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## The contested boundaries of photojournalism in the changed Swedish newspaper media

### Abstract

In a changed media landscape, where anyone with an internet connection and a smartphone can become a journalist or a photojournalist, the professional boundaries of journalism and its practitioners have increasingly attracted the attention of media scholars in recent years. Although comprehensive, this body of research has mostly focused on the boundaries of journalism and the reactions towards the encroachment of outside forces. It would benefit from the analysis of how practitioners, especially the often-overlooked group of photojournalists, in digital media are struggling over boundaries. By combining Gieryn's and Bourdieu's analytical frameworks and analysing 40 interviews with agents in the Swedish newspaper media, this study seeks to contribute to existing research by showing how professional boundaries and the logic of photojournalism practice are being reshaped. The results show that while photojournalism has become an increasingly valuable product for the field, it has also become a contested boundary object. This has increased the exclusion of photojournalists and expanded photojournalistic practices into other agents' professional roles. In particular, multiskilled journalists backed by media managers have, in recent years, successfully conducted boundary work, redrawing the professional boundaries of the Swedish newspaper media.

**Keywords:** boundary work, boundary object, capital, photojournalism, photojournalists

## Introduction

The future is certainly hard to predict, and the effects of the ongoing digital and technological changes have yet to be concluded. Still, the increasing connectivity and the growing use of smartphones have undoubtedly impacted the professional boundaries of photojournalism (Caitlin & Allan, 2013; Hadland, Lambert, & Campbell, 2016). In recent years, these changes have increasingly attracted the attention of scholars concerned with the boundaries of journalism and its practitioners' role (Lewis & Carlson, 2015). Inspired by Gieryn's (1983) concept of boundary work, in combination with Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) or Zelizer's (1993) concept of journalism as an interpretive community, this body of research has shown how professional boundaries of journalism have been constructed and defended. Scholars, not primarily concerned with boundaries, have described a certain stability in journalism ideology and beliefs (Hanitzsch, 2011). Studies have, for instance, shown that when bloggers gained access to the field, traditional journalistic ideas prevailed (Craft et al., 2016; Hovden, 2012; Lewis, 2012; Vos, Craft, & Ashley, 2012). Journalists reacted by affirming journalistic norms and ethical standards to distinguish journalism from what encroaching outsiders do (Singer, 2015). Professional legitimacy and distinction from a perceived threat from outsiders, such as citizen journalists, have been, it seems, journalists' defence of the field (Lewis & Carlson, 2015; Örnebring, Karlsson, Fast, & Lindell, 2018). Towards such defences, other agents from other fields have been shown to strategically adapt to journalistic norms and later deploy profit-oriented models while implementing new digital techniques in the newsrooms (Belair-Gagnon & Holton, 2018). Following the technological developments in journalism, studies have also shown how journalistic norms and ideologies have come under pressure from within the field due to new managerial discourses. Still, regular journalists hold their positions against such influences (Andersson & Wiik, 2014; Waldenström, Wiik, & Andersson, 2019). Although these research studies have shown that journalists have maintained and protected journalism boundaries despite the changes, only some studies have focused on the changing boundaries of photojournalism (Hadland et al., 2016; Solaroli, 2016). Historical research on photojournalism has shown that when photography was first introduced to journalism in the late 19th century, it was initially met with resistance by journalists (Brennen 1998, 2012; Raetzsch, 2015; Zelizer, 1995a). Journalists reacted by underestimating photojournalism and its practitioners, who were treated as camera operators or camera technicians, thus limiting the work of photojournalism (Schwartz, 1999). After WWI, photojournalism slowly became more included in the field of journalism through its ideals of objectivity (Brennen, 2012; Carlson, 2019; Åker, 2012). Yet, studies still show that photojournalists face an uphill battle, receiving little or no authorship over their work (Reich & Klein-Avraham, 2014a, 2014b). Its practitioners are vulnerable in negotiations with editors who demand closer and closer proximity to danger

(Anderson, 2018). In recent years, photojournalists have been expelled to the periphery of the field due to the digital change (Čísařová & Metykov, 2020) and even transitioned to other fields, such as art (Solaroli, 2016). However, this article hopes to contribute to the comparatively small body of existing research regarding photojournalism by examining the social process of negotiations regarding the boundaries of photojournalists and the different definitions of photojournalism as a boundary object in the Swedish newspaper media (Lewis & Carlson, 2015; Örnebring et al., 2018).

