photojournalism as well. Thus, this study aims to investigate how technological capacity is valued and used by both male and female photojournalists in the newsroom, and how they position themselves in relation to technology is also explored.

3. Methods

This study relies on the qualitative research method as it seeks to understand how the role of gender, and its relation to digital competence have been positioned and discussed in the field of photojournalism. When generalizing the result is not necessary to the study, the use of the qualitative method aims to develop an

understanding of people's experiences in the social world and how they make sense of their experiences (Babbie, 2012). While there are several ways to conduct a qualitative study, a basic interpretive qualitative study was selected to address the research questions of this study. With more women entering photojournalism than in the past, I wonder if male and female photojournalists are becoming more similar or if they continue to differ in their social backgrounds, work experience, and careers. In addition, since photojournalism becomes technology-oriented, the connection between gender and digital competence is also investigated. The use of basic interpretive qualitative study helps researchers discover and understand a phenomenon and the perspectives of the people involved, especially how they make sense of a situation (Merriam, 2002). Therefore, this study aims to elicit information from the respondents regarding their experiences, feeling, and opinions as to their entering, remaining, and leaving the industry are significantly impacted by workplace culture.

Data were collected through interviews. Interviews enable researchers to attain information from people whose knowledge or experiences in the position would shed light on a specific research topic (Pierson, 2015). It is also believed to be a productive starting point and a beneficial tool to answer questions regarding the experiences of workers in the digital culture industry (Blye, 2012; Duffy, 2015). An interview usually comes in two forms: in-depth interview and focus group. An in-depth interview is used to address the research question in depth and to elicit detailed information from individuals (Adams and Cox, 2008). On the other hand, a focus group offers the researchers the opportunity to interview several individuals at the same time, and it relies on its purposeful use of group interaction in order to generate data (Rabiee, 2004; McLafferty, 2004). Although focus group is believed to be a

rather convenient and economic way to conduct interviews, the dangers of groupthink might affect or limit other individual participant's responses (Boateng, 2012). An in-depth one-on-one interview is rather an appropriate way to address sensitive topics that people might not be willing to share and discuss in a group (Milena et al., 2008) and to avoid the danger of groupthink. Given the context of the current study, there were cases that suggest some female journalists were afraid to show feminism as other journalists were around (van Zoonen, 1988), using focus group may prevent respondents from freely expressing their opinions. Therefore, one-on-one in-depth interviews can encourage the respondent to 'tell the story' and generate rich and fine-grained data that is pulled from people's authentic life experiences (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). Furthermore, the job nature of photojournalists makes them work long, irregular hours, therefore, it is difficult to arrange the time for several photojournalists to join in one interview.

3.1 Research Structure

To answer the first research questions, it is a priority to investigate what photojournalist's work practices are, and whether there are different work practices associated with different type of media. After having a basic understanding in photojournalist's daily job and work practices, I would be able to explore how and why gender may have contributed to shape photojournalist's basic work condition, including recruitment, task allocation and career development. Furthermore, workplace culture and social behavior are also important to discuss in this study because it is well-known that the community of photojournalism are called "boy's club", and it relies on photojournalist's social skills associated with masculine norms to participate. Therefore, when the number of female photojournalist is increasing, I

reflect a wide array of working experience, this research included full-time, part-time, and freelance photojournalists who can be from different types of media that can be in traditional or online forms.

The participants in this study included both male and female photojournalists who should meet either one of the following criteria: (1) whose current main source of income is from the production of visual news content, (2) who has working experience as a photojournalist in the past. Weaver (1997) contends that organizational environment and newsroom culture are significant to journalists' role and his/her production.

From January 6, 2021, to March 1st, 2021, I conducted 10 interviews which included five full-time photojournalists, three part-time photojournalists, one full-time photo editor, and two freelancers (see Table 3-1 for a detailed list). A photo editor was included in the sample because her job nature is confirmed as the same as a regular photojournalist, but the company she works at uses a different job title. The informants consist of 4 males and 6 females, and the average age of the informants is 30 years old. The oldest is 37 years old and the youngest is 24 years old. Their year of professional work experience ranged from 2 to 13 years.

Different sampling strategies were applied in the study. Due to the lack of authoritative and comprehensive directories of professional photojournalists, this research employed a purposive and snowball sampling procedure. According to Arksey and Knight (1999), purposive sampling enables researchers to focus on a selected group of people who are involved in certain activities to explore a new context with clear features. Therefore, I would use purposive sampling as a start point to conduct the interviews. Meanwhile, in order to maximize the sample adequacy, I would then use another sampling strategy—snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is

a strategy that relies on participants' social networks, and it allows participants of the study to identify and recruit future participants from their social network. Snowball sampling is best used in research where no obvious list of the desired population exists (Sharma, 2017). Since there is no authoritative and comprehensive directories of Taiwanese professional photojournalist to be found, I asked the participants to help recruit other photojournalists who fit into the requirement and was willing to join the study.

TABLE 3-1: LIST OF INFORMANTS

Name	Age	Gender	Working Years	Educational Background		Job Description	
William	36	Male	11 yrs	B.A	Mass Communication	Full-time	Television news station (straight news)
Lucas	31	Male	7 yrs	B.A	Art History	Full-time	Online media (straight news, feature articles)
Urick	29	Male	4 yrs	B.A	Chinese Literature	Full-time	Online Media (straight news, feature articles)
Yang	28	Male	4 yrs	B.A	Journalism	Part-time, Freelance	Online/Print media (feature articles, straight news)
Cindy	29	Female	2 yrs	B.A	Humanities	Full-time	Online media (straight news)
Helen	30	Female	3 yrs	M.A	Photography & Urban Cultures	Full-time	Online/Print Magazine (straight news, feature articles)
Ming	37	Female	13 yrs	B.A	Humanities	Full-time	Online/Print Magazine (feature articles)
Donna	24	Female	2 yrs	B.A	Sociology	Part-time	Online media (feature articles)
Sarah	25	Female	2 yrs	B.A	Radio and Television Department	Part-time, Freelance	Online media (feature articles)
Ginger	31	Female	6 yrs	M.A	Advertising	Freelance	Motion photography

3.3 In-depth Interviews

One-on-one in-depth interviews can be structured, unstructured, and semi-structured (Merriam, 2002). Researchers using a structured interview would prepare questions in advance, and every participant would be asked the same questions in the same order. Therefore, it is relatively easy to compare respondents' answers. However, this method is frequently used to generate quantitative data. Unstructured interviews refer to a relatively free-flowing conversation that is not guided by predetermined questions. The questions are emerging over time as the investigator learns about the participants. As a result, different participants may be asked different questions. However, due to its lack of system and structure, the collected data can make the analysis more difficult (Sanchez, 2014). On the other hand, a semi-structured interview is guided by a list of predetermined questions and prompts, but still ensures flexibility that allows participants to address relevant issues. Semi-structured is best used when exploring uncharted territory that researchers might need more latitude to spot useful leads and add follow-up queries (Adams, 2015). In the current study, it is advantageous to apply semi-structured interviews to facilitate a more focused exploration using an interview guide (Appendix 1) but still allows participants to provide other useful information regarding the topic. A semi-structured interview also has further use of asking participants follow-up questions on specific ideas or issues for subsequent data collection.