The Swedish national media has been described as a relatively stable media market since it has been characterised as a democratic/corporative media system with national, regional, and local press and state television (Hallin & Manchini, 2012; Weibull, Wadbring, & Ohlsson, 2018). Studies have also shown a change towards an increased liberalisation and market orientation (Wadbring, 2013; Andersson & Wiik, 2013). The exceptionally stable and consistent Swedish newspaper advertising model has seen a significant shift in the recent decade, from a profitable paper advertising model to a digital subscription model. At first, this shift resulted in a loss of 4.2 billion SEK advertising revenues between 2011 and 2016 (Ohlsson & Facht, 2017). To compensate for the loss during those years, newspapers shifted to digital subscriptions, merged parts of organisations, outsourced production to freelancers, and furloughed staff (Werne, 2018). The shift slightly increased Swedish national and local morning newspapers' digital subscription revenues in 2020 compared to previous years (Westlund, 2021). However, the increased revenues have not translated to the rehiring of 25 percent of the journalists, many being photojournalists, who were laid off between 2013 and 2017 (Jansson & Lundquist, 2017). The journalists' role in Sweden has instead converged into a multiskilled role, as in other countries (Nygren, 2014; Robinson, 2011). Also, the increased online news production has increased the need for new specialised technical staff, reshaping the traditional boundaries and hierarchy in Swedish newsrooms (Westlund, 2011).

This study adds to previous research by analysing the narratives in 40 interviews with various agents in the Swedish newspaper media regarding boundaries, especially surrounding photojournalism, and the role of photojournalists. Principally, it seeks to contribute a deeper understanding of how certain agents with a range of various field-specific capital on different positions in the media construct, defend, and create professional boundaries of photojournalism in the newspaper media.

## Literature review and theoretical points of departure

The development of digital photography at the end of the 20th century marked the beginning of a set of challenges for photojournalism, especially concerning its authenticity and accountability (Mirzoeff, 1999). In similar ways, the digitalisation of journalism made scholars question “who counts as a journalist, what counts as journalism,” and it’s been proposed that this process is a “struggle over boundaries” (Carlson, 2015). Such struggles can be understood through the framework of Thomas Gieryn (1983) and his concept of boundary work as well as through the theories of Bourdieu (1984, 1989, 1991, 1993).

With the digitisation of society, in general, and of photojournalism and journalism, in particular, media scholars have proposed that if everyone with a smartphone can publish images at any time, then anyone can be considered a member of the media (Brennan, 2012). On the other hand, and by the same token, everyone in the media can then become a multiskilled professional (Nygren, 2014). However, with new technologies, photojournalism’s professional role has instead become even more destabilised (Caitlin & Allan, 2013; Hadland et al., 2016). Also, some photojournalists have changed fields, from journalism to art and documentary photography field (Solaroli, 2015, 2016). This indicates a need for analyses on where in the field and by whom new boundaries are constructed to understand professional developments in journalism (Abbott, 1988; Carlson, 2015; Fournier, 1999).

## Study of journalism through the field theory

The discussion about the application of the field theory to the journalistic field, minted by Bourdieu (1984, 1989, 1991, 1993), shows that the concept of capital – understood as valuable resources that individuals can acquire and accumulate in the field (Bourdieu 1986) – can successfully help analyse how certain agents fitted with capital volume understands the changing boundaries of journalism due to the introduction of new technology. Such studies more often describe the reproduction of traditional values and structures (Wiik, 2010). However, by applying the concepts of boundary work (Gieryn, 1984) and the concept of boundary objects (Leigh Star, 2010) this study will try to understand what important objects, as arenas for negotiation and definitions, constitute the new boundaries inside a journalistic field. A recent study regarding the use of new digital technology in the Swedish newspaper media has shown that traditional masters of the field with accumulated capital and positions have become circumvented by younger agents that had quickly acquired the new practices of new digital technology (Lindblom, 2020), and how traditional professional boundaries and habitus are subsequently shifting due to new technology, which necessitates further studies and analysis.

To that point, traditional capital in journalism, such as journalistic university degrees, journalistic and photojournalistic awards, or journalistic scoops, provides agents with their position in the field, helping them wield power and a “fictionary scheme of taste” to make distinctions on what is a right or wrong practice, for instance, regarding photojournalism (Bourdieu, 1984). But as new technology shifts these boundaries as new technology is adopted by new agents, the new logic of practice would acquire new types of capital. Studies have suggested that the old taken-for-granted values and “scheme of taste” are under renegotiations due to such changes and the entry of new agents into the field (Eldridge II, 2017; Vos, Eichholz, & Karaliova, 2019). So, when new agents with new technology brings new knowledge and values to the field, renowned older agents endowed and invested in the field-specific capital and limited by social structures and by the field’s doxa that reproduces and replicates traditional habitus and behaviours, must most probably defend their positions and boundaries, or employ new strategies of boundary work to maintain their positions and boundaries around these positions. This process could be studied through the concept of boundary work, as proposed by Gieryn (1984), which allows for an analysis of how agents verbally construct boundaries in a professional field.