In this study, interviews were taken place over the phone. Each interview lasted from 60 to 90 minutes. Interviews were all conducted in Chinese, and every interviewee have been asked to sign a consent form (Appendix 2) that ensures their responses would remain anonymous, and they could reject answering any questions. This study aims to capture the similarities and differences in the disposition and

working experience of apparently similarly situated individuals in their occupational spaces. The semi-structured interviews contained 20 open-ended questions covering topics that were divided into three parts. In the first part, basic questions regarding demographic and personal background were asked. Afterward, the second part of questions aims to find out how gender affects male and female photojournalists' working condition and career aspiration, which included interviewees' professional background, assignment allocation, payroll, promotion, work-family life balances, and any gendered issues they have experienced within this profession. As for the third part, the relation between photojournalist's work experiences and the evaluation of photojournalist's technology capacity in the newsroom was investigated, including questions regarding the relations between photojournalist's digital competence and their work experience and career-building in the newsroom.

3.4 Data Analysis

For the interpretation of the data, the analysis procedure I used for qualitative data involves progressive data exploring, comparing, and connection building. As Fossey and scholars (2002) argued, "qualitative analysis is a process of reviewing, synthesizing and interpreting data to describe and explain the phenomena or the social world being studied" (p. 728), this research strives to generate knowledge grounded in the life experiences and perspective of Taiwanese photojournalists. Therefore, to develop a more meaningful and insightful understanding of the phenomenon being studied in this research, it was essential to have a set of clear data analysis procedures.

First, the responses from open-ended questions were recorded during the interview and archived in the computer with clear labeling to distinguish each dataset. To familiarize with the data, Braun and Clarke (2006) strongly suggest researchers read through the entire data set at least once before beginning the analysis. After

reading the whole dataset thoroughly, I began to transcribe them into Chinese first, and then translate them into English afterward. The unit of analysis in this study was a segment of texts that contain some particular meanings which would highlight similarities and differences among Taiwanese male and female photojournalists' working experiences. Therefore, I reviewed the data to identify meaningful discourses and then organizing and sorting them into groups to look for patterns and connections. The last step of the analysis was refining the meaning of these patterns, explaining the connections, and adding my interpretation.

4. Results

4.1 Work Practices of Taiwanese Photojournalist: Straight News vs. Feature Articles

In general, Taiwanese photojournalists work under the supervision of the photography department in a news agency which consists of 1 supervisor and 3 to 5 photojournalists depending on the size of the company, and they are not required to go into the office mandatorily. All of the participants use digital cameras for work today, and they work alone in general. During the interviews, participants reveal their work practice would be different depending on whether images are for straight news or feature articles. Photojournalists spend most of their working day shooting images for straight news, and the news topics are usually associated with press conferences, yuan sittings (院會), political events, protests, or crime stories. Reporters will first inform the dean of the photojournalism department of image requirements for straight news, and then those tasks will be distributed to photojournalists at least one day before. There is not much preliminary work required for straight news images, even

discussing with a reporter in advance is not necessary. The key to complete such a task relies on a photojournalist's performance at news events, including quick reaction, precise responses, and the familiarity of such occasion. Being at a news event with other reporters and photojournalists from television, print, and online media can be a challenge for photojournalist's on-the-spot reaction and physical capability.

“You have to read the room, and respond quickly. Of course, image aesthetic and composition are important, but when you are on the spot, you have to know not everything is predictable [...] Girls are usually smaller and thinner in body shapes, for example, when I was taking pictures in a protest, the place can be very crowded and compared to other male photojournalists, I have relatively no advantages, so I would be easily pushed and squeezed. It's almost impossible for a female photojournalist to take pictures if she doesn't have a really good spot at the beginning.” — Cindy (F, 29).

“When you're at the news event, you have to follow the flow, and there will be many unexpected things happen. For example, your access to some occasions sometimes will be limited by the police. Also, having good physical strength and patience are important.” — Donna (F, 24)

It is common for photojournalists to carry multiple gears for a single news event, which usually includes cameras, lenses, tripods, flash equipment, additional batteries, and memory cards, and sometimes includes audio equipment. Many participants

mention photojournalist is a physically demanding job that can be challenging for women. Not only do they need to carry so many gears at the same time, but they sometimes would also have to hold a camera in a fixed position (standing or squatting) for a long time. When asking the work challenges participants have in their career, Donna, 24-year-old, who is the youngest participant in the study admits that she sometimes cannot bear the weight of camera gears, and she continues to explain:

“Compares to other photojournalists, actually my gears are relatively light-weighted, but sometimes after carrying them for 4 to 5 hours, I don't think I can walk anymore. I know that other photojournalists bring at least two cameras with them, but because I cannot bear with the weight, I only bring one camera and two lenses with me.”

Ginger, a former full-time photojournalist who is a freelancer now has the same challenge although she has been in the industry for six years. She understood that women cannot compete with men in physical strength, but what irritates her is that women's physical and labor contributions are devalued by male photojournalists.

“When I tell other photojournalists that my body is aching or I have a sore muscle, they will always respond ‘you didn't carry that much of equipment’. They may have carried more weight than me, but this is truly something that men cannot resonate with. I know that if I'm going to be a professional photojournalist, I can not take gender or physical strength as excuses. However, I truly believe that men's body condition is much more ideal for a photojournalist.”

Nonetheless, Sarah, a 25-year-old female, who has been a freelancer and a part-time photojournalist for two years had a different experience when dealing with camera equipment. She emphasizes the freedom of being a freelanced photojournalist is that she is able to hire a male assistant to help with the equipment when they're too heavy to handle on her own. Moreover, she sometimes considers female physical condition as one of her advantages at work:

“There was one time, I went to cover election events, and all the photojournalists including video photographers were squeezed in an about one-meter-wide aisle. Because we were arranged according to height, there was a male photojournalist concerning me not able to see anything in the back, then he pushed me to the front. I think that's one of the advantages women have because I don't know him or anyone else on that occasion.”

In a time- and energy-consuming work environment, although digital cameras have become lighter in weight, photojournalists still need to carry other associated camera gears under various condition, which makes this profession physically challenging to women. Yet, it seems like not every female photojournalist believes such limitation put them into an inferior position, instead, it can be an advantage occasionally.

Furthermore, when shooting for straight news, photojournalists not only have to work at top speed and under pressure, but also need to maintain a good relationship with other professional fellows on the news spot. First, photojournalists normally

spend most of their time staying outdoor to cover straight news, instead of going into the office. They usually spend at least one to two hours at a news event with other fellow photojournalists, thus basic social skills are required. Second, it is far more important for photojournalists to get along well with each other than competing on the spot because conflicts would make the scene even more chaotic. Therefore, all participants agree that photojournalists prefer collaboration instead of competition.

“When I first started to cover straight news, the environment full of photojournalists gave me a strong sense of rudeness and roughness. For example, even though I always went to the scene very early, as soon as other photojournalists arrived, I would be pushed from the front row to the back, and I didn’t dare to speak up. If you don’t make friends with other photojournalists, you need to make sure you get the photos you want in a very cautious way. Otherwise, there is no one you can turn to ask for help. —Yang (M, 28).

“[...] As long as you let everyone know that you are also a professional photojournalist, who is not trying to mess around, they will take you as one of their own [...] Photojournalists in Taiwan do not have such a strong sense of competition with each other. If someone doesn’t get the photos, some other photojournalists would be very generous to share theirs. In our circle, the atmosphere is harmonious, and many people are very willing to teach newcomers.” — Urick (M, 29).

On the other hand, the work practices associated with feature articles are very much different from straight news reporting. As part of photojournalist's responsibilities, they need to conduct research to gather useful information about the subject prior to the photoshoot. Therefore, such task will be assigned to them one to three months ahead, and they will need to discuss with the reporter in advance and during the process as well. Unlike straight news photos, images for feature articles are usually required post-processing, such as image editing before submission. Basically, the biggest difference between taking pictures for straight news and feature articles is the photojournalist's level of involvement in the content production. According to Yang, a 28-year-old freelance photojournalist, he admits that when shooting for straight news, such as attending press conferences, he feels like he is a robot who knows how to click the shutter. However, when he is responsible for feature articles, he sees himself as more of a creator than just a "laborer" because he is given more chances to discuss with the reporter and allowed to express his idea in the process of the production. According to Hse (2010), she came to the conclusion that many Taiwanese photojournalists do feel like they are the newsroom's second-class citizens because texts are valued more than images in newsroom culture. Similarly, Ginger, a female freelance photojournalist also has the same opinion that being a photojournalist in Taiwan sometimes feels like "running an errand". She explained that when she was working in a weekly magazine as a full-time photojournalist, reporters were usually the ones who lead news articles. Only if she spent extra time writing her own feature stories would her photos have more opportunities to be presented. Therefore, she later quit her job and choose to become a freelancer in order to enjoy more autonomy in image production.

To sum up, Taiwanese photojournalists spend most of their time taking pictures for straight news, and they are also responsible for feature articles from time to time. The former emphasizes photojournalist's in-the-moment decisions on site and relies on their social circle, while the latter one gives photojournalists more autonomy to create images and makes them feel like more of an author instead of a worker.

4.2 The Role of Gender in the Department of Photojournalism

First, we discussed the general gender composition in Taiwan photojournalism, although most participants notice the number of female photojournalists has slightly increased over the years, they do recognize the scarcity of women in the field today. No matter they are full-time or part-time photojournalists, every female participant in this study reveals themselves as the only female photojournalist in their company. To their knowledge, there is currently no female photojournalist in the management position of the news industry in Taiwan. Yet, when asking freelance photojournalists their observation of gender composition in the freelance market, they all indicate the number of female photojournalists is relatively higher in the freelance market than in the news industry. To further investigate the actual work experience of both male and female photojournalists under such gender disparity, I asked participants about their experiences associated with recruitment, task allocation, and career development in the next few sections.

4.2.1 The Impact of Gender Stereotype on Women's Job Opportunities in News Industry vs. Freelancing

To investigate the possible factors influencing photojournalist's job opportunities, I first examined the educational background of each participant. There are no obvious differences between male and female participants. Most participants

had an educational background in social science or humanities, eight of them had a bachelor's degree while two of them had a diploma in master's degree. When asking participants whether having an educational background in journalism or photography would be decisive in the current job market, most participants disagreed. Among 10 participants, only one of them has a degree in photography, and four of them have a media-related background. William, who has been working as a photojournalist for 11 years, indicates that a junior college degree was acceptable in the past, but now being a photojournalist requires at least a bachelor's degree. He is convinced that the entry barrier to photojournalism has lowered considerably due to the diversified media system in Taiwan, and camera phone has offered everyone a basic understanding in photography. Apart from the basic photography skills, other participants noted that it would be a plus if one is interested in certain social issues, or has a sense of mission toward news production. Yang, who has rich experiences working in lifestyle and travel magazines reveals that educational background is valued more in magazines that are devoted to cultural subjects, or works of arts. He explains in this way:

“If you are a freelancer taking cases from cultural, lifestyle magazines, basically they will evaluate your educational background. Not only do you have to produce images with aesthetics, but you also have to speak their language. To my knowledge, many freelancers are holding a degree in philosophy or law, and most lifestyle magazines prefer hiring those who graduated from NCCU. Simply put, if you are not very well-known in photography, you need to have a similar educational background to those editors'.”

According to the past studies, gender has been making an impact on women's entry to photojournalism (Sun, 2007; Hadland, etc., 2015; Hadland and Barnett, 2018b), this is still reflected in the interviews. Some of the participants notice that there are still potential obstacles that exist in the recruitment of full-time female photojournalists in the news industry, while self-employment may have provided women a relatively gender-equal work environment.

Urick, 29 years old, who is a full-time photojournalist working in online media is convinced that a male-dominated workplace will reduce women's willingness to join in, but he also brings up an exception. Back in his college years, they had female student photojournalists join in the school magazine every year, but as far as he knows, only one girl has successfully entered photojournalism after graduation, and he elaborates in this way:

“I think it's because she is a lesbian. The male-dominated workplace may not necessarily be a hindrance to her.”

Similarly, Lucas, a 31-year-old photojournalist who has been in the industry for 7 years, believes that when female photojournalists go to a job interview, most of them have to face male employers, and he speculates that the lack of women in photojournalism will limit men's knowledge and imagination of women's capability. As a consequence, they might make their decision based on gender stereotypes which cannot validate female photojournalist's abilities. These gender stereotypes are usually associated with stereotypical feminine traits, such as gentleness, tenderness and emotional, which are incompatible with the typical image of photojournalists who are expected to be strong, masculine and aggressive. Lucas's speculation is somehow

reflected in other female participants' observations in the industry. Ming is a 37-year-old female photo editor who is working at a Taiwanese national magazine which produces both print and online edition, she contends that female photojournalists are believed to be good at the topics traditionally assigned to women, and employers would consider hiring women based on that gender stereotype. Thus, she is skeptical about the reason behind the increasing number of female photojournalists. She speculates that women would be hired due to the increasing demand for soft news which is built on the stereotypical image of women, or it's because women may have more access to vulnerable subjects and so on.

“I actually don't think women being hired is necessarily a positive thing because female photojournalists may be hired due to gender stereotype, or it is believed that having female photojournalists is convenient for some work tasks, instead of truly valuing their talent. Let me put it in this way, if there is already a female photojournalist in the newsroom, would they still consider hiring another one?”—Ming (F, 37).

On the other hand, Ginger indicates that because men rarely have the opportunities to work with female photojournalists, they would have doubts about women's capability and are reluctant to hire one, even though both male and female candidates have similar qualities.

“I think gender has a lot to do with recruitment. Based on my experiences in the newsroom, if male and female applicants have similar qualities,

they would hire men because they do feel more comfortable to command boys at work.” —Ginger (F,31).

Yet, when female photojournalists are self-employed as freelancers, gender seems to have less impact on their job opportunities. During the interviews, two female participants, Sarah and Ginger indicate that they've never encountered difficulties associated with gender when dealing with clients as a freelancer. They continue to explain that when developing a career as a freelance photojournalist, job opportunities are determined by one's portfolio, personal connection, and word of mouth, instead of gender. And once they successfully cultivate the relationship with their existing clients, they would have chances to secure a more stable income. In addition, freelanced photojournalists seldom take cases of straight news reporting because most of news media have their own full-time employees to cover it, and they don't need to outsource. Thus, compared to the work experiences in the news industry, female participants believe that self-employment allows them to enjoy more job opportunities that would have been limited by gender stereotype if they were working for an employer.

Although the impact of gender stereotype seems to be much more significant to women's participation in news industry, some participants are convinced that the rising awareness of gender equality and its affiliated law has offered more opportunities for female photojournalists nowadays. Moreover, Donna, who has been working as a part-time photojournalist for less than 2 years, is convinced that gender will be less impactful in the recruitment of photojournalists. She believed that more and more independent news organizations which aim to produce in-depth journalism are rising in Taiwan, and this phenomenon will increase women's opportunities to join

photojournalism. She explained that most of the news media in Taiwan focus on straight news reporting, and they all want to be the first ones to deliver breaking news. Therefore, this kind of work condition will put photojournalists with stronger body types or masculine personalities in a more advantageous position. However, her experiences in some of the independent news media which produce investigative journalism make her realize that having a unique point of view in photography is far more important than fulfilling the masculine image of photojournalists.