## Boundary works in a changing media landscape

Like the Bourdieu concept of distinction, Gieryn has also shown how agents create boundaries and determine correct practices through verbal practices. However, expanding on Gieryn’s concept, Lamont and Molnár (2002) suggested that this boundary work is carried out through three strategies: exclusion, extension, and protection of the professional group’s autonomy and authority. Studies have, for example, shown how journalists closed ranks and criticised bloggers when they appeared at the beginning of the century (Vos et al., 2012) or how citizen photojournalism has been excluded and described as not good enough for publication in Swedish newspapers (Nilsson & Wadbring, 2015). A more recent study has shown how culture journalists have experienced slow exclusion from the Swedish newspaper media (Riegert, 2021).

However, while one group of professional agents is excluded, another usually takes control over the excluded professional group’s domains in the professional field, which then results in the expansion of new group’s professional boundaries. A case in point is when reporter started photographing and filming and became multiskilled journalists (Nygren, 2014). Finally, boundary work also occurs when journalists protect their autonomy against other agents from other fields, such as against lobbyists and pundits in politics or economy fields (Perreault, Stanfield, & Luttman, 2020).

In summary, boundary work is done by verbally constructing or defending professions' perceived boundaries or jurisdictions (Abbot, 1988). However, when professional practices rely on technology that changes through digitisation or digitalisation, boundary controlling strategies and definitions lose their technical foundation and must be renegotiated (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Abbot, 1988). This is undoubtedly the case for photojournalists (*Blinded* 2020). So, whereas traditional analysis of capital according to Bourdieu reveal how agent's positions are bound by certain social structures and doxa in the field, Gieryn's concept of boundary work can help us understand how new verbal renegotiations of the field's professional boundaries during a time of change are occurring and how these renegotiations and compromises reshape professional boundaries.

### Boundary objects in a changing media field

To further understand where such negotiations occur inside a field between competing agents with different types of professional knowledge and opposing opinions, ideals, and norms as well as various accumulations of capital volume, this study will employ the concept of boundary objects (Leigh Star, 2010). A boundary object can be anything that agents share over professional boundaries, although it still is interpreted differently by the groups of agents. Boundary objects could therefore be understood as a "social arrangement that allows different professional groups to work together without consensus" (Leigh Star, 2010). As such, boundary objects create flexible "social arenas" where professional groups can collaborate. Since they have this feature, they can also be practices or rather the divisions of different practices through temporary agreements. However, these agreements are often subjects of constant debates regarding what is the right or wrong practice (Leigh Star, 2010).

Media studies have shown that journalistic practices have passed through phases of interpretations. That is, regarding investigative journalism (Zelizer, 1993) and as new technology has been introduced to journalism, debates on what is the right practices have been under renegotiation (Bjerknes, 2020). New technology has become the intersection for different interpretations, and as such, all technology could be considered as a boundary object (Lewis & Usher, 2016). However, although the practice of photojournalism relies on well-known technology and even if photojournalistic products has increased in impotence in the field (Wadbring & Nilsson, 2016) and the photojournalistic role has become more of a multiskilled profession (Bock, 2011a; 2011b), interpretations and negotiations regarding photojournalism as a boundary object have not been fully understood.

By combining the concepts of capital, boundary work, and boundary object, the agents' narratives in the interviews are analysed to understand negotiations regarding photojournalism and the role of photojournalists in the field. How these narratives correspond to certain agents'

positions and volumes of capital and how definitions of photojournalism might vary based on these factors and, finally, how the agents' narratives describe the changing professional boundaries in the field through the boundary object of photojournalism as an intersection in the Swedish newspaper media field are also analysed.

## Methods and data

Since this study is concerned with how agents construct and defend professional boundaries in a media field, it has elicited a material of 40 semistructured interviews made between 2016 and 2018 with agents from a range of different positions in the Swedish newspaper media. These semistructured, strategically sampled interviews were initially collected within the Blinded project with the specific purpose of analysing the position of photojournalism and photojournalists in the Swedish newspaper media. To understand how the role of photojournalism and photojournalism is viewed by the agents in the field and what status they attributed to photojournalists and photojournalism in relation to journalists and to journalism in the field, this material was reanalysed, and the agents were divided into four groups depending on their access and volume of various forms of capital active in the field (Hovden, 2008).

The sample includes interviews not only with photojournalists but also with multiskilled journalists working also with photojournalism, reporters who collaborate with photojournalists, and decision-making managers, such as HR managers, as well as photo editors and social media editors who hire photojournalists and engage with photojournalism.

The sampling was made by selecting local, regional, and national newspapers according to the reach of the publication and geographic location in Sweden. It is worth highlighting that the number of employed photojournalists in local and regional newspapers has decreased in recent years in Sweden. Also, many photojournalists have become freelancers in Sweden. The selection of interviewees was adjusted for this and strived to select an equal number of freelancers as employed agents in each occupational group, which explains the even number of respondents in the material. The original selection also strived to create a gender-balanced sampling, thus the material consists of 21 men and 19 women. All in all, this design and interview material contains narratives from a diverse selection of agents in the Swedish newspaper media, from its “core to its fringe” (Örnebring et al., 2018).