4.2.2 Task Allocation: Gender Stereotype and the Appreciation of Women's Ability

When asking about the impact of gender on photojournalist's work assignments, some participants' answers have suggested that task allocation may also depend on gender stereotypes, but not of them perceive it as negative. First, William indicates that female photojournalists are given smaller cameras when they first join the company, while men are always getting bigger ones because his supervisors believe women are not able to carry weights. Besides, photo editors will assign physically demanding tasks to male photojournalists as a priority.

“Those senior supervisors think women are so vulnerable that they're not capable of being outdoor all the time, or going to disaster areas as men do. They think that it would be better for women not to enter these kinds of areas.” — William (M, 36).

Lucas also observes a similar situation in that his female colleagues are rarely sent to cover intense news events such as earthquake collapsing scenes, but they are

often responsible for entertainment and financial news. On the other hand, although most female participants indicate that task allocation based on gender seldom happens, they still can recall several incidents which might be associated with it. Cindy mentions that she was rejected by her supervisor to go to the 2019–2020 Hong Kong protests due to her gender. She speculates that her supervisor took "protest is dangerous to women" as an excuse to dismiss her. Similarly, Donna admits that she is usually assigned to cover soft news, especially those topics that might require communication with people.

Yet, Ginger perceives this kind of gendered division of work as not always a negative impact on women. When she was working at a weekly magazine that publishes tabloid journalism, she had been given more chances to work on certain tasks because of her gender. Ginger contends that women's ability sometimes is highly appreciated in certain topics which are traditionally constructed through the male gaze. For example, when photojournalists are portraying women, it is usually done based on how men would view women. However, Ginger reveals that some decision makers in the news industry would try to think outside the box, and they would assign women to cover such topics because women are believed to have a different viewpoint from men.

“Gender does influence our work assignment, but it is not necessarily a bad thing. For instance, I’m usually assigned to the interviews with sexy female celebrities because they believe that I can see from an angle which is different from men.” — Ginger (F, 31).

Although some female photojournalists do have experiences in different divisions of task assignments because of gender stereotypes, all of them have emphasized that it happened very occasionally, and didn't bother them very much. Moreover, it has also been demonstrated that some female photojournalists are given chances to cover topics traditionally assign to men because women's ability and viewpoint are appreciated.

4.2.3 The Enduring Obstacles in Female Photojournalists' Career

Development

Although none of the participants have experienced significant obstacles in their career development, they do acknowledge some possible factors that might affect women's careers in photojournalism more than men's. According to Urick, he once heard that there was a female photojournalist had quit the job because she got pregnant. However, he later specified that being a photojournalist must comply with its unpredictable working condition and irregular work hours, thus such consequence was inevitable. Although he felt pity for her, he actually approved of such tragedy through the way he agreed with the job requirements of photojournalism. As for female photojournalists, Ginger does express her concerns about being pregnant in the future. She is afraid of not being able to carry heavy equipment during the pregnancy, and she believes that the work environment of photojournalism isn't ideal for pregnant women.

Furthermore, it is also known that irregular working hours and the requirement of total availability in photojournalism have constructed an unfriendly environment for people who are responsible for full-time childcare, and women seem to be affected by this more than their male counterparts (Payne, 2018; Sun, 2007). Some female

participants were showing concerns about having children in the future, Cindy and Helen both are convinced that childcare will impede female photojournalists' careers because women are supposed to be in charge of childcare in traditional Chinese families. Therefore, childcare may limit women's career development in photojournalism. Sarah has been warned by other senior female photojournalists that women working in photojournalism should have "a plan B" when they reach a certain age or another stage of life.

“She told me that it is challenging for women to continue their career as photojournalists when they are married or have kids. First, photojournalist is a job that required physical labor, this is not something you can do when you're old. Second, in Chinese society, women are usually the main caregivers in the family, and taking care of children is very time-consuming. Unfortunately, being a photojournalist means that you need to be in the field and work an 8-hour night shift. These are not what women usually can afford when they're married or have children. Therefore, this would be the time for them to seek other career alternatives.” —Sarah (F, 25).

With unpredictable working conditions, it seems like the physical demands and the requirement of total availability in photojournalism create an unfriendly workplace for pregnant women or women who are responsible for childcare, and such impact does seem to limit female photojournalist's careers more than what it does to men.

4.3 Masculinity vs. Femininity in Photojournalism

Most participants have indicated that more women are working in photojournalism today, thus, it is crucial to investigate whether there has been any change brought by women in the newsroom. During the interviews, participants did bring up some changes they had observed in the industry; however, not all of the changes are positive. Some of the changes verify the enduring masculinity in the newsroom culture, some bring hope to the future of female photojournalists.

4.3.1 Masculinity Still Dominate the Workplace Culture in the Field

William reveals that workplace culture in the past was similar to the military culture where a top-down hierarchy was emphasized. Age and seniority determined the rules of how photojournalists interacting with each other. However, in his 11 years of work experience, he has noticed that military culture had been slowly fading away in the newsroom, after more members of Gen Z and women joining in the industry. Men from generation Z face only four months of mandatory military service which has been cut from two years, thus William suggests that these people have balanced out the military culture in photojournalism. However, William's statement may have suggested that he is backing up the masculine culture by implying men who have never or hardly experienced the military culture are less masculine.

Furthermore, most participants have pointed out that there are two kinds of workplace cultures nowadays—inside the newsroom and out in the field. First, Ming indicates that workplace culture is relatively feminine inside the newsroom because there are more female editors. As for the one in the field is definitely masculine due to the fact that male photojournalists are still the majority. Similarly, Sarah states that although she is the only female among the full-time and part-time photojournalists in her company, the newsroom culture is relatively neutral, compared to the one she has experienced in the field. The news organization Sarah works for aims to produce

investigative journalism, therefore, reporting daily or live news isn't their focus. However, every time she goes to the news scene, she always feels "a strong scent of masculinity" which she isn't fond of.

Several participants indicated that when going into the field, the scene is usually glutted with disputes and conflicts which has constructed a masculine environment for photojournalists,

"The social structure in photojournalism is very masculine, and it fits into the social identity of men which tends to be rough and rude. Such as drinking after work and getting each other drunk, this kind of friendship is something usually associated with what you can imagine of macho or old men, so it is a very masculine working environment." —Yang (M, 28).

Lucas has a similar observation with Yang's, and he finds no obvious changes have been made in such a masculine environment, even though the number of female photojournalists is increasing. Furthermore, Ming used to work in a daily newspaper where she was responsible for financial news, and she suggests that masculinity has also been emphasized through the male gaze in the presentation of news stories, which in turn affecting how photojournalists make decisions. The male gaze, commonly refers to the act of depicting women from a masculine, heterosexual perspective, which often objectified women (Hadland and Barnett, 2018). Hadland and Barnett suggest that news and sports photography where men are the majority of the workforce may be more subject to the male gaze. Ming reveals that many photo editors in daily newspapers believe using photos of pretty girls can attract reader's attention, thus photojournalists are asked to fulfill such requirements. For example, it

is common to see that almost all of the photojournalists working in product launches only take pictures of showgirls displaying new products, instead of the product itself. Since Ming is now working in a news magazine that is prominent for providing readers with insightful articles and delicate images, most importantly, workers in this magazine are mostly women, I ask her whether the "male gaze" still exists in this kind of environment. This is her response:

“There is none basically. You can imagine that our magazine doesn't need images of pretty ladies to catch reader's eyes, but we still have one female supervisor who will make decisions based on the male gaze during photo selection. You see, it doesn't mean that women don't have this kind of thinking. When she says something like this, I actually cannot tell if she is joking or not because the logic of such decision-making isn't quite right to me. Besides, our magazine truly doesn't need this.”