An interview guide with open-ended questions was designed to explore a range of topics about professional changes and how roles of the agents have been affected by technology (e.g., metrics technology or digital photography), as well as how agents describe ideals, norms, and social status in the journalistic production. The interviews, which lasted 60–90 minutes, were recorded via video calls or phone calls and later transcribed by the author. The transcriptions were compiled into a searchable data set to be reanalysed for this study’s purposes.

The construction of boundaries by agents at different positions and with a diverse set of capital volume is of specific interest to this study. Following previous empirical studies of the journalistic field and recognising the capitals active in this field (Hovden, 2008), this study has mapped the following factors for each agent as important capital, that is, their position in the



organisational hierarchy (e.g., senior management or freelancer), their seniority in the field, and their journalistic awards, as well as their economic (income) and cultural capital (education). Charting the interviewees' access to these resources allowed for an understanding of potential differences in how agents at different positions in the field negotiate boundaries and interpret boundary objects.

Furthermore, to analyse differences in the interviewee's narratives, they were grouped into four analytical groups according to their capital volumes, where the top group consisted of 16 agents with significant volumes of field-specific capital (e.g., seniority, high positions in the organisation, and awards) as well as the highest income and educational levels. This top group included seven media managers positioned at renowned national newspapers, five awarded and employed photojournalists at national newspapers, one investigative and awarded reporter at a local newspaper, and two senior multiskilled journalists with high economic capital. This top group will be referred to as the highest capital volume group. In the interview excerpts, members of this group have been titled RES01 through RES16, where the interviewee with the highest volume capital has number one, and so on.

In comparison to the top group, the second group lacked in journalistic or photojournalistic prizes and awards. However, they all had permanent positions at national, regional, and local newspapers or were freelancers with relatively high economic and cultural capital volumes. This group consisted of ten journalists: two managers, three reporters, three freelance reporters, and two young multiskilled journalists employed at regional newspapers. It will be referred to as the mid-high capital volume group (interviewees RES17 through RES26).

The third group consisted of ten journalists with less income and lower educational levels than the above groups and six multiskilled journalists at smaller local newspapers, two freelance reporters, and two freelance photojournalists. This group is referred to as the low capital volume group (interviewees RES27 through RES36).

The fourth and smallest group consisted of four young freelance journalists, one freelance reporter, and three freelance photojournalists new to the field. Thus, they largely lacked the forms of capital active in the field. This group was titled the lowest capital volume group. Respondents in this group were given the numbers RES37 through RES40.

The interview material was subjected to an iterative inductive three-step coding cycle (Creswell, 2014). The first cycle gathered inclusive or exclusive verbal boundary works in the agents' narratives. The second cycle gathered narratives of negotiations or collaborations over boundary objects. The final cycle cross-analysed narratives with the agents' positions and capital volume relative to other agents in the field. This design allowed for an analysis of how journalists in the Swedish newspaper media occupy different positions and negotiate the inner boundaries

and boundary objects in the field and in the analysis of the material below. The narratives from each group of agents will be summarised starting with the top group moving outwards through the field and downwards along the decrease of capital. Finally, all direct quotes in the article describing and representing the agents' narratives are presented in italics and were translated from Swedish to English.

However, although this theory-driven design implies that this study has revisited an existing interview material with a specific focus on respondents' narratives concerning boundaries and boundary objects in the field, the design has its limitations. It does not make claims about the Swedish journalistic field at large or any other national media field. This would require a large representative survey and subsequent use of multiple correspondence analysis (Hovden, 2008). Instead, it is concerned how some agents negotiate boundaries and boundary objects, and the benefit of such approach is that the study explores agents' sense-making regarding the boundaries in a more detailed fashion to understand how agents with different volumes of capital negotiate boundary objects. In addition, previous Bourdieusian studies have often studied differentiation alongside a capital composition axis (that is, differences between agents whose capital portfolios consist primarily of economic or cultural capital) and the capital volume axis. Here, the study has focused on the volume of capital, a valuable concept in understanding and analysing divisions amongst agents in fields (Blinded, 2020).

The following accounts constitute the agents' views regarding boundaries and their definitions of boundary objects in Swedish journalism.

## Analysis

The phrases *should have*, *could have*, and *would have* are generally used to dismiss one's or someone else's regrets or worries about past actions or the lack thereof. From another perspective, it can also be understood as the expression of the internal understanding of the normative expectations on one's person in a social setting. In the case of boundaries for photojournalists and of photojournalism, these expectations can also be summarised in a *should*, *would*, or *could*.