Van Zoonen (1994) once put it, “Dominant ideology becomes invisible because it is translate in ‘common sense’, appearing as the natural, unpolitical state of things accepted by each and everyone” (p.24). Based on Ming’s experience, it implies that male gaze may have been accepted by women who has been working in a male-dominated profession, instead of being challenged by increasing number of women in the newsroom.

In contrast, Yang points out that the workplace culture in lifestyle magazines is much more feminine, and sometimes even anti-masculine because most of the editors are either female or gay, and their target audience is mostly women as well. He shared

the experience of his work being criticized as too "male gaze" when he was working for a lifestyle magazine.

“One time I was working on an interview with a female designer, a photo editor saw the pictures I took and he instantly frowned. He later told me my work was too ‘straight guy ’(異男). What he meant is that he felt like these pictures are obviously taken by a man, all the composition was based on the male gaze. He didn’t like women being presented in that way.” — Yang (M, 28).

Based on the findings, it seems like masculine culture still prevails when photojournalists work in the field. Yet, if it's inside of the newsroom, although there are still signs of masculinity, the workplace culture, in general, might be affected by the type of journalism produced, or the number of female workers in the newsroom.

4.3.2 No more smoking and Drinking: The Changes of Photojournalists’

Social Behavior

Social behavior is important to talk about because it is well-known that the community of photojournalism are also called as the “boy’s club”, and people would need to have certain masculine social skills like smoking and drinking to join (Sun, 2007). However, according to my results, there are several changes have been made in such practices. First, smoking and drinking become less common due to the smoke-free policies and the rising awareness of health risks. One male participant reveals that photojournalists nowadays would choose a more healthier activities to main their friendship.

“We will have a meal, coffee, or ride bikes together on the weekend. Instead of drinking and smoking, I think the way of photojournalists making friends with each other has become healthier today.” — Lucas (M, 31).

Although being able to smoke or drink may not be what it takes to join “the boy’s club” anymore, it doesn’t mean that this kind of gender-exclusive community would disappear. According to Ming, she reveals that as long as women is the minority in photojournalism, gender would still make an impact on her relationship with other male photojournalists. She explains the reason behind it:

“When you're surrounded by a group of men, your presence will be notable. Although they won't discriminate against you verbally, or directly, they will express it more or less in the way of looking at you or in their body language. Let me put it in this way, for example, when a bunch of guys is having a conversation, they won't necessarily include me in, and I would start thinking if it's my gender or just me being too annoying to them. I cannot say it's gender discrimination, but I believe more or less there would be some, I don't know, I would feel like if I was not qualified to them.”

Therefore, female photojournalists nowadays still have to face the tremendous pressure of being the minority in the field, or even feel isolated by other men. According to my participants, in order to cope with this kind of situation, women

seem to have developed two kinds of strategies associated with their social behaviors. First, Ginger who used to work in a local weekly magazine as a full-time photojournalist reveals her struggle to earn recognition from other male photojournalists, and she had tried to change her appearance and behaviors in order to become more masculine. She contends that male photojournalists would discriminate women based on gender expression. Those who have explicit feminine traits would be rejected by the community, while the ones who have masculine characteristics are treated as one of their kind by men.

“Because I have long hair and girly voice, I feel like I’m not recognized by others as a professional photojournalist even though I’ve spent so much time trying to prove myself.” — Ginger (F, 31).

Ginger believes that it’s her "femininity" results in people mistaken her as a PR personal or Internet personality, and male photojournalists would ask her to step back and not to interfere with their job. On the other hand, Donna has experienced less challenge when socializing with other male photojournalists because she thinks that she has a personality and a outfit style similar to men’s, which makes her feel less “incompatible” with other male photojournalists. Moreover, among six female participants, Cindy and Helen are the two female photojournalists who have the least experience of gender discrimination in their careers. What they have in common is their sexuality and gender expression. During the interviews, they both revealed themselves as lesbians. In addition, they both have a “butch” appearance which is associated with masculine clothes and hairstyle (Huxley, Clarke & Halliwell, 2014)—Helen has a crew cut while Cindy has a really short pixie haircut, and both of them

like to wear dark clothes and Khaki pants for work. Ginger reveals that her male colleagues tend to treat butch lesbians or women dressing in masculine style as men. This is also reflected in Urick's statement that he believes lesbians would go through fewer difficulties when entering photojournalism because they are similar to men, compared to heterosexual women. Therefore, based on my observation and participants' thoughts on lesbian women, there may be indications that gender stereotype including gender expression is closely related to how female photojournalists are treated in the industry.

However, trying to conform to the masculine image by changing one's personality and dressing style doesn't work for everyone. For example, Ginger had tried several "adjustments", such as wearing dark and loose clothing as work outfits, cutting short hair, getting a tattoo, and even asking her friends to teach her how to deepen her voice, in order to make herself look more like a "professional photojournalist". At that time, she believed that these changes would make her look more badass and masculine, but they still didn't work in the end.

Nonetheless, there is another kind of strategy women use to survive through the male-dominated workplace in photojournalism. Cindy shares her experiences of being surrounded by masculinity, and she tries to avoid the impact brought by gender by staying away from other male photojournalists.

“The lounge for we journalists have in Legislative Yuan is full of posters with naked women on it, or those masculine ones like Slam Dunk posters. And sometimes, their conversation will make girls uncomfortable, and they would continue talking even there were girls in the presence. I would

usually fade out of this kind of conversation, or laugh if off and leave quickly”

Helen also has similar response to the situation where she feels “a strong male aura” in the field which makes her unwilling to spend time socializing with other male photojournalists.

“One thing that photojournalists do annoys me is that they like to suck up to each other... I don't know if it's a cultural thing that is built on masculine behavior, it's just a greasy feeling that I really dislike. Actually the reason why I keep my distance from them is that I really don't like them.” —Helen (F, 30).

Instead of changing their behavior and complying with the masculine norms, Cindy and Helen insist on their ways of doing things, and they seem to have shown no fear of being isolated by other male photojournalists.

Although it seems like female photojournalists can only find themselves being accepted by their male counterparts by conforming to masculine norms, or choose not being affected by gender discrimination through distancing themselves from the “boy’s club”. The silver lining is several participants believe that when working with different type of journalism, or outside the news industry, social behavior would be less influenced by masculine norms. For example, Sarah indicates that social skills are not the priority in the work practices of investigative journalism, it is the skills of visual narratives and the knowledge of social issues that help photojournalist to complete their work. Thus, instead of relying on the coordination between

photojournalists in the news event, she works on her visual production in a relatively independent way. Moreover, Yang, a male freelancer, who has the experiences working in both news industry and lifestyle magazine has some very interesting behavioral changes when working in different industry.