### Photojournalism should

"You can take the greatest picture in the World, but if you deliver it the next day, it is too late" (RES11), said one of the managers in the top group regarding photojournalism's purpose in the Swedish newspaper media. It reflects, in many ways, the opinions regarding photojournalism amongst managers and multiskilled journalists in the material, while on the other hand, photojournalists and reporters describe that the purpose of photojournalism is to inform and attract media consumers. Understood as a boundary object, the opinions regarding the purpose of photojournalism were, in some ways, compatible. However, the two groups did not reach a

consensus and were divided in two groups. This split was along the lines of difference in opinions if time equalled quality or not. On the one hand, photojournalists and reporters held that more time equated quality of photojournalism, while managers and multiskilled journalists, on the other hand, regarded less time and speed of delivery as the quality of photojournalism. For example, a world-renowned photojournalist in Sweden's largest daily newspaper in the top group stated that photojournalism's purpose was to "inform people how the world looks like" by "speaking directly to the heart, evoke emotions, and touch the audience"/.../ "however, there is a lack of understanding regarding how long time such documentary photojournalism takes" amongst media managers (RES01) while other photojournalists in the top group explained that photojournalism should "show reality" and "something people did not know they wanted" (RES02) by opening "up new perspectives that gave a feeling beyond the descriptions of the text," or "be different, close to the subject matter, funny and exclusive in its reporting" (RES13), which all takes time to produce. Managers' and multiskilled journalists' understanding of photojournalism was that "Speed is necessary! It is a hygiene factor. You must have it to be relevant" (RES11), or as one editor-in-chief at a regional newspaper added, that speed was photojournalism's purpose "rather than if the [images] are well-composed" (RES06).

This seems to have become the prevailing property of images published and produced in the Swedish newspapers according to photojournalists in the material. A nationally awarded sports photojournalist at Sweden's largest daily newspaper, described how he felt that the quality of photojournalism had decrease to "simple clichés" of news images (RES05), probably because the increased use of genre and archival images in Swedish newspapers (Wadbring & Nilsson, 2016). A photo editor at Sweden's most prominent news agency in the top group confirmed the increase of genre imagery and explained that "the fast pace [of online publishing] has affected photojournalism. You often see archive images sent out to illustrate breaking news events nowadays, which is not great" (RES12).

The hallmarks of speed were also described by multiskilled journalists in the highest capital volume group. One explained, "There is a constant deadline and just any photo has to be published!" (RES03) and in Sweden's largest daily newspaper working with online news, another multi-skilled journalist in the top group argued that the purpose of photojournalism had to be understood through what it afforded media consumers. A snapshot taken by herself with her smartphone during any news event and published seconds later online had, to her, a "one hundred percent quality because that was exactly what it was about. It does not have to be technically perfect, but it still conveys the news through an image" (RES16), thus echoing the opinions of the managers in the top group.

According to narratives by the agents in the group with the highest capital volume, the purpose of what photojournalism should do certainly differed. These opinions, however, played

into a subsequent boundary work amongst the agents in the lower groups regarding who could produce photojournalism in the best way according to these opinions.

### Photojournalism could

“Quality photojournalism has been pushed out from the newspapers. You just have to look at some local Swedish newspapers, it’s a total disaster” (RES30) stated one freelance reporter in the low capital volume group, when she explained her views of the redrawn boundaries for photojournalism in Swedish newspapers. The statements reflect the boundary work and struggles for boundaries between different agents that have transpired in the field during the recent years. This struggle was most noticeable in the mid-high capital volume and low capital volume groups, which consisted of employed rank-and-file reporters and multiskilled journalists at regional and local newspapers and freelance reporters and multiskilled journalists and only one freelance photojournalist. The employed agents in these groups repeated the opinions of the managers in the top group. For example, did a multiskilled journalist, employed as an online news TV-anchor at a regional newspaper media group, explain that “managers regard images or videos with interesting content and stories as ‘added value’” and photojournalism has therefore “become a super important commodity” and her media company’s strategy was to “provide [quality photojournalism] to paying digital customers” (RES15). But in the same media company, another multi-skilled journalist, explained how managers had “sacked most press photographers because, as they said; ‘Anyone can press a button on a camera’” (RES29). This shows an example of the duality of expansive boundary work including the practice of photojournalism into the role of multiskilled journalists and at the same time the exclusion of professional photojournalists from the field. For this reason, one of the formerly specialised photojournalists had become multiskilled journalist. However, one of the older more experienced multiskilled journalists echoed the opinions of the top photojournalists saying that photojournalism had become illustrations rather than depicting news, and that it was “no thought behind them. They are not conveying anything anymore” (RES26). Another multiskilled journalist described how since reporters in her regional newspaper started photographing without really knowing how the quality of images had gone down to the point where “everyone is now happy if anyone has managed to photograph a simple nice portrait or a funny picture from a flea market” (RES20).

A freelance reporter in the low capital volume group who collaborated with a freelance photojournalist argued that “quality photojournalism has been pushed out from the newspapers” and that “it’s a total disaster” (RES30). Her views were similar to those of the photojournalists in the top group, which was that “text and images should tell the same story but from different angles. They should match each other and deepen the story and, of course, images must be true and have been captured at the right moment in the right time to convey that moment to readers”

(RES30). This was her reason to collaborate with a professional freelance photojournalist who practised this kind of photojournalism. In fact, she was not alone amongst the freelance reporters in the mid-high capital volume and low capital volume groups, who defined the purpose of photojournalism in similar ways as the top photojournalists and often collaborated with freelance photojournalists. One said that “pictures have to add something extra to the story” (RES18), and it only occurred “when a photographer has been involved in the project” and “followed someone or something for days or weeks” (RES21) or “when a photographer has had the time to find a visual story and can tell their own story about a person or a situation” (RES23).

The narratives amongst freelancers in the mid-high capital volume and low capital volume groups reflect the sentiments that quality photojournalism must produce. However, there were only two photojournalists in the middle groups, indicating where the boundaries for photojournalists lay.

### Photojournalism would

“That’s the picture! Take it! Photograph NOW! That’s the picture!” a reporter once screamed at one of the young freelance photojournalist agents in the lowest capital volume group during a routine assignment for a local newspaper. For the agents in the lowest group, which comprise three freelance photojournalists and one freelance reporter, the opinions of managers or employed reporters with higher capital volumes regarding the purpose of photojournalism were often made clear to them in this and similar ways. However, some of the agents had developed strategies to navigate these expectations and create a “space of possibilities” for themselves to produce the photojournalism they understood as best. For instance, the young freelance photojournalist who had encountered the orders from the reporter described her strategy as a “balancing act” (RES38). Even if she had a university degree in journalism and photojournalism, she had not yet accumulated enough capital to be an agent that could define or defend her professional boundary. Older reporters or managers usually never considered her opinions and instead ordered her to produce specific images of events. “But the pictures they want me to take are simple. They’re a joke really!” (RES38). Her recounts of the situation with the staff reporter at the local newspaper that had ordered her to photograph a simple image of a group of petitioning parents walking towards her and the reporter were examples of photojournalism that reporters and managers wanted her to produce. She had obeyed and taken the photo at the time, adding that she did not want to start “explaining to the reporter what photojournalism was all about. He would not have understood it anyway” (RES38), and probably also because she had yet to accumulate enough capital to take the social fight.

Another young photojournalist in the lowest group had recently graduated from university with a bachelor’s degree in photojournalism and working as a page editor described how there was a distinct difference in prioritisation in the field. “They [managers] want a picture in the

newsmagazine or online, but they don't want to pay for it" (RES39), while, on the other hand, she said, journalistic texts were "given much higher priority. The text comes first and that the picture always comes last" (RES39), a narrative that was confirmed by the freelance reporter in the lowest group who had experienced that his texts were discussed with editors while images were not even commented on by the editors (RES40).

Even though the lowest-ranked agents' narratives regarding the purpose of photojournalism were like those of the top photojournalist in the top group, as agents on the verge of the field described how they were in a social struggle with agents with higher volumes of capital that was trying to control and influence the production of photojournalism. Taken together with the narratives from the other agents in all groups, these struggles should be understood as negotiations over the jurisdictions and boundaries of photojournalism in the field.

### Boundaries are drawn up on the top of a field

An essential part of boundary work is to assign distinctions to different types of professional skills and, in the process, include or exclude what defines a specific professional role and its jurisdiction in a field. Swedish media managers in the top group had specific positions that could influence what skillset and practice were required of agents in the field.

The top manager, an HR manager at one of the largest Swedish media groups, described what he required of a photojournalist if they were to be hired by him, and it was to "use images as a way of expression, just as language in a written text" (RES03). According to him, it meant that photojournalists had to be skilled in photography and, even more, essential to know how to produce videos quickly to online platforms. However, he also required this from "every reporter" too. They had "to be able to take pictures and, above all, film short video clips with their smartphone, and distribute to our online platforms" (RES03) and admittedly said that "you could say that reporters intrude on the role of photojournalists. Or intrude or intrude? I say everyone must be able to do everything today" (RES03). This shows how a manager includes the skillset of photojournalism in every agent's role in the field, but the skillsets of a photojournalist did not include writing, according to the managers in the top group. The HR manager at Sweden's most significant evening paper said, for example, "That would be downright stupid" (RES07) to let photojournalists write. Because as he claimed, "People have entered the professions for various reasons, and I think they are two completely different abilities which should be kept apart, especially when it comes to writing" (RES07).

The exclusion of writing from the role of photojournalists and, at the same time, the inclusion of the practice of photojournalism into the role of reporters or multiskilled journalists were also argued by the editor-in-chief at the regional newspaper, which had furloughed all photojournalists because the newspaper could "no longer afford to have staff who just takes

pictures and do not write" (RES06). He had considered keeping photojournalists and upskilling them in writing but claimed that "the photographers in question did not have the skills to write" (RES06). All these managers had a background of being reporters, and these descriptions and narrative were echoed by other managers with similar backgrounds in the top group (RES09, RES11, RES12), indicating that an agent's background and habitus strongly inform the agents' boundary works.