“When I was working with straight news in some of the traditional news media, I had some photojournalist friends whom I would hang out with in their house. And those occasions would be full of booze, and they would want to make you drunk. This kind of 'buddy' interaction is what those guys think friendship should be. While hanging out with these men, sometimes what they would do was really disrespectful to women. They would talk shit about girls in a really nasty way. On the other hand, the gathering with female photojournalists and editors from lifestyle magazines was much softer. The conversation topics were basically gossips, love life, or astrology.” — Yang (M, 29).

Yang’s experience has demonstrated that when a male photojournalist working at the industry where women comprise the main workforce, such as lifestyle magazine, he would need to have a different set of social skills which comply with feminine values and norms.

To sum up, the smoke-free policies, the increasing awareness of health risks, and the rising of investigative journalism may have made smoking and drinking no longer the established social behaviors in the community of photojournalists; however, female photojournalists still need to find their ways into the “boy’s club”, and some still encounter difficulties in the process, while some start to distance themselves from

other male photojournalists. On the other hand, when working with a different type of media, photojournalists seem to have different social behaviors. Investigative journalism is believed to be less reliant on photojournalist's social skills, while lifestyle magazines provide a more feminine, softer environment for photojournalists.

4.4 Gender Differences in the Work Experiences of Digital Age

According to scholars, photojournalism is suggested to be the part of the news industry experienced the fastest technical, normative, and ideological change (Lindblom, 2015; Klein-Avraham and Reich, 2014), and North (2009) indicates that digital journalism practices brought by changing technology have different outcomes for male and female journalists. Therefore, I tried to explore how Taiwanese photojournalists experienced the changing technology in the digital age and to pinpoint whether such experiences would be affected by gender differences.

4.4.1 The Impact of Digitalization in Photojournalism

None of the participants experienced the transition from film camera to digital photography. All of them used digital cameras for work today, and each of the media outlets they worked for runs online web pages. When asking whether participants had observed any changes brought by digitalization in the industry, their responses included women's participation, work routines, and job content.

First, Ming indicates that the weight of a camera has been lightened by technology, and its use has also been prevalent in society. Thus, she believes that these changes have offered women more opportunities to enter photojournalism. Second, Lucas pointed out that the rising of online media and advanced technology has changed the pace of news production. In the past, when he was working for a print newspaper, the visual materials photojournalists produce were for the next day's

issue. Therefore, they were able to work at a relatively slow pace. However, the process of image transmission has been simplified by current technology, images can be sent back to the office in a heartbeat by connecting a digital camera and smartphone with an OTG cable. Technology has also fastened online news distribution that journalists can publish news articles with their laptops anywhere, even on the roadside. Therefore, to compete with other media, photojournalists nowadays are required to have an immediate response and finish the work in a limited time.

Lastly, the threat of smartphones has also been identified in the interviews. Cindy emphasizes the convenience of taking pictures with a mobile phone makes news media nowadays no longer pay attention to the quality of images. She explained in this way:

“Online media are no longer caring about the quality of images like traditional media used to. Due to the increasing online news consumption, they don't ask for perfect photos, they want photos with only 60% of perfection. What I meant was the bar of good photos has lowered and they don't even need photos with good resolution. There was one time my supervisor told me that taking pictures with a mobile phone would be just fine. It is all because the convenience and immediacy of mobile phones are what digital cameras cannot compete with.”

William also has similar opinions on the usage of mobile phones in the news industry. He believes that reporters with mobile phones would threaten photojournalist's careers. He reveals that reporters using mobile phones to do live

broadcasting is a lot easier than a photojournalist holding a heavy video camera to do so. Besides, pictures and videos taking with a mobile phone can be sent back to the office immediately, and that is something a video camera cannot compete with as well.

Yet, the impact of digitalization also adds more work responsibilities to photojournalists. There were four participants who noticed that video production has been more and more common in photojournalist's practice, and they all had been asked to make videos later in their careers. However, the requirement of skill level varied among different types of media. Cindy who works in a small-scale online media explained her daily routines include taking pictures and live stream at the same time. What she needs to do with live streaming is very simple, which only includes setting a tripod and making sure video and sound work normally. She indicates that live-streaming is not a difficult task for her because there is no need for post-editing, and she is from a generation where everyone knows how to film with mobile phones. On the other hand, Ming who had once worked in Next Animation Studio (蘋果動新聞) admitted that she spent a lot of time learning how to make videos because motion photography wasn't her specialty at the beginning. Since the core of Next Animation Studio was telling news stories through videos and animation, Ming was asked to learn from video pre-production to post-production, which includes video scripting, techniques of camera movement, sound recording, and editing. Therefore, it seems like the level of digital skills associated with video production depends on the type of news media photojournalists work with.

However, Donna who has been working as a photojournalist for 2 years believed it was "too demanding" to include video production in the common practice of photojournalism. Sarah also agrees that it is unreasonable to ask photojournalists to be

capable of still and motion photography at the same time, especially when all the work has to be done by one person. She explained her thoughts in this way:

“In the age of the Internet, news media often expect photojournalists to be capable of everything because they're paying us money. However, if one person can do everything, they are usually not great at anything in particular. You can hear many photojournalists complain about this kind of situation as well. What do they really expect us to do when we have to take pictures, film videos, and live stream at the same time? We also have to do editing by ourselves with such limited materials. No one has enough time to do all that, therefore, those works would usually be done in a perfunctory.”

William has similar experiences of dealing with the increasing workload in limited time. He has been asked to edit videos with more special effects more often recently because his supervisor believes that to compete with other news media, their videos need to be more vivid and interesting. Despite the increasing demands, he hasn't been given more time to work on them. Therefore, he feels that being a photojournalist nowadays becomes much more stressful. This is consistent with the results of past studies that digitalization has increased photojournalist's work loading (Chung, 2015; Mäenpää, 2014; Russial, 2009; Yaschur, 2012).

4.4.2 The Value of Digital Skills in News Photography

In this part, I asked participants how they perceived the value of digital skills associated with photography for their career development. During the interviews, it seems that female participants consider the skills and knowledge associated with

video production as career assets, while male participants are questioning the true value of skills and knowledge associated with digital photography. To begin with, Helen believes that skills in video editing and aerial photography would be advantageous to her career development. Donna also agrees with this viewpoint, although she feels it's too demanding to ask photojournalists to master both still and motion photography, she still believes learning video production would be beneficial to her future career. Ginger also demonstrates that her capability of motion photography had helped her successfully get her first job in a weekly news magazine. At that time, she was more familiar with video production than the rest of her colleagues, thus she was able to complete a news video on her own. Moreover, many of her colleagues from the video department even came to her to ask for advice on video production. She felt that her digital competence had helped her earn some recognition from other photojournalists. Yet, Ginger is also convinced that having image or videos editing skills is very important to female photojournalists. She explained her perspective in this way:

“I've always felt very fortunate that I'm capable of image and video post-production. If I injure my hands or get pregnant in the future, being in that situation, there is no way for me to carry heavy camera equipment or being outdoor all day, thus having skills in audiovisual editing would allow me to keep my job. Therefore, I strongly suggest that photojournalists must have post-production ability in photography or film, especially for female photojournalists.”

In addition, Sarah, a female photojournalist who graduated from the department of radio, television, and films believes that possessing skills and knowledge in video production could help female photographers develop their careers more smoothly. She admits that having a professional technical background in audiovisual production makes her feel more confident and superior than other photojournalists. She discloses that photojournalists nowadays mainly shoot still images, and it isn't common to find photojournalist who specializes in motion photography. Therefore, other photojournalists often come up to her and asked for advice regarding video production, instead of questioning her ability as a female photojournalist.