By the same token, the new required practice of photojournalism has become included in the role of multiskilled journalists but not without resistance from former reporters. A multiskilled journalist in the top group, who used to be a specialised reporter and columnist at a local newspaper, described that she had had to learn how to photograph although it was a necessary requirement from managers because, as she said, "I cannot, even with my experience and age, say I do not want to photograph or do video and only write. The managers would open the door for me and say "Goodbye!" (RES08). On the other hand, when an awarded photojournalist in the top group at a prominent regional newspaper in Stockholm wrote her reportages, reporters at her newspapers complained as she explained, "I do not think they want me to write. I would write more, but they would probably complain more. I have heard several times they say: 'Why did that photographer write that?'" (RES15). Furthermore, even though the renowned photojournalist at Sweden's most significant national newspaper with a lot of accumulated capital enjoyed autonomy to intermittently write his own reports he had also to "illustrate reporters' articles" and "follow what the reporters have on the agenda and the news development" (RES01). However, except for these two photojournalists, no other photojournalist wrote articles or reports. That is maybe why another internationally acclaimed and awarded photojournalist concisely included journalistic practices in his description of a modern photojournalist, saying that "If you want to survive in media, you must work as a journalist, and do your research, plan your assignments, and be involved, and contribute with your visual knowledge to journalism" (RES02).

Interpreted through the concept of boundary work, such narratives indicate how journalism is closing its boundaries towards photojournalists in the Swedish newspaper media and point towards certain skillsets needed to become an agent in the field. However, these boundaries seem verbally constructed by only a small number of agents, that is, the managers with volumes of capital in the top group of this study, and they were expressed as a social struggle over boundaries noticeable in the agents' narratives in the lower and middle groups in the material.

### Boundaries are negotiated in the middle of a field

The agents in the mid-high capital volume and low capital volume groups were either employed reporters or employed multiskilled journalists at regional and local newspapers or

freelance reporters and multiskilled journalists. There were, as mentioned, only two photojournalists in the low capital volume group. This indicates the professional boundaries that have excluded employed photojournalists from the Swedish newspaper field in recent years and the subsequent inclusion of photojournalism as a practice into the role of the multiskilled journalist and some reporters. But only two of these multiskilled journalists were former photojournalists.

One of them, a multiskilled agent working at a newspaper in a large media group, said that nobody at her newspaper even talked about photojournalists at her newspaper anymore, or as she put it, "We are all multiskilled journalists now. I have even a hard time distinguishing who is what anymore. I see no difference. Today, you are even more valuable if you know how to produce photojournalism than if you can write and try to take pictures" (RES26). However, the other former photojournalist had become multi-skilled to keep his job (RES28). Another multi-skilled journalist who was a young former reporter, working as an online TV-anchor at a media group with many newspapers, remarked that the "multiskilled journalist role will not disappear. It is the norm now" (RES27).

There was a side to the boundary work that was a verbal distinction between younger and older agents. For instance, did a young, employed reporter that worked at a local newspaper and expressed his flexibility as a journalist when he described that "doing everything" was "a walk in the park. But for my older colleagues, it's a fucking challenge and stressful to do everything" (R 06). One such older agent was a former culture editor at a local newspaper, who said she felt like "a fossil and not native to new technology" (RES29). She said she had to "learn every move and try to memorize what to do." I do not interact naturally with, for instance, a camera. There is a difference in my motor skills compared to younger people (RES29). Other older agents said they did not even want to photograph because they rather have photojournalists to illustrate their reports (RES04, RES18, RES21). One of these agents' views shows the previous jurisdictions between journalists and photojournalists in the field, stating that "Pictures should be eye-catching! That is, photos should make a report look beautiful on the page and, at the same time, convey the right feelings to my story. That requires a photojournalist to work for me to make his photos" (RES04).

Younger agents, on the other hand, described how they rather collaborated and didn't exclude or subordinate photojournalists and photojournalism. This was especially true for a young reporter in the middle groups. They often described the photojournalist as a "partner, not the counterpart. Without the photojournalist, I cannot do my work," adding that she felt her "writing has become a lot better since I started working with photojournalists" (RES32). The economic incentives for collaborating with photojournalists were also strong, especially for freelance reporters. As the mentioned reporter said, she would not be able to "sell any articles



unless the images are great. So, it is super important to work with a professional photojournalist“ (RES23). But collaborations were also important for an employed young foreign correspondent at Sweden’s most important evening paper who said that when he and a photojournalist were on an assignment, he expected them to be “a very close-knit team where we collaborate around what we will produce. Because, in the end, a collaboration makes for a much better reportage” (RES19).