On the other hand, according to most male participants' opinions on the value of skill in digital photography, the results suggest that photojournalist's career development in Taiwan does not heavily depend on technical skills and equipment. Lucas believes the relationship between photojournalists and digital technology is "very paradoxical", and having digital skills isn't truly beneficial to photojournalists' careers. He explained his point of view in this way:

“You may suppose photojournalists to be the workers who are closely and intensively associated with digital photography, thus they should be equipped with the most completed knowledge and tools of image production. However, this is not what I've been observing in the field of news photography. You will find that the quality of images used in news photography isn't really high because they are satisfied with 'having images', instead of 'having good images', and that's why when a photojournalist doesn't have enough time to complete the work, he will

use a mobile phone instead, or photo editor will ask them to shoot with a mobile phone for the sake of time.”

Lucas indicates that although photojournalists are required to produce images intensively, such intention doesn't mean sophistication. Therefore, he believes that compared to commercial photographers, being a news photographer doesn't require strong digital skills and knowledge in visual production. Yang also has similar opinions that as technology moves forward, the technical challenges of photography are shrinking. For example, people used to shoot RAW photos with DSLR cameras and use computer software to edit photos; however, with current technology, they all can be done with one smartphone. Therefore, professional skills and tools are no longer desired in digital image production, especially when using mobile phones has gradually become an acceptable photojournalistic practice today.

Instead, several male participants contend that writing skills would be a plus for a photojournalist's career. Urick who graduated from the department of Chinese literature works in online media as a full-time photojournalist and a reporter simultaneously, and he explained that with the decline of print media, most of the photos taken by photojournalists are now used in online media, so the image quality doesn't have to be too high, which means that the demand of professional photographer has also declined. Therefore, professional cameras would eventually be replaced by smartphones, and this would result in professional photojournalists being layoff or replaced by reporters. To deal with such a crisis, Urick believes that instead of improving skills in visual production, having writing skills would help photojournalists to survive in the future. He also emphasizes that the current situation of himself being able to write and shoot gave him more autonomy in news production.

Similarly, Yang as a freelancer photojournalist also agreed with this perspective. He reveals that knowing how to write articles brings more work opportunities to freelancers, and the pay will also be doubled.

To sum up, although most participants find that new technical skills, such as motion photography and audiovisual production, are growing in the requirement of photojournalistic skills as most news media are running an online platform nowadays, such digital competence isn't necessarily valued by all photojournalists. Some participants regard technical skills such as video production, and editing skills as their career assets, while some feel that such skills wouldn't necessarily help photojournalists to secure their position in the news industry.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the findings, although participants believe that light-weight camera equipment and the increasing awareness of gender equality have offered women more opportunities to enter photojournalism, it is obvious that masculine values still dominate the workplace culture in photojournalism, but such impact varies under different circumstances.

5.1 Obey or Resist? The Changes in Female Photojournalists' Social Behavior

Photojournalists' work experiences are deeply affected by how straight news reporting has been done. Straight news reporting is often described as masculine, aggressive, rude and unpredictable, and it relies heavily on photojournalist's physical performance to work. Although digital cameras have become lighter in weight, photojournalists still need to carry other associated equipment in the environment filled with conflicts and chaos, which still makes this job physically challenging for

women. Moreover, when socialization becomes one of the common work practices in straight news reporting, this makes it difficult for women who are the minority in the workforce to break into the circle full of men. Therefore, women conforming to the masculine values and norms is a very common behavior found in the news industry. Multiple studies conducted in the Western countries have demonstrated that news industry has long been ruled by men, and it is associated with a macho style of management and socialization (Acker, 1990; Van Zoonen, 2002; North, 2009). When Sun (2008) did his research in Taiwan, he found that photojournalism in Taiwan was not free from masculine culture as well: Taiwanese photojournalists have developed a set of traditional social practices to build the “camaraderie” with each other or with news sources, such as smoking and binge drinking. In his research, some women who weren’t familiar with these practices were frequently find it difficult to join the network, while some believed they can be as masculine as other men.

However, 13 years after Sun’s study, my study finds some changes in Taiwanese photojournalists’ social behaviors. Due to the increasing awareness of health risks and non-smoking policy, participants reveal that photojournalists no longer rely on smoking and drinking to connect with each other, instead, those activities are believed to become healthier, such as drinking coffee, biking or hiking. Although these “tradition” social practices that are deeply connected to the manifestation of masculinity have fallen into disuse, the gender-exclusive community in photojournalism remains. As a consequence, female photojournalists nowadays have developed different strategies to help them survive through the male-dominated workplace: complying with the masculine norms by changing one’s behaviors, or rejecting them by being independent. The former one is associated with female photojournalists changing their appearance and outfit by eliminating their feminine

traits. Gender expression associated with stereotypical feminine characteristics has been hindering female photojournalists from earning the recognition, thus, some would try very hard to become more masculine. However, the behavior of some female photojournalists choosing to comply with the masculine values is more like they are trying to become invisible in the crowd and not wanting to receive any special attention because of their gender, rather than actively breaking into the circle of men. In addition, the interplay between gender expression and sexuality may be also deeply connected to how female photojournalist being perceived by men. Male photojournalists tend to generalize women with masculine appearance as "lesbian", or assume lesbian women would exhibit masculine traits, and treat them as men. Thus, women's experience in photojournalism may be varied because their physical appearance was assumed to be linked with their sexuality.

On the other hand, there are another kind of female photojournalists choose not to put socializing as their priority at work. It is common that female photojournalists would feel excluded in the environment where feminine traits are hardly tolerated; however, most of these women have chosen not to change who they are, but shown a certain level of dislike and disapproval toward the ways of male photojournalists interacting with each other. Most importantly, these female participants gave me a feeling that they are not afraid of being isolated because they are capable of doing their job independently and firmly believe what they can contribute to photojournalism is not less than men. The discovery of women's social behaviors is very different from what previous scholars have found in their study, and I believe that it has made my research valuable in photojournalism, after Sun (2007; 2008) had already done a rigorous research 13 years ago.

5.2 A Possible Turning Point to Establish a New Image of Photojournalist

According to Acker (1990), “a job” is presumed to be gender-neutral and workers are “disembodied and universal”, but in the reality, the abstract concept of workers is constructed from a male body and refers to a masculine identity. In Taiwan, an ideal photojournalist is identified with the masculinity that is deeply associated with the work practice of straight news reporting. Besides, Taiwanese photojournalists also consider the tiredness and pressure that come with the job are what can present the true essence of their profession (Sun, 2007). Thus, women’s physical and labor contribution are devalued and they are struggling to fulfill the image based on a male body.

However, some of the participants in my study revealed that different work practices have developed in different type of media. For example, the visual production in investigative journalism is based on the work practices of feature articles, and it relies on photojournalist’s ability of visual narrative and their passion for social issues to carry out, instead of relying on one's physical advantages or social skills. Thus, investigative journalism may offer more opportunities for women who were previously restricted from their physical condition, and those who are not used to masculine social behaviors to join photojournalism.

Furthermore, when working as a freelancer, the autonomy and various types of job opportunities may potentially diversify the images of photojournalists. Not only women’s physical challenges can be solved by hiring assistants, but their ability in photography are also free from the unfair validation which is based on gender stereotype. Moreover, freelanced photojournalists have the access to various type of media outside of the news industry, especially those managed by women, such as

fashion and lifestyle magazine. For example, male photojournalists who are used to work with straight news reporting would have to change his way of doing things when working at lifestyle magazine where masculine norms may not be suitable.