These collaborations could, of course, be interpreted as “social arrangement that allows different professional groups to work together without consensus” (Leigh Star, 2010) regarding the subject of photojournalism. However, they could also be understood as the inclusiveness of photojournalists in the field due to economic incentives. Both the freelance reporter and the employed reporter at the evening paper had to produce qualitative journalism and sell their reports in the end. Nevertheless, these negotiations were mostly described by younger agents in the interviews, while older agents, with more capital volume, described fewer negotiations and more exclusions of photojournalists from the field.

The narratives from agents in the fourth and lowest capital volume group, primarily young freelance photojournalists, did not point towards any boundary work at all. Instead, what they described was the struggle to even be included at all inside the field’s boundaries.

## Boundary strategies on the verge of the field

In the lowest group of agents on the verge of the field, a young freelance photojournalist who occasionally substituted as a photo editor at Sweden’s largest newspaper, described herself as “a journalist” (RES34) rather than a photojournalist when she was asked about her perceived role. This points towards a conscious strategy to include herself in the boundaries of journalism. She explained her views that journalism is the work all of those “who are collecting news material, processing, and publishing it. But some people are better at writing while others are better at photography, and some only do TV” (RES34). The other young freelance photojournalist in the group, who had described her experience with the older reporter ordering her to photograph, had strategies of becoming an “independent photojournalist” in the field, doing “projects that I find interesting” (RES38). Finally, a young student of photojournalism who was doing her internship at Sweden’s most prominent news agency described that her strategy was to “work in a café or some other work so that [she] could work with [her] own photojournalistic projects” (RES40). As agents on the verge of the field, these two young photojournalists had developed strategies on how to navigate the Swedish newspaper field’s boundaries or disregard them and follow their dreams and create autonomy for themselves in the larger global photojournalistic field, more affiliated with ideals and norms of the field of photography (Solaroli, 2016).

## Discussion

This study has analysed 40 agents' narratives of boundaries in the Swedish newspaper media. The results have shown how photojournalism, on the one hand, has become a contested and negotiated boundary object due to its increased importance for the increasingly market-oriented field and, on the other hand, includes the technologically simplified photojournalistic practice have sparked a boundary work regarding the professional jurisdiction between, on the one hand, multiskilled journalists and, on the other hand, photojournalists in the field. In fact, the almost near exclusion of photojournalists from Swedish newspapers during the studied period was paradoxical when the importance of photojournalism was described by all agents in the material.

However, the different interpretations of the purpose of photojournalism could explain this. Seen as boundary object, the purposes of photojournalism split the agents' narratives into two groups. On the one side, managers and multiskilled journalists had the expansive viewpoint towards the practice of photojournalism, and on the other side, the study shows how reporters and photojournalists had protective standpoint regarding the practice of photojournalism.

In their expansive views, managers and multiskilled journalists had excluding definitions of the role of photojournalist and claimed that the speed of photojournalism delivery was the most important feature rather than its esthetical qualities, implicating that anyone could produce it through new accessible digital techniques. However, amongst the more protective reporters, fruitful collaborations with photojournalists were fostered, and the traditional occupational boundaries were mostly upheld.

In this regard, the results show how agents on different positions with different volumes of capital interpreted the boundary object of photojournalism in two distinctive ways that suggests both orthodox and heterodox views regarding photojournalism in the field. Heterodox views enter from both the top of the field, represented by the managers, and from the bottom of the field represented by multiskilled journalists. More to the point, agents with high capital volume in managing positions made specific distinctions concerning the inclusion of photojournalism (and other required skillsets in the digitally changing field) into all journalistic practices and roles. Yet when doing so, managers promoted the inclusion of photojournalistic practice in the role of multiskilled journalists and correspondingly excluded journalistic practices, such as writing, from being included in the role of photojournalists.

In this regard the result confirms previous studies that shown a boundary work of inclusion of the object of photojournalism for employed multiskilled agents in the field (Nygren, 2014), and the process of the exclusion, or even self-exclusion, of some photojournalists from the newspapers in the field to other fields (Solaroli, 2016).

Contributing to previous research on boundary work, this study also indicates how boundaries are internally constructed by managers with a high capital volume that support new jurisdictions amongst agents in the field. However, such distinctions prompt a social struggle for positions amongst agents regarding the jurisdictional boundaries, especially amongst agents with lower capital volume in the field. In this material, multiskilled journalists seem to have an advantage in the social struggle, describing themselves as “the norm” of the field. On the other hand, photojournalists were still positioned in the field, albeit either they were highly consecrated or had very low positions; the result is in line with previous research on photojournalists (Brennen, 1998; Reich & Klein-Avraham, 2014a, 2014b; Schwartz, 1999; Solaroli, 2016; Zelizer, 1995a).

Viewed through the framework of Bourdieu and Gieryn, this study has indicated the struggle and collaborations regarding photojournalism amongst agents in the Swedish newspaper media. However, a study like this has its natural limitation in fully describing the impact on professional boundaries, but it has hopefully contributed to findings regarding the social process that affects developments of professions in a changing media field.

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