Therefore, when photojournalists nowadays have more opportunities to work with different types of journalism or media other than straight news, there may be a turning point for photojournalist to established a new image of their profession, instead of the typical masculine image.

5.3 Taiwanese Photojournalists Are Not Motivated to Improve Their Digital Competence

According to past studies, photojournalism is believed to be the part of the media industry that experiences the fastest technical, normative, and ideological change (Lindblom, 2015; Klein-Avraham and Reich, 2014), thus photojournalists whose careers depend heavily on technical skills and equipment experiences the impact brought by digitalization more distinctly (Koai and Lo, 2013). However, the situation in the Taiwanese case seems to suggest differently. Although Taiwanese photojournalists are asked to produce a different type of visual storytelling in the digital age, the competition among news media which has been intensified by the speed of the Internet have forced them to rush their work with limited materials. Most importantly, participants indicate that most Taiwanese news media actually don't pay attention to the quality of visual production because they rather have something to feed the audience than absolutely nothing. As a result, Taiwanese photojournalists are not motivated to improve themselves with more advanced digital skills. Instead, some of them even consider themselves as "laborers" who are doing unskilled manual work. However, the requirement of skill level may be varied among different types of media.

Considering all of the photojournalists I've approached are working at news media which focus on still photography, several directions can be addressed in future research, for example, by targeting at photojournalists who produce animated news, audiovisual or multimedia content, the value of digital competence can be analyzed in a different perspective.

5.4 Digital Competence is Valuable to Female Photojournalists'

Career Development

The rising of diverse digital platforms has prompted news photographers and photojournalists to be equipped with more advanced computer skills, mobile, and multimedia technology skills (Borges-Rey, 2017). As more news media are running online outlets, and audiences are seeking more video content nowadays, most participants find that photojournalists are required to have digital and technical skills associated with motion photography, live streaming, and audiovisual post-production. However, female photojournalists seem to be benefited more by the advantages brought by digital competence, compared to their male counterparts. Most female participants consider knowledge and skills associated with audiovisual production as their career assets. To begin with, most of them recognize the increasing demand for multi-skilled photojournalists, especially those who master video production. Thus, they have shown great interest in learning more digital and technical skills, such as film editing and aerial photography. Second, female participants indicate that having skills in video production has not only helped them enter photojournalism but also increased their confidence at work. Moreover, female participants indicated that it is difficult for pregnant women to continue their career in photojournalism due to the high physical demand of this profession. Thus, they believe that having photo and

video editing skills would help women to secure their job when they are not able to carry weight because of pregnancy or injury.

Although this study may be valuable in understanding the mindset of photojournalists regarding how they value digital competence in their careers, it was not free from limitations. Given that the sample size in this study is relatively small (N=10), it is limited to conclude the interplay between gender and photojournalist's personal value of digital competence. The ability to generalize all male photojournalists don't think highly of digital skills in visual production and their female counterparts do is insubstantial. Therefore, future study with a larger sample size is in need to explore under the same context to find out whether the above findings happen simply due to coincidence. If not, then what possible factors lead to such binary results?

Nonetheless, there are some interesting findings in my study that are different from past research. According to Kelan (2007), technology is often perceived and defined as something masculine, and men tend to enjoy technology as a toy, while women tend to use technology as a tool and distance themselves from it. In De Vuyst and Raeymaeckers's study (2019), they found out that women's digital competence is often questioned in the newsroom, and considered less legitimate than men. However, what I found in my study suggests that women not only embrace the usage of technology but also perceive it as an important asset to their career. Most female participants are very willing to invest in themselves by learning more new technology and digital skills. The results also demonstrate that female photojournalists who have technical background may use this asset to improve their class mobility in the newsroom, and their abilities are not questioned based on gender. In the contrast, it is male participants who have shown great interest in improving their writing skills,

instead of learning more technical knowledge. Nonetheless, considering the sample size in my study is small, future research will still need to recruit more photojournalists to investigate how gender may have mitigated its relation to the value of digital competence and writing skills.

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Appendix 1

訪談大綱

第一部分

1. 年齡
2. 性別
3. 教育背景
4. 年資
5. 薪水
6. 婚姻狀況
7. 目前工作的新聞組織/媒體

第二部分

8. 請問在您所工作的新聞室中，攝影記者的性別比例大概是多少？請您概述。

9. 在你做為一名攝影記者的職涯中，可否請你詳述你曾體驗過的新聞室文化？若以陽剛性文化或陰柔性來做區別，您認為台灣攝影記者的新聞室文化比較偏向哪種？
10. 在您目前或曾經待過的媒體中，你認為攝影記者的性別在新聞室中是如何被看待的？
11. 身為一名女性/男性攝影記者，你認為你的性別對於應徵工作、工作分配、薪資待遇以及升遷機會這四方面上有任何影響嗎？
12. 總地來說，身為一名女性/男性攝影記者，你曾經有因為自身的性別而使得工作順利或受到阻撓嗎？如果有，請您詳述。
13. 社會對於男人/女人抱持的態度在多大程度上影響了您的職業？
14. 以你的看法來說，在現今社會中成為一名攝影記者，性別重要嗎？

第三部分

15. 你認為數位化的時代是以如何影響了你的工作內容與工作經驗？
16. 您曾經有接受過哪些關於數位科技的正規教育或專業培訓？而這些經歷是如何幫助到你的工作？
17. 除了正規及專業的訓練之外，你會自學數位技能嗎？那這些經歷又是如何幫助到你的工作？
18. 對於身為一名女性/男性攝影記者，在你的職涯中，擁有與工作相關的數位技能有曾幫助到你嗎？是什麼樣的幫助呢？
19. 還有什麼想補充的地方嗎？
20. 對於這次的訪談，你有什麼看法與見解嗎？

Appendix 2

訪談同意書

親愛的受訪者，你好

我是目前就讀國立政治大學國際傳播英語碩士學位學程的研究生李安容，我目前正在進行碩士論文寫作，研究目的是探討性別對台灣當代攝影記者的職業及其數位技能的影響。

長久以來，有鑒於早期的攝影設備較為笨重，使得進入該行業的體力門檻較高，因此攝影記者的性別以男性為居多。然而，科技進步使成為攝影記者的門檻的降低，因此攝影記者的性別獲得邁向更多元化的機會。因此，希望藉由這次的一對一深度訪談的方式，深入了解在現今社會中，攝影記者在工作場域中的性別影響，以及其數位技能在新聞產業中的價值。

請各位受訪者不用擔心，本次訪談結果將會以匿名的方式呈現，過程也會以輕鬆對答的方式，請您分享身為一名專業的攝影記者的工作經歷，以及你的想法與見解。訪談時間約為1到2小時，為了能將內容詳實地記錄下來，訪談過程將會輔以錄音，同時我也會不時筆記以便後續整理資料。事後若有不清楚或想再進一步了解的地方，也可能會再次與您聯絡。訪談過程中，若您有不想被錄音的資訊，或感到不舒服，請隨時告知，我會立即中止。此外，針對您所分享的內容，僅供學術使用，並不會對外公開，請您安心。

最後，若您讀完以上資訊，並願意接受採訪，麻煩請在下方的受訪同意書上簽名，謝謝。

受訪同意書

經過以上說明，本人同意參與此項研究，並了解：

1. 本人所提供資料中，研究者會絕對保密；
2. 在研究過程中，若對研究有問題可隨時提出疑問，或退出研究。

受訪者簽名_____

